

TAC

THE ARCHIVE
CLASSICS

UP DEPARTMENT
OF
LINGUISTICS

Ernesto

TOPICALIZATION AND

SOME RELATED PROCESSES

IN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

Cubarr

The Archive Classics

Topicalization and Some Related Processes in Philippine Languages

by

Ernesto H. Cubar

UP DEPARTMENT
OF
LINGUISTICS

The Archive is the official journal of the Department of Linguistics, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines Diliman. The Regular Series of the journal serves as a peer-reviewed publication for original works dealing primarily but not exclusively with Philippine languages and dialects.

The Archive Classics series reprints monumental works in Philippine linguistics that paved the way for further research in the field, and continue to influence current studies on Philippine languages.

Topicalization and Some Related Processes in Philippine Languages by Ernesto H. Cubar was originally published in 1975 as a monograph and was produced with the support of the University of the Philippines Social Sciences and Humanities Research Committee's (now the Office of the Vice-Chancellor for Research and Development under the University of the Philippines Diliman) endowment of Research Allotment No. 26, FY 1973-1974.

The Archive:
A journal dedicated to
the study of Philippine languages and dialects
ISSN 2672-295X (Print)

EDITORIAL BOARD

Editor-in-Chief
Aldrin P. Lee, Ph.D.

Issue Editor
Farah C. Cunanan

Managing Editor
Vincent Christopher A. Santiago

Editorial Staff
Ria P. Rafael
Elsie Marie T. Or

Editorial Consultant
Jonathan C. Malicsi, Ph.D.

Ilokano Language Consultant
Kevin Brandon E. Saure

Layout and Cover Design
Elsie Marie T. Or

Copyright © 2019. University of the Philippines Department of Linguistics.
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the publisher's written permission except for fair use (i.e., personal, educational, and research purposes) and subject to copyright law.

The views expressed by the author of this special publication
do not necessarily reflect the views of the publisher and the editors.

Department of Linguistics
University of the Philippines Diliman
1325 Palma Hall Pavilion One,
Quirino Avenue, Diliman, Quezon City
Metro Manila, Philippines, 1101
Email: lingg@kssp.upd.edu.ph

Introduction

A Student Remembers

I remember Prof. Ernesto Cubar as my teacher in Linguistics 112 (Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics), which I took as a junior English major, studying comparative literature. Of course we began with phonetics, and I particularly enjoyed learning how to read and write using the International Phonetic Alphabet, despite Prof. Cubar's excuses about not being able to pronounce well because of his teeth.

I remember him as the one who allowed me to shift to linguistics as my major for the M.A., after I found out that the Visiting Professors Program that brought over literature professors from various U.S. universities would cease. That was when I got exposed to Prof. Emeritus Cecilio Lopez in historical linguistics, Prof. Cubar in grammar, and Dr. Ernesto Constantino in Philippine linguistics. The contrasts in their teaching were interesting. Dr. Lopez taught mostly from the training he had in Germany, and would even give us exercises with German as the glossing language. Dr. Constantino would teach us mainly from the results of his field work, while Prof. Cubar would teach us mostly from his regular forays into the university library, giving us a good sense of the history of linguistics, and the essential differences among the various theories that competed with each other. In a few courses, he challenged us to try different algorithms in solving syntactic problems - the boxes of tagmemic grammar, the neuron-like strands of stratificational grammar, the programming symbols of transformational generative grammar, and even the beginnings of semantic grammar. Since I took most of my linguistics courses under Prof. Cubar, including field work (handled as informant work), he became my thesis adviser on the grammar of Sambal Ayta, using the early algorithms of transformational generative grammar. My critic, after months of giving me written notes about how well my thesis was developing, strangely, quit one week before my scheduled oral defense, saying we had irreconcilable theoretical differences. Prof. Cubar was able to persuade another faculty member to take over as critic, who, within just a few days, recommended my thesis for the defense. I passed.

I remember Prof. Cubar as the one who brought me back to teach at UP Diliman. He supported my decision to pursue a Ph.D. in Philippine Studies which allowed me to take courses in anthropology and sociology, and combine them with my past training in linguistics to develop ethnosemantic approaches to Sambal Ayta.

It was Prof. Cubar who set the stage for my becoming Chairman of the Department. He made me write a vote for myself, put in a sealed envelope, before I left on a European tour with the UP Madrigal Singers. I was in Geneva

when I received a phone call that I should discontinue any post-tour plans because I was elected Chairman. A dreadful challenge, indeed, but with guidance from Prof. Cubar, the Department enriched its Asian languages program and justified it as the application of Asian linguistics, enlarged the scope of the Department to have a bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees, even an honors program that allowed a student to finish a B.A. and M.A. in Linguistics within five years. And to channel the research energies of the faculty, we established the Philippine Linguistics Congress.

Prof. Cubar was the one who recommended me to become an Associate Member, then a Regular Member of the National Research Council of the Philippines. And I am sure he had a hand in my getting a Fulbright Fellowship for a doctoral enrichment program in the State University of New York in Buffalo.

I finished my Ph.D., participated in international conferences in linguistics, one of which led to my becoming a consultant of UNESCO in terminological analysis, got conscripted to head the cultural office of the UP System by President Angara, led the English Language Project by President Abueva, and got involved in so many activities that kept me mostly away from the Department. In all these times, Prof. Cubar would occasionally visit me in my faculty center office to pose a question or two on a linguistic problem, and regularly would text similar problems which I enjoyed solving.

Way before his retirement age came up, Prof. Cubar was appointed to become one of the commissioners at the Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino, where he tried his best to train some of the staff in linguistic analysis. When he retired, we agreed to gift him with a rocking chair, hoping it would start a retirement gift tradition. I'm not sure if the rocking chair helped with his blood flow, but he continued texting us challenging questions in linguistics.

Before he stopped teaching, he gave me a copy of his Topicalization paper with instructions to do whatever I wish with it. I had it encoded, serendipitously on my laptop, instead of my office computer, and that is how it survived the April Fool's fire that gutted our FC offices.

We will remember Prof. Cubar for this and other landmark papers in Philippine linguistics.

Jonathan C. Malicsi, Ph.D.

Professor Emeritus of Linguistics

Department of Linguistics

College of Social Sciences and Philosophy

University of the Philippines Diliman

Notes from the Editor

In December 2018, Prof. Jonathan Malicsi broached the possibility of publishing Prof. Ernesto H. Cubar's paper *Topicalization and Some Related Processes in Philippine Languages*, for which he had the permission from Prof. Cubar to "do whatever he wants." Thus the birth of the first issue of *The Archive Classics*.

The original manuscript was completed in 1975 with support from the University of the Philippines Social Sciences and Humanities Research Committee (now the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research and Development). After nearly half a century since its completion, Prof. Cubar's paper remains an important contribution to the discourse on the subjects topic, subject, etc. We hope that through *The Archive Classics*, this work would be accessible to more researchers and students, and that it would encourage them to engage in these discussions.

The manuscript was edited following current glossing conventions and the 6th edition of the APA Style Manual, except for the reference list where the authors' full names were retained. All works cited in the body of the paper were added to the reference list. Words in boldface are terms or concepts introduced, while those in italics are previously-mentioned terms, linguistic data, or emphasized elements. Spelling conventions used by the author were retained. Example sentences were renumbered continuously from Chapters 1 to 5, assigning sentence numbers to the unnumbered ones, and adding translations to those without them. Chapter Endnotes were placed at the end of each chapter, followed by the Editor's Notes on the acceptability of example sentences, translations added, and other notations. The digital file I worked on was retyped by Ms. Cora Larobis. Our Ilokano and Tagalog consultants were Mr. Kevin Saure and Ms. Ria Rafael.

Following Prof. Malicsi's advice, I toned down some of Prof. Cubar's "caustic remarks". While this is a softened version of the manuscript, it maintains Prof. Cubar's articulation of his ideas, analyses, and critique of other works on the topic at hand. For those interested to read the original work, you can find it at the Filipiniana Section of the Main Library of the University of the Philippines Diliman.

Farah C. Cunanan
Issue Editor

Table of Contents

	Introduction: A Student Remembers	i
	Notes from the Editor	iii
	List of Symbols and Abbreviations	vi
	Preface to the Original Manuscript	vii
Chapter 1	Subject and Subjectivalization	1
Chapter 2	Topicalization	31
Chapter 3	Equational Sentences	54
Chapter 4	A Critique of Constantino's Analysis	72
Chapter 5	Some Remarks on Focus Constructions	100
	References	107

List of Symbols and Abbreviations

∅	null segment / no overt morpheme
*	ungrammatical construction
?	relatively unacceptable construction
1	innermost / first possessive adjunct
2	second (possessive) adjunct
3	outermost / third (possessive) adjunct
Agt	Agent
CV	consonant-vowel
Eng.	English
LIG.	ligature
lbg.	Ibanag
IC	Immediate Constituent
Ilk.	Ilokano / Ilocano
InM	inversion marker
N	noun
NEG	negative / negation
NP	noun phrase
Obj	object
Pamp.	Pampango / Kapampangan
PossP	possessive phrase
q	glottal stop
pro	pronoun
S	sentence
T	topic
Tag.	Tagalog
V	verb

Preface to the Original Manuscript

This volume is an outgrowth of a projected paper on certain aspects of topicalization in Ilocano and Tagalog which I had meant to present at the First International Conference on Comparative Austronesian Linguistics in Honolulu in January 1974. For that paper I had planned to re-examine the relationship between the basic subject-predicate structure and various types of inversion and word order changes. I felt that there were still many poorly understood details concerning this relationship. Unfortunately, certain difficulties arose and I had to abandon the plan.

When the University Social Sciences and Humanities Research Committee finally approved my application for research funds late in November 1973, I decided to continue what I had begun. I decided to include more languages. In this final report, however, I cited almost exclusively only from Tagalog and Ilocano, since the processes and phenomena under investigation turned out to be the same in all the languages and dialects studied.

I was assisted in the gathering of data and in the typing of the manuscript by Miss Elizabeth D. Alviar and Miss Elsie N. Rojo, who worked as research aides. I profited a lot from my discussions with my wife, Nelly I. Cubar.

E.H.C.
Quezon City
December 1975

Chapter 1

Subject and Subjectivalization

There is unanimity in the literature on Philippine languages that the first or primary Immediate Constituent (IC) cut in the sentences in (1) occurs before the phrase marked by *ang*.

- (1) Tag. (a) Tumakbo / ang aso.
ran-away the dog
'The dog ran away.'
- (b) Bumili ng lapis / ang bata.
bought a pencil the child
'The child bought a pencil.'
- (c) Kinagat ng ahas / ang kambing.
bitten by-a snake the goat
'The goat was bitten by a snake./A snake bit the goat.'

The first constituent, the one before the virgule, is called **predicate** by most students of Philippine languages. A few call it **comment**. There is less unanimity regarding the term to use when referring to the second constituent. It has been variously called **subject** by some, **topic** by others, and **focus-complement** by a third group. Some (e.g., Llamzon 1973) discourse on the functional relationship between the two major constituents without mentioning any of the traditionally accepted terms by which these constituents are known. Terminological differences should be of no importance so long as we know what is being referred to by a term, but sometimes, they can initially cause some difficulty for one who is only familiar with the traditional acceptations of the terms. Some of the labels under discussion have in fact acquired meanings that are different from their usage outside Philippine linguistics. The difficulty can even be serious especially when the terms are used arbitrarily as though the notions that they stand for did not have any invariant semantic interpretation. We shall see in later chapters how theoretical disagreements have been made more difficult to resolve by the use of established terms to refer to phenomena with which they have

not been traditionally associated.

All major works on Philippine languages prior to 1958, the year of the publication of McKaughan's study on "The Inflection and Syntax of Maranao Verbs," consistently used *subject* and *predicate*. Bloomfield (1917), Blake (1925), and Lopez (1940), as well as leading pedagogical texts like Alejandro (1947) and Aspillera (1956) used the terms with their traditional meanings. A few other linguists who are currently active, notably Constantino (1965, 1970, 1971a, 1971b) and Gonzalez (1972), still retain the terms.

McKaughan (1973) explains that when he moved away in his 1958 and 1962 works from the traditional use of the term *subject* as well as other related terms, he did so in the belief that "one just cannot understand Philippine language grammar with the traditional meaning of terms in current use" (p. 206) and that Philippine language grammar being "so unlike English... one should use terms that would emphasize the difference" (p. 206). But he retained *subject* to refer always to the actor of an action no matter what the form, and introduced the term *topic* exclusively for the noun complement introduced by *so*, the Maranao marker that corresponds to Tagalog *ang*. A number of students have followed McKaughan's usage. Practically all members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) in the Philippines have. Some other workers like Benton (1971) and Ramos (1971) have decided that *subject* and *topic* may be used interchangeably, and for Ramos (p. 77), so may *predicate* and *comment*.

The third term -- *focus-complement* -- was introduced by Pike in 1963 (p. 217). It does not seem to have caught on despite the fact that it expresses the functional meaning of *ang* phrases more adequately than *topic* does. Most students, e.g., Reid (1966), prefer McKaughan's *topic* because it is less cumbersome and is more firmly established (p. 11, n. 28).

The most recent attempt to justify the use of *topic* rather than *subject* is found in Schachter and Otones (1972). They say that while there is a perfect correspondence between the topic of a Tagalog sentence and the subject of the equivalent English sentence in numerous cases, there are also many instances in which a Tagalog topic is not translatable by an English subject. Conversely, there are also many instances in which an English subject is not translatable by a Tagalog topic. They cite the following example:

- (2) Tag. Ginising ng ingay ang bata.
Eng. A noise awakened the child.

The Tagalog topic *ang bata* corresponds to the object *the child* in the English sentence, and the English subject *a noise* corresponds to the Tagalog object *ng ingay*. As the example indicates (and as many other examples from Philippine languages would indicate), a Philippine topic never expresses a meaning of indefiniteness while an English subject may or may not.¹ Another important difference between a topic and a subject that Schachter and Otnes cite is the fact that “in the great majority of cases, the semantic relation of an English subject to its verb is the relation of performer to action” (p. 60). In Tagalog, on the other hand, “no such general semantic relation obtains between topic and verb” (p. 60).

I propose that for every distinct process or structure there should be a separate term. In this work then, I shall reserve the term **subject** for the *ang* phrases in (1). The process of forming a subject by marking one of the complements with *ang* (except in existential sentences), by the redundant use of a verbal affix that indicates the case or *role* or semantic relation of the subject to the verb, and by the transposition of this chosen or favored complement to the end of the sentence will be called **subjectivalization**.² In this respect I am in agreement with Gonzalez (1972). This usage obviates the use of the qualifying words *primary* and *secondary* to designate two different processes. Thus, Fillmore’s *primary topic* (1968, p. 57) and SIL’s *topic* will simply be *subject*.³

Note that Fillmore says **topicalization processes** (plural). This means that the terms may refer to a number of diverse phenomena. In fact, under secondary topicalization he includes “stylistic changes involving stress assignment, late word-order changes, and possibly the ‘cleft-sentence construction’” (1968, p. 57). I do not see any merit in calling different phenomena by the same term. I shall therefore use **topic** as Hockett (1958) uses it: “The most general characterization of predicative constructions is suggested by the terms ‘topic’ and ‘comment’ for their ICs: the speaker announces a topic and then says something about it” (p. 201). In Philippine languages then, the topic is that constituent that is transposed to the beginning of the sentence without any overtones of emphasis. In some languages there is a **ligature** or **order marker** (Constantino, 1965, p. 101) or **inversion-marking particle** (Schachter and Otnes, 1972, p. 485) between the topic and the comment. The marker is *ay* in Tagalog and *ket* in Ilocano. It may be omitted and replaced by a sustained juncture. It is easy to overlook the role of this juncture because it is often very slight, especially in fairly rapid speech. But in so far as I can ascertain, it is always present in topic-comment constructions, unless of course the inversion marker is used. This appears to be the case

even in languages where the subject-predicate arrangement seems to have become the normal word order (Constantino, 1965, n. 20).

Topicalization in our sense is clearly distinct from subjectivalization. The preposed element in topicalization is what the speaker announces as his topic, what he is going to comment on. There is no such preposing or announcing in subjectivalization. We must take care, however, that we do not confuse topicalization with what Gonzalez calls **highlighting**, a process in which an N is fronted and in effect “becomes the most important item in the sentence, instead of V” (1972, p. 121).⁴

We shall discuss topicalization and topicalizable constituents in detail in Chapter 2.

We shall now turn to a survey of possible subjects and to the problem of identifying them in certain sentence types and constructions.

POSSIBLE SUBJECTS

The subject of a sentence may be a simple noun, a pronoun, a demonstrative, a nominalized form, or a full predication. In the examples below, the subjects in the Philippine language sentences and the phrases that correspond to them in the gloss are underlined.

A. Simple Nouns

- (3) Tag. Mataba ang bata.
Ilk. Nalukmeg ti ubing.
‘The child is fat.’
- (4) Tag. Kumakain ng damo ang kambing.
‘The goat is eating some grass.’⁵
- (5) Tag. Nag-aaral sa UST si Isabel.
Ilk. Agad-adal idiyay UST ni Isabel.
‘Isabel studies at UST.’
- (6) Tag. Mas mabigat ang tubig kaysa sa langis.
Ilk. Nadagdagsen ti danum ngem iti lana.
‘Water is heavier than oil.’⁶

B. Pronouns

- (7) Tag. Nanalo ako.
Ilk. Nangabak ak.⁷
‘I won.’

- (8) Tag. Nawala ang akin.
 Ilk. Napukaw ti kuak.
 ‘Mine got lost.’

C. Demonstratives

- (9) Tag. Maganda ito.
 Ilk. Napintas daytoy.
 ‘This is pretty.’
- (10) Tag. Kay Mercedita iyán.
 Ilk. Kua ni Mercedita dayta.
 ‘That is Mercedita’s.’

D. Nominalized Forms

Following Schachter and Otanes (1972), I shall use the term **nominalized form** to refer to any non-nominal marked by *ang*. The non-nominal head may be a verb base, a basic form of the verb, a gerund, a full verb, an adjective, or an adverb.

Verb Base

- (11) Tag. Mabilis ang takbo ni Jose.
 Ilk. Napartak ti taray ni Jose.
 ‘Jose’s running was fast.’
- (12) Tag. Sa Linggo ang dating ng Presidente.
 Ilk. Inton Domingo ti sangpet ni Presidente.
 ‘The President’s arrival is on Sunday.’

Basic Verb Form

- (13) Tag. Mahirap ang magtanim ng palay.
 Ilk. Narigat ti agmula iti pagay.
 ‘To plant rice is difficult.’

In Ilocano and possibly in some other languages, the present progressive rather than the basic form is used when the action is habitual, as in (14) and (15):

- (14) Basol ti aguy-uyaw.
 ‘It is a sin to despise (other people) habitually.’
- (15) Nakababain ti agut-utang.
 ‘It is shameful to borrow habitually.’

In (13)-(15) the nominalized verb forms refer to general actions without specific actors. For this reason, it would probably be incorrect to analyze them as coming from full predications. The case of (16) below seems to be different. The noun in the higher sentence (i.e., *natin*, *tayo*) is understood to be the performer of the action indicated by the nominalized verb. The nominalized verb may therefore be analyzed as coming from an embedded full clause whose subject has been deleted, being co-referential and identical with the noun in the higher clause. The underlying form of (16) would be (17).

- (16) Tag. Iwasan natin ang pagsasalita ng masama.
Ilk. Liklikan tayo ti panagsao iti dakes.
'Let us avoid saying bad words.'
- (17) Tag. Iwasan natin (magsalita tayo ng masama).
Ilk. Liklikan tayo (agsao tayo iti dakes).

The sentences in (16) and in (18) and (19) below are examples of *gerundive nominals*.

- (18) Tag. Nabalitaan ko ang pagtatagumpay ni Jose.
Ilk. Nadamag ko ti panagballigi ni Jose.
'I heard about Jose's winning/victory.'
- (19) Tag. Nabalitaan ko ang pagkasira ng kotse ni Joe.
Ilk. Nadamag ko ti pannakadadael ti kotse ni Joe.ⁱ
'I heard about the destruction of Joe's car.'

The full form of the embedded clause in (18) would be *Nagtagumpay si Jose, Nagballigi ni Jose*. In (19) it would be *Nasira ang kotse ni Joe, Nadadael ti kotse ni Joe*.

Full Verbs⁸

- (20) Tag. Kilala ko ang nagtanim nito.
Ilk. Am-ammok ti nagmula iti daytoy.
'I know the (one who) planted this.'
- (21) Tag. Maganda ang nasa tabi ng dagat.
Ilk. Napintas daydiay adda iti igid ti baybay.
'The (one) by the sea is beautiful.'
- (22) Tag. Umuwi na ang mga dumalaw kagabi.
Ilk. Nagawiddan dagiti immay nagpassiar idi rabii.
'The (ones who) came to visit last night have gone home.'

Adjectives or Adjectival

- (23) Tag. Ibinigay ko sa kaniya ang bago.
 Ilk. Inted ko kenkuana ti baro.
 ‘I gave the new (one) to him.’
- (24) Tag. Bagong-bago ang para sa iyo.
 Ilk. Kabarbarona ti para kenka.
 ‘The (one) for you is brand new.’
- (25) Tag. Mas gusto ko ang tungkol sa buhay ni Hitler.
 Ilk. Kaykayat ko diay maipanggep iti biag ni Hitler.
 ‘I prefer the (one) about Hitler’s life.’
- (26) Tag. Nawala ang isa.
 Ilk. Napukaw ti maysa.
 ‘One got lost.’

I have followed Schachter and Otnes in including under adjectival such phrases as *para sa iyo* and *tungkol sa buhay ni Hitler*. It is obvious that they are not true adjectives, but there is nothing of importance that crucially depends on how they are classified in so far as the present study is concerned. What is important is that the nominal nature of the entire *ang* phrase is clearly understood.

Adverbs

- (27) Tag. Mas matamis ang kahapon.
 ‘The (one) yesterday was sweeter.’

E. Full Predication

An embedded full predication used as subject may be a statement as in (28) and (29), an imperative as in (30) and (31), or an interrogative as in (32)-(35).

- (28) Tag. Totoo na nagtanan sina Elsie at Rupert.
 Ilk. Agpayso a nagtaray da Elsie ken Rupert.
 ‘It is true that Elsie and Rupert eloped.’
- (29) Tag. Sinabi ko na hindi ako makakapunta.
 Ilk. Imbagak a saanak a makapan.
 ‘I said that I would not be able to go.’

- (30) Tag. Ipinagbilin ko na huwag silang magsinungaling.
Ilk. Imbilinko a dida agul-ulbod.
'I told (them) not to tell a lie.'
- (31) Tag. Iniutos ng Pangulo na magtipid tayo ng koryente.
Ilk. Imbilin ni Presidente nga agin-inut tayo iti koriente.
'The President told us to save on electricity.'
- (32) Tag. Hindi ko alam kung saan nakatira si Gani.
Ilk. Saanko nga ammo no sadino ti taeng ni Gani.
'I don't know where Gani lives.'
- (33) Tag. Ipinaliwanag niya kung paano nawala ang libro.
Ilk. Inlawlawagna no kasano ti pannakapukaw ti libro.
'He explained how the book got lost.'
- (34) Tag. Itinanong ni Jose kung bakit mababa ang grade niya.
Ilk. Sinaludsod ni Jose no apay a nababa ti grade na.
'Jose asked why his grade was low.'
- (35) Tag. Ibig namin malaman kung sino ang kumurot kay Helen.
Ilk. Kayatmi maamuan no sino ti kimmuddot kenni Helen.
'We want to know who pinched Helen.'

Note that a ligature introduces a noun clause used as subject. If the embedded clause is declarative or imperative, the ligature is *na/-ng* in Tagalog and *a/nga* in Ilocano. If it is interrogative, the ligature is *kung* (Ilk. *no*), literally 'if'. The interrogative pronoun or adverb is retained if the embedded clause is a special question. If the clause is of the yes-no type, only *kung* (*no*) is used and the question particle *ba* (*ga*) (Ilk. *kadi*) is omitted.

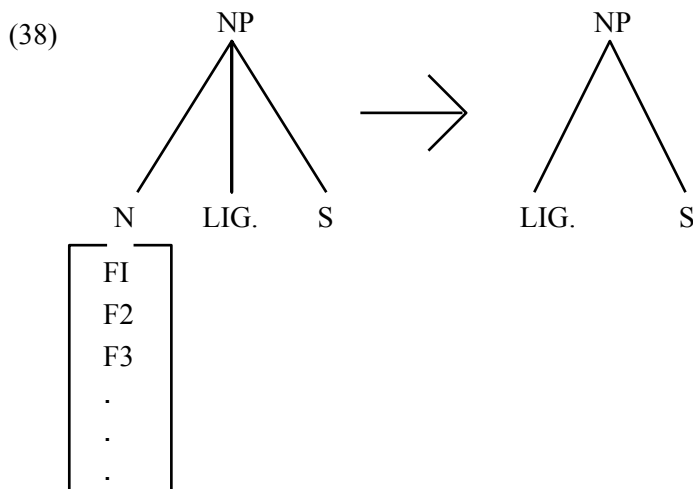
FURTHER REMARKS ON FULL CLAUSES AS SUBJECT

The observation in the preceding section that there are two forms of the subject marker -- one for a noun or a nominalized or substantivized expression and another for a clause -- is accepted by students of Philippine languages. I shall suggest in the following discussion that the ligature is probably not a subject marker but a **complement marker**, and that *ang*, or its equivalent in other Philippine languages, is the only subject marker.

Consider the following:

- (36) Tag. Totoo ang balita na nagtanan sina Elsie at Rupert.
 Ilk. Pudno ti damag a nagtaray da Elsie ken Rupert.
 true the news LIG. ran-away Elsie and Rupert
 ‘The news that Elsie and Rupert eloped is true.’
- (37) Tag. Totoo na nagtanan sina Elsie at Rupert.
 Ilk. Pudno a nagtaray da Elsie ken Rupert.
 true LIG. ran-away Elsie and Rupert
 ‘That Elsie and Rupert eloped is true.’

The subject phrase in (36) has a head noun (*balita, damag* ‘news’) but the subject phrase in (37) has none. Yet (36) and (37) are completely synonymous. The best explanation for the synonymy that readily comes to mind is that the subject phrase in (37) has a deleted underlying head noun. But what is the deleted word? Is it the Philippine word for *news, suspicion, rumor, or report*? It would seem that the word for any one of these would be equally acceptable. One objection that may be raised to the proposed analysis, then, is that it violates the constraint that only when a deleted element is recoverable may a deletion transformation be postulated. The objection is valid, no doubt, but only if we restrict the meaning of deletion to lexical deletion. It is therefore proposed that the deletion rule be made to apply pre-lexically. We may say that some node N in (37) which corresponds to the node dominating *balita* and *damag* in (36) is deleted before the specific lexical item is inserted. Such a node would only have under it some semantic feature indicating the basic meaning common to all nouns of the same class as *balita*. A rough approximation of the underlying structure and the surface structure of the subject in (36) and (37) is shown in (38).



The head noun *balita* belongs to a small class of nouns like *ulat* ‘report,’ *bulungbulungan* ‘rumor,’ *hinala* ‘suspicion,’ *sumbong* ‘complaint,’ *patalastas* ‘announcement,’ *paratang* ‘accusation,’ *pahayag* ‘statement,’ and *kuwento* ‘story.’ A noun of this kind is abstract and refers to the content of a statement rather than to the text as a physical object. But it may also have a non-abstract meaning. The contrast between the two meanings is shown in (39) and (40).

- (39) Ang report na ibinigay ko ay maikli lamang.
‘The report that I gave was short.’
- (40) Ang report na nagbigay ako ng tulong sa KM ay hindi totoo.
‘The report that I gave help to the KM is not true.’

In (39), *report* refers to the text, the physical object on paper or the sounds, words, and sentences delivered orally, while in (40) it refers to the content of the statement *I gave some help to the KM*. In (39), the clause *na ibinigay ko* is a relative clause modifying *report*. In (40), the clause *na nagbigay ako ng tulong sa KM* is a complement amplifying or spelling out the meaning of *report*. The orthodox analysis of the first clause (the relative) is that it has a deleted noun phrase which is equivalent to the head noun *ang report*. The clause in (40) does not have any such deleted phrase.⁹

Another piece of evidence that points to the presence of an underlying head noun before a noun clause is the fact that a noun clause without a surface head cannot be topicalized. All topicalized elements, it seems, are lexemic elements. Thus (41) and (42) are grammatical but (43) is not:

- (41) Tag. Ang report na nabilanggo si Jose ay totoo.
Ilk. Ti report a naibalud ni Jose ket pudno.
‘The report that Jose was jailed is true.’
- (42) Tag. Ang report ay totoo.
Ilk. Ti report ket pudno.
‘The report is true.’
- (43) Tag. *Na nabilanggo si Jose ay totoo.
Ilk. *A naibalud ni Jose ket pudno.
‘That Jose was imprisoned is true.’

Some informants claim that the Tagalog sentence in (43) is grammatical, but it is likely that their judgment is influenced by their familiarity with English, where a *that* clause may be used as a subject. Some informants have become so influenced by

English that they now feel that *That Jose was jailed* is true and the ungrammatical **Na nabilanggo si Jose ay totoo* match perfectly. The match for the English sentence is the normal Tagalog *Totoo na nabilanggo si Jose*. The structural equivalent in English of the ungrammatical sentence would be equally ungrammatical: **That Jose was jailed, it is true*, where *it* is not the anticipatory *it* but a pronominal equivalent of the preposed (topicalized) clause, exactly as *he* is a pronominal equivalent of *Jose* in *As for Jose, he will be coming to the party alone*. The way (41)-(43) are glossed is in fact a perfect illustration of the confused basis of the judgment that Philippine sentences with a topicalized noun clause are grammatical. Incidentally, the few who thought the sentences grammatical were all native speakers of Tagalog who have done most of their writing in English.

THE SO-CALLED "SUBJECTLESS SENTENCES"

There is a class of sentences in Philippine languages that do not have an *ang* phrase, besides those whose subject is a noun clause. They consist only of predicatives, with or without modifiers and complements. Sentences of this kind are traditionally described as *topicless* (**subjectless**, in this monograph). The following are typical examples:

- (44) Tag. May aso sa bakuran.
'There is a dog in the yard.'
- (45) Ilk. Agtutudo.
Tag. Umuulan.
'It is raining.'
- (46) Tag. Lunes kahapon.
'It was Monday yesterday.'
- (47) Ilk. Alas dosen.
'It is twelve o'clock.'
- (48) Ilk. Adu unay a saludsod mo.
'You ask too many questions.'
- (49) Tag. Gusto ko nito.
'I want this.'

- (50) Tag. Kagigising ko lamang.
'I have just awakened.'
- (51) Tag. Napakatamad mo.
'You are very lazy.'
- (52) Tag. Ang ganda ng babai.
'How beautiful the woman is.'
- (53) Tag. Maraming trabaho.
'There's lots of work.'

If we follow an analysis that takes account of surface structures only, there is indeed no other way of describing the sentences above than to call them subjectless. They do not have a phrase marked by *ang*. But if we follow the generative transformationalists, who recognize the existence of deep structures, and if we add to their formulations some of the recent proposals by generative semanticists, we may be able to show that most of the so-called "subjectless sentences," if not all of them, do have subjects.

There is no complete agreement on the number of types of subjectless sentences nor is there consistency in the terminology used in describing these sentences. The classification used by Ramos (1971) and by Schachter and Otnes (1972) seems to include all the important types, and it will therefore be adopted here.

A. Existential Sentences

An existential sentence consists of an existential verb (e.g., Tag. *may*, Ilk. *adda*) and an indefinite noun. There may or may not be any modifiers. The following are typical examples:

- (54) Tag. May aso sa bakuran.
Ilk. Adda aso idiy inaladan.
exist a dog in the yard
'There is a dog in the yard.'
- (55) Tag. Walang tubig sa balde.
Ilk. Awan ti danum idiy timba.
not-exist water in the pail
'There is no water in the pail.'

- (56) Tag. Nagkaroon ng gulo sa sayawan.
 Ilk. Adda gulo idiyay salaan.
 ‘There was confusion/trouble at the dance.’
- (57) Tag. May dumating kahapon.
 Ilk. Adda simmangpet idi kalman.
 ‘There was (someone who) arrived yesterday./
 Someone arrived yesterday.’

There is no *ang* phrase in these sentences, and for this reason they are called “subjectless” by some linguists. I believe otherwise. There *is* a subject -- only, it is indefinite. In Philippine languages, there is only one way to introduce an indefinite noun as subject in a discourse. Its existence must first be asserted, and the assertion of existence (the verb *may* and *adda*) constitutes the predicate of the sentence. This is about the existence of an indefinite noun.

Some linguists distinguish two meanings of *may*, apart from its possessive meaning. Schachter and Otanes (Sec. 4.23), for example, would consider (54)-(56) as instances of the existential use of *may* and (57) as an instance of its indefinite use. The reason seems to be that in the first three sentences there is a lexically specified noun, whereas in the last there is none. The distinction is of no relevance to the question of whether there is or there is no subject of sentences typified by (54)-(57). They are all assertions of the existence of something. As the gloss of (57) shows, the existence of someone who arrived yesterday is being asserted. The speaker assumes that the existence of *aso*, *tubig* (*danum*), *gulo*, and the “someone” that arrived is unknown to the hearer.

The possessive use of *may* is formally distinguished from its existential use mainly by the use of the definite possessor as subject, as in *May aso ang bata* ‘The child has a dog’ and *May kotse si Jose* ‘Jose has a car.’ This description applies to Tagalog and probably to most languages in the Philippines. But in Ilocano and some other languages in Northern Luzon, possession is generally expressed in an existential sentence form. The definite possessor is not the subject but an adjunct to the possessed phrase. Thus *I have a car* would be translated as *Adda kotse-k*, literally, ‘There exists/is a car which is mine’ or ‘There is a car of mine.’

B. Phenomenal Sentences

This type is the most common of all the so-called “subjectless sentences”.¹⁰ The

following are typical examples:

- (58) Tag. Umulan.
Ilk. Nagtudo/Timmudo.
'(It) rained.'
- (59) Tag. Lumindol.
Ilk. Naggingined.
'There was an earthquake.'
- (60) Tag. Madilim na.
Ilk. Nasipngeten.
'It is already dark.'
- (61) Tag. Alas dose na.
Ilk. Alas dosen.
'It is twelve o'clock.'
- (62) Tag. Martes ngayon.
Ilk. Martes ita.
'It is Tuesday today.'
- (63) Tag. A kinse ng Oktubre ngayon.
Ilk. Kinse ti Oktubre ita.ⁱⁱ
'It is the fifteenth of October today.'

Ramos (1971, p. 163) would consider (61)-(63) a separate type and would call them **temporal sentences**. There is good reason for setting them up as a separate group, but for the moment let us address ourselves to the question of whether or not (58)-(63) have a subject-predicate structure. Take *umulan*, for instance. The verbal affix is *-um-*. In a non-phenomenal sentence it would signal that the subject is an agent or agent-like complement, as in *Tumakbo ang kabayo* 'The horse ran away.' But what does *-um-* signal in *umulan*? What is it that is *madilim*, *alas dose*, *Martes*, or *kinse*? Chafe (1970) suggests that we have an "ambient" verb in each of the sentences above, a verb (*predicate* would be a more traditional term) that refers to or is descriptive of the all-encompassing environment or surroundings. When it rains, the whole surrounding space is involved. When one says *It's dark* and he is in a room, he is describing the whole surrounding space in the room. What is being described is clearly understood, as evidenced by the fact that no hearer would ask what it is that is raining, dark, cold, or windy. We may therefore say that *raining*, *dark*, *windy*, and other ambient predicates

are being asserted of something. That something must be the subject of the sentence.

For action ambient predicates, i.e., those with *-um-* or *mag-* like Tag. *umulan* and *lumindol* and Ilk. *naggurruod* and *nagkimat* ‘thundered’ and ‘flashed (as lightning)’ respectively, we may postulate an underlying structure consisting of a V that is lexically unspecified and a noun stem like *ulan* ‘rain,’ *lindol* ‘earthquake,’ *gurruod* ‘thunder,’ and *kimat* ‘lightning’ as a subject, probably an agentive one. The derivation would consist of the incorporation into the V (or insertion into the V slot or verbalization) of the subject, thus leaving the subject slot empty in the surface structure. This is not an implausible analysis, as there are non-Philippine languages in which the verb is realized differently from the underlying subject. Thus in Japanese we have:

- (64) Ame ga hutte imasu.¹¹
 rain falling is
 ‘It is raining.’

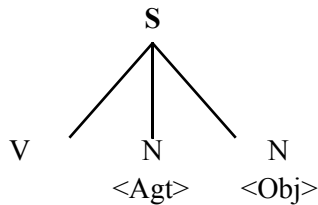
In Thai, I understand, phenomenal sentences like (64) also have verbs that are not lexically the same as the subject. This should not be surprising, for even in many Philippine languages there are sentences like,

- (65) Tag. Bumagsak ang ulan.
 fell the rain
 ‘The rain fell.’
- (66) Ilk. Idi agdisso ti napigsa a tudo...
 when fell the strong rain
 ‘When the rain suddenly fell in torrents...’

A further observation to make is that a phenomenal sentence with an action predicate behaves exactly like a non-phenomenal sentence in which the agentive has been verbalized (i.e., used as a verb stem). Note the similarity between (67) and (68):

- (67) Tag. Linanggam ang asukal.
 attacked-by-ants the sugar
 ‘The sugar was attacked by ants.’ⁱⁱⁱ
- (68) Tag. Inulan ang pista.
 spoiled-by-rain the fiesta
 ‘The fiesta was spoiled by rain.’

Like *langgam*, *ulan* is felt as an agentive. A common underlying structure of the two sentences would be something like:



If the V were realized as a specific verb, theoretically *langgam* and *ulan* could occur as surface subject, contingent of course upon the meeting of certain requirements for subjectivalization.

There is further evidence in support of the foregoing analysis in the fact that *Umulan* as well as other similar phenomenal sentences is often expressed in the form of an existential sentence. E.g.,

- (69) Tag. (a) Walang ulan.
 ‘There is no rain.’
 cf. Hindi umuulan.
 ‘It is not raining.’
 (b) Baka may ulan mamayang hapon.
 ‘There might be rain this afternoon.’
 cf. Baka umulan mamayang hapon.
 ‘It might rain this afternoon.’

Also, when we refer to the stopping of the rain, we often say *Tumigil na ang ulan* instead of *Hindi na umuulan*. *Tumigil*, as a specific realization of V, is an exact equivalent of NEG-V.

Other meteorological predicates do not seem to lend themselves as readily to the analysis that has been applied to *Umulan*. One possible explanation is that there are available verbs in the lexicon like Tag. *bumagsak* and Ilk. *agdisso* and *agbayakabak* ‘to fall in torrents’ whenever a more specific description of the falling of the rain is desired. But there are no specific verbs to describe the flashing of lightning and the quaking of the earth. Consequently, the occurrence of these phenomena can only be described in the most general terms by means of the verbalized forms of the noun stems. The necessity of verbalizing phenomenal nouns and the consequent emptiness of the subject slot may therefore be attributed to the existence of gaps in the lexicon.

A similar observation may be made concerning ambient stative predicates. Some may have a surface subject, as in:

- (70) Ilk. Nalamiis man ti panawenen.
 cold again the weather/climate/time
 ‘The weather is cold again.’^{iv}

But for most ambient statives it is not possible to supply a surface subject. The following are typical examples:

- (71) (a) Tag. Maginaw sa Alaska.
 cold in Alaska
 ‘It is cold in Alaska.’
- (b) Ilk. Nakapudpudot idi kalman.
 very-hot yesterday
 ‘It was very hot yesterday.’
- (c) Tag. Madilim sa storeroom.
 dark in the storeroom
 ‘It is dark in the storeroom.’

As mentioned earlier, stative predicates that are ambient refer to the enveloping space or surroundings. The lexicon does not provide terms for these. There are no words that may be used to refer to the surface and lower space in Alaska, or the space and atmosphere in the immediate surroundings of the speaker in (71b), or the space inside a storeroom. It is therefore impossible to supply a surface subject for each of the sentences in (71a)-(71c).¹²

C. Temporal Sentences

Temporal sentences, such as (75), (76), and (77) in the preceding section, refer to spans of time: hour, day, night, month, year, and other culturally determined events like Christmas, Lent, and seasons of the year. Sentences of this type may be divided into two groups. Typical of the first group are (72)-(75), and typical of the second group are (76)-(79):

- (72) Tag. Umaga na.
 ‘It’s daybreak/morning.’
- (73) Ilk. Rabiin.
 ‘It’s getting late in the night.’

- (74) Ilk. Kalgaw manen.
'It's dry season/summertime again.'
- (75) Tag. Tanghali na.
'It's getting late in the morning/nearing noontime.'
- (76) Ilk. Alas dosen.
'It's twelve o'clock.'
- (77) Tag. Disyembre ngayon.
'It's December.'
- (78) Ilk. Beinte ti Diciembre ita nga aldaw.
'It's the 20th of December today.'
- (79) Tag. Kaarawan ni Rizal ngayon.
'It's Rizal's birthday today.'

The predicates on the first group of sentences are usually asserted of points of time within a span that is not well delimited. Thus, one may say (72) to refer to any point of time between early dawn and sunrise, depending on the situation. A farmer, whose life style and occupation call for long working hours, would call early dawn *umaga* and would rouse his sons with the sentence *Umaga na*. A city socialite may have a different opinion about what to call *umaga*. There is no specific word for the time described by the predicates *umaga*, *kalgaw*, *rabii*, and *tanghali*. Thus, no subject is realized in the surface structure. If the hearer should ask what it is that is *umaga* or *tanghali*, he would probably be called a *pilosopo* (philosopher). The first speaker would find it hard to give an answer, although he knows that he was describing something.

The predicates in the second group of sentences describe time segments that are well delimited. *Alas dose* 'twelve o'clock' refers to hour, *Disyembre* to month, *beinte ti Diciembre* '20th of December' to date, and *kaarawan* 'birthday' to day. The subject of a sentence of the second type may therefore be realized as the word for hour (*oras*), month (Tag. *buwan*, Ilk. *bulan*), date (Ilk. *petsa* or *mabilang*, Tag. *petsa*), year (Tag. *taon*, Ilk. *tawen*), or even week (Ilk. *lawas*). Thus, it is perfectly natural to say (the underlined words are the subjects):

- (80) Ilk. 1937 ti tawen ti ipapatay ni Don Carlos.
1937 the year of the death of Don Carlos.
'The year of Don Carlos's death was 1937.'

- cf. 1976-en.
'It's 1976.'
- (81) Ilk. Beinte dos ti Diciembre ti mabilang
22nd of December the date
ita nga aldaw.
today
'The date today is December 22.'
- cf. Beinte dos ti Diciembre ita nga aldaw.
22nd of December today
'It's the 22nd of December today.'
- (82) Ilk. Biernes ti aldaw ti pannakayanak ko.
Friday the day of my birth
'The day of my birth was a Friday.'
- cf. Biernes idi kalman.
Friday yesterday
'It was Friday yesterday.'

A surface subject is often necessary in a temporal sentence that is in the form of a question. E.g.,

- (83) Ilk. (a) Ania ti orasen?
what the time now
'What is the time now?''
Possible reply: Alas dosen (ti oras).
'(It is) twelve o'clock.'

(Note that because the subject *ti oras* has been dropped in the reply the particle *en/n* is attached to the predicate.)

- (b) Ania ti mabilang ita?
what the date today
'What is the date today?'
Possible reply: Kinse ti Enero (ti mabilang ita).
'(It is) the 15th of January.'

D. Sentences with “Pseudo-Verbs” as Predicate

Schachter and Otones consider the following words in Tagalog as belonging to a “small class of adjectivals... which have verb-like meanings, but which, unlike genuine verbs, are incapable of inflection to show variation in aspect” (1972, p. 261).

<i>ayaw</i>	does not want (to), would not like (to)
<i>kailangan</i>	needs (to), ought to, must, should
<i>dapat</i>	ought to, must, should
<i>gusto</i>	likes (to), would like (to), wants (to)
<i>ibig</i>	likes (to), would like (to), wants (to)
<i>maaari</i>	can, may, could, might
<i>nais</i>	likes (to), would like (to), wants (to)
<i>puwede</i>	can, may, could, might

There are equivalents of these words in all Philippine languages. There should in fact be more than eight of them, especially in formal varieties of speech and writing.

Many sentences with pseudo-verbs as predicates do not have an *ang* phrase. Notice the following:

- (84) Tag. Ayaw ko na sa iyo.
‘I don’t like you anymore.’
- (85) Ilk. Kayatko (i)ti mangga a naata.
‘I want a green mango.’
- (86) Tag. Gusto niya nito.
‘He wants some of this.’

Sa iyo in (84) is considered by some linguists as the *sa* form of a definite object (Schachter and Otones, 1972, p. 263). *Iti mangga a naata* in (85) and *nito* in (86) are supposed to be indefinite objects. These are objects all right, but they are objects of some deleted verbs rather than of the pseudo-verbs *ayaw*, *kayat*, and *gusto*. There is a solid semantic basis for this analysis. We do not just want an object; we want to *do* something with it. Thus, if (84) is said by one child to another, it can mean:

- (87) Ayaw ko nang makipaglaro sa iyo.
‘I don’t want to play with you anymore.’

where *sa iyo* comes out as a directional (reciprocal?) phrase, or more generally a locative phrase. Similarly, a sentence like *Gusto ko sa Nation* ‘I want Nation’ can mean

Gusto kong manood sa Nation ‘I want to see a movie at Nation.’ Sentences (88) and (89)^{vi} can be the longer forms of (85) and (86) respectively:

- (88) Kayatko iti mangan iti naata a mangga.
‘I want to eat a green mango.’
- (89) Gusto niyang kumain (bumili, kumuha, etc.) nito.
‘He wants to eat (buy, get, etc.) some of this.’

The verb that is deleted in the last sentence would depend on the referent of *nito* and the situation. *Nito* is something eatable, so most likely the verb is *eat*. It can be *buy* if the sentence is uttered at a small sidewalk store. We can therefore analyze sentences (84)-(86) as complex sentences with an embedded clause as subject. Thus, the subject of the inner sentence is the same as the unfocused agentive in the higher clause. The full form of sentence (84) might be something like:

- (90) Ayaw ko na (makipaglaro ako sa iyo).
‘I don’t like anymore (I play with you).’

If this analysis is correct, then we can explain why some sentences with pseudo-verbs as predicates have subjects in the surface structure. We can analyze such sentences as having goal (object or locative) focus verbs. The *ang* phrase is the subject of the embedded clause. The unfocused agentive in the inner clause is co-referential with the agentive in the higher clause and is consequently deleted. Thus, the fuller form of (91) would be (92).

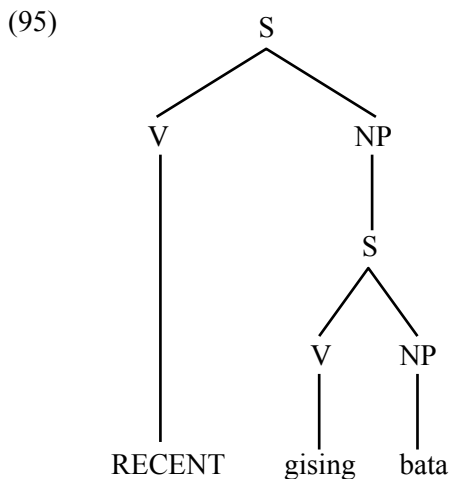
- (91) Ilk. Saan ko a kayat daytoy tinuno o bangos.
‘I don’t want this broiled bangos.’
- (92) Saan ko a kayat (sidaen-ko daytoy tinuno a bangos).
‘I don’t want (I eat this broiled bangos).’

E. Recent Perfective

In many Philippine languages, the recent perfective is expressed by the prefix *ka-* plus reduplication of part of the stem or all of it. The shape of the reduplicative varies from language to language. A sentence in the recent perfective does not have an *ang* phrase and is considered by many linguists as subjectless.¹³ E.g.,

- (93) Tag. Kagigising lamang ng bata.
 Ilk. Kaririing la unay ti ubing.
 ‘The child has just awakened.’
- (94) Tag. Kabibili ko lamang ng lapis.
 Ilk. Kagatgatanko la unay iti lapis.
 ‘I have just bought a pencil.’

A plausible explanation for the lack of an *ang* phrase in these sentences is the fact that what is being emphasized is the recency of the action, i.e., recency is in effect being predicated of the action or verbs *gising* and *bili*. Omitting irrelevant details, the surface of (93) would be something like (95):



Strictly speaking, the immediate constructional relation is between the semantic unit RECENT as the higher V or predicate and the higher NP as the subject. To achieve the intended emphasis on the recency of the action, only the higher V, realized as *ka-* plus CV- reduplication, is made to stand out. This is accomplished by not focusing any of the focusable constituents, including the subject of the embedded S. (There is no way of introducing the lower S with the appropriate ligature to mark it as the subject of the higher S.)

F. Existential Use of *Marami*

Schachter and Otnes regard *marami* ‘many, lots of’ as non-delimiting, i.e., as existential or indefinite. The following examples are theirs (1972, p. 280):

- (96) Tag. Maraming pagkain.
‘There’s lots of food.’
- (97) Maraming darating bukas.
‘A lot (of people) will arrive tomorrow.’
- (98) Marami bang mangyayari?
‘Will a lot (of things) happen?’
- (99) Marami nito roon.
‘There’s a lot of this there.’

If the gloss is any indication at all, the meaning of each of the above sentences is indeed existential. The existence of some indefinite noun (unspecified in 97 and 98) which is described as *marami* is being asserted. The question is whether the existential meaning is attributable to the word *marami* or not. It seems that the existential verb may have been deleted, as can be seen in the fact that (96), (97), and (98) may also be rendered as (100), (101), and (102) respectively:

- (100) May maraming pagkain.
‘There is lots of food.’^{vii}
- (101) May maraming darating bukas./
May darating na marami(ng tao) bukas.
‘There are many arriving tomorrow./
There are many (people) arriving tomorrow.’
- (102) May marami bang mangyayari bukas?
‘Will there be a lot (of things) happening tomorrow?’

If the analysis is correct, then the ligature *-ng* is the usual one that joins an adjective to the word that it modifies. (Some informants feel that even possessive sentences may have *may*, as in *May maraming trabaho si Celso* ‘Celso has lots of work to do.’)

Very often, a *marami* sentence may be analyzed as having a definite subject. In such a case, the vowel of the subject marker is said to have been elided, as it is often done in unstudied speech, as in *Anong gusto mo?* ‘What do you want?’ In studied speech it would be *Ano ang gusto mo?* In the proper context (96), (97), and (98) can be analyzed as (103), (104), and (105) respectively:

- (103) Marami ang pagkain.
'The food is plentiful.'
- (104) Marami ang darating bukas
'Those who will arrive tomorrow are many (in number).'
- (105) Marami ba ang mangyayari?
'Will the things to happen be many (in number)?'

In languages where the ligature and the subject marker are phonetically very distinct, it is relatively easy to determine whether the word corresponding to *marami* is being used existentially or as a predicate adjective. Thus in Ilocano, only the existential meaning is possible with the ligature *a/-ga*:

- (106) Adu a trabaho.
'(There is) lots of work.'

Unlike in Tagalog, however, the existential verb *adda* can not be inserted before *adu* (**Adda adu a trabaho*). With *ti*, *adu* can only be a predicate adjective.

- (107) Adu ti manokko.
'My chickens are many (in number).'
- (108) Adu ti trabahok ita.
'The work for me to do today is voluminous.'

EXCLAMATORY SENTENCES

Bloomfield (1917) considers exclamatory sentences as lacking subject-predicate structure. Ramos (1971) classifies them as belonging to the *topicless* type. Schachter and Otones (1972), on the other hand, do not discuss this type of sentence in terms of subject-predicate structure, but they suggest that exclamatory sentences have a regular structural relation to non-exclamatory sentences. They state the relation this way: "Any statement that includes a *ma-* adjective as predicate (in normal initial position) is convertible into an exclamation through a replacement of the prefix *ma-* by *ang*, *kay*, *ka-*, or *ano* plus the linker *-ng*, and a change of the topic *ang* phrase to a *ng* phrase" (p. 280). The following are their examples:

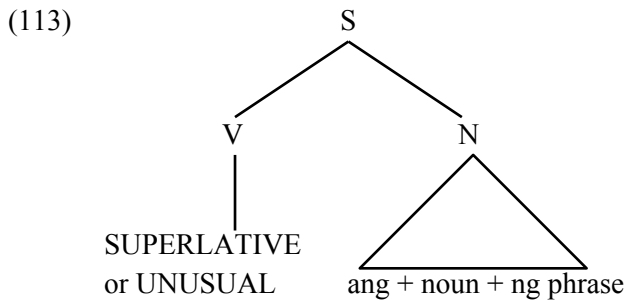
- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| (109) | Maganda ang dalaga. | Ang ganda ng dalaga. |
| | 'This girl is beautiful.' | Kay ganda ng dalaga. |
| | | Kaganda ng dalaga. |

- Anong ganda ng dalaga.
‘How beautiful the girl is!’
- (110) Mahusay ang pagtuturo niya. Ang husay ng pagtuturo niya!
 ‘His teaching is good.’ Kay husay ng pagtuturo niya!
 Kahusay ng pagtuturo niya!
 Anong husay ng pagtuturo niya!
 ‘How good his teaching is!’

A case can be made for the analysis of exclamatory sentences as predicateless, that is, they have no surface predicates. Observe that the predicate of a non-exclamatory sentence always corresponds to the head noun in the associated exclamatory sentence. Observe the following sentences:

- (111) Pagod siya. } Ang pagod niya!
 Napagod siya. } ‘How tired he was!’
- (112) Takot siya. } Ang takot niya!
 Natakot siya. } ‘How scared he was!’

The nominal nature of the exclamatory sentences in (109)-(112) is not accurately reflected in the usual English gloss. The English gloss has a predicative structure, whereas the type of exclamatory sentence shown above does not. A literal gloss like ‘The beauty of the girl!’ would be more accurate. A nominal expression like *Ang ganda ng dalaga!* cannot be analyzed as a sentence with a deleted subject. It cannot be a predicate, since an exclamatory sentence is not an equational sentence, which has a definite nominal phrase as predicate. If it is anything at all, the whole nominal phrase can only be a subject phrase. The predicate, or what is said about the subject, is not realized as a lexical item, but it is clear by the tone or pitch of his voice that the speaker is reporting his judgment concerning an abstract quality or property (in this case, *ganda*, *takot*, *gutom*). His judgment seems to be that the quality or property is superlative or unusual or unexpected. The speaker may therefore be said to be predicating superlativeness or unusualness of the quality expressed in *ganda* and *takot*. A possible representation of the structure of an exclamatory sentence of the type under discussion would be (5) (irrelevant details are omitted):



V is a cover symbol for predicate and SUPERLATIVE or UNUSUAL is a semantic rather than a lexical unit. In the surface structure, only a definite nominal phrase is realized, and the only manifestation of the predicate is some characteristic combination of pitch and stress.

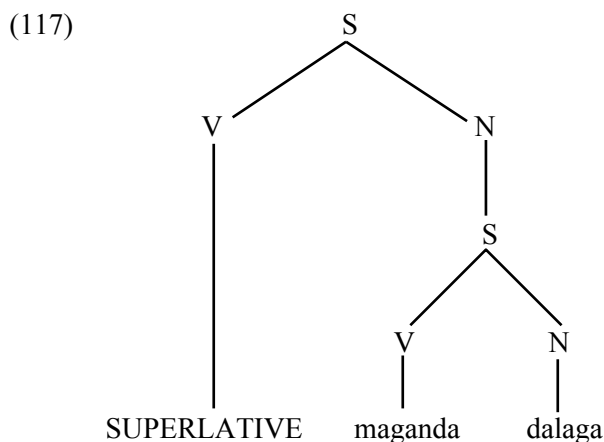
Let us return to Schachter and Otnes's claim that there is a regular structural relation between sentences like (114) and (115) (1972, p. 280).

(114) Maganda ang dalaga.
'The girl is beautiful.'^{viii}

(115) Ang ganda ng dalaga!
Kay ganda ng dalaga!
Kaganda ng dalaga!
Anong ganda ng dalaga!
'How beautiful the girl is!'

The suggested derivation is indeed quite simple from a purely formal point of view: replacement of *ma-* by *ang*, *kay*, *ka-*, or *ano* plus ligature, and change of the subject marker *ang* into *ng*. The statement and the associated exclamatory sentence, however, are semantically distinct from each other. (114) is a simple statement about a particular girl, while (115) contains all the information in (114) plus some more. The additional information is that the girl's beauty or her being beautiful is superlative, surpassing, or unusual. A sentence like (115) therefore seems to be more closely related, semantically at least, to a sentence like (116), whose underlying structure may be represented by the diagram in (117).

(116) Napakaganda ng babae!
'How beautiful the girl is!'



The absence of an *ang* phrase in (116) can be analyzed as the same phenomenon as its absence in a sentence where the tense is recent perfective. The focus is on the higher NP (i.e., the whole embedded S) in both cases. Since the focused NP dominates a lower S, the expected focus on the subject of the lower S is suppressed, i.e., *ang dalaga* appears in the surface structure as *ng dalaga*.

It is clear then that *Ang ganda ng dalaga* and *Napakaganda ng dalaga* are more closely related to each other than either of them is to *Maganda ang dalaga*. The structural relation postulated by Schachter and Otones between the last sentence and the first cannot be accepted on semantic grounds. The structure in (113) probably does not exist, and *Ang ganda ng dalaga* and *Napakaganda ng dalaga* probably share (117) as their common underlying structure. The derivations would be relatively simple: Lower the higher V and attach it as a prefix, realized as *napaka-*, to the V of the embedded S, and then insert *ng* before the lower N. This would give *Napakaganda ng dalaga*. To derive *Ang ganda ng dalaga*, simply insert the markers. The insertion of *ang* would be natural since *ganda* is definite, as superlatives normally are (e.g., *ang pinakamagandang hayop sa balat ng lupa* ‘the most beautiful animal on the surface of the earth,’ *ang pinakamarunong sa klase ni Professor Montero* ‘the brightest one in Professor Montero’s class’). *Ng* is of course the marker that captures the relationship between *ganda* and *dalaga*.

The derivation just described, needless to say, is highly tentative.

Endnotes to Chapter 1

¹ Constantino maintains in all his writings that a subject (Schachter and Otnes's topic) may also be indefinite. This is so because of his divergent notion of subject and predicate. His position and analysis will be discussed fully in Chapter 4.

A. Hidalgo (1969), if I understand her correctly, comes very close to saying in her discussion of emphasis that a topic may also be indefinite. She says, "The topic is proposed [*sic*] to the predicate, i.e., the topic locates at sentence initial position, and a particle which may or may not be homophonous to the topic when the topic is manifested by a common noun occurs between the topic and the predicate (e.g., *Bata ang natamaan* 'It is a child that is hit.')

(p. 259). She adds that, "the speaker may also make definite the referent of the topic" and in this case the topic marker precedes the topic (e.g., *Ang bata ang natamaan* 'It is the child that is hit.')

(p. 260). To her, then, *bata* and *ang bata* are the emphasized topics, and in this respect she agrees with Constantino. See *Equational Analysis* in Chapter 3 of the present work for a different analysis.

² By a simple movement transformation, the subject may be placed optionally in any one of a number of possible positions after the main word of the predicate to suit the stylistic preferences of the speaker. This secondary movement transformation is almost obligatory in cases where there are long phrases, such as unfocused complements or adverbials with modifiers between the head word of the predicate and the subject.

³ I agree with McKaughan (1973) that the term *subject* is "usefully universal" and that "it has the same meaning for every language" (p. 208). It refers to the constituent which is "in the most favored or primary relation to the verb" (p. 208), in the case of verbal sentences. It refers to the constituent about which something is said or asserted. See Chapter 3 of the present work for a discussion of the criteria or test of subjecthood.

⁴ Gonzalez's statement can be ambiguous. In one of the sentences that he gives as an instance of topicalization, there is a juncture between the fronted element and the rest of the sentence. In this case, his notion of topicalization is the same as mine. The example is (1972, p. 121):

- (a) Pamp. I Pedru babiye yang kualta kang Suan
'As for Pedro, he is giving <some> money to Juan.'

But he also cites the following as another instance of topicalization (1972, p. 121):

- (b) Pamp. Kang Suan ya babiye kualta i Pedru
'It is to Juan that Pedro is giving money.'

This sentence has an altogether different structure and semantic configuration from the first. As the gloss indicates, it is a cleft sentence. The phrase *Kang Suan* is highlighted but *i Pedru* in the first sentence is not. *Kang Suan* is what some linguists call **focus**

phrase, a constituent that has been promoted to a higher predicate position. See Chomsky (1969/1971, p. 199).

⁵ The gloss may also be ‘A/The goat eats grass.’ In Tagalog and Ilocano and many other Philippine languages, the verbal predicate of a generic noun subject is in the present progressive.

⁶ Sentence (6) may also have a non-generic meaning, as when we are comparing the weights of a specific quantity of water and a specific quantity of oil. In Philippine languages, a mass noun takes the same marker as that of any other common noun, whether it is used generically or specifically.

⁷ There are two sets of nominative pronouns in many Philippine languages. One set consists of usually shorter forms which are used as subject. The other set consists of longer forms and may be used only as predicate in an equational sentence or as topic in a topic-comment construction. Thus, in Ilocano, *siak* rather than *ak* is used in *Siak ti nangabak* ‘It was I who won’ where it is used predicatively, and in *Siak ket nangabak ak* ‘As for me, I won’ where it is the topic. In standard orthography, a pronoun used as subject is attached to the preceding word. It is written here as a separate word for easier identification.

⁸ There are two conflicting views concerning nominalized forms, especially verbs and adjectives. The majority of students of Philippine languages considers them as having the function of a noun. Constantino (1965, 1970, 1970a, 1970b) considers them verb phrases, adjective phrases, etc. Gonzalez (1972) analyzes them as nominals with an unrealized head to which a relative clause is attached.

⁹ See N. Cubar (1974) for further discussion of the difference between a noun complement and a relative clause, and for a list of abstract nouns that are possible heads of N-plus-complement constructions. The reader must be cautioned, though, that not all those listed are abstract nouns in the sense that *report* is abstract in sentence (40).

¹⁰ It should be noted that while I use some of Chafe’s terms I am not adopting his analysis.

¹¹ The example is from Kuno (1972, p. 286).

¹² This generalization needs qualification. If the space or surroundings described by an ambient predicate is co-terminous with a relatively small and well-defined and well-known entity, that entity is often used as the subject. E.g., we may say Ilk. *Nalamiis idiy uneg ti refrigerator* ‘It is cold inside the refrigerator’ or *Nalamiis ti uneg ti refrigerator* ‘The inside of the refrigerator is cold.’ If the space referred to is indefinite in extent or size, it is realized as a locative phrase, e.g., *Nalamiis ditoy ruar ti balay* ‘It is cold out here outside the house.’

¹³ This generalization does not seem to be applicable to all Philippine languages. In Pandan Bikol, for instance, ‘My brother has just arrived’ and ‘Luisa has just awakened’ would be *Mena abot pa sana ang akong pogto* and *Mena mata pa sana si Luisa*, with subject (*ang akong pogto* and *si Luisa*).

Editor's Notes to Chapter 1

ⁱ In conversations, the demonstrative *diay* is more commonly used instead of the definite marker *ti*. Cubar has additional remarks on the use of *diay* on page 83 of the manuscript.

ⁱⁱ Some dialects of Ilokano use *a kinse*, which retains the Spanish preposition *a*, or *maika-kinse*, with the ordinal affix *maika-*.

ⁱⁱⁱ Translation for (67) and (68) added.

^{iv} Translation for (70) and (71a-c) added.

^v Translation for (83a) and (83b) added

^{vi} Example sentence referred to corrected.

^{vii} Translation for (100)-(102) added.

^{viii} Translation for (114) and (115) added.

Chapter 2

Topicalization

Sentences (118)-(120) typify three different kinds of sentences in Philippine languages in which a constituent is placed in initial position instead of the usual post-predicative position. All three are related to sentence (121) but each in a different way. Sentence (121) has a normal word order, and it does not contain any constituent that is given special emphasis of any kind. We shall call it a **neutral** sentence. This designation will also apply to all emphasis-free sentences.

- (118) Tag. Kahapon ay namalengke si Pacita.
 Ilk. Idi kalman ket nakitienda ni Pacita.
 ‘Yesterday, Pacita went to market.’
- (119) Tag. Kahapon namalengke si Pacita.
 Ilk. Idi kalman a nakitienda ni Pacita.
 ‘It was yesterday that Pacita went to market.’
- (120) Tag. Kahapon, namalengke si Pacita (; kaninang umaga, hindi).
 Ilk. Idi kalman, nakitienda ni Pacita (; itay agsapa, saan).
 ‘Yesterday, Pacita went to market (; this morning, she did not).’
- (121) Tag. Namalengke si Pacita kahapon.
 Ilk. Nakitienda ni Pacita idi kalman.
 ‘Pacita went to market yesterday.’

The formal differences among the first three sentences are simple. In (118), the adverb is joined to the rest of the sentence by an *inversion marker* (Tag. *ay*, Ilk. *ket*). As mentioned in the preceding chapter, this marker may be dropped and replaced by a sustained juncture. Many Philippine languages do not have an inversion marker but all do have the juncture equivalent. In (119), there is no juncture after the fronted adverb, but there may be a ligature instead, as in Ilocano. In (120), the intonational break after the fronted element is much more pronounced than the juncture in (118); but as the gloss indicates, the three sentences differ markedly in terms of message.

Sentence (118) is probably the closest to the neutral sentence (121) in so far as meaning is concerned. It is in fact regarded by most linguists as a stylistic variant of (121). It should properly be classified as having a topic-comment structure, following Hockett's use of the term topic. What the speaker does in a sentence like this is to announce a topic -- in this case, a time element -- and then proceeds to say something significant about it. In the sense that the first position normally receives more prominence than any other part, we may say that the fronted adverb is to some extent *emphasized*. The real emphasis is found in (119). Here, the foregrounded adverb is made to stand out as *the* correct one rather than what has been previously mentioned in a discourse or what the hearer or other interlocutors may have in mind. A sentence like (119) has been variously called **emphatic sentence**, **focus construction**, and **cleft sentence**. I prefer calling it *cleft sentence*, since the terms *focus* and *emphasis* have acquired special meanings in Philippine linguistic literature. Sentence (120) is what we may call **contrastive sentence**.

This chapter will deal with inversions of the first kind. Henceforth, sentences exhibiting this kind of inversion will be called **topicalized sentences**, and the fronted element will be called the **topic** of the sentence.

TOPICALIZABLE CONSTITUENTS

The general rule is that only definite nominals can be topicalized. The reason for this requirement is that an entity whose existence or identity has not been established cannot possibly be the topic of a discourse. Its existence must first be registered in the consciousness of the hearer. Notice the ungrammaticality of **Isang babai ay nasagasaan kahapon* 'A woman, she was hit by a vehicle yesterday.' But if the idea of a woman is introduced by means of an existential sentence, the sentence becomes grammatical, e.g., *May isang babai na nasagasaan kahapon* 'There was a woman who was run over yesterday.' There are of course some exceptions to the rule concerning definiteness of topicalizable constituents, but they will be taken up later.

The more common topicalizable constituents are overt definite subjects, subjects of recent perfective and certain kinds of exclamatory sentences, definite possessive adjuncts, definite unfocused agentives, and sentence adverbials of various kinds, and several of what I like to call **outer complements**.

A. Topicalized Subject

The most readily topicalizable constituent of a sentence is the subject, regardless

of its case.¹

(122) Agentive

Tag. Tumakbo ang kabayo.
Ang kabayo ay tumakbo.

Ilk. Nagtaray diay kabalyo.
Diay kabalyo ket nagtaray.
'The horse ran away.'

(123) Objective

Tag. Kinagat ng aso ang bata.
Ang bata ay kinagat ng aso.

Ilk. Kinagat ti aso diay ubing.
Diay ubing ket kinagat ti aso.
'The/A dog bit the child.'

(124) Object of Motion²

Tag. Itinakbo ng aso ang sinelas.
Ang sinelas ay itinakbo ng aso.

Ilk. Intaray ti aso diay sinelas.
Diay sinelas ket intaray ti aso.
'The/A dog ran off with the slippers.'^{ix}

(125) Directional Locative³

Tag. Kinargahan ng babai ng gulay ang basket.
Ang basket ay kinargahan ng babai ng gulay.

Ilk. Kinargaan ti babai iti nateng ti basket.
Ti basket ket kinargaan ti babai iti nateng.
'The woman filled the basket with vegetables.'

(126) Non-Directional Locative

Tag. Pinaghaluan ni Nena ng asin at asukal ang mangkok.
Ang mangkok ay pinaghaluan ni Nena ng asin at asukal.

Ilk. (Pi)Naglaukan ni Nena iti asin ken asukar ti malukong.
Ti malukong ket pinaglaukan ni Nena iti asin ken asukar.
'Nena mixed salt and sugar in the bowl.'

(127) Causative⁴

Tag. Ikinamatay ng bata ang bakuna.
Ang bakuna ay ikinamatay ng bata.

Ilk. Impatay ti ubing ti bakuna.
Ti bakuna ket impatay ti ubing.
'The child died because of the inoculation.'

(128) Benefactive

Tag. Ibinili ng babai ng sapatos ang bata.
Ang bata ay ibinili ng babai ng sapatos.

Ilk. Inggatangan ti babai iti sapatos diay ubing.
Diay ubing ket inggatangan ti babai iti sapatos.
'The woman bought shoes for the child.'

(129) Instrumental⁵

Tag. Ipinambaon ko ng patay na daga ang pala.
Ang pala ay ipinambaon ko ng patay na daga.

Ilk. Pinangikalik iti natay a bao ti pala.
Ti pala ket pinangikalik iti natay a bao.
'I buried a dead rat with the spade.'

(130) Referential

Tag. Pinag-awayan ni Lucy at ni Nilda ang buto ng mangga.
Ang buto ng manggga ay pinag-awayan ni Lucy at ni
Nilda.

Ilk. Pinagapaan ni Lucy ken ni Nilda ti bukel ti mangga.
Ti bukel ti mangga ket pinagapaan ni Lucy ken ni Nilda.
'Lucy and Nilda quarreled over the mango seed.'

B. Topicalized Possessive Noun or Pronoun

A possessive noun or pronoun used adjunctively with the subject is topicalizable. E.g.,

(131) Tag. Malaki ang tiyan ng bata.
Ang bata ay malaki ang tiyan.

- Ilk. Dakkel ti tian ti ubing.
Ti ubing ket dakkel ti tianna.
'The child, he has a big stomach.'
- (132) Tag. Mapait ang dahon ng ampalaya.
Ang ampalaya ay mapait ang dahon.
- Ilk. Napait ti bulong ti parya.
Ti parya ket napait ti bulongna.
'As for the ampalaya, its leaves are bitter.'

Note that the possession in the above sentences is of the inalienable kind. The possessive adjunct in such kind of possessive constructions seems to be readily topicalizable in all Philippine languages.

In languages where there are no cross-reference pronouns, informants do not agree as to the acceptability of topicalized possessive adjuncts in alienable possessive constructions. E.g., sentence (133) is rejected by many native speakers of Tagalog.

- (133) ?Ang bata ay nawala ang libro.
'As for the child, (his) book was lost.'

In languages where there are cross-reference pronouns, as in Ilocano and Pampango, sentences like (133) are perfectly acceptable. E.g.,

- (134) Ilk. Ni Jose ket lima ti balay na.
'As for Jose, his houses are five (in number).'
- (135) Ilk. Diay ubing ket napukaw ti sapatos na.
'As for the child, his shoes got lost.'

It is also possible to topicalize the possessor of a possessor. E.g.,

- (136) Ilk. Natay idi kalman ti asawa ti kabsat ni Jose.
Ni Jose ket natay idi kalman ti asawa ti kabsat na.
'As for Jose, his brother's wife died yesterday.'

The outermost possessive adjunct in a three-layered phrase seems to be topicalizable. E.g.,

- (137) Ilk. Natay idi kalman ti asawa ti kabsat ti ka-opisinaan ni Jose.
Ni Jose ket natay idi kalman ti asawa ti kabsat ti
kaopisinaan na.

‘As for Jose, his officemate’s brother’s wife died yesterday.’

The question is, is there a cut-off point beyond which a possessor adjunct in multiple layers of possessive modifiers may not be topicalized? The answer seems to be that there is none, theoretically, although the topicalization of the fourth layer is unheard of.

A possessive phrase modifying a predicate noun may be topicalized. E.g.,

- (138) Ilk. Gayyem ni Kissinger ni Sadat.
 Ni Kissinger ket gayyem na ni Sadat.
- Tag. Kaibigan ni Kissinger si Sadat.
 Si Kissinger ay kaibigan niya si Sadat.
 ‘As for Kissinger, Sadat is his friend.’

Note, however, that in order for the Tagalog sentence in (138) to be acceptable, the cross-reference pronoun *niya* is necessary. Many Tagalog speakers would reject the sentence without the pronoun.

The second layer of possessive adjunct in a predicate noun is also topicalizable, and so is the third layer. The same restrictions seem to apply to the topicalizability of elements in subject phrases and in predicate noun phrases.

C. Unfocused Agentive as Topic

An unfocused agentive may be topicalized exactly like a possessive adjunct.⁶ It may be part of the predicate as in (139) or of the subject as in (140).⁷

- (139) Ilk. Kinnan ni Pedro ti sabak.
 Ni Pedro ket kinnan na ti sabak.
 ‘As for Pedro, he ate my banana.’
- (140) Ilk. Napintas ti nagatang ni Jose.
 Ni Jose ket napintas ti nagatang na.
 ‘As for Jose, that which he bought was pretty.’

As mentioned in the section on possessive adjuncts as topics, sentences like (139) and (140) are very natural in languages where there are cross-reference pronouns; but in languages where there are none, topicalized agentives are not considered natural. In order for such agentives to be acceptable, a cross-reference pronoun has to be used. Thus, (141) and (142) are of doubtful grammaticality to some

speakers, whereas (143) and (144) are acceptable:

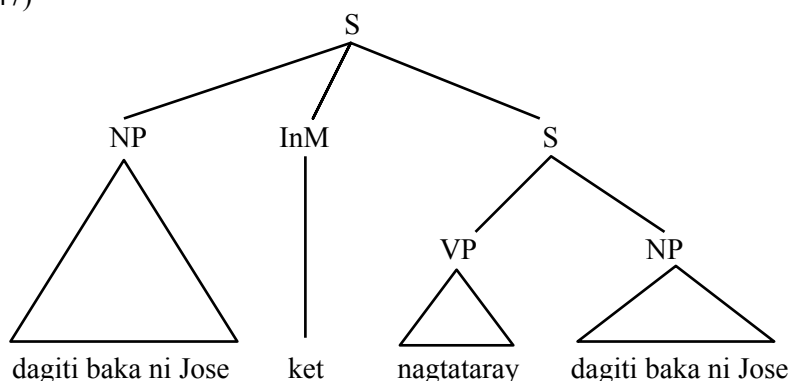
- (141) Tag. ?Si Pedro ay kinain ang saging ko.
'Pedro ate my banana.'^x
- (142) Tag. ?Si Jose ay maganda ang nabili.
'Jose bought a pretty (one).'
- (143) Tag. Si Pedro, kinain niya ang saging ko.
'(As for) Pedro, he ate my banana.'
- (144) Tag. Si Jose, maganda ang nabili niya.
'(As for) Jose, he bought a pretty (one).'

D. Topic-Comment Structure as Comment

As shown in Section B (Topicalized Possessive Noun or Pronoun), a possessive phrase may be modified by another possessive phrase, which in turn may be modified by still another phrase, and so on. When a head noun is fronted as a topic, it carries with it the whole chain of its modifiers. Thus, when its subject phrase is topicalized, (145) becomes (146).

- (145) Ilk. Nagtataray dagiti baka ni Jose.
'Jose's cows all ran away.'
- (146) Dagiti baka ni Jose ket nagtataray da.
'As for Jose's cows, they all ran away.'

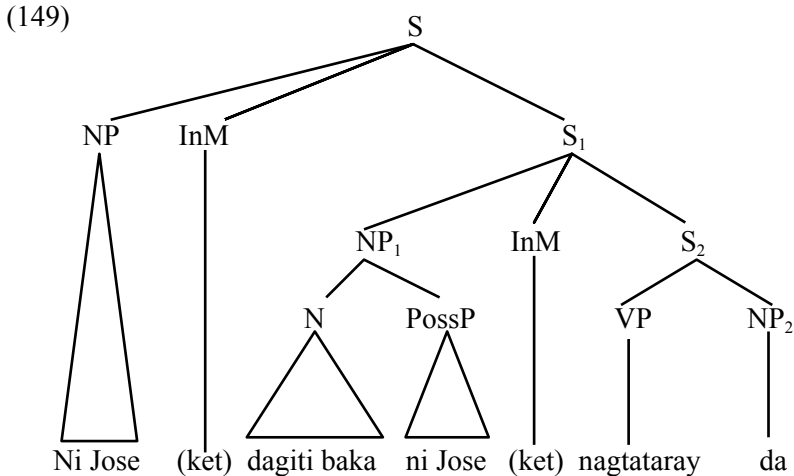
Note that a pronoun takes the place of the fronted subject phrase. The result is that instead of a simple arrangement of a subject preceding its predicate, we get a structure of a nominal followed by a complete predication. We may represent (146) as (147).



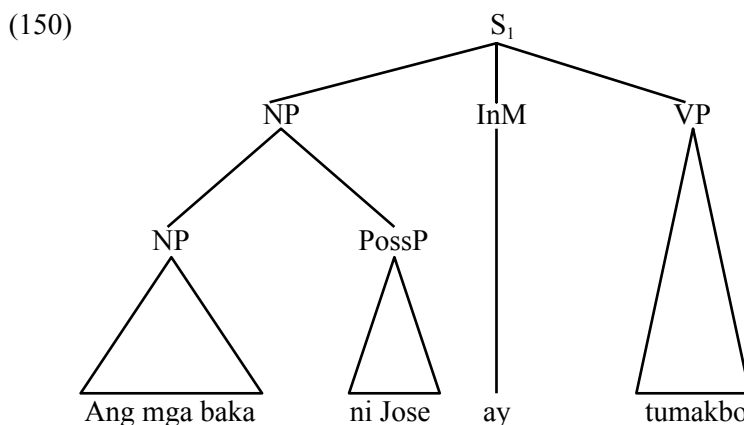
The higher NP is the topic and the whole lower S is the comment. In the surface structure, the lower NP is converted into the pronoun *da*. What is being proposed by this analysis is that topicalization is essentially a copying of a constituent, placing the copy at the beginning of a sentence, and pronominalizing the original constituent.⁸ The presence of the cross-reference pronoun *da* indicates that the subject-predicate structure of the original sentence is unaltered.

The possessive phrase *ni Jose* in (146) may be topicalized in exactly the same way as the whole subject NP was topicalized^{xi}. The result would be (148) and would have a structure something like (149):

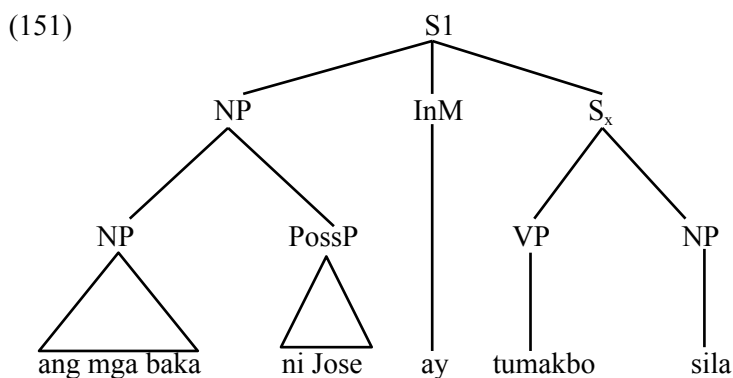
- (148) Ilk. Ni Jose (ket) dagiti baka na (ket) nagtataray da.
 ‘As for Jose, his cows, they all ran away.’



The topic of S is the highest NP and its comment is the whole S₁. S₁, in turn, has a topic-comment structure consisting of NP₁ as topic and S₂ as comment. S₂ is a basic predication consisting of the VP *nagtataray* as predicate and NP₂ as subject. The PossP under NP₁ is converted into the pronoun *na* in the surface structure. It is clear that in Ilocano and other languages with cross-reference pronouns, the innermost structure in a topic-comment sentence is a complete predication. This fact is not so obvious in Tagalog, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, and other languages without cross-reference pronouns. Thus, S₁ in (149) would appear as (150) in Tagalog.



But there is an intermediate structure (151) before the formation of S_1 in which the VP *tumakbo* is exactly like the S_2 in the Ilocano structure in (149).

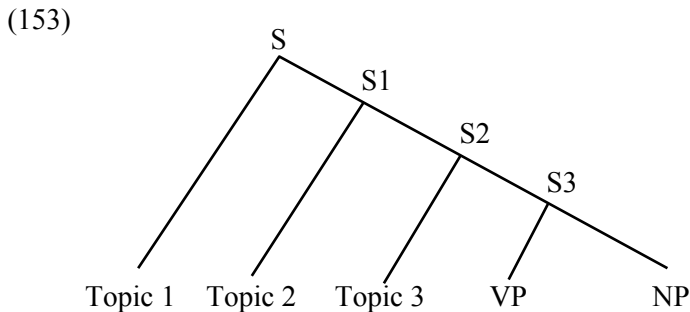


In the above diagram, the NP of S_x (= S_2 in 149) is deleted and the VP gets promoted as the surface VP of S_1 . Similarly, the PossP is pronominalized and then deleted, making the NP *ang mga baka* appear as the NP of S_1 .

In terms of the foregoing analysis, we may restate the difference between Tagalog and Ilocano with respect to the occurrence of cross-reference pronouns this way: After copying, the original NP is pronominalized and the derivation ends; in Tagalog and other languages without cross-reference pronouns, copying and pronominalization also take place, but there is an additional transformation deleting the pronoun. It is necessary to postulate pronominalization for Tagalog because the pronoun actually occurs in certain sentences, as shown in the preceding sections. The deletion of the pronoun is therefore obligatory in some sentences, optional in other sentences, and not applicable in certain special cases.

When each possessive adjunct in a many-layered structure of possessive modifiers is topicalized, the result is a topic-comment structure within a topic-comment structure within a topic-comment structure, and so on. The innermost is of course a basic predicate-subject structure. Sentence (137) in Section B, which we shall repeat here as (152), can have the theoretically possible structure (153).

- (152) Ilk. Natay idi kalman ti asawa ti kabsat ti ka-opisinaan ni Jose.
 ‘Jose’s officemate’s brother’s wife died yesterday.’



The topic-comment structures that can be formed out of (152) are shown below (*ka-opisinaan* will be replaced by the shorter *gayyem*),^{xii} where V = verb, S = subject, the numerals = possessive adjuncts arranged from the innermost to the outermost, T = topic, InM = inversion marker, and pro = pronoun.

The Basic Sentence:

- (154) Natay ti asawa ti kabsat ti gayyem ni Jose.
 died the wife of brother of friend of Jose
 V S 1 2 3
 ‘The wife of the brother of the friend of Jose died.’^{xiii}

The Subject as Head Noun of the Topic:

- (155) Ti asawa ti kabsat ti gayyem ni Jose ket natay (isu).
 S-T 1 2 3 InM V pro-S
 ‘The wife of the brother of the friend of Jose, (she) died.’

The Innermost Possessive Adjunct as Head Word of the Topic:

- (156) Ti kabsat ti gayyem ni Jose ket natay ti asawa na.
 1-T 2 3 InM V S pro-1
 ‘The brother of the friend of Jose, his wife died.’

The Second Adjunct as Head Word of the Topic:

- (157) Ti gayyem ni Jose ket natay ti asawa ti kabsat na.
 2-T 3 InM V S 1 pro-2
 ‘The friend of Jose, his brother's wife died.’

The Third (Outermost) Adjunct as Head:

- (158) Ni Jose ket natay ti asawa ti kabsat ti gayyem na.
 3-T InM V S 1 2 pro-3
 ‘Jose, his friend's brother's wife died.’

The sentences above have one topic each. The inner structure is a basic verb-subject structure. In the following there are two layers of topic-comment structures.

Innermost Adjunct as Head of First Topic; Subject as Second Topic(Inner Topic):

- (159) Ti kabsat ti gayyem ni Jose ket ti asawa na ket
 1-T₁ 2 3 InM₁ S-T₂ pro-1 InM₂
 natay (isu).
 V pro-S
 ‘The brother of the friend of Jose, his wife, (she) died.’

Second Adjunct as Outer Topic; Subject as Inner Topic:

- (160) Ti gayyem ni Jose ket ti asawa ti kabsat
 2-T₁ 3 InM₁ S-T₂ 1
 na ket natay (isu).
 pro-2 InM₂ V pro-S
 ‘The friend of Jose, his brother's wife, (she) died.’

Third Adjunct as Outer Topic; Subject as Inner Topic:

- (161) Ni Jose ket ti asawa ti kabsat ti gayyem
 3-T₁ InM₁ S-T₂ 1 2
 na ket natay (isu).
 pro-3 InM₂ V pro-S
 ‘Jose, his friend's brother's wife, (she) died.’

The following two sentences have three layers of topic-comment structures. They are not readily comprehended, but some native speakers of Ilocano have no difficulty understanding them. All speakers manage to understand the message after some initial puzzlement.^{xiv}

Second Adjunct as Outermost Topic; First Adjunct as Second Topic;Subject as Innermost Topic:

- (162) Ti gayyem ni Jose ket ti kabsat na ket
 2-T₁ 3 InM₁ 1-T₂ pro-2 InM₂
 ti asawa na ket natay (isu).
 S-T₃ pro-1 InM₃ V pro-S
 ‘Jose's friend, his brother, his wife, (she) died.’

Third Adjunct as Outermost Topic; Second Adjunct as Topic 2;
First Adjunct as Innermost Topic:

- (163) Ni Jose ket ti gayyem na ket
 3-T₁ InM₁ 2-T₂ pro-3 InM₂
 ti kabsat na ket natay ti asawa na.
 1-T₃ pro-2 InM₃ V S pro-1
 ‘Jose, his friend, his brother, his wife died.’

The following sentence has all the four nominals as topic. Though correct by analogy with the preceding processes, it is completely incomprehensible.

- (164) Ni Jose ket ti gayyem na ket ti kabsat
 3-T₁ InM₁ 2-T₂ pro-3 InM₂ 1-T₃
 na ket ti asawana ket natay (isu).
 pro-2 InM₃ S-T₄ pro-1 InM₄ V pro-S
 ‘Jose, his friend, his brother, his wife, (she) died.’

E. Topicalized Constituents of Recent Perfective Sentences

The underlying subject of a sentence in the recent perfective always has a definite meaning and is therefore topicalizable. E.g.,

- (165) Tag. Kagigising lamang ni Jose.
 Si Jose ay kagigising lamang.
 ‘Jose has just awakened.’
- (166) Ilk. Kalkalpas ko la a nagdigus.
 Siak ket kalkalpas ko la a nagdigus.
 ‘I have just finished taking a bath.’

The direct object of a recent perfective verb is topicalizable if it has a definite meaning. E.g.,

- (167) Tag. Kabibili ko lamang nito.
 Ito ay kabibili ko lamang.
 ‘I have just bought this.’
- (168) Ilk. Kaidaddadang ko la unay (iti) daydiay kape.
 Diay kape ket kaidaddadang ko la unay.
 ‘I have just heated the coffee.’

F. Topicalized Constituents of Exclamatory Sentences

The *ng* nominal in an exclamatory sentence is topicalizable. E.g.,

- (169) Napakatamad ng katulong namin!
 Ang katulong namin ay napakatamad!
 ‘Our domestic help is very lazy!’
- (170) Ang tamad mo!
 Ikaw, ang tamad mo!
 ‘How lazy you are!’

G. Adverbials as Topic

A common characteristic of adverbials is that they are not in close construction with the verb or the head of the predicate phrase. This is especially true of those that have sentential scope. They do not have fixed positions, and consequently, they can be fronted freely as topics. The more common adverbials are time adverbs, place adverbs, and a variety of words, phrases, and clauses that express purpose (including one with a benefactive sense), cause, reason, condition, and other inter-propositional relations. The function of adverbials as topic is not generally recognized in the literature. But as we have defined topic, adverbials constitute one of the biggest groups of topicalizable constituents.⁹ When a speaker begins a sentence with a time or place expression, he in effect announces a topic, and the rest of the sentence constitutes the comment -- it reports some event or state of affairs taking place at the time or place indicated by the fronted adverbial. The functional similarity between fronted nominals and fronted adverbials is evident from the fact that both elicit the question *What?* or *What about Jose?*, *What about yesterday?*, etc., when the speaker discontinues talking or makes an unnaturally long pause. The hearer expects a “comment” after an announced adverbial. The following are typical examples of topicalized adverbials:

Time Adverbial

- (171) Tag. (a) Kahapon ay umuwi kami.
 ‘Yesterday, we went home.’
- (b) Noong dumating si Ana, hindi pa ako gising.
 ‘When Ana arrived, I was not up yet.’

Place Adverbial

- (172) Tag. Sa Mindanao ay mura ang saging.
 ‘In Mindanao, bananas are cheap.’

- (173) Ilk. Idiay Isabela ket mamindua kami nga agtalon.
 ‘In Isabela, we plant rice twice (a year).’

The phrases *Sa Mindanao* and *Idiay Isabela* should not be confused with locative or directional complements. True or “inner” complements are in close construction with the verb and cannot be fronted as topics. Notice the unnaturalness or ungrammaticality of (174) and (175):

- (174) Tag. ?Sa silya ay umupo ako.^{xv}
 ‘On the chair, I sat.’
- (175) Ilk. ?Idiay Manila ket napanak.
 ‘To Manila, I went.’

Purpose Adverbial

- (176) Ilk. Tapno lumukmegka, kaadduem ti mangan.
 ‘In order to become stout, eat plenty.’
- (177) Tag. Para sa iyo ay magpapakamatay si Bert.
 ‘For your sake, Bert is going to kill himself.’
- (178) Tag. Upang hindi malanta ito, ilagay mo sa refrigerator.
 ‘So that it won’t wilt, put it in the refrigerator.’

Cause Adverbial

- (179) Tag. Dahil sa init, namatay silang lahat.
 ‘Because of the heat, they all died.’
- (180) Ilk. Gapu iti sakit ti ngipenko, diak pay makasao.
 ‘Because of toothache, I cannot even talk.’

Condition Adverbial

- (181) Ilk. No mabalin koma, tumayabak nga agpa-America.
 ‘If it were only possible, I would fly to America.’

There are of course many adverbs that cannot be fronted as topics. In general, frequency and manner adverbs cannot be topicalized. Notice the ungrammaticality of the following:

- (182) Ilk. *Mamindua iti makatawen ket mapanak idiay Baguio.
 ‘Twice a year, I go to Baguio.’

- (183) Tag. *Bigla ay bumagsak ang ulan.^{xvi}
‘Suddenly, the rain fell.’
- (184) Ilk. *Nasaranta ket umay pumaspassiar ditoy ni Juan.
‘Frequently, Juan comes here for a visit.’
- (185) Ilk. *Dinominggo ket makimisakami.
‘Every week, we go to church.’
- (186) Tag. *Parang pato ay lumalakad si Nena.
‘Like a duck, Nena walks.’

OBLIGATORY TOPICALIZATION

All instances of topicalization that have been discussed so far are optional. The speaker alters the word order of a sentence not to express a different message or a different denotative meaning but to achieve some stylistic effect. Some linguists, e.g., Schachter and Otnes (1972, p.485), consider *ay* inversion as characteristic of formal style and as occurring more commonly in writing, lectures, and sermons than it does in ordinary conversation.^{xvii}

There are instances, however, in which the speaker has no choice but to topicalize. For example, when a clause functions as predicate, the sentence structure is obligatorily of the topic-comment type. The normal order would be ungrammatical. Thus, (187) is grammatical but (188) is not:

- (187) Tag. Ang balita ay nagtanan sina Elsie at Rupert.
Ilk. Ti damag ket nagtaray da Elsie ken Rupert.
‘The news is that Elsie and Rupert eloped.’
- (188) Tag. *(Na) nagtanan sina Elsie at Rupert ang balita.
Ilk. *(A) nagtaray da Elsie ken Rupert ti damag.
‘That Elsie and Rupert eloped is the news.’

Sentences like (187) are of interest because of a regular structural relation that they seem to bear on noun phrases consisting of an abstract head noun and a complement clause. The *N-plus-complement-S* phrases related to (187) are *ang balita na nagtanan sina Elsie at Rupert* and *ti damag a nagtaray da Elsie ken Rupert* ‘the news that Elsie and Rupert eloped.’ The obligatoriness of the topic-comment structure of sentences like (187) may be explained by the semantic relation between the abstract noun (*balita*) and the clause functioning as predicate. The predicate clause restates or

expands or spells out the meaning of the abstract subject noun, very much like the way the explicatory part of a definition defines a term. The restatement or expansion most appropriately follows the abstract noun that it is meant to amplify; hence, the topic-comment structure. The structural relation (and semantic relation) between an *ay* sentence like (187) and the corresponding *N+Complement S* may be captured by a special kind of nominalization, whereby the phrase is derived from the sentence. (This transformation seems to apply to all sentences like (187).)

Another instance of obligatory topic-comment structure may be seen in (189), where a substantivized adjective is equated to a complete predication.

- (189) Ilk. Ti nasayaat ket agawid tay laengen.
 ‘The good (thing to do) is for us to go home.’

Similar to (189) are sentences in which the topic is a derived noun with an adjective as its base.

- (190) Tag. Ang katotohanan ay hindi ako nag-review.
 ‘The truth is that I did not review.’

- (191) Ilk. Ti kinapudno na ket awan ti kuartak.
 ‘The truth is that I don’t have money.’

Additional examples of obligatory *ay* inversion are the following:

- (192) Ilk. Ti inaramid ko ket nagintuturogak.
 ‘What I did was, I pretended to be asleep.’

- (193) Tag. Ang alam ko ay hindi papasok si Isagani.
 ‘What I know is that Isagani is not going to school.’

- (194) Ilk. Ti planok ket aginanaak pay iti tallo a tawen.
 ‘My plan is to rest for three years.’

TOPICALIZATION OF COMPLEX SENTENCES

An embedded noun clause may be converted into a topic-comment structure. In each of the following sentences, the subject of the inner S is topicalized:

- (195) Tag. Totoo na si Jose ay mayaman.
 ‘It is true that as for Jose, he is rich.’

- (196) Ilk. Nadamagko a ni Carlos ken ni Julie ket nagtaray da.
'I heard that as for Carlos and Julie, they eloped.'
- (197) Tag. Nabasa ko ang ulat na si Jose ay nadakip.
'I read the news that as for Jose, he was arrested.'
- (198) Ilk. Masapul a ni Pedro ket maipupok.
'It is necessary that as for Pedro, he should be jailed.'
- (199) Ilk. Masapul a siak ket makaadalak nga ag-drive.
'It is necessary that as for me, I can learn how to drive.'

(Note: Some of the above sentences are awkwardly glossed and so will many of the examples below. Often, an awkward gloss is necessary to more accurately show peculiarities of Philippine structures.)

One condition must be met: the matrix sentence is a neutral sentence. If it is not, e.g., if it is a cleft sentence, topicalization of any constituent of the embedded clause is not permitted. E.g.,

- (200) Tag. *Kahapon ang bapor ay dumating.
cf. Kahapon dumating ang bapor.
'It was yesterday that the boat arrived.'
- (201) Ilk. *Idi kalman a ni Jose ket nagsakit ti tianna.
cf. Idi kalman a nagsakit ti tian ni Jose.
'It was yesterday that Jose's stomach ached.'
- (202) Ilk. *Idi kalman a ni Jose ket inlakona ti paltogna.
cf. Idi kalman nga inlako ni Jose ti paltogna.
'It was yesterday that Jose sold his gun.'

(It is assumed that a cleft construction is a complex sentence, with the "focus" phrase serving as higher predicate.) The topicalization of the inner subject in (200), the possessive adjunct to the inner subject in (201), and the unfocused agentive of the "passive" verb in (202) results in ungrammatical sentences.

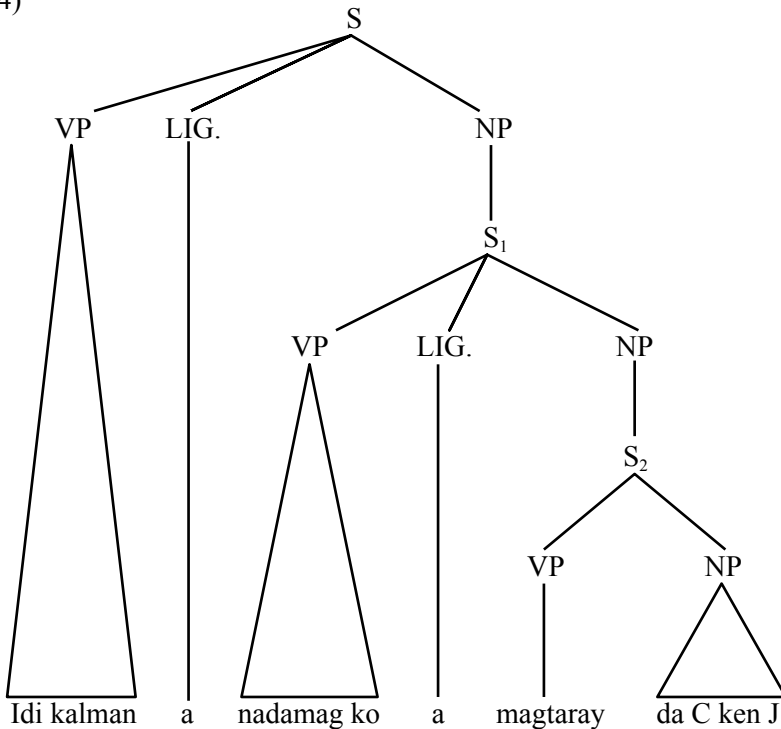
Why is internal topicalization allowed in (195)-(199) but not in (200)-(202)? The answer seems to be the fact that the first set of sentences are neutral sentences. As such, they have no emphasized constituents with which a topic would clash. Sentences (200)-(202), on the other hand, each have a constituent that is emphasized -- the foregrounded adverbial. This emphasized constituent does not seem to tolerate another

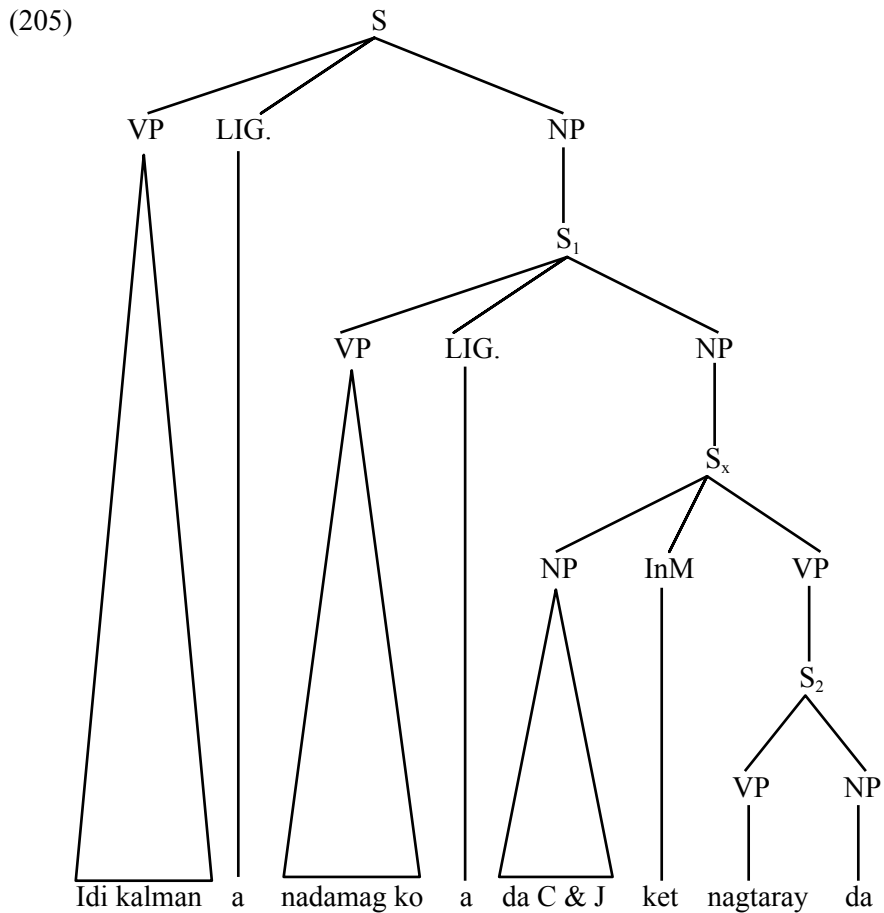
attention-calling constituent in the next lower S. The effect of a cleft constituent, however, does not extend to the S's embedded farther down the tree. Thus, sentences like (203) are perfectly grammatical:

- (203) Ilk. Idi kalman a nadamagko a da Carlos ken Julita ket nagtarayda.
 cf. Idi kalman a nadamagko a nagtaray da Carlos ken Julita.
 Tag. Kahapon ko narinig na sina Carlos at Julita ay nagtanan.
 cf. Kahapon ko narinig na nagtanan sina Carlos at Julita.
 'It was yesterday that I learned that Carlos and Julita eloped.'

The untropicalized and topicalized structures of (203) would be something like (204) and (205) respectively (irrelevant details omitted).

(204)





Notice that in both diagrams, the fronted (emphasized) adverbials have a VP (higher-predicate) status, S being a cleft construction. Notice also that the topicalization of the subject phrase of the lowermost S (S_2) results in the creation of S_x in (205), with the familiar NP-VP topic-comment structure. Notice further that S_2 , as comment, has a VP status.

The process of topicalization discussed so far involves only one S. A constituent is adjoined (via copying) to its immediately dominating S-node with an NP-VP order. In Philippine languages, especially those with reference pronouns, it is possible for a fronted element to jump over an S; i.e., a constituent of an embedded S is adjoined to the matrix sentence, thereby creating a third S-node. The following are typical examples:

- (206) Tag. Si Elena, maganda ang baro na tinahi niya.
cf. Maganda ang baro na tinahi ni Elena.
Ilk. Ni Elena ket napintas ti bado a dinait na.
cf. Napintas ti bado a dinait ni Elena.
'The dress that Elena sewed is pretty.'
- (207) Ilk. Ni Juan ket nadamag ko a tiniliwda (isu).
cf. Nadamag ko a tiniliwda ni Juan.
'I heard that they nabbed Juan.'
- (208) Ilk. Ni Juan ket nadamag ko a kayat kano ni Jose a kasosio.
cf. Nadamag ko a kayat kano ni Jose a kasosio ni Juan.
'I heard that Jose would like to form a partnership with Juan.'
- (209) Ilk. Idi kalman, nagbanglo ti balasang a nakatugaw ko.
cf. Nabanglo ti balasang a nakatugaw ko idi kalman.
'The woman beside whom I sat yesterday smelled very sweet.'
- (210) Ilk. Idiay Ilocos Sur ket nagdaddakkelan dagiti sandia nga immula mi.
cf. Nagdaddakkelan dagiti sandia nga immula mi idiay Ilocos Sur.
'The watermelons which we planted in Ilocos Sur are very big.'

In (206), the unfocused agentive of the relative clause *na tinahi ni Elena* is adjoined to the matrix S whose predicate is *maganda*. In (207), it is the subject of the embedded noun clause *a tiniliwda ni Juan* that hops over its immediately dominating S-node to construct with the higher S. In (208), the subject of the innermost S hops over two S-nodes -- its immediate S-node and the next higher S-node whose predicate is the pseudo-verb *kayat* -- and adjoins with the third S, thereby creating a fourth S. In (209), it is the time adverb under the relative clause *a nakatugawko idi kalman* that is topicalized. (210) is like (209) except that the topicalized element is an adverb of place and that it is less natural. I have no explanation for the difference in naturalness between the two.

Another kind of complex sentence that allows the movement of a constituent of

an inner S to the left of the matrix sentence is the cleft construction. E.g.,

- (211) Ilk. Ni Pedro ket idi kalman a nagawid (isu).
 cf. Idi kalman a nagawid ni Pedro.
 Tag. Si Pedro ay kahapon umuwi.
 cf. Kahapon umuwi si Pedro.
 ‘It was yesterday that Pedro went home.’
- (212) Tag. Si Linda ay sa America ipinanganak.
 cf. Sa America ipinanganak si Linda.
 ‘It was in America that Linda was born.’
- (213) Ilk. Ni Jose ket diay nalukmeg ti kayat na.
 cf. Daydiay nalukmeg ti kayat ni Jose.
 ‘It is the fat one that Jose likes.’

In (211) and (212), the subject of the clause is topicalized. In (213), it is the unfocused agentive (or maybe, the possessive adjunct of the subject phrase) of the pseudo-verb predicate of an embedded relative in the subject phrase that is topicalized. (The analysis of phrases like *ang tumakbo* ‘the one that ran away,’ *ang gusto ko* ‘the one that I like’ as complex structures will be taken up in the next chapter.)

Another type of sentence that allows the movement of a constituent of an inner S to the left of the matrix sentence is the adjectival sentence. E.g.,

- (214) Ilk. (a) Ni Alex ket pudno a tinungpa ni Tessie (isu).
 ‘It is true of Alex that Tessie slapped him.’
 (b) Ni Tessie ket pudno a tinungpana ni Alex.
 ‘It is true of Tessie that she slapped Alex.’
 cf. Pudno a tinungpa ni Tessie ni Alex.
 ‘It is true that Tessie slapped Alex.’^{xviii}

Needless to say, the foregoing discussion of topicalization is far from complete.

Endnotes to Chapter 2

¹ There is no agreement among students of Philippine languages on the number of cases to set up. Those listed here are for illustrative purposes only. Bloomfield gives four and Schachter and Otnes eight, including the non-basic ones. Gonzalez (1972), using Wallace Chafe's generative semantic model, recognizes 17 role-marked N's although he does not claim that they are cases. They are, however, semantically distinct from one another, and anyone following the case model would have to account for all of them.

² Many students of Philippine languages do not seem to give much importance to the distinction between an object marked by *i-* and an object marked by *-in* on the verb. Schachter and Otnes call both *object*. Constantino (1971a, 1971b), like many other linguists, uses the general term *goal* for the complements whose semantic relations with the verb are marked by *i-*, *-in*, and *-an*. They are therefore the same in *ibigay* 'to give,' *bilhin* 'to buy,' and *buksan* 'to open.' Llamzon (1973) talks about *i-focus*, *-(h)in-focus* and *-(h)an-focus* without making a clear distinction between the forms in terms of meaning and function. But it is clear that the *i-* in *ibigay*, *itulak* 'push,' *ihagis* 'throw,' *itapon* 'throw away,' *itabi* 'put aside' indicates that the object is moved or transported by the motion indicated by the verb. *-In*, on the other hand, indicates that the complement used as subject is viewed as stationary, not transported by the action indicated by the verb, as in *patayin* 'to kill,' *sabihin* 'to say,' *gawin* 'to do,' *biruin* 'to tease.' *-An* indicates that the subject is a location toward which or from which or on which an object of motion is moved, as in *nakawan* 'to steal (something) from,' *patungan* 'to place (something) on,' *buksan* 'to remove (the cover) from,' *lakasan* 'to give strength to or put strength on,' *takpan* 'to put a cover on.' Non-recognition of these fine distinctions has led some linguists to say that there is more than one *i-*, more than one *-in*, and more than one *-an*. The homophony of grammatical elements is not as widespread as is often indicated in the literature.

³ The term *locative* has been in use since Bloomfield (1917) (actually he used the word *local*). Schachter and Otnes use the term *directional* and reserve *locative* for the location of an action. For greater precision, *directional* should be divided into *source* (where the object of motion comes from) and *destination*, or better still *goal* (where an object of motion goes to).

⁴ This should not be confused with the outer causative agent, like *he* in *He made the water boil*.

⁵ There is some disagreement as to the identity of the focusing affix for the instrumental case. Bloomfield, for instance, considers *i-* instrumental. Others like Silverio (1962) and Ramos (1971) claim that there are two forms of the instrumental affix: *i-* and *ipang-* (and *ipag-*). I believe Bloomfield is in error and that the other two, as well as many other linguists, are only partly correct. *Pang-* is an instrumental noun affix, and the *i-* in *ipang-* is the object-of-motion verbal affix.

⁶This similarity between a noun modified by a possessive phrase and a passive verb phrase strengthens Capell's (1964) claim that the two constructions are syntactically the same.

⁷Strictly speaking, a subject phrase like *ang binili ni Jose* 'the one which Jose bought' is a noun phrase with a deleted unspecified head noun. The phrase *binili ni Jose* is the predicate of the reduced relative clause. *Ni Jose* is therefore part of a predicate.

⁸A number of proposals for the analysis of topicalization have been made. See Lewkowicz (1971), Schreiber and Anshen (1974), and Beeston (1974) for Arabic; St. Clair (1971) for Rumanian; and Teng (1974) for Chinese. See also Gonzalez (1972) for Pampango.

⁹I agree with Langacker (1974) that adverb fronting is a special kind of topicalization.

Editor's Notes to Chapter 2

^{ix} Translation added.

^x Translation for (141)-(144) added.

^{xi} Our Ilokano consultant, however, says that the resulting construction sounds awkward.

^{xii} The adverb *idi kalwan* is also omitted.

^{xiii} Translation for (154)-(164) added.

^{xiv} Our Ilokano consultant had great difficulty in comprehending them.

^{xv} While not used in everyday conversations, constructions like these are used in literary Tagalog.

^{xvi} While not used in everyday conversations, constructions like these are used in literary Tagalog.

^{xvii} In some dialects of Tagalog (e.g., Mindoro, Batangas), the *ay* construction is considered the normal word order.

^{xviii} Translation added.

Chapter 3

Equational Sentences

The term **equational** is used rather loosely by students of Philippine languages. In general, it refers to the type of sentence in which one substantive (the subject) is “equated” to another substantive (the predicate). Bloomfield (1933) uses the term to refer not only to sentences with nouns as predicates but also to those with adjectives and other static words as predicates. He calls sentences with verbal or transient predicates **narrative**. Lopez (1940) makes the same distinction between an *equalizing sentence*, whose predicate is a *substantival name*, and a *narrative sentence*. He seems to regard the **linguistic copula** *ay* as essential to the formation of equational sentences.¹

Ramos (1971) uses the term **identificational** rather than *equational* but acknowledges in a footnote (p. 77) the equivalence of the two terms. Her classification differs somewhat from Bloomfield’s in that for her, an identificational sentence can only have a substantive for what Bloomfield calls the *predicate* (which she calls the *subject* or *topic*). She gives two distinguishing characteristics of an identificational sentence: (a) the topic, which is either definite or indefinite, precedes the comment, and (b) the comment is marked by *ang*. The following Tagalog examples, together with the gloss, are Ramos’s (p. 78):

- (215) Tag. (a) Ang sundalo ang pumatay.
'(It was) the soldier (who) did the killing.'
- (b) Si Dick McGinn ang direktor.
'Dick McGinn (is) the director.'
- (c) Bata ang tumakbo.
'(A) child was the one who ran.'
- (d) Aleman ang doktor.
'A German is the doctor.'

Apart from inaccuracies in the gloss provided, Ramos’s analysis of the topic-comment or subject-predicate structure of identificational sentences is problematic. If *Aleman* is the subject in *Aleman ang doktor*, why should *Doktor* be the predicate in

Doktor ang lalake (p. 83)? Why should the first sentence be *identificational* and the second *non-identificational* or *predicational*, to use Ramos's term? The book has a number of inconsistent analyses like this, which we shall not explore in this monograph.

Schachter and Otnes (1972) use the term *equational* pretty much the same way as Bloomfield does, and lump adjectival and nominal sentences together. But they go further and claim that "all Tagalog basic sentences, including those... treated as narrational, are essentially equational in nature, involving a balancing of two elements -- the predicate and the topic -- against one another" (p. 62). Thus, in the narrational sentence *Gumising ang bata*, "there is simply a balancing, as on a scale, of two equated elements: *ang bata* 'the child' and *Gumising* 'awoke'" (p. 62). Schachter and Otnes seem to make much of the fact that in Tagalog as well as in other Philippine languages, there is no verb *be*, hence the equational or balanced nature of basic sentences. However, they consider the distinction between narrational and equational sentences justifiable on two grounds: (a) the presence of aspect and focus in narrational sentences, and (b) the fact that "verbal predicates have an inherent complexity that makes separate treatment of them, if not mandatory, certainly convenient" (p. 62).

The identification of the subject of a neutral sentence (Constantino's **situational sentence**) presents no problem at all. It is universally known that the subject is the constituent marked by *ang* or the nominative form of a proper name, a personal pronoun, or the demonstrative. However, when both constituents are definite or when the second constituent has a non-nominal head, as in the examples in (216), some students of Philippine linguistics seem to have trouble identifying the subject.

- (216) Tag. (a) Si Celia ang kandidata.
 'The candidate is Celia. / *Celia* is the candidate.'
 (Italics indicate intonation peak.)
- (b) Ako si Jose.
 'I am Jose.'
- (c) Ang dalaga ang umiyak.
 'It was the young woman who cried./
 The one who cried was the young woman.'
- (d) Si Martin ang nagnakaw ng manok.
 'It was Martin who stole a chicken./

- The one who stole a chicken was Martin.’
- (e) Ang tumatawa ang nasaktan.
‘It is the one laughing who was hurt./
The one who was hurt is the one laughing.’
- (f) Babai ang nagbigay nito sa akin.
‘It was a woman who gave this to me./
The one who gave this to me was a woman.’
- (g) Mangga ang kinain ko.
‘It was a mango that I ate. / What I ate was a mango.’
- (h) Pera ang nasa kahon.
‘What is in the box is money.’
- (i) Aso ang kumain ng baon ko.
‘It was a dog that ate my lunch./
The one that ate my lunch was a dog.’

Most linguists who have described Philippine languages would consider the second constituent in each of the sentences above as the subject; but a few maintain that the first constituent is the subject.² Why the disagreement? The most important reason is that those who claim that the first constituent is the subject seem to miss the fact that the subject-predicate structure of a sentence has an important communicative function. It is the device that the speaker employs to mark the nominal which is the center of his attention or is uppermost in his mind (the subject), and the part of the sentence that is his comment or assertion (the predicate) about the subject. The term *subject* is not a mere syntactic label, as some have claimed it to be.

SOME CRITERIA FOR IDENTIFYING THE SUBJECT

There are a number of criteria or tests that may be used in identifying the subject of an equational sentence. We shall show in the following discussion that these criteria apply also to non-equational sentences and other types of sentences that are not controversial in so far as the identification of the subject is concerned. We shall try to show also that all constituents identified as subjects by means of these tests share many important characteristics, a fact that should point to the essential correctness of our analysis.

A. The Subject is the Definite Nominal About Which an Assertion (the Rest of the Sentence) is Made

There is no difficulty in applying this criterion to neutral sentences like (217a) and (217b). In both sentences *ang tatay ko* and *si Jose* are marked by the appropriate subject marker, and the referent of each phrase is described as being a doctor.

- (217) Tag. (a) Doktor ang tatay ko.
 ‘My father is a doctor.’
 (b) Doktor si Jose.
 ‘Jose is a doctor.’

But (217c) is not so un-controversial. Constantino (1965, 1971b) and a few of his students claim that the first constituent is the subject.

- (c) Doktor ang nagpadala ng bulaklak.
 ‘The one who sent some flowers is a doctor.’

The problem here is that they seem to miss the fact that *ang nagpadala ng bulaklak* is a definite referring expression and is as nominal as *ang tatay ko* and *si Jose*. The referents of the three definite nominals are simply being described as belonging to a class of persons called *doktor*. To call *doktor* an indefinite subject is to miss the fact that in Philippine languages an indefinite nominal cannot be a surface subject except in existential sentences. If *doktor* is truly the subject, the sentences could be *May (isang) doktor na nagpadala ng bulaklak*, or, since *bulaklak* may be interpreted as definite in reference, *Ipinadala ng (isang) doktor ang bulaklak*. But then, the last two sentences, structurally and semantically, are not the same as (217c). For (217c) is a straightforward description of the sender of flowers as belonging to a class of persons called *doktor*.

One important characteristic of Philippine languages that must be stressed here is that the positioning of *ang* before any word belonging to any one of the major form classes, or to any phrase, converts that word or phrase into a definite referring expression and invariably gives it a nominal reading. Like a simple noun, such a nominal can serve as the subject of a sentence, entering into constructions in which its referent is identified, characterized, or described, or in which certain actions or properties are attributed to it.

The same functional relationship between the constituents in (217a)-(217c) holds between the corresponding parts of (217d)-(217h).

- (d) Ang may kasalanan ang tumatawa.
'The one laughing is the one at fault./
It is the one who is at fault that is laughing.'
- (e) Ang nasa ibabaw ng mesa ang akin.
'The one which is mine is the one which is on the table./
It is the one on the table which is mine.'
- (f) Si Pedro ang tumawa kanina.
'The one who laughed a while ago was Pedro./
It was Pedro who laughed a while ago./
Pedro was the one who laughed a while ago.'
- (g) Si Jose ang teacher.
'The teacher is Jose. / *Jose* is the teacher.'
- (h) Ako si Jose.
'I am Jose.' (lit., 'Jose is I.')

One group of students of Philippine languages would consider the first constituent in each of the sentences above as the subject, while most linguists from Bloomfield (1917) down to Schachter and Otnes (1972) would consider the second constituent as the subject. It is clear that the first criterion cannot completely decide the issue here, for if one argues that the first constituent is identified by or is equated to the second, it can also be argued that it is the second constituent that is identified by or is equated to the first.

What is the nature of sentences consisting of two *ang* phrases that causes all this difficulty? It seems to be a fact that an equational sentence is like a mathematical equation: it is reversible.³ The two parts of a linguistic equation are both referential, i.e., they each refer to a particular definite object, each describable as identifying the other. Thus, (217d) may also be recast as (217i):

- (i) Ang tumatawa ang may kasalanan.
'The one who is at fault is the one who is laughing.'

It should be clear, however, that (217d) and (217i), though involving the same definite objects, have two different messages: in each case, the first constituent is the predicate and the second is the subject. But the argument can become interminable unless we invoke other criteria.

B. Negation Test

Lopez (1940, p. 266) states that “only the predicate may accept of negation with the obligatory anteposed particle *hindi*.” To be sure, this observation is not original with Lopez. Logicians know that the information-bearing or assertion-making part of a sentence is the predicate. To deny a statement (or proposition, to be more precise), one only has to negate that part which asserts, not the part about which an assertion is made. This generalization applies to all kinds of statements. Notice that the Tag. negative morpheme *hindi* (Ilk. *saan*) is always before the first constituent (the predicate) of neutral descriptions, as in (218)-(223):

- (218) Tag. Tumatakbo ang bata.
 Ilk. Tumartaray diay ubing.
 ‘The child is running.’
- Tag. Hindi tumatakbo ang bata.
 Ilk. Saan a tumartaray diay ubing.
 ‘The child is not running.’
- (219) Tag. Maganda si Josefa.
 Ilk. Napintas ni Josefa.
 ‘Josefa is pretty.’
- Tag. Hindi maganda si Josefa.
 Ilk. Saan a napintas ni Josefa.
 ‘Josefa is not pretty.’
- (220) Tag. Nasa kusina ang aso.
 Ilk. Adda idiyay kusina ti aso.
 ‘The dog is in the kitchen.’
- Tag. Wala sa (=hindi nasa) kusina ang aso.
 Ilk. Awan (=saan nga adda) idiyay kusina ti aso.
 ‘The dog is not in the kitchen.’
- (221) Tag. May aso sa kusina.
 ‘There’s a dog in the kitchen.’
- Walang (=hindi may) aso sa kusina.
 ‘There’s no dog in the kitchen.’

- (222) Tag. Umulan kagabi.
'It rained last night.'
Hindi umulan kagabi.
'It did not rain last night.'
- (223) Tag. Doktor si Jose.
'Jose is a doctor.'
Hindi doktor si Jose.
'Jose is not a doctor.'

We can go on and on with examples. In the sentences just given, there is no question about which is the subject and which is the predicate. It is clear that it is the predicate and not the subject that is negated. This is further confirmed by the fact even in the *ay* construction -- the negative morpheme is always before the predicate. Thus we have *Si Pedro ay hindi matangkad* 'Pedro is not tall,' *Ang bata ay hindi umiiyak* 'The child is not crying,' *Ang kapatid ko ay hindi abogado* 'My brother is not a lawyer.'

When we apply the same test to equation sentences and to nominal sentences in general, we find that it is the first constituent rather than the second that is negated. This fact should establish that the first constituent is the predicate. E.g. (all from Tagalog),

- (224) Doktor ang nagbigay nito.
'The one who gave this is a doctor.'
Hindi doktor ang nagbigay nito.
'The one who gave this is not a doctor.'
- (225) Si Pedro ang teacher namin.
'Pedro is our teacher. / Our teacher is Pedro.'
Hindi si Pedro ang teacher namin.
'It is not Pedro who is our teacher.'
- (226) Ako si Jose.
'I am Jose. / It is I who is Jose.'
Hindi ako si Jose.
'It is not I who is Jose.'
- (227) Ang tumatawa ang may kasalanan.
'The one who is at fault is the one who is laughing.'

Hindi ang tumatawa ang may kasalanan.
'It is not the one laughing who is at fault.'

- (228) Ang may kasalanan ang tumatawa.
'The one who is laughing is the one who is at fault.'

Hindi ang may kasalanan ang tumatawa.
'It is not the one who is at fault who is laughing.'

- (229) Malayo ang linakad ko.
'What I walked was a great distance.'

Hindi malayo ang linakad ko.
'What I walked was not a great distance.'

- (230) Maganda ang kumakanta.
'The one singing is pretty.'

Hindi maganda ang kumakanta.
'The one singing is not pretty.'

As in the case of non-equational and non-nominal sentences, one could go on and on enumerating all possible sentences like those above, but it is doubtful if a true counter example could be found.

C. Topicalization Test

As shown in the chapter on topicalizable constituents, all surface subjects can be topicalized, except in certain sentences which are discussed elsewhere in this monograph. The second constituents in (224)-(230) may likewise be topicalized. They correspond to (231)-(237).

- (231) Ang nagbigay nito ay doktor.
'The one who gave this is a doctor.'^{xix}

- (232) Ang teacher namin ay si Pedro.
'Our teacher is Pedro.'

- (233) *Si Jose ay ako.
'Jose is I.'

(The unnaturalness of (233) will be explained later.)

- (234) Ang may kasalanan ay ang tumatawa.

- ‘The one at fault is the one laughing.’
(235) Ang tumatawa ay ang may kasalanan.
‘The one laughing is the one at fault.’
(236) Ang linakad ko ay malayo.
‘What I walked was a great distance.’
(237) Ang kumakanta ay maganda.
‘The one singing is pretty.’

As explained in the preceding section, the negation test applies also to sentences whose subject has been topicalized. Thus in the examples in (231)-(237), the negative morpheme is placed right after *ay*, next to the predicate.

D. Question Particle Test

In a neutral sentence, the question particle (ba) is attached to the predicate or to the head word of the predicate. E.g. (all from Tagalog),

- (238) Umuwi ba si Pedro?
‘Did Pedro go home?’
(239) Maganda ba ang bahay mo?
‘Is your house beautiful?’
(240) Doktor ba ang iyong kapatid?
‘Is your brother a doctor?’

In equational sentences, the question particle is also attached to the first constituent. Note the following:

- (241) Si Pedro ba ang teacher ninyo?
‘Is Pedro your teacher? / Is it Pedro who is your teacher?’
(242) Ang kapatid mo ba ang gumawa nito?
‘Was it your brother who made this?’
(243) Ako ba si Jose?
‘Am I Jose? / Is it I who is Jose?’
(244) Manok ba ang kumain ng mais mo?
‘Was it a chicken that ate your corn?’

One important observation must be made at this point: in the topicalized form of a sentence, the question particle may also be attached to the topic, as in (245)-(246):

- (245) Si Jose ba ay umuwi na?
‘As for Jose, has he gone home?’
- (246) Ang kumakanta ba ay si Mrs. Cuevas?
‘As for the one singing, is she Mrs. Cuevas?’

It is clear that the position of the question particle is not criterial for predicatehood in topic-comment structures.

E. Word Order





In all neutral sentences, the predicate precedes the subject. Most linguists consider this word order the normal one for Tagalog and practically all Philippine languages. Lopez (1940, p. 265), on the other hand, considers the *ay* construction normal and the predicate-subject arrangement as the reversed order. This minor disagreement as to which is normal and which is the reversed order is of no importance here. Everyone seems to agree that when a neutral sentence is not in the *ay* construction, the second constituent -- the one marked by *ang* -- is the subject, and that, as correctly observed by Lopez, the initial position, which is the position of the predicate, receives some kind of emphasis. (Like Lopez I am using the word *emphasis* rather loosely here.) The same observation may be made about equational sentences. Notice the naturally greater prominence of the first constituents in (247)-(248), a fact that has led American linguists to call the equivalent phrase *focus phrase* in the structurally equivalent cleft constructions in English.

- (247) Tag. Si Juan ang nanalo.
‘It was Juan who won.’
- Ilk. Diay nalukmeg ti nangted iti daytoy kaniak.
‘It is the fat one who gave this to me.’
- (248) Tag. Bibingka ang binili ko.
‘It was bibingka that I bought./
What I bought was bibingka.’
- Ilk. Doktor ti sumarungkar inton madamdama.
‘It is a doctor who will come for a visit by and by./
The one who will come for a visit by and by is a doctor.’

As in the case of neutral sentences, the emphasized or more dominant constituent in equational sentences is the first constituent. This must be the predicate, and the second part, which is not emphasized, must be the subject. This difference between the subject and the predicate in emphasis or prominence is a natural one. The predicate constitutes or carries the proper content of the communication while the subject, information-wise, is relatively the less important constituent.



F. Intonation




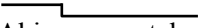

In neutral sentences, especially short ones like those in (249) in which internal pauses do not normally occur, the predicate has a relatively higher pitch than the subject. If there is any explanation for this phenomenon, it must again be the relatively greater importance of the predicate as the information-bearing part of the sentence.

- (249) Tag. (a)  Tumatakbo ang bata.
'The child is running.'
- (b)  Maganda ang kapatid mo.
'Your sister is pretty.'
- (c)  Amerikano si Philip.
'Philip is an American.'
- (d)  Nasa kahon ang sinelas mo.
'Your slippers are in the box.'

The way intonation is marked in the sentences above is a highly simplified one. Many irrelevant details have been omitted, but the reader should be able to get a rough idea about the relative pitch levels of the subject and the predicate.⁴

The same observation can be made of the following equational sentences. Note that they are of the type described by Constantino (1965) and Ramos (1971) as definite and indefinite sentences.

- (250) Tag. (a)  Ako si Doming.
'It is I who is Doming.'
- (b)  Ang mayayaman ang nanakawan natin.
'It is the rich ones whom we will rob.'

- (c)  Si Jess ang emcee.
'It is Jess who is the emcee.'
- (d)  Mangga ang binili ko.
'What I bought was a mango./It was a mango that I bought.'
- (e)  Ang libro ang ibibigay ko sa iyo.
'It is the book that I will give to you.'
- (f)  Akin ang mataba.
'The fat one is mine.'
- (g)  Ako ito.
'I am this one.' (lit., 'This is I.')

On the basis of the intonation pattern similarities between equational and non-equational sentences, one can conclude that the first constituent of both sentence types is the predicate.

G. Old Versus New Information

In a neutral sentence, the referent of the subject is known to both speaker and bearer or has been sufficiently described such that the speaker feels reasonably sure that it has a determined identification for the hearer. The subject may therefore be considered as conveying no new information. The predicate, on the other hand, says something new or informative about the subject. It is beside the point that the hearer may already know everything that the speaker is trying to say. The important thing is that the speaker assumes that he is conveying some message or information, and the subject-predicate structure of a sentence faithfully reflects the communicative intent of the speaker.

Consider the following sentences:

- (251) Tag. (a) Nagkasakit ang kasama ko kahapon
'My companion got sick yesterday.'

- (b) Nagkasakit ang dumalaw kay Beth kahapon.
'The one who visited Beth yesterday got sick.'
- (c) Si Alex ang dumalaw kay Beth kahapon.
'The one who visited Beth yesterday was Alex./
It was Alex who visited Beth yesterday.'
- (d) Kaibigan ni Cezar ang dumalaw kay Beth kahapon.
'The one who visited Beth yesterday was a friend of Cezar's./
It was a friend of Cezar's who visited Beth yesterday.'

The second constituents in these four sentences have one thing in common. In (251a), the speaker assumes in uttering *ang kasama ko kahapon* that the hearer knows he had a companion yesterday. Maybe the hearer actually saw the speaker and his companion together, or maybe he just heard about the two being together. In (251b), the speaker assumes that the hearer knows that someone visited Beth yesterday. As in (251a), the hearer may have firsthand information about the visit or he may only have been told about it. In (251c), the speaker makes the same assumption as in (251b) about the hearer's knowledge of someone's visiting Beth. Here, the speaker does not merely report something about the visitor as he does in (251b), but identifies the visitor as Alex and not someone else. A possible context would be this: Someone caught a glimpse of a young man in Beth's room yesterday, and thinking it was Ben he now remarks *Dumalaw pala si Ben kay Beth kahapon* 'So, Ben visited Beth yesterday.' The hearer, who happens to know the facts, corrects him by saying sentence (251c). Sentence (251d) lends itself to an analysis similar to that of (251c). It may be said to correct someone who mistakenly thinks that Beth's visitor is a rival of Cezar (Beth's boyfriend).

Using the term somewhat loosely, we may say that the four sentences all *presuppose* the facts contained in their respective subject phrases. These facts or pieces of information are old or given and are shared by the speaker and the hearer. It is therefore clear that all second constituents belong to the same functional part of a sentence -- the subject. Similarly, all first constituents of the sentence types so far discussed are predicates.

H. Questions and Proper Answers

There is a neat parallelism between certain types of questions and equational sentences. Note the following:

- (252) Tag. (a) Ano ang kinain mo?
‘What did you eat?/What was it that you ate?’
- (b) Mangga ang kinain ko.
‘What I ate was a mango. / It was a mango that I ate.’
- (253) Tag. (a) Sino ang nanalo?
‘Who won? / Who was it who won?’
- (b) Si Jose ang nanalo.
‘That one who won was Jose.’
- (254) Tag. (a) Sino ang pumatay sa pusa?
‘Who killed the cat? / Who was it who killed the cat?’
- (b) Ang kumukuha ng Zoology 14 ang pumatay sa pusa.
‘The one who killed the cat was the one who is taking Zoology 14. / It was the one taking Zoology 14 who killed the cat.’

As noted in the preceding section, all the (b) sentences in (252)-(254) have the predicate-subject word order on the basis of the fact that it is the first constituent that bears new information. We may also use the same basis for determining the subject of the questions, the (a) sentences in (252)-(254). The predicate must be the interrogative pronouns, for they are functionally related to the predicate of the statements. In the statements, the predicates *give* new information, whereas in the questions the interrogative pronouns *seek* new information. We may in fact regard equational sentences as answers to some related questions. To identify the subject and the predicate of an equational sentence, we simply match the “answer” (the equational sentence) with the associated question. The part that supplies the information sought by the interrogative pronoun is the predicate and the rest is the subject.⁵

The “answer” and the related question share the same presupposition. In sentence (252), it is presupposed that I ate something, in sentence (253) that someone won, and in sentence (254) that someone killed the cat. The subject of the answer (the equational statement) may in fact be deleted, a fact that points to the oldness of the information it carries. The (b) sentences in (252)-(254) may therefore occur simply as *Mangga*, *Si Jose*, and *Ang kumukuha ng Zoology 14*.

We have enumerated eight tests or criteria for determining the subject and the predicate of equational sentences, both *definite* and *indefinite*. Singly or in combination, they constitute a working definition of subject that takes into account the

more important of the relevant semantic and structural facts about sentences as units of communication.

We have discussed a number of criteria that apply equally well to other sentence types. It is of interest that the analysis of subject-predicate structure on the basis of these criteria is in essential agreement with the observations made by linguists since the Spanish period.⁶ It cannot be the case that successive generations of linguists simply borrowed uncritically from their predecessors. To be sure, some did borrow, but it would be a mistake to suppose that all similarities and points of agreement were the result of uncritical adoption of traditional analyses. What is more likely is that all past scholars as well as practically all currently active students of Philippine languages, without explicitly stating so or without even being aware of it, approached the study of subject-predicate relations at least partly from a functional point of view. This is especially true of those who received their training before and after the forties and fifties and were therefore not very much influenced by the purely taxonomic view of language. Some of the criteria adopted in the present work were implicit in their writings. In some works these criteria were in fact explicitly stated, though oftentimes in different terms.⁷ None of them suggested that the terms *subject* and *predicate* were mere syntactic labels, for they seemed to be aware that the notions subject and predicate were intimately connected with the communicative function of language.

We are not suggesting that the adoption of the proposed criteria would solve all problems related to the identification of subject and predicate, for there are a number of interesting questions that remain to be answered. These questions, however, have to do less with *how* to identify the functional parts of a sentence than with *why* certain combinations are possible predications while certain others are not. As amply demonstrated above and in the chapter on the kinds of subject, no major problems arise in the analysis of simple predicative structures in which the predicate is not definite. It is the so-called definite and indefinite sentences that are problematic.

Endnotes to Chapter 3

¹The importance that Lopez attaches to the *linguistic copula* is consistent with his view that the normal order in Tagalog is subject followed by predicate. Another function of *ay*, according to Lopez (1940, p. 264), is to mark the predicate. It would be more accurate to say that *ay* marks or introduces the comment in a topic-comment construction.

²Constantino (1971a, p. 12) makes the following contrary claim:

“Semantically, both the subject and the predicate of a definite sentence are definite or specific, with the subject identifying or being equated with the predicate. The meaning of a definite sentence may be expressed this way: ‘It is the (subject) that does or is (predicate).’ or ‘The (subject) is the one that does or is (predicate).’”

The gloss is accurate for such sentences as *Ang babae ang sumigaw* and *Ang babae ang prinsipal*, but it is not easy to see why the subject should do the identifying. This analysis, I believe, stems from Constantino’s misinterpretation of his own gloss. If we insert the gloss of the Tagalog words, the resulting sentences would be *It was the woman who shouted* and *It is the woman who is the principal*. These two sentences are cleft sentences, where *it* anticipates the extraposed clauses used as subjects *who shouted* and *who is the principal*. It is correct to say that *shouted* and *(is) the principal* are predicates, as Constantino does. They are the predicates of the extraposed clauses. The forms of the two sentences with the subjects in the unextraposed positions would be *It who shouted is the woman* and *It who is the principal is the woman*. It is clear that the first post-copular noun (*the woman*) in the extraposed form of the sentences, which Constantino labels “subject”, is in reality the predicate noun of the higher sentence. He is correct in labeling the second post-copular noun (*the principal*) as predicate.

The parts of the second skeleton gloss are inaccurately labeled. It is true that by inserting *woman* in the space for “subject” we get *The woman was the one who shouted* and *The woman is the one who is the principal*. But these sentences are inverted cleft sentences. In the uninverted order they would be *The one who shouted was the woman* and *The one who is the principal is the woman*, which are variant forms of the *It who shouted...* and *It who is the principal...* sentences above. In all the sentences, the peak of intonation falls on *the woman*. Thus, we have:

- (c) It was *the woman* who shouted.
It is *the woman* who is the principal.
- (d) It (who shouted) was *the woman*.
It (who is the principal) is *the woman*.
- (e) The one who shouted was *the woman*.
The one who is the principal is *the woman*.
- (f) *The woman* was the one who shouted.
The woman is the one who is the principal.

These sentences (except those in (d), which are included for analytical purposes only) are possible proper responses to the questions *Who shouted?* and *Who is the principal?*, or more accurately, *Who was the one who shouted?* and *Who is the one who is the principal?* The predicate in each of these questions is *who*: it carries the intonation peak, and it seeks information. The shorter form appears to have *who* as the subject, but the relation of the shorter form to the longer form is exactly like the relation between the sentences in (f) to those in (c)-(e).

³ There are certain restrictions on the reversibility of word order in equational sentences.

⁴ The reader who wishes to know more about intonation in Tagalog is referred to Bowen (1965) and Schachter and Otones (1972). They are probably the best works on the subject that are available, the second one especially. The reader must be cautioned, though, that these two studies also contain inaccurate descriptions.

⁵ For a discussion of the structure and semantics of interrogative sentences, see Garcia-Delima (1974).

⁶ See Alegre (1972) for a detailed study of two of the most important grammars of Tagalog written during the Spanish colonial period. Alegre reports Totanes's curious analysis that "when the predicate is preceded by a preposition for common nouns the *ay* is retained even though the predicate precedes the subject" (p. 223). The example given is the following:

- (g) Ang mabait ay si Antonio.
"The wise (one) is Antonio."^{xx}

Totanes considers *ang mabait* as the predicate (probably because *mabait* is an adjective) and *si Antonio* as the subject (probably because *Antonio* is a proper name). Note that the reverse order of the sentence gives *Si Antonio ang mabait*, which is a *definite* or equational sentence. The basis for the identification of the function of the major parts of the sentence is strikingly similar to that used by Constantino (1965).

⁷ Lopez (1940), for instance, says:

"The subject is something known and familiar and projects out from the general trend of thought, and as such is mentioned first; the predicate, on the other hand, which is something new and unfamiliar but embodies in itself the proper content of the communication, follows." (p. 264)

"In questions one can only be in doubt of the predicate and not the subject." (p. 266)

"Only the predicate may accept the negation with the anteposed particle *hindi*." (p. 266)

Editor's Notes to Chapter 3

^{xix} Translation for (231)-(237) added.

^{xx} The translation should have been: "The kind (one) is Antonio."

Chapter 4

A Critique of Constantino's Analysis

In his 1965 study titled “The Sentence Patterns of Twenty-Six Philippine Languages,” Constantino presents an analysis that differs markedly from the traditional one which has been followed by other linguists since Bloomfield (1917). Some of his students at the University of the Philippines have adopted his analysis in their Master’s theses (e.g., P. Ramos 1970, Cruz 1971, Parer 1972, Peneyra 1972, and Chua 1973). Ramos (1971) and Griño (1973) have also been influenced to a certain extent. It is likely that Constantino’s position will continue for some time to be adopted by some beginning students.

Constantino classifies predicative sentences into **definite**, **indefinite**, and **situational** sentences. The subject precedes the predicate in definite and indefinite sentences. In situational sentences, the predicate comes first. The following, all from Tagalog, are typical examples of the three types. The subject is underlined.

- (255) Definite: Ang bata ang tumakbo.
the child the ran-away
‘It was the child who ran away.’
- (256) Indefinite: Bata ang tumakbo.
child the ran-away
‘It was a child who ran away.’
- (257) Situational: Tumakbo ang bata.
ran-away the child
‘The child ran away.’

In a footnote (1965, p. 77), Constantino states that he does not follow in every respect Bloomfield’s analysis that the predicate always precedes the subject. (There is no disagreement concerning the word order in situational sentences.) He does not explain clearly why he disagrees with the traditional analysis, but in a much later study (Constantino, 1971b) he gives four main reasons. We shall take them up one by one. The first:

1. The centers (or heads) of the first ICs of the definite and indefinite sentences and of the second IC of the situational sentence are the same; i.e., they are all noun phrases. On the other hand, the centers of the second ICs of the definite and indefinite sentences and of the first IC of the situational sentences are also the same; they are any of the following: verb, noun, adjective, or prepositional phrase. Thus, if the first IC of the situational sentence is analyzed as the predicate (as is done by all linguists), then the second ICs of the definite and indefinite sentences must also be analyzed as the predicates of these latter sentences.

(Constantino, 1971b, pp. 137-138)

It is obvious that we have here a different notion of what a *noun phrase* is. For Constantino, *ang tumakbo* ‘the one who ran,’ *ang kinain ng bata* ‘that which was eaten by the child,’ *ang maganda* ‘the one that is pretty,’ and *ang nasa kahon* ‘that which is in the box’ are not noun phrases because their heads or centers are not nouns. He would call the first two phrases **verb phrases**, the third **adjective phrase**, and the last **particulate phrase**. However, these phrases have unmistakable nominal readings. They are what linguistic philosophers call **definite referring expressions** -- expressions which are used for naming objects. They are what Bloomfield (1917) calls **objectivized expressions**, what Schachter and Otnes (1972) call **nominalized forms** or **nominalizations**, and what Lopez (1940) calls **substantives**. Such phrases, according to Lopez who is a native speaker of Tagalog, are “psychologically considered as substantives,” whatever their English translations may be (1940, p. 45). Every speaker of a Philippine language will react to an *ang* phrase as a substantive or nominal, regardless of the form class membership of its head. In fact, the gloss indicates that *ang* phrases are nominals, e.g., *ang binilhan ng binata ng bulaklak* ‘the one from whom the bachelor bought some flowers’ (Constantino, 1965, p. 86), *ang inupuan ng bataq* ‘where the child sat’ (p. 87), *ang tumakbo* ‘who ran away’ (*in passim*), *ang kinausap ng binata* ‘the one with whom the bachelor talked’ (p. 86). What seems to have been missed is that in Philippine languages, there is no indefinite pronoun corresponding to *one* in English and its equivalent in European languages. In Philippine languages, an object which cannot be specified or for which no single-noun designation is available or which the speaker does not wish to specify can be referred to by the use of *ang* before any descriptive word (what the object is doing, how it looks, where it is, etc.) that is sufficient to identify it. Note the similarity in structure between the (a) phrases in (258)-(260) and the (b) phrases in (258)-(260) below:

- (258) (a) Tag. ang tumatakbo
 Ilk. ti agtartaray
 ‘the (one who/which) is running’
- (b) Tag. ang batang tumatakbo
 Ilk. ti ubing nga agtartaray
 ‘the child who is running’
- (259) (a) Tag. ang mabango
 Ilk. ti nabanglo
 ‘the (one/which) is sweet/the sweet one’
- (b) Tag. ang bulaklak na mabango
 Ilk. ti sabong a nabanglo
 ‘the flower which is sweet/the sweet flower’
- (260) (a) Tag. ang nasa kahon
 Ilk. ti adda idiy kahon
 ‘the (one) in the box’
- (b) Tag. ang saging na nasa kahon
 Ilk. ti saba ang adda idiy kahon
 ‘the banana which is in the box’

Both (a) and (b) phrases are clearly analyzable as complex phrases: there is a relative clause modifying the noun head. The structure would be:

- (261) ang X $\left(\begin{array}{l} \text{tumatakbo ang X} \\ \text{mabango ang X} \\ \text{nasa kahon ang X} \end{array} \right)$

where X is \emptyset in the (a) phrases where the head is unspecified, and a noun in the (b) phrases. The second occurrence of *ang X*, being co-referential with the first *ang X*, is deleted and is replaced by a ligature, which is inserted between the head noun and the remainder of the relative clause. The ligature is of course not used if the head is unspecified.¹

It is not necessarily true that the “head” (in Constantino’s sense) of the first IC of a definite and an indefinite sentence, and the second IC of a situational sentence is always a noun. The underlined words in the following sentences cannot be called *nouns*. (Sentences 262a and 262b would be called *definite* and *situational* respectively

by Constantino.)

- (262) Tag. (a) Ang tumatakbo ang nagbigay ng puto.
 ‘It is the one running who gave some puto.’
- (b) Kumakanta ang binigyan ko ng regalo.
 ‘The one who I gave a gift to is singing.’

Not only is *tumatakbo* not a noun, it can also be replaced by an adjective (*Ang maganda ang nagbigay ng puto*), or a possessive or existential phrase (*Ang may kotse ang nagbigay ng puto*), or a locative phrase (*Ang nasa tabi ni Jose ang nagbigay ng puto*). There are in fact so many words or phrases that can function as “head” (again, in Constantino’s sense) of an *ang* phrase. Similarly, the whole phrase after *ang* in (262b) may be replaced by an adjective, a noun, a demonstrative, or by one of a variety of phrases which can serve as predicate (because they are actually predicates of attached relative clauses). It would be interesting to find out how one following Constantino’s analysis would distinguish the subject from the predicate in (262a) and (262b), where both constituents have verbal “heads.” Identifying the primary functional parts of a sentence on the basis of the sameness of the heads of the constituents would simply not work, for there is a variety of possible heads for both ICs of all the three sentence types, subject of course to certain restrictions on the kind of nominals that may go together in the formation of predications of the equational type.

Another observation to make concerning Constantino’s first reason is its attempt to introduce a new kind of syntactic argumentation. For instance, it is proposed in the last sentence that the identification of the predicate of definite and indefinite sentences must be a logical consequence of the analysis of the first IC of a situational sentence as the predicate. Yet, as shown in rules 14 (1965, p. 116) and 17 (1965, p. 118), and as restated in footnote 36 (1971b, p. 138), the definite sentence is the **kernel** or source of the other two sentence types. It seems strange that parts of a kernel sentence should be identified according to how the parts of its transform are identified.

It should be clear from the foregoing paragraphs that the second ICs of the three sentence types are all nominals. And as nominals they meet practically all the eight criteria for subjecthood. One obvious exception is that the first criterion cannot be used to identify the parts of a definite sentence because both parts are definite.

Now the second reason:

2. The same marker (or class of markers) occurs in the first IC of the definite sentence and the second IC of the situational sentence; Constantino calls this marker the **subject** or **noun** (or **substantive**) **marker**. On the other hand, another marker occurs in the second ICs of the definite and indefinite sentences; Constantino calls this the **predicate marker**. This predicate marker is not the same as the subject marker, contrary to what most linguists have assumed. This fact is shown clearly by languages like Maranao and Samal (Sml.) where the two markers are morphemically different.

(Constantino, 1971b, p. 138)

Here arises inconsistencies in what Constantino considers a nominal phrase. In the sentences in (263), he would consider the initial *ang* a noun marker or a substantive maker but the second one a predicate marker:

- (263) Tag. Ang bata ang sumigaw.
 Ilk. Ti ubing ti nagriaw.
 ‘It was the child who shouted.’

It has been amply shown in the preceding discussion that any *ang* phrase is always understood as a definite referring expression. In fact, Constantino calls both markers *definite*. But what is definiteness if not a feature of nominals? His glosses clearly indicate that he considers an *ang* phrase to be nominal or substantival. There is a simple test: remove *ang* and *ti* from the second constituent in (264) and the sense would change, not from definiteness to indefiniteness of the verb, but from a *definite nominal* to a *verb*. The change in meaning would be from *the one who shouted* to *shouted*. The removal of *ang* from any *ang* phrase with a non-nominal head would result in a similar change of meaning. Thus,

- | | | | |
|-------|------|---|-------------|
| (264) | Tag. | ang maganda | maganda |
| | | ‘the pretty one’ | ‘pretty’ |
| | Ilk. | ti natayag | natayag |
| | | ‘the tall one’ | ‘tall’ |
| | Tag. | ang nasa ibabaw | nasa ibabaw |
| | | ‘the one on top’ | ‘is on top’ |
| | Tag. | ang kahapon | kahapon |
| | | ‘the one (that existed, etc.)
yesterday’ | ‘yesterday’ |

The difference between an *ang* phrase and one without *ang* (regardless of the form class membership of the “head”) is that the former is a definite nominal and the latter is an indefinite nominal. There is no such thing as *predicate marker*. The *ang* in the predicate (Constantino’s *subject*) of an equational sentence indicates definite reference rather than predicatehood. It is the same *ang* that marks a definite noun or nominal phrase used as subject. If any part of a sentence is to be marked at all, it has to be the subject, for as explained elsewhere in this monograph, the subject is what is foremost in the mind of the speaker -- the focus of his attention, the thing about which he says something. For communication to take place, this part of the sentence has to be made clear to the hearer.

The examples cited in footnote 37 in the second reason to show that the markers of the two ICs are “morphemically different” are the following:

- | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----------|--------------------------|-------------|-----|----------------------------------|--|
| (265) | Maranaw | So | wataq | i | tuminindig. | |
| | | the | child | the | stood-up | |
| | | | | | ‘It was the child who stood up.’ | |
| | | | | | | |
| (266) | Samal | Anak-anak | itu | ya | bay | paragan. |
| | | child | this | the | past | ran-away |
| | | | | | | ‘It was the child who ran away.’ |
| | | | | | | |
| (267) | Dibabawon | Kan umey | te pigtanem | ni | Juan | |
| | | the child (<i>sic</i>) | the planted | by | John | |
| | | diyaq | te pasak. | | | |
| | | there | the ground | | | |
| | | | | | | ‘The rice was the one which John planted in the ground.’ |

The claim is that *i*, *ya*, and *te* are “morphemically different” from *so*, *itu* (or possibly a zero subject marker), and *kan* respectively.

Before discussing the so-called “morphemic difference” between the two sets of markers, it must be mentioned that sentence (265) was tested by means of the eight criteria for subjecthood. All the eight, except the first, indicated that the second constituent must be the subject. The reason for non-applicability of the first test is obvious: both constituents are definite; hence, definiteness cannot be used as a criterion. There is no reason why the same conclusion may not be arrived at concerning sentences (266) and (267), since both are also equations like (265).

We shall show later that there is indeed a difference between *so* and *i* in the Maranao sentence above, but the difference is not that *so* marks the subject and that *i*

marks the predicate. Eliciting relevant data or a cursory investigation of neighboring and related languages would have shown that *so* may also occur in the second constituent, and is therefore not exclusively a subject marker. For example, Chua (1973) reports the following data from Subanen, a language closely related to Maranao, where the second constituent has *su*:

(268) Si Pedro su mimisita rin ni Ana. (p. 26, no. 61)
'It is Pedro who visits Ana.'

(269) Si Pedro su mimisita rin ni nga Ana. (p. 26 no. 62)
'It is Pedro who visits Ana and her companion.'

Like Constantino, Chua asserts elsewhere in her work that *su* is the subject marker and that *i* is the predicate marker.

If a functional difference is consistently made between the marker of the first constituent and the marker of the second constituent in equational sentences on the basis of the phonological difference between *so* and *i*, then we would have to recognize two *ang*'s in Tagalog, Cebuano, and Hiligaynon, two *ing*'s in Pampango, and two *ti*'s in Ilocano. In fact, we would have to recognize two such phonologically identical but functionally different markers in most if not all Philippine languages. There would have to be two kinds of personal name markers:

(270) Tag. (a) *Si* Jose ang may kabayo.
'It is Jose who has a horse.'
(b) Ako *si* Jose.
'I am Jose.' (lit., 'Jose is I.')

(271) Ilk. (a) *Ni* Tering ti nasabatko.
'It was Tering whom I met.'
(b) Siak *ni* Tering.
'I am Tering.' (lit., 'Tering is I.')

The personal name markers *si* and *ni* in (270a) and (271a) would have to be different from the phonologically identical markers *si* and *ni* in (270b) and (271b). Similarly, the demonstrative *ito*, *iyan*, *iyon*, etc., in Tagalog and *daytoy*, *dayta*, *daydiay* in Ilocano and the corresponding forms in other Philippine languages would have to be "morphemically different" forms depending on whether they occur in subject position or in predicate position. The proponents of an analysis that recognize the existence of a predicate marker that is distinct from the subject marker would have to

agree with the analysis above, since it is a logical extension of their own analysis.

In languages where there are two sets of nominative pronouns, we would have a different state of things: instead of the supposedly different function markers having the same phonological realizations, we would have the same function markers with different phonological realizations. Notice the following examples from Ilocano:

- (272) (a) Nabannog-ak.
'I am tired.'
- (b) Nakasadsadot-ka.
'You are very lazy.'
- (c) Immay-Ø.²
'(He/She/It) came.'
- (d) Napanglaw-kami.
'We are poor.'
- (e) Nalalaing-kayo.
'You are all good.'
- (f) Nagawid-da idi kalman.
'They went home yesterday.'^{xxi}
- (273) (a) Siak ti nabannog.
'It is I who is tired.'
- (b) Sika ti nakasadsadot.
'It is you who is very lazy.'
- (c) Isu ti immay.
'It was he who came.'
- (d) Dakami ti napanglaw.
'It's us who are poor.'
- (e) Dakayo ti nalalaing.
'It's you who are good.'
- (f) Isuda ti nagawid idi kalman.
'It was they who went home early.'

The sentences in (272) are neutral sentences, and as most linguists would agree, the second constituents, the pronouns, are the subjects of these sentences. On the other hand, if we follow Constantino's analysis, the first constituents in the sentences in (273) would have to be the subjects. (We have shown in this monograph that the pronouns in (273) are predicative or *focus phrases* of cleft sentences. They are the same

forms of topicalized pronouns, i.e., pronouns that are fronted in *ay* constructions.) We would have a situation where a subject pronoun has two forms while a personal name used as subject has only one form. The personal name marker *si* (Tag.), *ni* (Ilk.), *i* (Pamp.) would in fact be the same in phonological shape, whether they mark the subject of a neutral sentence, the “subject” of a definite sentence, or the “predicate” of a definite sentence. On the other hand, since it is possible to say *Ni Pedro-ak* ‘I am Pedro’ in Ilk., the subject pronoun of a neutral sentence and the “predicate” of a definite sentence would be phonologically identical, whereas, as noted above, the subject pronoun of a neutral sentence would be phonologically different from the pronoun used as “subject” of a definite sentence.

The validity of the Maranao, Samal, and Dibabawon examples that are cited as evidence of the existence of a predicate marker is apparent. In the first place, similar data from the more familiar languages suggest that the difference in the form of the markers indicates a difference in degree of definiteness between the two constituents. Consider the following examples in Ilocano:

- (274) (a) Ti ubing ti nagsangit.
the child the cried
- (b) Diay ubing ti nagsangit.
that child the cried
- (c) Diay ubing diay nagsangit.
that child that cried
- (d) *Ti ubing diay nagsangit.
the child that cried
‘It was the child that cried.’
- (275) (a) Diay agkatkatawa ti nangilemmeng iti lapismo.
(b) *Ti agkatkatawa ti nangilemmeng iti lapismo.
‘It is the one who is laughing who hid your pencil.’
- (276) (a) Ni Jose ti pabasolenyo.
‘It is Jose who you should blame.’
(b) Ni Jose diay agsangsangit.
‘It is Jose who is crying.’

In Standard Ilocano, the general definite subject marker is *ti*. When a greater degree of definiteness is intended, the demonstrative *diay* ‘that (away from the speaker and hearer)’ is often used instead of *ti*.

As shown in (274a) and (274c)^{xxii}, the markers of the two constituents may be the same, either both *ti*'s or both *diay*'s. Alternatively, the first can be *diay* and the second *ti*, as in (274b) and (275a); but the first cannot be *ti* if the second is *diay*, as shown in (274d) and (275b). Sentence (276a) is perfectly grammatical, *ni Jose* being a unique identifier and therefore as definite as any noun can be. Sentence (276b) has constituents that both have a high degree of definiteness, though the first, being a unique identifier, is probably a shade more definite than the second.

The significance of these observations becomes clear if we recall that an equational sentence is a predication in which two definite constituents are equated. One constituent is the identified constituent and the other the identifying constituent. The identifying or the identifier can only be the predicate since it is the predicate that gives new information about the other constituent, which is the subject. Since the constituent to be identified is definite, the identifier can only be one that has at least the same degree of definiteness or one which has a greater degree of definiteness, if it has to do any identifying at all.

The notion **degrees of definiteness** is a useful one and it can serve as a basis for determining or explaining how the speaker selects his subject when he joins two definite noun phrases in an equative predication. The principle is that in an equative sentence, the subject, being definite, can only be equated to or identical by a phrase that is at least equally definite. The violation of this principle seems to be the reason for the ungrammaticality of sentences where the subject is marked by a demonstrative and the predicate is marked by the general definite noun marker. Sentences (274d) and (275b) are two such ungrammatical sentences. It is easy to see why the sequence in these two sentences is not permitted. A demonstrative is clearly more definite than the general definite marker, as shown by the fact that the head may be deleted if it is marked or *modified* by a demonstrative. The referent of a demonstrative is unmistakable. The general definite noun marker, on the other hand, cannot be used alone to stand for a nominal. The greater generality (and less specificity) of the general definite marker than that of a demonstrative is further shown by the fact that it is the general definite marker that is used to mark a generic noun used as subject. A generic noun does not refer to a specific or particular individual but to a representative of a whole class. What is true of this representative is, in effect, asserted as true of the class that it represents. Note that in (277), the subject may refer either to a definite object or to the whole class of which that object is a member. The subject in (278), on the other hand, can only refer to a particular or definite object.

- (277) Tag. Kumakain ng damo ang kambing.
Ilk. Mangmangan iti ruot ti kalding.
'The goat eats grass. / The goat is eating some grass.'
- (278) Tag. Maamo ang pusang ito.
Ilk. Naamo daytoy (a) pusa.
'This is cat is tame.'

There are dialects of Ilocano in which the demonstrative *diay* is consistently used to indicate non-generic definite reference and in which *ti* has become exclusively generic. This distinction between *diay* and *ti* is also made between the oblique forms *idiay* and *iti*.

In an equational sentence, the only possible message consists in supplying information that will complete, add to, or make more certain or more specific the identity of an already definite subject. For a predicate noun to do this job, it must have a greater degree of definiteness than the subject. A predicate noun that is less definite than the subject, which it is supposed to identify, would not be saying anything at all about the subject. A sentence that had such a predicate would be like a formal definition whose differentia is more vague than the term that it is meant to define.

The analysis of the subject-predicate structure of nominal sentences, particularly the equational type, on a purely syntactic basis neither explains nor adds to our understanding of the nature of an equative predication. In a study on Tausug, Peneyra (1972) makes the following observations:

- A. "A demonstrative pronoun can be used as the predicate of a definite sentence only when the subject is a proper name or a proclitic nominative personal pronoun." (p. 12)
- B. "A proper name can be used as the predicate of a definite sentence only when the subject is a proclitic nominative personal pronoun or a demonstrative pronoun." (p. 13)
- C. "A proclitic nominative personal pronoun can be used as the predicate of a definite sentence only when the subject is a proper name or a nominative demonstrative pronoun." (p. 13)
- D. "... When a proper name manifests one of the ICs of a definite sentence and the other IC is manifested by a nominative personal or demonstrative pronoun, the proper name may occur as the subject or the predicate of the sentence. Sentences in which the two ICs are both manifested by proper names, by nominative personal pronouns, or by nominative demonstrative pronouns do not seem to be used in normal speech." (Chapter 2, fn. 6)

If we follow this view of subject-predicate structure as shown by the kinds of constituents that are labeled “subject” and “predicate,” we can regard these observations as generally true of all Philippine languages; but progress cannot be made in the study of equational sentences unless we attempt to explain why certain sequences are acceptable and why certain other sequences are not. This we shall try to do. We shall show that the degree of definiteness or the **cognitive status** (a term suggested by Hetzron 1974) of the definite nominal phrases involved has something to do with the acceptability or non-acceptability of a given sequence.

According to the observations in A, sentences (279a)-(279d) are grammatical whereas (279e)-(279h) are not, or at least not normal. Sentences (279c) and (279d), together with the gloss, are examples (18) and (20) in Peneyra (1972, p. 12).

- (279) (a) Tag. Si Jose ito.
'This is Jose.'
- (b) Tag. Ako ito.
'This is me.'
- (c) Tau. Hi Faruk qini.
the Faruk this
'Faruk is this one.'
- (d) Tau. Qaku qini.
I this
'I am this one.'
- (e) Tag. ?Ang bata ito.
the child this
'The child is this.'^{xxiii}
- (f) Tag. ?Ang libro iyan.
the book that
'The book is that.'
- (g) Tau. ?quin mastal qini.
the teacher this
'The teacher is this.'
- (h) Tau. ?qin bujang qini.
the maiden this
'The maiden is this.'

The reason for the acceptability of (279a)-(279d) seems to be the fact that they constitute possible messages. *Si Jose* and *Hi Faruk*, being unique identifiers, have a greater degree of definiteness than *ito* and *qini*. And *ako* and *qaku* are at least as definite as *ito*. These are the sentences that viewers of a group picture are likely to utter as they try to identify the somewhat blurred or funny faces. The referent of the demonstrative is definite only in the sense that the speaker is actually pointing at a face in the picture. In reality, however, the blurred face is not fully recognizable by the other viewers; hence, it is in need of further identification by a more definite identifier such as a proper name or a personal pronoun with an unmistakable referent. The names of the viewers or the pronouns used instead of the names cannot fail to have unmistakable referents. Suppose one of the viewers says *Si Thelma ito* or *Ikaw ito*, referring to Thelma and pointing at the wrong face, Thelma corrects him and says *Hindi, ito ako* ‘No, I am *this/This* is me’ with the stress on the italicized words. Note that the word order is reversed. This time, the equation starts with *ako* (Thelma) as the reference point, the object *outside* the picture that is in need of the right match (the identifier) among the faces *in* the picture. In the initial or stimulus statement (like those in 279a-279d), the equation starts with the picking out of a face *in* the picture and identifying it as one of the viewers. In both the initial statement and the response statement, the constituent that gives new information or that does the identifying is the first constituent. This constituent can only be the subject.

The confusion in the identification of the subject and the predicate is shown by the way the Tausug sentences in (279c) and (279d) are glossed. The free gloss of (279c) does not seem to capture the structure of the Tausug sentence. It seems that it should be ‘This one is *Faruk*,’ with the intonation peak on *Faruk*. The free gloss of (279d) is all right but the stress should be on *I* in order to capture the structure and the semantics of the Tausug sentence. The gloss in the normal order would be ‘This one is *me*,’ with the stress on *me*. All the four Philippine sentences have their intonation peak on the first constituent. This fact should be reflected in the gloss.

In the scale of definiteness, a definite common noun ranks lower than unique identifiers, pronouns, and demonstratives. This explains the ungrammaticalness of (279e)-(279h), where the predicate in each sentence is a definite common noun: Such a noun derives its definiteness either from the presence of its referent in the common immediate environment of the speaker and the hearer, or from linguistic anaphora, including the use of some definitizing attached relative clause. If the definite nouns in (279e)-(279h) are definite by virtue of the first process, then it should not be surprising

that the sentences, in which the definite common nouns are equated as predicates to demonstratives, do not make sense. It is difficult to imagine what possible message sentences of this kind would have. In fact, one likely interpretation of (279e)-(279h) is that they are not sentences but noun phrases modified by a demonstrative, despite the absence of the expected ligature. On the other hand, if the nouns are definitized by means of the second process, they are clearly less immediate in the awareness or consciousness of the speaker than the demonstrative; hence, the ungrammaticalness of the sentences. A reversal of the positions (and functions) would give perfectly grammatical sentences because the less definite phrase would become the subject. E.g.,

- (i) Tag. Ito ang libro (na binili ko kahapon).
 ‘The book (which I bought yesterday) is this one./
This is the book (which I bought yesterday).’
- (j) Ilk. Daytoy ti balasang (a naitagtagainepko).
 ‘The lady (who I dreamed about) is this one./
This is the lady (whom I dreamed about).’

According to the observations in B, the sentences in (280a)-(280b) are grammatical but those in (280c)-(280d) are not.

- (280) (a) Tag. Ako si Jose.
 ‘I am Jose.’
- (b) Ilk. Daytoy ni Jose.
 ‘This is Jose.’
- (c) Tag. ?Ang maestra si Elena.
 the teacher Elena
 ‘The teacher is Elena.’^{xxiv}
- (d) Ilk. ?Ti propesor ni Mr. Cruz.
 the professor Mr. Cruz
 ‘The professor is Mr. Cruz.’

Sentences (280a) and (280b) have two possible interpretations. If used in introductions, (280a) is actually a rapid way of saying *Ako ay si Jose*, which in effect means ‘My name is Jose.’ (The unnaturalness of *Si Jose ay ako* as a topic-comment construction corresponding to *Ako si Jose* may therefore be explained by the fact the

latter sentence is itself an *ay* sentence.) By this interpretation, *ako* is the subject (or topic, to be more precise). The second interpretation applies to the following situation: An old man whose eyesight is failing is unable to recognize a person and says *Ilk. Sino ka?* 'Who are you?' The person, if he is a neighbor or a relative or even a member of household, assumes that he is known to the old man and replies with *Siakni Casio*. Such a reply cannot be interpreted as the same sentence that is used in introductions meaning 'I am Casio./My name is Casio.' The meaning would be something like, 'I am the Casio who you know very well./The Casio whom you know very well is *me*.' In this case, we have a sentence in the natural order, with *Casio* as the subject. Of course he may decide to say *Ni Casio ak* 'I am Casio.' The practice of assuming that one's self is known even in the face of contrary evidence, and of consequently using one's name as the subject of an equational sentence, may also be seen in the case of two persons running into each other after many years of not having seen each other. The one with a better memory gives the other a slap on the back or a big handshake and calls him by his first name. When the other fellow does not respond but gives a puzzled look instead, the first says *It's me* and then adds his name, *It's me -- Joe Pascua*, when he realizes that the other fellow has really forgotten him. The equivalent sentence in Ilocano would be *Siak ni Joe -- Joe Pascua*, with a meaning something like, 'The Joe Pascua that you used to know is *me*./I am the Joe Pascua that...'. Note that in the two communicative situations just described, the question and the response are not parallel in structure. The question *Sino ka?*, with the information-seeking part (the predicate) *sino* in its usual position, is answered not with the structurally parallel *Si Pedro ako* 'I am Pedro' but with *Ako si Pedro*, lit., 'Pedro is I.' The violation of the principle of structural parallelism between question and response corresponds to the answerer's view or assumption that the person named *Pedro* is or should be known to his interlocutor. He then uses *Pedro* as the subject and identifies him to be the *ako*, the very real and definite person right in front of the forgetful one.

Sentences (280c) and (280d) are ungrammatical for the same reasons that (279e) and (279h) are ungrammatical.

According to the observations in C, sentences (281a)-(281b) are perfectly grammatical but (281c) and (281d) are not:

- (281) (a) Tag. Si Pedro ako.
'I am Pedro.'

- (b) Tag. Ito ako.
'I am this one.'
- (c) Ilk. ?Ti maestro ak
the teacher I
'I am the teacher.'^{xxv}
- (d) Ilk. ?Dagiti soldado da.
the soldiers they
'They are the soldiers.'

The words on either side of the equation in (281a) and (281b) are comparable in degree of definiteness, but those in (281c) and (281d) are not, hence, the ungrammaticality of the last two sentences.

As to the observations in D, only the second sentence is of interest, the first one being a repetition of (279)-(281). Why is it that in "normal speech," two proper names or two personal pronouns or two demonstratives cannot form an equation predication? Why is it that (282a)-(282c) don't make sense?

- (282) (a) Ilk. Ni Sadat ni Ford
Ni Ford ket isu ni Sadat.
'Ford is Sadat.'
- (b) Tag. Kami sila.
Sila ay kami.
'They are us.'
- (c) Ilk. Daytoy dayta.
Dayta ket isu daytoy.
'That one is this one.'

Sentences (282a)-(282c) are not normally acceptable for the simple reason that the phrases are unique identifiers. *Ford* and *Sadat* each refer to a unique, particular individual, and one cannot possibly be the other. It is not easy to imagine a situation where the referent of *kami* 'we' would be the same as that of *sila* 'they,' or where the referent of *daytoy* 'this' would be the same as that of *dayta* 'that.'

In a supposition or a contrary-to-fact statement, it is of course possible to equate *Sadat* and *Ford*, *kami* and *sila*, and *daytoy* and *dayta*. For example,

- (283) (a) Tag. Kung si Sadat si Ford, ano kaya ang
gagawin niya?
'If Ford were Sadat, what would he do?'
- (b) Tag. Kung kami ay sila, uuwi na kami.
'If we were they, we would go home.'
- (c) Tag. Kung ito iyan, nagkasiya sana.
'If that one were this one, it would have
been enough.'

The principle that the predicate must be more definite than the subject in an equational sentence seems to be at work in (283). This is seen in the tendency, as attested in the speech of some native speakers, to reduce the definiteness of the subject by using the common definite marker *ang*, as in *Kung ito ang iyan*, *Kung ako ang ikaw*, *Kung ako ang Marcos*. This tendency has become the general rule in Ilocano, and presumably in some other languages as well. For example,

- (284) (a) Ilk. No siak ti sika...
'If I were you.' (lit., 'If you were I...')
- (b) No siak ti Jose...
'If I were Jose.' (lit., 'If Jose were I...')
- (c) No ni Sadat ti Presidente Ford...
'If President Ford were Sadat...'

The sentences in (284) would in fact be more accurately glossed 'If the one who is President Ford were Sadat,' 'If the one who is Jose were me,' 'If the one who is you were me,' where the common article *the* would capture the sense and function of the Ilocano marker *ti*. There is some reluctance on the part of some native speakers to accept (284c) as the usual way of saying things, but pronouns and ordinary and lesser names are regularly marked by *ti* when used as subject of equational sentences.

There are of course certain contexts or situations in which sentences like that in (282a) would be acceptable, if not the appropriate form to use. In a case of mistaken identity, for instance, they would be appropriate. Even then, the requirement that the predicate must rank higher in cognitive status than the subject cannot always be ignored. Thus, instead of the (a) sentences in (285)-(287), the (b) sentences in (285)-(287) are often more appropriate:

- (285) Tag. (a) Si Marlowe si Shakespeare.
 (b) Si Marlowe ang Shakespeare.^{xxvi}
 ‘Marlowe is Shakespeare.’^{xxvii}
- (286) Ibg. (a) Si Marlowe si Shakespeare.
 (b) Si Marlowe ya Shakespeare.
 ‘Marlowe is Shakespeare.’
- (287) Tag. (a) Si Simon si Ibarra sa Noli.
 (b) Si Simon ang Ibarra sa Noli.^{xxviii}
 ‘The Ibarra in Noli is Simon.’

Sentences (285b) and (286b) would be said by a scholar who realizes or becomes convinced that the great dramatist who has long been known as William Shakespeare was actually Christopher Marlowe. Sentence (287b) would be said by one who discovers while reading “El Filibusterismo” that Simon is the same man as the Ibarra in the first novel “Noli Me Tangere.” The general effects of the use of *Ilk. ti*, *Ibg. ya*, or *Tag. ang* before a proper name or personal pronoun or demonstrative is to reduce the uniqueness or completeness of these words as designations, and to allow them to be used as the heads of noun phrases with relative clauses. In short, *ang*, *ti*, and *ya* convert a unique identifier into a definite common noun, which is a notch lower in the scale of definiteness.

So much for degrees of definiteness. Now, the third reason:

The nominative pronouns occur as the second IC of the situational sentence and the first IC of the definite sentence. Thus, in Constantino’s analysis these pronouns always occur as subjects. In the traditional analysis, the nominative pronouns are subjects in situational sentences and predicates in definite sentences.

(Constantino, 1971b, p. 138)

It has been amply demonstrated in the preceding discussions and elsewhere in this monograph, as well as in various works on Philippine languages, that contrary to what is claimed in the above passage, nominative pronouns may function as subject or as predicate. Both the structure and the intended message determine the function of a nominative pronoun. With the appropriate context, a pronoun may also occur as the second IC of a definite sentence. For instance, we may say *Tag. Ito ako* ‘I am this one’ or *Ilk. (Ni) Maria ak* ‘I am Maria.’ These are only two of the many possible and appropriate equational sentences with a nominative pronoun as the second IC. In many

Philippine languages, two sets of nominative pronouns exist. One set consists of usually shorter forms, which are used exclusively as subject. The longer forms, which constitute the other set, serve as predicates or “focus” phrases in cleft sentences and equational sentences, or as topics in topic-comment structures. There is abundant evidence not only in Philippine languages but also in many other languages, such as Thai, Chinese, English, and other European languages that pronouns may also function as predicates.

The fourth reason is as follows:

The first ICs of the definite and indefinite sentences and the second IC of the situational sentence have a transformational relation to each other. Two of the said ICs can be derived from the third one by simple transformational rules that operate on the kernel sentence (which may be the definite or situational sentence). On the other hand, the second ICs of the definite and indefinite sentences and the first IC of the situational sentence are transformationally related to each other. Thus the grouping of the ICs of the sentence types into subject constituents and predicate constituents is a consequence of their structural relationships to each other and not merely a consequence of their positions in the sentences.

(Constantino, 1971b, p. 138)

Thus, all the sentences in (288), which are definite, are the source of the sentences in (289), which are indefinite:

(288) Tag. Ang bata ang tumakbo.
Pamp. Ing anak ing milayi.
Ilk. Ti ubing ti timmaray.
the child the ran-away
'It was the child who ran away.'³

(289) Tag. Bata ang tumakbo.
Pamp. Anak ing milayi.
Ilk. Ubing ti timmaray.
child the ran-away
'It was the child who ran away.'

The transformational operation is a simple one. As shown in rule 14 on page 116 of the Constantino 1965 work, it involves the deletion of the noun marker of the first constituent. Yet, as the gloss indicates, there is a distinct semantic difference between

the source sentence and the output. The source sentence refers to a definite child whereas the output refers to an indefinite child, to any child.⁴ The question, then, is, should a transformational rule be considered valid if it effects the kind of change of meaning that is involved in deriving an indefinite sentence from a definite sentence? I do not think so. I would agree with Gonzalez (1972) that,

What constrains the theory of transformational generative grammar from postulating the most fanciful transformations (from one phrase marker to another phrase marker) is precisely the postulate, made explicit by Katz and Postal (1964), that meaning is preserved through the transformational cycle and that no new semantic content is added by transformations (qualifications to this postulate have been proposed by Chomsky 1969). But where two sentences are semantically distinct, no matter how closely they resemble each other in the surface structure and in their lexemes, one cannot state that one sentence is transformed into another sentence. (pp. 389-390)

The reference to Chomsky has to do with his proposed revision of the Standard Theory to allow some properties of surface structure to play a role in determining semantic interpretation. The contribution of surface structure involves such notions as focus, presupposition, and topic. The transformation postulated by Constantino involves the category of definiteness. It changes a definite noun to an indefinite noun. Should such a change be allowed? A speaker uses the definite form of a noun phrase when he assumes that the existence of the referent has been registered in the consciousness of the hearer, or when he believes that the referent has been sufficiently described such that it has a determined identification for the hearer. All forms of natural discourse show that once a nominal has become definite, it is never made indefinite again. The problem is that once we accept that a transformational rule may effect such a change in meaning, we may also have to accept rules that change past tense to present tense, plural number to singular number, subjunctive mood to indicative mood, reciprocal construction to non-reciprocal construction, question to answer, etc. It should be easy to formulate simple rules for these changes, if simplicity were the only criterion. We could then turn the whole reasoning around and claim that two or more sentences have “structural relationship” with each other because there are rules to show that they are related.

Another reason mentioned for the choice of definite sentences rather than situational sentences as kernel is that “a definite goal may not occur in situational sentences, but it does in definite (and indefinite) sentences” (Constantino, 1971b, p.

138, n. 36). What is meant is that sentences like those in (290) do not occur in Philippine languages while sentences like those in (291) are completely acceptable.

- (290) Tag. (a) *Pumatay si Pedro sa pusa.
killed Pedro the cat
'Pedro killed the cat.'
- (b) *Bumili sa kotse ang binata.
bought the car the bachelor
'The bachelor bought the car.'
- (c) *Bumili ng (isang) binata sa kotse.
bought a bachelor the car
'A bachelor bought the car.'
- (291) (a) Si Pedro ang pumatay sa pusa.
the Pedro the killed the cat
'It was Pedro who killed the cat.'
- (b) Ang binata ang bumili sa kotse.
the bachelor the bought the car
'It was the bachelor who bought the car.'
- (c) (Isang) binata ang bumili sa kotse.
a bachelor the bought the car
'It was a bachelor the bought the car.'

The observation is accurate. Sentences (290) do not occur as surface forms, because in Philippine languages a definite direct object obligatorily becomes the surface subject. Thus, the grammatically correct versions of (290) would be (292).

- (292) (a) Pinatay ni Pedro ang pusa.
killed by Pedro the cat
'Pedro killed the cat.'
- (b) Binili ng binata ang kotse.
bought by the bachelor the car
'The bachelor bought the car.'
- (c) Binili ng (isang) binata ang kotse.
bought by a bachelor the car
'A bachelor bought the car.'

Why is it that the rule of obligatory subjectivalization of a definite object does not apply to definite and indefinite sentences like (291a)-(291c)? The reason, I believe, may have to do with the internal structure of the second IC or the subject (Constantino's predicate). The second *ang* phrase is not verbal, as claimed by Constantino, but a definite nominal with a relative clause modifier. It is a complex noun phrase. We will recall that the general structure of an NP of this kind is roughly as follows:

(293) *ang X (bumili sa kotse ang X)*

The first X stands for the head of the whole noun phrase and the second X, which is co-referential with the first, is the subject of the relative clause. By Equi-NP deletion, replacement of the deleted NP with a ligature, placement of the ligature right after the head (and dropping of the first and remaining X if it is unspecified and necessarily of the ligature too) will give *ang bumili sa kotse*. It seems that a constituent in the relative clause must first be converted into an *ang* phrase (i.e., the subject) before it is deleted.⁵ In the examples in (291a)-(291c), it is the agentive that is earmarked for deletion, being co-referential with the head word of the higher noun phrase. Its subjectivalization therefore takes precedence over that of the definite object. If it did not, we would have an ungrammatical form like,

(294) **ang bata ang binili ang kotse*
'It was a child who bought the car.'^{xxix}

There is another way of explaining the behavior of an object phrase in a relative clause. We may say that the deep or underlying case is objective. If it is definite, it is obligatorily transformed into, or replaced by, the oblique or locative (directional) case in the surface structure. Since it is no longer in its original objective case, the rule of obligatory subjectivalization, consequently, does not apply to it. If it is indefinite, it does not undergo any case transformation or subjectivalization but is marked in the surface structure by the common non-oblique case marker. This is not an implausible explanation for it seems to be needed also in other languages to account for similar case phenomena. In Spanish for instance, when the object of an active verb is a person, a proper or personified noun, it is preceded by the preposition *a*. E.g.,

(295) (a) Yo amo *a* Maria.
'I love Maria.'
(b) El hombre debe amar *al* hombre.
'Man must love man.'

- (c) Isabel conquistó a Granada.
'Isabella conquered Granada.'⁶

Let's return to the proposed transformations.

To derive a situational sentence from a definite sentence, Constantino postulates rule 17 (1965, p. 118) which transposes the first constituent of a definite sentence to the end of the sentence. This is followed by the deletion of the "predicate marker." The following will illustrate the steps involved:

- (296) (a) Ang bata ang tumakbo.
the child the ran-away
'It was the child who ran away.'
- ↓
- (b) Ang tumakbo ang bata.
the ran-away the child^{xxx}
- ↓
- (c) Tumakbo ang bata.
ran-away the child.
'The child ran away.'

Rule 17 does not actually say that there is an intermediate step (b). As formulated, the transposition of the "subject" and the deletion of the "predicate marker" are carried out simultaneously; but it would also allow deletion of the marker to come first, to be followed by transposition.

From a purely formal point of view, the process of deriving (296c) from (296a) is a simple case of transposition and deletion. Semantically, however, there is a big difference between the source and the output. The first is a nominal sentence, a response to *Sino ang tumakbo?* 'Who ran away?,' whereas the second is a verbal sentence, a neutral sentence which may be an answer to the question *Ano ang nangyari?* 'What happened?'⁷ The first presupposes that someone ran away and its message is the identification of that someone. The second does not have any such presupposition other than the assumption on the part of the speaker that the subject *ang bata* has a determined identification for the hearer. In the first, there is no knowledge of the identity of the subject, for it is precisely the burden of the sentence to provide it.

In a study on "The Deep Structures of Philippine Languages" (1970),

Constantino expresses dissatisfaction with his own analysis of deriving indefinite and situational sentences from definite sentences. He proposes to write “the latest version of the base rules of my proposed ‘universal’ grammar of the Philippine languages” (p. 68) that would “generate the strings underlying every sentence of the three sentence types” (p. 67). His dissatisfaction with his analysis does not seem to have anything to do with the issues and criticism raised in the preceding discussions. If I understand him correctly, he wants the rules to have sufficient generative power (p. 68) in order for the syntactic component to be able to “specify, for each sentence, a *deep structure* that determines its semantic interpretation and a *surface structure* that determines its phonetic interpretation” (p. 65, quoting Chomsky 1965, p. 16).

The work is essentially an attempt to apply the 1968 version of Fillmore’s case model. It has some minor disagreements with Fillmore but these are not relevant to the subject of this monograph. On the other hand, it tends to distort case grammar by introducing, or rather retaining, certain notions in Constantino (1965). The main features of the 1970 article that are of relevance are the following:

1. The notion of predicate marker is retained so that phrases like *ang tumakbo* ‘the one who ran away,’ *ang kumain* ‘the one who ate,’ and *ang kinain* ‘that which was eaten’ are still considered verb phrases. In the tree diagram, they are dominated by DV, which I think is intended to mean *definite verb*. *Ang* in these phrases is glossed ‘the’ but it is not supposed to be a nominal marker.

2. In certain respects, some proposed derivations are even more difficult to justify on semantic grounds than the derivation of the indefinite from the definite sentence. For instance, sentences (297) and (298) (sentences (1) and (3) in Constantino (1970), p. 66) would be derived from the same underlying structure:

(297) *Ang bata ang kumain sa mangga.*
 ‘It was the child who ate the mango.’

(298) *Ang mangga ang kinain ng bata.*
 ‘It was the mango which the child ate.’

It is claimed that the common deep structure consists of a marked definite verb (*kain*), an actor complement marked by the article *ang* (*bata*), and a goal complement (*mangga*), also marked by *ang*. The actor is subjectivalized in (297) and the goal is subjectivalized in (298). We then have a subjectivalization rule that radically changes meaning, for (297) and (298) have completely different messages, despite the identity of the lexical items involved.⁸

Similarly, (299) and (300) (sentences (2) and (6) in Constantino (1970), p.66) are said to derive from the same deep structure:

(299) Ang bata ang kumain ng mangga.
'It was the child who ate a mango.'

(300) Mangga ang kinain ng bata.
'It was a mango which the child ate.'

The only difference between the deep structure of (299) and (300) and the deep structure of (297) and (298) is that the goal complement of the former is not marked by the article *ang*, i.e., it is indefinite. At least Constantino now admits that definiteness is a feature which cannot be erased from the semantic configuration of a noun once it has been acquired. It still puzzles me, though, how such semantically distinct sentences as (299) and (300), and (297) and (298), can be said to derive from the same source.⁹

Endnotes to Chapter 4

¹ See N. Cubar (1972) and (1974) for a discussion of the notion of unspecified head in a noun phrase with a relative clause.

² In Standard Ilocano, the third person singular pronoun in the nominative case is \emptyset . Many younger speakers now often use *isuna*, which is a combination of the nominative *isu* and the possessive or unfocused agentive *na*, also the third person singular.

³ The reader should be familiar by now with Constantino's (1965) analysis that in a definite sentence, as well as in an indefinite sentence, the first constituent is the subject and the second is the predicate. It should be clear by now that Constantino's understanding of the meaning of the two sentences, as shown in the way he glosses them, conflicts with his analysis. As Gonzalez (1972) says, the "gloss is accurate... It is the analysis which is problematic." (p. 388).

⁴ According to some theories about reference, it is not correct to say that an indefinite noun used predicatively is a referring expression. It does not refer to any object but to the class of which the referent of the subject is a member. Thus *Ubing ti timmaray* would have the meaning 'the object that ran away belongs to the class called *ubing*.'

⁵ There are at least two instances in which the deleted phrase in a relative clause is not analyzable as an *ang* phrase. The first is when the phrase is a possessive adjunct as in (h) and the second is when it is a locative adverb (possibly time adverb too) as in (i):

(h) Tag. Si Jose ang malaki ang tiyan (niya).
 Jose the big the stomach (his)
 'It is Jose whose stomach is big.'

Ilk. Ni Luis ti nalukmeg ti asawana.
 Luis the stout the wife-his
 'It is Luis whose wife is stout.'

(i) Tag. ang lugar na kung saan siya lumaki
 the place LIG. if where he grew-up
 'the place where he grew up'

The NPs with a relative clause in (h) have the following structures:

Tag. ang X (malaki ang tiyan *ng* X)
 Ilk. ti X (nalukmeg ti asawa *ni* X)

Phrase (i) has a structure which looks like this:

Tag. ang lugar (lumaki siya *sa* lugar)

Note that the deleted phrases are not true complements. True complements (agent, object, locative, etc.) would undergo obligatory subjectivalization before they are deleted and replaced by the relative ligature.

⁶ The examples are from the *New Revised Velázquez Spanish and English Dictionary* (1964, p. 7).

⁷ In many languages of the world, there is such a thing as *functional shift*. Some words

that are basically nominal may be verbalized, and some words that are basically verbal may be nominalized. Phenomena of this kind are the subject matter of derivational morphology. However, the change of the nominal *ang tumakbo* to the verbal *tumakbo* is highly questionable. There is at least one Filipino linguist who agrees with Constantino that the transformation is a plausible one. Griño (1973), for instance, would derive what she calls Type 2 or verbal sentences from Type 1 or verbless sentences. Thus (j) is said to be the source of (k):

- (j) Hil. Ang bata ang nagadalagan.
'It is the child who ran away.'
- (k) Ang bata nagadalagan.
'The child ran away.'

Unlike Constantino, however, she does not claim that *ang nagadalagan* 'the one who ran away' is a verb phrase (p. 142).

⁸ It should be clear to the reader by now that Constantino's subjectivalization is what other linguists call **cleft-sentence formation**, and that his subject is the *focus phrase* of a cleft sentence. Even those who would derive a cleft sentence from a neutral sentence, however, do not claim that the focus phrase is the subject. See Chomsky (1969/1971, p. 199-200).

⁹ The readiness with which Constantino ignores semantic considerations is shown even more clearly in his proposal to derive non-verbal sentences like those in (l)-(n) (sentences (12)-(14) in Constantino (1970), p.76) from verbal sentences like those in (o)-(q) (sentences (9)-(11) in Constantino (1970), p.76):

- (l) Titser ang babai.
'The woman is a teacher.'
- (m) Maganda ang babai.
'The woman is beautiful.'
- (n) Para sa babai ang mangga.
'The mango is for the woman.'
- (o) Naging titser ang babai.
'The woman became a teacher.'
- (p) Naging maganda ang babai.
'The woman became beautiful.'
- (q) Naging para sa babai ang mangga.
'The mango became for the woman.'

Are we not confusing linguistics with the real happenings in the non-linguistic world? Being is certainly not the same as becoming. If we argue that a teacher must have been a non-teacher originally but went through the process of becoming one, and use this as a basis for postulating a linguistic transformation, we might as well transform *He was a boy* to *He is a man* (where the two *he*'s are co-referential). It would be interesting to hear from proponents of this kind of linguistic transformation about the kind of non-verbal sentences that they would derive from *Magiging abogado si Jose* 'Jose will become a lawyer' and *Ayaw maging maestro si Jose* 'Jose does not want to become a teacher.'

The simplicity of the process of deleting the verb *maging* is not a sufficient basis for postulating a transformational relationship between *be* sentences and *become* sentences. To quote Gonzalez (1972, p. 390-391):

“the implausible transformations <such as those proposed by Constantino>... demonstrate quite clearly, if nothing else, the function of semantics in grammar...: what moves the transformational generative grammarian to postulate sentential connections is identity of semantic import. There is nothing in the theory of formal language itself (more especially the theory of the characterization of the transformational component) to prevent one phrase marker from being transformed into a totally different phrase marker; in other words, transformational rules can be made as powerful as warranted. The constraint, as far as natural languages are concerned, seems to me to be semantic: only such transformations which preserve semantic identity can be posited. In grammatical analysis, then, semantic considerations are primary. One must not be led by surface similarities in structure and in lexical choice as well as symbolization to posit transformations where such transformations are semantically implausible.”

Editor's Notes to Chapter 4

^{xxi} Translation added.

^{xxii} Example sentence referred to corrected.

^{xxiii} Translation for (279e)-(279h) added.

^{xxiv} Translation for (280c) and (280d) added.

^{xxv} Translation for (281c) and (281d) added.

^{xxvi} This may also be interpreted as Marlowe being the epitome of Shakespeare.

^{xxvii} Translation for (285) and (286) added.

^{xxviii} By restricting the interpretation of Ibarra with *sa Noli*, this may also mean that the actor named Simon will be playing the role of Ibarra in *Noli*.

^{xxix} Translation added.

^{xxx} Gloss added.

Chapter 5

Some Remarks on Focus Constructions

What is the nature of the relationship between what Schachter and Otnes call *emphatic inversion* (1972, pp. 496-498) and *equative constructions* of the type described in Chapter 3? Do sentences with emphatic inversions have the usual subject-predicate structure? What is the nature of the relationship -- if there is any relationship -- between emphatic sentences and neutral sentences? Not much attention has been given to these problems in the past, partly because they were not asked or thought important enough, and partly because in the past seven or eight years, the emphasis has been on case grammar and on the refinement of its basic postulates. I suspect that even today, there are still some who would minimize the importance of these questions, especially among those who do not take semantics into consideration in the study of syntax. In this chapter I shall discuss tentatively the results of my ruminations on the question of focus constructions in general.

Consider the following sentences:

- (301) Tag. Sa Baguio nakilala ni Auring si Berto.
'It was in Baguio that Auring met Berto.'
- (302) Ilk. (a) Idi kalman a nagawid ni Jerry.
'It was yesterday that Jerry went home.'
(b) Idi kalman ti sangpet ni Jerry.
'Jerry's coming home was yesterday.'
- (303) Tag. Dahil sa iyo nagpakamatay ang binata.
'It was because of you that the bachelor killed himself.'
- (304) Tag. Ang ginawa ko ay umuwi ako kaagad.
'What I did, I went home at once.'
- (305) Ilk. Dayta manokmo ti partienta.
'It is your chicken that we shall kill.'
- (306) Tag. Biyuda ang napangasawa ni Isagani.
'It was a widow that Isagani married.'

Are these sentences as different from one another structurally as their surface dissimilarities would seem to indicate? The suggested answer is that they probably belong to only one major construction type or to very closely related construction types. It is further suggested that they correspond to the English cleft sentence and pseudo-cleft sentence and their equivalents in other European languages, and that they also have equivalents in probably all languages. We shall characterize each one of them or the subtypes that they represent, but before we do that we shall review briefly how they have been classified and described in the literature.

There is not a single linguist who regards all the six sentences as belonging to the same type of construction. Bloomfield (1917, p. 192-193) considers fronted adverbials typified by those in (301)-(303), except (302b), as more “closely joined” to the clause than adverbials in other position. There is nothing in the way he glosses his examples to indicate that he regards them as equivalent to the focused adverbials (predicate function) in English. He translates *Dito niya ginamit ang kanyang lakas* and *Doon sila magpalipas ng bakasyon* as ‘For this he used his strength’ and ‘There they are to spend the vacation.’ He considers the second constituent in sentences like (305) and (306) the subject and glosses them with a cleft or a pseudo-cleft construction.

Lopez, who has been greatly influenced by Bloomfield, has very little to add to Bloomfield’s analysis. The difference between the two is only terminological. Instead of describing fronted adverbials as “closely joined” to the clause, he says that they are in emphatic position. He says (1940, p. 278-279) that by the “considerable freedom of word arrangement... different subtle shades of meaning can be rendered and emphasis placed on any expression depending upon its position in the word arrangement.” He does not assign predicate function to the cleft or foregrounded adverbials. But his gloss often indicates that he means to equate emphatic constructions to the English cleft sentence (e.g., *Kahapon ako nanggaling sa Maynila* ‘Yesterday (i.e., not any other day) I came from Manila.’)

Constantino’s analysis has already been discussed, but an additional remark or two would be helpful. He would consider the adverbial *idi kalman* ‘yesterday’ in (302b) the subject of the sentence. He says, “An adverb or adverbial phrase may... become a transform subject, as in *Ngayong gabi ang alis ng bapor* (now night the departure of ship) ‘The ship leaves tonight’” (1971b, p. 138, n. 38). He suggests that the sentence be compared with *Aalis ang bapor ngayong gabi*, which he also glosses ‘The ship leaves tonight,’ and which is presumably the immediately related sentence. He says nothing about sentences like (301), (302a), and (303). One would expect him to derive *Ngayong gabi ang alis ng bapor* from the semantically closer sentence *Ngayong gabi aalis ang bapor* ‘It is tonight that the boat leaves.’ It is not clear how he

would derive the last mentioned *Ngayong gabi* sentence, and also (301), (302a), and (303). Presumably he would derive them from the corresponding neutral (his “situational”) sentences, for he says:

Either one of the preceding adverbial phrases <referring to the place and time adverbs in two “situational” sentences preceding this quotation> may be focused and become the subject of the resultant *adverb-focus sentence*. The focused adverbial phrase occurs at the beginning of the verb-focus sentence, and the sentence modified by the adverbial phrase undergoes some structural changes. If the temporal phrase is focused, the verb of the modified sentence is “nominalized” by replacing its affix by a *nominalizing verb affix*. The complements of the nominalized verb are all unfocused, and the nominalized verb phrase is preceded by the article *ti*.

(Constantino, 1971a, p. 23)

Thus a sentence like (307) is said to have an adverb as its subject.

- (307) Ilk. Idi kalman ti panagsangit diay ubing.
 ‘It was yesterday when the child cried.’^{xxxix}

If what is intended as the starting point for the derivations is a case grammar formula and not something associated with a basic neutral sentence, there is still the problem of deriving a sentence like *Idi kalman a nagsangit diay ubing*, which is exactly of the same type as (301), (302a), and (303), and whose meaning is exactly like (307). Regardless of the intention, the problem with Constantino’s analysis remains: what he has been calling “subject” since 1965 is the *focus-phrase of a cleft sentence*. However, the focus phrase of a cleft construction is the bearer of new information, hence, the *predicate*; and the out-of-focus clause is the presupposed (old information) part, hence the *subject*. Wolfenden, in his work on Hiligaynon (1975), recognizes the equational nature of the Hiligaynon equivalents of (305) and (306), calling the first an **equational clause expressing specific identification** and the second an **equational clause expressing general identification**. But he also considers as equational sentences which express locational, possessive, or benefactive identification (e.g., *Sa imo ina* ‘That’s yours now,’ *Sa kusina ang tigulang niya* ‘His parents are in the kitchen.’) These sentences do not have nominal predicates to which the (nominal) subjects are equated. Like most linguists, Wolfenden considers the second constituent of the Hiligaynon equivalents of (305) and (306) the subject, and also that in (302b). He would probably analyze the Hiligaynon equivalent of (304) as having a secondary topic. Probably because his model is a tagmemic one, he cannot consider fronted adverbials as

occupying higher-predicate position.

The fullest treatment to date of sentences like (301)-(306) is that by Schachter and Otnes (1972), but these structures are taken up in different chapters and sections, and there is no indication that the authors regard all of them as belonging to the same construction type or to very closely related construction types. They describe sentences like (301), (302a), and (303) as instances of emphatic inversion, often with an element of contrast (pp. 496-498). They do not, however, assign predicate function to fronted adverbials. In their analysis, an adverbial like that in (302b) is called a **pseudo-predicate** partly because the sentence is “understood as implying a deleted verbal predicate, often a form of *mangyari* ‘take place, occur, happen’ or *gawin* ‘be done, be held’” (p. 449). They propose a transformation deriving a pseudo-predicate adverbial from the corresponding sentence where the adverbial is in emphatic position. They describe the structural relation this way: “(1) the affix and aspect marking of the verb are deleted, and the marker *ang* is placed before the base; (2) the marker *ng* replaces *ang* before the word (or phrase) that designates the performer” (p. 165).

Sentences like (304) are described as instances of inverted topics or inverted predicates, where the constituent before *ay* is the topic. Sentences like (305) are analyzed as having a nominalized verb for subject, and (306) as having a definitized predicate, with the second constituent functioning as subject (Schachter and Otnes, 1972, p. 529-531). The five analyses just summarized are similar to one another in two important respects: a fronted adverbial does not have predicate status, and a sentence with emphatic inversion is not related to any equational sentence. Not all the six sentences are considered related to neutral sentences but many of them are. This is suggested by such words as *objectivized*, *definitized*, and *inversion*.

How then, can we justify our claim that all the six sentences may be considered as belonging to the same construction type?

First, one must note that each one of the six sentences presuppose the truth of the proposition expressed in the second constituent. It is presupposed that Auring met Berto somewhere in (301); that Jerry went home (sometime in the past) in (302a); that Jerry came home in (302b); that the bachelor killed himself in (303); that *I* did something in (304); that there exists something that *we* are going to kill in (305); and that Isagani married someone in (306). In other words, only the adverbials in (301), (302), and (303), and the first constituent in (305) and (306) convey new information. The comment (the clause after *ay*) in (304) is of course the information-bearing constituent. Since it is characteristic of predicates to contain relatively new information, we may say that the fronted adverbials are predicates of some sort and that the clause is the subject; but it does not make much sense to say that a clause like

nagawid ni Jerry ‘Jerry went home’ is described as *idi kalman* ‘yesterday.’ Certainly, it is not of the same kind of assertion as that contained in the statement *Matangkad si Pedro* ‘Pedro is tall.’ However, if we analyze the out-of-focus clause as a noun phrase with a head word with a very general meaning corresponding to the meaning of the adverb, we can have an equational sentence. Thus, if the adverb is *idi kalman* ‘yesterday,’ the head of the subject phrase would be the general word *time* (or its Philippine equivalent). Similarly, a place adverb like *idiay Baguio* would have opposite it in the equation the general word *place*. An adverb like *dahil sa iyo* ‘because of you’ would go with *reason*. This analysis would give sentences like the following:

- (308) Ilk. Idiay Laoag ti *lugar* a nakakitaak iti al-alia.
 in Laoag the place LIG. seen-by-me a ghost
 ‘The place where I saw a ghost was in Laoag.’
- (309) Idi kalman ti tiempo a nagawid ni Jerry.
 yesterday the time LIG. went-home Jerry
 ‘The time when Jerry went home was yesterday.’
- (310) Gapu kenka ti poon a nagpapatay
 because of you the reason LIG. killed-himself
 ti baro.
 the bachelor
 ‘The reason why the bachelor killed himself was on
 account of you.’

In (309) and (310), a more specific lexical item may be used, e.g., *siyudad* ‘city’ and *aldaw* ‘day.’ If the lexicon does not contain a single word corresponding to an adverbial phrase or even a clause used as focus phrase, it is not possible to produce an equational counterpart of a cleft sentence. The solution just described has been tried by Akmajian (1970) for English. Rawangking (in preparation) reports that Thai cleft sentences are readily convertible into equational sentences by a copula *kh* and words with general meanings like *khon* ‘man,’ *thii* ‘place,’ *sing* ‘thing,’ *weelan* ‘time,’ and many more.

I would not, however, go as far as deriving a Philippine cleft sentence from the same underlying structure as that of a neutral sentence, for the two sentences are semantically distinct. I would not accept Chomsky’s proposal (1970) nor that of Schachter’s (1973) that the underlying structure for a cleft sentence contains a dummy predicate into which the word or phrase chosen as focus is moved. Such an underlying form cannot be the basis for semantic interpretation, for a dummy predicate conveys

no information. The equational source for a cleft sentence, on the other hand, would be a more faithful representation of the communicative intent of a cleft sentence. Some general word in the subject gets fully identified by the predicate, as in *The one who owns this car is Pedro*, where *Pedro* gives the identity of the unnamed owner of the car vaguely referred to by the pronoun *one*.

Theoretically, for every constituent of a sentence there is a corresponding equational form. If it is the active predicate that is focused, the general word would be *gawin* (as suggested by Schachter and Otnes, 1972). If it is the passive predicate that is focused, the general word would be *mangyari*. *Mangyari* would also be used when it is the entire sentence that is focused. In all the three cases, the *ay* construction is obligatory. E.g.,

- (311) Tag. Ang ginawa ni Pedro ay umuwi siya.
 ‘What Pedro did was, he went home.’
 cf. Umuwi si Pedro.
 ‘Pedro went home.’^{xxxii}
- (312) Tag. Ang nangyari kay Pedro ay nahulog siya.
 ‘What happened to Pedro was that he fell.’
 cf. Nahulog si Pedro.
 ‘Pedro fell.’
- (313) Tag. Ang nangyari ay sinuntok ni Jose si Pete.
 ‘What happened was that Jose hit Pete.’
 cf. Sinuntok ni Jose si Pete.
 ‘Jose hit Pete.’

The formulations in this chapter are tentative. I hope to elaborate on them and treat the subject exhaustively in a separate paper.

Editor's Notes to Chapter 5

^{xxx}i The original manuscript writes *panangsangit* which is probably a typographical error.

^{xxx}ii Translation for the sentences cited for reference in (311)-(313) added.

References^{xxxiii}

- Akmajian, Adrian. (1970). On deriving cleft sentences from pseudo-cleft sentences. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 1(2), 149-168.
- Alegre, Maria Salome S. (1972). *Tagalog grammars in Spanish: A study of two representative works*. (Master's thesis). University of the Philippines.
- Alejandro, Rufino. (1947). *A handbook of Tagalog grammar, with exercises: Based on the official Balarila and especially written for non-Tagalog English-speaking students of the Filipino national language*. Manila: University Publishing Company.
- Aspillera, Paraluman S. (1956). *Lessons in basic Tagalog for foreigners and non-Tagalogs*. Manila: Philippine-Asian.
- Beeston, Alfred Felix L. (1974). Embedding of the theme-predicate structure in Arabic. *Language*, 50(3), 474-477.
- Benton, Richard A. (1971). *Pangasinan reference grammar*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Blake, Frank R. (1925). *A grammar of the Tagalog language, the chief native idiom of the Philippine islands*. New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society.
- Bloomfield, Leonard. (1917). *Tagalog texts with grammatical analysis*. Urbana: University of Illinois.
- Bloomfield, Leonard. (1933). *Language*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.
- Bowen, J. Donald (Ed.). (1965). *Beginning Tagalog: A course for speakers of English*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Capell, Arthur. (1964). Verbal systems in Philippine languages. *Philippine Journal of Sciences*, 93, 231-249.
- Chafe, Wallace. (1970). *Meaning and the structure of language*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Chua, Lily T. (1973). *A structural description of the Subanen Language*. (Master's thesis). University of the Philippines.
- Chomsky, Noam. (1965). *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. (1971). Deep structure, surface structure, and semantic interpretation. In Danny D. Steinberg & Leon A. Jakobovits (Eds.), *Semantics*:

^{xxxiii} The following were added to the list to reflect all studies cited by Cubar in the manuscript: Akmajian (1970), Benton (1971), Capell (1964), Chomsky (1965), Chomsky (1973), Garcia-Delima (1974), Lewkowicz (1971), Rawangkang (in preparation), Silverio (1962), Velasquez, Gray, & Iribas de la Cadena (1964).

- An interdisciplinary reader in philosophy, linguistics and psychology* (pp. 183-216). New York: Cambridge University Press.^{xxxiv}
- Chomsky, Noam. (1973). Remarks on nominalization. In Roderick A. Jacobs & Peter S. Rosenbaum (Eds.), *Readings in English Transformational Grammar* (pp. 184-221). Waltham, Massachusetts: Ginn.
- Constantino, Ernesto A. (1965). The sentence patterns of twenty-six Philippine languages. *Lingua*, 15, 71-124.
- Constantino, Ernesto A. (1970). The deep structures of Philippine languages. *The Archive*, 1(2), 65-79.
- Constantino, Ernesto A. (1971a). *Ilokano reference grammar*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Constantino, Ernesto A. (1971b). Tagalog and other major Philippine languages. In Thomas A. Sebeok (Ed.), *Current trends in linguistics* (Vol. 8) (pp. 112-154). The Hague: Mouton.
- Cruz, Emilita L. (1971). *Subcategorization of Tagalog verbs*. (Master's thesis). University of the Philippines.
- Cubar, Nelly I. (1972). *Relativization and complementation in Tagalog*. Quezon City: Social Science Research Council, University of the Philippines. [Typescript].
- Cubar, Nelly I. (1974). *Complex sentences in Tagalog, Cebuano and Hiligaynon*. Quezon City: Social Science and Humanities Research Committee, University of the Philippines. [Mimeographed].
- Fillmore, Charles J. (1968). The case for case. In Emmon Bach & Robert T. Harms (Eds.), *Universals in linguistic theory* (pp. 1-88). Austin, Texas: The University of Texas Press.
- Garcia-Delima, Purification D. (1974). *Interrogative structures in Ilocano*. (Master's thesis). University of the Philippines.
- Gonzalez, Andrew B. (1972). *Pampangan: Outline of generative semantic description*. Manila: Research Council, De La Salle College.
- Griño, Eliza U. (1973). Provisions for emphasis in Hiligaynon. In Andrew B. Gonzalez (Ed.), *Parangal kay Cecilio Lopez: Essays in honor of Cecilio Lopez on his seventy-fifth birthday* (pp. 141-152). Quezon City: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Hetzron, Robert. (1974). A synthetical-generative approach to language. *Linguistics*, 138, 29-62.

^{xxxiv} (Original work published in 1969, Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club).

- Hidalgo, Araceli C. (1969). Two mental processes: Focusing and emphasizing and their linguistic manifestations. *The Diliman Review*, 17, 252-264.
- Hockett, Charles F. (1958). *A course in modern linguistics*. New York: MacMillan Company.
- Kuno, Susumo. (1972). Functional sentence perspective: A case study from Japanese and English. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 3(3), 269-320.
- Langacker, Ronald W. (1974). Movement rules in functional perspective. *Language*, 50(4), 630-664.
- Lewkowicz, Nancy K. (1971). Topic-comment and relative clause in Arabic. *Language*, 47(4), 810-825.
- Llamzon, Teodoro A. (1973). The four focus transformations of Tagalog. In Andrew B. Gonzalez (Ed.), *Parangal kay Cecilio Lopez: Essays in honor of Cecilio Lopez on his seventy-fifth birthday* (pp. 168-183). Quezon City: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Lopez, Cecilio. (1940). *A manual of the Philippine national language*. Manila: Bureau of Printing.
- McKaughan, Howard P. (1958). *The inflection and syntax of Maranao verbs* (Publication of the Institute of National Language). Manila: Bureau of Printing.
- McKaughan, Howard P. (1962). Overt relation markers in Maranao. *Language*, 38 (1), 47-51.
- McKaughan, Howard P. (1973). Subject versus topic. In Andrew B. Gonzalez (Ed.), *Parangal kay Cecilio Lopez: Essays in honor of Cecilio Lopez on his seventy-fifth birthday* (pp. 206-213). Quezon City: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Naylor, Paz Buenaventura. (1974, January 2-7). On contextual aspects of topicalization. Paper presented at the First International Conference on Comparative Austronesian Linguistics, Honolulu, Hawaii.
- Parer, Ferdinand A. (1972). *Topicalization in Calbayog Waray*. (Master's thesis). University of the Philippines.
- Peneyra, Irma U. (1972). *A grammatical sketch of the Tausug language*. (Master's thesis). University of the Philippines.
- Pike, Kenneth L. (1963). A syntactic paradigm. *Language*, 39, 216-230.
- Ramos, Patria P. (1970). *The verbal sentences of Bhanaw Tinggian*. (Master's thesis). University of the Philippines.
- Ramos, Teresita V. (1971). *Tagalog structures*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Rawangkang, Wissanu. (in preparation). *Nominal sentences in Thai*. (Master's

- thesis). University of the Philippines.^{xxxv}
- Reid, Lawrence A. (1966). An Ivatan syntax. [Special Publications No. 2], *Oceanic Linguistics*, 1-160.
- Schachter, Paul. (1973). Focus and relativization. *Language*, 49(1), 19-46.
- Schachter, Paul & Fe T. Otanes. (1972). *Tagalog reference grammar*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Schreiber, Peter A. & Anshen, Frank. (1974). Arabic topicalization: Alternative approaches. *Language Sciences*, 29, 19-21.
- Silverio, Antonia C. (1962). *The passive verbal sentence constructions in Tagalog*. (Master's thesis). University of the Philippines.
- St. Clair, Robert N. (1971). Dislocation in Rumanian. *Language Sciences*, 6, 32-34.
- Teng, Shou-Hsin. (1974). Double nominatives in Chinese. *Language*, 50(3), 455-473.
- Vanoverbergh, Morice. (1955). *Iloko grammar*. Baguio City: Catholic School Press.
- Velasquez, Mariano, Gray, Edward, & Iribas de la Cadena, Juan L. (1964). *New revised Velazquez Spanish and English dictionary*. Chicago and New York: Follett Publishing Company.
- Wolfenden, Elmer. (1975). *A description of Hiligaynon syntax*. Norman, Oklahoma: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Wolff, John U. (1972). A dictionary of Cebuano Visayan. [Special Monograph Issue 4]. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*.

^{xxxv} Completed in 1976.

