

Revisiting Word Structure in Tagalog**

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ABSTRACT

Analyses of words with affixes in Tagalog have commonly been presented in a linear fashion: identify the root first, and whatever remains will be the affix(es). For example, Tagalog words *maganda*, *gumanda*, *pagandahin*, *kagandahan*, are all derived from the root *ganda* 'beauty'. Grammar books would illustrate the structure of the example of derived words given above as having a rootword taking the affixes *ma-*, *-um-*, *pa...-hin*, *ka...-an*, respectively. When presented this way, it gives an impression that multiple affixes are attached simultaneously to a root. This study proposes otherwise. Instead of a simultaneous affixation, this paper looks into a step-by-step process, where a root takes an affix one step at a time. This type of analysis accounts for the individual meanings of each affix, instead of implying that a complex affix denotes a single meaning.

Keywords: Tagalog, word structure, affixation

1.0 INTRODUCTION

A word in Tagalog is categorized morphologically into three types: simple—composed of a single root; compound—combination of two simple words; and complex—made up of a root and an affix or affixes. A complex word, which is the focus of this paper, has been analyzed by separating the root and the affix or affixes attached to it. Studies on the morphological structure of different parts of speech such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives present an exhaustive list of affixes that can be attached to roots (Cruz 1975, Paz 1996). This type of analysis demonstrates that affixes are attached to roots only once. This poses no problem if the word only has one affix. However, words with all the types of affixes—prefix, suffix, and infix, exist in Tagalog, as well as in other Philippine languages.

It is the purpose of this study** to present an alternative view on the analysis of the structure of complex words in Tagalog. It hopes to accomplish the following: (a) re-examine the structure and meaning of complex affixes; and in so doing, (b) illustrate that the process of affixation is a step by step process, instead of a simultaneous one; and (c) identify the factors that dictate the order of affixation in complex words.

2.0 TAGALOG WORD STRUCTURE

Tagalog, spoken in the cities of Metro Manila and nearby provinces, is probably the most investigated language in the Philippines. Tagalog has captured the attention of Spanish friars, as early as 1593, during the Spanish period (Asuncion-Lande 1971). Studies on the linguistic structures of Tagalog, specifically its morphology, present an inventory of affixes that can be attached to roots. Schachter and Otones (1972) in their Tagalog reference grammar listed the affixes that can be attached to nouns, adjectives, and verbs. They specified 17 affixes for noun derivations, 16 affixes that can be attached to different word classes to form adjectives, and 17 major verbal affixes. These figures are conservative as it only accounts for each distinct affix form. Some affixes have several distinct meanings or are attached to different word classes. For example, the affix B+*an* (B stands for base to which an affix is attached) is used to derive nouns and is listed twice. It derives two different types of words. The first type of B+*an* produces words pertaining to a place related to the base such as *aklatan* 'library', *halamanan* 'garden', *kumpisalan*

'confessional'. The other type is attached to the verb base and the derived noun means reciprocal action such as *awayan* 'fighting (one another)', *bigayan* 'giving (one another)', *paliwanagan* 'explaining (to one another)'. Cena (2014) cites that there are 162 simple and complex voice-mode affixes in Schachter and Otnes.

Makarenko (1973) in his short study on word formation in Filipino enumerated affixes and grouped it according to its syllabic structure: monosyllabic (*ka-*, *pa-*, *mag-*, *nag-*, *pag-*, *mang-*, *nang-*, *pang-*, *ma-*, *na-*, *-um-*, *-in-*, *i-*, *-an*, *-in*), disyllabic (*magka-*, *pagka-*, *taga-*, *maka-*, *mala-*, *pala-*, *maki-*, *naki-paki-*, *ka-...-an*, *pa-...-an*), and trisyllabic (*pala-...-an*, *tala-...-an*, *paki-...-an*). Cruz (1975) analyzed the verbal morphology of Tagalog and subcategorized verbs according to focus and mood and identified the affixes that represent each type of focus and mood. On the other hand, Paz (1996) analyzed the morphology and syntax of nouns and adjectives in Tagalog. For the morphology part, Paz catalogued 28 noun-deriving affixes and 24 adjective-deriving affixes. She identified the categories of the different roots to which the affixes attach and defined each affix based on the meaning of the resulting derived form. The studies done by Cruz and Paz also include disyllabic and trisyllabic affixes as categorized by Makarenko. Several of the disyllabic and trisyllabic affixes are reanalyzed in this study to illustrate that these are composed of monosyllabic affixes which bear independent meaning and are attached to the root one step at a time.

The discussion of the affixes is divided in three parts. Disyllabic and trisyllabic affixes that are involved in noun derivations are examined first, then with adjective derivations, and then the affixes producing verb stems are investigated last.

2.1 Noun Derivations

Schachter and Otnes enumerates 17 semantically-distinct derivational affixes in forming nouns from different types of roots in their Tagalog grammar while Paz lists 28 affixes in her study of Tagalog noun morphology. The disyllabic and trisyllabic affixes from their lists include: (1) *tagapag-*, (2) *tagapang-*, (3) *magka-*, (4) *ka-...an*, (5) *pa-...-an*, and (6) *pala-...an*. The meanings given for each of the affixes in this current study follow the

definition provided by the previous works. These affixes will be reanalyzed in the subsections that follow.

2.1.1 tagapag-

Paz presents this affix together with its variant *taga-* while Schachter and Otones list *taga-* and *tagapag-* separately. The affixes *taga-* and *tagapag-* are attached to verb roots, and both previous studies distinguish the type of verb roots to which these affixes attach. The affix *taga-* is attached to *-um-* verbs, while *tagapag-* specifically attaches to *mag-* verbs. However, some verb roots both take *-um-* and *mag-* which means both *taga-* and *tagapag-* can be attached to the same root. For example the verb root *basa* ‘to read’ and *linis* ‘to clean’ can have derived forms *tagapagbasa/tagabasa* and *tagapaglinis/tagalinis*, respectively.

Words bearing the affix *tagapag-* (also those attached with *taga-*) mean “one who does duty or assignment”. Examples of words with *tagapag-* affix are the following: *tagapagtanggol* ‘defender’, *tagapagsalita* ‘speaker’, *tagapaglinis* ‘cleaner’, *tagapagtaguyod* ‘advocate’, *tagapag-ugnay* ‘coordinator’. Below are sentences with a couple of derived sample words.

a. *Naging tagapagtanggol siya ng mahihirap.*

“He became the defender of the poor.”

b. *Itinalaga na bagong tagapagsalita ng Korte Suprema si Atty. Theodore Te.*

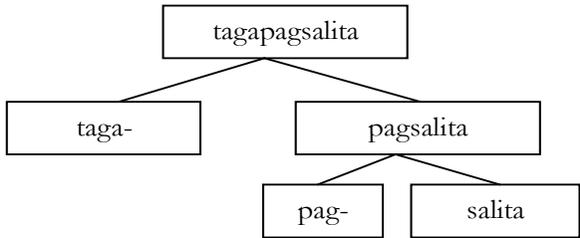
“Atty. Theodore Te was appointed as the new speaker of the Supreme Court.”

The affix *tagapag-* has been represented as a single affix but based on its given form, it can be analyzed in a different manner. It has been mentioned in previous literature that this affix is attached to *mag-* verbs. It can be assumed that this is the first step in the derivation process—the verb root is attached to the affix *mag-* forming the verb *magsalita*. Cena (2014) following Wolfenden (1961), claims that the verbal affix *m-* is an aspectual affix denoting actions that have not yet begun, and *-ag-* is mode affix showing deliberateness in the action. In addition, the *m-* also carries the information about which complement is to be emphasized and in this instance, the doer

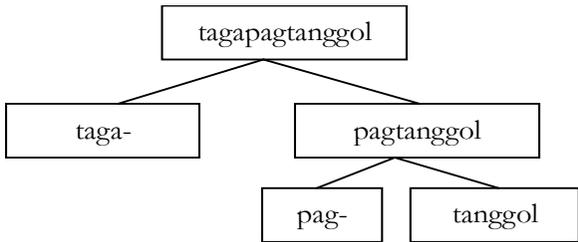
of the action is the focus complement. Following Cena’s thinking, the initial segment of the stem *magsalita*, *m-* is a single morpheme and can be isolated. Instead of attaching *m-* to *-ag*, the prefix *p-* is added, generating the noun stem *pagsalita*. This then serves as the stem to which *taga-* is attached, forming *tagapagsalita*. The process is illustrated below.

$$\begin{aligned}
 &salita + [p-] + -ag- = pagsalita \\
 &taga + pagsalita = tagapagsalita
 \end{aligned}$$

Another illustration showing the structure of *tagapagsalita* is presented below.



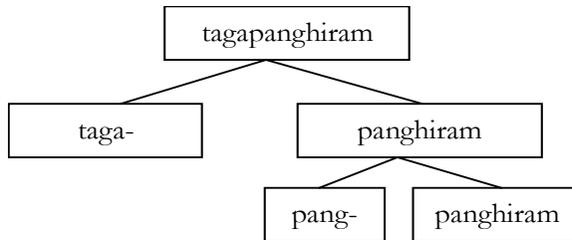
Another example, *tagapagtanggol* would follow the same process.



Considering the meanings of all the morphemes in the two examples, *tagapagsalita* would now mean a person who deliberately performs his duty as a speaker, and *tagapagtanggol* is a person who deliberately performs his duty as a defender.

2.1.2 tagapang-

This affix, listed in Schachter and Otones but not in Paz, denotes the same meaning which is a person designated to perform the action related to the base. The only difference is that it is attached to *mang-* verbs. Some words with this affix include *tagapanghiram* “someone tasked to borrow”, *tagapangalaga* ‘care-taker’. The same roots given as examples can occur with the affix *taga-*. The affix *tagapang-* can be analyzed in the same manner as *tagapag-*. Cena also isolates *-ang-* as a mode affix which may mean that the action is done with intensity or is done extensively. To illustrate the structure, the form *tagapanghiram* is used below.



2.1.3 magka-

Paz has a separate entry for *mag-* affix and *ka-* affix while Schachter and Otones listed *magka-* as one entry and listed another entry for the affix *ka-*. The affix *ka-* is attached to adjective, noun, and verb roots, which results to a derived noun. The derived form pertains to a person or thing associated with another person/thing denoted by the meaning of the base. When *mag-* is attached to a *ka-* + noun root, it shows collective relationship of two people or things. Examples with this disyllabic affix include *magkabahay* ‘housemates’, *magkalaro* ‘playmates’, *magkakuwarto* ‘roommates’, *magkapatid* ‘siblings’. Below are some sentences to illustrate the sample words.

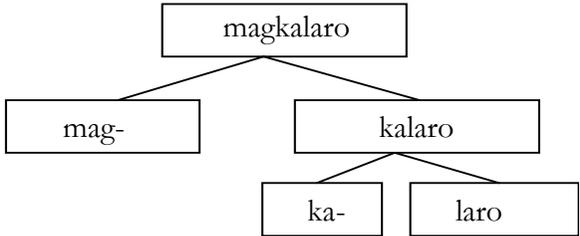
a. *Magkalaro sina Elias at Raya tuwing walang pasok.*

“Elias and Raya are playmates when there is no school.”

b. *Madalas na mag-away ang magkapatid.*

“The siblings often quarrel with each other.”

To show the structure of the derived noun with the affix *magka-*, the structure of *magkalaro* is presented below.



2.1.4 ka-...-an

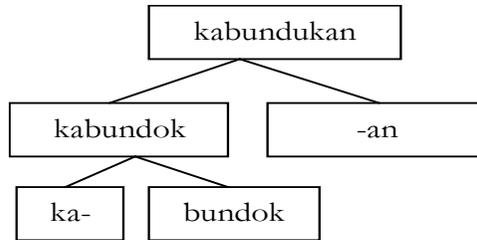
Paz lists two distinct meanings of this affix— (1) location indicated by the base, and (2) situation or condition indicated by the root. Schachter and Otones give one meaning for this affix—the class of qualities or group of things designated by the base. When *ka-...-an* is attached to noun roots which denotes location, it gives rise to forms which refers to location or group of things or people. Examples include *kabundukan* ‘mountains’, *kabahayan* ‘households’, *katagalugan* ‘Tagalog-area’. If this set of affix is attached to other noun roots which pertain to qualities, like *ganda* ‘beauty’, *banal* ‘holy’, *lungkot* ‘sadness’, the derived form becomes an abstraction of the concept— *kagandahan* ‘beauty, concept of beauty’, *kabanalan* ‘holiness’, *kalungkutan* ‘sadness’, *kasabihan* ‘saying’.

Some sentences illustrating these examples are presented below.

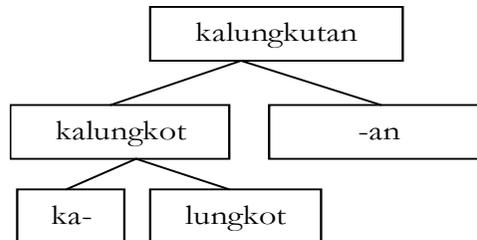
- a. *Nasagip ang mga residente mula sa kabundukan ng Barangay Luayon.*
 “Residents from the mountains of Barangay Luayon were rescued.”
- b. *Ikaw ang dahilan ng aking kalungkutan.*
 “You are the reason for my loneliness.”

Instead of inserting the root in between *ka-...-an*, implying a simultaneous attachment of the prefix and suffix, it is proposed that the noun, adjective, and verb roots are joined by the affixes at different levels in a layered

process. There are two possibilities: roots attach to prefix *ka-* before attaching *-an*; or the suffix *-an* is attached before the prefix *ka-*. If we take the word *kabundukan* and analyze it using the first process, the *ka-* prefix is attached to the root *bundok*, forming *kabundok*, then the suffix *-an* is attached to this stem deriving the word *kabundukan*. If we assume that the second process is in play, then the root is initially attached with the suffix *-an* forming *bundukan*, before attaching *ka-*, deriving *kabundukan*. We propose the first process is at work in words with disyllabic affix *ka-...-an*. The *ka-* in the stem *kabundok* bears the meaning of relationship, and *-an* adds the meaning of collection designated by the base. There is also an additional meaning of location that is denoted by *kabundukan* “a place with a collection of mountains”. The structure of the *kabundukan* is shown below.



The same process is observed when *ka-...-an* is attached to another class of noun roots.



The *ka-* affix in this paradigm somehow intensifies the quality being stated by the root. It is similar to an intensifier affix *kay-* which occurs to noun roots. The form *kay lungkot* ‘very sad’ can be shortened to *kalungkot*, similar to the stem shown above. This has also been observed by Cena (2014). The stem *kalungkot*, is then affixed with *-an*, completing the process. Note,

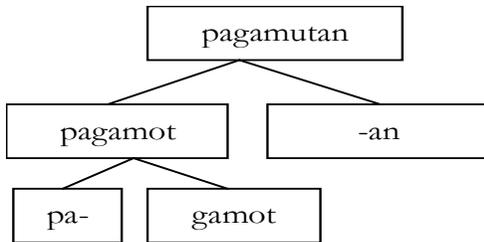
however, that the meaning of *-an* here does not denote a locative meaning but that of collection.

2.1.5 *pa-...-an*

This affix has been analyzed as being attached to verb roots and denotes a place or location. The prefix *pa-* and suffix *-an* bear different meanings. Generally, *pa-* gives the derived word a causative meaning. The suffix *-an* has several meanings, one of which is location. Other words with this affix are: *pagamutan* ‘hospital’, *paaralan* ‘school’, *paliparan* ‘airport’, *patahian* ‘tailor shop’, *paanakan* ‘maternity clinic’. Below are sentences to illustrate some derived forms.

- a. *May malapit na pagamutan sa bahay namin.*
“There is a hospital near our house.”
- b. *Nasa paaralan ang mga bata buong araw.*
“The children are in school the whole day.”

Instead of a simultaneous attachment of this affix with a root, it is proposed that the root is first attached with *pa-*, before attaching *-an* to the stem. To illustrate, if the verb root *gamot* ‘to cure’ is attached with the causative affix *pa-*, it forms the stem *pagamot* ‘caused to cure’. Then, the suffix *-an* is attached deriving the form *pagamutan* ‘a place caused to cure’. The structure of *pagamutan* is presented below.



This analysis is preferred over another process in which the root is initially attached with the suffix *-an* before the prefix *pa-*. A *pa-* stem is more productive than an *-an* stem, i.e. there are more words that can be derived from *pa-* stem. Another reason for this proposed structure is that the derived

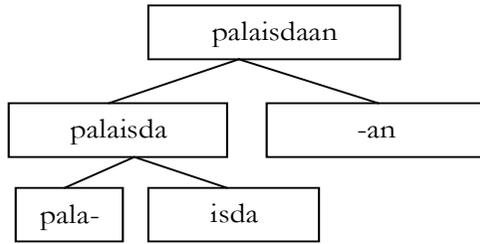
word carries the meaning pertaining to location rather than the causative, therefore it is assumed that the affix carrying the meaning of location is attached as a final step.

2.1.6 pala-...-an

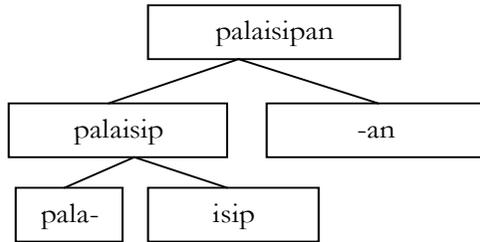
The meaning of this affix is “place where something is plentiful”. It is attached to noun and verb roots. Examples of words bearing this affix include: *palatuntunan* ‘program’, *palasingsingan* ‘ring finger’, *palabigasan* ‘rice granary’, *palaisdaan* ‘fishpen’, *palaisipan* ‘puzzle’. Below are sample sentences showcasing derived forms.

- a. *May malaking palaisdaan ang pamilya ni Ana.*
“Ana’s family has a huge fish pen.”
- b. *Araw-araw niyang sinasagutan ang palaisipan.*
“He answers the crossword puzzle every day.”

The affixation involving this particular affix has two possible analyses: first, root is initially attached with *pala-* then *-an*; the other way is attaching *-an* to the root before *pala-* is attached. The latter analysis is rejected. The existence of *pala-* as an individual affix is confirmed by the derived forms, *palaisda* ‘fond of/often does fishing’ and *palaisip* ‘fond of/often does thinking’, in which we can conclude that *pala-* means “fond of doing something or doing something often” and is attached to verb roots. If the root *isda* ‘fish’ is initially attached with *-an* forming *isdaan* ‘the place where there are fishes’ then the prefix *pala-* cannot be attached to the stem because it is not a verb. Although the root *isda* is a prototypical noun, it can also denote ‘act of fishing’. Therefore, the form *palaisdaan* ‘fish pen’ is derived by affixing *pala-* to the root, forming *palaisda* ‘often does fishing’, then the suffix *-an* is attached to the stem, deriving the word *palaisdaan* which conveys the meaning ‘the place where fishing is often done’. In addition, attaching the suffix *-an* after an initial affixation follows the proposed processes in previous sections. The structure of the *palaisdaan* is thus presented.



The other word *palaisipan* ‘crossword puzzle, puzzle’ given as an example above can be analysed in the same manner.



2.2 Adjective Derivations

Schachter and Otanes enumerates 18 affixes deriving adjective forms from other roots, while Paz’s list of 24 affixes include both derivational and inflectional affixes. The following subsections reexplore the following disyllabic derivational affixes: (1) *mapag-*, (2) *ma-...-in*, and (3) *ma-...-an*.

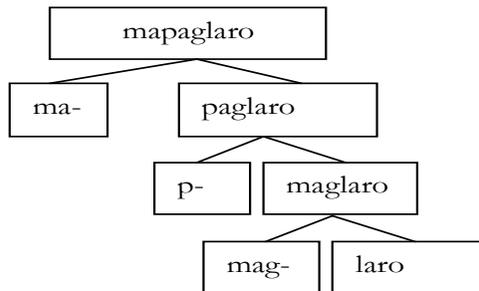
2.2.1 mapag-

Some examples which have this affix are *mapagmahal* ‘loving’, *mapag-isa* ‘loner’, *mapagmasid* ‘observant’, *mapaglaro* ‘playful’. The affix *mapag-* is attached to a verb root and carries the meaning “fond of” (Schachter and Otanes 1972) or “personal characteristics or habits” (Paz 1996). See an example sentence below.

- a. *Single pa rin ako dahil mapaglaro ako sa pag-ibig.*
 “I am still single because I am playful at love.”

Traditionally, this affix is analyzed as being a single morpheme attached to a verb root. The root *laro* ‘play’ is attached with *mapag-* ‘fond of’, deriving the form *mapaglaro* ‘fond of play/playful’. We can reanalyze this affix by dividing *mapag-* into several morphemes. If we take the root *laro*, we can assume that *pag-* is attached to the root. However, if we take into consideration the discussions in the previous sections, the root *laro* is proposed to be initially attached with the verbal affix *mag-*, forming *maglaro* ‘to play’. Then, similar with *tagapag-* affix, the *m-* in *mag-* is replaced with *p-*, forming the noun *paglaro* ‘act of playing’. This then serves as the stem in which the *ma-* affix is attached, finally deriving the word *mapaglaro*. This reanalysis agrees with the process proposed in attaching *tagapag-*, where the morpheme *-ag* can be isolated to mean ‘deliberateness in action’. This can also support the existence of the single affix *ma-*, which also carries the meaning “fond of or habitual action” and is attached to verb roots. Examples of forms with the *ma-* affix include *malaro* ‘playful’, *mabasa* ‘habitual reader’, *mainom* ‘fond of drinking’. There are instances in which the same root can be seen with the affixes *mapag-* and *ma-*. An example is *mapaglaro* and *malaro*, both forms having the root *laro*, and both forms denote ‘being playful or fond of games’.

As described above, the structure of the derived word *mapaglaro* is thus presented.

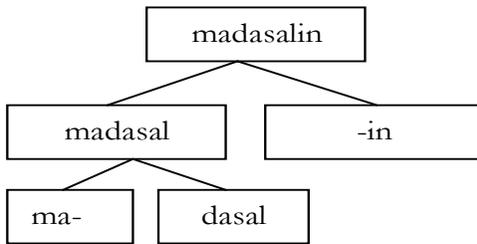


2.2.2 ma...-in

Schachter and Otnes claim that this affix carries the meaning “inclined to” while Paz states that it means “often” and is attached to few verb roots. The *ma-* and *-in* affixes can be attached to roots separately. The *ma-* affix denotes “fond of” or “habitual action” as stated in the preceding

section. On the other hand, the *-in* suffix can also be attached to different roots indicating “susceptibility”. Some words occurring with this suffix are *sakitin* ‘susceptible to illness’, *ginawin* ‘susceptible to cold’, and *iyakin* ‘prone to crying’. To treat *ma-...-in* as a single affix would disregard the individual meanings of each morpheme in this affix set. There are two possibilities if we are to reanalyze the *ma-...-in* affixation process. First, the root is attached to the *ma-* prefix, which then serves as the stem to which the suffix *-in* is added. The second option is the reverse of the first option—the suffix *-in* is initially attached to the root, then the derived word serves as the stem, wherein the *ma-* prefix is attached.

We adopt here the first possibility because of the overall meaning of the final derived word denotes “a state of being inclined to” which is carried by the suffix *-in*. To illustrate, the verb root *dasal* ‘pray’ is attached with the affix *ma-*, producing *madasal* ‘fond of praying’, then this adjective stem is joined by the suffix *-in*, deriving *madasalin* ‘inclined to/prone to praying’. The structure is hereby presented.



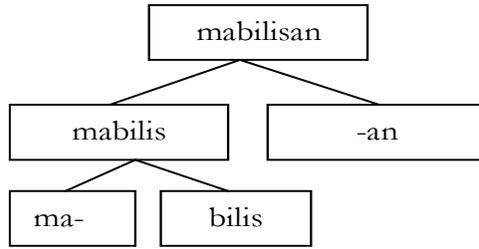
- a. *Lumaki sanang madasalin ang anak ko.*
 “I hope my child grows up to be prayerful.”

Other words containing this affix are: *matulungin* ‘helpful’, *maunawain* ‘understanding’, *masayahin* ‘cheerful’, *mainipin* ‘impatient’, *maawain* ‘merciful’.

2.2.3 ma-...-an

Schachter and Otones define this affix set as “requiring the quality designated by the base” which is very similar to how the *ma-* affix is defined—

“having an abundance of what the base designates”. The *-an* suffix by itself is also an adjective-deriving suffix which has the meaning “full of or covered with what the base designates”. Cena (2014) states that this suffix has the meaning of “intense”. Forms with this affix set include *mabilisan* ‘requiring speed’, *matagalan* ‘requiring slowness’, *madalian* ‘requiring speed/rushed’. Similar to the analysis in the previous subsection, it is proposed that the *ma-* prefix is attached first before adding the suffix *-an*. To illustrate, the noun root *bilis* ‘speed’ is combined with the affix *ma-* producing the derived adjective *mabilis* ‘fast’. Adding the suffix *-an* to this stem generates the word *mabilisan*. The structure of the said process is presented below.



- a. *Mabilisang tinapos ni Erwin ang trabaho.*
 “Erwin finished the work with speed.”

2.3 Verb Derivations

Cruz (1975) states that verbal affixes may be simple—consists of one isolable form, or complex—consists of two or more isolable forms or simple affixes which occur with the same stem. Verbal morphology of Tagalog includes the discussion of focus or voice, mode, and aspect. De Guzman (1976) discusses how these verbal affixes are categorized under two processes: inflectional and derivational. Generally speaking, derivational affixes—those that bring about new words, are attached to a root before inflectional affixes—those that generate new forms of the same word.

In the same study of De Guzman, she classifies affixes for voice—which complement becomes the subject, and aspect—whether an action has already started and has been completed, as inflectional affixes. These factors

as well as the definitions presented in Cruz will serve as a guide in discussing the layered structure of the verbal affixes in Tagalog.

The next sections tackle the following complex affixes: *ipag-*, *ipang-*, *mai-*, *maipang-*, *ma-...-an*, *mag-...-an*. All the example sentences are in the infinitive form.

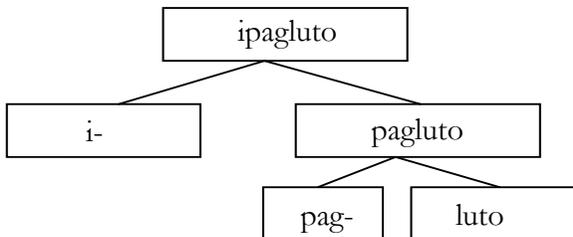
2.3.1 ipag-

This affix focuses on the beneficiary complement and also carries the external mode (Cruz 1975). External mode is defined as the action being directed towards an object external to the doer of the action. Take a look at the sentence below.

- a. *Madalas ipagluto ni nanay ng spaghetti ang kanyang mga anak.*
 “Mother always cooks spaghetti for her children.”

The construction has three complements—the actor complement ‘*ni nanay*’, the patient complement ‘*ng spaghetti*’, and the beneficiary complement ‘*ang kanyang mga anak*’.

The word *ipagluto* ‘cook for’ has the root *luto* ‘cook’. The disyllabic affix can still be broken down into simpler forms *i-* and *pag-*. The *i-* affix can occur on its own and when attached to verb roots it focuses the goal complement. The nominal affix *pag-* is the same morpheme described in the previous section above, producing a derived noun which means the ‘act of’ or ‘way of’. Instead of affixing *ipag-* to the root *luto*, it is proposed that the stem *pagluto* is formed first, then the affix *i-* is added. This process is illustrated below.



Other forms with this affix include the *ipagtanggol* ‘defend (someone)’, *ipaglaba* ‘clean for’, *ipaglaban* ‘fight for’, *ipagtimpla* ‘mix drink for’.

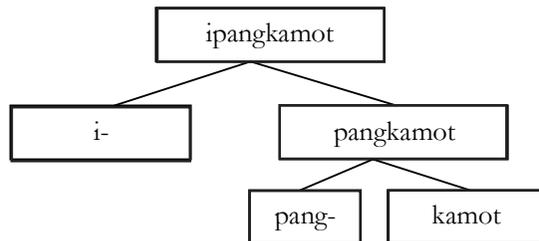
2.3.2 ipang-

This affix focuses the instrumental complement with habitual mode. The sentence below illustrates its function.

- a. *Huwag mong ipangkamot ang suklay sa likod mo.*
 “Don’t use the comb to scratch your back.”

In this sentence, the verb *ipangkamot* ‘scratch using something’ has three complements: the actor complement *mo* ‘you’, the complement in focus which is the instrument *ang suklay* ‘the comb’, and the goal complement *sa likod mo* ‘to your back’.

The proposed reanalysis for this affix set is similar to the affix *ipag-*. Instead of treating it as a single unit, this is divided into two *i-* and *pang-*. The *i-* affix represents the non-actor focus form of the verb. The *pang-* affix is a derivational one, creating nouns from verbs to mean “an instrument used to perform the action”. In the given sentence, the root is *kamot* ‘scratch’ which is attached with *pang-* forming *pangkamot* ‘instrument used for scratching’, then the affix *i-* is added to the stem, forming the verb *ipangkamot*, which focuses the instrument used to perform the action. The process described is presented in the structure below.



The morpheme *pang-* has allomorphs *pam-* and *pan-*. The final consonant of this morpheme undergoes assimilation which is influenced by the initial sound of the root word. The allomorph *pam-* is used when the initial sound of the root is a bilabial sound, the form *pan-* appears when the initial sound is an alveolar sound, while the form *pang-* occurs in other environments. Some examples include *ipambili* ‘buy (using something)’, *ipampalo* ‘hit (using something)’, *ipanlinis* ‘clean (using something)’, *ipantulog* ‘sleep (using something)’, *ipanggamot* ‘cure (using something)’, *ipanghuli* ‘catch (using something)’.

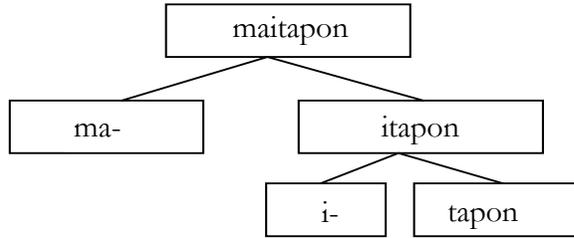
2.3.3 mai-

A sample sentence illustrating the meaning of this affix is presented below.

- a. *Hindi ko maitapon ang mga lumang sulat mula sa aking asawa.*
“I am not able to throw away old letters from my husband.”

The verb *maitapon* ‘able to throw away’ consists of the following morphemes: *ma-*, *i-*, *tapon*. The verb root *tapon* ‘to throw away’ has two complements in the sentence—the actor complement *ko* ‘I’, and the goal complement *mga sulat* ‘letters’. The goal complement is the focus complement as it is marked by *ang* and agrees with the affix *i-*. The affix *ma-* conveys the abilitative or potential mood of the action (Cruz 1976).

The process in generating words with this affix set involves the root taking the goal focusing affix *i-* before attaching the modal affix *ma-*. The proposed layering can be argued based on Bybee’s Relevance Hierarchy theory as cited by Spencer (2003). Markers for mood are considered less significant than voice, or in this case focus, markers. If *ma-* is considered a single morpheme and treated as a modal affix and not an actor affix which is represented by the *m-* replacive, the structure of the word *maitapon* presented is justified. It is interesting to note that forms like *imatapon* which is a result of initially attaching the mode affix before the voice affix is not permitted. The structure of the word *maitapon* is presented at the next page.



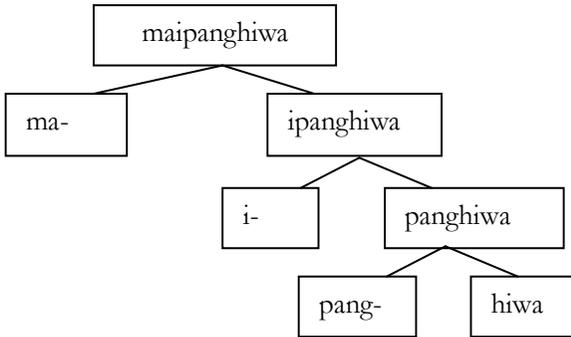
Some other examples of forms with this set include *maitago* 'to be able to hide away', *maibigay* 'to be able to give', *maibenta* 'to be able to sell' *maisulat* 'to be able to write'.

2.3.4 maipang-

The sentence below is given to illustrate an example of the verb occurring with this affix set.

- a. *Gusto kong maipanghiwa ng karne ang matalim na kutsilyo.*
 "I want to be able to slice meat using the sharp knife."

The verb in this sentence is *maipanghiwa* which has the root *hiwa* 'slice'. The other morphemes are *ma-*, *i-*, and *pang-* and these have been tackled in the previous sections. The proposed analysis that generated the form *maipanghiwa* involves a three-process affixation. Initially the root *hiwa* is attached with the affix *pang-*, a derivational affix, forming *panghiwa* 'instrument used for slicing'. The derived form is a noun. The word *panghiwa* serves as the stem to which the verbal affix *i-* is attached. This second affixation brings *ipanghiwa* into form which carries the meaning 'to slice using a specific instrument'. As mentioned above the affix *i-* is a non-actor focusing affix and since it occurs with the affix *-pang-*, it focuses the instrument complement. The *ma-* affix is the final affix to be attached last because it carries the modality of the verb conveying abilitative or potential. Presented is its structure.



Similar with the affix *mai-* in the preceding section, focus markers are added first before modal markers as claimed by Bybee. Some examples are *maipangtustos* ‘to be able to use as a support’, *maipanghanda* ‘to be able to use for preparation’, *maipanghilod* ‘to be able to use as a scrub (for the body)’.

2.3.5 ma-...-an

Words containing this affix denote that the focus complement is the locative or direction and that the action is external and abilitative, potential or accidental. An example illustrating a verb with this affix set is shown below.

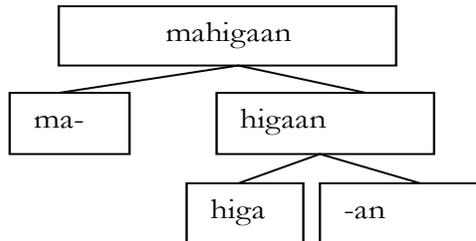
- a. *Hindi mahigaan ni Rohan ang kanyang kama.*
 “Rohan cannot lie down on his bed.”

The verb form *mahigaan* has the meaning ‘able to lie down’. The verb root is *higa* ‘lie down’. There are several possible ways to analyze words enclosed with *ma-...-an*. First is the attachment of the prefix *ma-* to the root producing *mahiga* ‘lie down’ then attaching the suffix *-an*. The other possibility is initially attaching the suffix to generate *higaan* ‘lie down’ (stress on the final syllable) before the prefix *ma-*. Both intermediate forms are actual words with distinct meanings even though they are similarly glossed. To illustrate their differences, the sentences below are presented.

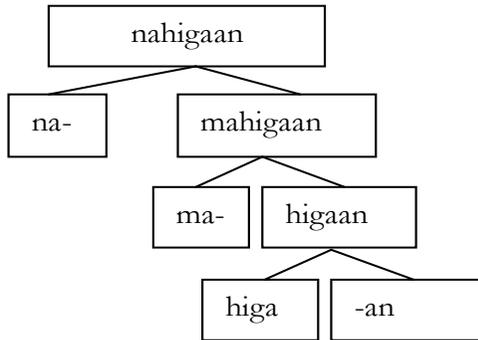
- b. *Bawal mahiga ang bata sa sahig.*
 “The child is forbidden to lie down on the floor.”

c. *Higaan mo ang bagong kama.*
 “You lie down on the new bed. “

The word *mahigaan* in sentence (b) focuses the actor complement while *higaan* in sentence (c) focuses the locative complement. The full form *mahigaan* as stated above focuses on the direction or location of the action. This study proposes that the suffix is added first. Bybee (1985), as cited by Spencer (2003), claims that the meaning of the verb form should be considered when determining the order of morphemes. Bybee, in her Relevance Hierarchy theory, points out that the morpheme closest to the verb should have the main significance in the basic meaning of the verb. If the sentence above is considered, the focus complement—*ang kanyang kama* is the direction of the action not the actor. The suffix *-an* focuses the directional complement, while the *ma-* that is attached to the stem *higaan* is not the actor focus marker, but the affix which denotes the modality of the action, in this case, abilitative or potential.



It is also significant to mention here that the grammatical category of aspect is represented by affixes. Aspectual affixes are also categorized as inflectional, along with voice affixes. In Bybee’s theory, voice markers are more relevant to the meaning of the verbs than that of aspectual markers. That is, affixes marking the voice feature of the verb are attached first before the affixes denoting the aspectual feature. This supports the proposal adopted above that the voice or focus markers are attached first. The perfective form of *mahigaan* is *nahigaan*, with *na-* as the perfective aspect marker. Since the difference in aspect is manifested in the modal affix, the focus marker should be added to the root first. The affix *ma-* is replaced by *na-* to convey that the action has already begun and finished. The structure of the for *nahigaan* is shown here.



Some words with this affix are *matapakan* ‘to be able to step on someone/something’, *makuhaan* ‘to be able to get from someone/something’, *mahiraman* ‘to be able to borrow to someone’, *masulatan* ‘to be able write on someone/something’.

3.0. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The reanalysis of the structure of words in Tagalog has shown that in previous researches complex affixes were treated as a single unit, implying that these are attached simultaneously. Literature related to this study has identified the individual meanings of each morpheme in complex affix sets (Wolfenden 1961; Cruz 1975; De Guzman 1976; Cena 2014). This study is an addition to the current body of literature, and has illustrated a step-by-step process of word formation in Tagalog. This study is preliminary in nature and has not examined all possible affixes that can undergo the processes illustrated here. However, this study has provided examples of affixes deriving nouns, adjectives, and verbs.

The reanalysis of the word structures in Tagalog has revealed that the complex affixes can still be deconstructed to simpler forms. The role of the affix *pag-* is seen in derived nouns, adjectives, and verbs. The forms with the affix *pag-* is seen as a productive stem, generating other forms of a word. De Guzman (1976) has actually proposed a *pag-* stem for categorizing verbs. Aside from the *pag-* stem, De Guzman has also identified a *pang-* stem and a *pa-* stem, as the bases to which other affixes are added. She has identified these stem forming affixes as derivational affixes and the affixes that are

attached to these stems—voice and aspectual affixes—are regarded as inflectional ones. This current study has also illustrated the productivity of a *pang-* stem as described in sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.4. The validity of *pag-* and *pang-* stems is strengthened by their occurrences as actual word forms which can easily be processed by native speakers.

A step-by-step process of affixation also accounts for the individual meanings of each affix, instead of implying that a complex affix denotes a single meaning. By illustrating that an affix is attached first before another affix, the semantics of a complex affix is seen as the combination of all meanings of morphemes combined.

In addition to specifying several productive stem forms, several factors were identified that influenced the order of affixation. When a root occurs with a prefix and a suffix, there are several ways of unraveling the process of affixation which has taken place. From the cases presented above, factors such as category of roots, distribution and hierarchy of affixes, existence of intermediate forms are used to adopt a more acceptable and productive step-by-step process of affixation. The proposed reanalysis of some complex affixes captures the semantic relationship and validity of different derivations of words, may it be a noun, an adjective or a verb.

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