

## A REANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURE OF TAGALOG VERBS<sup>1</sup>

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0. This paper purports to present what I think is an unorthodox and, perhaps, a revolutionary way of viewing the structure of Tagalog verbs. First, I will show that in the traditional analysis, the distinction between inflectional affixes and derivational affixes is obscure; that the analysis always results in an unwieldy list of complex affixes that defies any unified account of lexical relations. Second, I will demonstrate an analysis which distinguishes a constant set of voice inflectional affixes that are attached to various kinds of non-derived and derived verb stems. Finally, I will point out certain advantages and implications of the proposed analysis.

### 1. TRADITIONAL ANALYSIS

A survey of the literature written on Tagalog verbs shows the general analysis of the structure as consisting of an affix plus root or what others have called base or verb base (See for instance Bloomfield 1917). The affix is described as either simple or complex, e.g. *um-/mag-*, *-in*, *i-*, *-an*, *pa-*, *mang-*, etc. are simple, whereas *pag-*, *-an*, *ipag-*, *ipang-*, *pa-in*, *magpa-*, *ipagpa-*, to name a few, are considered complex. The characteristic approach in the analysis is obviously one of isolating the recurring root or base and taking the rest of the affix, be it simple or complex, as a distinct, unique element. What this kind of analysis results in is a verb lexicon of roots and a whole list of simple and complex affixes. If we stop for a moment and compare the variously structured affixes, we find that there are recurring partials with corresponding constant meanings. Take for example the productive *i-* affix, which may occur by itself as in *itapon*, *ihagis*, *ikula*, etc. Compare it with the same affix but cooccurring with other affixes as in *ipatapon*, *ipakiha-*  
*gis*, *ipakipakula*, or even *ipakipaglaban* which in all cases are analyzable as marking a

<sup>1</sup>The following abbreviations will be used in this study:

V = verb	[+ dist ] = [+ distributive ]
[+ NM ] = [ + Nominative ]	[ -pot ] = [ -potential ]
S = sentence	[+ act ] = [ + active ]
NP = Noun Phrase	[+ caus ] = [ + causative ]
OBJ = Objective	[+ erg ] = [ + ergative ]
DAT = Dative	Adj. = Adjective
LOC = Locative	N = Noun
AGT = Agentive	[ -affe ] = [ -afflicted ]
BEN = Benefactive	[af ] = [ -affected ]
INS = Instrumental	[+ recip ] = + reciprocal
RSN = Reason Case Relation	Derv = Derivational
COM = Comitative Case Relation	[+ inch ] = inchoative
DR = Derivational Rules	

cooccurring objective (patient) nominal as the grammatical subject of the sentence. The question that comes to mind is whether by ignoring the identity of the affix *i-* in both sets of cases, we are missing a significant generalization. We may inquire further what the rationale is behind keeping the verb base the constant element, unaffected in form, and the affixes, each as a unit, the variable. What does this kind of analysis buy us?

In practically all cases, the result is a list of affixes with recurring portions that overlap. One problem with a description such as found in Ramos (1971:56) which runs:

. . . the affix shows the relationship of the verb to the topic or to the focused complement as well as the kind of action involved

is that we are not clear whether the affix isolated from the root shows only the voice relation with the subject or this plus the nature of the action expressed by the verb. This so-called 'kind of action' was set up by McKaughan as an added inflectional category called aspect (or mode by others). One of its members is supposedly the neutral or indicative mode manifesting the absence rather than the presence of the 'kind of action' whether distributive, aptative, social or causative. Given these categories and cursorily looking at the actor-focus affixes in different modes we have:

- |        |      |       |         |                    |       |         |
|--------|------|-------|---------|--------------------|-------|---------|
| (1) a. | -um- | mag-  | mang-   | maka- <sup>2</sup> | maki- | magpa-  |
|        | -in  | ipag- | pang-in | ma-                | ipaki | ipagpa- |
|        | i-   |       |         | mai-               |       |         |
|        | -an  |       |         |                    |       |         |

The affixes found in (1) a. show how the goal or object-focus affixes compare with the actor-focus affixes. Note that the indicative mode in the actor-focus is manifested by two different affixes and every other mode, a different affix, whereas the goal-focus is usually marked by either *-in*, *-an*, or *i-* attached to the root, or other stems. If the voice affixes in the goal focus remain the same for the different modes, then it is very likely that the actor focus must likewise be unchanged.

Even in a classification of verbs in the manner of Schachter and Otones (1972:283-310), where a distinction is made between major affixes (attached to major V's) and derived affixes (attached to derived V's), we still find an inescapable overlap of morphemes such as the following:

- |        |         |                         |            |                      |
|--------|---------|-------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| (1) b. | -an     | pag- -an                | ma- -an    | ka- -an              |
|        | buksan  | pag <sup>?</sup> aralan | matutuhan  | kagalitan            |
|        | punasan | pagtiisan               | maramdaman | katuwaan             |
|        | i-      | ipag-                   | ipang-     | ipa-                 |
|        | itapon  | ipagluto <sup>?</sup>   | ipanganak  | ipaligo <sup>?</sup> |

If we look closely at the verb forms in each focus or voice-inflected set, we can appreciate the feasibility of treating the stem as a whole and then isolating the voice affixes. Observe the forms under (1)c.:

- |        |          |           |                        |                         |
|--------|----------|-----------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) c. | maglaba  | mamili    | makisuno <sup>?</sup>  | mangako <sup>?</sup>    |
|        | paglaban | pamilihin | ipakisuno <sup>?</sup> | ipangako <sup>?</sup>   |
|        | ipaglaba | ipamili   | pakisunuan             | pangaku <sup>?</sup> an |

<sup>2</sup>We are only dealing with cases of actor focus *maka-* and object focus *ma-* here.

The affixes of other derived verbs are by no means immune to this kind of overlap. One can consider causative verbs (or indirect action V's) (Schacter and Otones 1972:326) such as *matulog: patulugin, bumalik: pabalikin, magturo: papagturuin, manood: papanoorin*. The complication can, of course, be observed further when these various 'modes' interact and the affixes correspondingly become layered according to the number of dimensions involved, e.g. *makipagpadala: pakipagpadalahan*. On the basis of analogy with the previous paradigms, we can only identify the derivational affix *pa-* in every complex affix plus a number of portmanteaus.

From the above accounts, the striking feature is the stated correspondences of affixes where an *m-* initial in the active stem very often corresponds to *p-* in the passive and is further affixed by one of the passive affixes *-in, -an, or i-*. What does this suggest? And how can the focus or voice system organize the distribution of all these affixes?

## 2. THE PROPOSED REANALYSIS

Blake's classification (1925:38) of the affixes into groups of active and passive reveals some very interesting insights as follows:

(a) That the active particles, with the exception of *-um-* are marked by affixes with initial *m-* and their passive counterparts are all marked by any one of the three essential passive particles (sic) along with the 'special passive' particle beginning with *p-*.

(b) That the affixes *ma-* and *maka-* behave differently from the affixes with initial *m-* or *p-*. They remain unaltered in either the active or passive set. This strongly suggests a separate class for verbs marked by these affixes which contrasts with all the other groups of stems.

Capitalizing on this lead, even as this observation about the *mag/pag, mang/pang* correspondences did not pass unnoticed in other analyses, we can view the *m-* as the alternant form of the active *-um-* which is attached to stems with initial *p-* in the active. This view brings us to at least two types of stems. To begin with, a simple root and an affixed stem with either *pag-* or *pang-* ( $m + pag > mag-$ ,  $m + pang > mang-$ ), each affix bearing a corresponding semantic content. How does this analysis contribute towards a more systematic account of the verb structure?

The identification of the voice inflectional affixes in contrast with the derivational ones has important consequences for the description of the morphological structure of the verb stems, especially for the various affix combinations in many verb forms. The contention is that if inflection and derivation are properly distinguished, we can provide a more satisfactory account of the lexical relations among verb forms and of the ramifications of verbal affixes in a variety of complex forms. The varied accounts of verbal inflection give testimony to the difficulties of making clear-cut distinctions between the two processes. These difficulties arise from the fact that the two processes have a good deal in common. In terms of meaning, both processes modify the semantic content of the base in some way. Based on formation, both can involve a root or stem and normally

a corresponding phonological modification. For example: analyze *ipaglinis* in (2).

- (2) a. *i* + *pag* + *linis* (Wolfenden 1961, Llamzon 1968)  
 b. *i* + *pag* + *linis* (Bloomfield 1917; Otones 1966), where *pag*:-*mag*-  
 c. *ipag* + *linis* (INL 1950; Schacter and Otones 1972)

In the above analyses, the affix whether taken as an individual unit or as a composite affix, appears to be considered inflectional. The view held in this paper, on the contrary, is that the affix *i*- is inflectional, marking the benefactive actant as the subject of the sentence, and the affix *pag*- is derivational, forming the stem *paglinis* which is derived from the root *linis*.

### 2.1. INFLECTIONAL FEATURES OF THE VERB

The verb in this analysis is characterized by syntactic, semantic and morphological properties. Its syntactic properties are expressed in terms of case frame features which indicate the permissible actants which may cooccur with the verb. These actants or nominals bear certain case relations with the verb and are realized in certain case forms. In general, the verb also has the property of requiring one of its cooccurring NP's to be realized in the nominative case [+NM] form as the grammatical subject of the S. It signals the case relation of the nominative actant by means of a particular affix. This property is referred to as voice feature and the verbal affix as voice affix. Simply put, voice is a syntactic feature marked on a verb which pertains to the case relation of the verb's subject. Since the voice feature corresponds to a specific phonological modification of the verb stem and since it can be varied freely within each given verb stem depending on its cooccurring actants, and since a characterization of voice is part of a full description of the properties of every verb in every occurrence, this feature is identified as an inflectional feature. Voice, I propose, is manifested overtly in the verb by one of the voice affixes *-um-* or *m-*, *-in-*, *-an-*, *i-* or  $\emptyset$ .

The other inflectional feature that identifies verbs is aspect: completed, begun but not completed, not begun, versus non-finite forms. I shall restrict my presentation to a discussion of the more problematic voice and skip aspect for purposes of this study.

Voice, being closely associated with the cooccurring NP grammatical subject, includes: OBJ, DAT, LOC, AGT, BEN, INS, RSN and COM. This means that all verb stems, regardless of their derivational or morphological structure, express a particular voice. However, it does not imply that every verb stem occurs with NP's in 8 different case relations or allows each one of its possible cooccurring actants to be realized as subject. Some stems permit only one particular cooccurring case relation to take on the nominative case form, others allow more than one. With certain other verb stems, a particular cooccurring case relation is prohibited from occurring unless it is realized in its non-nominative case form. This is one major difference between classifying verb roots in contrast to classifying verb stems. With a verb root classification, as was done in previous studies, the verbs generally take at least 4 types of voice forms (identified as the active *um-*, *mag-*; *mang-* or actor class; the passive *-in* or object class; the passive *i-*, *ipang-*, *ipag-* or instrumental or benefactive class; and the passive *-an*, *pag-an*, *pang-an* or the locative class.) By this approach, the identity of the affix *pag-* present in the affixes *mag-*, *pag-an* and *ipag-*, where *m-*, *-an* and *i-* analyzed respectively as the inflectional affixes of the verb stem consisting of *pag* + root, is unfortunately missed. Similarly, a verb root classification will always fail to account for the invariant inflectional affixes for the locative, benefactive and instrumental voice.

## 2.2. INFLECTIONAL AFFIXES AND VERB STEMS

Stripping verb stems of their inflection affixes, identified above as *-um-* or *m-*, *-in*, *-an*, *i-* or  $\emptyset$  depending on the subclass the stem belongs to, we find stems having the morphological structure of a root, an affixed stem derived from a root, or an affixed stem derived from another affixed stem. Two or more verb forms share the same stem only if they do not differ from each other in inflectional affixation. The set of inflected forms of a given verb stem is its inflectional paradigm. It is, however, possible to have two or more homophonous but different stems. To illustrate, some morphological types of verb stems and their corresponding inflectional paradigms are as follows:

## (3) Verb Stems

a. root	b. pag-stem	c. pang-stem <sub>2</sub>	d. pang-stem <sub>1</sub>
(1) hiram	$\emptyset$	(2) panghiram	(3) panghiram
(4) bigay	(5) pagbigay	(6) pamigay	(7) pambigay
e. pa-stem			
(8) pabigay	(9) pagpabigay	$\emptyset$	(10) pampabigay
(11) papabigay			

Note how one affixed stem can be derived from a root stem (b,c,d) and another affixed stem from still another affixed stem (9, 10, 11). Each of these classes is distinguished by its morphological and semantic features. To a certain extent, this demonstrates the productivity of verb stem derivation. I will refrain from discussing the details of certain performance constraints on identical affixes in sequence, but it suffices to say that there are such constraints.

Compared with the above stems, we can also look upon other stem classes as marked by derivational affixes *ma-*, *maka-*, *ka-*, *paki-* and other variants of the *pag-* and *pang-* active forms. Each of these will have its own semantic features and corresponding voice paradigm. The first two affixes are referred to as the active affixes because the verbs manifesting either of them more or less choose a subject which is the agent. These two are in complementary distribution, *-um-* occurring primarily with non-ergative root-stems and *m-* with non-potential, active *pag-* and *pang-* stems, as well as the petrified *pa-* stems. The zero affix posited here means that a significant absence of any of the voice affixes in a particular verb stem can also identify a corresponding voice feature. Among the major verb stem classes, zero affix marks psychological verb stems as well as simple intransitive verbs.

Of the 6 voice affixes identified here, the active *m-* and  $\emptyset$  are introduced for the first time. (I was pleased to discover later, after I had written my dissertation, that Wolff had also posited an *m-* active affix for Proto-Austronesian. A personal communication from Paul Schachter (1979) in a way also brought out his unexpressed thoughts about the possibility of positing a nasal prefix in these *mag-* forms of the verb.) By describing the inflectional active voice affix as *m-*, the generality of its application to the active *pag-* and *pang-* stems, and even to *paki-* stems is captured. Such an analysis also establishes a phonologically closer relationship between the two active affixes, namely *-um-* and *m-*. It may be said that the relationship of these two affixes can be explained diachronically with the least difficulty.

This approach also indicates that as the verb stems that admit voice inflection are invariant, as are the general forms of the inflectional affixes. To show that the voice affixes of root and derived stems are the same simple affixes, we can consider the benefactive voice forms: *ihiram*, *ipanghiram* [+dist], *ipagbigay* [-pot, +act], *ipagpabigay* [-pot, +act, +caus]. Note that the verb stem inflectable for the BEN is the same stem inflectable for the AGT, which demonstrates the dependency of BEN upon AGTives: the benefactive voice is always *i-*. By identifying verb stems instead of verb roots as the elements that are inflected, the unnecessary, dubious and completely redundant practice of listing *mag-*, *magpa-*, *mang-*, etc. and, correspondingly, *ipag-*, *ipagpa-*, *pag-...-an*, *pagpa-...-an*, *pang-...-an*, etc. as contributing to the long list of voice inflectional affixes is avoided.

The  $\emptyset$  affix is posited here as an unmarked voice inflection employed by certain semantic and morphological classes of verb stems. These are identified as psychological and potential verbs. They are distinguished by their syntactic and semantic features as well as their morphological forms marked by the derivational affixes *ma-* and *maka-*. E.g. *makita* has an unmarked form indicating the OBJ voice and the related form *makitaan*, with the same stem but the affix *-an* to mark the LOC voice. Another stem related to this is the form *kakita* also derived from the base *kita* 'visible' with the derivational affix *ka-*. It can be inflected for the locative voice with the affix *-an* and for the reason voice with the affix *i-*. The other stem related to the preceding stem is *makakita* which indicates the dative voice. It may be analyzed as a derived stem whose base is either the root *kita* with the derivational affix *maka-*, or the derived *kakita* with the derivational affix *ma-*. It seems that there is no significant difference between the two analyses. In terms of meaning, however, the derivational affix *maka-* appears to be analogous to *ma-* in referring to potential [+ability] or accidental [-control] events. For this reason and for simplicity and ease of reference, the former analysis with the affix *maka-* has been adopted tentatively. Granting this analysis, both *makita* and *makakita* stems do not take any particular voice affix although each distinctive stem marks adequately the necessary voice difference. To mark OBJ, DAT or AGT in the *ma-* or *maka-* stems, the stems themselves are distinct enough; the language does not find it necessary to use any voice marker. On the contrary, we find that with certain semantic classes, *na-* forms take the *i-* or *-an* marking OBJ, BEN or LOC of derived potential stems. This indicates that *na-* stems are passive forms.

Summarily, by distinguishing inflectional and derivational affixes, we have observed some relevant generalizations pertaining to verbal lexical relations as follows:

(1) It is not just the verb root that is inflected for the different possible voices but, broadly speaking, the verb stem, which may be either a root or a derived stem consisting of a derivational affix and a root or another derived stem [derivational affix + derived stem].

(2) Each stem class has its corresponding voice inflectional paradigm which never exhausts all possible subject choices.

(3) Some morphological stem classes may be subcategorized according to their respective voice inflectional paradigm, e.g., root *hiram* vs. *bigay*, whereas other derived stem classes, regardless of the structure of their bases, regularly take the same voice inflectional paradigm, e.g. [+ins].

(4) A derived stem class may share an identical voice inflectional paradigm with a root stem class, e.g. *pa-* [+caus, +erg] with [+erg] root (*pabigay* and *bigay*).

(5) A single root can be the basis of various derived stems, but not all roots automatically create all types of derived stems, e.g. no *pag*-stems from [-erg]; the existence of a corresponding *pag*-stem can be predicted on the basis of the class of the root-stem.

(6) The order in which the derivational affixes appear provides a key to the direction of derivation and re-derivation of stems.

3. HOW THIS RE-ANALYSIS OPERATES IN SOME DERIVED VERB STEMS

In the Verb Stems earlier listed, we note that the stems bearing the same root are lexically and syntactically related. There are numerous verbs in their root forms which can be lexically related, particularly to *pag*-stems because in the former class, they are morphologically [+erg], that is, they do not allow an agentive voice inflection. What happens is that corresponding to this class, a derived *pag*-class provides the means of having an agentive voice inflected counterpart. To capture this class relationship, a lexical derivation rule can be stated formally and labelled an agentivization or more appropriately an activation rule. The feature [-pot, +act] introduced by the derivation rule (De Guzman 1978:309) replaces the feature [+erg] from the source. The new feature allows its cooccurring [+AGT] to be realized in the nominative case form marked by the active affix *m*-. The other features from the source carry over to the newly derived stem and by the accompanying morphophonemic rule, the stem is prefixed with *pag*-. This rule will apply not only to the subclass of information verbs, e.g. *sabi*, *banggit*, *tanong*, *utos*, *turo* [+goal], and [+dir], e.g. *tapon*, *lagay*, *sauli*, *alay*, *kabit*, *laba*, *hugas*, *paligo*, *banlaw*, and finally simple transitive [+erg] verbs such as *alaga*?, *masid*, *abang*, *bantay*, *talop*, *punas*, *bukas*, *ayos*, *ladlad*.

This derivation, of course, applies to those subclasses which are identified as primary stems; its effect is simply to change morphological-voice features. One type of productive derivation is causativization. It will be interesting to point out how causativization is apparently an analogous process with transitivization. The examples below show how this analysis applies to derived verb stems from verb stem sources. Other sources may be N's or Adj's.

(4) Derived simple transitive verbs from simple intransitive verbs

bumukas	ibukas	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} +V \\ \\ -[+AGT] \\ -[+DAT] \\ +[+OBJ] \\ -Affe \\ -erg \end{array} \right] \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} +V \\ +DERV \\ +[+AGT] \\ -[+DAT] \\ +[+OBJ] \\ -Af \\ +erg \end{array} \right]$
umikot	iikot	
tumungo	itungo	
tumakbo	ítakbo	

While the direction of derivation above has been stipulated, it is also conceivable to state it in the reverse direction. Such a rule will entail the deletion of the AGT actant instead of introducing it. Both derivations are plausible and each must be assessed on the basis of its semantic and syntactic implications as well as its relationship with other DR's. Semantically speaking, the meaning conveyed by the simple intransitive V is that the process or event can occur without the intervention of an agent, i.e. the posited OBJ is capable of undergoing the process by itself, the process being a natural one and can be under the OBJ's control, if at all possible. The rule will not apply to some process V's, since it is not 100% productive; thus,

pumunta	*ipunta
lumisan	*ilisan

These gaps reveal the limitations on the application of the DR. If the direction of derivation were the reverse, as I suggested was possible, we cannot account for the existence of the latter forms which do not correspond to any source or agentive forms. It may be added that with some DR's where a case relation is deleted, the derived items continue to imply the role of the deleted actant. For example, derived potential process V's: *magawa?*, *masira*, *matahi* and derived potential calamity V's: *masunog*, *mabali?*, *malipad*.

If we apply this condition to the forms in (4) and reverse the direction of derivation, we will note that the output does not convey even the slightest suggestion of the role of a deleted AGT. For this reason, these V's are considered inherently intransitive in the sense of being non-agentive.

(5) Derived psychological verbs

a.	sumakit	sakitan	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} +V \\ -[+AGT] \\ +[+OBJ] \\ +inch \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} +V \\ +Derv \\ +[+DAT] \\ +[+OBJ] \end{array} \right]$
	lumaki	lakihan	
	mangitim	pangitiman	
b.	pumutok	putukan	
	tumagas	tagasan	
	masira	masiraan	

Note that in (5) the transitive verbs created are not agentive but dative experiencer.

This manner whereby a case relation, +AGT, is introduced is parallel to one very productive derivation rule, i.e. the set that creates sub stems marked *causative*. Syntactically they differ from their non-causative source in having a 'new' AGT in their case frame. While the source may or may not have a cooccurring AGT, the derived causative verb always has one. The AGT introduced by the rule is referred to as the causer or director of the action, event or state characterized by the verb base. With this particular case feature, all causative V's may be said to be transitive, and, in fact, based on the case features of their corresponding source V's, different types of transitive causative verbs are created.

(6) Derived causative transitive

a.	pumunta	papuntahin
	bumalik	pabalikin
	lumayo	palayuin
b.	gumalaw	pagalawin
	umiyak	paiyakin
	tumakbo	patakbuin

It may be stressed that DR's do not automatically apply to all members of a given class; each derivation of a new stem is a separate historical event that takes place when there is a need for the new item. The observable lexical gaps which the rules cannot account for are by no means an indication of the rule's shortcoming. What they suggest is that the expected derived counterparts have not entered the lexicon, perhaps, due to some extralinguistic factors, but the possibility of their formation as the need for them arises is guaranteed by the rule.

(7) Derived causative ditransitive

a.	ibigay	ipabigay
	kunin	ipakuha
b.	lutuin	ipaluto
	ilatag	ipalatag
	hugasan	pahugasan

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In each of the cases above, it will be noted that the non-causative input when derived into a causative class fits into a new case frame category which may already exist. From (6) and (7), (i) a simple intransitive becomes a simple transitive, a locomotion becomes a simple transitive, a locomotion becomes a location, (ii) a simple transitive becomes a ditransitive and a location becomes a ditransitive location. These modifications imply two things:

(1) These are causative verb stems that belong to already existing case frame subcategories, e.g. those in (7); the resulting causative ditransitive may be identical in case frame with the subcategory of information V's but they differ in their meanings, hence, they should be distinguished.

(2) A new subcategory manifested by the verb class in (7) which consists of the case relations AGT, DAT, OBJ and LOC must be set up. To this class may be added;

(8) Causative ditransitive information V's

iutos	ipautos
ibalita	→ ipabalita
ituro	ipaturo

ipinabalita	ni	Pepe	sa	kaniya	sa	nanay	ang	nangyari
			AGT	DAT	LOC			OBJ

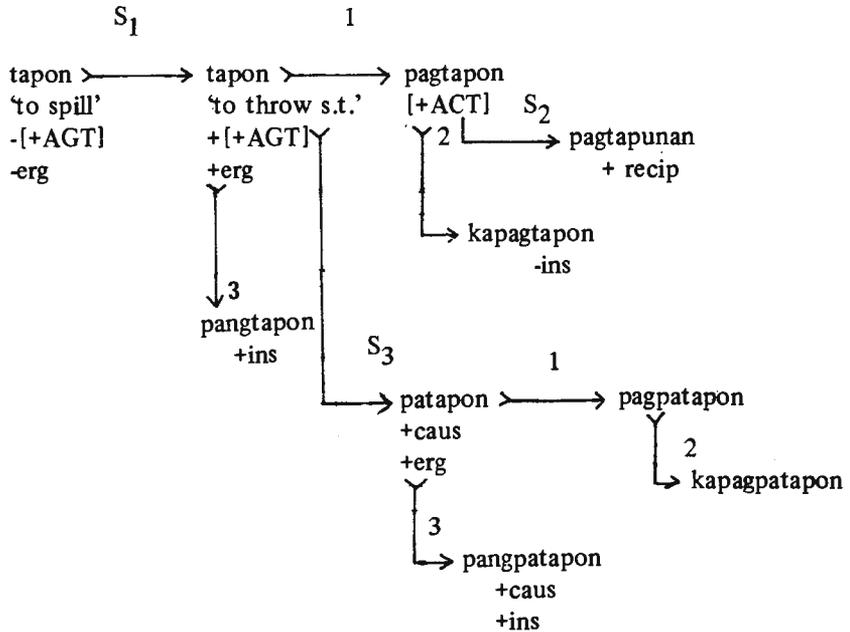
'what happened was caused by Pepe to be narrated by him to [the] mother'

Through the process of lexical derivation, primary verb items classified under different syntactic subcategories and verb stems derived from another lexical category will all end up in one case frame subcategory when derived into causative V's. E.G. *tanong*, [+AGT, +DAT, +OBJ], *guhit* [+AGT, -DAT, +OBJ], *alaala* [-AGT, +DAT, +OBJ]. Thus, in the final accounting of all verb stems (primary and non-primary), we find various morphological types of bases manifesting a single case frame subcategory. It is because of this powerful derivational capacity of V's that a subcategory by verb roots, rather than by verb stems, can obscure rather than reveal regularities and generalizations.

One other significant characteristic of DR's is their ability to accommodate more than just basic primary stems.<sup>3</sup> In general, derived V's which become members of an existing subcategory can be rederived. For instance, a simple transitive drawn from a simple intransitive V can serve as a new input to other DR's that create a new morphological stem class manifesting a voice paradigm different from its source and a new syntactic stemclass manifesting a different case frame subcategory. E.g.

<sup>3</sup> A verb stem is primary if it belongs to one of the major case frames and semantic subcategories and if it manifests a distinctive voice paradigm different from other morphological classes of the same case frame and semantic subcategory. It may be a [+derived] root or an affixed stem. Also, if the case frame of a derived stem is the same as its source but it has a different voice paradigm, then it is a primary verb stem. E.g. *bigay*, *pagbigay*, *pangbigay* are primary; *panghiram*, [+dist], *+pabigay* are secondary, *hili* and *paghili* are both primary.

(9) Rederivations



4. CONSEQUENCES OF THE REANALYSIS

The reanalysis herein proposed brings out three significant consequences:

- (1) It provides a simple, unified account of the voice inflectional affixes of Tagalog verbs.
- (2) It is able to account for the derivation and rederivation of verb stems, demonstrating how the derivational affixes are systematically layered.
- (3) With this analysis, in contrast to previous studies, we can now begin to talk above a simple versus a complex verb stem, in terms of their composition, i.e. roots and affixed stems (derived and rederived).

5. BROADER IMPLICATIONS

(1) The set of voice inflectional affixes, characteristic of agglutinative languages, can be used as a basis for crosslinguistic comparison and eventually the typology of Philippine languages. The presence or absence of *-um-* alternating with *m-* as well as the fundamental derivational activizing affixes *pag-* and *pang-* may be used to classify Philippine languages properly, and eventually other related Indonesian languages.

(2) The identification of a simple versus a more complex verbal structure provides a manner of talking about patients being more primary than agents as subjects, i.e. a verb with a simple structure can show that patient is more primary than agent. But proof for this is beyond the scope of this present article.

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