

A MODEL OF BILINGUAL COMPETENCE BASED ON AN ANALYSIS OF TAGALOG-ENGLISH CODE SWITCHING¹

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1. OVERVIEW

1.1. The Problem--Scope and Limitations. This paper is concerned with, first, analyzing and typologizing the Tagalog-English code switches appearing in a specific corpus and, second, constructing a model of bilingual linguistic competence on the basis of this typology. Intermediate between these two aims is restating the analysis and typology in the form of phrase structure rules that can be expected to generate an infinite set of utterances with Tagalog-English code switches; however, a full discussion of these rules cannot be given here because of space limitations. The paper, therefore, will provide an extended treatment of the typology and the model but will indicate only the general outlines of the phrase structure rules.

The study will use Chomsky's (1965) transformational model as its frame of reference, that is, the linguistic analysis and the model-building will utilize the concepts of deep structure, generalized phrase marker, transformation, and surface structure introduced and/or clarified in that version of transformational grammar. The syntax of code switching will be the focus here, with semantic and phonological analyses being peripheral.

The concern of this study is linguistic competence--the speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language (Chomsky 1964: 4), the linguistic information he may not be aware of but

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which he possesses--rather than mechanism--the cognitive abilities and processes that enter into speech perception and production (Fodor and Garrett 1966:137-8), psychological capacities for storage, processing, retrieval, and so on. The model to be presented will be a model of competence, not a model of performance, although the data of performance will be the starting-point for the process of abstracting a model. Stated another way, the paper will investigate how the Filipino bilingual switches codes not in terms of psychological mechanisms but in terms of components within a linguistic system. The model will be a way of conceptualizing the linguistic competence of the Filipino bilingual, but it is not meant to be a prototype of the language user's behavior or a point-by-point recreation of the operations performed by a bilingual in encoding and decoding sentences. The foregoing statements also imply that, in the main, the analysis of *why* a person switches codes (i.e. social-psychological reasons for switching) goes beyond the aims of this paper.

1.2. Review of Related Literature. Tagalog-English code switching has been the subject of studies by Azores (1967), Ramos (1971), Marfil and Pasiona (1970), Pimentel (1972), and Forman (1973).

The point of contact between the Azores, Ramos, and Forman studies and this study is the technique presented in all four studies: that of segmenting a larger construction into smaller constructions and units in order to arrive at a typology. However, Forman's article being a short one, the analysis (both syntactic and phonological) had to be limited; on the other hand, Azores' thesis was more concerned with the phonology of what she called 'mix-mix' and a frequency count of structures involved in language shifting; Ramos, meanwhile, only described the technique with the end in view of applying it herself in a more extended work.

The chief interest of the Marfil and Pasiona and Pimentel studies, from the point of view of this paper, lies in their formulation of phrase structure rules for code switching. But because the Marfil and Pasiona corpus by and large does not feature varieties of code switching beyond the use of English loanwords in Tagalog sentences, and because the Pimentel corpus, though a rich one, was not fully exploited, a comprehensive view of the patterns of code switching cannot be obtained from these two studies.

The present paper attempts to make its contribution by presenting a fairly extensive typology of Tagalog-English code switching and by going beyond the typology to a model of the Filipino bilingual's linguistic competence.

As for the task of representing bilingual competence, one or the other of two possible paradigms had to be considered as being more applicable to the Filipino bilingual. In one paradigm, the Filipino bilingual can be seen as having only one linguistic system which, however, permits alternation and variation through different phonological, morphological, syntactic, or lexical realizations. Thus Gumperz and Wilson (1971) say that in Kupwar, India, as a result of more than six centuries of Kannada-Marathi-Urdu contact, Dravidian Kannada and Indo-European Marathi and Urdu have almost identical deep structures and phonetic structures but distinct lexicons and grammatical formatives. According to them (165):

For many Kupwar residents, especially men, a model of linguistic competence must compromise a single semological, a single syntactic, and a single phonetic component, and *alternative* set of rules for the relation of semantic categories to morphemic shapes.

The other paradigm will see the Filipino bilingual as drawing on the resources of two separate co-existent systems. Labov (1971:456-7) provides a review of that paradigm:

It seems fairly easy to establish that in most situations French and English are co-existent systems using the kind of strict co-occurrence model that Gumperz first relied on his studies of social code-switching (1964):

	Rule E ₂	Rule F ₂												
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The absence of any mixed forms gives us a strong demonstration of the separateness of the two systems. In fact, bilingual speakers do produce strange mixtures of the two languages...So far, however, no one has been able to show that...rapid alternation is governed by any systematic rules or constraints, and we therefore must describe it as the irregular mixture of two distinct systems.

Sec. 2 will try to show that there is some system to what appears to be random irregular language mixture; Sec. 3 will present the model that has eventually been adopted.

1.3. Sources of the Data. *Pulong-Pulong sa Kawla-ran*, a radio program produced by the National Media Production Center and aired from six-thirty to seven every morning and evening Monday through Saturday, provided the data for the study. This specific program was chosen because its program host at the time, Gerry Geronimo, code-switched frequently, and his guests noticeably also did the same. It was decided to use a block of ten tapes from the morning broadcasts for the month of September 1973: ten because it seemed reasonable to presume that ten thirty-minute tapes would provide sufficient data for the study; the morning broadcasts because, unlike the evening broadcasts which are picked up by provincial stations, these are beamed specifically at Metropolitan Manila and therefore feature more instances of Tagalog-English code switching; September 1973 because this was the time the original study was being planned.

The ten tapes were then transcribed using normal Tagalog and English orthography and preserving not only everything said but also false starts and hesitations.

A coding system was also devised to permit easy retrieval of material from the transcripts; for purposes of this paper, however, the coding can be bypassed.

All in all, the transcripts consist of 1508 utterances distributed among 564 turns of speaking and 22 speakers. Of the total number of 1508 utterances, 1000*utterances (by some coincidence, a round number) or 66.31 per cent constitute or contain some kind of Tagalog-English code switching--defined loosely as any shift between Tagalog and English within an

utterance or between utterances. (A more rigorous--perhaps accurate--definition of code switching will be presented in Sec. 3.2; applying that definition, the figure of 66.31 per cent will be substantially reduced.)

2. A TYPOLOGY OF TAGALOG-ENGLISH CODE SWITCHES

2.1. The Procedure. The purpose of this section is to classify the different kinds of code switching found in the corpus and, in so doing, to delineate the pattern behind the apparent disorder in language mixture. To achieve this purpose, the following procedure was employed: Every sentence containing a single code switch or more was isolated and rewritten on a 5" x 8" card. If the switch occurred between sentences, the relevant excerpt was entered on the card. Each entry was then analyzed--primarily in terms of surface structure--into its constituent elements. This process of constituent analysis involved bracketing the constituents that went together and labelling each bracketed string.

At this stage of the analysis, therefore, a constituent structure grammar was used; deep structure, however, will figure prominently in Sec. 2.4 and in Sec. 3.

As an example of the process, consider the following sentence from the corpus--after it has undergone initial and informal labelled bracketing:

[Aside from this N.C.E.E. examination ay nag-
hihigpit na rin sila ngayon]_S sapagka't
[they won't worry about anymore itong sina-
sabi nilang decrease in enrolment]_S sapag-
ka't [magkakaroon na rin sila ng technolo-
gical, vocational at saka occupational cour-
ses]_S so that [they cannot afford anymore to
get in people who are not fit for college]_S]_S

Each of the inner S's can now serve as the matrix for the analysis of code switches involving words and phrases just as the complete sentence (the outermost S) can serve as the matrix for the analysis of code switches involving clauses.

In effect this means that in order to impose some order on the data it was found necessary to segment the whole sentence into individual S's, with each S providing the backdrop for code switches at the word and phrase level. A pro-

cess of synthesis then rejoined these analyzed S's into the complete sentence--the backdrop this time for clausal code switching. The heuristic device of bracketing, therefore, simplifies the task of typologizing code switches because it brings out in relief the more limited context within which a particular code switch can be examined.

The typology in the original study has been summarized below in the form of a chart, with each kind of code switching being followed by an example from the corpus and with parenthetical comments being included wherever necessary.

Several conventions have been observed in the presentation of the typology. A dash at the beginning and/or end of an example indicates that the sentence--as uttered by the speaker and represented orthographically in the transcripts--is not given in its entirety; only the part relevant to the code switch being exemplified has been included. Three dots appearing in an example mark a pause or a hesitation on the part of the speaker.

In the subsection on code switches at the word and phrase level, the convention involves italicizing the locus of the code switch; in the subsection on code switches at the clause and sentence level, the convention has been changed to an arrow above the line of text. In the examples given, only items or constructions under consideration are underscored or marked by an arrow. Other code-switched items appearing in the same example are ignored if they do not exemplify the structural point being discussed.

The following abbreviations have been adopted:

English=Eng, Tagalog=Tag, Noun=N, Verb=V, Adjective=Adj, Adverb=Adv, Noun with Prepositional Phrase=N-with-PP, Adjective with Prepositional Phrase=Adj-with-PP, Noun Phrase=NP, Participial Phrase=Part P, Subordinating Conjunction=SubConj, Coordinating Conjunction=CoorConj, Correlative Conjunction=CorrConj, Preposition=Prep, Linker=Li, Enclitic=Enc, Interrogative Word=Interg, Substitute Word=Subs, Determiner=Det, Relative Clause=RelCl, Restrictive Relative Clause=RestRelCl, Non - Restrictive Relative Clause = NonRestRelCl, Adverbial Clause=AdvCl, Independent Clause=IndepCl.

2.2. Code Switches at the Word and Phrase Level.

2.2.1. Open-Set Items

2.2.1.1. Nouns

2.2.1.1.1. English

Simple: Bueno, balik ho tayo sa ating mga *guests*

Conjoined: --hindi ba ito'y binibigay nyo na iyong mga forms sa mga *schools and colleges* at saka sa mga public schools?

N-with-PP: --upang mapanatili natin ang ganitong... mai-stabilize po natin ang *population growth in the country?*

Eng N → Tag V: --at hindi natin pwedeng pag-usapan sapagka't baka tayo ay ma-contempt *of court.*

(Here derivational processes have converted the original noun into a verb and there seems to be a corresponding change from an English word into a Tagalog word, as indicated by the arrow.)

2.2.1.1.2. Tagalog

--during the Old Society where there was the so-called '*palakasan*', the so-called '*padrino*' and the '*tayo-tayo*' systems.

(In this example, the Tagalog nouns form the first word of the two-word nouns *palakasan system*, *padrino system*, and *tayo system*.)

2.2.1.2. Verbs: English

Simple: --ang magaling na gawin po diyan magtanim noong mga tinatawag na pananim na *preferred* or nagugustuhan noong mga usa--

(Whether participial forms like *preferred* should be considered as verbs or adjectives is problematic; in the study, they have been arbitrarily classified as V's.)

Eng V + affix → Tag V: --iyong mga katanungang isasali sa examination ngayon e mga katanungang *tinest* na--

Eng V → Tag N: A, tungkol sa pag-*register* ho.

2.2.1.3. Adjectives: English

Simple: *Familiar* na sila sa mga pagkuha ng mga eksamen.

Adj-with-PP: --iyong nandiyan sa administrative services, iyon ang *subject to Civil Service regulations*.

2.2.1.4. Adverbs

2.2.1.4.1. English: *Presently* po, and duly licensed po sa City of Manila, dalawampu't tatlo pong dormitoryo--

2.2.1.4.2. Tagalog: It was not a case of therapeutic treatment, it was first aid *talaga*.

2.2.1.5. Combinations of Open-Set Items : English

Adj + N: --kasi hindi nila makukuha iyong mga katanungan sa mga *specific books* ano?

Conjoined Adjs + N: --kanina maganda iyong paksang binuksan mo tungkol sa government hostel para sa *poor and deserving students* dine sa City of Manila.

Adv + V: Iyon noong nabalitaan namin na ang implementation ng reorganiza t ion ay *indefinitely suspended* ay tapos na kami ng placement.

Adv + Adj: --sa ikauunlad o ikapagtatagumpay ng kooperatiba *very essential* ho iyong education.

2.2.2. Closed-Set Items

2.2.2.1. English

SubConj: Kung gusto niyang minsanan lang, pwede rin.
So lahat ng...ng choices e nasa sa farmer.

CorrConj: Ngayon, simula nang adapt-in ng Department of Education ang examination na gagamitin...na ginagamit namin, mapipilitan na magkaroon ng isang passing mark. *But* ang pagdi-determine ng passing mark ay sa Department of Education.

CorrConj: --puro po nanggagaling sa *either* sa General Fund, contributions from government offices and corporations o contribution pong galing sa publiko.

(Notice that one member of the pair of correlative conjunctions in English, *either*, while the other is Tagalog, *o*.)

Prep: Ito bang lahat hong klinikang ito ay *under* sa POPCOM?

2.2.2.2. Tagalog

SubConj: A, in some...in some areas of the world they had to resort to very drastic measures like vasectomy and just plain I.U.D.'s *dahil* they really needed no children.

CorrConj: They're present in the reservations. *Pero* sa ngayon po we have actual counts in the reservations of about one hundred and forty-eight.

CorrConj: The farmer realizes that self-help will not only help him...his...socially or individually *kundi pwede ring* internationally.

(Here the correlative conjunctions *not only-but also* appear with one member--*not only*--being in English and the other member--*kundi (pwede) rin*--in Tagalog.)

Li: --let me answer that the roundabout way *na* at this stage of our growth it will be...we will have to maintain our population growth at a low level--

Enc: --beer *daw* is considered as a beverage--

Wildlife *ho* is very sensitive doon sa pamamaril

(The position of *daw* and *ho* in the examples above exemplifies the point of the definition given by Schachter and Otnes (1972:411): Enclitic particles are words that, with certain statable exceptions, obligatorily follow the first word of the construction of which they constitute an immediate part.)

Interg: Yah, but there ought to be a passing mark
ano?

Subs: Going back to the *ano*, to the problems of the
ano...the borders--

(*Ano*, therefore, can be an interrogative word in confirmation questions or a substitute for a word the speaker cannot remember, a word that is at the tip of his tongue.)

2.2.3. Special Combinations of Closed-Set and Open-Set Items (referring specifically to combinations of Det (=closed-set item) + N (=open-set item) in one language appearing as NP-subject, NP-complement, or NP-appositive in an S in the other language)

2.2.3.1. Combinations in Subject Position

Eng NP as Subject: Kaya't hindi natin pwede pong i-discuss, *ano ho, the merits and demerits of the case.*

(English does not distinguish between nominative and object -ive case in the determiners, but if it is assumed that this sentence is a Tagalog sentence, then the underscored string is indeed the subject. The affix of the verb--*i*--and the form of the pronoun--*natin*--indicate that *natin* is not the subject.)

Tag NP as Subject: *Ang family planning component po dito* is really the most crucial at the moment..

2.2.3.2. Combinations in Complement Position

Eng NP as Complement: Maari po bang bigyan nyo kami
 ng the facts of the matter?

(The determiner *ng* before *the facts of the matter* suggests that the English NP is part of the complement in this Tagalog sentence.)

Tag NP as Complement--*ang*-NP: Kung hindi po ninyo...
 we have discussed dur-
 ing the first session
 ito pong subject areas
 na inyo pong pipiliin.

(Note that although the Tagalog NP occupies complement position, the determiner is *ito*, the subject-determiner, rather than *nito*, the complement-determiner. An explanation for this will be attempted in this section's 'Conclusion'.)

Tag NP as Complement--*ng*-NP-genitive: This is in
 connection with the celebration
 po ng anibersaryo ng D.A.R. o
 tinatawag po nating Department
 of Agrarian Reform--

Tag NP as Complement--*sa*-NP: --we would put in more
 interest *sa ating pagtatanghal*
 kung ang pag-uusapan natin ay--

(In terms of the whole system of Tagalog grammar, it seems convenient to consider *ng* and *sa* as determiners--although in most instances they appear analogous to English prepositions. That *ng* and *sa*, like *ang*, are determiners is seen in the correspondence among the following sentences:

Bumili ang bata ng kendi sa tindahan.
 Binili ng bata ang kendi sa tindahan.
 Binilhan ng bata ng kendi ang tindahan.

The *ng*-determiner is bifurcated into the *ng*-object-determiner and the *ng*-genitive-determiner; it is the *ng*-NP-genitive that appears as a Tagalog complement in an English S.)

2.2.3.3. Combinations as Appositives

Eng NP as Appositive to Tag NP: --libre po ba itong mga tulong na ibinibigay ninyo, *especially the facilities that the people need--*

Tag NP as Appositive to Eng NP: It's also about the provincial graduates, *iyong mga seniors na nagga-graduate sa high school*

2.2.4. Collocations (referring to familiar expressions, arrangements of words that frequently go together, that are 'of a piece')

2.2.4.1. English: Sa *in the long run* po, ang success o failure ng population program ay hindi ho nababatay sa ginagawa ng Komisyon--

(Other English collocations in Tagalog S's include *as a matter of fact, in other words, in this connection, you know, I see.*)

2.2.4.2. Tagalog: Well, Atty. Peña, *kung sabagay* po ay since...inas-much as you come from the examination department of the Civil Service Commission *palagay* ko ay we would put in more interest s a ating pagtatanghal kung--

(Other Tagalog collocations in English S's include *ika nga, ano ito, hindi ba, iyon nga.*)

2.2.5. Prepositional Phrases

2.2.5.1. English

Simple: --e ito pong mga taong ito ay pwedeng gumawa ng request para po sila ay makakuha ng examination *in their own embassies there?*

PP + RestRelC1: Ang FAPE po ay kinommission para ibigay lamang ang examination, hindi ho magbigay ng guidance services *to the students who will be taking the examination.*

(It is worth noting that by far the greatest number of code switches at the phrase level involve English prepositional phrases being incorporated into Tagalog S's.)

2.2.5.2. Tagalog: Do you conduct seminars and meetings *tungkol po rito?*

2.2.6. Participial Phrases: English

Simple: Kung sabagay ito po ay, mga kaibigan, dadalhin po...nakadala na po sa korte at pag-uusapan. *Going back to the ano...to the problems of the ano, the boarders, ano ho, napag-uusapan din lamang po itong sa ating mga boarders.*

PartP + RestRelC1: Saan po mapupunta itong five pesos na ito *considering the number of students who will take the examination?*

2.2.7. Infinitive Phrases: English

Pero mayroon po akong alam na ang Office ng City Mayor ay nag-propose ng isang ordinansa *to cover these bedspacers.*

2.2.8. Relative Phrases: Tagalog

I think this has something to do now with the pattern of education *na sinusunod sa mga kolehyo--*

2.3. Code Switches at the Clause and Sentence Level

2.3.1. Relative Clauses

2.3.1.1. English

RestRelCl: Wala hong paraan para maiwasan na magkaroon ng isang examination which will be fair to everybody.

NonRestRelCl: Ang isang opisina naman po na nangangasiwa ng pagdi-develop ng parks ay ang National Parks Development Committee, which is chaired by the First Lady--

2.3.1.2. Tagalog: --that the schools themselves maybe through the principal and the guidance programs point out to the students their subject areas na magaling sila.

(Tagalog relative clauses occur very infrequently and, as a result, it may appear that there are only Tagalog relative phrases. But the original study shows that there are both kinds of relative constructions in Tagalog, the difference between them being determined by the nature of the co-referential NP that is deleted. In the Tagalog relative phrase, the deleted co-referential NP is the subject-NP; in the Tagalog relative clause, the deleted co-referential NP is either the *sa*-NP or the *ng*-NP-genitive.)

2.3.2. Noun Clauses

2.3.2.1. English: Sa ngayon po ang concentration ng aming project to save the monkey-eating eagle ay sa Mindanao dahil sa Mindanao po...doon lang tayon nakakasiguro na we have about between forty and fifty birds left.

2.3.2.2. Tagalog: Rumors have been getting around na ang mga contraceptives daw na ito, ang iba'y nakaka-cause ng cancer.

2.3.2.3. Conjoined Tagalog and English: Pero kapag iyong may ibinibigay sila nang kaunti, then they

feel naman nã hindi na lang si-
la parating dole-out, na they
are doing something for them-
selves.

2.3.3. Adverbial and Main Clauses

2.3.3.1. Eng AdvCl: At iyong iba naman e bas-
ta indifferent sila anõ
because they are really
afraid.

2.3.3.2. Tag MainCl: --if you're going t o
tell the Mayor a n d
even titillate him in
doing so, papayag ho
siguro.

2.3.3.3. Tag AdvCl: --later on I will ask Dr.
Romulo to explain all
of these methods no?
dahil siya'y bilang
isang manggagamot e mas
maalam siya dito sa mga
bagay na iyan ano?

2.3.3.4. Eng MainCl: --kung magkakaroon po
kayo ng comparison, how
would you compare the
initial reaction of
the people to this--

2.3.3.5. Conjoined Tag and Eng AdvCls: --kung
sakaling hindi ka makakuha ng
examination and they will not
give you another chance to take
this examination ay maaring ma-
wala sa iyo ang pag-asang maka-
rating ng kolehyo--

2.3.4. Independent Clauses

2.3.4.1. Tag IndepCl Coor Conj + Eng IndepCl:
Mayroon pong swimming pool diyan,
mayroon pong mga laruan ng mga bata
and there is mountain climbing avail-
able.

- 2.3.4.2. Eng IndepCī[→] CōorConj + Tag IndepC1:
Well, we all know that this is a
State University at lumalakad sa pa-
mamagitan ng pondong nanggagaling sa
ating pamahalaan.

2.3.5. Sentences

- 2.3.5.1. An English Sentence in an Otherwise
Completely-Tagalog Turn of Speaking:
Itong pagpaplano ng pamilya, Gerry,
ay hindi isang bagong bagay. Ito'y
kasing tanda ng mga taong naninirahan
sa daigdig, kasing tanda ng pagkaka-
ladlad ng daigdig. In other words,
it is as old as humanity itself.
Hindi lamang tayo ang nagplano ng pa-
milya. Lahat ng mga lipi, lahat ng
mga taong nanirahan sa daigdig ay
nagplano ng pamilya sa kani-kanyang
panahon. Lamang ay iba't-ibang para-
an ang kanilang ginamit at ang ibang
mga taong nagplano ng bilang ng kani-
lang mga anak o ng kanilang pamilya
ay gumamit lamang ng naaangkop sa ka-
nilang kaisipan noong mga panahong
iyon. Samantalang ngayon, sa pagpa-
plano ng pamilya, ay umiisip tayo ng
mga makabagong paraan na dinaan sa
pananaliksik at pag-aaral ng ating
mga siyentipiko at manggagamot.

- 2.3.5.2. Alternating Tagalog and English Sen-
tences in a Turn of Speaking: --he
is buying from himself. Kaya kaila-
ngan ay mayroon siyang sasabihin sa
management. He must manage his own
business through the cooperative.
Ngayon kung walang edukasyon, walang
orientation ay mababagsak ang cooper-
ative.

2.4. Conclusion. The juxtaposition of the English and Tagalog subsections under each type of code switch has revealed the following gaps: There are no equivalent Tagalog participial and infinitive phrases to correspond to such Eng-

lish constructions; strictly speaking, there are no English relative phrases--only relative clauses, which may or may not be reduced--while there are both Tagalog relative phrases and clauses. Similarities between English and Tagalog constructions involved in code switching have been highlighted: For example, English and Tagalog noun clauses and English and Tagalog adverbial clauses manifest striking similarities. Differences have also appeared: The Tagalog enclitics, especially the respect markers *po* and *ho*, can be glossed in English only by indirect means; relative constructions in English and Tagalog do not fall together the way English and Tagalog noun and adverbial clauses do.

Other patterns are evident in the full corpus: One is the convergence of *na* and *that* as linkers, *kaya* and *so*, *sapagka't* and *because* as subordinating conjunctions, *at* and *and*, *o* and *or*, *pero* and *but* as coordinating conjunctions. Another is the convergence of Tagalog and English prepositional phrases, as in:

--and some schools are conducting review classes
para sa kanila/for them.

and of Tagalog *ng*-NP-genitives and English PP's as in:

This is in connection with the celebration *po ng*
anibersaryo ng D.A.R./of the anniversary of the
D.A.R.

and of Tagalog *sa*-NP's and English PP's as in:

--*palagay ko ay we would put in more interest sa*
ating pagtatanghal/in our presentation--

Another pattern is the primacy of the *ang/iyon/ito/*
iyon form of the determiner, even in complement position in an English S, that is, there seems to be a constraint against using a *ng*-NP, as exemplified in the following sentences from the corpus:

At kagaya *po ng* ating napasimulang paksa, we'll
still discuss ITO *pong mga details na may kaug-*
nayan sa National College Entrance Examination-

Kung hindi *po ninyo...*we have discussed during
the first session ITO *pong subject areas na inyo*
pong pipiliin.

Here the Tagalog NP's are in complement position and therefore the expected determiner is the *ng*-form. But note that the Tagalog complements employ the *ang*-form: *ito* rather than *nito*. Perhaps the reason is that the matrix-sentences for the complements are English and thus the norms for English dictate the unacceptability of a *ng*-marked NP as complement. A Tagalog NP-complement inserted into an English S cannot bear the determiner *nito* because that will incorporate a certain relation-marking associated with *ng*, a signalling feature not found in English grammar. The relation-marking function of *ng* is indicated in the following:

Nanahi siya *ng isang damit*.
She sewed *a dress*.

The Tagalog NP has the determiner *ng* in addition to *isang* to indicate indefiniteness, and the *ng* marks the relation between the verb *nanahi*, the subject *siya*, and the complement *damit*. The English NP has the *a* only to indicate indefiniteness.

The difference stemming from the presence of relation-marking in *ng* is also reflected in what happens to an English NP-complement inserted into a Tagalog S:

Maari po bang bigyan nyo kami *ng the facts of the matter*?

*Maari po bang bigyan nyo kami *the facts of the matter*?

The unacceptability of the asterisked form shows that the English NP, already possessing the determiner *the*, still has to be introduced by the Tagalog determiner *ng* because the structure of Tagalog requires *ng* as a relation-marker.

The above explanation for the use of a Tagalog *ang*-NP in complement position is offered tentatively. That the norms for the base-language of a sentence determine the acceptability or unacceptability of a construction from the other language appearing in this S needs further testing. Furthermore, the relation-marking function of Tagalog determiners, especially *ng*, as compared to English determiners should be probed more deeply.

One final observation can be made: As the analysis

progressed, one fact appeared more and more clear. Although a sentence (=topmost S in a tree or the initial S in a derivation consisting of several lower S's) cannot always be identified as a Tagalog sentence or an English sentence, each sentential unit (=lower S or an S on the righthand side of a rewriting rule) more or less can be identified as a Tagalog S or an English S. That is, a sentence with a Tagalog adverbial clause and an English main clause or with one Tagalog and one English independent clause cannot appropriately be tagged as a Tagalog sentence or an English sentence; perhaps it should simply be labelled 'bilingual sentence'. On the other hand, no matter how many lexical or phrasal insertions from the other language a sentential unit may carry, there is some operational test--word order, major vs. minor constituents, etc.--for determining whether it is a Tagalog S or an English S.

It follows from this observation that two sets of phrase structure rules are necessary to generate the utterances in the corpus--one set of PS rules for Tagalog S's and another set for English S's. Within each set of PS rules, however, there will be provisions for lexical insertion from the other language or for switching to a phrase or sentential unit in the other language. For example, an English lexical item can be plugged into the dummy symbol dominated by N in a Tagalog phrase marker, a Tagalog *ng*-NP-genitive can be inserted under an English PP node, or an S on the right-hand side of a rewriting rule can become the initial S in the PS rules of the other language.

It is not possible to present and discuss the two sets of PS rules here because of space constraints. However, the specific nature of these PS rules is, in general, not of crucial importance to the model-building process; what is of crucial importance is the positing of two sets of PS rules to account for the deep structure of the utterances in the corpus.

3. A MODEL OF THE FILIPINO BILINGUAL'S LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE

3.1. Frame of Reference: Chomsky's 1965 Transformational Model. In this formulation of the transformational model, a grammar has three components: a syntactic, a semantic, and a phonological component. The syntactic component is central and creative in that it produces the strings that serve as inputs to the semantic and phonological components,

which are purely interpretive.

The creative power of the syntactic component resides in the base subcomponent, made up of categorial (or phrase structure) rewriting rules and the lexicon. The PS rules generate phrase markers whose configurations specify underlying syntactic relationships and whose terminal nodes consist of grammatical morphemes and dummy symbols (Δ). The lexicon provides a pool of lexical items specified for syntactic, semantic, and phonological features. More precisely, each lexical item is given a category feature, which indicates the category to which the lexical item must belong if it is to replace a dummy symbol, for example, a lexical entry with the category feature [+V] can replace a dummy symbol dominated by V. Another specification is a strict subcategorization feature, which indicates the phrase structure environment in which a lexical item may occur, for example, [+__NP], which means that the lexical item must be followed by an NP, in other words, the V is a transitive verb. The third specification is a selectional feature, which indicates the lexical environment in which an item may occur, for example, [+__NP
+animate], which indicates that the V takes only animate objects. Each lexical item is also characterized by a cluster of semantic features and by a phonetic matrix for its constituent sounds. A special lexical rule then inserts the appropriate lexical items to replace the dummy symbols in the phrase marker.

The output of the base subcomponent is a deep structure which is fed into the semantic component for semantic interpretation. At the same time, the deep structure is also the input to the other subcomponent of the syntactic component, the transformational subcomponent. Transformational processes add, delete, or transfer items in the deep structure to produce the left-to-right ordering of the surface structure string.

This surface structure string becomes the input to the phonological component, which provides a phonological interpretation of the string.

The details of the model (as given in *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Chomsky 1965) and supplemented by *The Sound Pattern of English* (Chomsky and Halle 1968)) are fairly clear except that a certain vagueness as to the nature of the

semantic component has given rise to two readings of Chomsky's position.

Maclay (1971:169-78) sees the *Aspects* model as taking over completely Katz and Fodor's (1963) conception of a semantic component as restated in Katz and Postal (1964). That is, the semantic component consists of a dictionary, which provides a meaning for each of the lexical items of the language, and a finite set of projection rules, which assigns a semantic interpretation to each string generated by the syntactic component.

Greene (1972:59-74), on the other hand, believes that the *Aspects* model does not adopt Katz and Postal's proposal in toto: The projection rules are retained but the dictionary is dropped in favor of a greatly-enriched lexicon in the base of the syntactic component.

The position adopted here follows that of Greene--for two reasons: First, as Weinreich (1966:400) notes, 'in an integrated theory, the existence of a lexicon separate from the dictionary is a vestigial absurdity', that is having both a lexicon and a dictionary shows a certain duplication, a certain lack of economy. Second, there is no reason why a dictionary should not be removed. Since the lexicon has been enriched to the point where it carries syntactic, semantic, and phonological information, then the dictionary in effect becomes unnecessary. The semantic component can be visualized as a set of projection rules that amalgamate readings of lexical items in a way determined by the configuration of the phrase marker. And, according to Greene (62), there is no inconsistency in positing, in the base of the syntactic component, a lexicon which includes semantic and phonological information. If the syntactic component is generative and the semantic and phonological components are simply interpretive, then the syntactic component should provide all the information that the two other components require for correct semantic and phonological interpretation. A lexicon in the base providing both semantic and phonological features therefore fits in perfectly in such a distribution of functions. In line with this reasoning, for purposes of subsequent discussion, it will henceforth be assumed in this paper that the semantic component contains only projection rules.

3.2. The Model. Although not all details of the model are in sharp focus, several facts appear clear from the

outset. It will be necessary to have two sets of PS rules to account for the utterances in the corpus; therefore, the model will have two phrase structure components. Since the lexical items in the utterances can be English or Tagalog, then there will also be two lexicons. The transformational processes of Tagalog and English are different--one clear example of this difference is provided by relativization in Tagalog and English--so there must be two transformational components. Tagalog utterances 'sound' different from English utterances, necessitating two phonological components. Finally, there must be some way of fusing the Tagalog & English elements together. These are some of the considerations that must enter into the model-building process.

The model that emerges is the following:

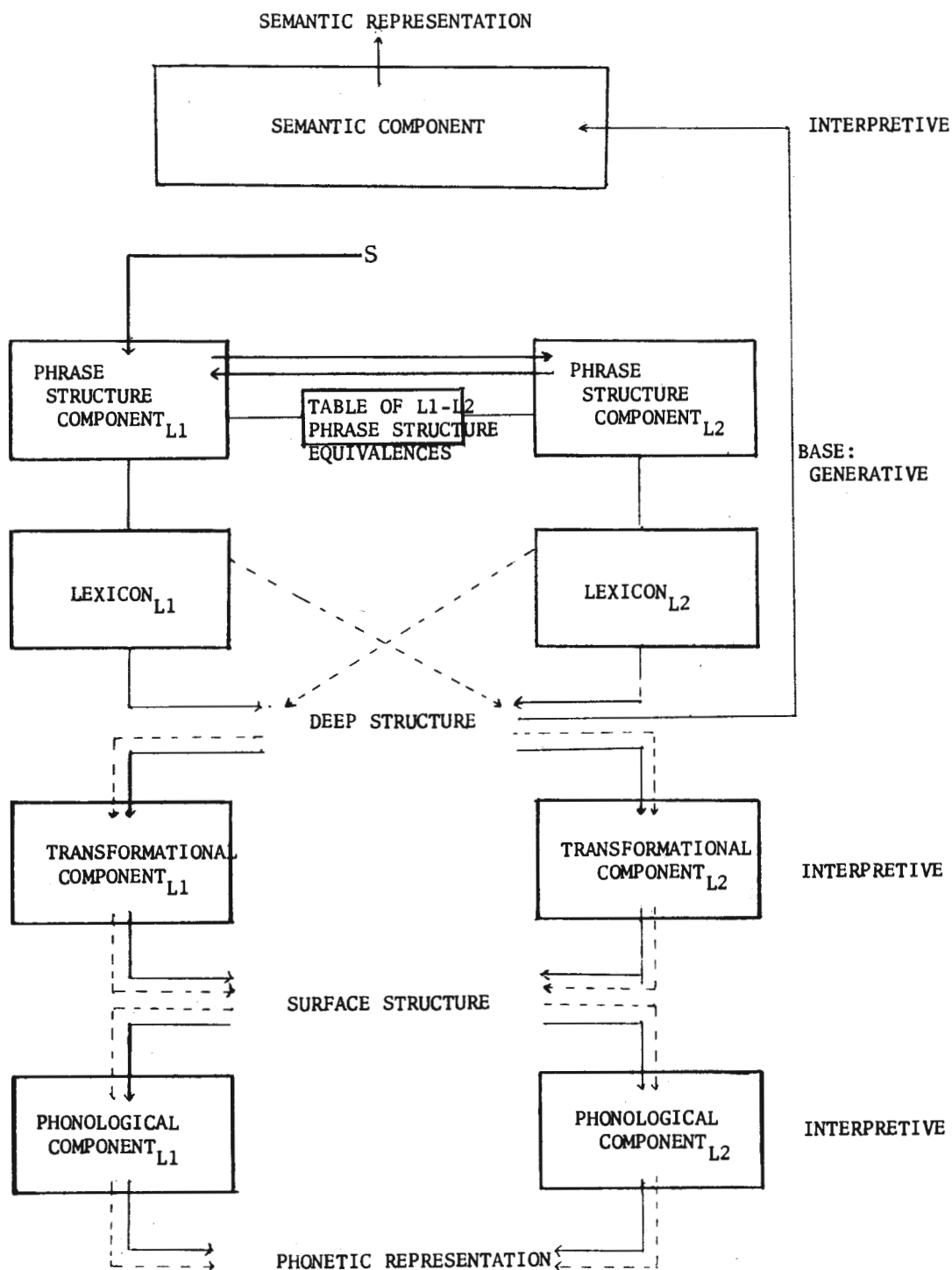


Fig. 1--A Model of Filipino Bilingual's Linguistic Competence

The starting point in the model is S, the primitive in transformational theory and a language universal.

In the diagram, L1 and L2 (Language₁ and Language₂) have been used rather than Tagalog and English because the switching can occur from Tagalog to English or from English to Tagalog: In some instances, therefore, Tagalog is L1 and English is L2, and in other instances, English is L1 and Tagalog is L2.

There are two kinds of arrows in the diagram: the broken arrow and the solid arrow. For purposes of this discussion, the path traced by the broken arrow is the derivation of an L1 utterance with a lexical insertion from L2 or the derivation of an L2 utterance with a lexical insertion from L1. On the other hand, the path traced by the solid arrow is the derivation of an utterance featuring all other kinds of code switching over and above lexical insertion.

The direction of the arrows--where they come from and where they go--is of course significant; the arrowheads mark the input into and output from the different components of the model.

Also important is the distinction made between the 'generative' and the 'interpretive' components of the model. There is no question as to the generative nature of the base subcomponent: It generates the deep structure of a sentence, that is, it assigns a structural description to the sentence. There is no question either regarding the interpretive nature of the semantic and phonological components: The semantic component assigns a semantic interpretation to the deep structure while the phonological component assigns a phonetic interpretation to the surface structure. The status of the transformational component as being either generative or interpretive, however, has not been considered in the standard sources. Since it is part of the syntax--the generative component in a generative grammar--the assumption might be that the transformational component is generative. But in reality, as the device that maps phrase markers into phrase markers, the transformational component is interpretive rather than generative.

The meaning of the diagram can be made clear by taking sample utterances from the corpus. Consider the case of a sentence like:

- (a) Bueno, balik ho tayo sa ating mga *quests*.

In general, the derivation of this sentence follows the derivation of a monolingual sentence. The primitive S is developed by the PS rules and the lexicon to produce a deep structure which is given a semantic interpretation by the semantic component. At the same time, this deep structure is fed into the transformational component to produce a surface structure which in turn is given a phonetic interpretation by the phonological component. Except that in this case, there is a branching into the lexicon of L2: The L2 lexical item *quests* is plugged into the L1 phrase marker whose other terminal dummy symbols have been replaced by L1 lexical items. The broken line from Lexicon_{L2} to the deep structure therefore delineates how the model handles the kind of code switching involving lexical insertion.

A more difficult problem is posed by code switching involving sentential units. How can the model account for the switching between a main clause and a relative or noun or adverbial clause or between independent clauses?

Consider one case which can represent the code-switched clause group:

- (b) Halos lahat ho ng mga klinika na may family planning services ay tinutulongan ng POPCOM subali't mayroon din pong mga *ibā* who get their sources from other places no?

Taking S as the starting point, the PS component of L1 will generate a generalized phrase marker and after the application of the lexical insertion rule (the short cut has been taken of not providing lexical entries with bundles of syntactic, semantic, and phonological features), the deep structure will be--with some details glossed over:

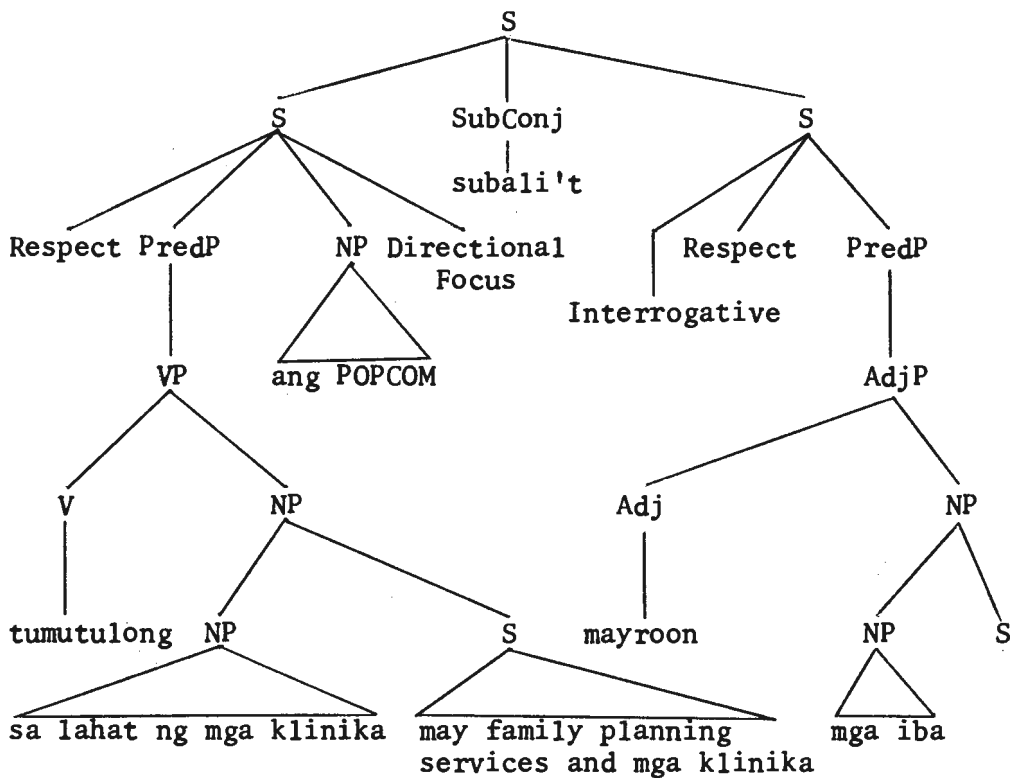


Fig. 2--L1 Partial Deep Structure for (b)

The occurrence of the rightmost sentential unit necessitates activating the PS component of L2. In Fig. 1, the arrow from PS Component_{L1} to PS Component_{L2} is meant to indicate that somewhere in the derivation of the initial or topmost S, a lower S (=sentential unit) has to be channelled into the other PS component because it requires the PS rules of L2.

So in the case of (b), the PS component of L2, supplemented by its lexicon, will generate the deep structure:

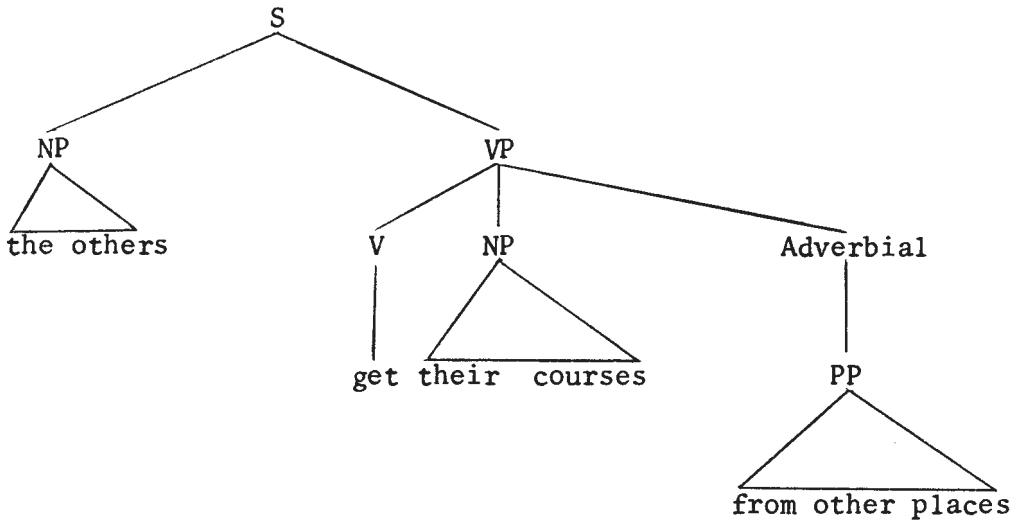


Fig. 3--L2 Partial Deep Structure for (b)

This deep structure is, of course, still part of the derivation of the primitive S. The complete deep structure is therefore:

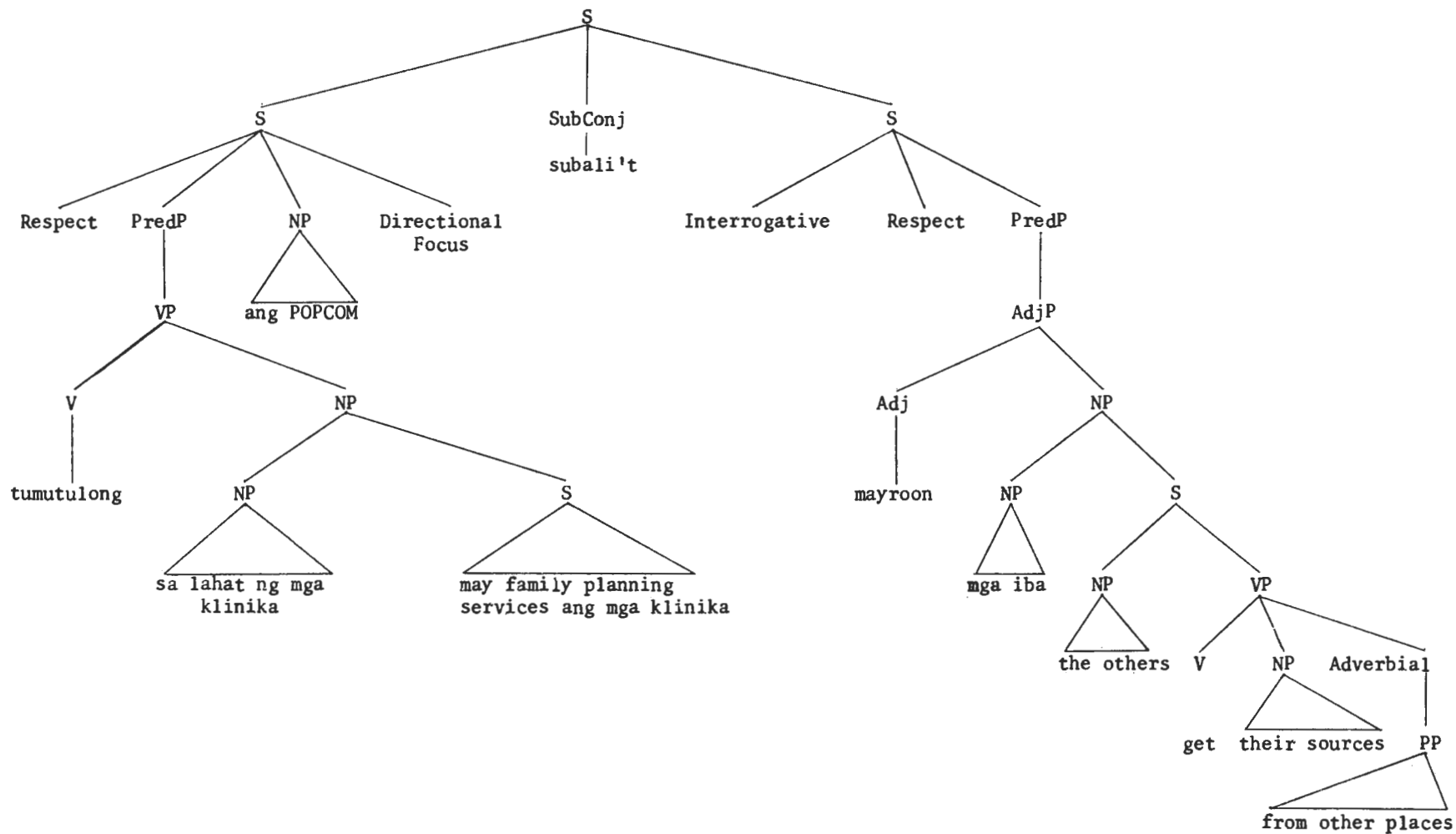


Fig. 4--Complete Deep Structure for (b)

Before continuing with the discussion of (b), it is necessary to clear up certain points.

In Fig. 1, there is another arrow that comes from PS Component_{L2} going to PS Component_{L1}. The meaning of that arrow can be explained by an example:

- (c) Ito po ngayon ang dini-develop...we were beautifying this and...batay ho sa reports marami na pong taong nagpupunta roon.

The primitive S will be developed by PS Component_{L1} into S₁S₂ Coord_{Conj} S₃ (indices have been given these S's to facilitate discussion). PS Component_{L1} and Lexicon_{L1} will generate the deep structure for S₁, i.e. the deep structure underlying *ito po ngayon ang dini-develop*. S₂ will be shunted to PS Component_{L2}; together, PS Component_{L2} and Lexicon_{L2} will generate the deep structure for *we were beautifying this*. To derive S₃, the deep structure for *batay ho sa reports marami na pong taong nagpupunta roon*, there will have to be a return to PS Component_{L1} and Lexicon_{L1}.

The arrow from PS Component_{L1} to PS Component_{L2} and back again, therefore, provides for code switching between an L1 S, a second S in L2, and a third S in L1 again. In fact, the arrows connecting PS Component_{L1} and PS Component_{L2} can be any number, depending on the number of times a speaker code-switches between S's.

In this model, then, a deep structure can be the output of PS Component_{L1} and Lexicon_{L1} (perhaps with some items from Lexicon_{L2}) or it can be the output of PS Component_{L1} and Lexicon_{L1} (plus perhaps some items from Lexicon_{L2}) and PS Component_{L2} and Lexicon_{L2} (perhaps with some items from Lexicon_{L1}). These possibilities are indicated by the arrows joining the PS components and by the arrows pointing from the lexicons to the deep structure.

The deep structure is given a semantic interpretation by the semantic component. This is accomplished by the projection rules in the semantic component, which amalgamate readings of lower nodes to produce a reading for the higher node until eventually, after an amalgamation of all the readings, a reading is produced for the entire deep structure.

Only one semantic component is proposed for the model because the projection rules are conceived of as applying cross-linguistically. Katz and Postal (1964:162-3) say:

---the set of projection rules is the same for all languages, i.e., is fully determined by the general theory of linguistic descriptions because differences between (projection rules) depend on differences between grammatical relations, and all languages draw their stock of grammatical relations from the same universal set.

The model being proposed, therefore, assumes that the semantic component is made up only of projection rules (i.e. that it does not contain a dictionary) and that the projection rules which provide readings for successively higher constituents apply automatically and cross-linguistically. Given these assumptions, language specificity cannot be accounted for by the semantic component and has to be borne by other components in the model. Part of the burden of language specificity is borne by the PS rules--note that the PS rules in PS Component_{L1} are different from the PS rules in PS Component_{L2} (these rules are detailed in Chapter IV of Bautista (1975)). A major part of the burden is carried by the lexicon, which has to become highly elaborated. But in fact the lexicon in the 1965 theory already assumed this role. In the *Aspects* model, the items in the lexicon are not just words but are complex bundles of features, i.e. bundles of semantic features, syntactic features (category, strict subcategorization, and selectional features), and phonetic features.

Language specificity is also accounted for by differences in the transformational rules of L1 and L2. To go back to example (b), the deep structure presented in Fig. 4 cannot be submitted to just one transformational component because the transformational rules of Tagalog are not the same as the transformational rules of English. So this deep structure has to be bifurcated as it undergoes transformational processes. The L1 partial deep structure (given in Fig. 2) goes to Transformational Component_{L1} for, among others, the focus and relativization transformations to produce the structure:

*Halos lachat ho ng mga klinika na may family
planning services ay tinutulungan ng POPCOM
subali't mayroon din pong mga iba no?*

Since the co-referential NP's *mga iba* and *the others* in the deep structure have the proper structural index for the relativization transformation, when the L2 partial deep structure *the others get their sources from other places* (presented in Fig. 3) goes to Transformational Component_{L2}, the result will be: *who get their sources from other places*.

These transformations (whether belonging to L1 or L2) are envisioned to operate cyclically on generalized phrase markers (generated by the PS components of L1 and L2 and supplemented by the lexicons of L1 and L2) and they result in intermediate generalized phrase markers on the way to becoming surface structures.

For the specific example under consideration, the resulting surface structure is the following bilingual sentence:

- (b) Halos lahat ho ng mga klinika na may
family planning services ay tinutulan
ng POPCOM subali't mayroon
din pong mga iba who get their
sources from other places no?

This will now have to be bifurcated prior to being given phonological interpretation. The reason is that the phonological rules of L1 are not the phonological rules of L2--language specificity is also partly borne by the phonological components of the model. Two phonological components will consequently have to be inferred from the presence of two sets of phonological rules. To cite an example, Tagalog utterances 'sound' different from English utterances--English has a more pervasive vowel reduction rule so that English gives the impression of being stress-timed while Tagalog gives the impression of being syllable-timed. The operation of these phonological rules will give a surface phonetic interpretation.

The above account is also applicable to inter-sentence code switching, the switching between an L1 and L2 sentence, as in the following example:

- (d) Bilang project officer po, ang tungkulin
ko ay ang pangasiwaan ang pagtakbo ng

mga iba-ibang organisasyon na may mga clinics po sa aming programa. We have to set the guidelines for them to follow and we also have to see that they are functioning well.

In this case, of course, both the L1 and L2 systems will be brought into play.

Code switching involving surface structure words, clauses, and sentences has now been accounted for. It is time to consider surface structure phrases.

Participial, infinitive, and relative phrases are all derived from underlying sentential units. It can therefore be surmised that the description given above for (b)-(d) applies as well to these kinds of phrases. Consider the following sentence with an infinitive phrase:

- (e) Kaya binibigay ho namin ito lahat sa mga babae *for all the women for them to choose.*

PS Component_{L1} rewrites the initial S into SubConj S SubConj S--whereupon this second sentential unit is shunted to PS Component_{L2}. The process, following the outline given above, then continues.

It is basically the same process, except that in the case of these phrases, the transformations applied to the bifurcated deep structure so prune the L1 or L2 partial deep structure that the resulting structure is a phrase, not a clause. To pursue the metaphor employing trees: A pruned L2 tree is grafted on to a whole L1 tree or a pruned L1 tree is grafted on to a whole L2 tree. The difference between this kind of code switching and that involving a relative or noun or adverbial clause is therefore a difference in degree, not in kind.

The participial phrase may have a clause attached to it, as in the following:

- (f) Saan po mapupunta itong five pesos na ito *considering the number of students who will take the examination?*

In such cases, PS Component_{L2} will generate, in addition to

the sentential unit underlying the L2 participial phrase, the embedded L2 sentential unit eventually to be realized as the restrictive relative clause.

But what of the insertion into L1 utterances of L2 prepositional phrases or L2 noun phrases--phrases that are not derived from sentential units? How will the model handle these kinds of code switching?

The solution seems to be to provide the model with an additional conceptual sub-apparatus consisting of a Table of L1-L2 Phrase Structure Equivalences. This table of equivalences will include the following information--here stated rather informally although in a complete grammar, the information should be stated with more rigor:

Equiv. 1	Tagalog ang-NP's	= English NP's
Equiv. 2	Tagalog ng-NP-genitives	= English PP's
Equiv. 3	Tagalog sa-NP's	= English PP's
Equiv. 4	Tagalog PP's	= English PP's

As examples of these equivalences, consider the surface structure realizations:

Equiv. 1 *Ang intensyon/the intention* talaga is to maintain it in the original state.

Equiv. 2 This is in connection with the celebration *po ng anibersaryo ng D.A.R./of the anniversary of the D.A.R.*

Equiv. 3 --palagay ko ay we would put in more interest *sa ating pagtatanghal/in our presentation--*

Equiv. 4 --and some schools are conducting review classes *para sa kanila/for them.*

As conceived of here, when PS Component_{L1} generates an NP or a PP, the Table of L1-L2 Phrase Structure Equivalences supplies the information that this NP or PP may be realized in the other language, in which case this NP or PP is shunted to PS Component_{L2}. The process described earlier for sentential units now becomes operative because a phrase marker has been generated by PS Component_{L1} while a partial

phrase marker has been generated by PS Component_{L2}.

The code-switched NP may have a restrictive relative construction attached to it, as in the following:

- (g) --we have discussed during the first session
ito pong subject areas na inyo pong pipiliin.

Likewise, a restrictive relative clause may also be attached to the code-switched PP:

- (h) And FAPE po ay kinommission para ibigay
 lamang and examination, hindi ho magbi-
 gay ng guidance services *to the students*
who will be taking the examination.

In cases like these, the PS component of L2, having generated the phrase structure for the NP or PP, will also generate the embedded S. Then the process continues as before.

Now consider the following example:

- (i) --at si Dr. Parulan po ay magiging constant
 guest natin *until such time* na ma-establish
 po natin ang nauukol sa family planning.

Notice that, here, the restrictive relative construction attached to the L2 PP is in L1. In this case, PS Component generates only the phrase structure of the PP; the embedded S is shunted back to PS Component L1.

An alternative to the sketch above is to allow the PS component of L1 to generate even the phrase structure of the code-switched NP or PP and simply provide for the code switching by recourse to the lexicon of L2. In other words, this alternative aligns the treatment of code-switched NP's and PP's closer to lexical insertion (the path traced by the broken arrow in Fig. 1) rather than closer to code switching involving sentential units (the path traced by the solid arrow). The main reason for preferring the first proposal is the necessity for the code-switched NP's and PP's to go through the transformational component. But it is clear that the transformational component of L1 is different from the transformational component of L2. For example, to take a case given earlier, it is possible to say:

- (j') This is in connection with the celebration of the D.A.R.'s anniversary.

beside

- (j) This is in connection with the celebration of the anniversary of the D.A.R.

but there is no corresponding

- (j'') *This is in connection with the celebration po ng D.A.R.'s anibersaryo.

In short, the argument is that if the code-switched L2 NP's and PP's are generated by PS Component_{L1} and simply lexicalized by items from Lexicon_{L2}, there is no way, as the model has been set up here, for them to go through Transformational Component_{L2}.

Now that the major kinds of code switching have been accounted for by the model, a distinction begins to reveal itself. There seems to be a qualitative difference between the insertion of L2 lexical items into L1 utterances and the use of L2 phrases and clauses in L1 utterances. In the first kind, a detour to Lexicon_{L2} is taken, but, aside from that modification, Chomsky's description of the monolingual's linguistic competence can be adopted in its entirety. On the other hand, phrases and clauses involved in code switching require activating two almost entire linguistic systems (all the components except for the semantic component, which applies cross-linguistically) plus the Table of L1-L2 Phrase Structure Equivalences in some instances.

An inference that can be drawn from the distinction is that, strictly speaking, the term 'code switching' is not appropriately applied to instances of the use of loanwords, for instance, lexical items from Lexicon_{L2} in L1 utterances. Although there is a branching into the lexicon of L2, there does not seem to be a switch in code or linguistic system--the linguistic system is still that of L1.

There is one final point to be made. The model, as constructed, can handle the use of combinations of L2 openset items in L1 utterances. As a representative example, consider an instance of the most frequent combination, the combination of Adj + N:

- (k) --kanina maganda iyong paksang binuksan
mo tungkol sa government hostel para
sa *poor and deserving students* dine
sa City of Manila.

PS Component_{L1} will generate the phrase marker underlying the whole string, but PS Component_{L2} and Lexicon_{L2} will also be activated to generate the embedded S's *the students are poor*, *the students are deserving*. The resulting deep structure will then be bifurcated prior to undergoing the relevant transformations of L1 and L2, and the same process as discussed earlier continues. In this way, the operations of the different components of the model account for the code switches involving combinations of open-set items.

The model, therefore, appears adequate to handle all kinds of code switching and appears to be an adequate representation of the linguistic competence of the Filipino bilingual. But there is a sense in which competence means not only 'knowing' something, but also 'knowing' the short cuts for that thing.

It seems that the Filipino bilingual knows the short cuts, so that there are instances when his code switching seems to involve not the whole apparatus of phrase marker, deep structure, transformation, etc., but only ready-made, prefabricated surface structure constituents. It is as if he had--to use the felicitous phrase employed by MacLay and Osgood (1967:321) in another context but just as apropos here --'a "pool" of heavily practised, tightly integrated word and phrase units' into which he dips from time to time.

Examples of such units are combinations of open-set items like *poor and deserving students*, *indefinitely suspended*, N-with-PP combinations like *proclamation of Martial Law*, *population growth in the country*, *economic crisis not only in the Philippines but also all throughout the world*, Adj-with-PP combinations like *subject to Civil Service regulations* and *predictive of performance in college*, and collocations like *in the long run* and *meaning to say*.

The use of such prefabricated structures does not invalidate the model; in a sense, the model sketches in what has been left out. The model provides the complete route but does not preclude the use of short cuts. But how such short cuts can be taken within the model will be left open.

3.3. Conclusion. The model that has been constructed to represent the linguistic competence of the Filipino bilingual follows in general outline the model proposed by Chomsky in *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Instead of just one linguistic system, however, two co-existent systems have been posited--with provisions made for activating one and then the other system--but with only one semantic component, whose projection rules are seen to apply cross-linguistically. And the model has been given the additional conceptual sub-apparatus of a table of equivalences, to handle the use of L2 noun phrases and prepositional phrases in L1 utterances.

The model, as it has been set up, seems capable of handling the different kinds of code switching found in the corpus. But there is a possibility that some short cuts can be taken within the model to account for certain 'heavily practised, tightly integrated' or prefabricated units. Just how such short cuts can be integrated into this description of the Filipino bilingual's linguistic competence, however, is problematic.

It goes without saying that the model is suggestive and exploratory and awaits testing against other kinds of code switching data and other models conceived within other theoretical frameworks.

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ISNEG VERBAL CLAUSES, STEM CLASSES, AND AFFIXES

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0. Introduction

1. Verbal affixes
2. Verb stem classes
3. Verbal clauses in general
4. Verbal clauses for each stem class

0. INTRODUCTION

In their study of Maranao clauses, Ward and Forster (1967:30) note the relevance that stem classes have to the description of transitive clauses. Similarly, it has been found that Isneg¹ verbal clauses cannot be adequately described without reference to both the class of the stem in the predicate and the affixation of that stem.

It is the purpose, therefore, of this paper² to

¹Isnag is a language spoken by approximately 10,000 people in the province of Kalinga-Apayao, in the Republic of the Philippines. It is classified by Dyen (1965:31) in the same group as Ibanag, Gaddang, Yogad, and Atok. Although the language has usually been referred to by outsiders as Isnag, it is actually called Isnag by native speakers. In accordance, however, with the orthography currently in use (Roe 1966), it is spelled Isneg in this paper.

²This analysis is based on data for 112 verbs supplied by Mr. Ramon Caddawan, whose home is Dibagat, Kabugao, Kalinga-Apayao. He is approximately 33 years of age and has had the following schooling: high school and college to the third year.

describe how verbal clauses in Isneg are formed. In addition, because of the influence they have on verbal clause construction, both verbal affixes and verb stem classes are discussed as well.

1. VERBAL AFFIXES

The most frequent affixes and their combinations, which are presented in tables 1a and 1b, are found to fall into two main groups, A and B. Many verb stems do not take all of these affixes and combinations, but almost all verbs take some from group A and some from group B. There are sets of clauses that involve these affix groups, and in section 4 clauses are labeled to correspond to the sets.

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Table 1a

ISNEG verbal affixes

Clause type	Aspect	Tense	Group A			Group B		
Subject Focus	apt	p ³	nag-	nang-	naN-	-umm- -inum- -um-	nagi-	nangi-
		np	mag-	mang-	maN-		magi-	mangi-
		p	naka-	naka-	naka-			
	coop	np	maka-	maka-	maka-			
		p	nepag-	nepang-	nepaN-		nepagi-	nepangi-
		np	mepag-	mepang-	mepaN-		mepagi-	mepangi-
Object Focus	apt	p	-in--án	-in-	-in-		ne--án	ne-
		np	-an	-an	-an		i--án	i-
		p	na--án	na-	na-		ne--án	ne-
		np	ma--án	ma-	ma-		me--án	me-
Instrument Focus		p	pinag-	pinang-	pinaN-			
		np	pag-	pang-	paN-			
Referent Focus	apt	p	pinag--án	pinang--án	pinaN--án		pinagi--án	pinangi--án
		np	nag--án	nang--án	naN--án		nagi--án	nangi--án
		p	pag--án	pang--án	paN--án		pagi--án	pangi--án
		np	naka--án	naka--án	naka--án			
Beneficiary Focus	apt	np	paka--án	paka--án	paka--án			
		p	pinag-	pinang-	pinaN-		pinagi-	pinangi-
		np	pag-	pang-	paN-		pagi-	pangi-
		p	ne--an	ne--an	ne--an			
		np	i--an	i--an	i--an			

Table 1b

ISNEG nominal affixes

Clause type	Aspect	Tense	Group A			Group B	
Time and		p	<i>nag-</i> <i>nagg-</i>	<i>nang-</i> <i>nangng-</i>	<i>naNN-</i> <i>naN-</i>	<i>naggi-</i>	<i>nangi-</i> <i>nangngi-</i>
Manner Nominal		np	<i>ag-</i> <i>agg-</i>	<i>ang-</i> <i>angng-</i>	<i>aNN-</i> <i>aN-</i>	<i>aggi-</i>	<i>angi-</i> <i>angngi-</i>
Habitual Location Nominal		p	<i>nag--dn</i> <i>nagg--dn</i>	<i>nang--dn</i> <i>nangng--dn</i>	<i>naN--dn</i>	<i>naggi--dn</i>	<i>naggi--dn</i>
		np	<i>ag--dn</i> <i>agg--dn</i>	<i>ang--dn</i> <i>angng--dn</i>	<i>aN--dn</i>	<i>aggi--dn</i>	<i>aggi--dn</i>

³The meanings of abbreviations and symbols used in this paper are the following: apt, aptative aspect; B, beneficiary tagmeme; bf, beneficiary focus; coop, cooperative aspect; E, emphatic transform of a clause; I, instrument tagmeme; if, instrument focus; n₁, most nouns; n₂, all-nouns; n₃, implements or body parts; n₄, geographical nouns; n₅, personal nouns; np, nonpast tense; O, object tagmeme; of, object focus; P, predicate tagmeme; p, past tense; pl, plural; Pv, predicate verb; R, referent tagmeme; rf, referent focus; S, subject tagmeme; sf, subject focus; T, topic tagmeme; v, verb; VC, verbal clause; +, obligatory occurrence; ±, optional occurrence; /, simultaneous occurrence; and ~, free variation.

The meanings of clauses with group A affixation in the predicate differ from those with group B affixation in several ways, depending upon the verb stem in the predicate. In some instances set B clauses have an extra nuclear tagmeme; in other instances the object tagmeme of set B clauses expresses a participant, or role, different from that expressed by the object tagmeme of set A clauses; and in other instances group B affixation implies that the subject moves to the scene of action before performing the action, while group A affixation does not imply such movement.

When prefixes ending in *N* are attached to stems having certain consonants⁴ in stem initial position, morphophonemic alternation occurs between the *N* and the consonant. These alternations are shown in the formula below.

	<i>k, g, q</i>	>	<i>mang-</i>
<i>maN-</i>	<i>p, b</i>	>	<i>man-</i>
	<i>t, d, s</i>	>	<i>man-</i>

The formula may be read as follows: when the prefix *maN-* is attached to a verb stem having *k, g, q* (glottal stop),⁵ *p, b, t, d, s* in initial position, *N* fuses with the consonant to become the nasal having the same point of articulation as the consonant.

⁴In Isneg there are twenty segmental phonemes, including fifteen consonants, *b, k, d, g, l, m, n, ng, p, r, s, t, w, y,* and *q* (glottal stop), and five vowels, *a, e, i, o,* and *u*. There is at least one suprasegmental phoneme, length. *e* and *o* are always long; therefore length is not indicated on these vowels in the examples. In the case, however, of the other vowels, which may be either long or short, length is indicated by an acute accent (').

⁵When glottal stop occurs stem initial, it is unwritten; when it occurs syllable final, it is represented by a grave accent (') over its preceding vowel, as in *sílat* and *unè*.

Thus, *maN-* + *kirod* > *mangirod* 'to bail out water'; ... + *unè* > *mangunè* 'to climb'; ... + *patay* > *mamatay* 'to kill'; ... + *báyú* > *mamayu* 'to pound in a mortar'; ... + *tagtág* > *manag-tág* 'to run'; --- + *dagut* > *managut* 'to go down'; and ... + *sílát* > *manílát* 'to split'. As yet no example of *maN-* + a stem with initial *g* has been observed. Also, no prefixes ending in *N* have been observed to occur with stems having initial *l*, *m*, *n*, *ng*, *r*, *w*, and *y*.

The initial glottal stop of a stem is lost when a prefix having a final consonant is attached. Example: *nag-* + *unè* 'to climb' > *nagunè* 'he climbed'.

Time, manner, and habitual location prefixes with allomorphs ending in *g* ~ *gg* and in *ng* ~ *ngng* occur in their geminated form when attached to stems with initial glottal stop. In contrast, prefixes with allomorphs ending in *NN* ~ *N* occur in their nongeminated form as a free variant only when attached to stems with initial glottal stop. The other pairs of allomorphs in tables 1a and 1b, namely, *-umm-* ~ *-inum-*, *nangi-* ~ *-nangngi-*, *angi-* ~ *angngi-*, and *pinag--an* ~ *nag--an* with the other pairs in the same row are all free variants.

Of the affixes in each of the first five horizontal divisions in table 1a, only these in the first row in each division are used in the clauses discussed in sections 3 and 4. Any statement about any affix's occurrence and clause structure is true also for all the affixes below it within its division, with one exception. That exception is that aptative object focus affixes of group A (*na--án*, *ma--án*, *na-*, and *ma-*) differ from the other object focus affixes of group A in that, in contrast with clauses containing nonaptative affixes, in which the subject is obligatory, in aptative clauses the subject is optional.

When subject focus affixes *-umm-* ~ *-inum-*, *nag-*, *nang-*, and *naN-* occur with a given class of verb stems, they have similar meanings and their clause structures are similar. One feature, however, which differentiates these affixes, is whether the object of the clause is singular or plural. For *nag-* the object is always plural. For *nang-*, *naN-*, and *-umm-* the object may be specified as either singular or plural. In clauses having *naN-* and *-umm-* where the number of the object is not specified, the object is understood to be singular, and in clauses having *nang-*, and object with number unspecified is ambiguous with respect to number.

In addition, these four affixes may be differentiated by what they signify with respect to the duration of an action. *nag-* signifies lengthy or habitual past action, whereas *nang-*, *nan-*, and *-um-* signify a brief or single past action. In summary, these affixes may signal number of object, duration of action, or both in any given clause.

Affixes⁶ of nonsubject focuses also signify number of the object and duration of the action in a way similar to that of subject focus affixes. This correspondence of meaning of both subject and nonsubject focus affixes is indicated in the lists of clauses below by use of the same letters following reference numbers. That is, all clauses having plural objects or lengthy or habitual action are labeled with *a*, and all clauses having singular or unspecified objects, or signifying brief or singular action are labeled with *b*, *c*, or *d*.

2. VERB STEM CLASSES

Because verb stems take different affixes with different meanings in different clause structures, it is convenient to divide verb stems into classes. With regard, incidentally, to classification of stems, it has been found that, because of their occurrence with most, if not all, stems, subject focus affixes have little, if any, classificatory value. For this reason they have been disregarded in the classifications described in this paper.

Two criteria are the basis for the classification of verb stems in this paper. The first is whether or not a verb stem can be affixed for nonsubject focus, that is, for object, instrument, referent, or beneficiary focus. This virtually amounts to finding which of the nonsubject affixes from tables 1a and 1b occur with each stem. This criterion serves to distinguish all the stem classes from each other, except classes 2 and 3. The second criterion is the comparison of object tagmemes in set A clauses with those in set B clauses to see whether they express the same or different items in the real-life situation. This criterion distinguishes class 2 from class 3, as well as from all the other classes.

⁶No account is taken of causative affixes or affix combinations, or of causative clauses in this paper.

On the basis of the 112 verb stems examined, there are at least seven verb stem classes in Isneg. Since, however, there are three verb stems that do not fit exactly into any of these seven classes, when more stems are studied, there may prove to be more classes than this. In the meantime, these three stems are included in the classes to which they are most closely related.

3. VERBAL CLAUSES IN GENERAL

In Isneg a verbal clause may be one of at least five types: subject focus, object focus, instrument focus, referent focus, or beneficiary focus. Each clause type contrasts with the others by (a) the particular nuclear tagmemes that can occur together; (b) whether each of the nuclear tagmemes is obligatory or optional; (c) the particular tagmeme that is topicalized; and (d) the affixation of the verbal predicate.

These five clause types and their variants are represented by formulas in table 2. Aside from the nuclear tagmemes that occur in these clauses, there are peripheral tagmemes such as time, purpose, and reason, which may occur in all clauses. These peripheral tagmemes, however, are not considered in this paper.

Table 3 shows the particles that mark different tagmemes. A tagmeme that is topicalized is introduced by one of the following topic markers: *ya* for a singular noun, *daya* for plural nouns, *e* for a singular person, *de* for plural persons, and *tu* for an extinct person or thing.

Table 2

Conditioned variants of verbal clause types

Clause Type	Formulas of Clause Variants					Conditioning Factors	
						Verb Stem Classes	Verb Affix Group
Subject Focus	+P:v	+T/S:n ₁	+O:n ₂		±R:n ₄	1,2,3,4 1,7	A B
	+P:v	+T/S:n ₁			±R:n ₄	5,6,7	A
Object Focus	+P:v	+S:n ₁	+T/O:n ₂	±I:n ₃	±R:n ₄	1	
	+P:v	+S:n ₁	+T/O:n ₂		±R:n ₄	2,3,4,7 1,2,3,5,6,7	A B
	+P:v	±S:n ₁	+T/O:n ₂		±R:n ₄	1,2	A
Instrument Focus	+P:v	+S:n ₁	±O:n ₂	+T/I:n ₃	±R:n ₄	1	A
Referent Focus	+P:v	+S:n ₁	±O:n ₂		+T/R:n ₄	1,2,3,4	A
	+P:v	+S:n ₁			+T/R:n ₄	5,6,7 1,2,5,6,7	A B
Beneficiary Focus	+P:v	+S:n ₁	±O:n ₂	±R:n ₄	+T/B:n ₅	1	A
	+P:v	+S:n ₁	+O:n ₂		+T/B:n ₅	3	B
	+P:v	+S:n ₁	+T/B:n ₅	±O:n ₁	±R:n ₄	1,2,5,7	B
	+P:v	+S:n ₁	+T/B:n ₅	±O:n ₁		2,3,4	A
	+P:v	+S:n ₁	+T/B:n ₅		±R:n ₄	6	A

Table 3

Tagmeme markers

	Topic	Nontopic Subject	Nontopic Object	Nontopic Instrument	Nontopic Referent
<hr/>					
Noun					
singular	ya	na	ka	ka	ki, ka, kiya
plural	daya	da	kada	kada	kada
Person					
singular	e	ne	ke		kitu...kitun
plural	de	de	kade		kadatun...kitun
Extinct					
noun	tu	natu	ka...kitun	ka...kitun	
person	tu	natu	ke...kitun		

4. VERBAL CLAUSES FOR EACH STEM CLASS

In what follows, each stem class is considered in turn. For each class, the set of typical clauses with group A affixes is described first; then the set with group B affixes is described. Finally, some stems belonging to the class are listed.

4.1. CLASS 1

4.1.1. Verbal clause set 1A. All the verbal clauses in set 1A may be constructed by attaching affixes of group A to each of the verb stems of class 1. In this set of clauses, subject object, instrument, referent, and beneficiary tagmemes are focusable, or, in other words, may be the topic.

In this set, all the clauses labeled with the same letter (such as 1a, 2a, 3a, 4a, and 5a) describe the same real-life situation. The difference between these clauses is the function of the topic, which reflects the particular situational role upon which the speaker is focusing his attention. Thus, each of these clauses has a different tagmeme as topic.

Concerning topic, it may be noted that one of the functions of topicalization may be taken to be correlation of a question and its answer. Thus, according to which tagmeme is topicalized, or focused, a given clause may be regarded as the answer to a question like the following:

- 1a. What did the man do?
- 2a. What was affected by his action?
- 3a. What did he use?
- 4a. Where did he do it?
- 5a. For whom did he do it?

One, and only one, nuclear tagmeme in a clause can be focused at a time, and the affixation of the verbal predicate signals the grammatical function of this focused tagmeme, which is introduced by one of the topic markers shown in table 3. The particular tagmeme focused is a contrastive feature of each of the five clause types in this set. Except for beneficiary, all nuclear tagmemes can occur together in instrument focused clauses. The beneficiary tagmeme occurs only when it is focused.

Formal Paradigm 1A

1a.	VC1sf	›	Pv	nag-	+T/S	+0	±R
1b.	VC1af	›	Pv	nang-	+T/S	+0	±R
1c.	VC1af	›	Pv	naN-	+T/S	+0	±R
1d.	VC1sf	›	Pv	-umm-	+T/S	+0	±R
2a.	VC1cf	›	Pv	-un--dn	+S	+T/0	±R
2b.	VC1cf	›	Pv	-in-	+S	+T/0	±R
3a.	VC1lf	›	Pv	pinag-	+S	±0 +T/I	±R
3b.	VC1lf	›	Pv	pinang-	+S	±0 +T/I	±R
3c.	VC1lf	›	Pv	pinaN-	+S	±0 +T/I	±R
4a.	VC1rf	›	Pv	pinag--dn	+S	±0	+T/R
4b.	VC1rf	›	Pv	pinang--dn	+S	±0	+T/R
4c.	VC1rf	›	Pv	pinaN--dn	+S	±0	+T/R
5a.	VC1bf	›	Pv	pinag-	+S	±0	±R +T/B
5b.	VC1bf	›	Pv	pinang-	+S	±0	±R +T/B
5c.	VC1bf	›	Pv	pinaN-	+S	±0	±R +T/B

Citation Paradigm 1A

- 1a. *Nagsilát ya tolay ka búlu ki ammaṯdg.*
sf split T man O bamboo R yard

'THE MAN⁷ split some pieces of bamboo in the yard.'

- 1b. *Nangsílát ya tolay ka búlu ki ammaṯdg.*
sf split T man O bamboo R yard

'THE MAN split bamboo in the yard.'

- 1c. *Nanílát ya tolay ka búlu ki ammaṯdg.*
sf split T man O bamboo R yard

'THE MAN split a piece of bamboo in the yard.'

- 1d. *Sumílát ya tolay ka búlu ki ammaṯdg.*
sf split T man O bamboo R yard

'THE MAN split a piece of bamboo in the yard.'

- 2a. *Sinílátán na tolay ya búlu ki ammaṯdg.*
of split S man T bamboo R yard

'The man split SOME PIECES OF BAMBOO in the yard.'

- 2b. *Sinílát na tolay ya búlu ki ammaṯdg.*
of split S man T bamboo R yard

'The man split THE BAMBOO in the yard.'

- 3a. *Pinagsílát na tolay ka búlu ya aliwa.*
if split S man O bamboo T bolo

'The man split some pieces of bamboo WITH THE BOLO

ki ammaṯdg.
R yard

in the yard.'

⁷Small caps are used to indicate the topic, or focused item, of the clause.

- 3b. *Pinangsilat na tolay ka bûlu ya aliwa*
if split S man O bamboo T bolo

'The man split bamboo WITH THE BOLO

ki ammasag.

R yard

in the yard.'

- 3c. *Pinanilat na tolay ka bûlu ya aliwa*
if split S man O bamboo T bolo

'The man split a piece of bamboo WITH THE BOLO

ki ammasag.

R yard

in the yard.'

- 4a. *Pinagsilatán na tolay ka bûlu ya ammasag.*
rf split S man O bamboo T yard

'The man split some pieces of bamboo IN THE YARD.'

- 4b. *Pinangsilatán na tolay ka bûlu ya ammasag.*
rf split S man O bamboo T yard

'The man split bamboo IN THE YARD.'

- 4c. *Pinanilatán na tolay ka bûlu ya ammasag.*
rf split S man O bamboo T yard

'The man split a piece of bamboo IN THE YARD.'

- 5a. *Pinagsilat na tolay ka bûlu ya babay.*
bf split S man O bamboo T woman

'The man split some pieces of bamboo FOR THE WOMAN.'

- 5b. *Pinangsilat na tolay ka bûlu ya babay.*
bf split S man O bamboo T woman

'The man split bamboo FOR THE WOMAN.'

- 5c. *Pinanilat na tolay ka bûlu ya babay.*
bf split S man O bamboo T woman

'The man split bamboo FOR THE WOMAN.'

4.1.2. Verbal clause set 1B. Set 1B clauses may be produced by affixing verb stems of class 1 with group B affixes. There is no instrument focus type in this set of clauses, and normally no nontopic instrument tagmeme occurs in this set either. In those rare situations when a nontopic instrument tagmeme does occur, it expresses a body part used to manipulate a tool. As in set 1A, a beneficiary tagmeme occurs only when it is focused.

Clauses of this set show several differences from their corresponding clauses of set 1A. In the English free translations in the citation paradigm of this set, the phrase 'went and used' is introduced to show the meaning of Isneg verbs formed by attaching group B affixes to class 1 verb stems.

In the clauses of set 1A, 'bolo' in the instrument slot is the tool used to perform the action, and 'bamboo' in the object slot is the patient, the thing affected. However, in the clauses of set 1B, 'bolo' is more prominent than 'bamboo'; therefore, it occupies the object slot while 'bamboo' occupies the referent slot. The action of splitting the bamboo is not so much in view as is that of going and using the bolo to split bamboo. Although splitting bamboo is still present in the real-life situation, it is made less prominent by group B affixes used in set 1B clauses. In set 1A clauses the referent, introduced by a nontopic referent marker, for example, *ki*, is a location, 'yard', but in set 1B clauses the referent is that upon which the action is performed, 'bamboo' in this case.

Formal Paradigm 1B.

1a.	VC1sf	> Pv	<i>nagi-</i>	+T/S	+0	±R	
1b.	VC1sf	> Pv	<i>naŋgi-</i>	+T/S	+0	±R	
2a.	VC1of	> Pv	<i>ne--ɔn</i>	+S	+T/0	±R	
2b.	VC1of	> Pv	<i>ne-</i>	+S	+T/0	±R	
4a.	VC1rf	> Pv	<i>pinagi--ɔn</i>	+S	+0	+T/R	
4b.	VC1rf	> Pv	<i>pinanɡi--ɔn</i>	+S	+0	+T/R	
5a.	VC1bf	> Pv	<i>pinagi-</i>	+S	+T/B	±0	±R
5b.	VC1bf	> Pv	<i>pinanɡi-</i>	+S	+T/B	±0	±R

Citation Paradigm 1B

- 1a. *Nagisilát ya tolay ka aliwa ki búlu.*
sf split T man O bolo R bamboo

'THE MAN went and used the bolos to split bamboo.'

- 1b. *Nangisilát ya tolay ka aliwa ki búlu.*
sf split T man O bolo R bamboo

'THE MAN went and used the bolo to split bamboo.'

- 2a. *Nesilatán na tolay daya aliwa ki búlu.*
of split S man T-pl bolo R bamboo

'The man went and used THE BOLOS to split bamboo.'

- 2b. *Nesilát na tolay ya aliwa ki búlu.*
of split S man. T bolo R bamboo

'The man went and used THE BOLO to split bamboo.'

- 4a. *Pinagisilatán na tolay ka aliwa ya búlu.*
rf split S man O bolo T bamboo

'The man went and used bolos to split BAMBOO.'

- 4b. *Pinangisilatán na tolay ka aliwa ya búlu.*
rf split S man O bolo T bamboo

'The man went and used the bolo to split BAMBOO.'

- 5a. *Pinagisilát na tolay ya babay ka aliwa ki búlu.*
bf split S man T woman O bolo R bamboo

'The man went and used bolos to split bamboo
FOR THE WOMAN.'

- 5b. *Pinangisilát na tolay ya babay ka aliwa ki búlu.*
bf split S man T woman O bolo R bamboo

'The man went and used the bolo to split bamboo
FOR THE WOMAN.'

4.1.3. Representative stems of class 1. Two glosses are given for each stem. The first applies when group A affixation is used, and the second, when group B affixation is used. A typical object is indicated in parentheses in each gloss.

- | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>putad</i> | 'cut (rattan)' | 'go and use (a bolo)
to cut' |
| 2. <i>balldt</i> | 'remove weeds from
(a garden)' | 'go and use (a hoe)
to remove weeds' |
| 3. <i>báyu</i> | 'pound (rice)' | 'go and use (a pes -
tle) to pound' |
| 4. <i>síldt</i> | 'split (bamboo)' | 'go and use (a bolo)
to split' |
| 5. <i>súrdt</i> | 'write (a letter)' | 'go and use (a pen-
cil) to write' |
| 6. <i>gálut</i> | 'tie up (a bundle)' | 'go and tie up with
(rope)'
'go and tie (a pig)
to a tree' |
| 7. <i>tiptep</i> | 'cut grass in (the
yard)' | 'go and use(a bolo)
to cut grass' |
| 8. <i>wè</i> | 'climb (a tree)' | 'take (something) up' |
| 9. <i>kirod</i> | 'bail (water) out' | 'go and use (a can)
to bail water' |
| 10. <i>táldg</i> | 'cut (wood) for
fuel' | 'go and use (an ax)
to cut' |

4.2. CLASS 2

4.2.1. Verbal clause set 2A. Verb stems of class 2 may be used to construct all the clauses of set 2A. These verbs, like those of class 1, are transitive, but they do not require the use of any toollike instrument to perform the action. Rather, a body part, which is usually involved in the action, is the instrument. In set 2A clauses, subject, object, referent, and beneficiary tagmemes are focusable, just as in clauses of set 1A.

The four clause types in this set contrast according to what particular tagmeme is focused. Each type has several variants with similar meanings. Those labeled *a* through *d* vary only in the number of the object or duration of the action, as described in section 1. In the beneficiary focus type, the referent tagmeme cannot occur preceding the beneficiary tagmeme. In this set, as in set 1, the beneficiary tagmeme occurs only when it is focused. Some verb stems of class 2 do not occur with the group A affixes *naN-*, *-um-*, *pinaN--an*, and *pinaN-*.

Formal Paradigm 2A

1a.	VC2sf	> Pv	<i>nag-</i>	+T/S	+O	±R	
1b.	VC2sf	> Pv	<i>nang-</i>	+T/S	+O	±R	
1c.	VC2sf	> Pv	<i>naN-</i>	+T/S	+O	±R	
1d.	VC2sf	> Pv	<i>-um-</i>	+T/S	+O	±R	
2a.	VC2of	> Pv	<i>-in--án</i>	+S	+T/O	±R	
2b.	VC2of	> Pv	<i>-in-</i>	+S	+T/O	±R	
4a.	VC2rf	> Pv	<i>pinag--án</i>	+S	±O	+T/R	
4b.	VC2rf	> Pv	<i>pinang--án</i>	+S	±O	+T/R	
4c.	VC2rf	> Pv	<i>pinaN--án</i>	+S	±O	+T/R	
5a.	VC2bf	> Pv	<i>pinag-</i>	+S	+T/B	±O	±R
5b.	VC2bf	> Pv	<i>pinang-</i>	+S	+T/B	±O	±R
5c.	VC2bf	> Pv	<i>pinaN-</i>	+S	+T/B	+O	+R

Citation Paradigm 2A

- 1a. *Nagbilág ya babay ka ammay ki kapanágan.*
sf sun-dry T woman O palay R riverbank

'THE WOMAN dried a lot of palay (unhusked rice) on the riverbank.'

- 1b. *Nangbilág ya babay ka ammay ki kapanágan.*
sf sun-dry T woman O palay R riverbank

'THE WOMAN dried palay on the riverbank.'

- 1c. *Namilág ya babay ka ammay ki kapanágan.*
sf sun-dry T woman O palay R riverbank

'THE WOMAN dried a little palay on the riverbank.'

- 1d. *Bummiḷag ya babay ka ammay ki kapanāgan.*
sf sun-dry T woman O palay R riverbank

'THE WOMAN dried a little palay on the riverbank.'

- 2a. *Binilagdn na babay ya ammay ki kapanāgan.*
of sun-dry S woman T palay R riverbank

'The woman dried A LOT OF PALAY on the riverbank.'

- 2b. *Binildg na babay ya ammay ki kapandagan.*
of sun-dry S woman T palay R riverbank

'The woman dried THE PALAY on the riverbank.'

- 4a. *Pinagbilagdn na babay ka ammay ya kapandagan.*
rf sun-dry S woman O palay T riverbank

'The woman dried a lot of palay ON THE RIVERBANK.'

- 4b. *Pinangbilagdn na babay ka ammay ya kapandagan.*
rf sun-dry S woman O palay T riverbank

'The woman dried palay ON THE RIVERBANK.'

- 4c. *Pinamilagdn na babay ka ammay ya kapandagan.*
rf sun-dry S woman O palay T riverbank

'The woman dried a little palay ON THE RIVERBANK.'

- 5a. *Pinagbildg na babay ya babakat ka ammay*
bf sun-dry S woman T old woman O palay

'The woman dried a lot of palay on the riverbank

ki kapandagan.
R riverbank

FOR THE OLD WOMAN.'

- 5b. *Pinangbildg na babay ya babakat ka ammay ki*
bf sun-dry S woman T old woman O palay R

'The woman dried palay on the riverbank

kapandagan.
riverbank

FOR THE OLD WOMAN.'

- 5c. *Pinamilág na babay ya bàbakat ka ammay ki*
 bf sun-dry S woman T old woman O palay R

'The woman dried a little palay on the riverbank

kapanágan.
 riverbank

FOR THE OLD WOMAN.'

4.2.2. Verbal clause set 2B. The clauses of this set are similar to those of set 2A in that there is no difference in the roles of the object and referent tagmemes. In both sets the object tagmeme is a patient, and the referent tagmeme is a location. In this regard, class 2 stems differ from class 1 stems. However, there is a difference of meaning between the clauses of sets 2B and 2A. When attached to class 2 stems, group B affixes mean 'go and do'.

Formal Paradigm 2B

1a.	VC2sf	> Pv	<i>nagi-</i>	+T/S	+O		±R
1b.	VC2sf	> Pv	<i>nangi-</i>	+T/S	+O		±R
2a.	VC2of	> Pv	<i>ne--án</i>	+S	+T/O		±R
2b.	VC2of	> Pv	<i>ne-</i>	+S	+T/O		±R
4a.	VC2rf	> Pv	<i>pinagi--án</i>	+S	+O		+T/R
4b.	VC2rf	> Pv	<i>pinangi--án</i>	+S	+O		+T/R
5a.	VC2bf	> Pv	<i>pinagi-</i>	+S	±O	+T/B	±R
5b.	VC2bf	> Pv	<i>pinangi-</i>	+S	±O	+T/B	±R

Citation Paradigm 2B

- 1a. *Nagibilág ya babay ka ammay ki kapanágan.*
 sf sun-dry T woman O palay R riverbank

'THE WOMAN went and dried a lot of palay on the riverbank.'

- 1b. *Nangibilág ya babay ka ammay ki kapanágan.*
 sf sun-dry T woman O palay R riverbank

'THE WOMAN went and dried some palay on the riverbank.'

- 2a. *Nebilagán na babay ya ammay ki kapandagan.*
 of sun-dry S woman T palay R riverbank

'The woman went and dried A LOT OF PALAY on the riverbank.'

- 2b. *Nebilág na babay ya ammay ki kapandagan.*
 of sun-dry S woman T palay R riverbank

'The woman went and dried THE PALAY on the riverbank.'

- 4a. *Pinagibilagán na babay ka ammay ya kapandagan.*
 rf sun-dry S woman O palay T riverbank

'The woman went and dried a lot of palay ON THE RIVERBANK.'

- 4b. *Pinangibilagán na babay ka ammay ya kapandagan.*
 rf sun-dry S woman O palay T riverbank

'The woman went and dried palay ON THE RIVERBANK.'

- 5a. *Pinagibildg na babay ka ammay ya bábakat*
 bf sun-dry S woman O palay T old woman

'The woman went and dried a lot of palay on the
ki kapandagan.
 R riverbank

riverbank FOR THE OLD WOMAN.'

- 5b. *Pinangibildg na babay ka ammay ya bábakat*
 bf sun-dry S woman O palay T old woman

'The woman went and dried palay on the riverbank
ki kapandagan.
 R riverbank

FOR THE OLD WOMAN.'

4.2.3. Representative stems of class 2

1. <i>bása</i>	'read (a story)'	'read (a story) aloud to people'
2. <i>kípat</i>	'distribute it to (people)'	'go and distribute (shares of meat)'
3. <i>bílag</i>	'dry (rice) in the sun'	'go and dry (rice) in the sun'
4. <i>lútu</i>	'cook (meat)'	'go and cook (meat)'
5. <i>úgám</i>	'roast (corn)'	'go and roast (corn)'
6. <i>súru</i>	'teach (the children)'	'go and teach (the children or the lesson)'
7. <i>laku</i>	'sell to (someone)'	'go and sell (a pig)'
8. <i>dungsu</i>	'put fuel on (the fire)'	'go and put (wood) on the fire'
9. <i>sagána</i>	'prepare food for (a visitor)'	'prepare (food) for someone'

4.3. CLASS 3

4.3.1. Verbal clause set 3A. Verb stems of class 3 may be used to construct all clauses in set 3A. These verbs also are transitive, and they, like class 2 verb stems, do not require the use of any toollike instrument to perform the action. Again, a body part is usually involved in the action, and it would be the instrument.

Clauses of this set are identical in structure to those of set 2A. The four types in this set contrast according to what particular tagmeme is focused. Normally, in the beneficiary focused type the referent tagmeme cannot occur preceding the beneficiary tagmeme. And again, the beneficiary tagmeme occurs only when it is focused.

Formal Paradigm 3a. (See Formal Paradigm 2A.)

Partial Citation Paradigm 3A

- 1a. *Naglága ya babay ka abà.*
sf wove T woman O mat

'THE WOMAN was weaving mats.'

- 1b. *Nanglága ya babay ka abà.*
sf wove T woman O mat

'THE WOMAN wove a mat.'

The remaining clauses are fully analogous to those in the citation paradigm of set 2A clauses.

4.3.2. Verbal clause set 3B. In this set of clauses, just as in set 1B, group B affixes convey the meaning of 'go and use' the thing mentioned in the object slot. In the clauses of set 3, 'mat' in the object slot is the thing manufactured (factive); however, the ingredient 'pandanus leaf', which is the patient used in the process, cannot be expressed in any slot in these clauses, even though it is always in the real-life situation. This contrasts with the structure of clauses in set 1 where 'bolo', the instrument, can be expressed in both object focus and instrument focus clauses. On the other hand, in the clauses of set 3B 'pandanus leaf' is more prominent than 'mat'; therefore, it occupies the object slot, and 'mat' is transferred to the referent slot.

Formal Paradigm 3B

1a.	VC2sf	> Pv	<i>nagi-</i>	+T/S	+O	+ <u>R</u>
1b.	VC2sf	> Pv	<i>nangi-</i>	+T/S	+O	+ <u>R</u>
2a.	VC3of	> Pv	<i>ne--án</i>	+S	+T/O	+ <u>R</u>
2b.	VC3of	> Pv	<i>ne-</i>	+S	+T/O	+ <u>R</u>
4a.	VC3rf	> Pv	<i>pinagi--án</i>	+S	+O	+T/R
4b.	VC3rf	> Pv	<i>pinangi--án</i>	+S	+O	+T/R
5a.	VC3bf	> Pv	<i>pinagi-</i>	+S	+O	+T/B
5b.	VC3bf	> Pv	<i>pinangi-</i>	+S	+O	+T/B

Citation Paradigm 3B

- 1a. *Nagilága ya babay ka ulángu ki abà.*
sf wove T woman O pandanus R mat

'THE WOMAN went and wove pandanus strips into a mat.'

- 1b. *Nangilága ya babay ka ulángu ki abà.*
sf wove T woman O pandanus R mat

'THE WOMAN went and wove some pandanus strips into a mat.'

- 2a. *Nelagáan na babay ya ulángu ki abà.*
of wove S woman T pandanus R mat

'The woman went and wove THE PANDANUS STRIPS into a mat.'

- 2b. *Nelága na babay ya ulángu ki abà.*
of wove S woman T pandanus R mat

'The woman went and wove SOME PANDANUS STRIPS into a mat.'

- 4a. *Pinagilagáan na babay ka ulángu ya abà.*
rf wove S woman O pandanus T mat

'The woman went and wove pandanus strips into THE MAT.'

- 4b. *Pinangilagáan na babay ka ulángu ya abà.*
rf wove S woman O pandanus T mat

'The woman went and wove a pandanus strip into THE MAT.'

- 5a. *Pinagilága na babay ka ulángu ki abà ya*
bf wove S woman O pandanus R mat T

'The woman went and wove pandanus strips in a

ina na.
mother her

mat FOR HER MOTHER.'

- 5b. *Pinangilága na babay ka ulángu ki abà ya*
 bf wove S woman O pandanus R mat T

'The woman went and wove pandanus strips in the

ina na.
 mother her

mat FOR HER MOTHER.'

4.3.3. Representative stems of class 3

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>lága</i> | 'weave (a mat)' | 'go and weave (strip) into a mat' |
| 2. <i>sápul</i> | 'look for (something lost)' | 'go and look for (a buyer)' |
| | | 'go and look for something to buy with (the money)' |
| 3. <i>anup</i> | 'hunt (wild pig)' | 'go and use (a dog) to hunt' |
| 4. <i>paltù</i> | 'spear (fish) with a gun' | 'go and use (a spear gun)' |

4.4. CLASS 4

4.4.1. Verbal clause set 4A. Verb stems of class 4 may be used to construct all of the clauses of set 4A. These verb stems are transitive, but they do not require the use of any toollike instrument to perform the action. However, a body part is usually involved in the action, and the instrument is this body part.

Clauses of this set are identical in structure to those of sets 2A and 3A. The four clause types in this set contrast according to what particular tagmeme is focused. Normally, in the beneficiary focus type the referent tagmeme cannot occur preceding the beneficiary tagmeme. And again, the beneficiary tagmeme occurs only when it is focused.

Formal Paradigm 4A. (See Formal Paradigm 2A.)

Partial Citation Paradigm 4A

- 1a. *Nangngàngat ya babay ka bwa.*
 sf chewed T woman O betel nut

'THE WOMAN chewed betel nut for some time.'

- 1b. *Nangngàngat ya babay ka bwa.*
 sf chewed T woman O betel nut

'THE WOMAN chewed betel nut.'

The remaining clauses are fully analogous to those in the citation paradigm of set 2A clauses.

4.4.2. Verbal clause set 4B. In clauses of this set, the purpose of the action is more prominent than the action itself; hence, the person who benefits from the action is expressed by the object, and in object focus clauses this person is the topic. In this set of clauses, beneficiary focus, with verbal prefixes *pinagi-* and *pinangi-*, does not occur.

Also, unemphatic clauses (that is, those presented in the paradigms) do not allow focusing of the referent tagmeme, which indicates the place where the action was performed. However, in an emphatic transformed clause (indicated by 'E' in the formal paradigm) the referent can be focused.

Formal Paradigm 4B

1a.	VC4sf	>	Pv	<i>nagi-</i>	+T/S	+O
1b.	VC4sf	>	Pv	<i>nangi-</i>	+T/S	+O
2a.	VC4of	>	Pv	<i>ne--an</i>	+S	+T/O
4a.	VC4Erf	>	+T/R	+Pv <i>nagi--an</i>	+S	+O
4b.	VC4Erf	>	+T/R	+Pv <i>nangi--an</i>	+S	+O

Citation Paradigm 4B

- 1a. *Nagingàngat ya ina kada anndà na.*
sf chewed T mother O-pl children her

'THE MOTHER chewed for her children.'

- 1b. *Nangingàngat ya ina ka an--anà na.*
sf chewed T mother O child her

'THE MOTHER chewed for her child.'

- 2a. *Nengàngattàn na ina ya an--anà na.*
of chewed S mother T child her

'The mother chewed FOR HER CHILD.'

- 4aE. *Kusina ya nagingàngattàn na ina kada*
kitchen T rf chewed S mother O-pl

'The mother chewed for her children

annàna na.
children her

IN THE KITCHEN.'

4bE. *Kusina ya nangingangattan na ina ka an-ana*
na.
kitchen T rf chewed S mother O child
her

'The mother chewed for her child IN THE KITCHEN.'

4.4.3. Representative stems of class 4.

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>pili</i> | 'choose (one) of them' | 'choose carefully (a place or recipient) for it'
'choose for someone ' |
| 2. <i>karraw</i> | 'call (a child)' | 'call (someone) for someone' |
| 3. <i>ritu</i> | 'break (a stick)' | 'break (something) for someone' |
| 4. <i>ngangat</i> | 'chew (betel nut)' | 'chew (something) for a child' |
| 5. <i>sup</i> | 'blow (the fire)' | 'blow (the fire) for someone' |
| 6. <i>lukat</i> | 'open (the can)' | 'open (something) for someone' |
| 7. <i>takkaw</i> | 'borrow (a shovel)' | 'borrow (something) for someone' |

4.5. CLASS 5

4.5.1. Verbal clause set 5A. Verbal clauses of set 5A are intransitive and reflexive, and they may be generated from class 5 stems. The clauses in this set differ from those in all the other sets in that they have no object, instrument, or beneficiary tagmemes.

Some verbs in this class do not take all the group A affixes that are listed in paradigm 5. In most cases, if a verb takes the *naN-* prefix, it does not take the *-um-* infix.

Formal Paradigm 5A

1a.	VC3sf	> Pv	<i>nag-</i>	+T/S	±R
1b.	VC3sf	> Pv	<i>nang-</i>	+T/S	±R
1c.	VC3sf	> Pv	<i>naN-</i>	+T/S	±R
1d.	VC3sf	> Pv	<i>-um-</i> ~ <i>-inum-</i>	+T/S	±R
4a.	VC3rd	> Pv	<i>pinag--dn</i>	+S	+T/R
4b.	VC3rd	> Pv	<i>pinang--dn</i>	+S	+T/R
4c.	VC3rd	> Pv	<i>pinaN--dn</i>	+S	+T/R

Citation Paradigm 5A

- 1a. *Nagsikád ya an-andà ka útun tebol.*
sf stood T child R top table

'THE CHILD stood on top of the table.'

- 1b. *Nangsikád ya an-andà ki útun tebol.*
sf stood T child R top table

'THE CHILD stood on top of the table.'

- 1c. *Nanúdu ya an-andà ki bantay.*
sf went up T child R mountain

'THE CHILD went up the mountain.'

- 1d. *Summikád ya an-andà ki útun tebol.*
sf stood T child R top table

'THE CHILD stood on top of the table.'

- 1e. *Nakasikád ya an-andà ki útun tebol.*
sf stood T child R top table

'THE CHILD was able to stand on top of the table.'

- 4a. *Pinagsikádan na an-andà ya útun tebol.*
rf stood S child T top table

'The child stood ON TOP OF THE TABLE.'

- 4b. *Pinangsikàdan na an-anà ya útun tebol.*
 rf stood S child T top table

'The child stood ON TOP OF THE TABLE.'

- 4c. *Pinanùdawan na an-anà ya bantay.*
 rf went up S child T mountain

'The child went up THE MOUNTAIN.'

- 4e. *Nakasikàdan na an-anà ya útun tebol.*
 rf stood S child T top table

'The child was able to stand ON TOP OF THE TABLE.'

4.5.2. Verbal clause set 5B. Intransitive verbs of class 5 have the property of becoming transitive when they take group B affixes. In clauses of this set, the object tagmeme expresses the concomitant to the action. Except for the instrument tagmeme, the other nuclear tagmemes that cannot occur in set 5A clauses can occur with the same verbs in clauses of set 5B.

Aside from differing in the number of the object, *nangi-* differs from *nagi-* in that *nagi-* implies habitual past action or action performed over a longer span of time, whereas *nangi-* implies an action performed only once or for a shorter time.

Formal Paradigm 5B

1a.	VC3sf	> Pv	<i>nagi-</i>	+T/S	+O	<u>±</u> R
1b.	VC3sf	> Pv	<i>nangi-</i>	+T/S	+O	<u>±</u> R
2a.	VC3of	> Pv	<i>ne--án</i>	+S	+T/O	<u>±</u> R
2b.	VC3of	> Pv	<i>ne-</i>	+S	+T/O	<u>±</u> R
4a.	VC3rf	> Pv	<i>pinagi--án</i>	+S	+O	+T/R
4b.	VC3rf	> Pv	<i>pinangi--án</i>	+S	+O	+T/R
5a.	VC3f	> Pv	<i>pinagi-</i>	+S	+T/B	+O <u>±</u> R
5b.	VC3bf	> Pv	<i>pinangi-</i>	+S	+T/B	+O <u>±</u> R

Citation Paradigm 5B

- 1a. *Nagisíkád ya babay ka an-ana ki útun tebol.*
sf stood T woman O child R top table

'THE WOMAN stood for a long time with the child
on top of the table.'

- 1b. *Nangisíkád ya babay ka an-ana ki útun tebol.*
sf stood T woman O child R top table

'THE WOMAN stood with the child on top of the
table.'

- 2b. *Nesíkád na babay ya an-ana ki utun tebol.*
of stood S woman T child R top table

'The woman stood WITH THE CHILD on top of the
table.'

- 4a. *Pinagisikádan na babay ka an-ana ya utun tebol.*
rf stood S woman O child T top table

'The woman stood for a long time with the child
ON TOP OF THE TABLE.'

- 4b. *Pinangisikádan na babay ka an-ana ya útun tebol.*
rf stood S woman O child T top table

'The woman stood with the child ON TOP OF THE
TABLE.'

- 5a. *Pinagisíkád na babay ya tolay ka an-ana na.*
bf stood S woman T man O child his

'The woman stood for a long time with the child
FOR THE MAN.'

- 5b. *Pinangisíkád na babay ya tolay ka an-ana na.*
bf stood S woman T man O child his

'The woman stood with the child FOR THE MAN.'

4.5.3. Representative stems of class 5

- | | | |
|------------------|------------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>síkád</i> | 'stand on (the table)' | 'stand up with (a child)'
'stand (a ladder) up' |
| 2. <i>iddrup</i> | 'wash (one's own) face' | 'go and wash (a child's) face'
'use (hot water) to wash his face' |
| 3. <i>simù</i> | 'hide oneself' | 'hide (something)' |
| 4. <i>dagut</i> | 'go down (a slippery slope)' | 'bring (something)'
'bring (something) down' |

4.6. CLASS 6

4.6.1. Verbal clause set 6A. Verbal clauses of set 6A may be constructed from stems of class 6, and they are intransitive in form in that they have no object or instrument tagmeme. However, these clauses often imply an unstated patient or location, which must be translated as an object in English. In this set there are no object focus or instrument focus clauses. Also, some verb stems in this class do not take all of the group A affixes of paradigm 6A. The affixes *nag-*, *nang-*, *naN-*, and *-umm-* signal duration of the action.

Formal Paradigm 6A

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|------|-------------------|------|---------|
| 1a. | VC6sf | > Pv | <i>nag-</i> | +T/S | ±R |
| 1b. | VC6sf | > Pv | <i>nang-</i> | +T/S | ±R |
| 1c. | VC6sf | > Pv | <i>naN-</i> | +T/S | ±R |
| 1d. | VC6sf | > Pv | <i>-umm-</i> | +T/S | ±R |
| 4a. | VC6rf | > Pv | <i>pinag--án</i> | +S | ±T/R |
| 4b. | VC6rf | > Pv | <i>pinang--án</i> | +S | ±T/R |
| 4c. | VC6rf | > Pv | <i>pinaN--an</i> | +S | ±T/R |
| 5a. | VC6bf | > Pv | <i>pinag-</i> | +S | +T/B ±R |
| 5b. | VC6bf | > Pv | <i>pinang-</i> | +S | +T/B ±R |
| 5c. | VC6bf | > Pv | <i>pinaN-</i> | +S | +T/B ±R |

Citation Paradigm 6A

- 1a. *Nagkarárag ya babay.*
sf prayed T woman

'THE WOMAN prayed for a long time.'

- 1b. *Nangkardrag ya babay.*
sf prayed T woman

'THE WOMAN prayed.'

- 1c. *Nangardrag ya babay.*
sf prayed T woman

'THE WOMAN prayed.'

- 1d. *Kummarárag ya babay.*
sf prayed T woman

'THE WOMAN prayed.'

- 4a. *Pinagkarardgan na babay ya kuarto.*
rf prayed S woman T room

'The woman prayed IN THE ROOM.'

- 4b. *Pinangkarardgan na babay ya kuarto.*
rf prayed S woman T room

'The woman prayed IN THE ROOM.'

- 4c. *Pinangarardgan na babay ya kuarto.*
rf prayed S woman T room

'The woman prayed IN THE ROOM.'

- 5a. *Pinagkardrag na babay ya tolay.*
bf prayed S woman T man

'The woman prayed FOR THE MAN for a long time.'

- 5b. *Pinangkardrag na babay ya tolay.*
bf prayed S woman T man

'The woman prayed FOR THE MAN.'

- 5c. *Pinangararang na babay ya tolay.*
 bf prayed S woman T man

'The woman prayed FOR THE MAN.'

4.6.2. Verbal clause set 6B. This set may be produced by affixing verb stems of class 6 with group B affixes. In this set of clauses the purpose of the action is more prominent than the action itself; hence, the person who benefits from the action is expressed in the object slot. Thus, in an object focus clause, this person who benefits from the action is the topic. The usual beneficiary, focused with verbal prefixes *pinagi-* and *pinangi-*, does not occur in this set of clauses.

Also, unemphatic clauses (that is, those presented in the paradigms) do not allow for focusing of the referent, which indicates the place where the action is performed. However, in an emphatic clause the referent can be focused.

Formal Paradigm 6B

1a.	VC6sf	>	Pv <i>nagi-</i>	+T/S	+O	±R
1b.	VC6sf	>	Pv <i>nangi-</i>	+T/S	+O	±R
2a.	VC6of	>	Pv <i>ne--dn</i>	+S	+T/O	±R
2b.	VC6of	>	Pv <i>ne-</i>	+S	+T/O	±R
4a.	VC6Erf	>	+T/R Pv <i>pinagi--dn</i>	+S	+O	
4b.	VC6Erf	>	+T/R Pv <i>pinangi--dn</i>	+S	+O	

Citation Paradigm 6B

- 1a. *Nagikararang ya babay kada maragbásul.*
 sf prayed T woman O-pl sinners

'THE WOMAN prayed for the sinners.'

- 1b. *Nangikararang ya babay ka maragbásul.*
 sf prayed T woman O sinner

'THE WOMAN prayed for a sinner.'

- 2a. *Nekararangan na babay daya maragbásul.*
 of prayed S woman T-pl sinners

'The woman prayed FOR THE SINNERS.'

- 2b. *Nekarárag na babay ya maragbásul.*
 of prayed S woman T sinner

'The woman prayed FOR THE SINNER.'

- 4aE. *Kapilya ya pinagikarardagan na babay kada*
 chapel T prayed S woman O-pl

'It was IN THE CHAPEL where the woman prayed for

maragbásul.
 sinners

the sinners.'

- 4bE. *Kapilya ya pinangikarardagan na babay ka*
 chapel T prayed S woman O

'It was IN THE CHAPEL where the woman prayed

maragbásul.
 sinner

for the sinner.'

4.6.3. Representative stems of class 6

- | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>karárag</i> | 'pray' | 'pray for (someone)' |
| 2. <i>sála</i> | 'dance' | 'dance with (someone)' |
| 3. <i>antà</i> | 'get beans' | 'get beans for
someone' |
| 4. <i>ini</i> | 'talk' | 'talk to someone for
someone' |
| 5. <i>búgat</i> | 'climb a
coconut tree' | 'climb a coconut tree
for someone' |

4.7. CLASS 7

4.7.1. Verbal clause set 7A. All the verbal clauses in this set may be constructed using verb stems of class 7. Instrument and beneficiary tagmemes do not occur in the clauses of this set, and an object tagmeme occurs only when it is in focus.

Some stems in class 7, when they take the infix *-um-*, convey the meaning of an unusual action, that is, an action wrongly done. For instance, when the verb stem *tugaw*

'sit' takes *-um-* it means to sit on someone. The affixes *na--an* and *na-* signify nothing with regard to the number of the object, that is, whether singular or plural, but they do signify whether the action is of long or short duration. This is also true of the prefixes *nag-*, *nang-*, and *naN-* when they occur with stems of this class. *na-* signifies ability to do an action, and sometimes it means happenstance, depending on the context of the clause.

Formal Paradigm 7A

1a.	VC7sf	> Pv	<i>nag-</i>	+T/S	+R
1b.	VC7sf	> Pv	<i>nang-</i>	+T/S	+R
1c.	VC7sf	> Pv	<i>naN-</i>	+T/S	+R
1d.	VC7sf	> Pv	<i>-um-</i>	+T/S	+R
2a.	VC7of	> Pv	<i>-in--an</i>	+S	+T/O +R
4a.	VC7rf	> Pv	<i>pinag--an</i>	+S	+T/R
4b.	VC7rf	> Pv	<i>pinang--an</i>	+S	+T/R
4c.	VC7rf	> Pv	<i>pinaN--an</i>	+S	+T/R

Citation Paradigm 7A

- 1a. *Nagtugaw ya tolay ki lamdaawan.*
sf sat T man R window

'THE MAN sat in the window for a long time.'

- 1b. *Nangtugaw ya tolay ki lamdaawan.*
sf sat T man R window

'THE MAN sat in the window.'

- 1c. *Nanugaw ya tolay ki lamdaawan.*
sf sat T man R window

'THE MAN sat in the window.'

- 1d. *Tumugaw ya tolay ka an-anà.*
sf sat T man O child

'THE MAN sat on the child.'

- 2a. *Tinugawán na tolay ya lupang ki lamdaawan.*
of sat S man T mud R window

'The man sat IN THE MUD for a long time in the window.'

- 4a. *Pinagtugawán na tolay ya lamdawan.*
 rf sat S man T window

'The man sat IN THE WINDOW for a long time.'

- 4b. *Pinangtugawán na tolay ya lamdawan.*
 rf sat S man T window

'The man sat IN THE WINDOW.'

- 4c. *Pinanugawán na tolay ya lamdawan.*
 rf sat S man T window

'The man sat IN THE WINDOW.'

4.7.2. Verbal clause set 7B. Clauses of set 7B are produced by affixing verb stems of class 7 with group B affixes. These affixes in these clauses signal that the object is a concomitant to the action. As in other sets, a beneficiary tagmeme occurs only when it is in focus.

Similar to clauses of set 5B, the difference between the *nagi-* and *nangi-* prefixes lies in the duration of the action, that is, *nagi-* signifies habitual past action or action performed over a longer period of time, while *nangi-* signifies an action completed once in a punctiliar way in the past.

Formal Paradigm 7B

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|---|-----------------------|------|---------|------|
| 1a. | VC7sf | > | Pv <i>nagi-</i> | +T/S | +O | ±R |
| 1b. | VC7sf | > | Pv <i>nangi-</i> | +T/S | +O | ±R |
| 2b. | VC7of | > | Pv <i>ne-</i> | +S | +T/O | ±R |
| 4a. | VC7rf | > | Pv <i>pinagi--án</i> | +S | +O | ±T/R |
| 4b. | VC7rf | > | Pv <i>pinangi--án</i> | +S | +O | ±T/R |
| 5a. | VC7bf | > | Pv <i>pinagi-</i> | +S | +T/B +O | ±R |
| 5b. | VC7bf | > | Pv <i>pinangi-</i> | +S | +T/B +O | ±R |

Citation Paradigm 7B

- 1a. *Nagitugaw ya tolay ka an-anà ki lamdawan.*
 sf sat S man O child R window

'THE MAN sat with the child in the window for a long time.'

- 1b. *Nangitugaw ya tolay ka an-anà ki lamdawan.*
 sf sat T man O child R window
 'THE MAN sat in the window with a child.'
- 2b. *Netugaw na tolay ya an-anà ki lamdawan.*
 of sat S man T child R window
 'The man sat in the window WITH THE CHILD.'
- 4a. *Pinagitugawan na tolay ka an-anà ya lamdawan.*
 rf sat S man O child T window
 'The man sat IN THE WINDOW for a long time with the child.'
- 4b. *Pinangitugawan na tolay ka an-anà ya lamdawan.*
 rf sat S man O child T window
 'The man sat IN THE WINDOW with the child.'
- 5a. *Pinagitugaw na babay ya tolay ka an-anà na.*
 bf sat S woman T man O child his
 'The woman sat for a long time with the child FOR THE MAN.'
- 5b. *Pinangitugaw na babay ya tolay ka an-anà na.*
 bf sat S woman T man O child his
 'The woman sat with the child FOR THE MAN.'

4.7.3. Representative stems of class 7

- | | | |
|---------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>tugaw</i> | 'sit on (a chair)' | 'sit holding (something)' |
| 2. <i>sabat</i> | 'meet (someone)' | 'meet someone to give him (a letter)' |
| 3. <i>tallan</i> | 'swallow (food)' | ---- |
| 4. <i>lan ~ ina</i> | 'enter (the house)' | 'bring (something) inside' |
| 5. <i>látu</i> | 'jump over (a canal)' | 'jump carrying (something)' |
| 6. <i>agadláng</i> | 'crawl to get (a toy)' | 'crawl carrying (something)' |

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BILINGUALISM AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION. By Teresita V. Ramos, Esperanza A. Gonzalez, and Mark Lester. Quezon City: Souvenir Publications, 1975 (?). 171 pages.

Reviewed by EMY M. PASCASIO, Ateneo de Manila University

Bilingualism as well as bilingual education is now a serious concern and of national interest in the Philippines especially with the recent promulgation of the bilingual policy by the National Board of Education and its implementation schedule as indicated in Department Order 25, June 1974 by the Department of Education and Culture. Administrators, language policymakers and teachers are now trying to go through the available literature in this field. There has been tremendous work done on bilingualism and bilingual education abroad and also here in the Philippines especially within the past decade although in the latter an attempt to put together the various studies specifically on Philippine bilingualism has just started.

This book seeks to introduce the teacher as well as the administrator who is so busy that he can hardly find the time to read to the literature on bilingualism and bilingual education. It is a beginner's handbook and serves to give the teacher some preliminary information on bilingualism and bilingual education.

Part I briefly describes some of the bilingual settings and also reviews a few of the studies on bilingualism abroad.

Part II is rather confusing, especially for one who is not very familiar with the literature. Perhaps Mackey's and Macnamara's descriptions of bilingualism could have been presented first together with the topic on degree of bilingualism, which is found in the last three pages of this part. If all the topics about the bilingual and his performance as well as the types of bilinguals were put together and presented first and then followed by the topics on bilingual situations, I think that the reader will find this material more helpful.

I do not quite agree that the information given here really provides the teacher with some solid ground on which he

can stand as he plans and facilitates learning in the bilingual classroom. He will need more than what has been given here. What has been provided here is preliminary information on the bilingual individual and his setting.

Part III reviews some bilingual programs including their rationale, design, and approaches used. They are varied according to the particular setting, needs, objectives, and resources.

This part acquaints one with different types of bilingual programs where he can probably get some insights and also develop awareness of the fact that several variables need to be considered in designing a bilingual education program.

The evaluation part presents direct and indirect measures of the bilingual's performance. What has not been included here which I think is needed are guidelines on how to evaluate a bilingual education program itself inasmuch as some of its components have been mentioned in this handbook.

Part IV discusses guidelines for teacher training and samples of existing training programs (undergraduate, graduate and other kinds). The criteria for defining teachers' qualifications of the U.S. bilingual programs put out by the Center for Applied Linguistics are valuable information and perhaps would provide some guidelines for teachers in other bilingual settings.

The portion on preparing materials for bilingual education is rather sketchy; yet in the literature this area has already been treated extensively.

The bibliography after each part is helpful for one who wishes to acquaint himself with what are some of the latest publications in bilingualism and bilingual education.

The selected bibliography given at the end of which most of the entries are annotated will be useful to acquaint one with what is available literature in the field. However, I find it rather unusual that only two works have been cited on Philippine bilingualism and bilingual education when in fact several significant studies have already been conducted and completed to this date.

In general this handbook serves to introduce the

teacher to the literature of bilingualism and bilingual education. It gives him some preliminary knowledge of the field. However, the reader should not stop with this handbook. He should be encouraged to seek for more extensively written texts on bilingualism and bilingual education and update himself since the literature available is vast.

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