

AN ETYMOLOGICAL, BILINGUAL DICTIONARY – ESOTERIC OR ESSENTIAL?

R. David Zorc
School of Australian Linguistics
Darwin Community College

1.0. PURPOSE.

It is the purpose of this paper to outline the basic features of an etymological dictionary for use in a bilingual context. Such a dictionary must contain all the information required of a basic dictionary, and it must further act as a guide to speakers of Language A (Lg-A) concerning the cultural contexts and histories of words in Language B (Lg-B). The development of such a dictionary involves the authors directly in areas of LANGUAGE PLANNING and the hotly debated issues of DESCRIPTIVE versus PRESCRIPTIVE linguistics. While the development of such a dictionary is not an early item on the agenda in the establishment of a bilingual/bicultural programme, the wealth of historical information it can provide – and the pride in one's own culture and language it can achieve – moves it from (what some have called) 'an esoteric luxury' to a committed essential. Since the author is currently involved in preparing a core etymological dictionary of Pilipino at the request of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines, examples will be drawn from this project (of necessity involving Indonesian languages as well), and also from Australian Aboriginal languages (particularly of the Yolnu Group, e.g., Gumatj).

1.1. THE BASIC DICTIONARY.¹

It is the purpose of a basic dictionary to draw together as many words of any given language as possible. It thus differs from *wordlists*, *vocabularies*, and *lexicons* in the quantity and quality of the entries.² It serves as a guide to the sounds, spelling, meaning, and grammar of each entry: each of these four areas must be covered. Where any element is predictable, patterned, or regular, it should be covered in the introduction. For example, if the spelling is totally phonetic/phonemic, each entry automatically gives a guide to the pronunciation and spelling of each word. However, it is important to include in the introduction the IPA³ symbol that each letter or digraph represents, e.g., Malay *e* = [ə], *ng* = [ŋ], Dutch/Indonesian *oe* = [u]. It is regrettable that a large number of dictionaries do not give any indication of accent: vowel length, pitch accent, or stress. If accent is predictable and always falls on a given syllable, this should be stated in the introduction. Exceptions must be treated in the dictionary, as must *all forms* in languages where accent may fall on different syllables and hence convey different meanings, e.g. Tagalog [ʔ á:so] 'dog' / [ʔ asó] 'smoke', where the written convention is adequately covered by *aso* vs *asó* (no accent mark means the penult is long and stressed).

¹I wish to thank Darwin Community College (the Staff Development and Research Advisory Committee) for funding my study leave (of which this paper is a partial result).

²It is the view of many linguists that a book must have at least 8000 or more entries to qualify as a dictionary. A wordlist contains anywhere from a handful to a 1000 entries. Beyond 1000 entries and up to 8000, one is constructing either a vocabulary or a lexicon. Technically, however, the term *lexicon* refers to ALL of the content words of a language, i.e. all of the non-grammatical forms.

³That is, the International Phonetic Alphabet. One may make recourse to other systems, e.g. that devised by Charles Kenneth Thomas (1947. *An Introduction to the Phonetics of American English*), but should state clearly which system is followed.

Giving the meaning of a form is rarely an easy task, since one must consider both the basic meaning (*denotation*) and the overtones (*connotation*). For example, in Javanese one must indicate the speech level at which a form may be used (unless it occurs in all); in English, the level of sophistication: scientific or erudite (*intestinal fortitude*), polite (*courage*), or rude (*guts*); in Aboriginal languages, the moiety, age-level, or sacredness/ceremonial-significance; and so on. One must also consider the *extensions of meaning* (*eye - of human, -of needle, -of cyclone*), and *idioms* (*see eye to eye, private eye*). Often, the meaning is best illustrated in context by examples: *hit the man, hit a home run, hit and run, hit the nail on the head, hit him below the belt, hit him hard, hit the road, hit sixty miles an hour, hit the bank, hit it off together, hit parade*, etc. In giving the meanings, it is useful to include *synonyms* (*large, big, huge, gigantic, great*) or *antonyms* (*small, tiny, little, petite, miniature*) where they specify or clarify the meaning. Words with more than one related meaning (*polysemes*) are traditionally treated in a single entry (*big = large, older, important*), while words with totally unrelated meanings (*homonyms*) are given separate entries (*well₁ = good, fine, healthy; well₂ = water-hole; well₃ = to swell-up; well₄ = Exclamation: well, now! , well, I never*).

Grammatical information of all kinds is also necessary: the basic part of speech, inflections, and irregularities (*tooth/teeth; go/went/gone*). It is not necessary to list inflected forms or derivatives if they are predictable, as in Indonesian *perlu* 'necessity' / *ke-perlu-an* 'be in need of', *sakit* 'ill' / *ke-sakit-an* 'be sick'; but it is necessary if there is a significant change in meaning (*tua* 'old' / *ke-tua-an* 'too old' / *mer-tua* 'parents-in-law') or in form (Aklanon [bak^h] 'buy' / [bákl^h-a] 'buy (it)'); it would be necessary to list Akl *bakáe* / *báke-* 'buy', and other such irregularities.

1.2. THE BILINGUAL DICTIONARY

The bilingual dictionary is both a basic dictionary and a guide for speakers of Lg-A and Lg-B. Thus, besides information on sounds, spelling, meaning, and grammar, references to the culture (*ethnolinguistics*) of the words is crucial, and many more example phrases and sentences are called for.

It is useful to give a guide to sounds in Lg-B that are the same in Lg-A, and a warning for those that are not, e.g. Tagalog "a" = [a] as in English *father* (not as in *fat*), "e" = [ɛ] as in *feather* (not as in *feet*). A clear, non-technical description of hard to produce 'new' sounds in Lg-A, with examples, is crucial for speakers of Lg-B, such as [ŋ] in word initial position for speakers of English, or the interdental, palatal, and retroflex sounds of Australian Aboriginal languages.

In the area of meaning, besides giving the denotations, connotations, extensions of meaning, idioms, polysemes, and homonyms of forms from Lg-A to Lg-B, it is useful to indicate or refer to *semantic sets*. For example, in his *Batad Ifugao Vocabulary*, Newell (1968:129) under *hēpeŋ* 'one centavo' lists:

1	centavo	—	behhen/ŋēpeŋ
5	centavos	—	kūlaŋ
10	centavos	—	haqis
20	centavos	—	pihīta
25	centavos	—	bintin
50	centavos	—	halapi
1	peso	—	pīhu
10	pesos	—	himpuluy pīhu
15	pesos	—	kinhi

In the same way, under 'money' one could well cross-reference the American English: *penny, nickel, dime, quarter, two bits, dollar, buck, c-note, fin, grand*, etc., although the definitions and translations would occur under each entry in alphabetical order. The semantic sets chosen depend on their importance to the culture(s) involved, but might include kinship terms, directions (compass or wind), related utensils or artifacts, and

synonyms. Antonyms are especially useful if they help specify the meaning: *fine*₁ = *good, well, not sick*; *fine*₂ = *penalty* (Opp: *reward*); *fine*₃ = *smooth, not rough*. This teaches the user a good deal about the language.

In the bilingual dictionary, grammatical information is crucial as a means of learning to speak and understand the other language. While many languages such as English and those of the Philippines and Indonesia use a form (*root word*) as a noun, verb, or adjective (depending on inflection or derivation), other languages such as Australian Aboriginal languages use entirely different forms. Compare Aklanon [ʔi:hiʔ] 'urine' (n) / urinate (v) with Gumatj [bálkay] 'urine' / [wár-yun] 'urinate' or Aklanon [ʔ ùlán] 'rain' (n + v) with Gumatj [waltʔan] 'rain' (n) / [daʔ-yun] (v).

Because of the large amount of grammatical information necessary in a bilingual dictionary, there should be a concise grammatical sketch of Lg-A in the introduction, with cross-references to such information at each relevant entry. Thus, if there are several verb classes (certain verbs take a given group of affixes), some abbreviation (e.g., RV-1 = *Regular Verb of Type 1*) is sufficient. This avoids the repetition of predictable forms and meanings, but introduces the necessity of isolating root words or their alternate forms, e.g., Tagalog [ká:ʔ in] root / [ká:n-] 'to eat', [kú:ha] root / [ku:n-] 'to take, get'. An example of such an entry for Aklanon is:

inóm / *imn-* 'to drink' (RV-1); *ilimnon* 'drink, beverage' (n);
ilimnan 'bar, pub, place for drinking, drinking-party' (n);
pa-inóm 'to give to drink; to make take (medicine/tablet)'

The root word [ʔ inóm] and its alternate [ʔ imn-] are specified as members of the Regular Verb Class 1, which then excludes the need to list some 60 forms [ga-ʔ inóm, ma-ʔ inóm, naga-ʔ inóm, nag-ʔ inóm, na-ʔ inóm, gina-ʔ inóm, pag-ʔ inóm, ʔ imn-un, ʔ imn-a, ʔ imn-an, pag-ʔ imn-a, paga-ʔ imn-un, (etc.)] that are predictable for any verb of that class; [ʔ ilimnun] and [ʔ ilimnan] are not predictable because they take a limited infix (<i>i</i>) and need to be cited; [pa-ʔ inóm], while a normal causative verb, has a secondary meaning of 'giving someone a medication (tablet, powder)' that might not be predicted by speakers of Lg-B.

The amount of ethnolinguistic information needs to be limited, unless one is embarking on the publication of an encyclopedia, but some indication of the importance and relevance of an item to the culture must be given. It is not sufficient to know that Cebuano [ʔ apí:tuŋ] is 'a tree'; it is useful to know that it is 'used for timber and for *balaw* resin, which is used to caulk and waterproof a boat'; it is also useful to know that it is *Dipterocarpus grandiflorus*. Cebuano [balá:nak] is not just 'a fish', but 'a general name for large mullets (*Mugilidae*)'; and [baʔús] is 'milkfish (*Chanos chanos*), caught locally, used in trade and commerce, and cooked in a large variety of ways'.

1.3. THE ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY

The etymological dictionary builds upon the basic and the bilingual dictionary. In the case of languages without a body of written literature extending back into prehistory, care must be taken that the etymologies are ACCURATE and not the product of guesswork or happenstance agreements. It is better to have an entry without an etymon rather than a blatant error. In the Philippines, for example, it is not sufficient that a word SOUNDS Chinese or Spanish, one must illustrate the word(s) from which it comes, show a reasonable parallel in meaning (or likely shift), and examine available etymologies to see if there is not a history for the form within the language family. Tag [tá:kaw] 'greed(y)' is more likely to be from Proto Austronesian (PAN) *ta:kaw 'steal' than from Hokkien [tuā-kaú] 'greedy', despite its similarity in meaning (but not in sound) to the Chinese form [Yap (1973:52)]. Similarly, Tag [sipsíp] is from PAN *səpsəp 'suck', not from Chinese just because it is a doubled monosyllable [Manuel (1948:71-72); Panganiban (1969:909)]; and Tag [supsóp] is from a PAN doublet *supsup 'suck', not from Spanish *chupar* [Panganiban (1969:926)].

An etymological dictionary is of necessity a co-operative effort, based on the amount of research that must be done, and on the number of languages that need to be searched for likely *cognates* (words that come from an earlier form and have a common ancestor; see examples below). A scholar who has a full knowledge of Chinese, Sanskrit, Tamil, Arabic, Persian, Spanish, English, Malay, Buginese, Javanese, and several Philippine languages would be a boon to Philippinologists, but is probably non-existent. Yet words from all these languages have found their way into Tagalog, and hence Pilipino; although some came through an intermediate route through Indonesian languages. Tracing the history of such loanwords is itself a fascinating study, and shows the impact of other societies (in adopted artifacts, values, and concepts).

However, for languages without a written history (and this is the case for Australia and most of insular Southeast Asia) an etymological dictionary is a means of achieving some knowledge of prehistory. It must be recognized that in societies where history is only recently recorded, prehistory can be known from only three sources: archaeology, language reconstruction, and oral literature. Linguists have developed a means of reconstructing a parent language by comparing forms that are similar in shape and meaning among different members of the same (proven) language family. Most Western Austronesian peoples have a form [mãtã] meaning 'eye'; in Philippine languages where accent may be on either syllable, the form is pronounced [mãtã]. We may safely conclude that some 4000 years ago, the ancestors of Indonesians, Malays, and Filipinos (PHN) called the visual organ something like PHN **mata* (the *star* or asterisk indicates it is a *reconstruction* since we have no recorded proof that it WAS so), and if the Philippines preserve an original accent distinction, it may have been PHN **mãtã*.⁴ In such comparison or reconstruction, we discover correspondences, sounds that agree from language to language, and re-occur in different words. Thus, Iban [manuk] and Cebuano [manúk] correspond sound-for-sound (Ib m : Ceb m, Ib a : Ceb a, etc.), for meaning ('chicken, domestic fowl'), but not for accent; based on almost identical forms in other Philippine and Indonesian languages, one can reconstruct a PHN **mãnúk* 'chicken, fowl'. Sometimes different sounds correspond, like the final sounds in Malay [kawat] and Tagalog [ka:wad] 'wire', as opposed to Malay [bayar], Tag [ba:yad] 'to pay'; Tagalog shows -d in both instances, while Malay has -t in one, -r in the other. One must therefore set up different *correspondence sets* for the *proto* (parent) *language* on the assumption that they reflect a distinction which was originally made. One way of doing this is with small and capital letters, yielding PHN **ka:wad* 'wire' and PHN **ba:yAD* 'pay'. These are then confirmed as more words having the same correspondences are discovered: M1 *tawar*, Tag *ta:wad* 'bargain (v); discount (n)' < PHN **ta:wAD*; M1 *akar* 'root', Akl ? *a:kad* 'to uproot' < PHN *? *a:kAD* 'root'; M1 *hañut*, Tag ? *a:nod* 'drift' < PHN **qa:ñud*; M1 *busut*, Akl *buɽsud* 'anthill' < PHN **bu(ɽ)sud*.

Space does not permit an explication of the method of reconstruction here, but it has been a respected science since 1786 when Sir William Jones discovered and stated that languages spring from a common source which no longer exists, i.e. that languages do not come from one another, because *all languages are subject to change, and together evolve from a parent language*.⁵ In the 1800's, scholars like Franz Bopp, August Wilhelm von

⁴Zorc (1978) has presented evidence from Philippine languages and from Toba-Batak in Indonesia, that accent was a feature of Proto Hesperonesian. Based on the complexity of accent, it is also probable that Proto Austronesian had it too, but that it was lost in most daughter languages. The reconstructions in this paper take account of accent (penult vowel length or shortness) where sufficient Philippine evidence exists.

⁵Comparative reconstruction has a limited power, estimated at about 10,000 years before the present. Hence, no statements can be made that all the languages of the world have come from a common parent language. Linguists deal with established language families, and Proto Austronesian is just one. Attempts, mostly unconvincing and unsuccessful, have been made to link Austronesian languages with Chinese, Thai, Japanese, Indo-European, or Australian Aboriginal languages, but clearly all languages have changed so drastically in time that only a handful of evidence for such linkage (to any ONE of the above-mentioned groups) is presented. Such evidence can be the product of accident, early-borrowing, or genetic inheritance, but is so scarce that it is doubtful that we will ever know what was the language family closest to Proto Austronesian.

Schlegel, Christian Lassen, William Dwight Whitney, and Jacob Grimm refined the method in reconstructing Proto-Indo-European (the parent language of most Indian and European languages), and Wilhelm von Humboldt, H. C. von der Gabelentz, and Johan Hendrik Caspar Kern applied it to Proto Austronesian (the parent language of Malaysian, Indonesian, Philippine, Micronesian, and Polynesian languages). In the century, Otto Dempwolff, Isidore Dyen, Otto Christian Dahl, and Shigeru Tsuchida have made enormous advances in Austronesian studies. An excellent summary of the method and its application can be found in Dyen (1971) and in Dahl (1976).

The important factor here is that with a careful, systematic, and scientific comparison of genetically-related languages, one can reconstruct the parent language or various stages of daughter languages (*meso-languages*). From the reconstructions obtained, one can learn something of the prehistory of the people, especially from the names of actions and artifacts (for what they did and made), and of plants, insects, animals, and meteorological terms (for where they came from). It is precisely in this area that a people can be justly proud of their heritage. For example, words reconstructed for the Philippine/Indonesian parent language, called Proto Hesperonesian (PHN), of approximately 4000 years ago, or for Proto Austronesian (PAN) of up to 8000 years ago, reveal a wealth of expertise in the following areas:⁶

RICE AGRICULTURE

'seed(ing)'	PHN *bənhiq
'rice-plant'	PHN *pa:jəy
'milled-rice'	PHN *bəRas
'cooked-rice'	PHN *həmay
'husk, chaff'	PHN *qəpa
'rice-straw'	PHN *ZaRa:mi
'to thresh'	PHN *Riək
'to grind'	PHN *gi:liŋ
'millstone'	PHN *gɿŋ-án
'to plant'	PHN *mu:la

HORTICULTURE AND PLANT USE

'earth'	PHN *ta:nəq
'plant' (n/v)	PHN *tənəm
'to grow'	PHN *tu:buq
'to dig'	PHN *ka:lih
'to lever-up'	PAN *sūwal

⁶A few of the forms cited are posited for PPH (Proto-Philippine approximately 3000 years ago). Articles by Dyen (1971 and 1976) and Blust (1977) also discuss most of these forms, and I acknowledge my gratitude to both scholars for their many insights.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

Akl	Aklanon (Phil. Bisayan)	MI	Malay (Bahasa)
Bik	Bikol (central Phil.)	Mr	Merina (Malagasy)
Bon	Bontok (north Phil.)	Ng	Ngadju-Dayak
Br	Bornean lgs. (Ray. 1911.)	PAN	Proto-Austronesian
Ceb	Cebuano (Phil. Bisayan)	PHN	Proto-Hesperonesian
Fj	Fijian (Micronesian)	PPH	Proto-Philippine
Ft	Futuna (Polynesian)	Sa	Sa'a (Polynesian)
Ib	Iban (Sea Dayak)	Sm	Samoan (Polynesian)
Ilk	Ilokano (north Phil.)	Tag	Tagalog (Phil. Nat. Lg.)
Jv	Javanese	Tb	Toba-Batak
Kal	Kalamian (Palawan, Phil.)	To	Tongan (Polynesian)

'hoe'	PAN *suwan
'taro' <i>Colocasia</i>	PAN *taləs
'taro' <i>Alocasia</i>	PAN *bi:Raɣ
'yam'	PAN *qu:bi
'sugarcane'	PHN *təbuh
[bamboo]	PHN *bu:luɣ
[bamboo]	PHN *qauR
[bamboo-large]	PHN *bətɯŋ
'jackfruit' <i>Artocarpus</i>	PHN *naŋkaʔ
[tree] <i>Erythrina</i>	PAN *DapDap
[tree] <i>Barringtonia</i>	PAN *butun
[tree] <i>Casuarina</i>	PAN *ʔ aRu:huʔ
[tree] <i>Pandanus</i>	PAN *paŋDan
[tree] <i>Terminalia</i>	PAN *tali:say
[tree-mangrove] <i>Ceriops</i>	PHN *təŋəR
[tree-hibiscus] <i>Gnetum</i>	PAN *ba:Ru
coconut	PAN *nũR
[banana]	PAN *punti
[banana]	PHN *sabʔ a
ginger	PAN *laquya
tree, wood	PHN *ka:yuh
fruit	PHN *bũaq
blossom fruit	PAN *bu:ŋa

BOATING AND SEAFARING

boat	PHN *parau
canoe	PPH *baŋkaʔ
outrigger	PHN *ka:tiR
sail	PAN *la:yaR
paddle	PAN *bəRsay
punt-pole	PAN *təkən
bail(er)	PAN *lĩmas
rope	PHN *təli[h]
land	PAN *banũa
proW	PHN *zu:luɣ
mast	PAN *tiaŋ
sea	PHN *lāwəd
salt-water	PHN *tāsik
water	PHN *wa:hiR
fresh-water	PAN *Dānum
lake	PHN *Danaw
wave	PHN *qa:lun
swell	PHN *humbak
tidal-wave	PPH *dālu:yun
current	PHN *qa:Rus
channel	PHN *ʔ a:luR
to drift	PHN *qa:ñud
rain	PHN *qũZan
wind	PHN *ha:ŋin
[wind-N/W]	PHN *haba:Rat
[wind-S/E]	PHN *ti:muR
[wind-S]	PHN *sala:tan

FISHING AND THE SEA

fish	PAN *? ikan
	PHN *isǝdaq
net	PAN *pukǝt
fishnet	PHN *Rambat
large-net	PHN *salambaw
fishtrap	PAN *bu:bu
weir	PAN *ǝmpaŋ
fish-hook	PHN *kǎwil
fish-poison	PAN *túba
giant-clam	PAN *kima
crocodile	PAN *buqa:ya
eel	PAN *tuna
octopus	PAN *kuRi:ta
oyster	PAN *tiRǝm
mackerel	PHN *taŋi:Ri
stingray	PAN *pa:Ri
shark	PAN *qi:hu
shrimp	PAN *qǔDaŋ
Triton-shell	PAN *tambu:ri
tortoise	PAN *pǝñu

HUNTING AND ANIMALS

bow	PAN *bu:suR
arrow	PAN *pǎnaq
spear	PHN *baŋkaw
bamboo-trap	PHN *bǎwǝR
booby-trap	PHN *bala:tik
kill/stab	PHN *bǔnuq
pig	PHN *ba:buy
fowl	PAN *mǎnuk
egg	PHN *(qi)tǝluR

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION

house	PAN *Rumaq
building	PAN *bǎlay
thatch-roof	PAN *qǎtǝp
rafter	PAN *ka:saw
plank	PAN *papan
ridge-beam	PAN *bǔbuŋ
hearth	PHN *dǎpuR
nail	PAN *pa:ku?
wedge	PHN *ka:laŋ
housepost	PAN *turus
	PPH *haDi:Ri
wall/screen	PHN *DiŋDiŋ
flooring	PHN *lantay
floor-slats	PHN *sǎlǝR
storage-shelf	PHN *pa:Ra
to plane	PHN *tǎRaq
to rasp	PAN *parud
adze	PPH *wa:say

COMMERCE AND TRADE

count	PAN *hituŋ
	PHN *bi:laŋ
buy	PAN *bǎlih
pay	PHN *ba:yaD
debt	PHN *qu:taŋ
discount	PHN *ta:waD
one	PHN *? əsa
two	PHN *dǎha
three	PHN *tǎlu
four	PHN *? ə(m)pat
five	PAN *fima
six	PHN *? ənəm
seven	PAN *pitu
eight	PAN *wǎlu
nine	PAN *pu:luq
hundred	PAN *Rǎtus

WEAVING AND BRAIDING

weave	PAN *aŋiam
braid	
weave	PPH *hǎbəl
shuttle	PHN *bali:ja
weft	PHN *pakan
mat	PHN *hikam
[basket]	PHN *ba:kul
[basket-large]	PHN *baŋkat
[winnowing-basket]	PHN *bija:u
cloth	PHN *ka:yu
blanket	PPH *ha:bəl

SEWING

to sew	PAN *za:quit
	PPH *tǎhiq
thread	PHN *bǎnaŋ
needle	PAN *Za:Rum

UTENSILS

cooking-pot	PAN *ku:Dən
cup/bowl	PAN *maŋkuk
jar/pot	PHN *b<a > aŋa?
broom	PAN *sapu
hook	PHN *ka? wit
torch	PAN *sǎluq
pouch	PAN *kantuŋ
whet(stone)	PHN *ha:saq

How can the knowledge of such a prehistory fail to fill Malaysians, Indonesians, and Filipinos with pride? The preservation of a language, and realisation of its value, depends to some extent on the pride its speakers have – especially as a communicative tool of and within the culture. Many wish to speak English as an international language to further

their careers and enhance their prestige. Surely the knowledge that their ancestors had a highly-developed, complex society (when many branches of Indo-European society were still highly primitive by comparison) should make them proud to be bi-lingual and bi-cultural individuals! The labours that have gone into an etymological, bilingual dictionary are proportionately rewarded.

2. THE ROLE OF AN ETYMOLOGICAL, BILINGUAL DICTIONARY IN LANGUAGE PLANNING

A dictionary has three functions: DESCRIPTIVE (giving forms and uses actually recorded), PEDAGOGICAL (teaching facts about the spelling, pronunciation, words, meanings, uses, and idioms of the language), and PRESCRIPTIVE (stating what the language must be). Linguists waged war on prescriptive linguistics as long ago as four decades with the maxim 'if it is used, it is the language'. But more recently people have worried 'Why Johnny can't read?' and 'Why Johnny can't write?'. Inability to express oneself in an appropriate speech style (High German, the Queen's English, Bahasa, Pilipino, etc.) can cost a person prestige, social standing, and a livelihood. Linguistic discrimination is a fact.

Since a dictionary serves all three roles, great care must go into its production. If a form is rude or archaic or dialectal, it must be labelled so; otherwise a phrase like 'But it's in the dictionary!' evolves into a nagging clang. Since a dictionary can settle an argument or start a feud, it is an important instrument in language-planning.

Recording actual usage or knowledge by the public is an important factor. As an accident of history, the Spanish/Portuguese word *banco* 'seat' has found its way into Indonesian and Philippine languages (M1, Ib *baŋku*, Tag *baŋkó?*, Bis *báŋku?*). Feeling a need for a 'native' word, Tag (*salúmpulwít*) 'seat' was coined, but never gained prestige or popularity. Officials have generally avoided such coinages, and have instead sent out questionnaires on the terms actually in use for non-native items, concepts, or activities. Thus, Tag [sorbe:tes] (from Spanish) and [ʔ ayskrim] (from English) enjoy a peaceful co-existence, as do [bir] and [serbé:sa]. Most Filipinos count in native numbers (at least to ten), tell time in Spanish, and buy or sell in English. Since they do so, they should be left to do so. It may seem wasteful to outsiders, but it is quite efficient within the culture; witness Akl [ʔ alâs du:si] vs [na-pu:tu-g dáywa-ŋ tákna?] '12 o'clock'. Thus far the dictionary resulting is both descriptive and pedagogical.

The need for a prescriptive dictionary, at least at the national language level, is most felt where there is either (1) a commonly used term in languages other than that on which the national language is based, or (2) no known term that needs coining. Tagalog was chosen as the basis for the national language, yet there are a number of words used in most major languages (and certainly by more than 50% of the Philippine population) that are pronounced differently in Tagalog. Thus, Tag [ba:hay] 'house' differs from [balay] spoken in Ilokano, Atta, Bisayan (most dialects), Aborlan, Isneg, Kalagan, Kalamian, etc. The same is true for Tag [da? án] 'trail, road' spoken [da:lan] elsewhere; Tag [buwán] 'moon, month' vs [bu:lan]; Tag [bá:ʔ on] 'provisions' vs [bá:lun]; Tag [bú:ho?] 'bamboo' vs [bú:lu?]; Tag [pŭwíŋ] 'blinded by something in eye' vs [pú:liŋ]; etc. The Institute of National Language has wisely allowed some of these alternate forms to become part of the Pilipino lexicon. On the etymological side, it is clear that Tag underwent some unusual changes of PPH *1, and that the other languages reflect both the original accent and the PPH *1: PPH **baláy* 'house', **dá:lan* 'trail', **bú:lan* 'moon', **bá:lun* 'provisions', **bú:lu?* 'bamboo', **pú:liŋ* 'blinded'. Other forms include: PPH **tali:ŋa* > Tag *te:ŋa/ta?* *íŋa* 'ear'; PPH **bá:lu* > Tag *bá:ʔ o* 'widow'; PPH *ʔ *ulíq* > Ta ? *uwi?* 'go home'; PPH **bú:liR* > Tag *buwíg* 'bunch (bananas)'. The fact that most non-Tagalog speakers already use such words justifies their inclusion as AT LEAST ALTER-NATES in the national language, and does not prejudice it as a truly NATIONAL LANGUAGE.

Where coinages become necessary in the mathematical, scientific, legal, medical, and other spheres, it would seem best to tap the best-known trade or international language of the area. This would mitigate the choice of English terms in the Philippines or Malaysia, or of Dutch in Indonesia, unless, of course, there were a perfectly good local term that could survive an extension of meaning. For example, Akl [dá:paw] originally referred to a 'tiny louse', but is now commonly used for 'germs'. But it was Aklanons who made the semantic shift, not a governing body or dictionary. Gone are the days (if ever they were) of a strict datu imposing his speech impediments upon his subjects (the legend told about the origin of Aklanon fricative [t]). One cannot doubt the ingenuity of people in coining terms, making metaphors, extending meanings, creating idioms, and otherwise using language to communicate effectively. This Mankind has clearly done since the Dawn of Man. Thus, it is people who make and use language, and scholars who make (and use?) a dictionary.

REFERENCES

- BLUST, ROBERT. 1977. Austronesian culture history: some linguistic inferences and their relations to the archaeological record. *NUSA, Linguistic Studies in Indonesian and Languages in Indonesia*. 4:25-37.
- DAHL, OTTO CHRISTIAN. 1976. *Proto Austronesian*. Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph. London: Curzon Press Ltd.
- DEMPWOLFF, OTTO. 1934-38. Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes. Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen 15, 17, 19. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1934, 1937, 1938.
- DYEN, ISIDORE. 1971. The Austronesian languages and Proto-Austronesian. *Current Trends in Linguistics*: 8 ed. by Thomas A. Sebeok: Linguistics in Oceania, 5-54. The Hague: Mouton.
- _____. 1976. Some cultural characteristics of the Proto-Austronesians. *Actes du 29e Congrès International des Orientalistes. Indonésie* 2:70-77.
- ECHOLS, JOHN M., and HASSAN SHADILY. 1968. *An Indonesian-English dictionary*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- GLEASON, HENRY A. 1961. *An introduction to descriptive linguistics*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- HOCKETT, CHARLES F. 1958. *A course in modern linguistics*. New York: The MacMillan Company.
- INSTITUTE OF NATIONAL LANGUAGE. 1953. *A composite vocabulary of Philippine languages*. Manila: Bureau of Printing.
- MANUEL, E. ARSENIO. 1948. *Chinese elements in the Tagalog language*. Manila: Filipiniana Publications.
- NEWELL, LEONARD E. 1968. *A Batad Ifugao vocabulary*. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, Inc.
- PANGANIBAN, JOSE VILLA. 1972. *Disyunaryo tesauro Pilipino-Ingles*. Quezon City: Manlapaz Publishing Company.
- RAY, SIDNEY. 1911. *The languages of Borneo*. The Sarawak Museum Journal 1.1.
- REID, LAWRENCE A. 1971. *Philippine minor languages: word lists and phonologies*. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 8. Hawaii: University Press.
- _____. 1976. *Bontok-English dictionary*. Pacific Linguistics, C, 36. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- SCOTT, N.C. 1956. *A dictionary of Sea Dayak*. University of London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- SCOTT, WILLIAM HENRY. 1968. *A critical study of the prehispanic source materials for the study of Philippine history*. Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press.

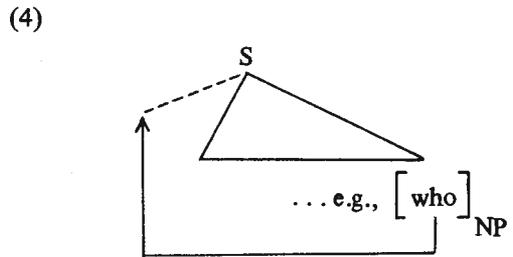
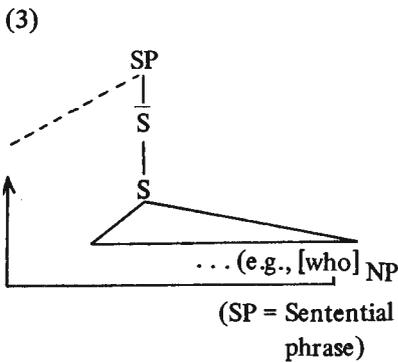
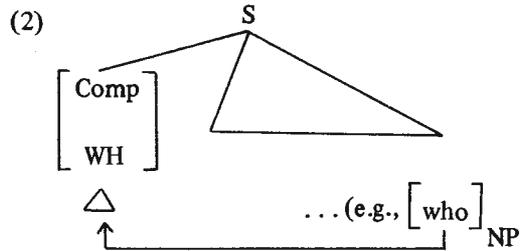
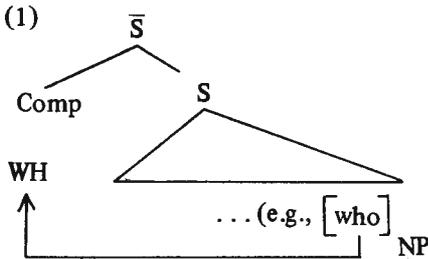
- TSUCHIDA, SHIGERU. 1976. Reconstruction of Proto-Tsouic phonology. *Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Monograph Series No. 5 Tokyo.* Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- VANOVERBERGH, MORICE. 1956. Iloko-English dictionary. Baguio: Catholic School Press.
- WILKINSON, R.J. 1959. A Malay-English dictionary (romanised). London: MacMillan and Company, Ltd.
- WOLFF, JOHN U. 1972. A dictionary of Cebuano Visayan. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics, Special Monograph No. 4.* Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- YAP, GLORIA CHAN. 1973. Sound changes in Tagalog words of Chinese origin. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 4/5.48-54.
- ZORC, R. DAVID. 1969. A study of the Aklanon dialect, Volume 2: Aklanon to English Dictionary. Kalibo: Aklanon Printing Center.
- _____. 1977. The Bisayan dialects of the Philippines: subgrouping and reconstruction. *Pacific Linguistics, C, 44.* Canberra: The Australian National University.
- _____. 1978. Proto-Philippine word accent: innovation or Proto-Hesperonesian retention? Paper presented at Second International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Canberra. (To appear in *Pacific Linguistics.*)

WH-FRONTING IN MALAY AS A NON-STRUCTURE-PRESERVING RULE

MASHUDI BIN HAJI KADER
 Language Studies Unit
 Universiti Sains Malaysia
 Minden, Penang, Malaysia

1. INTRODUCTION

In English transformational generative grammar, there are a number of proposals where a fronted Wh-form should be posited. These include Bresnan's (1970, 1972, 1974) proposal, Emonds' (1976) proposal, DeArmond's (1976) proposal, and Akmajian and Heny's (1975) proposal which are as in (1), (2), (3) and (4) respectively.



The configurations in (1) and (2) claim that *WH-Fronting* in English is a structure-preserving rule;¹ the configuration in (3) claims that *WH-Fronting* is a semi-structure preserving rule; and finally the configuration in (4) claims that *WH-Fronting* in English is not a structure-preserving rule. This paper sets out to demonstrate that the configurations in (1) through (3) are not acceptable for Malay. Instead, in Malay, a fronted 'Wh-form' is sister-adjoined to the root S as in configuration (4); hence this paper claims that in Malay *Wh-Fronting* is not a structure-preserving rule.

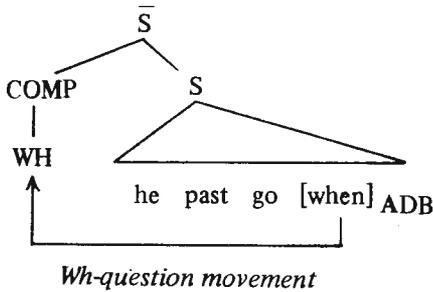
¹A structure-preserving transformation requires that the output of the transformation be a structure that can be independently produced by the phrase structure rules.

2. SUBSTITUTING FOR A WH OR COMP DOMINATED BY \bar{S}

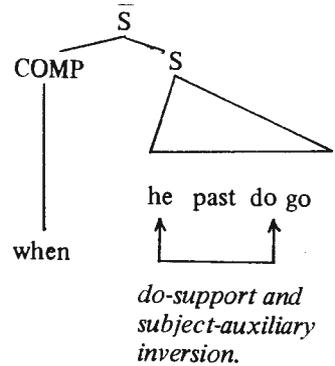
Within Bresnan's (1970, 1972, 1974) framework, which is (1), sentence (5) is derived in the manner presented in (6a-6b):

(5) When did he go?

(6) (a)



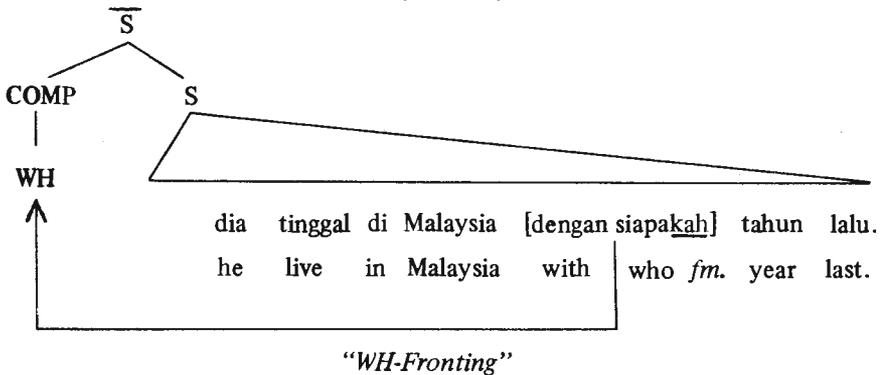
(b)



The fronted *when* replaces WH making the movement structure-preserving. Using this proposal for Malay, the derivational history of (7) would be as in (8)

(7) *Dengen siapakah dia tinggal di Malaysia tahun lalu?*
 with who *fm.*² he live in Malaysia year last
 'With whom did he live in Malaysia last year?'

(8)



In (8), *dengan siapakah* actually replaces the WH (i.e. = Q). However, Mashudi (1976: 163-261) has shown that the abstract morpheme WH (or Q) is not necessary in the deep structures of questions, and that a fronted 'Wh word' cannot be regarded as replacing (or substituting) WH (or Q).

The arguments for an analysis of questions without positing WH (or Q) in the deep structures of questions are quite elaborate. (Interested readers are referred to Mashudi (1976). For the purpose of this paper, one simplified argument is provided.

²*fm.* stands for focus morpheme. In this case, *kah* is a question morpheme. Any constituent followed by *kah* in the surface string is the constituent being questioned (i.e., in focus).

Reconsider sentence (7). Under an analysis of questions which posits a Q in the deep structure, the deep structure string of (7) would be (9):

(9) $S[Q \text{ dia tinggal di Malaysia dengan siapa tahun lalu}]_S$
 he live in Malaysia with who year last

The derivation starts by moving the equivalent of English Wh-word, namely *dengan siapa*, to sentence-initial position replacing Q giving the string in (10):

(10) $S[dengan siapa dia tinggal di Malaysia tahun lalu]_S$

Notice that (10) is not yet quite the same string as (7), the required string. That is, (10) does not have the question morpheme *kah*, whereas (7) has one. A number of writers who have worked on Malay/Indonesian such as Nik Safiah (1975) and Soemarmo (1970) have proposed that *kah* be inserted under Q (or WH). If we would reconsider the string in (9), their proposals would not solve the problem. That is, when *dengan siapa* 'with whom' is fronted in (9) to produce (10), it replaces Q (or WH); this means that once this rule is applied, there is no more Q left in the string as in (10). As a result, *kah* which is claimed in their proposals as replacing Q (or posited below Q) is blocked by the absence of another Q. That is to say, under an analysis which posits a Q in the deep structure of question, Malay 'Wh-questions' like (7) cannot be produced. In Mashudi (1976), it is proposed that sentences like (7) be analyzed by positing a deep structure without Q (or WH); and *kah* is posited in the deep structure filling a *Prt* (particle) node. Under this proposal, the deep structure string of (7) is (11).

(11) $S[di tinggal di Malaysia dengan siapakah tahun lalu]_S$.

A WH-Fronting rule which is motivated by focus-fronting moves *dengan siapakah* giving (7)

Based on arguments such as the one provided here, the configuration in (1) which requires a 'Wh word' to replace WH (or be posited under a WH) cannot be adopted for Malay 'Wh-questions'.

3. A WH-WORD FILLING AN EMPTY NODE

Emonds (1976: 180-200) argues that in English Wh-Fronting is a structure-preserving rule; that is, the output of the application of this rule must be a structure that can be independently produced by the phrase structure rules. In the case of (2), the fronting of *who* is structure-preserving because the NP dominating *who* when fronted would fill an empty node Δ dominated by WH which is produced by the phrase structure rules. We will provide two arguments to show that, in Malay, a fronted 'Wh word' does not fill an empty node of COMP as the configuration in (2) suggests.

- i) The first argument is based on the fact that, in Malay, Wh-Fronting (i.e. fronting the 'Wh word' + *kah*) is an optional rule. In order to show that the fronting of a Wh word in English is structure-preserving, Emonds (1976, 188) states that the base system of English includes the rule in (12):

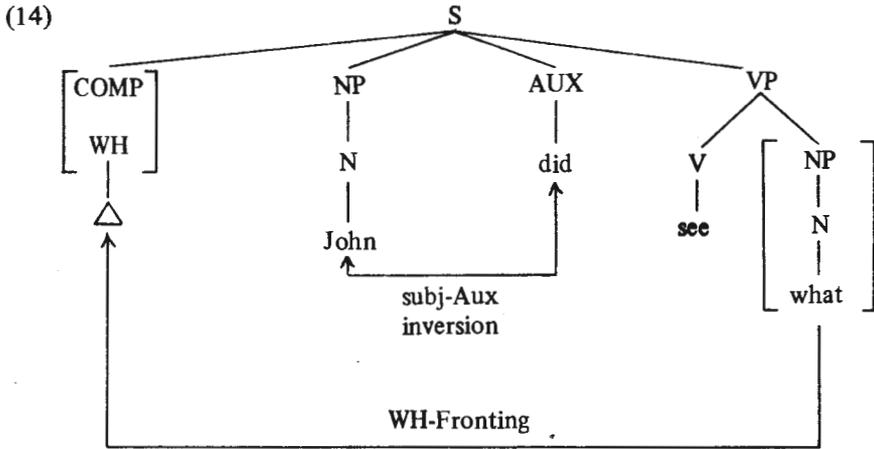
(12) $S \longrightarrow \text{COMP} - \text{NP} - \dots^3$
 $\left(\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{WH} \\ \text{FOR} \end{array} \right] \right)$

³Emonds (1976: 182) states that in (12) the WH of COMP is a syntactic element (i.e. a node) representing Wh words and that a Wh word moves into this position in a structure-preserving fashion. Cf. Emonds (1970: 148) in which the phrase structure rule which will facilitate WH-Fronting in English is

$S \longrightarrow \text{COMP} - \text{NP} - \text{Tense} - (\text{M}) - \text{VP}$
 $\left(\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{AP} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right\} \right)$

(In this paper, we will ignore the empty node FOR since it has no relevance for the problem discussed here). Given the base rule in (12), within Emonds' framework, the derivational history of (13) is as in (14):

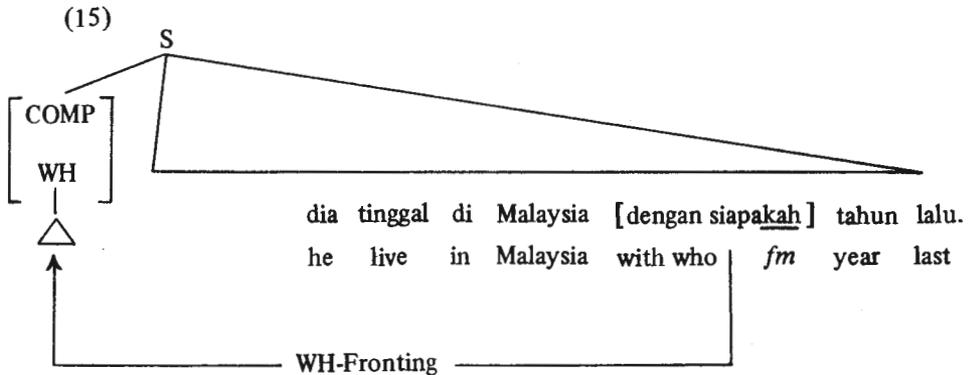
(13) What did John see?



Notice that in (14), the *do-support* has been omitted. Notice also that the fronted Wh word in English fills an empty node dominated by a COMP. Thus, in Emonds' analysis WH-Fronting, in English, is a structure-preserving rule.

We will now show that Emonds' analysis of English is not applicable to Malay. Under Emonds' approach, the derivational history of (7), repeated here, is as in (15).

(7) *Dengan siapakah dia tinggal di Malaysia tahun lalu?*
 'With whom did he live in Malaysia last year?'



If this analysis is accepted as correct, then in Malay, WH-Fronting is a structure-preserving rule. However, we will now show that the above analysis is incorrect; that is, contrary to (15), WH-Fronting in Malay is not a structure-preserving rule.

One important condition in Emonds' structure-preserving theory of transformation is that an empty node must be filled at one stage of the derivation. If this *empty nodes condition* is not met, the output is not a well-formed surface structure. In (7) above, the

'Wh word' *dengan siapakah* has been fronted; so the empty nodes condition is met. However, sentence (7) has (7') as one of its 'stylistic variants':

- (7') Dia [tinggal di Malaysia *dengan siapakah* tahun lalu?] PredP
 'With whom did he live in Malaysia last year?'

Notice that in (7'), *dengan siapakah* remains in the predicate position. As a result, in deriving (7') from (15) the empty node condition is violated. Despite this violation, contrary to the suggestion in Emonds' theory mentioned above, sentence (7') is grammatical. So it must be either Emonds' theory on empty nodes condition is not applicable to Malay or a fronted 'Wh word' + *kah* in Malay does not fill an empty node. Within Emonds' framework, the empty nodes condition is well-motivated.⁴ So, in Malay, it must be the case that a fronted 'Wh word' + *kah* does not fill an empty node. The corollary of this observation is that, in Malay, *Wh-Fronting* transformation (i.e. fronting of a 'Wh word' + *kah*) is not a structure-preserving rule.

- (ii) The second argument is based on the fact that there are constituents that can co-occur with a fronted 'Wh word' in presubject position without inducing 'comma intonation'. Consider the following sentences which are 'stylistic variants' of each other:

- (16) Kasim [bunuh ular itu dengan apakah kelmarin?]_{PredP}.
 'Kasim kill snake that with what *fm.* yesterday?'
- (16') *Ular itu kelmarin dengan apakah*_{NP} [Kasim] [bunuh?]_{PredP}
 'as in (16) above'

The italicized constituents in (16') have been moved from their original positions in the predicate phrase (PredP) via the Topicalization, the Adverbial Preposing and the WH-Fronting rules.

Within Emonds' (1976) framework, a fronted constituent such as a topicalized NP and a fronted 'Wh word' are inserted into a COMP node (or a WH of COMP in the case of a 'Wh word'). However, within Emonds' theory only *one* constituent can occur in the position of COMP in a given clause. That is, once a constituent has moved into COMP position, no other constituent can be inserted into the COMP node. Given this restriction within his theory, sentences (16') cannot be produced.

Considering the above difficulty, it must be the case that, in Malay, a fronted constituent, including a 'Wh word' + *kah* does not fill a COMP node; hence, it is not structure-preserving.

4. FILLING A LEXICALLY UNSPECIFIED POSITION UNDER AN \bar{S}

DeArmond (1976) proposes that the base system of English includes the rule in (17) in which SP is a *sentential phrase*.

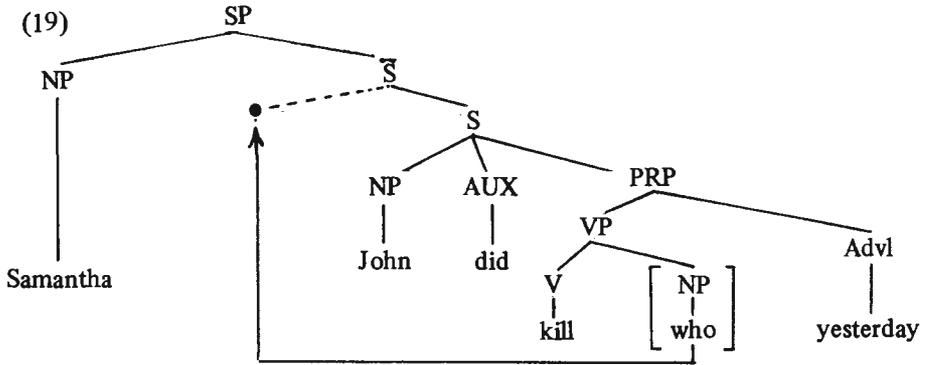
- (17) SP → (NP) \bar{S}

This rule is motivated, among other things, by vocative constructions such as (18), which is DeArmond's (1976:10).

⁴In the framework developed in Emonds (1970, 1976), the semantic interpretation rules, the selectional and the strict subcategorizational features ignore empty nodes completely. As a result, if an empty node does not get filled in the process of the derivation, the output is a surface structure containing an empty node (or empty nodes) which has not been interpreted. Such a surface structure is not well-formed. To prevent such a surface structure from being produced, Emonds proposes the *empty nodes condition*.

(18) Samantha, who did John kill yesterday?

According to DeArmond, ignoring the irrelevant detail (e.g. *subject-auxiliary inversion* and *do-support*), the derivational history of (18) is as in (19) which is DeArmond's (292).



The position marked by the dashed line in (19) is not an empty node; rather, it is a position where a node '...' is potentially generable by the phrase structure rules' (DeArmond 1976:9). A fronted constituent must occupy such a position. Hence, DeArmond claims that such a movement, which includes the movement of a Wh word in English, is semi-structure preserving.

Using this approach for analyzing Malay 'Wh-questions', we can resolve the problem of the empty nodes condition mentioned earlier. That is, since this approach does not posit an empty node in sentential-initial position of 'Wh-questions', a sentence like (7), repeated here, can be produced without violating Emonds' empty nodes condition.

(7) *Dengan siapakah dia tinggal di Malaysia tahun lalu?*

'With whom did he live in Malaysia last year?'

But we are faced with a different problem. We recall sentence (16'):

(16') *Ular itu kelmarin dengan apakah Kasim bunuh?*

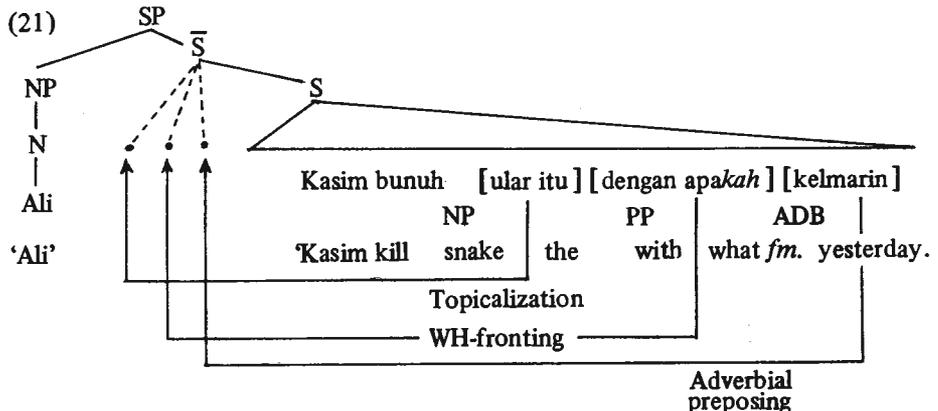
'What did Kasim kill the snake with yesterday?'

As was mentioned in the previous section, *ular itu* 'the snake' is a topicalized NP, *kelmarin* 'last night' is a preposed adverbial and *dengan apakah* is a fronted 'Wh word + kah'. The vocative form of (16') is (20).

(20) Ali, *ular itu kelmarin dengan apakah* Kasim bunuh?

'Ali, what did Kasim kill the snake with yesterday?'

Under this approach, the derivational history of (20) is something like (21).

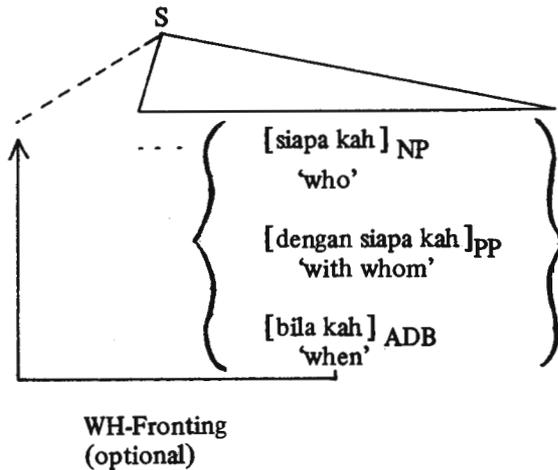


The fronted constituents in (21) can be stated in any order; for example, the following orders of constituents are also acceptable: *dengan apakah ular itu kelmarin, kelmarin dengan apakah ular itu*. Given the phrase-marker in (21) in which three different constituents have been fronted, unless it can be shown that three different nodes can be generated by a phrase structure rule under the \bar{S} position, the condition of this theory that a fronted constituent must occupy a position generable by the phrase structure rules is violated. In Malay, three different nodes in a position preceding \bar{S} to be dominated by an S cannot be independently motivated in the sense that there is no base construction which exhibits such nodes in presentence position. Considering this difficulty, it must be the case that the above-mentioned condition, which seems to work for English, is too strong for Malay. Therefore, in Malay, fronted, topicalized or preposed constituents cannot be construed as occupying positions in which categorial nodes are potentially generable in those positions by the phrase structure rules. That is to say, the phrase-marker in (21) and the configuration in (3) are unacceptable for Malay.

5. SISTER ADJOINING IN MALAY

In this section, we will demonstrate that in Malay simplex 'Wh-questions', a fronted 'Wh word' + *kah* which can be an NP, a PP or an ADB is sister-adjoined to a root S as in (22) or (4).

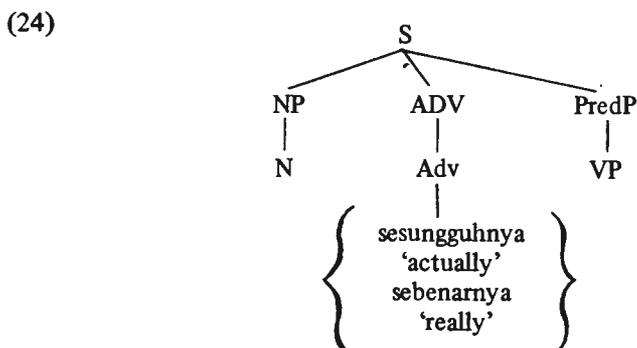
(22)



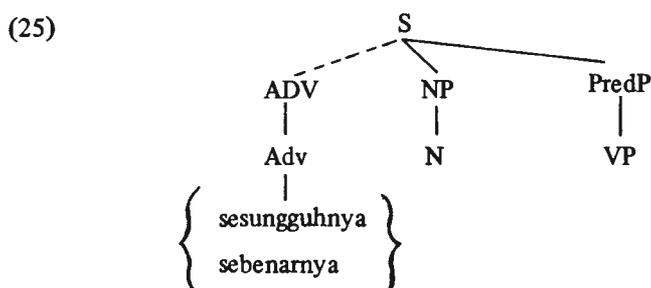
That is, in Malay, a 'Wh word' fronted to sentence-initial (or presubject) position via a WH-Fronting rule does not fill an empty node; or a position generable by the PS rules; as such, it is not a structure-preserving rule in the sense of Emonds (1976), Bresnan (1970, 1972, 1974), or a semi-structure preserving rule in the sense of DeArmond (1976).

- (i) Consider first the following pairs of sentences containing sentential adverb *sesungguhnya* 'actually' which are 'stylistic variants" of each other.
- 23 (a) *Ali sesungguhnya kaya*
'Ali actually rich"
'Ali is *actually* rich'.
- (b) *Sesungguhnya Ali kaya.*
'As in (23a)'.

In the deep structure, a sentence adverb under the root S is as in the configuration (24).



A sentence-adverb can optionally be inverted with the preceding subject NP changing (24) to (25).



With the above observation in mind, now consider the pairs of sentences in (26a-b) and (27a-b) in which the (a) and the (b) sentences of each pair are 'stylistic variants' of each other.

(26) (a) Ali [*sesungguhnya*] tinggal [*di manakah*] sekarang?
ADV ADB

Ali actually live at where *fm* now
'Where does Ali *actually* live now?'

(b) [*Sesungguhnya*] [*di manakah*] Ali tinggal sekarang?
ADV ADB

(same as in (26) above).

(27)(a) Ali [*sebenarnya*] mahu [*buku apakah?*]
ADV NP

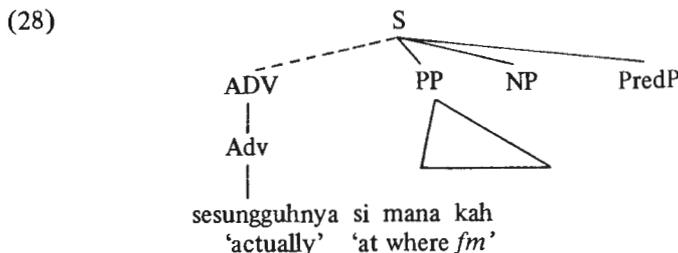
Ali really want book what *fm*
'What book does Ali *really* want?'

(b) [*Sebenarnya*] [*buku apakah*] Ali mahu?
ADV NP

(Same as in 27a)

In (26b-27b), the sentence-adverbs and the 'Wh word' + *kah* occur in a position preceding *Ali* 'Ali' which is the subject of the verbals *tinggal* 'to live' and *mahu* 'to want'. The occurrence of the constituents in pre-subject position does not induce any 'comma

intonation'; that is, there is no intonation break between the constituents occurring in presubject position and the rest of the sentence. Moreover, it is noted that in (26b-27b) the sentence-adverbs precede the 'Wh word' + *kah*. As was stated above, a sentence-adverb is dominated by a root S; so, since a fronted 'Wh word' + *kah* occurs after a sentence-adverb, it (i.e. a 'Wh word' + *kah*) too must be dominated by the root S as in (28).



(ii) Consider the following pairs of sentences which are 'stylistic variants' of each other.

- (29)(a) Kasim [bunuh ular itu semalam]_{PredP}
 Kasim kill snake the last night
 'Kasim killed the snake last night'.
 (b) Ular itu Kasim bunuh semalam.
 (same as in (29a)).

In (29b), *ular itu* 'the snake' has been preposed to sentence initial position via the Topicalization Transformation. A Topicalized NP can be preceded by a sentence-adverb as in (30):

- (30) [Segungguhnya] [ular itu] Kasim bunuh semalam.
 ADV NP
 'Kasim actually killed the snake last night'.

As was stated in 5(i) above, a preposed sentence-adverb is dominated by a root S. So, a topicalized NP which follows a sentence-adverb, must be dominated by a root S as well.

Now we reconsider sentences (16) and (16') which are restated here:

- (16) Kasim [bunuh ular itu dengan apakah kelmarin?] _{PredP}
 'What did Kasim kill the snake with yesterday?'
 (16') Ular itu kelmarin dengan apakah Kasim bunuh?
 (same as in (16) above)

In (16'), the topicalized NP – *ular itu*, the fronted 'Wh word' + *kah* – *dengan siapakah* and the preposed adverbial – *kelmarin* do not induce any 'comma intonation'. Moreover, as was shown in (30) above, a topicalized NP is dominated by a root S. Given this information, a fronted 'Wh word' + *kah*, which in (16') occurs following a topicalized NP, must be dominated by a root S as well.

6. SUMMARY

A number of different alternative positions where a fronted 'Wh word' + *kah* in Malay could be posited has been considered. It is demonstrated that, in Malay, a fronted 'Wh word' + *kah* does not replace a WH, it does not fill an empty node Δ dominated by COMP, neither does it occupy a position generable in the phrase structure rules. Instead, it is shown that a fronted 'Wh word' + *kah* is simply sister-adjoined to the root S. As such, in Malay simplex 'Wh-questions', WH-Fronting is not a structure-preserving rule.

REFERENCES

- AKMAJIAN, ADRIAN, and HENY, FRANK. 1975. *An introduction to the principles of transformational syntax*. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press.
- BRESNAN, JOAN W. 1970. On complementizers: toward a syntactic theory of complement types. *Foundations of Language*, 6.297-32.
- _____. 1972. The theory of complementation in English. Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, M.I.T.
- _____. 1974. The position of certain clause-particles in phrase structure. *Linguistic Inquiry*. 5. 614-9.
- DE ARMOND, RICHARD C. 1976. Wh-Fronting as a semi-structure preserving rule. A paper read at the Conference of Learned Societies, Quebec City.
- EMONDS, JOSEPH E. 1970. Root and structure-preserving transformations. Ph. D dissertation, M.I.T.
- _____. 1976. A transformational approach to English syntax: root structure-preserving and local transformations. New York: Academic Press.
- MASHUDI, B.H. KADER. 1976. The syntax of Malay interrogatives. Unpublished Ph. D dissertation, Simon Fraser University, Canada.
- NIK SAFIAH, KARIM. 1975. The major syntactic structures of Bahasa Malaysia and their implications on the standardization of the language. Unpublished Ph. D dissertation, Ohio University.
- SOEMARMO, MARMO. 1970. Subject-predicate, focus-presupposition, and topic-comment in Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese. Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, UCLA.

LANGUAGE DATA SECTION

THE VERBAL PARTICLE *MAN* IN THE MAUMERE
LANGUAGE

JOAN M. ROSEN

1. INTRODUCTION

Maumere is a language of central Flores, an island in the Indonesian archipelago. It was previously studied by Father Arndt (*Grammatik der Sika-Sprache*, Ende, Flores, 1931). I have made a study of this language since 1975. Maumere is a non-tense language. Like many other tenseless languages it relies heavily on verbal particles to convey aspectual meanings of the verb. These particles may also modify the meaning of a sentence and may indicate different attitudes on the part of speakers in different situations. They can have presuppositional and performative functions. For example, they can indicate the speaker's attitudes and presuppositions about the action, i.e. that the speaker did not want the action to take place or thinks it is improper in some way. They can convey the sense of surprise on the part of the speaker or add emphasis. They can make a sentence into a command or they can soften a sentence and make it sound more polite. Some of the verbal particles in Maumere are *leu*, *na.In*, *mora*, and *man*. In this paper we will deal with the particle *man*.

2. FUNCTIONS OF *MAN*

I should like to distinguish between basic usages of *man*, and secondary aspects of *man*. In general *man* seems to occur most often with three different types of verbs: 1) Verbs of motion, indicating change in place, 2) Verbs for processes or the results of processes, indicating change in state, and 3) Verbs for accidental, and involuntary acts which seem to be beyond human control. (Examples of these basic verb types can be found in the appendix of this paper.) In addition to these basic usages *man* also has secondary aspects: 4) It can indicate the speaker's attitudes about an event, 5) It can be used to emphasize the verb, 6) It can be used to soften a sentence and make it more polite in tone. These secondary aspects are further elaborated as follows: 4) The speaker's attitudes: 4.1) The speaker did not expect something to happen. 4.2) The speaker does not want something to happen. 4.3) The speaker regrets that something has happened. 4.4) The speaker feels something should not take place.

5) *Man* can be used to emphasize the verb in the following ways: 5.1) It can be used for general emphasis. 5.2) It can be used to increase the emotional impact of the sentence. 5.3) It can be used to express the feeling behind a wish for something not to happen. 5.4) It can be used to express the idea that something has been achieved with greater than normal effort on the part of the subject.

6) *Man* can be used to make the tone of a sentence more polite. It can be used in a polite refusal and can be used to make commands more polite in tone. The presence of *man* often conveys a respectful attitude toward the person or persons spoken to.

7) In the final section of this paper we will compare occurrence restrictions on *man* with those of another Maumere particle *le?u*.

Maumere speakers of different dialects seem to be consistent in their use of the various particles in the language and to give very similar interpretations of the performative and presuppositional functions of the particles. The interpretations of *man* given here are a synthesis of explanations given to me by various informants. In general the meaning of a single particle depends on the context in which it is used. The level of interpretation used here goes beyond the sentence level, since each sentence is interpreted according to the possible situations in which it could occur. I have tried to convey contextual interpretations for the occurrence of *man* in this paper.

3. ASPECTUAL FUNCTIONS OF MAN

The particle *man*, which takes the form *mang* in the Sika dialect and *man* in most other Maumere dialects, occurs most often with verbs of motion and with verbs and adjectives conveying the idea of process, the result of a process, and change of state. The idea of motion may be interpreted as a concrete manifestation of process, that is, change in place and change in state may be seen as aspects of the same thing. Therefore, verbs of motion, verbs for processes and adjectives are considered basic types of verbs occurring with *man*.

3.1. MAN WITH VERBS OF MOTION

In the Nita-Koting dialect and in most other Maumere dialects *man* takes the following form with simple verbs of motion. Please note that the initial consonant of the particle changes for person.

1.	a.u' I	pano go	an. ¹ pt.	4.	ita we incl.	pano go	tat. pt.
	'I go'.				'We go'.		
2.	au you sg.	bano go	man. pt.	5.	ami we excl.	bano go	man. pt.
	'You go'.				'We go'.		
3.	nimu she/he	bano go	nan pt.	6.	mju you pl.	bano go	man. pt.
	'She (or he) goes'.				'You go'.		
			7.	rimu they	pano go	ran. pt.	
				'They go'.			

The most frequently occurring form of this particle is *man*. It is also the form spontaneously given by informants in isolation. For these reasons it is used in this paper as the base or elicitation form.

2.1 MAN: CHANGE OF STATE

The occurrence of *man* may indicate or emphasize a change of state.

8a.	tali rope	běta break	ba.a. already
	'The rope is broken'.		
8b.	tali rope	běta break	nan pt. ba.a already
	'The rope has become broken'.		

Sentences 8a and 8b are very similar except that *nan* (the third person singular form of the particle *man*) occurs in 8b and not in 8a. 8a tends to indicate merely that the rope is in the state of being broken, whereas 8b emphasizes the idea that formerly the rope was not broken but now it has become so. The idea of process or change of state is brought out by the use of *nan* (*man*).

In the following example the presence of *nang* (~*man*) stresses the idea that there will be a change of state, i.e. that the drink will become cold. In this case the verb must be followed by *nang* (~*man*). If it is not, the sentence becomes awkward, as in 9b.

9a.	minu drink	leu imper.	saj, pt.,	odi later	batang cold	nang. pt.
	'Drink (your drink)! Later it will become cold'.					

¹ For a guide to Maumere pronunciation please see Appendix I.

- 9b. minu leu sai, odi batang * ϕ .
 drink imper. pt., later cold
- *'Drink (your drink)! Later cold'.

The asterisk is used to indicate that the sentence is ungrammatical.

- 10a. nimu beang nang ba.a, ele
 he reform become already, not
- na.o ba.a, ata ukung nimu
 steal already, people punish him
- terus poi.
 continue just.

'He has already reformed and does not steal anymore, (but) people continue to punish/condemn him'.

In sentence 10a the use of *nang* emphasizes the idea that the person spoken about has really reformed. The sentence is grammatical without *nang*, as in 10b below. However, the idea of a change in state is not emphasized.

- 10b. nimu beang ϕ ba.a, ele na.o ba.a,
 he reform already not steal already
- ata ukung nimu terus poi.
 people punish him continue just.

'He has already reformed and does not steal anymore, (but) people continue to condemn him'.

We can see that *man* really indicates a change of state in the following example.

- 11a. a.u e pang ang, loning poi
 I good become, because just
- a.u ra.intang pire wi.ing.
 I know cure/abstain self.

'I have gotten better, because I know not to eat foods that can cause disease'.

In sentence 11a the expression *e pang ang* means 'to recover from an illness'. In 11b we see that the zero morpheme cannot follow *e pang*, since if it did it would imply that the speaker has never been ill in his or her life.

- 11b a.u e pang * ϕ , loning poi a.u
 I good because just I
- ra.intang pire wi.ing.
 know cure/abstain self.

*'I have gotten better, because I know not to eat foods that can cause disease'.

Therefore, *man* is necessary in sentence 11a to convey the idea of change of state. In other Maumere dialects the /-ng/ ending is not found on *e pang*, *wi.ing*, and *ra.intang*. This example is taken from the Sika dialect.

In sentence 12a the use of *rang* (3rd person plural form of *man* in the Sika dialect) emphasizes the idea of a change of state from poor to rich.

- 12a. ata wilo u.a gawang, mnung
 people who work much, rich
- ballk rang ropo.
 rich become fast.

'People who work a lot will become rich quickly'.

Sentence 12a is also grammatical without the use of *rang*, however the sentence becomes more neutral in tone.

12b.	ata	ʒ lo	u.a	gawang,	měnung
	people	who	work	much,	rich
	ballk	ϕ	ropo.		
	rich		fast.		

'People who work a lot will become rich quickly'.

In the following sentence the use of *rang* (~*man*) emphasizes the idea that there is a change in the behavior of the people spoken about.

13a.	nulung	rimu	pire	widing,	ko
	formerly	they	abstain	goat meat,	but
	e.i	rimu	a	<i>rang</i>	ba.a.
	now	they	eat	pt.	already.

'Formerly they abstained from goat meat, but now they eat it again'.

Without the use of *rang* (~*man*) 13a is still grammatical, but merely becomes less emphatic. In both 13a and 13b the speaker is not making a judgment about whether people should eat goat meat or not.

13b.	nulung	rimu	pire	widing,	ko	e.i
	formerly	they	abstain	goat meat,	but	now
	rimu	a	ϕ	ba.a.		
	they	eat		already		

'Formerly they abstained from goat meat, but now they eat it again'.

We have seen that in some sentences the presence of *man* merely emphasizes the idea that there has been a change in state, whereas in others the presence of *man* changes the basic meaning of the sentence. The following example is of the latter type.

14a.	mju	ga? i	mogat	u.a	hama-hama,
	you pl.	want	all	work	together RED,
	ko	ganu	pai.g,	ami	le.eng
	or	how	how,	we	not want
	<i>mang</i>		ba.a.		
	change state		already		

'You must all work together, or if not, we won't want to work with you anymore'.

In sentence 14a the idea conveyed by the use of *mang* (~*man*) is that formerly the speakers wanted to work with the people addressed, but now because of the addressee's uncooperativeness, the speakers don't want to work with them anymore. The absence of *mang* in this sentence frame produces a significant change in the meaning of the sentence, as can be seen below:

14b.	mju	ga? i	mogat	u.a	hama-hama,
	you	want	all	work	together RED,
	ko ganu		pai.g,	ami	le.eng
	or how		how,	we	not want
	ϕ	ba.a.			
		already.			

'You must all work together, or if not, we won't want to work with you'.

In sentence 14b the clause *ami le.eng ba.a* means 'we do not want to and we never wanted to work with you'. The use of *mang* (~*man*) implies that there has been a change of state from wanting to work with someone to not wanting to. Without *mang* (~*man*) in the sentence there is no implication of change of state. This is similar to

<u>a.ung</u>	bo:	* ϕ	ganu	<u>e.ot</u>	poi.
my	be cured	like	•	not	just.

Since the idiomatic expression *ganu e.ot poi* means something like 'just like that', it seems necessary that the result of the injection, i.e. *bo*: 'be cured' be emphasized in sentence 18a by *nang (~man)*. Without this emphasis the sentence 18b sounds strange. Sentence 19 is similar to 18a in that the use of *nan (~man)* emphasizes the idea that the cure will be brought about quickly.

19.	<u>rimu</u>	<u>tota</u>	<u>plea</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>glěpu,</u>
	they	seek	medicine	or	dukun's medicine
	<u>iana</u>	<u>wai</u>	<u>bu.an</u>	<u>tia,</u>	<u>dadi</u> <u>ěpan</u>
	so that	maiden		that,	become good
	<i>nan</i>	<u>ropo.</u>			
	pt.	fast.			

'They seek Western medicine or medicine from a shaman, so that that maiden will get well soon'.

Note: *glěpu* refers to a shaman's medicine.

Nan (~man) is used to emphasize the idea that the result of the curing process will be fast.

The following is an account of a dream. The verb forms occur without *man*, which gives the feeling that the changes described do not necessarily involve a continuity in the identity of the objects described.

20.	<u>a.u</u>	<u>mipIn</u>	<u>a.u</u>	<u>ita</u>	<u>ata</u>	<u>u.En</u>
	I	dream	I	see	evil	spirit
	<u>bo.u</u>	<u>e</u>	<u>orIn</u>	<u>a.un,</u>	<u>pakEt</u>	<u>pakian</u>
	come	to	house	my,	wear	clothes
	<u>bura</u>	<u>sareng.</u>	<u>lima</u>	<u>nimun</u>	<u>gEreng</u>	<u>běgo</u>
	white	shining.	hand	its	suddenly	
	<u>rua,</u>	<u>gEreng</u>	<u>běgo</u>	<u>hutu.</u>		
	two,	suddenly		four.		

'I dreamt I saw an evil spirit come to my house, it was wearing shining white clothes. Suddenly it had two hands, suddenly it had four hands'.

The lack of *man* in sentence 20 above implies that there is a lack of identity among the two hands which were suddenly replaced by four hands, and helps to convey the sense of a sudden transition in events as often occurs in dreams. The dream continues:

21.	<u>nimu</u>	<u>bo.u</u>	<u>dEte</u>	<u>nora</u>	<u>widIn.</u>
	it	come	pull	with	goat.

'It came pulling a goat'.

22.	<u>widIn</u>	<u>taran</u>	<u>di</u>	<u>gEreng</u>	<u>běgo</u>	<u>rua,</u>
	goat	horn	indeed	suddenly		two
	<u>gEreng</u>	<u>běgo</u>	<u>hutu.</u>			
	suddenly		four.			

'The goat's horns were suddenly two, then suddenly four'.

23.	<u>rimu</u>	<u>ěra</u>	<u>ele</u>	<u>sětung</u>	<u>e</u>	<u>olang</u>	<u>ha</u>
	they	stand	not	remain	at	place	one
	<u>poi,</u>	<u>gEreng</u>	<u>běgo</u>	<u>e</u>	<u>to.e</u>	<u>a.un,</u>	
	just,	suddenly		at	back	my,	

'They did not stand in just one place, suddenly they were behind me. . .'

24.	<u>gEreng</u>	<u>běgo</u>	<u>e</u>	<u>waie</u>	<u>a.un</u>	<u>ganu</u>	<u>rimu</u>	<u>ga.In.</u>
	suddenly		at	front	my	like	they	please.

'Suddenly they were in front of me, (moving) just as they pleased'.

The interpretation of 22, 23 and 24 is the same as for 20 above. The idea of abrupt and disconnected actions is conveyed by the absence of *man*.

25. gEreng b̃go dadi rua, gEreng b̃go
 suddenly become two, suddenly
 dadi hutu.
 become four.

'Suddenly there were two, suddenly there were four'.

However, with only *dadi* in the sentence the identity of the noun could change. There seems to be more continuity when *man* is used. If we use *man* in the same sentence, the idea of process or change in the course of process is stressed.

26. gEreng b̃go dadi rua ran, gEreng b̃go
 suddenly become two pt., suddenly
 26. dadi hutu ran.
 become four pt.

'Suddenly there were two, suddenly there were four'.

3.3. MAN: INVOLUNTARY OR ACCIDENTAL VERBS, MANY OF WHICH HAPPEN SUDDENLY

In this section we will discuss the use of *man* with involuntary or accidental verbs. Many of these verbs happen suddenly. Lack of control of the action of the verb seems to be a general theme of this section.

Man may be used to express the idea that the action of the verb begins suddenly.

27. rimu p̃ke rang.
 they deaf pt.

'They become deaf'.

Sentence 27 refers to an act of nature which caused some people to become deaf. It seems to be beyond human control.

28. a'u bile ang.
 I quiet pt.

'I become quiet'.

In sentence 28 the use of *ang* conveys the idea that the action begins suddenly. The idea of accidentality does not seem to be important here, although it is possible that the action is involuntary. Something happens to distract the subject and he or she becomes quiet.

29. a.u hangar ang.
 I cry pt.

'I begin to cry suddenly'.

Sentence 29 seems to be essentially similar to 28 in that the action begins suddenly and there seems to be an involuntary element in it. The following two examples involve accidental verbs which begin suddenly.

30. a.u ěri ang.
 I scream pt.

'I scream'.

31. a.u ʒrEheng ang.
 I cough/feverpt.

'I get a small cough. I get a fever'.

Not all accidental or involuntary verbs begin suddenly. In the first example which follows we can see that suddenness may be a semantic element of the verb, since people

usually do not slip on something and fall in slow motion. However, in the other examples which follow sentence 32, i.e. 33, 34, 35 and 36 suddenness need not be a semantic element.

32. a.u d'esor ang.
I slip pt.
'I slipped'.

The feeling in 32 is that the subject could not help slipping. The action occurred by accident.

33. pare ia gewung nang, sawe nora hinimi.
rice that mixed pt., all with salt.
'All that rice got mixed with salt'.

In 33 the impression conveyed is that the action was accidental and involuntary. The rice should not have gotten mixed with salt.

34. rimu ngangang rang.
they stupid pt.
'They become foolish'.

The real meaning of 34 is 'they are made to look foolish by someone' or 'they are made fools of'. The action in 34 is certainly involuntary, since no one wants to be made a fool of.

35. rimu klibur rang.
they mistaken pt.
'They make a mistake'.

The idea in sentence 35 is that the action happens suddenly and accidentally.

36. uhe ia ganga nang.
door that swell pt.
'That door swells with the heat'.

The door in sentence 36 swells accidentally. The action is beyond human control.

3.4. SECONDARY ASPECTS OF MAN

In the preceding sections we discussed the occurrence of *man* with certain basic verb types in Maumere. In this section we will discuss certain presuppositional uses that can also occur with *man*. These functions of *man* can be applied in many cases to the basic verb types mentioned above and to other verb types as well. *Man* can have the following functions: 3.4.1) It can indicate that the speaker did not expect something to happen or is surprised that something has happened. 3.4.2) It can indicate that the speaker does not want something to happen. 3.4.3) The speaker regrets that something has happened. 3.4.4) The speaker feels something should not have taken place.

We should like to mention here that these are not necessarily mutually exclusive categories. The functions mentioned here may overlap with each other and with emphatic functions discussed in section 3.5. Since unexpected events can often surprise us, there seems to be a causal link between the two parts of 3.4.1. In 3.4.2. no moral judgment is necessarily involved and the speaker may not feel badly after the undesired event has taken place. Therefore, 3.4.2. need not overlap with 3.4.3. in which regret is expressed, and it differs from 3.4.4. in that a moral judgment is expressed in 3.4.4. This flexibility in interpretation is due to the fact that native speakers use and interpret *man* in many real-life situations, and a change in the situation can bring about a change in the way in which the particle is used.

3.4.1.1. MAN: UNEXPECTED EVENTS

In this section *man* is used to refer to events that are unexpected. Feelings of mild disappointment may be conveyed by the use of *man* in this section, so that here we can say that this section can sometimes overlap with those of 3.4.2 or 3.4.3 in which the speaker does not want an event to occur or regrets that it has occurred, respectively.

37.	u ^h he	i ^h a	lapang	ne.ing	ge,
	door	that	latched	already	pt.,
	ahu	ia	běda	nang ?	
	dog	that	go out	pt.	

'The door was already latched, so how could the dog get out?'

The idea of unexpectedness and moderate surprise is conveyed by the use of *nang* (~ *man*) in sentence 37. The speaker does not regret that the dog got out, but is not happy that the event occurred.

38.	gEreng	běgo	rimu	bo.u	ran	ba.a.
	suddenly		they	come	pt.	already

'Suddenly they came'.

The idea in sentence 38 is that the speaker waited for them or was waiting for them and suddenly they appeared.

39.	ami	babOng	la.En,	ko	nimu
	we	chat	still,	but	he/she
	du.e	nan.			
	sleep	pt.			

'We were still chatting, but he went to sleep'.

The feeling in sentence 39 is that the person spoken about should not have gone to sleep. His action was both unexpected and impolite. This use of *nan* (~ *man*) overlaps with those of sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.4.

40.	ami	bu.i	bis.	bis	hUn	wa.a
	we	wait for	bus.	bus	first	first
	běnu	nan	ba.a.			
	full	pt.	already.			

'We waited for the bus. The first bus was full'.

The speaker hoped that the first bus would not be full so that she or he could get on it. The use of *nan* in this sentence shows that what happened was unexpected and that the speaker was mildly disappointed.

41.	nora	a.u	da.a	e.i	o ^r In	nimun,
	when	I	reach	to	house	hers,his,
	nimu	bano	nan	ba.a.		
	she/he	go	pt.	already.		

'When I got to her house, she had already left'.

The speaker in sentence 41 hoped and expected that she would be at home and feels mildly disappointed that she was not. The feeling is conveyed by the use of *nan* (~ *man*).

42.	ita	bo.u	le.u	baj	lat,	ata
	we	come	pt.	very	late,	people
	newar	rang,	saj	ena	ba.a	
	disperse	pt.,	already		already.	

'We came too late, the meeting was already over'.

The speaker feels mildly disappointed that he missed the meeting. In most of the sentences in this section, but especially for those which resemble sentence 41, the absence of *man* would indicate that the sentence is merely a statement of fact. (In many instances throughout this paper the absence of *man* after the verb would make the sentence ungrammatical.)

3.4.1.2. MAN: SURPRISE

In this section *man* is used to refer to events that are accompanied by feelings of surprise. Most often the feelings evoked by the action are those of mild surprise. This

section seems to be related to the preceding section in that surprise is often a causal result of unexpected events.

43. long poi bugung da.a dugar,
 because just industrious until enough,
 43. moat tia mənung balik nang
 man that rich rich pt.
 ba.a, nora ena te.i.
 already, at time this.

'Because he is very industrious, that man has already become rich by now'.

Note: *bugung* (Sika) ~ *blugung* (other dialects)

This sentence can be read not only to mean that the change of state from poor to rich is emphasized, but also that the speaker is somewhat surprised. Regret is not expressed or felt in this instance.

44. rimu ʃrugung rang.
 they thin become.
 'They have become thin.
 45. nulung rimu mosa, e.i rimu
 formerly they fat, this they
 ʃrugung rang ba.a.
 thin pt. already.

'Formerly they were fat, now they have become thin'.

Sentences 44 and 45 both express surprise.

46. a.u klibur g0lo nimu odi
 I surprised very she later
 bano nan.
 go pt.

'I am very surprised she will go later'.

The effect of the sentence is felt much more when the particle *nan* (~ *man*) is used.

In this part of the paper we have discussed and given examples of two uses of *man*. The first is that in which *man* is used to refer to unexpected events and the second is that in which *man* is used to express the feeling of surprise. Since surprise is often a result of unexpected events, we could say that these two sections have a causal link and a common semantic bond.

3.4.2. MAN: THE SPEAKER DOES NOT WANT SOMETHING TO HAPPEN

Ang (~*man*) in sentence 47 conveys the idea that coughing is something the speaker did without really wanting to. It seems possible that to the Maumere informant in this particular case coughing is not seen as an entirely involuntary act.

47. a.u to.o ang.
 I cough pt.

'I cough'.

The following sentence refers to making the wrong choice while travelling.

- 48a. haj hala nang lalang, odi
 who wrong pt. road, later
 da.a oring lat.
 arrive house late.

'Whoever takes the wrong road will arrive home late'.

- 48b. hai hala * \emptyset lalang, odi da.a oring lat.
 who wrong road, later arrive house late.

*'Whoever takes the wrong road will arrive home late'.

In sentence 48b the zero morpheme is not used with the verb and the sentence would not be good unless the verb is followed by *nang* as in 48a, *Nang* in 48a implies that taking the wrong road is something that one does not want to happen.

49. sai ena nimu moro poi,
 since earlier he angry just,
 ko e.i nimu to *nang*.
 but this he laugh pt.

'Earlier he was angry, but now he begins to laugh'.

In sentence 49 the subject begins to laugh even though he does not want to. There is no feeling of regret in this sentence. The following sentence demonstrates the same facts:

50. me i.a de.a rakang, da.a sape
 child that funny very, to to the point
 a.u to *ang*.
 I laugh pt.

'That child was too funny, so as a result I laughed'.

In the next sentence the subject of the minor clause is bothered until he looks at something, although he really does not want to.

51. ami ane t̄erus poi, da.a
 we bother continuously just, until
 nimu ni.a *nang*.
 he/she look pt.

'We bother her, until she looks'.

Nan in the following sentence implies that the state of nature in which it is about to rain does not meet the desires of the speaker. The speaker does not want it to rain and get his clothes wet.

- 52a. reḡing pakian odi uran *nan*.
 lift clothes later rain pt.

'Bring in the clothes, later it will rain'.

In contrast with 52a, 52b is merely a statement of fact and the feeling tone of the sentence is neutral.

- 52b. reging pakian odi uran.
 lift clothes later rain.

'Bring in the clothes, later it is going to rain'.

In sentence 53 the action of the second clause is against the speaker's wishes.

53. b̄eli nimu ga gawan, iana
 give her/him eat a lot, so that
 lopa bano *nan*.
 not go pt.

'Give him a lot to eat, so that he won't go'.

In sentence 53 the speaker does not want the subject of the second clause to leave. In this type of sentence whatever the subject of the second clause wants to do will be against the wishes of the speaker. In isolation the second clause would take the form:

54. nimu bano *nan*.
 she/he go pt.

'She goes'.

Thus in this section we have seen a group of sentences in which the use of *man* with the verb conveys the idea that the speaker did not or does not want the action of the verb to take place. In general this section does not seem to overlap with the one that follows in which the speaker feels regret that something happened.

3.4.3. MAN: THE SPEAKER FEELS REGRET THAT AN EVENT OCCURRED

The examples in this section deal with instances in which something happened for which the speaker feels regret. There could be a semantic connection between not wanting something to happen, which was mentioned in the previous section, and regretting that something has happened. Both at least involve negative feelings on the part of the speaker about the events discussed.

55.	muu	ia	buput	rang	sawe,	loning
	banana	that	fall	pt.	all,	because
	poi	bai	daha	rakang.		
	just	too	ripe	very		

'All those bananas fell from the branch, because they were too ripe'.

Note: Dialect variation *buput* (Sika) ~ *bluput* (other)

In sentence 55 the feeling is conveyed that the speaker regrets that the bananas fell and indeed did not want them to fall from the branch.

56.	kěna	ha	sawe	weling	rang,	gEreng
	thing	one	all	expensive	pt.,	suddenly
	běgo	poi,	loning	poi	pěsta	roo
	suddenly	just	because	just	party	close
	ba.a.					
	already					

'Everything has become expensive all of a sudden, because it is already close to fiesta time'.

In sentence 56 the speaker regrets that everything has become expensive.

57	kěnang	poi	heput	nang,	eong	ha
	luck	just	slip	pt.,	not	one
	wawi	ia	naha	wige	rua	golo
	pig	that	must	cut	two	indeed
	ge,	kěna	amang	eang		nora
	emph. pt.,	thing	father	lift sword		with
	lidu	nimung	sawe,	di	au.	
	strength	his	all,	indeed	you.	

'By chance (the knife) slipped, that man was lifting the knife getting ready to butcher the pig with all his strength, (and) if (the knife had) not (slipped) that pig would surely have been cut in two, you'd better believe it!'

Note: *eong ha* = 'if not'
golo ge and *di au* are used for emphasis.

The speaker in sentence 57 really wanted the agent in the sentence to successfully strike and kill the pig, and regrets that he (*kěna amang* 'that man') did not succeed in doing so.

58.	ho.ang	a.ung	ěla	nang.
	money	my	fall	pt.

'My money fell'.

If there were no particle in the sentence above, the sentence would become merely a report that the money fell. If *nang* (~*man*) is used, we get the feeling that the speaker did not want the money to fall and regrets that it did. As with most cases of the occurrence of *man*, the feeling conveyed is not strong, but is usually rather mild.

59. labu a.ung biha nang.
 clothes my torn pt.
 'My clothes have become torn'.

The feeling conveyed by this sentence is one of mild regret that the clothes got torn.

60. nimu dēna bola a.un potat nan.
 he/she cause ball my disappear pt.
 'He lost my ball'.

The feeling in sentence 60 is one of regret, not surprise.

We have seen in this section examples of sentences in which the feeling is generally that of mild regret.

3.4.4. MAN: THE ACTION OF THE VERB SHOULD NOT TAKE PLACE OR SHOULD NOT HAVE TAKEN PLACE

This section seems to be closely related to the previous two. A moral judgment is involved here, whereas it is not necessarily involved in the previous two sections.

61. miu lopa ribut odi me hogor nan.
 you don't be noisy later child wake up pt.
 'Don't be noisy, the child will wake up'.

The idea behind sentence 61 is that the person spoken to should not wake up the child.

62. a.u u.a la.En sawe, ko a.u
 I work still not finished, but I
 beler toma, te a.u nari an.
 tired receive, so I stop pt.
 'My work was not yet finished, but I was tired so I stopped'.

The subject in 62 stopped before his work was finished. The use of *an* (~*man*) implies that he or she should not have done this. In the following example one possible interpretation is that the person fell asleep suddenly, which would put it in the category of a use of *man* discussed in another section. Another interpretation is that the subject should not have fallen asleep at all.

63. a.u nolEk an
 I sleep deeply pt.
 'I fell fast asleep'.

The following is an excerpt from a story about a naughty boy who does many things he is forbidden to do. The story is as follows: A child was told to guard the house while his parents went to work in their garden.

64. kawu la.En, nora ina ama nimun
 morning still, when mama father his
 pano e.i uma, nimu di tērus
 go to garden, he emph. pt. straight away
 bano nan e.i imung nimun orIn.
 go pt. to friend his house

'While it was still morning, when his mother and father went to the garden, he went straight to his friend's house'.

The boy should not have left his house, but he did anyway. When he came back to his home, the family's pig had escaped from its pen.

65. da.a lēro dētū, nimu balong e.i
 arrive day mid, he return to
 orIn wawi e.i higEr, bēda nan ba.a.
 house pig in pen, go out pt. past.
 'At midday he returned home and the pig had gotten out of its pen'.

The pig should not have been allowed to get out of its pen. This is something that neither the boy nor his parents expected to happen. In the afternoon the boy ran away, because he was afraid his parents would be mad at him.

66. nora lEro biko, ina ama nimun
 at day afternoon, mother father his
 bo.u, loning blau, te nimu
 come, because afraid, so he
 plari nan.
 run pt.

'In the afternoon, his parents came (back), because he was afraid, the boy ran away'.

In sentences 64, 65 and 66 above *nan* (~*man*) is used to indicate that the child did something he was not supposed to do.

Following are some further examples of the same types as above:

67. ngawung tia lēmEr nan lau tahi.
 thing that sink pt. in sea

'That thing sank in the sea'.

The implication of 67 is that the thing mentioned was important and should not have been allowed to sink in the sea.

68. a.u bēgo an.
 I startled pt.

'I was startled awake from sleep'.

The implication of 68 is that the speaker should not have been disturbed, since it was not yet time to get up.

69. nimu dēna leu buku tia
 he cause pt. book that
 potat nan.
 disappear pt.

'He made that book disappear (i.e. in the sense of become lost). He lost that book'.

The implication of 69 is that the book should not have been allowed to be lost.

70. au joka nimu bano nan.
 you release him go pt.

'You let him go'.

The implication of 70 is that the person spoken about should not have been allowed to go away, or the person addressed should not have let him go.

In this section (3.4) we have dealt with several related uses of *man*: that in which the speaker does not want something to happen, that in which the speaker regrets that something has happened, and that in which the speaker feels an event should not take place or should not have taken place. In the first use of *man* no moral judgment is involved and there is not necessarily any bad feeling after the event occurs, since there does not seem to be much if any personal loss to the speaker in the examples given. In the second use of *man* a feeling of regret follows an event which has taken place and personal loss to the speaker does seem to be involved. The third use of *man* involves moral judgments about events that have occurred.

The uses of *man* discussed here seem to differ semantically from those of *leu* which have been presented in another paper ('The Verbal Particle *leu* in the Maumere Language', *South East Asian Linguistic Series*, IV, University of Hawaii, 1977) in that the uses of *leu* seem to be more legalistic than those of *man*, i.e. they involve concepts of rights and propriety more than those of *man* seem to do, and the feeling tone of sentences with *leu* in general seems to be more emphatic and stronger than those with *man*. The

differences between these two particles will be discussed further in section 3.7. of this paper.

3.5. MAN: USED TO EMPHASIZE THE VERB

Man can be used to emphasize the verb in a general sense. It can also be used to emphasize feelings of sadness and happiness on the part of the speaker. It can express a greater wish for something not to happen on the part of the speaker and it can imply that a greater effort was necessary on the part of the subject of a sentence to achieve a goal.

3.5.1. MAN: GENERAL EMPHASIS OF THE VERB

71a.	loning	a.u	pano	blawir,
	because	I	go	far,
	a.u	dadi	b'eler	an.
	I	become	tired	pt.

'Because I have gone far, I feel tired'.

71b.	loning	a.u	pano	blawir,
	because	I	go	far,
	a.u	dadi	b'eler.	
	I	become	tired.	

'Because I have gone far, I feel tired.'

In sentence 71b the sentence without *an* (~*man*) we have merely a statement of fact. Whereas in 71a the sentence with *an* (~*man*) one feels that the speaker has really become tired. The emotional impact of the sentence is felt much more when the particle *man* is used. Further examples of this type follow:

72.	kamang	au	power	leu	ganu	tia,
	if	you	admit	pt.	like	that,
	iana	wate	aming	birang	nang	k'esikha.
	so that	heart	our	happy	pt.	little-a

'If you admit that, our hearts will become a little calmer'.

Note: *powar* (sika) ~ *plowar* (other dialects)

The speaker in 72 seems to be pleading with the listener to admit something so that the speaker can feel relieved about something. The effect of the sentence is felt much more when *nang* (~*man*) is used than when it is not used.

In many cases the particle simply emphasizes the verb, as can be seen in 73:

73a.	me	k'esik	tia	l'emer	nan	lau	tahi.
	child	small	that	sink	pt.	in	sea

'That small child drowned in the sea'.

Actually in 73a the particle *nan* seems to emphasize the change of state function of the verb phrase, since in that example the idea conveyed is that the child sank or drowned in the water and did not come up to the surface again. This is in contrast with 73b in which it is not clear whether the child may have floated up to the surface again or not.

73b.	me	kesik	tia	l'emer	e.i	tahi.
	child	small	that	sink	in	sea.

'That small child sank in the sea'.

Sentence 73b is merely an ordinary report of an event.

74a.	ra.lk	au	dena	ganu	tia	
	if	you	do	like	that	
	t'erus	poi	te	rimu	di	moro
	continue	just	then	they	emph.pt.	angry

rang ko.
 pt. pt.
 'If you keep acting like that, they will become angry'.

Note: *ko* is like Indonesian *kah*, a particle asking for understanding on the part of the listener.

In the sentence above *rang* (~*man*) is used to emphasize the verb. The same sentence below without the particle is merely a statement of fact:

74b. *ra.lk* *au* *děna* *ganu* *tia* *těrus*
 if you do like that continue
poi *te* *rimu* *di* *moro* \emptyset *ko*.
 just then they emph. pt. angry pt.
 'If you keep acting like that, they will become angry'.

75. *a.u* (verb understood) ⁶*rehi* *ang* *ba.a.*
 I not able pt. already.
 'I am not able (to do something)'.

Note: The main verb precedes ⁶*rehi* 'not able'.

In sentence 75 the speaker says with an air of resignation that it is just not possible for her or him to do something. This could occur in a dialogue in which the speaker tries fruitlessly to explain something to someone else. When the other person seems unable or unwilling to understand what is being explained, the speaker gives up and expresses the idea that understanding is impossible.

3.5.2. MAN: CONVEYS FEELINGS OF HAPPINESS AND SADNESS

This is merely an extension of the previous section in which *man* is used to increase the emotional impact of the verb. *Man* can be used to convey negative feelings, like sadness or pity, as can be seen in the following examples:

76. *rimu* *abo* *rang* *ba.a* *Ena* *kawu,*
 they sail pt. already this morning
lora *tEna* *gěte* ⁶*lo* *ita* *ita*
 with boat large rel.pron. we see
měra *ia.*
 yesterday that

'They set sail this morning, on the large boat which we saw yesterday'.

Without *rang* (~*man*) this sentence would be neutral or unfeeling, i.e. lacking in appropriate feelings.

The speaker in sentence 76 feels pity for the people in the boat, because he or she knows they have a hard trip in front of them. *Rang* is used in this sentence to express a negative emotion. Other sentences in which the particle *man* is used to express follow.

77a. *ama* *a.ung* *mate* *nang* *ba.a.*
 father my die pt. already
 'My father has died'.

77b. *ama* *a.ung* *mate* \emptyset *ba.a.*
 father my die already
 'My father has died'.

In 77a one feels that the speaker is sad that his father has died, whereas 77b is merely a statement of fact. The emotional thrust of 77a is due to the presence of the particle *nang* (~*man*). In the following sentence *abo nang* 'to set sail' is used as a euphemism for 'to die'.

78a. *ama* *a.ung* *abo* *nang* *ba.a.*
 father my set sail pt. already
 'My father has departed (i.e. died)'.

The corresponding sentence without *nang* does not occur.

- 78b. *ama a.ung abo ∅ ba.a.
 father my set sail already.
 *'My father set sail already'.

Nang (~*man*) is used for emotional emphasis in the following sentence.

79. loning poi rimu t̃na hala t̃rus
 because just they do wrong continually
poi, ami 'wateng susar nang.
 just, we heart sad pt.
 'Because they continually do wrong, our hearts are sad'.

In the following sentence *an* (~*man*) conveys a feeling of relief and happiness.

- 80a. a.u 'lose an
 I escape pt.
 'I escaped'.

In sentence 80b which follows, the feeling tone is neutral. There is no special emphasis in the sentence without the particle.

- 80b. a.u 'lose ∅ .
 I escape.
 'I escape (or) I escaped'.

Another difference between 80a and 80b is that 80a can also be interpreted to mean 'I tried very hard and finally I was able to escape'. The implication then would be that greater effort was required to escape than in 80b, the sentence without the particle. The use of *man* to convey the idea that greater effort is required to do something will be discussed in 3.5.4.

3.5.3. MAN: NEGATIVE WISHES

We have seen thus far in this paper that *man* generally can be used with three basic verb classes; 1) verbs of motion, 2) verbs for process and verbs that can indicate change of state, and 3) involuntary or accidental verbs for actions which are beyond human control. In addition *man* has presuppositional and performative functions: It can be used to indicate that the speaker does not want something to happen, feels an event should not take place, or feels regret that an event has occurred. *Man* also has emphatic functions in that it can increase the emotional impact of a sentence. In this section we will give examples in which the speaker expresses a wish that something will not happen. This section is similar to the first presuppositional function (3.4.2.) mentioned above. We should like to point out here the fact that *man* is not only associated with negative attitudes as in sections (3.4.2,3.4.3,3.4.4), but the presence of *man* can also convey strong feelings, or at least greater than neutral feelings:

Man can be used to convey the wish on the part of the speaker that something not happen. For example,

- 81a. d̃na gOt, iana waiyir lopa ba: nan.
 make ditch, so that water not flood pt.
 'Make a ditch, so that the water will not overflow'.
- 81b. d̃na gOt, iana waiyir lopa ba: ∅.
 make ditch, so that water not flood.
 'Make a ditch, so that the water will not overflow'.

In 81a *nan* (~*man*) conveys the feeling that the speaker really does not want the water to overflow, whereas without *nan* as in 81b the sentence becomes neutral in feeling.

- 82a. tutur e nimu, iana nimu lopa blau nan.
 speak to he/she so that he not fear pt.
 'Speak to him so that he will not be afraid'.

- 82b. tutur e nimu, iana nimu lopa blau \emptyset .
 'Speak to him so that he will not be afraid'.

In sentence 82a with *nan* we get the feeling that the speaker really does not want the person mentioned to be afraid, whereas the sentence with the zero morpheme 82b is neutral in feeling.

3.5.4. MAN: GREATER EFFORT

Man can be used to convey the idea that the result of the action of a verb was achieved with greater effort. For example,

- 83a. nimu nēwan nan ba.a.
 she- able pt. already.
 'Formerly she could not do something, now she can'.

- 83b. nimu nēwan \emptyset .
 she able
 'She is able (to do something)'.

83b is a neutral statement. 83a implies the subject is able to achieve something, because of the expenditure of greater effort.

- 84a. nimu dadi mēnum ballk. nan.
 she/he become rich pt.
 'She has become rich'.

- 84b. nimu mēnum ballk.
 she/he rich
 'She is rich'.

The sentence without *nan* (\sim man) 84b states that the subject has the attribute of being rich, whereas in 84a *nan* is used to express the idea that only after working very hard was the subject able to become rich.

- 85a. hai ata ʷwateng ele ʷela nang
 who person heart not fall pt.
 ra.lk po.ang - po.ang rimu mai ane
 if every day RED they come flatter/seduc
 poi ganu tia
 just like that

'Who would not be persuaded if they came to flatter (one) like that everyday?'

- 85b. hai ata ʷwateng ele ʷela \emptyset
 who person heart not fall
 ra.lk po.ang - po.ang rimu mai ane
 if every day RED they come flatter/seduc
 poi ganu tia
 just like that.

'Who would not be persuaded if they came to flatter (one) like that everyday?'

The feeling in the sentence with the zero morpheme (85b) is neutral. However if *nang* (\sim man) is added, the implication is that stronger persuasion was required to flatter the people involved and that the recipients of the flattery really resisted the persuasion. So more effort would be required on the part of the persuaders in order to succeed in reaching their goal in 85a than in 85b.

In the following sentence (86) *nan* (\sim man) is used to imply that the person worked extraordinarily hard and as a result became old before her or his time.

86. nimu dadi blupUr nan.
 she/he become old pt.
 'She has become old'.

The implication could be 'after working very hard she became old, although her actual age is only thirty'. A similar example follows:

87. ata ga.i ra.a nimu ko nimu
 people want catch him/her but he/she
 lose nan.
 escape pt.
 'People wanted to catch him, but he escaped'.

The implication in 87 is that the subject succeeded in escaping after expending special effort to do so.

3.6. MAN AS A SOFTENER

The use of *man* in a sentence can make the sentence more polite in tone. Thus *man* can have some performative functions, i.e. functions that have to do with the nature of the speech act.

- 88a. wawi na sawe nang ba.a ge,
 pig that finished pt. already pt.
au ele toma e.i.
 you not receive this.
 'The pork we had earlier is all finished, you cannot have any now'.

- 88b. wawi na sawe Ø ba.a ge,
 pig that finished already pt.
au ele toma e.i.
 you not receive this.
 'The pork we had earlier is all finished, you cannot have any now'.

The sentence without *nang* (\sim *man*) sounds abrupt and impolite, whereas the sentence with *nang* is a polite refusal. 88a would be a polite response to someone who asked for meat which had been eaten or sold earlier that day.

If someone is asked the question 'Why didn't you bring your book?', he could answer with 89a or 89b below:

- 89a. a.u hulir ang.
 I forget pt.
 'I forgot'.

- 89b. a.u hulir.
 I forget.
 'I forgot'.

If someone answers with 89b it sounds as if the speaker did not really forget the book, but might have had another reason for not bringing it. 89b is a careless answer. If 89a is used, the speaker really forgot to bring the book and the answer sounds more polite.

As part of its function as a softener, *man* may also be used to show respect for someone. In 89a the presence of *ang* (\rightarrow *man*) makes the sentence respectful in tone, whereas the absence of *man* (as in 89b above) sounds disrespectful. Some further examples of this follow:

- 90a. gina-ga.ang leu ha, mo.at ia bęgo
 noisy very, man that startled
 nang kęna ha, bęli miu ge.a, ia.
 pt. if, give you pl. eat, yes.
 'You are being very noisy, if that man is woken up, he will give you something to eat, ya'.

urang	du	lětang –	gěrang		nang.
rain	rather	constantly			pt.

'We want to go, but cannot, because it keeps raining'.

Leu cannot be used in 94a to express the idea that it keeps on raining, whereas *nang* (~*man*) can be used in that context, as illustrated in 94b.

95.	loning	poi	rimu	těna	hala	těrus
	because	just	they	do/make	wrong	constantly
	poi	ami	ʹwateng	susar	* <i>leu</i> .	
	just	we	heart	sad	pt.	

*'Because they continually do wrong, our hearts are sad'.

In sentence 79 we have seen that the sentence with the phrase *amiʹwateng susar nang* 'our hearts are sad' is acceptable. If we substitute *leu* for *nang* (~*man*) as in 95 above, the sentence is no longer acceptable. It seems that *leu* cannot be used in inchoative verb or process verb frames. A further example of this type can be seen below:

96.	loning	poi	a.u	pano	blawir,
	because	just	I	go	far,
	a.u	dadi	běler	* <i>leu</i>	
	I	become	tired	pt.	

*'Because I have gone far, I have become tired'.

We can see in sentence 71a that the particle *an* (~*man*) can follow *běler* 'tired' and the result is a grammatical sentence. However, *leu* (ʹ*leu* is the 1st person sg. form of the particle) cannot occur after *běler* with the inchoative or resultative meaning 'to become'.

97a.	Es	dadi	* <i>leu</i>	wai.ir	ba.a
	ice	become	pt.	water	already

*'The ice became water'.

Leu is inappropriate in 97a if the sentence is intended to be a non-judgmental statement of process. *Nan* (~*man*), however, is appropriate in such a context as can be seen in 97b.

97b.	Es	dadi	<i>nan</i>	wai.ir	ba.a.
	ice	become	pt.	water	already.

'The ice became water'.

Therefore, from the examples above and from other examples of the same type it appears that the particle *leu* is not used for the continuous and inchoative aspects in intransitive sentences.

3.7.2. OCCURRENCE RESTRICTIONS ON MAN

Man cannot occur in many environments where *leu* can occur. For example:

98a.	a.u	tola	ʹ <i>leu</i>	ba.a.
	I	hit	pt.	already.

'I hit (someone or something) already'.

98a is a perfectly acceptable sentence. *Leu* of course carries with it its own implications, which have already been discussed in the *South-East Asian Linguistic Series* paper mentioned.

However, 98b, the sentence corresponding to 98a, is not acceptable.

98b.	a.u	tola	* <i>an</i>	ba.a.
	I	hit	pt.	already.

*'I hit (someone or something) already'.

An (~*man*) cannot occur with the transitive verb *tola* 'hit' (base *dola*) in the sentence above. Similar examples follow:

99a.	nimu she/he	měňang win	leu pt.	hadia. prize.			
	'She won a prize'.						
99b.	nimu she/he	měňang win	*nan, pt.	hadia. prize.			
	*'She won a prize'						
100a.	nimu she/he	ďěna cause	leu pt.	ba.a past	a.u I	dadi bēler. become tired.	
	*'She makes me tired'.						
100b.	nimu she/he	ďěna cause	*nan pt.	ba.a past	a.u I	dadi bēler. become tired.	
	'She makes me tired'.						
101a.	a.u I	ᶜwoga break	ᶜleu pt.	ai. wood.			
	'I broke the wood'.						
101b.	a.u I	ᶜwoga break	*an pt.	ai. wood.			
	*'I broke the wood'.						

In the appendix the reader will find a list of other verbs with which *man* cannot occur. In general *man* does not seem able to occur with transitive verbs.

3.7.3. OCCURRENCE OF BOTH *LEU* AND *MAN* WITH THE SAME VERB

In some cases *leu* and *man* can both occur with the same verb. In these cases, however, the meaning of the verb tends to be transitive with *leu* and intransitive with *man*. For example:

102a.	a.u I	boga break	ang. pt.
-------	----------	---------------	-------------

'My limb is broken'.

Note: The verb *boga* does not change for person when intransitive.

102b.	a.u I	ᶜwoga break	ᶜleu pt.	ai. wood.
-------	----------	----------------	-------------	--------------

'I break wood'.

The verb with the base form *boga* 'break' is intransitive with *man* and transitive with *leu*, as can be seen in the examples above. *Běre* can mean 'to become dried out' in its intransitive form and 'to put out' in its transitive form. Presumably the transitive and intransitive forms of the verb are semantically related in that both seem to have a core meaning something like 'become inactive' or 'cause to become inactive'. Inactive trees are dried out and putting out a fire makes it inactive. For examples see the sentences below.

103a.	běre dry	rang become	sawe all	wa.i time	ha, one,	e. not
	lo.ar remain	pu.a tree	ha, one,	gOlo indeed	di emph.pt.	e.ong. not.

All (the trees) have become dry (i.e. died), not a single one remains (alive)'.

We cannot substitute *leu* for *rang* (~*man*) in the sentence above.

103b.	běre dry	*leu pt.	sawe all	wa.i time	ha, one,	e. not
	lo.ar remain	pu.a tree	ha, one,	gOlo indeed	di emph.pt.	e.ong. not.

*'All become dry, not a single one remains'.

Leu can occur with the transitive form of the verb as in 104.

104.	ami	běre	leu	api.
	we	put out	pt.	fire.

'We put out the fire'.

In 105a and 105b the verb *birang* has two meanings: 1) calm, happy and 2) break. If *man* occurs with the verb, the verb tends to be read as intransitive, and if *leu* is used with the verb, the verb tends to be read as transitive.

105a.	kamang	au	powar	leu	ganu	tia,
	if	you	admit	pt.	like	that,
	iana	ʽwate	aming	birang	nang	
	so that	heart	our	happy	become	
	kēsik	ha.				
	little	one.				

'If you admit (something) like that, our hearts will become a little calmer'.

105b.	a.u	birang	leu	gēlas.
	I	break	pt.	glass.

'I break a glass'.

4. CONCLUSION

In this paper we have discussed the functions of the particle *man*. In general it seems to occur with verbs of motion, verbs for processes (including adjectives) and with verbs for accidental or involuntary acts which are beyond human control. In addition it can add coloring to a sentence through its presuppositional and performative functions. It can be used to show that a speaker does not want an event to occur, regrets or is surprised that it has occurred, or feels it should not occur. These functions convey the speaker's attitudes about events. *Man* can also be used to emphasize the verb, to add emotional coloring to a sentence, and it can also make the tone of a sentence more polite.

We have also seen in this paper that *man* does not conflict with another Maumere particle *leu*, since their functions are different and since for the most part they cannot occur with the same verb in identical contexts.

APPENDIX I

The Maumere Sound System

The Maumere sound system has two unique features. One is the existence of murmured vowels, indicated by underlining in the text, which are phonemically distinct from non-murmured vowels. The other is the existence of implosive or laryngealized consonants /sw/, /st/, and /s1/, which are phonemically distinct from /w/, /t/ and /1/.

/i/, /e/	These are slightly lower than their English counterparts.
[E]	This is an allophone of /e/.
[I]	This is an allophone of /i/.

Syllable Boundaries

Syllable boundaries occur between two contiguous vowels in the same word. For example, *ba.a* 'already' is a two syllable word as is *leu* (*le.u*) 'particle'.

If the second of two contiguous vowels is murmured, the transition between the two vowels will be heard as a glide.

APPENDIX II

Following is a group of lists of verbs which *man* can occur with.

MAN OFTEN OCCURS WITH VERBS OF MOTION

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. bano man - 'to go' | 18. plari man - 'to run' Note: (Sika) pari mang |
| 2. bou. man - 'to come' | 19. lodo man - 'to fall into cracks' |
| 3. da.a man - 'to arrive' | 20. bitit man - 'to go' Note: coarse language |
| 4. nari man - 'to stop' | 21. abo man - 'to sail' |
| 5. lema man - 'to stop' | 22. balong man - 'to return, to go home' |
| 5. lēma man - 'to climb', 'to go up' | 23. leko man - 'to take another path' |
| 6. ēla man - 'to fall' | 24. reta ma - 'to go North', 'to go to a higher place' |
| 7. lohor man - 'to go down' | 25. lau ma - 'to go South' |
| 8. pe.ot man - 'to turn, to take another path' | 26. wali ma - 'to go to a higher place' |
| 9. je.ong man - 'to take another road or path' | 27. le ma - 'to go West', 'to go to a place on the same level' |
| 10. tama man - 'to enter' | 28. wawa ma - 'to go East', 'to go to a lower place' |
| 11. bēda man - 'to go out' | 29. lolo man - 'to creep like a crab' |
| 12. bēkor man - 'to rise up, to appear' | 30. dēri man - 'to sit down' |
| 13. le.ong man - 'to avoid' | 31. gēra man - 'to stand up' |
| 14. gole man - 'to go to the side of a mountain' | 32. ēkok man - 'to squat on tiptoes' |
| 15. lose man - 'to escape' | |
| 16. godo man - 'to crawl' | |
| 17. nEleng man - 'to move ones house, to yield right of way' | |

MAN CAN OCCUR WITH PROCESS VERBS

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. boga man - 'to break' | 9. tawa man - 'to grow' |
| 2. dowar nan - 'to grow, to bloom' (only for plants) | 10. bu man - 'to become drunk' |
| 3. bēre nan - 'to dry up' | bu nan - 'to become tame' |
| 4. hibir nan - 'to get new leaves' | 11. ēpan man - 'to become well, to be cured of an illness' |
| 5. qlor nan - 'to flare, to burn' | 12. mita man - 'to disappear in the distance' |
| 6. jabok nan - 'to burst into flames' | 13. mitak man - 'to become black' |
| 7. bēta man - 'to become broken' | 14. bo: man - 'to be cured' |
| 8. lēsok nan - 'to be released, from a holder (knife)' | 15. ilang man - 'to disappear' |
| | 16. potat man - 'to disappear' |

Note: verbs that occur with non-human subjects only are followed by *nan*, the 3rd person singular form of *man*.

MAN CAN OCCUR WITH ALMOST ALL ADJECTIVES MEANING 'TO BECOME . . . (ADJ.)'

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. kebur nan - 'to become soft' | 6. gēte man - 'to become large' |
| 2. mosa man - 'to become fat' | 7. kēsik man - 'to become small' |
| 3. rугung man - 'to become thin' | 8. lilang nan - 'to become wild' |
| 4. ngangang man - 'to become stupid' | 9. gaga man - 'to become handsome, pretty' |
| 5. bisa man - 'to become clever' | 10. bura nan - 'to become white' |

There are many other examples of this type. Only a few examples have been listed above. Those adjectives which are followed by *nan* usually occur with non-human subjects.

MAN WITH VERBS FOR INVOLUNTARY AND ACCIDENTAL ACTS

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 1. gēso man - 'to slip, fall' | 11. hopang man - 'to become tired' |
| 2. to man - 'to laugh' | 12. hulir man - 'to forget' |
| 3. lēsok nan - 'to suddenly become lose from a holder' | 13. lēmEr man - 'to sink, drown' |
| 4. mita man - 'to disappear' | 14. bawak man - 'to float' |
| 5. batu man - 'to fall' | 15. dēsor man - 'to slip' |
| 6. gaso man - 'to slip' | 16. mela man - 'to swallow' |
| 7. du.e man - 'to fall asleep' | 17. rugi man - 'to lose' |
| 8. tara man - 'to respond to a call from someone' | 18. wēnang man - 'to sneeze' |
| 9. hogor man - 'to wake up' | 19. mate hala man - 'to faint' |
| 10. morung man - 'to become hungry' | 20. buhu man - 'to break wind' |
| | 21. gorus man - 'to miscarry' |
| | 22. na.ak man - 'to stutter' |

MAN CANNOT OCCUR WITH THE FOLLOWING VERBS AMONG OTHERS

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. dola - 'to hit' | 10. hēning - 'to burn' |
| 2. kēda - 'to kick' | 11. plupi - 'to blow' Note: (Sika) pupi |
| 3. li.i - 'to choose' | 12. holo - 'to burn' |
| 4. kela - 'to write' | 13. ikot - 'to make a fire' |
| 5. gata - 'to read' | 14. kēro - 'to blow' |
| 6. roga - 'to throw' | 15. turu - 'to raise one's hand' |
| 7. ala - 'to fetch' | 16. mēkOt - 'to arrange' |
| 8. hēna - 'to fry' | 17. gita - 'to see' |
| 9. huna - 'to boil' | |

MAN CANNOT OCCUR WITH

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 18. topo - 'to call' | 23. te.a - 'to sell' |
| 19. himo - 'to receive' | 24. galeng - 'to select' |
| 20. huma - 'to rob, seize, loot' | 25. hu.u - 'to carry on the top of the head' |
| 21. tēbe - 'to play' | 26. hU:k - 'to think' |
| 22. piru - 'to kiss' | 27. mipIn - 'to dream' |

There are many other verbs with which *man* cannot occur. In general it seems to be the case that *man* cannot occur with transitive verbs.

REVIEWS

LLAMZON, TEODORO A. 1978. Handbook of Philippine language groups. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Reviewed by Lawrence A. Reid, University of Hawaii

Dr. Llamzon's long-awaited handbook has at last appeared. It is a very attractive volume consisting of two main parts. The first is a series of three essays on the Philippines and the Filipinos, giving first a historical background, and then general statements on the cultural characteristics of Philippine language groups, and their general linguistic features. The second part provides capsule statements on various aspects of the culture and languages of 25 language groups – presented geographically in a general north-to-south direction. The groups described are Ivatan, Ilokano, Ibanag, Itawes, Kalinga, Ifugaw, Bontok, Kankana-i, Pangasinan, Pampango, Tagalog, Bikol, Hanunoo-Mangyan, Ilonggo, Waray, Sebuano, Aborlan Tagbanwa, Batak, Bukidnon, Mamanwa, Maranaw, Magindanaw, Bilaan, Tausug and Bajau. Each of these sections is followed by a brief (about 5-10 items) suggested reading list, and the volume is completed with two and a half pages of general references.

The Handbook of Philippine Language Groups (HPLG) purports to be a compilation and summary of scientific reports on the 25 ethnic groups included in the book. The stated purpose of the volume is to make this basic information available to as wide an audience as possible. There is no doubt in my mind that this attractive volume, published with the financial assistance of UNESCO, will be widely distributed and will soon form part of libraries throughout the Philippines and perhaps elsewhere. I am not so sure, however, that those who buy this work will get their money's worth. It is unfortunate that a scholar of the stature of Teodoro Llamzon has allowed a work of this sort to be published without taking painstaking care to ensure that the multitudinous errors of fact and interpretation that occur throughout the book were not eliminated.

This is a serious criticism to make, and were it not for the impression that this book will make, because of the stature both of the author and of the funding agencies, I would hesitate to discuss these problems. However, the data are supposedly taken from scientific reports, and we must scrutinize them to ensure that in fact what we are getting is scientific information, even though it is clothed in 'popular' language.

The author claims that HPLG is 'primarily linguistic in nature and aims to acquaint the reader with the basic structures of the most important languages'. It is typical of the inconsistencies in HPLG that although the 25 languages described are here claimed to be the most important (although why is never mentioned), the previous sentence tells us that the languages were chosen primarily because data on them were available and they were accessible to field work, in order 'to fill in the lacunae and to check the accuracy of the data'. It is clear that Dr. Llamzon did in fact do fieldwork, but apparently not for the purpose he cited. All of the illustrative sentences in HPLG are from his fieldwork, and as we shall see, suffer from the problems that all fieldworkers face when too little time is spent ascertaining the accuracy of their data. The analysis of the data likewise is not from published analyses, but is the author's own attempt to fit the linguistic facts that he was able to pick up during the course of his too brief fieldwork into a single framework, a task which he accomplished with varying degrees of success.

As far as the ethnographic information is concerned, the author likewise has not provided us with a summary of the published material. He has, instead, taken one or two works for each language, and copied sentences verbatim from them (often without appropriate source citations), stringing them together out of context into a *Sunday*

Magazine type of popular presentation. What we are given is a potpourri of oddities, frequently reminiscent of the 'curiosity shoppe' approach to ethnography that one would expect from a 19th century traveller, rather than the careful, succinct description of the societies that one would expect.

Having made these criticisms, let me proceed to document them. Because of limitations of space, I shall restrict myself to comments on three of the groups, Ivatan, Ilokano, and Bontok, although similar comments could be drawn for many of the other groups described in HPLG.

The linguistic characterization of the language groups follows the system briefly described in the essay citing 'General Linguistic Features of Philippine Languages', i.e. a statement of the phonemes, charts of the personal and demonstrative pronouns and the case-marking particles, an indication of the form of the Linker, lists of cardinal, ordinal and distributive numerals, a table indicating the system of verb affixation, and finally a list of between 20-25 illustrative sentences.

The charts of pronouns and particles are organized by case. In each language, the author identifies the cases by citing one of the case-marking particles of the singular common noun phrase, as in Tagalog *ang*, *ng* and *sa*. They are not otherwise labeled. In the general description of Philippine syntax, however, he indicates that the three cases in the paradigm are 'nominative, possessive and goal/locative' (30). Although this description may be appropriate for some Philippine languages, it certainly is not appropriate for Ivatan. The cases of the pronominal sets are given for Ivatan as *o*, *so* and *do*. Whereas, *o* is nominative, and *do* can perhaps be characterized as goal/locative, *so* can never be used as possessive, or genitive. The possessive case in Ivatan is *no* (Hidalgo 1971:230-231, Reid 1966:85), and *so* is accusative, marking indefinite object noun phrases. An NP marked by *so* cannot have a pronoun substituting for it, since pronouns always have definite reference. The *so* pronouns that are cited in HPLG have a variety of functions. Seven of them are actually *do* or goal/locative pronouns. They are: *diaken* 1s., *dimoq* 2s., *diraq* 3s., (should be *diyaaq*), *diaten* li.p., *diamen* le.p., *dinyoq* 2p., and *diraq* 3p. *Koq* 1s., *moq* 2s., *taq* li.p., *namen* le.p., *nियोq* 2p., and *daq* 3p., are *no* or possessive pronouns. *Niyaaq* which is cited as a *so* case, enclitic 3s. pronoun, is actually part of a pronominal set otherwise not appearing in the data. This set (*niaken*, *nimoq*, *niyaaq*, *niaten*, *niamen*, *ninyoq* and *niraq* – following the author's spelling conventions), substitute for what has been described for Ivatan as the *no* or associative NP, carrying, among others, the case relations of instrument and object of comparison. One other form cited in HPLG as belonging to the *so* personal pronouns ('*naw* enclitic 3 s.') is actually a demonstrative pronoun.

Similar problems also are found in the listing of the *do* pronouns. The 3s. form is cited as either *yaq* or *diq*. The first of these two forms is a nominative demonstrative meaning 'this', the second is neither a personal pronoun nor a demonstrative but the personal singular noun marker, corresponding to *do*. The correct form is *diyaaq*.

The chart of case-marking particles lists both *so* and *no* as meaning possessive case. As indicated above, *so* is accusative, not possessive. The list of non-personal plural forms cited in HPLG is identical to the singular. However, in Ivatan a plural morpheme *sa* is used to indicate plurality, e.g. *o chito na sa* 'his dogs'. Singular personal nouns in the *do* case are shown as being marked by either *di*, *sa* or *da*. Only *di* may be so used. *Sa* marks a nominative plural personal noun, e.g. *minodi sa Juan* 'Juan (plural) went home'. *Da* marks either genitive, associative or locative plural personal nouns, e.g. *Minodi kami da Juan* 'We went home to Juan's family's place'.

The Linker, or Ligature, is one of the most important features of Philippine syntax, yet it is not mentioned in the description of general features of Philippine languages. HPLG cites the Ivatan Linker as '*aka* (with numerals only)'. The implication being that only between a numeral and a noun does a linker occur. In fact, a linker occurs in all Head-Attribute constructions, its form being *a*, e.g. *anak a mahakay* 'male child, son'.

Although accent is listed as a phoneme for Ivatan in HPLG, it is not consistently marked on Ivatan words. Among the numerals, for example, *asaq*, *apat* and *anem* all have initial long vowels and should either be marked with accent (as in Reid 1966:100), or with a geminate vowel to correspond to the reduplication found in the other pronouns, e.g., *dadowa*, *tatdo*, *dadima*, etc. Representation of glottal stop is also inconsistent, with *tatdoq* showing a final glottal stop, but *dadima* showing none. Although in HPLG it is never represented word initially, reflecting the author's interpretation of Tagalog phonology (Llamzon 1968:34), he frequently indicates its occurrence at the end of a word, where it is phonemic in Tagalog, but it is not in Ivatan. In Basco, all phonological words which would otherwise end in a vowel have an excrescent glottal stop optionally attached. It is not contrastive in this position.

The chart by which HPLG attempts to display verbal affixation, marks actor, goal, location and instrument foci in its vertical parameters, with non-finite, finite and gerund 'moods' in its horizontal parameters. Four 'finite moods' are given – imperfect, perfect, future, and recent past – reflecting once again the author's analysis of Tagalog. This system does not adequately represent the majority of Philippine languages (a fact noted by the author (HPLG p. 30)), which rather make a single distinction between actions presently completed (i.e. past), or presently non-completed (i.e. present or future). To each of these sets of affixes (not just the nonpast as indicated by the author), reduplication, or some equivalent device, can be attached to mark continuing action, i.e. past imperfect, present continuous, etc.

E.G. Ilokano

agsarita speaks, will speak	agsarsarita is speaking, will be speaking
nagsarita spoke	nagsarsarita was speaking

Recent past although marked distinctively in most Philippine languages is syntactically and morphologically at variance with the rest of the tense-aspect system and does not form a part of it.

Ivatan has one of the most complex verbal systems of all Philippine languages, and its representation in HPLG does not begin to adequately characterize it. Imperfect, future and recent past columns are all marked with zero. Ivatan, however, marks continuing action with either length on the final vowel of the verb stem or by partial reduplication of the verb stem (Hidalgo 1971:74-75). Even the forms of the affixes given in the Ivatan verb chart in HPLG are in several cases wrong. A contrast between *om* 'non-finite', and *um* 'finite perfect' is given. However, there are no back vowel contrasts in Ivatan as indicated in the vowel chart (HPLG p. 34). The correct forms should be either *-om-* and *-omin-* respectively, or *-um-* and *-umin-*, depending on one's representation of the back vowel. HLG does not list *may-* (from PAN **maR-*) or *mang-* anywhere on the chart, even though they are as important to Ivatan verb formation as *mag-* and *mang-* are to Tagalog. The sequence *pa-* + *en*, is characterized as nonfinite, instrument focus. In fact, it is a causative goal focus form. I am completely unable to interpret the meaning of *s* + *vv* given as the form of the Ivatan gerund and the author provides no key to these symbols.

The illustrative sentences for Ivatan are good examples of over translation. All indefinite nouns have been translated with the numeral 'one', e.g. a 'window' is translated: *asa ka vahay* 'one window', even though, as in most Philippine languages, accusative NP's in active focus sentences require an indefinite interpretation without specification of a numeral one. Attempts to make explicit the future tense of a verb like Tagalog *magbú-bukas* have resulted in the insertion of *anti* into the Ivatan sentence even though without

it, the sentence is interpretable as future. Attempts to elicit instrument focus verbs with sentences like 'Use the pail to get water', have resulted in sentences with *serbien* 'to use' rather than instrument focus verb forms which occur in Ivatan probably as frequently as in they do Tagalog. Finally, in order to translate the Tagalog imperfect sentences, the informant has resorted to paraphrases using the existential verb *tayto*.

Many of the problems indicated for the HPLG treatment of Ivatan can also be found in its treatment of Ilokano; beginning from the completely ungrammatical Ilokano sentence given on p. 30, where *Agsarita iloko si Pedro* supposedly means 'Pedro speaks Iloko'. The appropriate Ilokano should be *Agsarita ni Pedro ti iloko*.

The forms used to characterize the Ilokano cases in HPLG are *iti* nominative, ϕ genitive and *idiay* locative. *Iti* is a determiner (but rarely used nominatively) whereas *idiay* is a demonstrative. There is no dialect of Ilokano to my knowledge which does not mark the genitive case. The facts are that nominative and genitive cases are both marked by the same set of forms, *ti* 'singular common', *ni* 'singular personal', *dagiti* 'plural common', and *da* 'plural personal'. Word order, agent before patient, eliminates ambiguity. *Ti* also marks indefinite accusative NPs. *Iti* primarily marks singular common locative NPs. Its plural form is *kadagiti*.

The pronominal forms in the chart are also confusing. There are no second or third person plural forms given. *Isina* and *isu* are given as non-enclitic and enclitic forms respectively, of the 3s. nominative pronoun. In fact, neither is enclitic, they are simply free variants. The search for non-enclitic genitive pronouns in the northern Philippine languages to correspond to the *atin*, *amin*, *inyo*, etc. series in Tagalog apparently still continues. In fact there are none. Forms such as Ilokano *kukuwak* and *bagik* which are cited as non-enclitic genitive pronouns in HPLG are genitively possessed nouns, *kukua* 'goods, possessions, property, commodities; things' and *bagi* 'share, portion, part, lot' (Vanoverbergh 1956). The enclitic genitives *ku* and *k*, and *mu* and *m* are phonologically conditioned variants of one another.

The listing of three sets of demonstratives for Ilokano is also misleading. There are five sets. The *daytay* 'recent' and *daydi* 'remote' sets are missing.

The Ilokano verb formation chart, although more complete than the Ivatan, is still far from complete. The listing of *i- + an* as instrument focus is inaccurate. This combination marks benefactive focus. In Ilokano, as in other Cordilleran languages, instrument and benefactive foci are formally distinguished, unlike Tagalog where they are marked in the same way. The appropriate Ilokano form for instrument is *i-*. The locative focus form is *-an*, with *pag- + an* being its nominalized counterpart. The chart should also have shown the time focus form *panang-*. This form is also missing from the gerund column, as are the other gerundives *pannaka-* and *pannaki-*.

The illustrative sentences given for Ilokano are generally accurate. The following corrections, however, should have been made. Sentence 2 should have *idiay kusina* for 'in the kitchen' not *diay kusina* which is a nominative phrase. Sentence 6 should have a glottal stop after the reduplication, i.e. *umin-inum*, not *umininum*. Sentence 11 should have *parpartiyən*, not *parpartiyən*. Sentence 26 should show a glottal stop in the verb 'waiting', *ur-urtyən* rather than *ururtyen*.

Although a considerable amount of material has been published on the Bontok language, e.g. Reid 1963, 1964, 1971a, b, 1976 (none of which were cited in the bibliographical references), it is apparent that the author did not refer to it during the preparation of HPLG. The phonological statement inaccurately represents Bontok as having both *l* and *r* phonemes. These sounds are in complementary distribution in Bontok. The distribution is cited in several places in the published literature. *r* is also listed as a phoneme in Ifugao and Kankana-i. In neither of these languages is it contrastive. However, in Kalinga, palatal [lʲ] which appears in approximately the same environment as [r] does in Bontok and Ifugao is listed as an allophone of /l/ (see Reid 1973).

Bontok pronouns are correctly represented apart from the following: 1s. *nominative* non-enclitic *sakqan* should be *sakqən*, and the oblique plural forms have been incorrectly aligned in the chart. There are no oblique enclitic forms as the chart implies, *kən dakayu* is 2p. nonenclitic, and *kən daidd* is 3p. non-enclitic. Since the other forms have been listed phonemically, using *q* for glottal stop, all 3p. and dual forms which are listed with a vowel sequence (*daida*, *daita*), should have a medial glottal stop (*daqida*, *daqita*). (Bontok does not have a canonical form V, all syllables start with a consonant.)

A variety of errors are found in the demonstrative chart. The syllable initial variant of /d/, which is [ts], has been improperly heard as [s] in the following forms: *satunqa*, *satunsa* (the second *s* in the latter form is correct, but there is no *n* in the form), *tusi*, and *tadtusi*. The phonemically correct forms are respectively *datunga*, *datusa*, *tudi*, and *datudi*. The chart also combines forms from at least four different paradigmatic sets. The alternation of *datuna* and *datunqa*, and *datusa* and *datusqa* given as genitive forms, illustrates one of the differences between two of these sets. The presence of a glottal stop following the final consonant, however, not only occurs optionally in these plural forms, it may occur in all *tu*- initial demonstratives, both singular and plural. These forms, moreover, both with and without *q*, are restricted to personal reference, i.e. this person, that person, etc. The form listed as *nandida* (*nandayda*), apparently represents *nan dəqəyda* 'those (common, far)', and is from a different paradigm from the personal forms with which it is placed.

The complete list of Bontok demonstratives as they occur in a nominative NP is found in Chart 1. It will be noted that the [+pers] and [-pers] forms are preceded by the appropriate nominal marker, *nan*, *si* or *da*. The forms marked [+pers] only occur as nominatives and are not preceded by the nominal markers. The [+pers] and [-pers] forms also occur as demonstratives in genitive and oblique NP's with the appropriate case marking particles preceding them. The forms listed in HPLG as oblique demonstratives *siná*, *sisá*, and *sidí* are actually locative demonstratives. They also have variant forms with an excrescent glottal stop, *sinqa*, *sisqa* and *sidqi*. Each of these locative demonstratives, beginning as they do with *s*, are post-consonantal variants. Post-vocalic variants also occur. The form *isna* (correctly *qisná*) is a variant which along with the unlisted *qissá* and *qisdí* occurs in isolation or in deliberate, or slow speech; *qis* is one of the Bontok locative markers.

Chart 1. Bontok Nominative Demonstratives

	Near speaker		Near hearer		Far	
	[+sg]	[-sg]	[+sg]	[-sg]	[+sg.]	[-sg]
[±pers]	ná	daná	sá	dasá	dí	dadí
[+pers]	si tuná	da tuná	si tusá	da tusá	si tudí	da tudí
	si tunqá	da tunqá	si tusqá	da tusqá	si tudqí	da tudqí
[-pers]	nan náqay	nan náqayda	nan sána	nan sánada	nan dóqəy	nan dóqəyda

The Bontok case-marking particles that are listed are both incomplete and in some cases inaccurate. The nominative *nən* should be *nan*. The explicit plural form, which is listed as *nan*, should be *nan da*. The phonetics of the personal plural *da* given as [tsa] in the nominative and [ča] in the genitive is misleading. The forms are of course identical. The one major difference between the nominative and the genitive forms which the author apparently completely missed is that the genitive requires an enclitic *-n* on vowel final stems preceding a genitive NP, e.g. *qábun nan laláki* 'the man's house', but *qásu-n nan*

lalŕki 'the man's dog'. This is also true when the genitive is a personal noun, e.g. *qābun Juan* 'John's house' but *qāsun-n Juan* 'John's dog'. HPLG fails to include the marker *san* which appears throughout the Bontok case-marking system as a recent past, anaphoric or strongly referential marker. The cluster of forms given as oblique non-personal singular have the following explanation. *qis* (also -s) and *si* are the postvocalic and post-consonantal variants marking, respectively, accusative (non-specific) and close locative place names in Central Bontok (as well as in Kankanay). The corresponding marker of far locative place names for Central Bontok is not listed in HPLG; it is *qid*, or -d postvocally. The latter does appear, however, in the form *isdid* which is listed, but which is actually a locative demonstrative, *qisdi* (see above) plus -d as would mark the phrase *qisdid Manila* 'there, in Manila'. A form *ad* is also listed. This is the equivalent of *qid* found in a number of dialects of Bontok, such as Guinaang, Malegcong and Mainit. *qad* has a corresponding *qas* 'near locative' in these dialects which is not listed. The form listed as *asnanka* is not a plural form, it probably represents either *qisnan* or *qasnan* 'oblique, singular, specific' noun markers, plus *ka-* a prefix attaching to locative nouns of foreign origin, e.g. *ka-market*, *ka-garahe*, etc. The function of *sid* which is also listed as an oblique form is unknown to me.

The problem of fitting the verb forms of a northern Philippine language into a grid set up for a language such as Tagalog has already been discussed above.

The problem noted above for Ilokano in which the benefactive focus affixation is cited as instrument focus is also present in the Bontok verb formation chart. *I-* + *-an* is not instrument focus, it is benefactive. The presence of *pang-* at various points on the chart is also an error. Bontok has lost all reflexes of **pan-*, **paR-*, **paki-* and **paka-* affixes. Such forms are present only as fossilized prefixes on a few lexical items such as *pangegnanan* 'handle (i.e., place for holding)'. The forms listed as location focus are in fact all nominalizations which may or may not signify location, depending upon context. These forms also are used as gerunds.

Although future has been explicitly marked in the appropriate illustrative sentences with *tu* or *-ntu* (No. 5, 12, 19), these future adverbs are certainly not Bontok forms. They are Ilokano, and reveal an informant whose Bontok is heavily influenced by that language. Other problems with the data indicate that the informant was probably out of touch with his mother tongue. These include: No. 1 incorrect stress on the word for child. It should be *qungqungá*. No. 2 use of Tagalog *sa* as a locative marker rather than *qasnan*, or *qisnan*. No. 3 the missing genitive *-n* in the phrase *bintána-n nan qabung* 'window of the house'. No. 9 (b) *nənpatiyen*, should have an *-an* suffix, not *-en* (or *-ən*). No. 10, which is supposedly benefactive focus, should have the benefactive phrase 'for the child' in the nominative: *nan qungqungá*, not *páras nan unqúnga*. No. 18 is clumsy and probably ungrammatical. It should be *Layden nan qina ay mangipaltis manuk paras nan qungqunga* 'The mother wants to kill a chicken for the child'. No. 19 and No. 20 and other sentences which have their subjects in final position are unnatural. The subjects of Bontok non-actor focus sentences properly come immediately after the agent NP. The word order as it is given in HPLG is apparently the result of literal translation from the Tagalog equivalents. Thus, a sentence such as No. 20 *Iparpartiyen nan inas manuk nan unqungunga* has as its first (if not its only) interpretation, 'The mother killed the child's chicken for someone (unspecified)', in which child is interpreted as genitive, not nominative.

The inaccurate representation of Bontok sounds mentioned above when discussing the demonstratives, is, unfortunately, found also in the illustrative sentences, as well as in the numerals, and in the list of kinship terms. A recurring problem is the inability to distinguish between aspirated [k^h], a variant of /g/ in syllable initial position, and unaspirated [k], which contrasts with it. Sentence No. 6 has *táku* for *tágu* 'person', No. 7 has *ákas* for *qágas* 'medicine'. In the numerals, *gasut* 'hundred' is consistently misrepresented as *kasut*; likewise, among the kinship terms, *aki* should be *agi*, and *kattukangan* should be *kattugangan*.

Other errors in the representation of Bontok numerals include the following:

Cited in HPLG	Correct Form
4. upát	qəpát
6. inám	qənám
10. simúqu	sinpúqu
11. simpúyu ya isá	sinpúqu ya qəsá
12. sinpuyu ya čuwa	sinpúqu ya duwá
20. duwampúu ya isá	duwan púqu ya qəsá
30. talumpúu	tulun púqu
40. upát púu	qəpat púqu
101. sənkasút ya sá	sin-gasút ya qəsá
102. duwáy kasút	duwán gasút
400. upát ay kasút	qupát gasút
1000. sinlifu	sinlǐbu

Several of the above errors can be shown to be the result of Ilokano influence in the speech of the informant, e.g. the initial vowels of the numerals '4' and '6' both follow Ilokano (*uppat*, *innem*); furthermore, Bontok does not assimilate the nasal of *sin-*, nor the numeral linker *-n*, to the point of articulation of the following consonant. Nasal assimilation of *n* + non-alveolar consonant is required in Ilokano.

The volume of errors both in fact and interpretation which exist in the descriptions of the languages is so great that one can only warn readers to accept nothing as fact without first verifying it against descriptions of the languages prepared by reputable scholars.

But is it possible to find some redeeming feature in the book, perhaps in the three introductory essays? Unfortunately no. The first essay which attempts to trace the historical development of Philippine languages would be rejected by most if not all comparativists as giving an incorrect picture of linguistic development in the Philippines. Llamzon, for example, attempts to date the original dispersal of the Proto-Austronesian speaking peoples by combining an archaeological date for the presence of iron in South China (ca. 1500 to 1000 BC), with a glotto-chronological figure provided by Thomas and Healey for the separation of the Philippine languages from the Chamic languages of Southeast Asia. 'This means', Llamzon says, 'that the early Austronesian speaking Filipinos left their original homeland, together with some other groups who went on to other places, about 1,300 B.C.' (2). The knowledge of iron in PAN is controversial, being rejected by Dyen (1971) who doubts that Fijian *vesi* 'name of spear' implies the presence of iron in Proto-Oceanic times, but is supported by Blust (1977), with reconstructions such as **bari*['iron'], **malat* 'parang, machete', **(cs)al(cs)al* 'blacksmithing', **lanDas-an* 'anvil', and **kara(Ct)* 'rust'. But whether or not the knowledge of iron was part of PAN culture, the dispersal of the Austronesian languages must be dated at considerably earlier than 1,300 B.C., even earlier than 3000 B.C., Dyen's lexicostatistical figure which was rejected by Llamzon as too early. Archaeological evidence, including C-14 dating from the Oceanic area, as reported by Pawley and Green (1973), indicate that the dispersal of Proto-Oceanic could not have been later than 3000 B.C.; and consequently, the dissolution of Proto-Austronesian must have been earlier still.

Llamzon's slavish adherence to glottochronological dates goes counter to all the evidence that such dates must be treated with great scepticism. Furthermore, he perpetuates the myth of sequences of migrations, each responsible for a subgroup of Philippine languages. The first migration he says resulted in the Northern languages of the Philippines with northward migration continuing into Formosa. As evidence he cites 'the presence on the island of Formosa of the Itneg tribe, who are apparently identical to the Itnegs of Abra' (3). A search through the literature supports my own field-work experience that the Formosan Itneg is a myth. There is no group so named in Formosa. One wonders where this piece of 'scientific' information came from.

Llamzon's proposed second migration supposedly also came by way of Borneo (around 100 B.C.), because Tausug, supposedly related to the Central Philippine languages, is located in Sulu. However, Pallesen (1977) has shown that Tausug was a relatively recent intrusion into the area from North East Mindanao about 1300 A.D. This 'second migration' is said to be responsible for the Central Philippine languages. A third migration, which Llamzon says arrived in 'trickles', was supposedly responsible for the Manobo languages (among which he includes Bagobo, which has not been shown to be a Manobo language), and the 'Moro' languages, a disparate group of languages relatable only by the fact that they have embraced Islam. Other 'trickles' are said to have resulted in the languages of Eastern Mindanao (Mandaya-Mansaka) as well as surprisingly Bilaan, T'boli, Tagbanwa of Palawan, Tiruray and Subanon. He also includes Maranaw and Magindanao in the later trickle, although they are also cited as part of the 'Moro' trickle.

The problem with all this is that absolutely no linguistic evidence has ever been presented to prove, or even to give support to, migration theories of this sort. Moreover, it betrays a lack of understanding of the nature of language change. If such a theory were correct, we would be able to link the languages associated with at least the latest migration with the languages at their point of origin. The time of separation of the migrating languages from their homeland would be less than their time of separation from the languages which formed the earlier migration. Each of the Philippine subgroups would be more closely related genetically to some language groups outside the Philippines than they would be to each other. But such has never been shown to be the case. Philippine languages, even those which seem to be most aberrant, such as Ivatan, Ilongot, Bilaan and the like, apparently form part of a single language family. This is not to deny that multiple migrations have taken place. Obviously, they have. The influence of migrations from the north (Formosa) as well as from the south can be seen throughout the Philippines. However, these have only served to add 'strata' to languages which already existed and whose development apparently took place in situ; they were not themselves the congeners of the languages in question. Whether the Austronesian speaking people who originally settled in the Philippines came from the south or the north is a question which is still to be answered.

Although the second essay is a valiant attempt to make generalizations about the cultural characteristics of Philippine groups, it fails most noticeably in believing that homogeneity actually exists and is easily describable. Even among lowland groups great diversity exists now and probably also did during the Spanish and pre-Spanish periods. The author provides us with an idealized view of lowland society, taken from the reports of early *conquistadores*, taking note of their cleanliness, and that they were 'basically monogamous', and that although they drank heavily, 'they never lost complete control of themselves'. On the other hand, he feels it is necessary to discuss the distinctive characteristics of 'pagan' Filipinos, particularly those of the mountain provinces, whom he calls 'Cordillerans', a name he ascribes to Scott (1969). However, Scott never used the name in his book and would probably reject it as implying a Cordilleran vs. Lowlander distinction, a position, that Scott has rejected for many years. Apparently, the author missed the diversity made explicit in the subtitle of Scott's book, 'A look at the peoples and cultures of the Mountain Province'. Scott would also, I believe, reject the implication that his description of the Madukayan of Kalinga is in any way representative of the cultures of the other mountain peoples, nor would his Sagadan be an 'average Cordilleran', nor is it possible to describe a characteristic Cordilleran house, or typical Cordilleran architecture.

What the author fails to note is that the people he describes as 'until recently a headhunting and fierce people' reflect many of 'the cultural features of his own lowland ancestors, including headhunting and an animistic religion which still permeates the belief system of many 'Christianized' and educated lowlanders, and that the distinction between lowlanders and 'Cordillerans' is not an ethnic one but an imposed political and geographic one.

Although the author characterizes the highlanders as 'people who withdrew to the hinterlands upon the encroachment of modern ways of living introduced by the Spaniards and the Americans', a position espoused by Keesing (1962), he ignores the considerable evidence which points to a far longer period of habitation in the mountains, particularly in the Bontok and Ifugao areas.

Apart from these general criticisms, the essay has its share of errors such as incorrect translations: *basi* said to be wine made from nipa palm, and *lambanug*, said to be wine from sugar cane, and the copying of a misprint in Scott (1969), where *olag* is used instead of Bontok *olog* for 'girls' dormitory'.

The third essay, 'General Linguistic Features of Philippine Languages', has a section on the sociolinguistic situation in the Philippines, a section on subgrouping relationships, and a section on phonological, morphological and syntactic features of Philippine languages. The first section provides a good capsule statement on the development of Pilipino as a national language and its position under the new constitution. The second section reports the subgrouping theories from a number of reputable studies. The third section attempts to make statements about the development of Philippine linguistic features from Proto-Austronesian. The description of the development of Philippine personal pronouns is particularly amateurish, containing a series of apparently spot analyses without careful research to support his statements. The following is typical, 'The Northern Philippine Languages introduced two forms [of the third person plural nominative pronoun]; *sikada* which is the Manobo form [*sikanda*] without the nasal and *dida*, which is a combination of *di* [an old locative marker] and the Proto-Austronesian third person plural number nominative *da*'. There is no evidence from Cordilleran languages to support an earlier nasal in this pronoun as the author suggests. Comparative evidence suggests that the Proto-Cordilleran pronoun from which Pangasinan *sikara* (the language most closely resembling the cited *sikada*) and Kalinga, Bontok, etc. *dida* derive was **siqida*. The various analogical processes which resulted in the development of these forms is fully explained in Reid 1974(a) and (b). No old locative marker is responsible, nor is there any evidence that the Manobo form has a parallel history with the Pangasinan form (see also Harmon 1974).

From this section also it would be possible to add a long list of errors both in the data, their translation and their interpretation, but I think enough has been said.

As a Handbook of Philippine Language Groups this work is a failure. We can only hope that its place on the bookshelves will soon be replaced by a work that laymen, as well as linguists and anthropologists; will be able to refer to and be confident that the material contained in it is an accurate representation of the extensive literature now available on this great family of languages.

REFERENCES

- BLUST, ROBERT. 1977. Austronesian culture history: some linguistic inferences and their relationship to the archaeological record. *World Archaeology* 8.19-43.
- HARMON, CAROL W. 1974. Reconstructions of Proto-Manobo pronouns and case-marking particles. University of Hawaii Department of Linguistics Working Papers in Linguistics 6.6.13-46.
- HIDALGO, CESAR A. and ARACELI C. 1971. A tagmemic grammar of Ivatan. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics Special Monograph No. 2*. Manila: University of the Philippines Press.
- KEESING, FELIX M. 1962. *The ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS

- LLAMZON, TEODORO A. 1968. *Modern Tagalog, a functional-structural approach*. Manila: Ateneo Language Center.
- PAWLEY, ANDREW and ROGER GREEN. 1973. Dating the dispersal of the Oceanic languages. *Papers of the First International Conference on Comparative Austronesian Linguistics, 1974 – Oceanic*. *Oceanic Linguistics* 13.1-68.
- REID, LAWRENCE A. 1963. Phonology of Central Bontoc. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 72.21-26.
- _____. 1964. A matrix analysis of Bontoc case-marking particles. *Oceanic Linguistics* 3.116-137.
- _____. 1966. *An Ivatan syntax*. *Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 2*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
- _____. 1971a. *Philippine minor languages: word lists and phonologies*. *Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 8*, Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
- _____. 1971b. *Central Bontoc: discourse, paragraph and sentence structures*. *Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields No. 27*, University of Oklahoma Press.
- _____. 1973. Kankanay and the problem *R and *1 reflexes. In Parangal kay Cecilio Lopez, 51-63, *Philippine Journal of Linguistics Special Monograph No. 4*, Quezon City: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- _____. 1974a. The pronominal systems of Proto-Cordilleran, Philippines. *University of Hawaii Department of Linguistics Working Papers in Linguistics* 6.6.1-11.
- _____. 1974b. The Central Cordilleran subgroup of Philippine languages. *Papers of the First International Conference on Comparative Austronesian Linguistics, 1974-Proto-Austronesian and Western Austronesian*. *Oceanic Linguistics* 13.511-560.
- _____. 1976. *Bontok-English dictionary, with English-Bontok finder list*. *Pacific Linguistics, Series c, No. 36*. Canberra: Australian National University.
- SCOTT, WILLIAM HENRY. 1966. *On the Cordillera*. Manila: MCS Enterprises.
- VANOVERBERGH, MORICE. 1956. *Iloko-English dictionary*. Manila: CICM Press.

DE GUZMAN, VIDEA P. 1978. Syntactic derivation of Tagalog verbs.
Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press. Pp. XIII, 413.

Reviewed by Teresita C. Rafael, De La Salle University

De Guzman's book, originally her dissertation, is an interesting treatment of structure in a Philippine language. For all of us interested in Philippine linguistics, her study is a welcome addition, a new and refreshing look at a fascinating structure — Tagalog verbs. De Guzman uses a model which she says is 'narrowly restricted', 'a less powerful framework', but 'one which can account for a broad range of linguistic facts'. Her model is Lexicase. It is a general feeling that much of the grammar of Tagalog lies in its highly complex verbal system. To come to grips with such a system and to adequately explain and classify it, it seems that what is required is a framework which is so simple that important generalizations can be brought to light. It is sad but often the case that the model obfuscates, rather than explains, the linguistic phenomena at hand. According to De Guzman, Lexicase is the answer.

It is claimed that the main merits of Lexicase, a model developed by Starosta and his students in Hawaii, are its simplicity and its recourse to surface structure. The model analyzes linguistic outputs rather than abstractions from outputs. It does not recognize the level of deep structure. It does away completely with transformations which relate deep and surface structure.

The framework has three components: the Phrase Structure Rules (PSR), the Lexicon, and the Phonological Component. Of the three, the Lexicon is the most interesting. It is here that virtually all of the grammatical issues are explained.

The Lexicase PSR's generate trees whose terminal constituents are words and not morphemes or formatives. These PSR's are very much similar to those in Chomsky 1965. One difference, however, is that in the former only category symbols like V, NP, PP, and N, which dominate lexical items, are allowed, while in the latter, both category symbols and items with relational or semantic content such as Tense, Place, and Manner are included. All these other items are indicated in the Lexicon in Lexicase. Another difference is that in Chomsky 1965, the PSR's contain subcategorization and selectional restriction rules. Moreover, the labelled trees include complex symbols which conflate these selectional and subcategorization rules. Again, these semantic specifications and subcategorizations are indicated only in the Lexicon in Lexicase.

The Phonological Component is not fully described in most Lexicase literature. It is generally taken that this component gives the full phonological representation of the sentence. But since morphological processes are specified in the Lexicon, the Phonological Component operates only across word boundaries within the sentence.

The Lexicon lists the lexical items together with their phonological representations, their category features, their case features, and the syntactic and semantic features. These features are bundles, and not ordered categories like those of Generative Semantics (cf. atomic predicates). The Lexicon also lists three types of lexical rules: (a) Subcategorization Rules which identify the subcategories of the lexical items, (b) Redundancy Rules which add or predict lexical features on the basis of some others, and (3) Derivation Rules which relate one lexical item or class of items to another.

From the above, it is immediately apparent that Lexicase is a cross between Chomsky's and Fillmore's models. De Guzman's work is a study on how well the framework,

which is admittedly derived from two others and which is asserted to be an improvement over both of the sources, handles Tagalog data. The author, consistent with the model of her choice, works primarily on the lexicon of Tagalog verbs, touching only very briefly on the PSR's of the language in one of the major chapters. The syntactic derivations she points to are for the most part localized in the Lexicon.

The book contains four chapters: Chapter I gives the Introduction to the study. Here the author identifies the structure in focus, describes the Lexicase framework, and compares Lexicase with Chomsky 1965, Fillmore 1968 and 1971, and the Generative Semantics of Lakoff.

Chapter II discusses case relations and case forms. The proponents of Lexicase acknowledge the leadership of Blake, Fillmore and Chafe in conceptualizing the notion of case. Lexicase, however, differs from these other descriptions in significant ways. First, in contrast to Fillmore, but in agreement with Chafe (also in contrast to a much later Relational Grammar where cases are considered linguistic primitives) the verb is central and its case frame specification dictates the kinds of actants or nominal expressions it can take. Second, in contrast to both Fillmore and Chafe, because they recognize two levels (deep and surface) and transformations which relate these levels (such as Subjectivization), Lexicase marks both case relation and case form only on one level. Case relations indicate the semantic relationship of a nominal with the verb (or predicate). Case forms realize this relationship as well as give the grammatical function of the case relation. For instance, a sentence may contain the actant *ang nanay* 'mother' which has the following case specification $[+NM, +Ben]$. The benefactive feature [+Ben] indicates that *nanay* is the person/being for whom the action is carried. The nominative feature [+NM] indicates that the actant is marked and functions as the subject of the sentence. The description is very appealing because it suggests that case relations and case forms are unified entities and must not be separated by transformations which could very well distort our perception of syntactic structures.

One thought, however, comes to mind. It is true that the Lexicase PSR's become very simple with the exclusion of transformational rules. However, it is also true that features like the ones above must be reflected somewhere in the grammar, in this case, the Lexicon. Moreover, relationships which hold between sentences, if not indicated in the base or transformational component, must be indicated somewhere else, again in this case, as features (syntactic or semantic) or as rules (derivational) in the Lexicon. In Lexicase, therefore, the Lexicon becomes the highly efficient component, to compensate for the imposed inactivity of the base.

In general, the case relations identified agree with most standard descriptions of Tagalog case (see for instance Otones, McFarland, Ramos). In addition, the modifications on case suggested by De Guzman seem to be generally reasonable.

For instance, her distinction between inner locatives and outer locatives in Tagalog captures an insight that has not, to my knowledge, been described very well elsewhere. There are, however, certain classifications with which I do not feel very much at ease.

The Benefactive case relation is problematic. The inclusion of the notion 'purpose' in the definition seems to be counter-intuitive. In the sentence:

Kumakain ako ng bitamina *para lumakas*.
'I eat vitamins *to grow strong*'.

the italicized phrase is analyzed as [+Ben]. The confusion lies in the fact that both 'purpose' and 'benefactive' share the same case form manifested by *para*. In this instance, the choice of conflating both 'purpose' and 'benefactive' into [+Ben] is motivated by surface structure. However, since case relation has been defined as the semantic relationship between a nominal and its predicate, and since case is registered in the Lexicon,

which admittedly deals with the 'intrinsic' meaning of the structure, will it not be a better strategy to list two separate case relations and to recognize surface homonymy in *para*?

De Guzman is correct in not labelling [+Ben] all structures that have been classified previously as 'indirect object'. In the sentence below *Nena* is obviously not benefactive:

Binigyan ko ng pera si *Nena para sa simbahan*.

[+Loc] [+Ben]

'I gave Nena money for the church'

What is not clear to me is why the actant *Nena* is analyzed as [+Loc]. I suppose it is in analogy to a second example given in the book:

Binigyan ko ng pera si *Nena sa simbahan*.

[+Ben] [+Loc]

'I gave Nena money in church'

However, I cannot see a more logical reason either in the surface structure or in the meaning structure which would support the analysis of *Nena* as [+Loc].

One observation which I find most appropriate is that regarding the classification of a language as either accusative or ergative. Tagalog seems to defy such a classification. In Tagalog, the verbs and verb classes dictate the cooccurring case relation which may be realized in the nominative case, that is, will take the [+NM] feature and correspondingly will be manifested as subject of the sentence. It is clear that neither the accusative nor the ergative classification applies to Tagalog. What is a better analysis for the language is to classify verbs and verb classes rather than the total language itself. The ergative verb or verb class may be defined as 'one which may have a [+Agt] or a [+Ins] in its case frame for some types, but whose unmarked subject choice is [+Obj]'. The accusative or nonergative verb may be defined as one 'whose unmarked subject choice is determined according to the Fillmorean hierarchy of Agt-Dat-Ins-Obj'. The redundancy rules De Guzman comes up with to define the possible cases for the [+Erg] verbs capture a generalization which has escaped most investigators of Tagalog verbs. The discussion on ergative verbs is repeated in Chapter III.

Chapter III starts with a review of major studies on Tagalog verbs. Included are the works of Bloomfield, Blake, Wolfenden, Llamzon, Otañes, and Ramos. Then the chapter moves on to its main discussion, the inventory of the semantic and syntactic features of verbs and their subcategorization based on the features identified.

The main contribution of the chapter lies in its classification of verb stems according to their inflectional features (semantic and syntactic). The feature trees and charts appeal to my sense of order and logic. The two generalizations on verb stem classifications are heuristic and significant: (a) 'Each verb stem class is distinguished from every other class by at least one distinct feature' and (b) 'Each stem class manifests its own voice paradigm and corresponding voice affix or affixes according to its distinguishing features'.

One description, however, does not completely concur with my own. This is regarding the feature [+Recent]. De Guzman gives us five reasons why this feature cannot be classified as an aspect inflection. Among them are: (a) It exhibits syntactic characteristics which are unique to itself. (b) A following particle *lang* is required with this feature. (c) The application of this feature is restricted to certain well-defined instances. All these, I feel, indicate the uniqueness of the feature, but they do not necessarily disqualify the feature as an aspect inflection. Again, it is obvious that the motivations for the conclusion drawn by the author are surface structure characteristics.

The distinction between derivation and inflection are given in Chapter III. It is a correct contention that 'if inflection and derivation are properly distinguished, we can

provide a more satisfactory account of the lexical relations among verb forms'. Derivation is defined as the 'creation of a lexical entry in a given syntactic category in accordance with a systematic analogy with a lexical entry in another syntactic category'. Inflection is defined as a 'modification in the phonological representation of a lexical entry which corresponds to the choice of a particular inflectional feature'.

In Chapter IV, the lexical process of derivation is further explained. It is claimed that in Lexicase, a variety of syntactic relationships can be explained much more efficiently and with less fanfare through derivations which apply on lexical items rather than through transformations which apply on trees. Derivation rules may be fully productive (as when application is quite uninhibited), semi-productive (as when application is restricted), and idiomatic (as when application is considerably limited). There are two basic derivation types: syntactic derivation and semantic derivation. The former changes the lexical categorization on verb subcategorization of a stem. The latter modifies the semantic features and morphological structures of the stem. This latter type includes formation of simultaneous plural, intensive, moderative, accidental, and requestive. The chapter actually expands on what are identified as syntactic derivations which change lexical categories and those which change verb subcategories. The former include derivations of verb stems from nouns and from adjectives. The latter include three types of derivations: (a) those that change morphological voice features (e.g. *ipampano'od* 'used for watching' which requires [+Ins] in the nominative is derived from *pano'od* 'watch' which does not have this requirement), (b) those that change case relation features (e.g. *mahinog* 'become ripe' which does not have an agentive counterpart can be the source of the causative *pahinog* 'allow to ripen') and (c) those that incorporate case relations (e.g. *pagintindihan* 'try to understand each other' which as an intentional reciprocal psych verb is derived from *intindi* 'understand', an intentional perception verb).

Through derivation of this latter type (where semantic features and subcategorization features are changed, rather than category features only), relationships between lexical items and, ultimately, between sentences can be accounted for. Here the efficiency of the Lexicon is once more demonstrated.

This conceptualization of derivation is, however, quite a departure from the usual definition of the concept, which allows only for lexical operations which change the lexical category of the item. To most, only processes which derive a noun, for instance, from an adjective or a verb from a noun, are considered derivation. Such notions as 'frequentative', 'simultaneous plural' and 'accidental' are considered inflectional rather than derivational. The positing of rules which explicitly relate verb stems is required in Lexicase, since this is one way by which crucial relationships in Tagalog can be highlighted. The grammar which denies a more abstract level by which relationships may be explained must have a mechanism to explain such relationships elsewhere. This is the motivation underlying the novel look at derivation. Otherwise, this expanded definition of derivation is not justified, and the added semantic features can just as well be described as inflectional.

In sum, the book is a consistent study of Tagalog verbs using a lexical framework which relieves the base component of much of the burden of explanation and lays such a burden instead on the lexicon.

DOCUMENTATION SECTION:

THE USES OF LINGUISTICS IN THE PHILIPPINE SETTING

Report on the Linguistic Society of the Philippines convention on May 5, 1979 at the
Pablo Nicolas Auditorium, De La Salle University

TERESITA C. RAFAEL
De La Salle University

The theme of this year's convention was 'The uses of linguistics in the Philippine setting'. Curtis D. McFarland, in his keynote address, discussed the various possibilities by which linguists can make use of their training and expertise in helping Filipinos solve their problems. In the national life, the development of a national language and the questions of language use in schools require that people come up with options, make decisions, and implement plans. To do this, they must be educated as to the possible alternatives and consequences. The linguist can come in not to force decisions, but to clarify issues and to share his training. Outside of academia, the role of the linguist is not as well-defined. However, it is not difficult to imagine communication problems which require expert knowledge of language structure and systems. The whole area of communication for persuasion, for instance, is definitely 'marketable'. It is a question of articulation, of getting involved, of making others know, and of convincing ourselves as well that we have relevance and that we have practical applications for our conceptual models.

Three topics were discussed by three nonlinguist panels to which three sets of linguist reactors responded. These topics were: (a) Linguists in the academic world, (b) Linguists outside of academia, and (3) Linguists and the Philippines in the future.

The panelists for the first session discussed answers to the question: 'What can a linguist do in a university beside teach Introduction to Linguistics?' The panelists were Exaltacion Ramos, Dean of Arts and Science, De La Salle University; Loretta Sicat, Executive Director, Philippine Social Science Council; Pacita Habana, Program Director, Innovative Technology (INNOTECH) Center of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO); and Angela Lansang, Dean of the Graduate School, St. Louis University.

Ramos pointed out that the linguists' participation in other departments has become very important in the university. In whatever discipline language figures as a significant dimension or parameter, the input of the linguist becomes necessary. She particularly specified the areas of psychology (verbal behavior and social interaction), anthropology (culture and language), sociology (sociolinguistics), and political science (language and politics).

Sicat focused on the role of linguists in national development. She stressed the need for national language development, the trend toward indigenization of research, the process of research dissemination and research utilization. In all these areas, the linguists can come in, actively participate and bring about the desired changes.

Habana described various programs of the INNOTECH where, through better instructional management and self-teaching modules, education can be carried on for more people with fewer teachers. The language dimension is important since basic literacy and knowledge depend on language and since teaching materials must be tested for adequacy, aptness, readability, and comprehensibility of language. Also in training implementors, the barriers in most cases are linguistic in nature.

Lansang said that the fulfillment of a linguist in the university is first of all as a teacher. But, then, he can go beyond this and help tackle problems related to language. Because he has the tools and training, he can help identify problems as well as evolve projects to solve these problems. The problems can be those related to the propagation of Pilipino, the implementation of the Bilingual Policy, the raising of literacy rates. In short, the linguist can help bring about the linkages between education and the linguistic realities of life in the Philippines.

The consensus from the reactors centered around the necessity of 'marketing' or selling the linguist. The slogan can be: See a linguist for a language problem.

The discussion at the second session was on the question 'What can a linguist do in Makati?' The nonlinguist panelists were Luchi Ticson, Group Head of the Editorial Section, Sycip-Gorres-Velayo; Herminia Barcelona, Dean of Arts and Sciences, University of the East, who acted as proxy for Josefina Patron, Research Director of the National Media Production Center; and Raquel Balagtas, Programmer at the Technology Resource Center.

Ticson enumerated a number of areas where linguists would be invaluable. They can work in the area of evaluation, that is, developing evaluative instruments, actually testing applicants on their language skills, and evaluating language training programs. They can explore the area of personnel training itself. Developing communication skills among staff is one of the major concerns of business. With their knowledge of communication systems, they can look into the networks of communication in business, the types of oral and written reports done, and the interaction among business associates. Finally, linguists can do basic research on the distinctive features of the language of business.

Barcelona spoke for Patron on the areas in mass media and professional communications where linguists can find applications for their training. The National Media Production Center is the major information-education arm of the government. Among its tasks are: drawing up media strategy, producing media materials, distributing and disseminating materials, and conducting research and evaluation. The linguists can be involved directly in the numerous projects in their capacity as communications experts. Linguists can also be involved indirectly on a consultancy basis.

Balagtas stressed the fact that linguists can help immensely in manpower development, in project management of language programs, and in copywriting and advertising.

After the panel presentation, the reactors responded and agreed that there is a necessity for setting up a mechanism for consultancies. One of the first steps to take is to compile a directory of linguists and make this available to different companies.

The last session explored the question 'What can a linguist prepare for?' The panelists were Co King Uy, Director of the Computer Center, De La Salle University (for computers), Alfonso De Guzman, Educational Development Projects Implementing Task Force (EDPITAF) (for communications), Arlyne de los Santos of De La Salle University (for population) and Robert Salazar of De La Salle University (for regional development).

Co King Uy brought up the topic of cybernetics and the points of contact between artificial and natural languages at a theoretical level. In the Philippines, hardware technology is imported wholesale; that is, computers come to us with fully built-in systems. Thus, research is not possible at the present time. The question then is not how linguists can help computer science, but rather, how the computers can help the linguists.

De Guzman made a plea for keeping in mind the producers (the printer and the compositor) and the consumer (the reader) in any kind of language use. He pointed out the need for a programmer to do a special program for syllabifying Pilipino for printer's use, for instance. He also pointed out the intrinsic difficulties connected with the IPA symbols.

De los Santos said that in any kind of demographic projections about the future of the Philippines, inputs from linguists are needed for the following areas: census data, number of speakers of dialects, trends in the growth or decay of dialects, spread or dissemination of Pilipino. As the Philippines grows in population (the projection for the year

2000 is twice the present population), we need a more efficient network of communications, one requirement of which is a common language. At a lower level, there is a necessity for translations to disseminate important information especially about planning of families.

Salazar focused mostly on the necessity of adequate language use for disseminating concepts of development and innovation in a region and possible communication barriers arising from language. The right kind of language (the local dialect, the local *lingua franca*) will make the agencies of development accessible to people, and help them become aware of their rights and of the need for proper legislation.

The consensus was that linguists need to define their role and themselves more precisely for nonlinguists, since judging from the different nonlinguists requested to respond to the questions, it is clear that linguists are identified mostly as language teachers, particularly teachers of English. An interesting question came up, one for which no consensus was reached: Do we narrow down the concept of a linguist, or do we expand it to include all the various roles possible for him?

Obituary

DR. CECILIO LOPEZ

February 1, 1898-September 5, 1979

Professor Emeritus of Linguistics and Oriental Studies,
University of the Philippines

Professor Cecilio Lopez began as an undergraduate student of zoology at the University of the Philippines and developed a life-long interest in linguistics under the tutelage of Otto Scheerer, the founder of the Department of Linguistics at the University in the early 1920's.

Trained in linguistics at the University of Hamburg under Otto Dempwolff, the first systematizer of Austronesian Comparative Studies, Lopez wrote a doctoral dissertation in 1930 comparing Ilocano and Tagalog (his first language).

He then became the first trained linguist of the country and spent the rest of his life connected with the University of the Philippines as a professor and Head of the Department of Oriental Languages and at one time Secretary of the Graduate School, except for two periods of government service as full-time Secretary of the Institute of National Language (1936-1941) during the Quezon Administration and again as Director of the Institute of National Language for a short period (1954-1955) during the Magsaysay Administration.

Lopez taught basic linguistics to the founding members of the Institute of National Language, commissioned by a Presidential Executive Order under the National Language Law (Commonwealth Act Number 570) to select and standardize a national language for the Philippines, which was granted Commonwealth status in 1936 and was to be granted independence ten years later in 1946.

In connection with his work at the Institute, Lopez wrote a *Manual of the Philippine National Language* in English at the behest of President Manuel L. Quezon for use by teachers in their teaching of the new national language based on Tagalog. The Manual was based on Bloomfield's classic 1917 Tagalog grammar but was supplemented by a section on syntax which was Lopez' specific contribution.

In spite of administrative work at the Institute and at the University, Lopez continued his research, gathered data, and spent his retirement years as Emeritus Professor (1963) not only continuing to teach Comparative Austronesian to University of the Philippines graduate students but also preparing his manuscripts for publications by the University of the Philippines Linguistics Department journal, *The Archive*.

A Festschrift was presented by his friends and colleagues here and abroad on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday and subsequently a collection of his writings was compiled in 1977 by Ernesto Constantino, Professor of Linguistics at the University of the Philippines, his student and later colleague, and editor of his manuscripts.

Lopez suffered from cardiac arrest on September 5, 1979 after a bout of illness from which he seemingly recovered. At the necrological services in his memory, his colleagues and former students paid tribute to their dean and to the Philippines' first native linguist.

ANDREW GONZALEZ, FSC

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF THE PHILIPPINES ACTIVITIES
1978 – 1979

1. The Board met monthly on the last Friday of the month to consider pending matters. The meeting was usually followed by the monthly lectures.

Lectures for last year were the following:

Prof. Dr. Heinrich Kelz	:	'Oppositions in Phonology: Theoretical Dichotomies'
Prof. Kazuo Akasaka	:	'Trends in English Language Teaching in Japan'
Teresita C. Rafael	:	'Pidginization and Creolization in Hawaii'
Michael Smithies	:	'Practical Approaches to English for Special Purposes'
Thomas Scott Goodrich	:	'Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies of Language Use in a Multi-Ethnic Philippine Classroom'
Stanley Kurtz	:	'The Case for English Spelling Revision'

2. PUBLICATIONS:

The combined June and December 1978 (Vol. 9 Nos. 1 and 2) issue of the *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* were distributed.

3. ACTIVITIES:

- 3.1. Under the sponsorship of the Ford Foundation, Bangkok, Prof. Ladislav Zgusta conducted a workshop on lexicography on May 14 to June 12, 1979. Participants from the LSP were the consortium students, LSP members and key lexicographers of the Institute of National Language. An Indonesian and a Malaysian representatives also participated.
- 3.2. The Ministry of Education and Culture with the assistance of the Surian ng Wikang Pambansa, Linguistic Society of the Philippines and Philippine Association for Language Teaching, sponsored a conference on "Bilingual Education Four Years After and Beyond" on October 18 to 20, 1979 at the Health Education Auditorium of the Philippine Normal College. The conference was attended by language supervisors of the different Ministry of Education and Culture regions. Problems were discussed regarding the implementation of the Bilingual Education Policy in the Philippines and some solutions to these problems.
- 3.3. With the cooperation of the Goethe House German Cultural House, the LSP and PNC sponsored a series of lectures by Dr. H.E. Piepho, Head of the Linguistics Department of Giessen University, West Germany.

PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS

3.5. A summer workshop was held under the sponsorship of the Ministry of Education and Culture, with the cooperation of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines, Philippine Normal College and Pambansang Samahan ng Linggwistikang Pilipino on updating the Teaching of English in Philippine Schools and Using Pilipino as a Medium of Instruction in Social Studies and the Social Sciences. Participants were teachers and supervisors at the Primary and Secondary Levels, both private and public.

4. FINANCES:

We obtain subsidies for our publications from the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the National Science Development Board through the Philippine Social Science Council. For operating funds, we depend on income generated by our workshops, the sales of our publications and membership dues.

ANDREW GONZALEZ, FSC
Executive Secretary

**LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF THE PHILIPPINES EXECUTIVE BOARD
1979**

- President** : Dr. Bonifacio P. Sibayan
President, Philippine Normal College
Taft Avenue, Manila
- Vice-President** : Dr. Ponciano B. P. Pineda
Director, Institute of National Language
Ministry of Education and Culture
Arroceros, Manila
- Treasurer** : Dr. Fe T. Otones
Director, Language Study Center
Philippine Normal College
Taft Avenue, Manila
- Board Members** : Dr. Edilberto Dagot,
Academic Vice-President
Philippine Normal College
Taft Avenue, Manila
- Mr. Leonard Newell
Summer Institute of Linguistics
12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
- Dr. Emy S. Pascasio
Ateneo de Manila University
Loyola Heights, Quezon City
- Dr. Gloria Chan Yap
Chairperson, Linguistics Department
Ateneo de Manila University
Loyola Heights, Quezon City
- Executive Secretary:** Dr. Andrew Gonzalez, FSC
President
De La Salle University
Taft Avenue, Manila

MEMBERS OF THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF THE PHILIPPINES 1979 – 1980

1. Shirley Abbot, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Q.C.
2. Socorro Abrena, Engineering Department, Institute of Arts and Sciences, Araneta University Foundation, Quezon City
3. Medaylin Acraman, Mindanao State University, Marawi City
4. Carmen Advincula, Naval School of Fisheries, Naval, Leyte
5. Soledad Agner, Normal Hall, Taft Avenue, Manila
6. Melinda Aguilar, GSIS Village Elementary School, GSIS Village, Quezon City
7. Wilfredo Alberca, Polytechnic University of the Philippines, Sta. Mesa, Manila
8. Rebecca Alcantara, Head, English Department, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila
9. Tita Alcazar, Centro Escolar University, Mendiola, Manila
10. Concepcion Alegre, Assumption College, Grade School, Antipolo, Rizal
11. Rosario Aliño, Normal Hall, Taft Avenue, Manila
12. Larry Allen, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
13. Joe Allison, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
14. Pablo Y. Alpas, Ministry of Education and Culture, Regional Office XII, Cotabato City
15. Rosalina M. Alpas, Division of City Schools, Cotabato City
16. Ester L. Andin, Ministry of Education and Culture, Regional Office III, San Fernando, Pampanga
17. Evan Antworth, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Q.C.
18. Cristeta P. Aquino, Nueva Vizcaya Provincial School Division, Bayombong, Nueva Vizcaya
19. Gervacia P. Arce, Divine Word University, Tacloban City
20. Malcolm 'Armour, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Q.C.
21. Ernestina Averilla, Ministry of Education and Culture Regional Office V, Legazpi City
22. Paquito Badayos, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila
23. Araceli K. Bael, Provincial Schools Division of Zamboanga del Norte
24. Rahiema, Bagis, ILBSAT Jolo, Sulu
25. Muhammad Hasan Bakalla, Phonetics Laboratory, Faculty of Arts, University of Riyadh, Saudi Arabia
26. Edilberta Cinco-Bala, Language Study Center, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila
27. Silverio S. Baltazar, Engineering Department, University of the East, C.M. Recto, Manila
28. Francisca A. Bangug, Provincial School Division of Isabela
29. Daisy H. Banta, Dr. Juan G. Nolasco High School, Herbosa, Tondo, Manila
30. Sr. Mary Angela Barrios, St. Paul College, Quezon City
31. Gloria V. Baylon, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila
32. Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista, Research and Publication Office, De La Salle University, Manila
33. Keith Benn, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Q.C.
34. Clementina C. Bongon, Ministry of Education and Culture Regional Office V, Legazpi City
35. Cherry Borres, L. L. Manrique Construction, Palao, Iligan City
36. Robert Brichoux, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Q.C.
37. Teresa Bumanglag, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila
38. Angeles Cabezudo, Provincial Schools Division of Camarines Norte, Daet, Camarines Norte
39. Antonio Cabayon, D.D.H.P. M.H.S., Jolo, Sulu
40. Zenaida D. Cabrera, Pateros Municipal High School, Pateros, Metro Manila
41. Salvacion T. Canlas, Language Study Center, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila
42. Emma S. Castillo, Language Study Center, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila
43. Lorena Causing, Iligan City High School, Iligan City
44. Remedios M. Cayari, Population Education Program, Ministry of Education and Culture, Arroceros, Manila
45. Dolores D. Codamon, Provincial School Division of Ifugao
46. Lilia R. Cortez, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila
47. Morris Cottle, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Q.C.
48. Corazon P. Dadufalza, Block 3 Lot 24, Pine Street, West Fairview, Q.C.
49. Edilberto Dagot, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila
50. Neonitta Danao, 53 T. Mascardo, Project 4, Quezon City
51. Francois Dell, 62 rue Claude Bernard, 75005 Paris, France
52. Teresita U. Diaz, Ministry of Education and Culture Regional Office V, Legazpi City

53. Eunice Diment, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Q.C.
54. Sr. Isabelita Riego De Dios, RVM Generalate, 214 N. Domingo, Q.C.
55. Steve Doty, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
56. Marjorie Draper, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Q.C.
57. Josefa Duldulao, PWU Residence College, Taft Avenue, Manila
58. Richard Elkins, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Q.C.
59. Virgilio Enriquez, Department of Psychology, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Q.C.
60. Nieves B. Epistola, Department of English, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Q.C.
61. Ross Errington, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
62. Corazon Esclabanan, Ministry of Education and Culture, Region IV-A
63. Vangie Esguerra, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
64. Soledad E. Espinosa, Provincial Division of Zambales, Iba, Zambales
65. Priscilla B. Faraon, Sienna College, Del Monte, Quezon City
66. Eric Fleischman, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
67. Marvin Flores, 117 R. Valenzuela, Marulas, Valenzuela, Metro Manila
68. Kippy Forfia, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
69. Robin Forman, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
70. Takashi Fukuda, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
71. Lourdes Gantioque, ISU, Isabela
72. Andrew Gallman, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Q.C.
73. Nicolas C. Gelicanao, Division of City Schools, Iloilo City
74. Richard Gieser, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Q.C.
75. Irene G. Glinoga, Makati Polytechnic Community College, Buendia Ave., Makati, Metro Manila
76. Andrew Gonzalez, FSC, De La Salle University, Taft Avenue, Manila
77. Hella Goschnick, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
78. Bruce Grayden, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
79. Peter Green, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
80. Evelyn S. Guibani, University of Santo Tomas, España, Manila
81. Ricardo M. Gutierrez, Assumption College, San Fernando, Pampanga
82. Austin Hale, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Q.C.
83. Bill Hall, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
84. Tom Headland, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
85. Alan Healey, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
86. Mr. & Mrs. Richard Hohulin, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Q.C.
87. Marc Jacobson, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
88. Clay Johnston, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
89. Carmelita-S. Kabiting, MEC Regional Office III, San Fernando, Pampanga
90. Heather Kilgour, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
91. Loreto T. Lagdaan, Division of City Schools, Naga City
92. Ginny Larson, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
93. Perfecta Laureles, 90 Bo. Litlit, Silang, Cavite
94. Melinda Laviña, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
95. Linda Flor L. Lazo, 31 N. Isidro, BF Homes, Novaliches, Quezon City
96. Hue Hung Lee, 838 Severino Reyes, Sta. Cruz, Manila
97. Bagabag Library, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
98. Nasuli Library, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
99. Manila Library, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
100. Art Lightbody, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
101. Adelia H. Lingan, Ministry of Education and Culture Regional Office II, Tuguegarao, Cagayan
102. Librada Llamado, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila
103. Beatrice Low, Textbook Committee, EDPITAF, Marvin Plaza, Makati, Metro Manila
104. Casilda E. Luzares, Languages and Literature, De La Salle University, Manila
105. Antonio T. Mabalot, Ateneo de Manila Grade School, Loyola Heights, Quezon City
106. Perry Macabuhay, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
107. Scott MacGregor, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
108. Helen Madrid, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
109. Aurora L. Madrigal, Rosario Institute, Rosario, Cavite
110. Josefina M. Magcamit, Provincial Schools Division of Marinduque, Boac, Marinduque
111. Jonathan Malicsi, Linguistics Department, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City
112. Araceli Manaligod, Institute of National Language, Ministry of Education and Culture, Arroceros, Manila
113. Rundall Maree, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
114. Alice Marfil, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila
115. Ken Maryott, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City

PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS

116. Pilar S. Matugas, Provincial Schools Division of Zamboanga del Sur
117. Curtis D. McFarland, AA-Ken, Tokyo Gaikokugo Daigaku 4-51, Nishigahara, Kitaku, Tokyo 114
118. Howard McKaughan, Graduate Division, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, HA 96822
119. Noemi Medina, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila
120. Remedios Melo, Makati High School, P.P. Roxas St., Makati, Metro Manila
121. Rosamilla A. Mendoza, Ministry of Education and Culture Regional Office II, Tuguegarao, Cagayan
122. Carmencita F. Merillo, International School, Bel-Air, Makati, Metro Manila
123. Luz Mill, Samar National School, Catbalogan, Samar
124. Dinah F. Mindo, Provincial Schools Division of Romblon, Romblon, Romblon
125. Nicol Miraflores, Ateneo de Manila Grade School, Loyola Heights, Quezon City
126. Eufemia Molina, Mount Carmel College
127. Cristina C. Monis, Block 74, Lot 15, GSIS, La Mesa, Novaliches, Quezon City
128. Len Newell, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
129. Tom Nickell, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
130. Lourdes S. Nuñez, Mapa High School, English Department, 200 San Rafael, Manila
131. David Ohlson, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
132. Zenaida Olonan, Polytechnic University of the Philippines, Sta. Mesa, Manila
133. Gemma Orqueiza, 27 Mabini St., Oroquieta City
134. Fe T. Otanes, Language Study Center, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila
135. Restituto P. Palisada, Provincial Schools Division of Iloilo, La Paz, Iloilo City
136. Ma. Teresita Palispio, Mount Carmel College
137. Kemp Pallesen, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
138. Ma. Teresita Martin-Palo, Ateneo de Manila University, Loyola Heights, Quezon City
139. Porfiria G. Parker, 16 Peppermint Road, Dreamhouse Subd., de la Paz,, Pasig, Metro Manila
140. Emy Pascasio, Linguistics Department, Ateneo de Manila University, Loyola Heights, Q.C.
141. Phebe Peña, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila
142. Andrea N. Peñaflores, 37 Dr. Alejos St., Quezon City
143. Gary Persons, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
144. Ponciano B.P. Pineda, Institute of National Language, Arroceros, Manila
145. Doris Porter, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
146. Rizalina M. Puzon, Manila Science High School, P. Faura and Taft Avenue, Manila
147. Velia C. Racelis, Sariaya Institute, Sariaya, Quezon
148. Teresita C. Rafael, Languages and Literature, De La Salle University, Manila
149. Priscilla Ramiscal, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
150. Jessie M. Reppy, 12 Santo Tomas, Urdaneta Village, Makati
151. Pacita H. Rey, St. Mary's Academy, P. Burgos, Pasay City
152. Lolita B. Reyes, 88 Kamuning Road, Quezon City
153. Soledad B. Reyes, Provincial Schools Division of Kalinga, Apayao
154. Carolina S.A. Rionda, College of Education, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Q.C.
155. Rosemary Rodda, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
156. Richard Roe, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
157. Angelita Romero, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila
158. Arselon Romero, Block 12, Lot 21, Soldier's Hall, Muntinlupa, Metro Manila
159. Fe D. Vallecser Romero, Katipunan National Agricultural School, Katipunan, Zamboanga del Norte
160. Edward Ruch, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
161. Fredeswinda M. Sabado, Muntinlupa National High School, NBP Reservation, Muntinlupa
162. Evelyn S. Salazar, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila
163. Erlinda C. Salera, Division Office, Pagadian City
164. Teresa D. Salero, Makati Polytechnic University College, Buendia, Makati, Metro Manila
165. Elisa F. Salva, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila
166. Aurora Samonte, 44 Malingap, Teachers' Village, Quezon City
167. Elen Samonte, 44 Malingap, Teachers' Village, Quezon City
168. Alfonso O. Santiago, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila
169. Paulina Santos, St. Paul College, Quezon City
170. Pilar Santos, English Department, University of Santo Tomas, España, Manila
171. Amelita G. Sarmenta, Division of City Schools, Cabanatuan City
172. Priscilla S. Sayson, Ministry of Education and Culture Regional Office X, Cagayan de Oro City
173. Ron Schumacher, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
174. Feliciano Señido, Institute of National Language, Arroceros, Manila
175. Minang D. Shareif, Mindanao State University, Marawi City
176. Jo Shetler, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
177. Kenichiro Shirai, Kyoto University, Dept. of Linguistics, Sakyo-ku, Kyoto, Japan
178. Bonifacio P. Sibayan, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila

LSP MEMBERS

179. Rosa V. Sioson, Parañaque Municipal High School, Sucat Road, Parañaque, Metro Manila
180. Rachel G. Silliman, 6316 Haven Avenue, Alta Loma, CA 91701
181. Sidney G. Silliman, 6316 Haven Avenue, Alta Loma CA 91701
182. Clarice Strong, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
183. Florencia S. Sugue, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila
184. Leticia L. Sunga, Jose Abad Santos High School, San Fernando, Pampanga
185. Nilda R. Sunga, Elpidio Quirino High School, Bacood, Sta. Mesa, Manila
186. Melchor Tatlonghari, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila
187. Ma. Lourdes G. Tayao, 105 Kamuning, Quezon City
188. Arnold Thiessen, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
189. David Thomas, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
190. Neville Thomas, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
191. Marilyn D. Tolentino, Assumption College Grade School, San Fernando, Pampanga
192. Imelda M. Torrano, St. Mary's Academy, P. Burgos, Pasay City
193. Hilda E. Trinidad, Provincial Schools Division of Legazpi City
194. Jose M. Trinidad, Partido National High School, Goa, Camarines Norte
195. Ester E. Tuy, Planning Service, Ministry of Education and Culture, Arroceros, Manila
196. Orfelina O. Tuy, Naga Central School, English Department, Ocampo St., Naga City
197. Rosalina Valladolid, Polytechnic University of the Philippines, Sta. Mesa, Manila
198. Lydia Villamil
199. Araceli Villamin, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila
200. Renato F. Villaroman, F. Villaroman Foundation College, High School, 1027 P. Gil, Paco, Manila
201. Flora M. de Veyra, Leyte National High School, Tacloban City
202. Judy Wallace, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
203. Chuck Walton, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
204. Daniel Weaver, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
205. Dag Wendel, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
206. Anne West, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
207. Claudia Whittle, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
208. Hartmut Wiens, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
209. Elmer Wolfenden, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
210. Hazel Wrigglesworth, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 12 Horseshoe Drive, Quezon City
211. Fe Aldave Yap, Institute of National Language, Arroceros, Manila
212. Gloria Chan Yap, Linguistic Dept., Ateneo de Manila University, Loyola Heights, Q.C.
213. David Zorc, 20 Turana Street, PO Batchelor, Nt 5791, Australia

Republic of the Philippines
Department of Public Works, Transportation and Communications
BUREAU OF POSTS
Manila

SWORN STATEMENT
(Required by Act 2580)

The undersigned, TERESITA C. RAFAEL, managing editor of The Philippine Journal of Linguistics, published semi-annually, in English and Pilipino, at De La Salle University, after having been duly sworn in accordance with law, hereby submits the following statement of ownership, management, circulation, etc., which is required by Act 2580, as amended by Commonwealth Act No. 201.

NAME	ADDRESS
Editor: Brother Andrew Gonzalez, FSC	De La Salle University, Manila
Managing Editor: Teresita C. Rafael	De La Salle University, Manila
Business Manager: Ma. Teresita Martin-Palo	Ateneo de Manila University, Q.C.
Owner: Linguistic Society of the Philippines	
Publisher: Linguistic Society of the Philippines	
Office of Publication: De La Salle University, Taft Avenue, Manila	
Printer: United Publishing Co.	1333 P. Guevara, Sta. Cruz, Manila

In case of publication other than daily, total number of copies printed and circulated of the last issue dated December 1978.

- 1. Sent to paid subscribers 100
- 2. Sent to others than paid subscribers . . 400
- Total 500

Teresita C. Rafael

TERESITA C. RAFAEL
Managing Editor

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN to before me this 15th day of March 1980, at Makati, Metro Manila, the affiant exhibiting his/her Residence Certificate No. 7223692 issued at Manila on February 26, 1980.

(SGD.) FELICIANO B. MACASPAC
Postal Inspector
(Officer administering oath)

NOTE: This form is exempt from the payment of documentary stamp tax.

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF THE PHILIPPINES PUBLICATIONS

1.	Comparative Phonology of Austronesian Word Lists, Volumes I, II, and III <i>by Dempwolff</i>	₱55.00	\$ 15.00
2.	A Tagmemic Grammar of Ivatan <i>by Cesar A. Hidalgo and Araceli C. Hidalgo.</i> ₱20.00		\$ 5.00
3.	A Dictionary of Cebuano Visayan <i>by John W. Wolff</i>	₱35.00	\$ 10.00
4.	A Study of Grammatical, Lexical and Cultural Interference <i>by Rosalina Morales Goulet</i>	₱12.00	\$ 3.00
5.	Parangal kay Cecilio Lopez <i>edited by Andrew B. Gonzalez, FSC</i>	₱25.00	\$ 6.00
6.	Philippine Palaeography <i>by Juan R. Francisco</i>	₱20.00	\$ 5.00
7.	Assessing Manpower and Teaching Materials for Bilingual Education: A Final Report <i>by Andrew B. Gonzalez, FSC and Leticia T. Postrado</i>	₱15.00	\$ 4.00
8.	Sarangani Manobo <i>by Carl D. Dubois</i>	₱15.00	\$ 4.00
9.	Language Planning and the Building of a National Language, <i>edited by Bonifacio P. Sibayan and Andrew B. Gonzalez, FSC</i>	₱35.00	\$ 15.00
10.	A T'boli Grammar <i>by Doris Porter</i>	₱37.20	\$ 5.10

LSP - SIL JOINT PUBLICATIONS

1.	Studies in Philippine Linguistics, Vol. 1.1 1977 <i>edited by Casilda E. Luzares and Austin Hale</i>	₱18.00	\$ 4.00
2.	Studies in Philippine Linguistics, Vol. 1.2 1977 <i>edited by Casilda E. Luzares and Austin Hale</i>	₱28.00	\$ 6.00
3.	Studies in Philippine Linguistics, Vol. 2.1 1978 <i>edited by Casilda E. Luzares and Austin Hale</i>	₱21.00	\$ 5.00

SEND ORDERS TO:

ANGELITA F. ALIM
Linguistics Office
De La Salle University
Taft Avenue, Manila