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Department of Linguistics
Palma Hall
Quirino Avenue
University of the Philippines
Diliman, Quezon City 1101
Philippines

<https://linguistics.upd.edu.ph/>

linguistics.upd@up.edu.ph

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**Who Does What to Whom:
Another Look at Role Relations in Philippine Languages**

Lawrence A. Reid
University of Hawai'i

1. Introduction

Questions about who does what to whom are basic to the understanding of the relationships between participants in speech acts whether one is talking about English, Philippine languages or for that matter any human language. How a language encodes such relationships is crucial not only to the description of the morphosyntax of a language, but also to the teaching of the language. In English, for example, there are a couple of basic ways a sentence can report a situation in which a cat bit a dog. Two neighbors, chatting over a can of beer, hear a hiss, a scuffle and a yelp behind them. They turn around and see a cat with raised hair around its neck and bared teeth, and a dog scampering away with its tail between its legs. One of the neighbors goes inside and tells his wife, "Hey, guess what I just saw? Our cat bit the neighbor's dog!!" Or the neighbor, reporting the same situation to his wife, might say! "Hey, guess what just happened? Our dog got bitten by the neighbor's cat!" There are a couple of important factors here which enable the neighbors' wives to understand what actually happened. The first is in terms of who did what to whom, that is who or what did the biting, linguists typically call that participant the ACTOR, and who or what got bitten, linguists typically call that participant the UNDERGOER. The second is the relationship of the interlocutors to the participants in the reported event. The cat was the most salient participant to the first neighbor (it was his cat), so he expressed the event, with some pride, as an active sentence, while the dog was the most salient participant to the second neighbor (it was his dog), so he expressed the event, with some chagrin, as a passive sentence. He might even have simply said, "Our dog got bitten!" and left out mention of the neighbor's cat, the actor, altogether.

It was the same situation, but reported in two different ways. The first placed the actor into the grammatical subject of the sentence, while the second placed the undergoer into the grammatical subject and downgraded the actor by referring to it by an oblique noun phrase that could have been left out altogether without damaging the grammaticality of the sentence. These two different ways of reporting the same situation are labeled in English and other European languages as ACTIVE and PASSIVE, and the over-arching relationship between them is referred to as VOICE.

So-called passive constructions have a wide range of grammatical forms in languages around the world. Many languages use passive auxiliary verbs, like English *be* or *get*, as in the passive sentence that the second neighbor used to report the situation. Other languages, such as Finnish, Cheremis and Turkish,¹ typically do not allow any mention at all of the actor participant, while others, like English allow it, but only by an oblique noun phrase. A typology of the different ways that passives can be constructed is explored in Shibatani (1985). The passive constructions that Shibatani talks about include a number of other constructions that are not passives in the sense we've just been talking about, but which use some of the same grammatical machinery, such as reflexives, reciprocals and the like. Of all the various ways, there is one common theme. In all types of passive and passive-like constructions, the actor is functionally—and consequently structurally—downgraded. This can be because we don't like to admit that our dog is no match for the cat next door, or because we don't know who the actor is, or because the actor is simply not important to the story. Note that while the active sentence with an actor and an undergoer in English is what we refer to as TRANSITIVE, a passive sentence is derived from it, and typically is INTRANSITIVE.

In this paper we will not only talk about sentences in Philippine languages in which the actor is downgraded, that is PASSIVES, but we will also talk about the opposite situation, sentences in which the undergoer is downgraded, a common sentence type in Philippine languages, appropriately called ANTIPASSIVES. We begin with a look at passives.

2. Passives in Philippine languages

Here we need to make a distinction between constructions that have been called passives in traditional descriptions of Philippine languages, and constructions that are *actually* passive in that the actor is downgraded. There are various kinds of constructions that have been called passive in Philippine language, there are the constructions that have been called passives but which are not, because the actor is not downgraded, then there are the constructions that in some Philippine languages may be true passives, but which overlap with stative and potential constructions which while having similar marking are probably not passives, and finally there are some Philippine languages that have developed real passive constructions.

2.1. Constructions that do not meet the minimal conditions for being passive

Traditional descriptions of Philippine languages, from the earliest Spanish grammars of the 16th and 17th centuries, up until the middle of the twentieth century, with only a few notable exceptions, labeled the well-known “non-actor-focus” (or “undergoer oriented”) constructions of Philippine languages as passive constructions. One of the exceptions was the first description of the grammar of the language of Bontoc, Mt. Province, written by a linguist, Carl Wilhelm Seidenadel, who never came to the Philippines but who gathered data from a number of Bontoc people who were taken for exhibition at the St. Louis World's Exposition in Missouri and who were subsequently displayed in Chicago during the summer and autumn of 1906 (see Reid (To appear)).

Seidenadel (1909:72) cites some twenty-five (mainly Spanish) publications on Philippine languages in which “the Three Passives and their alleged applications occur”.

¹ According to Shibatani (1985:831).

The publications Seidenadel cites range from the Spanish grammars of Ilokano by Francisco Lopez (1628) and of Tagalog by Sebastian de Totanes (1796) to those of Hiligaynon by Alonso Mentrída (1818), of Ibanag by José Maria Fausto de Cuevas (1854), of Maguindanao by Jacinto Juanmarti (1892), and numerous other works by scholars such as Brandstetter and Kern which appeared toward the end of the 19th and the early 20th centuries. Seidenadel claims instead that in Bontoc at least, such constructions are active, transitive constructions, each with a corresponding passive construction that does not allow an actor to be expressed.² To illustrate these sentence types (well-known to a Philippine audience, but relatively unknown in other parts of the world), examples in (1) are provided. Equivalent forms, characterized as passives by Seidenadel, are illustrated in section 2.2.

(1) Khinina-ang (Central Bontok)³

- a. *Aráem* *nan fótog!*
 ʔa'ra-ʔin=mu [nan 'futug]_{NOM}
 get-DFCT=GEN.2SG SPEC pig
 ‘Get the pig!’ / *‘Let the pig be gotten by you.’
- b. *Charosam* *nan áfong!*
 tsaru's-an=mu [nan 'ʔafun]_{NOM}
 clean-LFCT=GEN.2SG SPEC house
 ‘Clean the house!’ / *‘Let the house be cleaned by you.’
- c. *Iyálim* *nan fótog!*
 ʔi-'ʔali=mu [nan 'futug]_{NOM}
 CFCT-come=GEN.2SG SPEC pig
 ‘Bring the pig!’ / *‘Let the pig be brought by you.’

The use of the term “passives” to characterize constructions in Philippine languages in which the grammatical subject expresses some role other than the actor,⁴ continued to be used by the American linguists Blake (1904, 1905, 1906a, 1906b, 1917, 1925) and Bloomfield (1917, 1942) in their descriptions of Tagalog, Bisayan and Ilokano, and subsequently by various other linguists, such as Givón (1979), Bell (1976, 1983) in

² For a defense of the descriptive practices of the early Spanish grammarians, see Winkler (2007), who claims that early Spanish grammarians were the first to use the theoretical positions of Functional Grammar, generally thought to have been first developed in the second half of the twentieth century.

³ Glossing and abbreviations follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. The first line in each of the Khinina-ang examples is given in the orthography commonly used today, and reflects the modern phonemic system described in Reid (2005). The second line provides a phonemic transcription, with a morphological analysis showing verbal affixation and basic forms of verbs and pronominal clitics. It also brackets and labels phrases that are (morphologically) unmarked for case. For example, the morphologically unmarked grammatical subject of each sentence is bracketed and subscripted with NOM. The third line provides a literal translation for each form and the fourth line is a free translation. An asterisk before a translation is an inappropriate equivalent for that sentence. Other abbreviations are: ABLT ablative, AF actor focus, APSV antipassive, CFCT conveyance affect, CV conveyance voice, DFCT direct affect, EMPH emphatic, IN inactive, LIG ligature, LFCT locative affect, LV locative voice, NFUT non-future, PAT patient, PM predicate marker, PV patient voice, Q question, REAL realis, STAT stative, and TOPLK topic linker. The terms ‘conveyance affect’, ‘locative affect’ and ‘direct affect’ label features of words that carry what are often referred to as ‘voice-marking affixes’.

⁴ The grammatical subject has been variously referred to in some works as the topic, trigger, or pivot of the construction. Its case-marking has been labeled as either Nominative or Absolutive.

her description of Cebuano, and Wolff (1996:17) in his reconstruction of Proto-Austronesian “active and three passive” verbal affixes.⁵

More recently, Shibatani (1985:836) in discussing such claims, notes that the so-called “passives” of Philippine languages are not “true passives” because they do not downgrade the actor, even though they “topicalize” the undergoer. In other words, simply because an undergoer is made the grammatical subject of a sentence is not sufficient evidence to claim that the construction is passive. Reid and Liao (2004) called such sentences ‘dynamic transitive’ constructions and they have commonly been referred to as active constructions in a number of recent descriptions that conclude that the structures are basically ergative, including Cooreman *et. al.* (1984), Gerdts (1988), Mithun (1994), Brainard (1994), Brainard and Vander Molen (2005), etc.

Typically, especially when such sentences are imperatives, as in the examples in (1), the actor is obligatory. In some contexts, however, an actor may not appear. Himmelmann (1999) provides a careful analysis of such cases in Tagalog, claiming that there are no cases of zero anaphora, that is, instances in which an actor is not expressed because it can be recovered from the immediate context, as in rapid, or sequential action sequences with the same actor, as in English, *Obama will buy a new puppy, take it to the White House and give it to his daughters*, where the actor of the “taking” and the “giving” is not expressed in English because it is clear from the context, but would be expressed in a natural Tagalog translation of the same sentence, such as *Bibili si Obama ng tuta, dadalhin niya sa White House at ibibigay niya sa mga anak niya*.⁶ Himmelmann claims instead that actors are omissible only if the event expressed involves an unspecific actor, or is part of what he refers to as a complex predication, some of which are reduced complement or adverbial clauses (Himmelmann 1999:250, 266).

2.2. Passive, Stative and Inverse constructions

There is a close correlation between the passive and two other construction types, stative and inverse. As Shibatani notes, “the well-known correlation of the passive with the stative, the resultative, and the perfect results form the inactive nature of the passive subject and the fact that the patient is placed in the subject position. This has the effect of shifting the perspective from the agent’s side to the patient’s and accordingly from the beginning to the end of the event” (Shibatani 1985:841). Thus we will see (in section 2.2.1) that some linguists treat passives and statives as the same, while others consider them to be different construction types. Similarly, we will see (in section 2.2.2) that inverse constructions that have been considered by some to be passives are treated by others as active constructions.

⁵ Various overviews of the history of terminology in the description of Philippine languages have appeared, including French (1987-1988), Brainard (1994), Himmelmann (2002), Ross (2002) and Blust (2002).

⁶ Another Tagalog sentence which was provided by a native speaker as a translation: *Si Obama ay bibili ng tuta, dadalhin ito sa White House at ibibigay ito sa kanyang mga anak na babae*, deletes the actor and repeats the nominative *ito*. This, of course, is a literal, or word-for-word translation, and not a natural Tagalog sentence.

2.2.1 Passive or Stative?

As mentioned above, Seidenadel, in his 1909 grammar of Bontoc Igorot, claimed that sentences such as those in (1) above are active, because they have what he considered to be passive counterparts. These are illustrated in (2), with perfective marking (*na-*) on the verbs. As is commonly found in other Philippine languages, when active transitive sentences are derived in this way, the affix which marks the kind of undergoer that is expected is deleted when it is a direct affect undergoer */-in/* (so-called “patient” or “goal focus”), example (2)a, but it is retained when it is a locative affect affix */-an/* (so-called “locative focus”), example (2)b, or when it is conveyance affect affix */ʔi-/* (so-called “instrumental focus” or “conveyance focus”), example (2)c.⁷

(2) *Khinina-ang* (Central Bontok)

- a. *Na-ára nan fótog.*
 na-ʔara [*nan ʔutug*]_{NOM}
 gotten SPEC pig
 ‘The pig has been gotten.’
- b. *Nacharosán nan áfong.*
 na-tsaruʔsan [*nan ʔafun*]_{NOM}
 cleaned SPEC house
 ‘The house has been cleaned.’
- c. *Na-iyáli nan fótog.*
 na-ʔiʔali [*nan ʔutug*]_{NOM}
 brought SPEC pig
 ‘The pig has been brought.’

Now while it is obvious that verbs such as ‘get’, ‘clean’ and ‘bring’ cannot take place without somebody doing the appropriate action (they are semantically transitive), sentences such as these do not allow an actor to be expressed, the actor is not optional. Why is this? The reason it seems, is that an actor is irrelevant because what is being described is the result of an action, and hence the state that the undergoer is now in. These sentences then appear to be intransitive stative verbs, not passives with downgraded actors. This is suggested also by the fact that, in *Khinina-ang*, the same prefix, */na-/*, marks intransitive adjectival verbs that describe personal states, such as *na-ános* ‘is kind’, *nasachot* ‘is lazy’, *naragsak* ‘is happy’, *napigsa* ‘is strong’, etc. It should be noted that while the latter fit the common definition of statives in that they cannot be marked for aspect (e.g., **ma-ános*⁸ ‘will be kind’, **masachot* ‘will be lazy’, **maragsak* ‘will be happy’, **mapigsa* ‘will be strong’), they can occur as inchoative dynamic verbs, with */<um>/* affixation (e.g., *omános* ‘become kind’, *somachot* ‘become lazy’, *lomagsak* ‘become happy’, *pomigsa* ‘become strong’). The verbs exemplified in (2), on the other hand, are intransitive stative verbs in that they can be marked for aspect, as in (3), but cannot be affixed with the inchoative affix */<um>/*.

⁷ Verbs with beneficiary affect undergoers, marked with */ʔi--an/* (so-called “benefactive focus”), also retain these affixes when derived in this way.

⁸ An asterisk before a form means that the form is non-occurring or ungrammatical with the meaning shown.

(3) Khinina-ang (Central Bontok)

- a. *As ma-ára nan fótog.*
 ?as ma-ʔara [nan ʔfutug]_{NOM}
 FUT gotten SPEC pig
 ‘The pig will be gotten.’
- b. *As macharosán nan áfong.*
 ?as ma-tsaruʼsan [nan ʔafuŋ]_{NOM}
 FUT cleaned SPEC house
 ‘The house will be cleaned.’
- c. *As ma-iyáli nan fótog.*
 ?as ma-ʔiʔali [nan ʔfutug]_{NOM}
 FUT brought SPEC pig
 ‘The pig will be brought.’

In many Philippine languages, transitive verbs which carry the same affixation as stative intransitive verbs such as those in (2) and (3) above are also common, except that an actor is an integral part of the construction, as in (4)a-b. Himmelmann refers to such verbs as stative transitive, noting that he uses the term *stative* not to refer to an aspectual distinction, but as an antonym of *active*, *agentive*, or *dynamic*. He notes that other terms, such as *abilitative*, *potential*, *nonvolitive*, and *aptative* are also used in descriptions of Philippine languages see also (see also Naylor 2005).

(4) Tagalog (Himmelmann 1999:243, 244)⁹

- a. *Nailuto’ ko na ang manók.*
 na-i-luto’ ko na ang manók
 REAL.STAT-CV-cook POSS.1SG now SPEC chicken
 ‘I already happened to cook the chicken.’
- b. *Ay nakúha niya ang dáhon.*
 ay na-kúha niyá ang dahon
 PM REAL.STAT-get POSS.3SG SPEC leaf
 ‘He was able to get the leaf.’

It should be noted however, that the perspective in sentences such as those in (4) is not on the state of the undergoer as much as on the ability or potential of the actor to perform the action denoted by the verb, so that sentence (4)a, for example, is not commenting on the fact that the chicken is already cooked, but that the speaker had happened to cook it. In such sentences, as Himmelmann points out, the actor is as obligatory as in the corresponding active transitive constructions, and is omissible only if the event expressed involves an unspecific actor, is a reduced complement or adverbial clause, or is part of what he refers to as a complex predication. Such structures then are also not passive; the actor is not downgraded functionally or structurally.

While abilitative constructions are common in Tagalog and Ilokano, they are rare in some other languages, such as Khinina-ang Bontoc. A search of well over 100 pages of text of various genres (Reid 1992) produced 576 instances of verbs prefixed with either /ma-/ or its perfective counterpart /na-/. Of these only a few had overtly expressed actors, and are possibly borrowed constructions from Ilokano. The over-

⁹ The Tagalog text and morphological analysis are cited as in the source, except for minor modification in the glossing lines to fit the Leipzig Glossing Rules more adequately.

whelming majority are stative intransitive sentences without actors. Similarly, of the many hundreds of dynamic transitive sentences, only a few appeared without actors, and all of these were in a procedural discourse, a recipe for making rice beer (Reid 1992:189, Text C18), in which the actor refers to Guina-ang people in general (“we (EXCL)” in (5)b, repeated twice). The text is interesting in that each instruction is introduced by a stative construction referring back to the previous instruction, providing formal links within the discourse (see also Reid 1971:155-157). Most of these are reduced complement clauses (as the first clauses of (5)c and d) or adverbial clauses (as the first clauses of (5)e, f, g, and i). But the other stative verbs in the text (‘winnowed’ (5)c, ‘made’ (5)g, ‘edible’ (5)h) do not fit Himmelmann’s criteria for zero anaphora in Tagalog. They are not part of complex predications. The missing actors of the active verbs similarly do not fit Himmelmann’s criteria. As noted above, constructions such as these are rare in Khinina-ang. Even in other recipe type texts, dictated by the same author as the one who gave “The making of rice beer”,¹⁰ only one other instance of a missing actor of an active verb is found.¹¹

(5) Khinina-ang (Central Bontok) (Reid 1992:189)

- a. *Nan ma-amma-an nan tapey.*
 nan ma-ʔammaʔan nan ʔapiy
 SPEC STAT-making SPEC rice.beer
 ‘The making of rice beer.’
- b. *Isap-ey=mi nan chayyong, sa=mi=t fayowen*
 ʔi-sapʔiy=mi nan ʔchayyuj ʔsa=mi=ʔit fayu-ʔin
 CFCT-dry.rice=GEN.1PL.EXCL SPEC sticky.rice FUT=GEN.1PL.EXCL=then pound-DFCT
si nan losong.
 si nan luʔsun
 LOC SPEC mortar
 ‘We (EXCL) dry glutinous rice in the sun, then we (EXCL) pound it in a mortar.’
- c. *Marpas=ay mafáyo, matap-an.*
 ma-liʔpas=ay maʔfayu ma-ʔaʔipan
 STAT-finish=LIG STAT-pound STAT-winnow
 ‘When it is finished being pounded, it is winnowed.’
- d. *Marpas=ay matap-an, lotowen si nan fānga.*
 ma-liʔpas=ay ma-ʔaʔipan lutu-ʔin si nan ʔfaŋa
 STAT-finish=LIG STAT-winnow cook LOC SPEC pot
 ‘When it is finished being pounded, it is cooked in a pot.’
- e. *Mo naróto, khowáchen, pay-en si nan likhá-o.*
 mu na-ʔlulu khuʔwach-ʔin pa-ʔiy-ʔin si nan liʔkhaʔo
 whenSTAT-cooked serve-DFCT CAUS-go-DFCT LOC SPEC winnow.basket
 ‘When it is cooked, (we) serve it, and put it on a winnowing basket.’
- f. *Mafa-ew, fofochan, pay-en si nan fānga, sa=et i-patang.*
 ma-ʔfaʔiw foʔfoch-an pa-ʔiy-ʔin si nan ʔfaŋa ʔsa=ʔit ʔi-paʔtan
 STAT-cool serve-LFCT CAUS-go-DFCT LOC SPEC pot FUT=then DFCT-shelve
 ‘When it is cool, (we) put it in a pot, then place it on a shelf.’

¹⁰ “The making of yeast.” and “The making of sugarcane wine” (Reid 1992:190-191 Text C19-20).

¹¹ The actor is missing in the second clause of: *Ipaeymis nan charay, pay-an si nan khamo.* ‘We (EXCL) put it into a wine jar, (then) add a fermenting berry into it’ (Reid 1992:191).

- g. *Marpas nan chowa=y arkheŵ, nakhá-eb.*
 ma-li'pas nan chu'wa=ay ʔar'khiw na-'khaʔib
 STAT-finish SPEC two=LIG days STAT-made
 'After two days, it is made.'
- h. *Makan, inlamsit.*
 ma'kan ʔin-lamsit
 STAT-edible be-sweet
 'It is edible, it is sweet.'
- i. *Marpas nan lima=y arkheŵ, in-appakhang.*
 ma-li'pas nan li'ma=ay ʔar'khiw ʔin-ʔappa'khaŋ
 STAT-finish SPEC two=LIG days be-sour
 'After five days, it is sour.'

That *ma-* verbs may in fact be passive is suggested by the fact that many other languages (e.g., Hindi, Turkish, Russian, Spanish, and Tetelcingo) have the same form for passives as for potential constructions (Shibatani 1985:828). Chamorro is a language which, like Philippine languages, has been reported to use *ma-* verbs as passives. Shibatani (1985:836) claims that “the focus-system languages of the Philippines do not, in general, have a passive construction distinct from the focus mechanism,” but accepts the fact that Chamorro *ma-*verbs are passive, comparing the two Chamorro “passive” sentences found in Topping (1973:257). Shibatani correctly notes that the first of the two sentences, example (6)a, is not a passive, because the genitively marked argument, the actor, is obligatory, and not downgraded. He accepts the fact however, that example (6) is a passive (as analyzed by Topping), in that the actor is obligatorily missing, not realizing that many Philippine languages have identical constructions (but without the plural *man-* prefix).¹²

(6) Chamorro (Topping 1973:257)

- a. *Man-linalatde i famagu'on ni ma'estron=ñiha.*
 PL-scolded NOM children GEN teachers=GEN.3PL
 'The children were the ones that were scolded by their teachers' / 'Their teachers scolded the students.'
- b. *Man-malalatde i famagu'on.*
 PL-scolded NOM children
 'The children were scolded.'

2.2.2 Passive or Inverse?

At this point, we need to introduce another complicating factor in the search for the passive in Philippine languages. In a number of Philippine languages there is a syntactically transitive construction, in which the usual order of complements, that is verb-actor-undergoer (typically represented as VAP or VAO)¹³ is reversed, giving an inverted word order, verb-undergoer-actor (or VPA), or INVERSE construction. In the following sections, two papers that are relevant to our discussion are summarized. The

¹² Shibatani (Shibatani 1985:841) states that Chamorro “developed” a passive construction distinct from the “focus” construction. In fact, this is not a Chamorro syntactic innovation. Chamorro inherited this construction type from its parent language, Proto-Extra Formosan, or Proto-Malayo-Polynesian, as have all the Philippine languages that have such a construction.

¹³ Where V is verb, A is the more agentive, syntactically required argument of a transitive clause, and P or O is the less-agentive, syntactically required argument of a transitive clause (Dixon 1994, Brainerd and Molen 2005:365).

first (section 2.2.2.1) deals with Cebuano, the second (section 2.2.2.2) deals with Obo Manobo.

2.2.2.1 Cebuano

In a carefully argued paper, Tanangkingsing and Huang (2007) discuss the nature of Cebuano structures that have both actors and undergoers. Their paper provides a response to Payne (1994) who argued that while Cebuano *gi-* clauses (or “Patient Focus” clauses) with VAP structure are active (i.e., where the actor precedes the undergoer), *gi-* clauses with VPA structure, as in example (7)a, (i.e., is where the undergoer precedes the actor) are passive, since the actor participants are often downgraded by omission. Tanangkingsing and Huang however claim that both clause structures are active, in that both types imply deliberate intention of the actor, whether the actor is expressed or not. The order of the arguments, they claim, depends on the topicality of each of the participants in the situation (Tanangkingsing and Huang 2007:555).¹⁴ The most highly topical participant (commonly a clitic pronoun) occurs closest to the verb. Transitive constructions in which actors are less topical than patients and follow them fall into the category of inverse constructions (Givón 1994a, 1994b, Brainard and Molen 2005). They further claim that “a more plausible candidate for passive in Cebuano is to be found in the non-AF *na*-construction. In clauses containing the *na*-affixed verb, the P nominal serves as an often inadvertent undergoer of an action, and the sentence can be said to direct the hearer’s attention to the effect of the action on the Patient, as opposed to a *gi-* construction where an “effort-ful” action of the Agent is required (Nolasco 2005), thereby making *na-* an initially more likely candidate for the passive construction.” (Tanangkingsing and Huang 2007:556). Thus (7)a is an example of an inverse construction, with the undergoer (‘me’) preceding the actor (‘the police), while (7)b-c are claimed to be passive constructions, one with an actor, the other without.

(7) **Cebuano** (Tanangkingsing and Huang 2007:578)

- a. *Gi-dakop=ko sa pulis.*
NFUT.PF-catch=NOM.1SG OBL police
‘The police caught me.’
- b. *Na-dakp-an=ko sa pulis.*
NFUT-catch-LF=NOM.1SG OBL police
‘The police caught me.’
- c. *Na-dakp-an=ko.* (no external Agent)
NFUT-catch-LF=NOM.1SG
‘I got caught.’

2.2.2.2 Obo Manobo

The first published paper to explicitly discuss the nature of inverse constructions in Philippine languages, is Brainard and Molen (2005). In Obo Manobo, according to Brainard and Molen, there are four structures that can be considered to be semantically transitive, that is, where the verb implies both an actor and an undergoer. In Brainard and Molen’s terms, two of them are syntactically transitive, with VAP being

¹⁴ Topicality is measured by tests first proposed in Givón (1979, 1983b, 1983a) and developed in Cooreman (1982). A more highly topical argument scores higher in terms of referential distance (i.e., the number of clauses between one mention of a participant and its previous mention in the text) and topic persistence (i.e., the number of times a participant appears in the ten clauses immediately following its first mention).

the basic transitive construction as in (8)a, and VPA with switched word order, the inverse construction, as in (8)b.

(8) Obo Manobo (Brainard and Molen 2005:373)

- a. *Od tompoddon to anak iddos tali simag.*
 od tampod-on to anak iddos tali simag
 IRR cut-PAT ERG child ABS rope tomorrow

‘The child will cut the rope tomorrow.’

- b. *Od tompoddon iddos tali taddat anak simag.*
 od tampod-on iddos tali tadda-to anak simag
 IRR cut-PAT ABS rope DEF-ERG child tomorrow

‘The child will cut the rope tomorrow.’

The other semantically transitive constructions are considered by Brainard and Molen to be derived intransitive constructions. The first, labeled by them as ‘detransitive-1’ has a downgraded undergoer (‘a rope’) and is expressed by an oblique phrase. It is intransitive because it is considered to have a single argument (‘the child’), and is the equivalent of what has been labeled as “actor focus” in many traditional analyses of Philippine languages. In Obo Manobo, the verb in such a construction, even when irrealis, does not carry any affix, as in (9). The sentence type is classified by Brainard and Molen as an antipassive construction, a type that we will focus on in section 3, below.

(9) Obo Manobo (Brainard and Molen 2005:373)

- Od tampod iddos anak to tali simag.*
 IRR cut ABS child OBL rope tomorrow

‘The child will cut a rope tomorrow.’

The other derived intransitive construction, labeled by them as ‘detransitive-2’ are relevant to the discussion at this point. Note that the interlinear translation provided by Brainard and Molen in (10)a-b indicates that the verbs are marked as statives, the irrealis by *ko-* (the Obo Manobo reflex of *ka- in this environment), and the realis by *no-* (the Obo Manobo reflex of *na- in this environment). These are clearly the same sentence type, distinguished only by aspect. Example (10)c, on the other hand is different, in that although it is an intransitive construction, with only one argument, the undergoer, the verb retains the affixation (*-on*) of its source transitive construction, indicating that the action is intentional.¹⁵

Brainard and Molen (2005:374) state “a detransitive-2 clause with stative verb forms appears to be the unmarked form in that it is less restricted semantically; specifically it is neutral with respect to whether or not the action is intentional. Conversely, a detransitive-2 clause with transitive verb forms appears to be a marked form in that it more restricted semantically, i.e., it always indicates that the action is intentional.” They indicate also that this analysis is supported by the frequency of occurrence of the two types. That is, 58% of detransitive-2 clauses have stative verb forms, while 41% occur with transitive affixes. In Brainard and Molen’s view, both the stative and the non-stative detransitive-2 types are “candidates” for

¹⁵ Shibatani (1985:844), in considering a similar construction in Ainu, states “‘The facts that the agents are defocused and that the patients are placed in subject position indicate the form’s passive nature, while the verb morphology retains a transitive characteristic.’ I take this as not meaning that the verb is still transitive, but that it is derived from a verbal form that at some point in its history was marked as transitive by its affixation.”

the passive. In effect, Brainard and Molen’s analysis of Obo Manobo agrees with that of Tanangkingsing and Huang’s of Cebuano, in that they both treat the stative sentences as passives (see examples (7)b-c), but they disagree in their treatment of sentences with transitive morphology. The former treat such VP sentences as (10)c as passive, while the latter treat them as active inverse constructions with omissible A’s, thus VP(A).

(10) Obo Manobo (Brainard and Molen 2005:373-374)

- a. *Od ko-tampod iddos tali simag.*
 od ko-tampod iddos tali simag
 IRR STAT.IRR-cut ABS rope tomorrow
 ‘The rope will be cut tomorrow.’
- b. *Id no-tampod iddos tali govoni.*
 id no-tampod iddos tali govoni
 REAL STAT.REAL-cut ABS rope yesterday
 ‘The rope was cut yesterday.’
- c. *Od tompoddon iddos tali simag.*
 od tampod-on iddos tali simag
 IRR cut-PAT ABS rope tomorrow
 ‘The rope will be cut (intentionally) tomorrow.’

2.3 Passives that are not statives

There are a number of Philippine languages that have developed intransitive constructions that are not statives but are clearly derived from transitive constructions, in that they (like inverse constructions without specified agents in Obo Manobo, example (10)c above) still carry the verbal morphology of their source construction. These constructions typically have pronominal undergoers, the forms of which, at least for some persons, are unique to these constructions, and serve as formal clues to their passive status. In section 2.3.1, we will look at such constructions in Khinina-ang Bontok. In 2.3.2, we will consider a similar set of constructions in Balangao, then in 2.3.3, data from Upper Tanudan Kalinga, and finally in 2.2.4, Limos Kalinga data will be considered.

2.3.1 Khinina-ang Bontok

In Khinina-ang Bontok, a basic transitive construction with an *-en* suffix, indicating direct affect of the actor on the undergoer (called patient or goal focus in other descriptive models), has a required VAP word order, whether the arguments are expressed by pronominal or non-pronominal noun phrases. Inverse constructions of the kind described above for Cebuano and Obo Manobo do not occur, possibly because the noun phrase marking for genitive and nominative NPs is often identical, and reversal of the order would create ambiguity.¹⁶ Just as in Obo Manobo, there is “tri-partite” marking of pronominal NPs. The actor of a transitive sentence (A) is marked by the same forms as mark possessors of nouns. These are here labeled genitive. The grammatical subject of a transitive sentence, the undergoer (P), is expressed by a free (non-clitic) pronoun, which like its corresponding lexical noun phrase is not case-

¹⁶ Following a consonant-final word, there is no morphological case-marking of the two NP’s; they are preceded by one of the nominal specifiers, such as *nan* marking a common noun, or *si* marking a following personal noun. Their case is marked only by their word order relative to the verb. Following a vowel-final word, however, a genitive NP requires a case-marking clitic *=n* to be attached to the preceding word.

marked.¹⁷ The grammatical subject of an intransitive sentence (S) is marked by a (nominative) clitic pronoun, see Table 1. An example of a basic transitive sentence with two pronominal arguments is (11)a. (Examples with a single, actor pronoun and a lexical noun undergoer are given above in (1)). A derived stative sentence, with non-perfective prefix *ma-*, is given in (11)b. The nominative pronoun is a clitic form. It will be noted in Table 1, that two forms are listed for second person singular (2SG). The second form is rare, and occurs only as the undergoer of a derived intransitive verb which carries the affixation of its source transitive construction, as in (11)c. This is a passive sentence, marked as such only by the unique form of the pronoun, so the pronoun is glossed as a passive nominative. In Khinina-ang no cases have been found in which the down-graded actor is expressed, probably because although the action is intentional the actors are non-specific and their identity is irrelevant.

(11) Khinina-ang (Central Bontok)

a. *As fa-ikhen=cha sik-a, mo chepapen=cha.*

if whip.DFCT=3PL 2SG FUT catch=3SG

‘They will whip you, if they catch (you).’

b. *As mafā-ig=ka, mo in-o-ónong=ka kayet.*

FUT STAT.whip=NOM.2SG if fighting=NOM.2SG still

‘You could get whipped, if you keep on fighting.’

c. *As fa-ikhen=chaka, mo in-o-ónong=ka kayet.*

FUT whip=PASS.NOM.2SG if fighting=NOM.2SG still

‘You’re gonna get whipped (by someone), if you keep on fighting.’

Table 1. Khinina-ang Bontok Personal Pronouns

	Unmarked	Nominative	Genitive	Locative
1SG	sak-en	=ak	=ko, =k	an sak-en
1DL	cha-ita ¹⁸	=ta	=ta	an cha-ita
2SG	sik-a	=ka, chaka	=mo, =m	an sik-a
3SG	siya	Ø	=na	an siyá
1PL.INCL	chakami	=kami	=mi	an chakami
1PL.EXCL	chatako	=tako	=tako	an chatako
2PL	chakayo	=kayo	=yo	an chakayo
3PL	cha-icha ¹⁹	=cha	=cha	an cha-icha

The source of the Khinina-ang pronoun *chaka* is quite transparent. The first syllable is identical to third person genitive pronoun, and is possible a remnant from an earlier stage of the language when a sequence of actor-undergoer pronouns were expressed by a compound form, as is found in many other Philippine languages, such as Ilokano and Kapampangan, both of which languages have undergone similar changes, in that the actor pronoun, while retaining its third person plural form, has lost its primary features and can be interpreted as one or more other persons, as in (12) and (13). In Khinina-ang, however, the sequence has been grammaticalized as a single pronoun with a unique distribution and function, that is, marking the undergoer of a passive verb with no actor specified at all.

¹⁷ The same form occurs as a fronted pronominal topic, as a predicate pronoun, as a personal pronoun following an oblique preposition, and in isolation, as for example, a response to a question.

¹⁸ Also: *chata*

¹⁹ Also: *chicha*

(12) Kapampangan (Gonzalez 1981:178)*Kalugurán=da=ká.*

love=GEN.3PL=NOM.2SG

‘They love you (SG).’ / ‘I love you (SG).’ / ‘We (EXCL) love you (SG).’

(13) Ilokano (Reid 2001:244)*Kinábil=da=ká*

PRF.hit=GEN.3PL=NOM 2SG

‘They hit you (SG).’ / ‘We (EXCL) hit you (SG).’

2.3.2 Balangao

In Balangao (Shetler 1976), a closely related language in the eastern part of Mountain Province, a similar form, *da-a*, occurs as part of a set of pronouns that Shetler characterizes as being the focus pronoun “when the subject [actor] is non-specific.”²⁰ This form commutes with other pronouns, most of which are identical to the unmarked, free pronouns. A first person singular pronoun, however, is not the unmarked form, but the clitic nominative form. A third person pronoun doesn’t occur in this position (see Table 2). The set of (elicited) examples in (14), illustrate the same distinctions in constructions in Balangao as in Khinina-ang. Example (14)a is a transitive sentence, with a locative affect (sometimes called locative voice) suffix. Example (14)b is the derived passive construction, showing an optional actor expressed by an oblique noun phrase. Common noun oblique phrases are introduced by the same specifiers as nominative NPs in Balangao, their function is determined only by word order, but a personal noun oblique phrase is explicitly marked by the oblique preposition *an*, as in (14)c. an actor can optionally be expressed by an oblique phrase following the under-goer pronoun, as in (14). Finally, (14)d shows a stative sentence, with obligatory absence of the actor, corresponding to the Cebuano example (7)c.

(14) Balangao (data courtesy of Dr. Gloria Baguingan)**a.** *Hapratán hen poles hea.*hit.LFCT [SPEC police]_{GEN} 2SG

‘The police will hit you.’

b. *Hapratán=cha-a (hen poles).*hit.LFCT=PASS.NOM.2SG [SPEC Mario]_{OBL}

‘You (SG) will be hit (by the police).’

c. *Hapratán=chita (an cha Mario).*

hit.LFCT=PASS.NOM.1DL OBL PL Mario

‘We (DL) will be hit (by Mario and his companions).’

d. *Mahapratán=-a.*

STAT.hit.LFCT= NOM.2SG

‘You will get hit.’

²⁰ PAN *k became glottal stop, represented in Balangao by a hyphen between like vowels, or by a grave accent over the preceding vowel when at the end of a syllable. It is not represented between dissimilar vowels or at the beginning of a word.

Table 2. Balangao Personal Pronouns (adapted from Shetler 1976:124)*

	Unmarked	Nominative	Genitive	Passive Nominative
1SG	haén	=à	=-o/v̌	=-à
1DL	chita	=ta	=ta	=chita
2SG	hea	=-a	=no/=m	=cha-a
3SG	hiya	Ø	=na	Ø
1PL.INCL	chàni	=-ani	=ni	=chàni
1PL.EXCL	chita-aw	=ta-aw	=ta-aw	=chita-aw
2PL	chàyu	=-ayu	=yu	=chàyu
3PL	chicha	=cha	=cha	=chachicha

* The orthography of the published table has been adjusted to match that in current use. The schwa vowel is represented by *é*, and *e* is a mid-front vowel. (Information supplied by Dr. Gloria Baguingan).

2.3.3 Upper Tanudan Kalinga

A search of the body of texts contained in Brainard (1985), produced a number of examples from natural narrative texts which confirm the existence in this language also of passive structures of the type discussed in the preceding two sections. Some, such as (15)a-b, have no actor expressed, others such as (15)c-d have general actors ('your fellowmen') expressed in an oblique noun phrase. Example (15)e, is of interest in that the pronoun expressing the passive undergoer is fronted to appear in second position following the negative verb *adi*, suggesting that it is a clitic pronoun, as indicated also in the Khinina-ang and Balangao examples above. One further note of interest is that the while in Khinina-ang and Balangao, the first syllable of some the disyllabic passive pronouns is *cha-* (originally from Proto-Northern Luzon *-da 'genitive 3PL personal pronoun'), all Tanudan Kalinga disyllabic passive pronouns (and some of the Balangao ones) begin with *di*, rather than *da*, which remains the genitive third person plural clitic pronoun, giving evidence that the pronoun is no longer a combination of (plural) genitive actor and nominative undergoer.²¹ The oblique actor in (15)e ('the owner of that *talligan* spirit') is singular, not plural. Example (15)f is interesting in that the passivized verb is the complement 'afflict', not the first verb 'want', but the passive pronoun *dika* is fronted to follow 'want'. The actor of both 'want' and 'afflict' is expressed by an oblique NP. A stative predicate follows.

(15) Upper Tanudan Kalinga (Brainard 1985:52, 54, 76, 112)²²

- a. Pinoryaw *dikani* *gay*.
PRF.CAUS.leave PASS.NOM.1PL.EXCL EMPH
'We (EXCL) were sent away.'
- b. *Iyy-anak dikani=tte=nne* *orgaw=yu....*
CF-child PASS.NOM.1PL.EXCL =OBL.SG=that.LG day=GEN.2PL
'We (EXCL) who were born during your (PL) time...'
- c. ...*ya i-dayaw dika=tta* *kasintatagu=m*.
and CV-praise PASS.NOM.2SG=OBL.PL fellowmen=GEN.2SG
'... and you (SG) will be praised by your (SG) fellowman.'

²¹ The initial formative *di* in these pronouns is probably a reduction of earlier **da*+?ida > *dida* ‘3PL’, which has then generalized to other disyllabic pronouns, a change that is currently in progress in Balangao, and also in Khinina-ang (see footnote 17).

²² The text in these examples appears as in the source, except for a change in the marking of affixes and clitics to conform to the Leipzig Glossing Rules. Interlinear and free translations have been modified in places to more adequately reflect the analyses proposed in this paper.

- d. ...*ta oni pay ka-dagu-wan dika gos atta kasintatagu=m.*
 so.that later EMPH IRR.STAT-pity-LV PASS.NOM.2SG also OBL.PL fellowmen=GEN.2SG
 ‘... so that later your (SG) fellowman will have compassion on you.’ Lit. ‘... so that later you (SG) will be pitied by your (SG) fellowman.’
- e. *Nu adi dito=s lugam-an atte singkuwa=tte sa=ne talligan...*
 if NEG PASS.NOM.1DU=also weed-LV OBL.SG owner=GEN.SG that=LG spirit
 ‘If we (DU) do not have herbs put on us by the owner of that *talligan* spirit (we will die).’ Lit. ‘If we (DU) are not herbed by the owner of that *talligan* spirit...’
- f. ...*ya pi-on dika gelatte aggasang tipak-on, ma-aggasang-an=ka.*
 ...and want-PF PASS.NOM.2SG HORT.OBL.SG spirit afflict-PF STAT.spirit-LV=GEN.2SG
 ‘...and if that *aggasang* spirit wants you (SG) to be afflicted, you (SG) will be made sick by it.’ Lit. ‘If you (SG) are wanted to be afflicted by that *aggasang* spirit, you (SG) will be made sick by it.’

2.2.4. Limos Kalinga

Ferreirinho (1993) discusses a wide range of constructions in Limos Kalinga that are relevant to our search for Philippine passives. She makes a distinction between active verbs and inactive verbs, basically determined by whether or not the action is intentional. Intentional transitive constructions, typically have VAP word order, as in (16)c. These constructions have de-transitivized counterparts, referred to by Ferreirainho as passives, which use “One of a special set of (first and second person) subject pronouns ..., together with the backgrounding of the semantic agent either by demotion to the oblique case or by deletion” (Ferreirinho 1993:47). These constructions then are ‘inverse’ passive constructions (Givón 1994a, 1994b, Brainard and Molen 2005), and correspond to the constructions of the same type illustrated for Khinina-ang, (11)c, Balangao (14)b-c, and Upper Tanudan Kalinga, (15)b-f.

(16) Limos Kalinga (Ferreirinho 1993:20)

- a. *I-lugan=na sika utnat kalitun.*
 CF-ride=GEN.3SG 2SG OBL wheelbarrow
 ‘He will push you in the wheelbarrow.’
- b. *I-lugan dika (kan siya) utnat kalitun.*
 CF-ride PASS.NOM.2SG OBL 3SG OBL wheelbarrow
 ‘You will be pushed (by him) in the wheelbarrow.’

Inactive verbs are those in which “the actor lacks volitionality” (Ferreirinho 1993:45). They are divided into two types—abilitative and non-abilitative... all of which carry either *ma-* or *na-* (for perfective aspect) affixation. Ferreirainho considers all such verbs to be syntactically stative. Intransitive verbs, that is, those which can only take a single argument (such as (17)a) she classifies as true semantic statives, while those which can have an oblique actor (such as (17)b-c) and which derive from active transitive constructions (such as (17)d) are non-abilitative and “in the English translation at least, seem like passives” (Ferreirinho 1993:46). Such oblique actors are optional.

(17) Limos Kalinga (Ferreirinho 1993:45-47)

- a. *Ma-sugat=ka.*
 STAT-hurt-NOM.2SG
 ‘You (SG) are hurt.’ / ‘You (SG) will be hurt’

- b. *Ma-bayu dit pagoy (kan Pedro).*
 STAT-pound NOM rice OBL Pedro
 ‘The rice is being pounded (by Pedro)’
- c. *Na-pokpok din kayu (kan sakon).*
 PRF.STAT-cut.down NOM tree OBL 1SG
 ‘The tree was cut down (by me).’
- d. *Pinokpok=ku din kayu.*
 PRF-cut.down=GEN.1SG NOM tree
 ‘I cut the tree down.’

Abilitative inactive verbs in Limos Kalinga are transitive and require a genitive agent immediately after the verb, as in (18)a-b. These verbs also can be passivized in the same way as the active verbs given in (16), and are also inverse constructions, as can be seen by comparing (18)d and e. The first of these two sentences is a transitive construction with VAP word order. The actor pronoun (‘they’), however, has an (optional) non-case-marked co-referential noun phrase (‘your friends in Hong Kong’) following the undergoer (‘you’). Example (17)g however is an intransitive construction, with VP(A) word order, in which the actor is downgraded and expressed by an (optional) oblique noun phrase, following the second person pronoun *dika* and is clearly passive.

(18) Limos Kalinga (Ferreirinho 1993:46)

- a. *Ma-sugat=na sika.*
 ABLT-hurt=GEN.3SG 2SG
 ‘He can hurt you (SG).’
- b. *Ma-bayu=mi dit pagoy.*
 ABLT-pound=GEN.1PL.EXCL NOM rice
 ‘We are able to pound the rice.’
- c. *Ma-sugat dika (kan siya).*
 ABLT-hurt PASS.NOM.2SG OBL 3SG
 ‘You (SG) can be hurt (by him).’
- d. *Na-liuw-an=da sika dat gagayyom=mu=d Hong Kong*
 STAT-forget-LF=GEN.3PL 2SG PL friends=GEN.2SG=LOC Hong Kong
 ‘They will forget you, your friends in Hong Kong.’
- e. *Na-liuw-an dika=t dat gagayyom=mu=d Hong Kong*
 STAT-forget-LF PASS.NOM=OBL PL friends=GEN.2SG=LOC Hong Kong
 ‘You will be forgotten by your friends in Hong Kong.’

2.2.5 Summary

Where does this leave us? The data we have considered suggest that there are indeed structures in Philippine languages that can be considered to be passive, in that they are derived from transitive sentences with dynamic verbs, but with the actors downgraded to oblique NPs or omissible. Typically these are the structures which in some recent analyses have been described as “inverse” constructions. These are the structures that maintain “transitive” morphology on the verb, but reverse the order of the constituents, and in some languages such as Obo Manobo, as well as in some of the Central Cordilleran languages, such as the various dialects of Bontok, Balangao and Kalinga have special pronoun forms, some of which were originally probably combinations of genitive third person plural and nominative clitics. But these are not the only de-transitive constructions that are derived from transitive sentences with dynamic verbs. Stative

constructions that do not allow the expression of any actor are the most common and these have also been called passive in some analyses. That they are in fact derived from dynamic constructions is apparent from the fact that they also maintain the former “transitive” morphology such as the reflexes of *ʔi- and *-an, but add to it one of the stative prefixes derived from *ma- ‘non-perfective stative’, *na- ‘perfective stative’, or *ka- ‘irrealis stative’. In some languages, such as Limos Kalinga, however, oblique actors can be expressed, but one wonders whether the examples cited are from natural text, or are translation equivalents of elicited English passive sentences.

Dynamic transitive sentences are volitional, sometimes labeled ‘intentional’. In many Philippine languages, as we have seen, there are equivalent non-volitional transitive sentences, sometimes referred to as abilitative or potential constructions. These are also active, in the sense that genitive actors are required, and they maintain the same VAP word order pattern as dynamic transitive sentences. They are also active in the sense that in some languages they have de-transitive passive sentences with inverse word order and passive pronouns. For a typology of the derivational relationships between transitive and intransitive passive and passive-like constructions, see Table 3.

Table 3. Typology of Derived Sentence Structures--1

Transitive (active)		De-transitive 1 (inactive)		
dynamic/volitional	VAP ⇨	passive (inverse)	VP(A)	
	⇨	stative	VP ⇨	VP(A)
potential/abilitative	VAP ⇨	passive (inverse)	VP(A)	
	⇨	stative	VP ⇨	VP(A)

Just as dynamic active sentences have derived stative constructions, so non-volitional transitive sentences also have derived stative constructions, typically without expressed actors, but in some languages allowing actors to be expressed with oblique noun phrases.

3. Antipassives in Philippine languages

Just as passives provide a grammatical means to downgrade an actor, some languages, such as ergative Philippine languages provide a grammatical means to downgrade an undergoer. Such constructions are known as ANTIPASSIVE. Antipassive constructions, like passives, are intransitive, requiring only a single core argument and also like passives, are semantically transitive. As we have noted above, a passive construction allows its downgraded actor to appear as an oblique argument. An oblique argument is also used by an antipassive construction to allow its downgraded undergoer to appear, although in some contexts a downgraded undergoer is obligatorily absent.

Intransitive constructions in Philippine languages have verbs with a wide variety of affixation. The one that we are focusing on here is a reflex of the reconstructed Proto-Austronesian infix *<um>, widely appearing as either <um> or <om> depending on the orthographic conventions of the language. The affix typically appears on verbs that are semantically intransitive, expecting only a single argument, such as the Khinina-ang Bontok forms in (19), in which the agentive argument is expressed by the grammatical subject.

(19) Khinina-ang Bontok (Reid 1976)

<i>omey</i>	‘to go’	<i>omisfo</i>	‘to urinate’
<i>chomákar</i>	‘to go outside, exit’	<i>omiyan</i>	‘to stay overnight’
<i>fomeskar</i>	‘to come out, emerge’	<i>omonod</i>	‘to follow’
<i>khomowab</i>	‘to go below’	<i>pomángo</i>	‘to lead’
<i>komá-an</i>	‘to leave’	<i>pomatong</i>	‘to sit down’
<i>komáwat</i>	‘to climb a tree’	<i>somá-ar</i>	‘to return home’
<i>lomayaw</i>	‘to run away’	<i>somang-at</i>	‘to climb a mountain’
<i>lomáyog</i>	‘to descend a mountain’	<i>somkhep</i>	‘to enter’
<i>lomigwat</i>	‘to start’	<i>tomag-ey</i>	‘to go above’
<i>omáli</i>	‘to come’	<i>tomá-i</i>	‘to defecate’
<i>omawid</i>	‘to return’	<i>tomakchang</i>	‘to step out of water’
<i>omchan</i>	‘to reach’	<i>tomakcheg</i>	‘to stand up’

An <om> infix also occurs on a wide range of verbs that are semantically transitive, with the undergoer argument being expressed in an oblique noun phrase. These constructions are typically antipassives.

In an interesting paper presented at the International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics in Palawan in 2006, Janet Allen discussed the various functions of the infix *-om-* in the formation of antipassive verbs in Kankanaey within the context of Role and Reference Grammar. She examined the role of the affix with reference to two basic types of roots, state roots and activity roots, suggesting that the use of *-om-* on each type, although apparently having quite different functions, in each instance modifies in some way the agency of the cross-referenced argument (whether actor or undergoer) from the default value (Allen 2006:3). Some of the examples from that paper are relevant to the present discussion. The examples in (20) are typical of many Philippine languages, where a definite undergoer (‘that bamboo’) which is directly affected is expressed as the grammatical subject (absolutive in Allen’s terms) of a transitive sentence, (20)a, but when the undergoer is downgraded and consequently less directly affected (‘some of that bamboo’), it is expressed as the oblique noun phrase of an antipassive, intransitive sentence, using a verb affixed with *-om-*, (20)b.

(20) Kankanaey (Allen 2006:5)

- a. *Gisgisem* *din* *anes* *ay* *doy*.
 split-en.ERG.2SG ABS.DEF bamboo LIG that
 ‘Split that bamboo.’
- b. *Gomisgis=ka* *sin* *anes* *ay* *doy*.
 <om>split=ABS.2SG OBL.DEF bamboo LIG that
 ‘Split some of that bamboo.’

A less common situation is exemplified in the examples in (21), in which a third person pronoun (*sisya* ‘him/her’) is the grammatical subject (undergoer) of the transitive verb *ayagan* ‘to call someone’, but when the undergoer is a first person pronoun (‘me’), an antipassive construction is used, using a verb affixed with *-om-*, but with the first person understood, but obligatorily missing from the sentence.

(21) Kankanaey (Allen 2006:6)

- a. *Ay ayagam* *sisya?*
 Q call-an.ERG.2SG ABS.3SG
 ‘Are you calling him/her?’

- b. Ay omayag=*ka*?
 Q <*om*>call=ABS.2SG
 ‘Are you calling (me)?’

Allen explains this as follows: “When *-om-* is used to form antipassives with no expressed oblique second argument, it is only for situations in which the implied Undergoer is higher on the [Inherent Lexical Content] hierarchy [i.e., 1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person > Proper Name > Human > Animate > Inanimate] than the Actor, with more inherent agentivity. This provides additional evidence that Actors of *-om-* predicates have reduced agentivity.” This may be true, but it doesn’t explain why an antipassive construction is used in the first place. Examples from Khinina-ang Bontok, a close sister language of Kankanaey, in which a first person agent occurs as the undergoer of a transitive construction such, as those in (22), are not uncommon.

(22) Khinina-ang Bontok

- a. *Akhásam sak-en, o patayek sik-a!*
 medicine-an.GEN.2SG 1SG or kill-en.GEN.1SG 2SG
 ‘Give me medicine, or I’ll kill you!’ / ‘Treat me, or I’ll kill you!’
- b. *Mo tet-ewa ay laraychem sak-en, ...*
 if true LIG love-en.GEN.2SG 1SG
 ‘If you truly love me (maybe you do, maybe you don’t) ...’
- c. *Ipa-agto=m man sak-en.*
i-CAUS-carry.on.head=GEN.2SG please 1SG
 ‘Please help me lift (this basket) onto my head (it’s too heavy for me).’

Corresponding antipassive constructions using a verb affixed with <*om*>, but with the first person understood, but obligatorily missing from the sentence, are also common.

(23) Khinina-ang Bontok

- a. *Omákhás=ka man, tay matmatey=ak.*
 <um>?akhas=*ka* man tay CVC.ma’tiy=*ak*
 <APSV>medicine=NOM.2SG please because IPFV-die=NOM.1SG
 ‘Give (me) medicine please, because I’m dying.’
- b. *Ay tet-éwa=ay loromyad=ka?*
 ?ay tit’?iwa=*ay* <um>CV.la’yad=*ka*
 Q true=LIG <APSV>love=NOM.2SG
 ‘Do you truly love (me)?’
- c. *Omipa-agto=ka man.*
 <um>?i-pa-?agtu=*ka* man
 <APSV>CFCT-CAUS-carry.on.head=NOM.2SG please
 ‘Please help (me) lift (this basket) onto my head.’
- d. *Ay omipakalkal-i=ka man?*
 ?ay <um>?i-pa-ka-CVC-’?ali=*ka* man
 Q <APSV>CFCT-CAUS-ABLT-IPFV-come=NOM.2SG please
 ‘Would you be able to bring (me) with you, please?’ / ‘Would you mind bringing me along with you, please?’

- e. *Omagtan=ka* *man.*
 <um>?agtan=ka *man*
 <APSV>give.LFCT=NOM.2SG *please.*
 ‘Please give (me some).’

I claim that transitive sentences, such as those in (22), are neutral as to the relationship between speaker and hearer, and can express a variety of different speech acts, such as an order, a question, or a request. It would appear that the corresponding intransitive sentences of (23) are not instances of reduced agentivity, as suggested by Allen (2006), but of politeness downgrading of the speaker (the undergoer). Example (23)a, for example is a plea for assistance, probably to someone of higher status than the speaker. Example (23)b is a question based on the assumption that the speaker believes the hearer loves him/her, and is seeking confirmation. Example (23)c, is a polite request, possibly to a person who is busy doing something else, or who would be doing a real favor by helping the speaker. In each case the speaker leaves him/herself unexpressed. Example (23)d, is a more complex example, taken from an e-mail to me, in which the writer somewhat jokingly asked me to take her along with me to some of the countries that I visit in the course of my research!

Finally, just as passive sentences are derivations of transitive sentences, for the purpose of downgrading the actor, so antipassive sentences are derivations of transitive sentences, for the purpose of downgrading the undergoer. The evidence is in the retention of the derivational affixes of the original transitive verb on the antipassive verb, where appropriate. Thus in (23)c, both the conveyance affect affix *i-* (which has reference to the movement of the unexpressed theme of the lifting, i.e., the basket), and the causative affix *pa-* both occur as inner layer affixes on the intransitive antipassive verb. While the conveyance affect affix (*i-*) is carried over in an antipassive derivation, neither the direct affect affix (*-en*) nor the locative affect affix (*-an*)²³ is carried over for reasons that are not clear but are possibly related also to the downgrading of the undergoer. For a typology of the derivational relationships between transitive and intransitive antipassive passive constructions, see Table 4.

Table 4. Typology of Derived Sentence Structures--2

Transitive		De-transitive 2	
dynamic/volitional	VAP ⇔	antipassive	VA(P)
potential/abilitative	VAP ⇔	antipassive	VA(P)

4. Conclusion

In this paper we have examined some of the ways Philippine languages encode the basic role relationships of actor and undergoer. We have noted that a wide variety of structures are available, including basic transitive sentences, the actors of which maintain control or volition, and the verbs of which control the semantic interpretation of the undergoer. These are the so-called non-actor focus constructions of Philippine languages. Our interest however has not been on the distinctions marked in such dynamic verbs, which are neutral as to the pragmatic relationship between the

²³ This statement has a few exceptions, such as on a few verbs where the affix has become lexicalized, such as in (23)e.

actor and the undergoer, especially when pronominal forms are used. Our focus instead has been on those constructions in which either the actor is down-graded in some way, resulting in a passive construction, or the undergoer is down-graded in some way, resulting in an antipassive construction.

The traditional conception of transitive constructions in Philippine languages as being passive was based on the fact that the undergoer in these structures is the grammatical subject. However, the passive nature of these constructions is challenged on the basis of two facts, the first is that except under very clearly specified conditions, actors of such constructions are typically obligatory and cannot be considered to be down-graded, and the second is that the undergoers are the grammatical subject, not because they are passive, but because this is the default encoding for transitive constructions in an ergative language (Shibatani 1985, Himmelmann 1999).

Constructions having verbs prefixed with a reflex of *ma- have been classified as passives by several analysts. In this paper we have examined the nature of such constructions, noting that, at least historically, and in some languages currently spoken, no actor can be expressed or implied. These are stative verbs, and the constructions are necessarily intransitive with undergoer grammatical subjects. The actors of these constructions are simply deleted, not down-graded, so from this perspective, these are not passives either.

Many Philippine languages also have transitive constructions with verbs prefixed with a reflex of *ma-. These constructions differ from those mentioned in the previous paragraphs, in that the actions are potential rather than intentional, actors are typically expressed and the verb often contains an aspectual feature of ability. Apart from the form of the verb, these structures are identical to basic transitive sentences, the actors are not down-graded, and are therefore not passives either.

The true passive constructions of Philippine languages are those which have also been described in recent literature as inverse constructions. These are fascinating constructions, in that they are derived as intransitive, requiring only a single core argument (the grammatical subject expressing the undergoer), but they maintain, without change, the affixation of the transitive verb, which as I noted above, controls the semantic interpretation of the undergoer. A down-graded actor is implied but need not be expressed. When an actor is expressed, it is typically non-specific, follows the undergoer and is encoded by an oblique noun phrase or, in the case of Obo Manobo, a special long form of the genitive pronoun. In the case of some of the Northern Luzon languages, special pronouns have developed to express the undergoer of these passive constructions.

In some languages, even potential transitive constructions, which are derived from basic, volitional transitive constructions, can also be passivized, using the same grammatical machinery as is used for the passivization of volitional constructions. The fact that these passive constructions carry over into the derived form all of the affixation of their source verbs, defies the common characterization of these verbal affixes as marking voice, or signaling transitivity.

Some antipassive constructions have also been surveyed in this paper. In these constructions it is the undergoer, not the actor that is down-graded. We have focused on two types of antipassive construction, both using a reflex of the infix *<um>. The first downgrades the undergoer by reducing the degree of specificity present in the source transitive construction, and expressing it as an oblique noun phrase. This is a

common type of antipassive construction in Philippine languages. The second is found (so far) in only a few languages of Northern Luzon and is somewhat different in that the undergoer is obligatorily first person and, while clearly implied, is obligatorily absent.

Just as we noted above for passive constructions, the so-called ‘voice’ affixation of transitive verbs is carried over into an antipassive construction, with the reflex of **<um>* being the last, outer-layer affix, giving further evidence that such constructions are in fact derived from transitive constructions.

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Quo vadis Filipino?

Teresita Alcantara

University of the Philippines - Diliman

taalcantara@up.edu.ph

1. Introduksiyon

Noong kasikatan ng mga tambalang Guy & Pip at Vi & Bot, nakatawag pansin sa akin ang paraan ng pagsasalita ni Tirso Cruz III. Sa kanilang apat, namumukod siya sa paraan ng pagsasalita. Ang kanyang mga pangungusap ay palaging magkahalong Inglés at Pilipino. Hindi siya kailan man nakabuo ng pangungusap sa Pilipino, gayon din sa Inglés. Samantala, noon ding mga panahong yaon, lumabas naman ang isang pahayagan na tinawag na *The Sun*. Nakatawag pansin ito ng madla dahil sa kauna-unahang pagkakataon, lumabas ang isang pahayagang nasusulat sa magkahalong Inglés at Pilipino. Mula noon, unti-unting lumaganap ang istilong ito ng wika, na hindi naman tinutulan ng mga awtoridad at ng mga eksperto sa wika, maging ng mga maka-Filipino. Katwiran nila, “basta nagpipilipino, hindi baleng may kahalong Inglés”. Natuwa pa sila at hindi kailan man nakaramdam ng anumang pambabastos sa wikang pambansa.

Noong umakyat sa poder si Pang. Cory Aquino, nagkaroon tayo ng bagong Konstitusyon. Isinasaad dito na ang pambansang wika ay tatawaging makabagong Filipino na isinusulat sa letrang F bilang unang titik sa halip na P. Ang magiging basehan ay ang Tagalog ng Metro Manila at pauunlarin daw ito sa pamamagitan ng panghihiram ng mga salita sa iba’t ibang wika sa bansa at sa Inglés at Español, bilang mga bahagi ng ating kasaysayan. Maganda ang probisyong ito ng ating Konstitusyon, subalit wari’y nalito ang ating mga kababayan sa pag-unawa rito, dahil sa kakaiba ang nangyayari sa ating wika. Halos hindi tayo humihiram sa mga wika sa bansa, gayon sa wikang Español at ang malungkot dito ay, ang mga salitang Español na dati nang bahagi ng Filipino ay unti-unti pang nawawala. Sa halip, nagpatuloy ang paggamit ng magkahalong Inglés at Tagalog at namayani ang “Taglish” o “Engalog sa wikang pasalita at pasulat. Kung noong dati “The Sun” lamang ang naglalathala sa magkahalong wika, ngayon, karamihan ay ganito na. Kapansin-pansin ang napakalakas na panghihiram ngayon sa Inglés ng makabagong Filipino. Dahil dito, maraming pagbabago sa ating wika ang nagaganap na ating susuriin ngayon, ayon sa iba’t-ibang antas linggwistik, para magkaroon ng maka-agham na mga paliwanag.

2. Mga Pagbabagong Linggwistiko Sa Makabagong Filipino.

2.1. Sa Antas Ortograpiko:

Sa bagong konstitusyon din, binago ang mga letra ng ating alpabeto. Ang dating ABAKADA na may 20 letra ay dinagdagan ng walong titik na hiniram sa Inglés at sa Español. Dahil ditto, ang Filipino ay naging ikalawang wika sa mundo na may letrang **Ññ**. Ang una ay ang Español na pinagkuhanan nito. Samantala, dulot nito ay umusbong ang kalituhan sa pagbabaybay. Hindi na malaman ng ating mga kababayan kung ang isang salitang hiram ay babaybayin ba ayon sa orihinal na pinagkunan nito o bibihisan ba sa Filipino tulad ng ginagawa natin noong dati sa mga salitang Español na pumasok sa ating wika? Nagkaroon pa ng dalawang uri ng baybay. Ang una ay iyong nasa anyong Filipino na ay bumabalik pa sa orihinal na baybay ng wikang pinanghiraman, at

ang ikalawa ay iyong bumabalik din sa orihinal pero hinaluan ng Filipino. Heto ang ilang halimbawa:

a) *bumalik sa orihinal na baybay*

empleyado	>	empleado
estapa	>	estafa
kalkyuleytor	>	calculator
kompyuter	>	computer
sityo	>	sitio
telenobela	>	telenovela
torneyo	>	torneo

b) *orihinal na baybay na finilipino*

prutas	>	frutas
proyekto	>	projekto

2. Sa Antas Ponolohiko

Hindi lamang mga salita ang hinihiram natin sa Inglés sa kasalukuyan. Maging ang tunog ng ating mga salita ay ibinabatay na rin sa Inglés at ang mga hiram na salita sa Español ay naiiba rin. Narito ang mga pagbabago.

2.1. *sa mga patinig*

2.2.1.1. e > a

detalye (detail)	>	detalya
mantiné (maintain)	>	mantiná

2.2.1.2. o > ow

kaso	[kásow]
aresto	[aréstow]
rehistro	[rehístrow]

2.2.1.3. yo 'io' > a

prioridad (prioridad)	>	prayoridad (priority)
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2.2.1.4. i > a

biyolente (violento) > bayolente (violent)

2.2.1.5. a > o

problema > problemo

2.2.1.6. o > a

monopolyo (monopolio) > monopolya (monopoly)

2.2.1.7. u > a

industriya	(industria)	>	indastriya	(industry)	-
istruktura	(estructura)	>	istraktura	(structure)	-
produksiyon	(producción)	>	prodaksiyon	(production)	-
imprastruktura	(infraestructura)	>	imprastraktura	(infrastructure)	-

2.2.1.8. u > o

patrulya (patrulla) > patrolya (patrol)

ruta (ruta) > rota (route)

2.2.1.9. u > yu

agrikultura	[agrikultúra]	>	[agrikultyúra]	(agriculture)
edukasyon	[edukasyon]	>	[edyukasyon]	(education)
universidad	[unibersidád]	>	[yunibersidád]	(university)
uniporme	[unipórme]	>	[yunipórme]	(uniform)
umaga	[umága]	>	[yúmaga]	

2.2.1.10. i - y > Ø (sero)

konsiyensiya (consciencia) > konsyensa (consciente)

siyensya (ciencia) > siyensa

2.2.2. sa mga katinig

2.2.2.1. y > j

proyekto > projekto [prodzékto] - [prohéкто]

2.2.2.2. d > t

senador > senador [senatór]

2.2.2.3. s > z

Corazón	[korasón]	>	[korazón]
De Guzmán	[degusmán]	>	[de guzmán]
Quezon	[késon]	>	[kézon]
Rizal	[risál]	>	[rizál]

2.2.2.4. n > ?

imahen (imagen) [imáhen] > [imáhe?] (image)

2.2.2.5. r > bigkas Inglés

korte	[kórte]	>	[kówrte]	(court)
marso	[márso]	>	[máwrsow]	(March)
lugar	[lugár]	>	[lugáwr]	
meron	[méron]	>	[merówn]	

2.2.2.6. pagbabago ng diin o acento

Sa pakikinig sa radyo, mapapansin natin kung paano binabago ng ating mga kababayan ang diin o acento ng ating mga salita. Halimbawa:

baka (maybe, perhaps) [baká] > [báka]

“... **báka** ikasamá ng bayan”, iyon po ang sinabi ni G. Togs Lantion ng PBS Radyo ng Bayan, habang kinakapanayam si Kong. Janet Garin ng Iloilo (Togs Lantion Show, 21 Hulyo, 2008). Alam natin na kapag sinabing *báka* iyon ay tumutukoy sa hayop na kilalá natin.

2.3. Sa Antas Morpolohiko

1. *kasarian*

Sa tradisyonal na Filipino, ang pangngalang pambalana na panlalaki, kapag nais gawing pambabae ay dinaragdagan ng pangngalang “babae”. Sa kasalukuyang Filipino, pinaikli ito. Nagdagdag na lamang ng morpemang **a** ng Español na pambabae. Nangyari ito sa salitang :

mayor [méiyor] > [mayór] + **a** = *mayora*

Ginagamit itong katawagan sa babang alkalde sa ngayon, dahil marami na tayo nito sa kasalukuyan.

2. ***pag-uulit ng pantig***

Sa Filipino, lalo nasa wikang Tagalog na basehan ng ating wikang pambansa, ang pag-uulit ng pantig ay mahalaga. Ayon kay Robert Hall (1966:65).

Reduplication serves various semantic purposes, indicating for instance, superlative quality, (...) , or repetition or continuation (...) or diminution.

Sa kasalukuyang Filipino, maraming kababayan ang hindi na gumagamit nito. Halimbawa, sa isang pag-uulat ng PAGASA, sinabi ni G. Aurelio “uulan mayang gabi”. (Uno por Dos, PBS Radyo ng Bayan Aug. 26, 2008, 8:15 am). Ito ay sa halip na sabihin niyang “mamayang gabi”. Doon naman sa panayam sa isang pulis na ginawa ni Super Mario (Uno por Dos DZRB Aug. 6, 2008, 8:30 a.m.) sabi ng pulis, “... meron silang mahalagang idulog sa atin . . .” Ang ibig niyang sabihin ay **idudulog**. Ang anyong *idulog* ay may aspektong pangnakaraan at pautos.

3. ***pagputol ng salita***

2.3.3.1. wagí < nagwagí

Sa mga kabataan ngayon at sa mga estudyante, maririnig ang salitang **wagi**. Pinutol nila ang salitang *nagwagi* sa pamamagitan ng pag-aalis ng unang pantig. Minsan sa aking klase ng “Pagsasaling Wika”, isang estudyante ang nagsalin ng pariralang ito:

...*ganó en la batalla*... > **wagi** sa digmaan

Sabi ko sa kanya sa wikang pasulat, anyong pormal ang ginagamit, **nagwagi** at hindi wagi. Nagulat siya, hindi raw niya alam. Akala niya ay tama na ang “wagi”. Katutubong Batangas ang estudyanteng iyon.

2.3.3.2. laya < lumaya

Mula sa “Balitang a las otso” sa Radyo ng Bayan (PBS-DZRB July 24, 2008, 8:00 p.m.) ay narinig ko ang ganitong balita:

“**Laya** na ang 10 Koreano na nabihag sa Iran.”

Dapat sinabi na “*Lumaya* na . . .”, subalit nalimutan marahil ng tagasulat ng balita na sa wikang pangradyo, dapat ay pormal na wika ang gagamitin dahil sila ang numero unong tagapagpalaganap ng wika.

2.3.3.3. ‘Pinás > Filipinas

Karaniwan sa ating kababayan na nangingibang bansa ang tumatawag sa ating bayan ng **‘Pinás**. Inaalis nila ang unang dalawang pantig. Sa “Lingüística Española”, tinatawag ito na *barbarismo de la lengua* na kung isasalin ko sa ating wika ay magiging **“pagbaboy sa wika.”** Marhil ay mapalalampas ang pagputol sa ibang salita, pero kapag hinggil sa bayan, isa itong maliwanag na *pagbaboy sa wika at sa bansa*.

Wari yatang taglay ng ating mga kababayan ang ugaling pagputol ng mga salita. Dito sa UP nagkaroon ng panahon na ang pahayagang pangmag-aaral na “Philippine Collegian” ay tinawag na **Kulé** ng mga nagsisulat doon. Iyon ang kanilang sanayan tungo sa pagiging mahusay na manunulat sa hinaharap subalit hindi nila iginalang ang kasagraduhan ng pahayagang yaon na minana nila sa mga nauna sa kanila at ipinamana naman sa sumunod sa kanila. Mabuti na lamang at ibinalik na sa ngayon ang dating pangalan ang pahayagan na kabahagi na ng kasaysayan ng unibersidad na ito

4. Sa Antas Semantiko

4.1. **mga bagong salita**

2.4.1.1. siyentista / sayantista

Dati, kapag ang tinutukoy natin ay tao na nagsasaliksik hinggil sa Agham, ang tawag natin ay **siyentipiko**, galing sa Español na *científico*. Pero ngayon, dahil sa Inglés na rin nag-iisip ang ating mga kababayan, iba na ang tawag. Naging *siyentista* o *sayantista* galing sa Ingles na **scientist**. Kinuha ang Ingles na “science”, binihisan ito sa Filipino ng **“sayant”** o **“siyent”** at kinabitan ng morpemang **“ista”** ng Español na para sa propesyon.

2. mayora

Nabanggit ko na ito sa unahan. Lumabas ang salitang ito dahil wala tayong terminong pambabae para sa babaeng alkalde na karaniwan na ngayon. Hindi kasi nakapasok sa ating wika ang terminong Español na “alcaldesa” para sa babaing alkalde.

2. **pagbabago ng kahulugan**

coño > konyo

Ang salitang ito ay isng uri ng pagmumura sa Español. Literalmente, ito ay nangangahulugang “pag-aaring sexual” ng lalaki. Kung babae naman ay **coña** ang tawag pero ganoon din ang kahulugan. Dito sa atin, gumanda ang kahulugan ng salitang ito. Kapag daw sinabing “konyo” ka, ibig sabihin ay “anak mayaman ka at nag-aaral sa eksklusibong paaralan gaya ng Ateneo o La Salle.

3. pagdaragdag ng kahulugan

maliban

Dati kapag nagtawag ng pangalan ng mag-aaral ang isang guro, may sumasagot na “liban po Titser”. Ibig sabihin, “absent” o wala ang tinawag na pangalan. Kapag sinabing **maliban**, ibig sabihin sa Ingles ay *except*. Ngayon, sa mga programa sa radyo at telebisyon, nadagdagan na ang kahulugan nito. Maging *except* o *aside from*, puro “maliban” na lamang ang ginagamit nila.

5. Sa Antas Leksiko

5.1. pagpapalit ng salita

2.5.1.1. bukod sa > maliban

Tulad ng nabanggit ko sa unahan, ang salitang *maliban* ay dinagdagan na ngayon ng kahulugan. Samantala, sa prosesong yaon, mayroong salita na napalitan, at ito ang salitang **bukod sa**, na nangangahulugan sa Ingles na “aside from”. Pinalitan ito ng “maliban”. Tila yata hindi na kilala ng ating mga kababayan, lalo na ng mga taga “media” ang salitang “bukod sa”.

2.5.1.2. mamá > manong, kuya, tatay, Sir

Kapag hindi natin kilala ang isang lalaki, **mamá** ang tawag natin bilang paggalang. Ito raw ang katawang Tagalog para sa “tiyo o uncle”. Ngayon tila yata si Hen. Sonny Razón na lamang, dating pinuno ng PNP ang tinatawag na “mamà dahil sa kanyang kampanyang **Mamang Pulis**. Karaniwang tawag ngayon sa mga lalaking hindi kilala (lalo na sa mga sasakyang pampubliko) ay “manong, kuya, tatay (kapag medyo may edad na) o kaya’y Sir kapag napansin na may tipo ang mamà.

2.5.1.3. ale > ate, nanay, ma’am

Kapag babae naman ang hindi natin kilala, ang tawag natin noon ay **ale** bilang paggalang din. Ito naman ang katawagang Tagalog para sa “tiya o auntie”. Si Hen Razón noon ay may kampanya rin na **Aling Pulis**, dahil karaniwan na ngayon ang babaing pulis. Samantala, kung nawawala ang katawagang *mamá*, lalong mabilis ang pagkawala ng salitang *ale*. Ngayon kahit saan, ang tawag ng mga tao sa babae ay **ate** o **manang** (kapag medyo bata pa), **nanay** (kapag may edad na) at **ma’am** kapag napansin na medyo may sinasabi ang babae.

2.5.1.4. tatay / nanay > daddy – mommy / papa-mama

Noong araw, tanging mayayaman lamang ang tumatawag sa kanilang mga magulang ng *daddy-mommy* o kaya’y *papá-mamá*. Karaniwang tawag sa mga magulang noon ay **tatay-nanay**. Ngayon, kahit saang antas ng lipunan nabibilang ang pamilya, maririnig na sa kanila ang “daddy-mommy” o kaya’y “papa-mama”. Wari ba’y lubhang makaluma ang tao kapag gumamit pa ng

katawagang “tatay-nanay”. Ang hindi alam ng karamihan sa atin ay, galing sa Español na **tata** at **nana** ang mga salitang iyon at dinagdagan na lamang natin ng ating morpemang **y** na nagsasaad ng pagmamahal o pagpapahalaga, kaya’t naging “tatay – nanay”.

2.5.1.5. at > and

Sa ating mga kabataan sa ngayon, ang pinipili nilang pangatnig ay Ingles sa halip na Filipino. Halimbawa, noong magkasakit si Francis Magalona, nakapanayam sa TV at narinig din sa radyo ang anak niyang si Maxim. Sinabi nito:

*Nagpapasalamat kami kay Senator Gordon **and** sa Medical City **and** kay Tita Rose doon sa dugo para sa Daddy ko.*
(24 Oras, GMA 7- DZBB, Sept 2008).

Ganito na ngayon ang nauuusong estilo sa ating mga kabataan.

2.5.1.6. ay > is

Kay sakit sa tainga na ang ating pandiwang “**ay**” ay pinapalitan ng Ingles na “*is*”. Pero nangyayari na ito ngayon. Halimbawa, sa panayam ni Noel Perfecto ng Radyo ng Bayan kay Atty. Elamparo ng GSIS hinggil sa mga “painting”, ganito tanong niya: “Ang sinasabi ‘nyo po **is** maaari na . . .” (Punto Perfecto PBS, July 22, ’08, 8:45 p.m). Doon naman sa programang “One Morning” ng NBN 4, mayroong panauhin na nagpakilala ng kanyang producto at sina bi ganito: “Ang aming product **is** mura kaysa iba . . . “ (One Morning Show, NBN 4, July 7, 2008, 6:45 a.m.)

2.5.1.7. ito, iyon > siya

Ang yumaong Tiya Dely Magpayo ng DZRH ay tumanggap ng mga parangal dahil sa kanyang pagmamahal sa ating wika. Ayaw na ayaw niya na ginagamit ang panghalip panaong “siya” para sa mga bagay. Noong una, marami siyang naiwawasto. Nang lumaon, hanggang sa mamatay na siya, totoong laganap na ang gamit ng panghalip panaong “siya” hindi lamang sa tao, kundi mag-ing sa kahit ano, sa halip na gamitin ang ating mga panghalip na “ito o iyon” para sa mga bagay. Sa wari ko, pilit na tinutumbasan ng ating mga kababayan ang panghalip na “it” sa Ingles at ang nahagilap ay ang panaong “siya”. Sa isang balita hinggil sa paglubog ng MV Princess of the Stars, sabi ng reporter, “may kargang 40 ft. container po *siya*...” (DZRH Hataw, June 27, ’08, 9:30 a.m.) Sana sinabi niya ay “may kargang 40 ft. container *ito (iyon)*”.

2.5.1.8. maganda > mabuti

Si Congressman Sonny Escudero ang nagpapauso ng bagong pagbati. Sa kanyang programang “Agri-Tech” (DZRH 4:30-5:00 a.m.) ang bati niya ay ganito: “Mabuting umaga po sa inyong lahat” . Sabi niya, , dapat daw ay “mabuti” at hindi “maganda” dahil sa Ingles ay “good”

(Good Morning). Maging sa Bikolano daw ay “mabuti” rin ang bati at hindi “maganda”. Nalilimutan ng ating kababayan na bawat wika ay may kani-kanyang katangian. Sa Tagalog, ang “maganda” ay hindi lamang nagangahulugang “beautiful” kundi pwede ring “good” at “pleasant”. May mga salita na hindi iisa lamang ang kahulugan. Isa na rito ang salitang “maganda”.

2.5.1.9. umaga > morning

Tatlong mamamahayag sa radyo ang nakatawag ng aking pansin. Kasi kung bumati sila ay “Magandang morning po !”, sa halip na “Magandang umaga po!”. Sila ay sina Julius Babao at Tintin Bersola ng ABS-CBN DZMM at si Ed Verzola ng Radyo ng Bayan. Kapag naririnig lagi ng madla ang ganitong paraan ng pagbati, tiyak na lalaganap ito at hindi na mababatid ng mga bata na mali iyon. Sa kalaunan magiging tama na iyon.

10. mga bilang o numero

Dati-rati, nagagamit ng mga Filipino ng salitan ang mga bilang sa Filipino at sa Español, kayat nakatutulong ito sa kanilang pag-aaral ng wika ni Rizal. Ngayon hindi na, puro Ingles na ginagamit ng tao. Hindi na alam ang mga bilang sa Español at pati sa mga bilang sa Filipino ay nahihirapan na sila, nabubulol pa kung minsan. Sa palengke may nagtanong sa isang tindera: “Magkano yarda ng tela ?” Sagot ng tindera, “May one-fifty, may two hundred”. Sa radyo kapag ipinahahayag ang oras sinasabi ngayon, “Ang oras, four-thirty ng hapon.” Sa jeepney magtanong ka sa tsuper, “Magkano po hanggang Philcoa?” Sasagot ang tsuper, “eight-fifty po”. Ngayon na mababa na ang pasahe baka naririnig na muli ang mga salitang “otso” o kaya’y “walong piso po”. Sa larangang ito, higit na nakapamamayani ang wikang Ingles.

2.5.1.11. kasali > kasangkot

Sa wikang Tagalog na ginawang batayan ng wikang pambansa, kapag kasama ang isang tao sa mabuting gawain o kilusan, sinasabi siya ay “**kasali**”. Pero, kapag sa gawain o kilusang masama siya kasama, sinasabi na siya ay “**kasangkot**” Dito sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas, may naririnig akong mga Propesor na maging mabuti o masama ang kinasasalihan ng isang tao, ang sinasabi nila ay “kasangkot”. Halimbawa, sa isa naming pagpupulong, mayroong naglahad sa madla ng proyekto hinggil sa Sarswela. Pagkatapos ay may nagtaas ng kamay at nagsabi, “Magaling ang proyekto, sinu-sino ang mga *kasangkot* diyan ?” Marahil sa iba ay bale-wala ‘yon, pero sa amin na mga taal na Tagalog, napapataas ang gaming mga kilay.

2.5.1.12. sanggunian / hanguan > batis

Marahil ay hindi kayo pamilyar sa isang kasong ito. Sa isang klase ko ng “Pagsasalang-wika”, mayroon akong estudyante na nagsabi, “Mam, narito po ang ginamit kong mga *batis*”. “Ano ‘yon ?”, tanong ko. “Mga batis po, *references*”. Sabi ko, “sanggunian o hanguan ang tawag naming”. “Batis po turo sa amin ng titser”, tugon niya. Tanong ko sa kanya, “Saan mo binatis ‘yan?” Mayroon ba tayong pandiwa na “babatis, binabatis, babatisin” ? Aminado siya na wala pero “batis” daw ang turo sa kanila.

2.5.1.13. aabalahin > hahawakan

Muli sa programang “Punto Perfecto” ng Radyo ng Bayan, nakapanayam naman ni G. Noel Perfecto ai Usec. Faye Yabut. Nang matagalan na usapan nila, sabi ni G. Perfecto: “. . . hindi ko na kayo *hahawakan pa* . . . “ Malinaw na ibig sabihin niya rito sa Ingles ay “I wont hold you long . . .” Tuwiran niyang isinalin sa Filipino ang salitang “hold”, kayat naging *hahawakan* sa halip na *aabalahin*.

2.5.1.14. abuso > molestiya

Isang linggo bago yumao si Tiya Dely, naging panauhin niya sa programa si Atty. Rina Seco, isang batang-batang abogada. Kinamusta ni Tiyang ang mga kasong hawak niya at tumugon ito ng “Marami po, lalo na ang kaso ng mga babaing **minolestiya**”. “Ibig mo bang sabihin ay ‘*molested women*’?, tanong ni Tiyang. “Opo”, sagot ni Atty. Sabi ni Tiyang, “Sa amin sa Tagalog, ‘pag sinabing “molestiya” ibig sabihin ay ‘*nanghihiram ka; nanghihingi ka; nang-aabala.*’ Pero kapag “molested” o “rape”, ang sinasabi namin ay ‘**abuso**’ - **inaabuso**

2.5.1.15. ko > me

Sa mga text message sa cellphone, karaniwang dinadaglat natin ang mga salita, dahil sa kalitan ng espasyo. Minsan, nag-text sa akin ang estudyante ko; “Mam darating na **me**.” Karaniwan ito, pero bakit ba hindi sabihing “Darating na **ko**.” Di ba pareho naman na dalawang letra lang ang kailangan ?

2.5.2. **Pangalan ng kabataan sa ngayon**

Ayon sa minana natin, ang pangalan ng isang tao ay ibinabatay sa Bibliya at ang dala nating apelyido ay galing sa Español. Ngayon, apelyido na lamang natin ang nananatiling Español. Ang pangalan ng mga kabataan sa ngayon ay pawang Ingles na, at wari ba’y katawatawa na o masyadong makaluma kapag bininyagan ang isang bata sa pangalang Juan, Pedro, Antonio (sa lalaki) at Rosa, Carmen, Teresa (sa babae). Sa aking mga estudyante, narito ang ilang halimbawa:

Regine Anne Imperial
Leslie Louie de la Cruz
John Joshua Rosario

Gretchen Espina
Nicolle Anne Bautista
Errol John Agustin

Sa ating mga bituin sa telebisyon at pelíkula sa ngayon ay pawang Ingles na rin ang pangalan nila maliban sa apelyido. Halimbawa:

Richard Gutierrez
Mark Herras
Philip Manzano

Jennylyn Mercado
KC Concepción
Angel Locsin

2.5.3. Mga pangngalang Ingles sa halip na Filipino na galing sa Español.

Libu-libo sa ating mga salita ay galing sa Español na “binihisan” natin sa Filipino para ganap na maging atin. Subalit sa ngayon, unti-unti ng hindi ito ginagamit ng ating mga kababayan dahil pinapalitan na nila ng katumbas na Ingles. Halimbawa:

alkalde	>	mayor
amiga (o)	>	friend
bise-presidente)	>	vice
bise-alkalde)		
heneral	>	general
kongresista	>	Congressman
Korte Suprema	>	Supreme Court
mahistrado	>	Justice
maintindihan	>	ma-get
nobyong	>	boyfriend
nobyang	>	girlfriend
piskal	>	prosecutor
piyansa	>	bail

Makinig lamang kayo ng mga balita at talakayan sa ibat-ibang estasyon ng radyo at telebisyon at tiyak na mapatutunayan ninyo ito.

2.5.4. Mga bagong leksiko

Ang ating bansa ay tagatanggap lamang ng mga makabagong teknolohiya sa ibang bansa. Dahil dito, parang agos ng tubig kung pumasok sa atin ang mga salitang tekniko na galing sa Ingles. Sa pagdating sa atin ng tinatawag na “computer age”, pumasok sa Filipino ang mga bagong leksiko tulad ng:

Blog	Internet
Download	Log on
Encode	Yahoo
Friendster	You tube

3. Kongklusyon

Sa pag-aaral na ito, nakita natin ang mga pagbabagong linggwistiko sa ating wika na naganap sa ibat-ibang antas. Sa nibel ortograpiko, nagkakaroon ngayon ng kalituhan sa pagbabaybay ng mga salita. Mayroong “binibihisan” sa Filipino ang salitang hiram, samantalang ang iba naman ay gumagamit na ng orihinal na baybay dahil mayroon na sa ating alpabeto ng mga letrang taglay niyon. Sa nibel ponolohiko, naghihimig Ingles na ang bigkas ng mga kababayan sa ating mga salita. Hindi na sila nag-aalangan na bumigkas ng [lugáwr], [prodzékto], [yunibersidád]. Sa nibel morpolohiko, lumilikha tayo ng bagong sistema ng pagpapalit ng kasarian. Ang Ingles na *mayor* ay

dinaragdagan natin ng morpemang **a** ng Español para maging pambabae at naging *mayora*. Luma-labas din ang katamaran ng ating kababayan sa paggamit ng mga pinutol na salita tulad ng *wagi*, *pinas* atbp. Sa nibel semantiko may mga salitang binago ang kahulugan at mayroon namang dinagdagan. Sa nibel leksiko ay nakita natin ang maraming pagpapalit ng salita sa mga karaniwang ginagamit natin at karamihan ng ipinapalit ay galing sa Ingles o kaya'y literal na isinasalin mula sa Ingles.

Ang wika raw ay may buhay din tulad natin, kaya't nagkakaroon ito ng mga pagbabago. Subalit ang mga pagbabagong nagaganap sa ating wika ay kakaiba. Sa halip na malinang ng matuwid, wari ba'y liku-likong landas ang tinatahak nito. Wala sa loob natin, lumilikha tayo ng bagong Chabacano na magkahalong Ingles at Filipino, katulad ng kasalukuyang Chabacano sa Cavite at Zamboanga na magkahalong Español at Filipino. Sabi naman ng iba, ang nililikha raw natin ay isang *creollo* ng Ingles. Bakit ganito? Narito ang mga nakikita naming dahilan:

- 1) Nahiihiya tayo kapag nagkakamali sa paggamit ng Ingles pero sa maling gamit ng Filipino ay hindi.
- 2) Nag-iisip tayo sa Ingles at isinasalin natin ng literal sa Filipino.
- 3) Pakiramdam ng ating kababayan ay makaluma ka kapag purong Filipino ang ginagamit mo.
- 4) Hindi pinapansin ng mga guro ng wika, samahan ng wika at mga dalubhasa sa wika ang anumang maling gamit ng salita. Tanging si Tiya Dely lamang ang pumapansin noon.
- 5) Pati mga kabataan makakaliwa na galit na galit sa mga Amerikano ay sa Ingles din nag-iisip at himig Ingles din ang mga bokabularyo nila.

Tunay nga yata na hindi nauunawaan o hindi natutuhan ng ating mga kababayan ang isinasaad ng batas hinggil sa makabagong wikang pambansa. Sabi roon ay Tagalog ng Metro Manila ang batayan at payayamanin ito ng mga salitang hiram sa ibat-ibang wika sa bansa at sa mga salitang galing sa Español at Ingles bilang mga bahagi ng ating kasaysayan. Subalit sa ngayon, halos wala tayong nahihiram na salita sa ibang mga wika sa bansa, kaunti na lamang sa Español at lahat ay galing na sa Ingles. Hindi lamang iyan, pinapalitan pa natin ng Ingles ang mga salita natin. Pilit nating iniaangkop ang Ingles sa Filipino, sa halip na Ingles ang iyangkop natin sa Filipino. Sabi nga ni Tiya Dely, dapat daw ngayon ay marunong ka ng Ingles para maunawaan mo ang wikang Filipino. Noong araw, Ingles ang wikang panturo sa mga paaralan, ngayon Filipino na. Pero nakapagtataka, yaong mga nagsigamit ng Ingles bilang wikang panturo ay mahusay din sa Filipino, samantalang yaong nagsigamit ng Filipino bilang wikang panturo ay mga naging "Taglish". Hanggang saan at hanggang kailan ba natin itutuloy ang pamamarang ito na iniaakma sa Ingles ang wikang Filipino? Ito na ba ang landas na tatahakin ng ating wika? *Quo vadis Filipino? Saan ka patutungo?*

MGA SANGGUNIAN

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B. Radyo at Telebisyon :

Agri-Tech MBC-DZRH (M-F, 4:00-4:30 a.m.).

Bale Todo PBS-Radyo ng Bayan (M-F, 10:00 a.m.- 12:00 nn).

Balitang a las Otso PBS-Radyo ng Bayan (M-S, 8:00 p.m.)

Damdaming Bayan MBC-DZRH (M-S, 7:30-9:00 a.m.

Dis is Manolo GMA-DZBB (M-S, 10:30 p.m-12:00 mn)

Hataw MBC-DZRH (M-S, 9:00-10:30 a.m.)

Lapid Fire DWIZ (M-F, 12:00-2:00 a.m.)

Magandang Morning ABS-CBN DZMM (Sat & Sun 6:00-8:00 a.m.)

Magandang Umaga Bayan ABS-CBN DZMM (Sat. 8:00-10:00 a.m.)

One Morning NBN-4 (M-F, 6:00-8:00 a.m.)

Punto Perfecto PBS-Radyo ng Bayan (M-F, 9:00-10:00 p.m.)

Togs Lantion Show PBS-Radyo ng Bayan (M-F, 7:00-8:00 p.m.)

Uno por Dos PBS-Radyo ng Bayan (M-F, 8:00-10:00 a.m.)

24 Oras GMA – 7 (M-F, 6:30-7:30 p.m.)

CLASSROOM INTERACTION ANALYSIS OF COGNITIVE PROCESSES AND STRATEGIES: BASIS FOR PROTOTYPE INTERACTIVE-BASE LESSONS IN ORGANIC CHEMISTRY

Wilfred B. Bambico, Ph.D.
Saint Louis University
wilfred.bambico@yahoo.com.ph

Introduction

In a paper presented at the Proceedings of the World Conference on Science and Technology, Tan (2002) highlighted the so-called New Economy which is characterized by globalization, information explosion, and accelerated science and technology advancement. Asia and the rest of world have to make sense of the rapid changes these bring and a very great challenge is the management of the intensification of business competition which affects the social, economic, political, cultural fabric, and behavior of nations.

As stated above, science and technology will not provide the universal answer but there may be areas of common interest and benefit in which scientific cooperation among Asian nations can be achieved. Research, education and training, media and science literacy, scientific organizations, information and communication, and human resource development disclosed, are the answers.

In research collaboration, the value Asian countries place on education is almost without peer. For this very reason, science and mathematics, and technology education are fertile grounds for cooperative studies / researches / workshops or exchanges among science educators from schools, tertiary institutions, and science centers. It is imperative to motivate and nurture budding scientists as well as increase the scientific literacy among the public, on the premise that the workforce of the 21st century functions in a knowledge-based economy that demands the following science and technology savvy workers, creative, innovate, and critical thinkers, change-adept individuals, and life-long learners.

Some of the findings of authorities in Science and Mathematics Education, likewise, with that of the Schools of Teacher Education in the country include: dropouts in school where 11% of the students graduate in tertiary level (Gonzales, 1998); poor performance of Filipino students in the SISS and TIMSS (Ibe and Ogena, 1998; and Bernardo, 1998); poor performance in the local achievement tests like in 1996 NEAT was below 50 percent in both in the mathematics and science subtests. The national mean for mathematics was 17.1 out of 40 items, and for science the mean was 16.6 out of 40 items. Results of the National College Entrance Examination (NCEE) and admission tests of the leading colleges and universities revealed similar scenarios as pointed out by Bernardo (1998); alarming and high-anxiety regarding chemistry as a school subject (Senajon, 2000); and incompetent and unqualified Chemistry teachers to handle chemistry courses as revealed in TPEE standards (Bambico, 1997); mismatch between science and mathematics contents and needs or interests of the students in the society (Bradley, 2002); students incompetence in computational skills (Mina, 2000);

Some of these reforms may include the following, among others like multi-modal learning system can be developed through e-learning (on-line) and face-to-face formats such as independent and collaborative learning whereby students engage in interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary learning (Tan, 2002); change in attitude and approaches in teaching sciences and strengthening diversity in science and technology education (Bradley, 2002)

All the foregoing scenarios speak of the lack of credibility, the poor performance, inadequate concepts developed by the learners, and the quality of science and technology

education in the Philippines as seen in their performances in international tests. However, there are still many things yet to be done but have never been accomplished.

The reasons for the above results may have been any of the following, to consider: unable to finish the content of textbooks and skipping topics they do not know; lack of mastery and negative attitudes in mathematics (Talisayon, 1998); development of strategies in teaching chemistry, development of critical thinking, curiosity, and better attitudes toward sciences and the application of concepts and theories learned in the science and mathematics as highlighted in the 28th Annual Convention of Teacher Education in Cebu City (2000)

The above alarming scenarios ignited the researcher to have conducted this hypothesis generating research whose objectives included in determining the categories of teacher questions and the students' cognitive processes and strategies in developing concepts in Organic Chemistry using classroom interaction analysis particularly what are the categories of the questions asked by the teacher as he develops concepts in Organic Chemistry? What are the cognitive processes and strategies the students employ as they develop concepts in Organic Chemistry? What is the students' level of academic performance in Organic Chemistry in terms of paper-and-pencil test?

Theoretical Framework

Jean Piaget, as cited by Cox (2002) holds that language development is an aspect of general cognitive development. Conceptualization precedes language. Piaget based this cognitive-constructivist view on his observation of children at play. Children learn to understand language as they first assimilate and then accommodate language symbols to their symbolic structures or schema. In the search for meaning, children symbolize before they verbalize. He further views the adult's role in teaching language is creating situations in which children discover meaning themselves.

The Zone of Proximal Development of Lev Vygotsky, as cited in the book of Cox (2002), refers to as the center around which the child forms thought complexes (similar to schema) or symbolic structures. Piaget also identifies the importance of connecting new experiences to prior knowledge and organizing that new information. Piaget believed children verbalize structures that have already been developed through first-hand experiences with objects in their environments. Vygotsky sees the verbal interaction between the adult and the child as the primary means by which children achieve potential meaning through language. He clearly puts great emphasis on the role of the caretaker or teacher in the cognitive and linguistic development of the child.

This interaction, Cummin's model of language proficiency, illustrates how Jerome Bruner, as cited in the Cox's book (2002), describes scaffold or temporary frame for constructing meaning from language.

In looking at the relationship between critical thinking and communication, we first need to define critical thinking. The National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) Committee on Critical Thinking as published by Bosma (1987) describes it as "a process which stresses an attitude of suspended judgment, incorporates logical inquiry and problem solving, and leads to an evaluative decisions or action."

Current approaches in the teaching of Mathematics emphasize the importance of thinking and understanding of concepts rather than the learning of procedures, rules, and facts (Orton, 1992).

One can see the relationship among the transactional theory and constructivism and social interactionism with regard to teaching reading in several ways: All three theoretical perspectives emphasize the role of the reader in creating meaning from a text, challenge the notion that there is one correct meaning of a text, and acknowledge the influence of cultural interpretation of a text.

The four stages of reflective teaching enables individuals to continually learn from their own experiences by considering alternative interpretations of situations, generating and evaluating goals, and examining experiences in the light of alternative goals and hypothesis. It is also a teaching approach that brings the individuals to continually learn from their experiences through thoughtful analysis of their own experiences, actions, decisions, and beliefs. It may also be act of teaching that focuses thought on certain phenomenon through inspection, introspection, and analysis.

A concept is formed when its classification can be extended either as a single experience or events. It involves two processes that require discrimination and generalization. Concept formation is a process in which a person interacts with his environment and organizes the mass of stimuli that he is experiencing. From this organization, he interprets the environment and acts on the basis of this interpretation. Concepts cannot be learned without some relevant experience with the phenomena which are to be conceptualized. Experience enables the learner to make necessary discriminations. The range of these experiences will vary from direct and immediate experiences to more or less remote ones of the phenomenon being conceptualized (Minoza, n.d.).

Correspondingly, teachers are going to help students use cognitive skills and strategies, they should help them (1) monitor their cognitive processes effectively; (2) avoid the use of simplistic, primitive routines when better strategies are available; (3) develop an adequate knowledge based on general and specific information and of the strategies available in various subject areas; (4) develop a pattern of attributing both success and failure to the effectiveness of their own efforts; and (5) help them to transfer effective strategies to new situations. Cognitive strategy instruction should help learners develop these skills.

For Piaget, learning is derived from mental relations of abstraction and balance, in other words, the human being is constantly seeking the improvement of his higher reasoning capabilities. Thus, using mechanisms of assimilation, adjusting and adaptation, people learn through their mistakes and victories, analyzing them through mental operations and grouping relations. This process is what Piaget calls balancing mechanism. It can also be included in the intellectual factors, the operations, the relations, the groupings, the construction of schemes and the structuring, all according to Piaget. In fact, such mental manipulations are derived from the representation of reality that each one has.

Learning depends on a conjunction of dual factors, involving physical (sensorial and intellectual) and sensational (motivational and emotional) aspects, with complex relations between themselves and the external environment:

The existence of two learning spaces: one that is internalized, where emotional and intellectual factors act more effectively, and a more general space, that allows more complex interactions between the individual and the environment, mediated by the motivational and sensorial factors is seen in the total learning space model. According to this model. there is no learning without all the factors being involved, in greater or smaller degree, in the creation of knowledge.

Science carries out one of these functions by providing us with explanations for otherwise puzzling phenomena and events. The act of generating and explanation is central to the world of professional scientists. It also plays an explanation if often taken place as a diagnostic sign that a concept of theory has been acquired (Otero, Leon, and Graesser, 2002).

Meanwhile, Ellis and Reed (1993) have identified some important functions of language. Language serves several functions that are all related to the fundamental process of communications. Perhaps its most important function is that language conveys meaning and is part of almost all kinds of social interaction. It conveys intentions, motives, feelings, and beliefs; it is used to issue requests and commands; it is also used to teach and convey

information. Indeed, due to duality of patterning and productivity, an infinite range of knowledge and beliefs can be conveyed via language. Language is useful because it can represent ideas and events that are not tied to the here and now. It is also symbolic in that speech sounds and utterances stand for or represent various objects, ideas and events.

Language offer elements such as speech acts, propositional content, and thematic structure.

Beyer (1988) identifies factors that shape thinking. Thinking that occurs in the course of a dialogue requires use of knowledge, cognitive operations, and attitudes that in some instances differ considerably from those involved in solitary, reflective settings. Participating in an argument where the purpose is to persuade others to given position requiring the use of somewhat different cognitive operations, attitudes, and knowledge is better than participating in an argument or discussion whose final goal is uncovering the "truth." A classroom that values independent thinking, risk taking, and an objective search for knowledge reinforces and develops quite a different kind of thinking than does a classroom that emphasizes essentially "lesson hearing" or content "covering."

That the concept learned and formed by the learners can be picture using the thinking processes which involve the interrelationship between the knowledge acquisition and knowledge production or application as written by Minosa (n.d.)

Methodology

The population of the study was the 26 Bachelor of Secondary Education (BSE) students majoring in Science and Technology who were duly enrolled in Organic Chemistry, both lecture and laboratory in the College of Education of Saint Louis University, Baguio City. The researcher employed the total enumeration of the population so as to make the findings conclusive.

In order to determine the students' level of academic performance in the five (5) lessons in Organic Chemistry, the researcher made a documentary analysis on the recorded performance scores in the paper-and-pencil tests administered every after each lesson by the subject teacher-researcher. The students' scores were culled out from the paper-and-pencil tests administered to the subjects, after careful analysis of the items given. A table-of-specification was designed prior to the preparation of the paper-and-pencil tests so that each of the cognitive skills along Bloom's taxonomy was treated equally.

The data needed for this study such as student and teacher talks were taken from the transcripts prepared by a licensed stenographer II from the Department of Justice. A cassette-recorder was used to record the actual teacher-student talks in the class for verification against the transcript for analysis. The researcher employed cognitive processes, and cognitive strategies (Chamot and O'Malley (1993); and Ornstein (1990) as well as Barnes' model of discourse analysis used to categorize the questions asked by the teacher in developing concepts in Organic Chemistry.

The data gathered were treated using frequency count, percentage, Friedman Two-way ANOVA, Chi-square test, Cramer-C coefficient, One-way ANOVA, Scheffe's test of multiple comparison, and the correlated T-test.

Discussion of Findings

Categories of Teacher Questions in Organic Chemistry

It could be inferred in Table 1 that while it is true that teachers would like to generate questions that are thought-provoking such as critical thinking questions and higher order thinking skill questions. Favorable response or positive response comes from the openness of the students to the teacher by affirming what they know. These questions were the social type of questions which emerged as the questions most asked in the development of concepts in Organic Chemistry. The dominant form of questions asked in this lesson was appeal question where students listened, agreed, and disagreed to the presentation of the students as well as by the teacher. The appeal question followed by recall question where the students will have to remember the concepts they had previously encountered and learned, and tried to use these information justifying their answers on the item assigned to them as they show and explain their answers on the board.

Asking of social questions allows the teacher and the students to have an interpersonal “academic dialogue” in the classroom. This becomes the main inspiration of the teacher believing that the role of the teacher is not to tell something to students like organic chemical reactions and all those technical and non-technical terms as information to students but rather to ask questions just like the “Socratic dialogue” (Alro, 2004). This dialogue emphasizes on the idea of teacher-questioning attitude in facilitating the learning process in the classroom. Social questions (social or appealing) that affirm the learning of students could be similar to the Socratic technique in the classroom. The answering of “yes” or “no” makes it as a turning point that they have understood the concept. Saying “yes” affirms that one understands the concepts and saying “no” negates the understanding of the concepts learned in the classroom. It could also be inferred that these types of questions become “reflective questions” wherein the teacher and the students reflect whether or not they have understood the concept during the discussion.

Table 1. Categories of Questions asked by the Teacher in Developing Concepts in Organic Chemistry

Teacher's Questions	L E S S O N					Mean %age	Sum %age	Rank
	3	4	5	6	7			
Factual								
Naming	10.98	17.29	8.38	2.10	1.10	7.97		
Information	16.46	23.31	19.37	21.68	19.78	20.12	28.09	3
Reasoning								
Recall	6.10	3.01	5.24	9.09	3.30	5.35		
Closed	15.24	9.77	11.52	10.49	17.58	12.92		
Open	4.88	3.01	8.90	9.79	3.30	5.97		
Observation	9.15	7.52	4.71	15.38	5.49	8.45	32.69	2
Open Questions (not call for reasoning)	3.66	5.26	5.76	5.59	0.00	4.06	4.06	4
Social								
Control	6.71	1.50	14.66	16.78	19.78	11.89		
Appeal	26.83	29.32	21.47	9.09	29.67	23.28	35.16	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Friedman Two-Way ANOVA = 0.04					Not Significant at 0.05			

The reasoning type of questions ranks second with 32.69 percent. Among the types of reasoning questions closed reasoning questions (12.92 percent) were asked most followed by observation reasoning questions (8.45 percent); open reasoning questions (5.97 percent), and least asked were the recall reasoning questions (5.35 percent). It could be inferred that the teacher revalidated students' thinking by giving questions with only one possible answer (closed reasoning question) so as not to confuse the students and to give the students good foundation in understanding the concepts to be learned in Organic Chemistry. The teacher must have given the students questions with one expected answer to form the core of learning the concept or to give them a "fix" concept of what is being asked. The moment the students have learned this "fixed" or "factual" concepts then they can apply these concepts to learn other cognitive skills like arguing, evaluating, and synthesizing which form the higher order thinking skills.

Reasoning questions can be considered as scaffolding devices in students' learning. These scaffolding questions feed forward skills using information (discussion made and questions asked by the teacher) and / or provide skill feedback (answers of students) in the classroom. This device has numerous advantages like helping students recall what they know during the discussion, thus thinking gets initiated, keeping students focused during the discussion especially when the "what," the "what-if" and "why" questions will be asked, and processing data or information which are given to them during the "thinking-aloud" procedure. The goal of reasoning is to describe the process of thinking (or cognitive processes). He further clarifies that this kind of reasoning usually involves presenting someone (student) with a problem, the solution to which does not exist in the person's prior experience (Hunt, 2004).

To be able to understand this, the students' priori knowledge or experiences must be drawn from the memory in order to establish connection with the present experiences. This capsulizes understanding among the things still to be learnt in the discussion. A person cannot just solve a problem by remembering the solution, but rather, must think using cognitive processes and strategies on his own way through the problem.

Reasoning is a way to elicit interconnected ideas in the memory either through episodic, semantic, or procedural knowledge. The relationship of thinking (reasoning) and understanding according to Otero, Leon, and Graesser (2002) is the construction of a coherent representation of the text as delivered during discussion or printed in the book. The reader (student) must interpret each element of the text and identify meaningful connections to other elements in the text and in semantic knowledge. They further believe that the more connections (nodes) established in the readers' memory with text (concept), the more they are able to use better thinking and therefore, give them a better foundation when reasoning is called for.

James Cooper (2002) gives several approaches to measuring concept learning. The basic measurement of concept learning is when the student is able to discriminate correctly between examples and non-examples of the concept. He expounds that verbalizing the concept rule is even a more complex dimension of concept learning. This is shown when students' "think aloud" what they know in the classroom. Cooper further identifies the following dimensions as evidences of the students' ability to reason, namely: (1) identification of criterial attributes and non-attributes; (2) discrimination of examples from non-examples; (3) identification of the concept rule; (4) ability to relate the concept to other concepts; and (5) use of the concepts in novel way. All of these attributes are effects of good reasoning.

Factual questions came third with 28.09 percent. This type of question, as seconded by Otero, Leon and Graesser (2002), is finding answers in the information found explicitly in the text. Drawing conclusion is not called for but remembering facts such as names of the compounds printed in the book; use of factual concepts elicited in the textbook like "*what is the first step in halogenation (or other chemical reaction)?*" "*What is the catalyst to be used?*" and the like are questions that only draw students' understanding based on the text (book). Moreover, drawing answers to these questions do not allow student to use reasoning or even cognitive processes. It merely asks for some procedures as in recalling and recognizing materials or concepts. This is used to check basic understanding of students like answering the "what" questions. This type of question is also the same as open question not call for reasoning. It was also seen that the types of questions (according to Barnes) did not differ across the five lessons.

Patterns of the Categories of Teacher Questions Asked in Organic Chemistry Considering the Parts of the Lesson

Table 2 reveals that the most number of questions asked were during the lesson proper with a total percentage of 73.01; 14.18 percent were asked during the evaluation part and 12.82 percent during the review session. It can be inferred that the bulk of the questions used to probe students' thinking and understanding abilities had accumulated during the lesson proper. This is due to the fact that is in the lesson proper where the concepts are being developed; hence, there should be more questions expected to be asked by the teacher in this part of the lesson. In addition, it can be seen that the frequencies of questions asked during the review and evaluation lessons are almost the same.

Review Lesson. The table further reveals that during the review lesson, the teacher asked more of the information (2.25 percent), social (2.17 percent), and closed reasoning and appeal (1.92 percent) questions. Likewise, the teacher asked very few of naming (0.71 percent), open questions not calling for reasoning (0.70 percent), and observation (0.66 percent) questions during the same phase of the lesson.

Table 2. Categories of Questions Asked by the Teacher in Developing Concepts in Organic Chemistry during the Teaching Process

Types of Questions	Review		Lecture		Evaluation	
	Percent	Rank	Percent	Rank	Percent	Rank
Factual						
Naming	0.71		6.18		1.08	
Information	2.25		14.97		2.90	
Total	2.96	3	21.15	3	3.98	2
Reasoning						
Recall	1.48		3.24		0.63	
Closed	1.92		10.20		0.80	
Open	1.01		3.89		1.08	
Observation	0.66		6.79		1.00	
Total	5.07	1	24.12	2	3.51	3
Open Question	0.70	4	3.15	4	0.21	4
Control						
Appeal	1.92		7.46		2.51	
Social	2.17		17.13		3.97	
Total	4.09	2	24.59	1	6.48	1
Total	12.82		73.01		14.18	

An analysis of the transcripts (not included in this article) showed the following questions were posted during the review phase of the lesson: “*What do you mean?*”, “*What is Markonikov rule all about?*”, “*What about anti-Markonikov?*”, “*What did we say...*”, “*Bond that has the...*”, and “*Mas malapit siya saan?*”. These questions are acts of eliciting or direct listing teacher’s exchange moves. This means that the teacher started with the observation moves (stage 1) by asking questions with single characteristics or single classification. These types of questions were needed in order to set the students’ learning mood by unfreezing their doubts and queries in the previous lessons and to connect them in the information still to be learned in the new topic. These questions, however, became a strategy of the teacher when he wanted to promote students’ comprehension (lexical domain of language learning). The teacher during the review part of the lesson had also reached the analytical domain of teaching when he tried his students to answer questions called for “differentiating Markonikov and anti-Markonikov” and by allowing students to “give examples and non-examples of the concepts previously learned in the course. It is concluded and discerned that during the review lesson, the teacher asked questions which

allowed the students to describe, list samples, list non-examples, compare and contrast, and to do some simple analogy or association. It is also revealed by discovery that he had accomplished the observation and analytical moves (pedagogical acts) by providing students context information as well as definitions needed in the new information still to be learned.

The findings above also confirmed the study of Bacungan (1986) when she defined observation moves as moves calling for single characteristics, descriptions, classification, and identification of objects in the referent set of concepts. Although her study was in mathematics while the present study was in science, the same theories would be unveiled because of the common premise used in the study – classroom interaction strategy.

Lesson Proper. The teacher frequently asked questions that were social (17.13 percent), information (14.97 percent), and appeal (7.46 percent) in nature. Likewise, the questions that were least asked were open reasoning (3.89 percent), recall reasoning (3.24 percent), and open questions not calling for reasoning (3.15 percent). Analysis of the transcripts showed that the teacher had moved from the observation and analytical pedagogical acts of teaching to generalization moves as well as exemplification pedagogical acts of teaching. Generalization moves refer to the ability to analyze condition and giving of generalization by way of syntactic and lexical discourses. Some of the questions asked were those which made students to retrieve data from their memory. These questions include (taken from the different lessons) include: *“What is the expected product, it will now be?”*; *“Why iodine?”*; *“Therefore, there is attraction between...?”*; *“What about the substituents... ?”*; *“Bakit nahuli iyong sulfate?”*; *“Therefore, the final answer now. Nelia, is?”*; *“What is, therefore, its name?”*; *“A dimerization is what... yes, Mark?”*; *“From... _____ and acid. Any acid... any acid?”*; and *“shall we consider this...?”*

The questions itemized above allowed the students to make generalizations, predictions, and higher order thinking skills by way of the following comprehension strategies, namely: restatement, inverted **wh**- questions, code switching, use of introductory words for students to complete the utterances, and summarizing, among others. With these questions, the teacher made them experience to become critical and creative thinkers, as well as possess the higher order thinking skills.

Moreover, it is also seen that it is during the execution of the analytical moves that giving of examples and non-examples, agreeing or disagreeing, sharing an attitude, or remembering experiences further reinforce concept learning. The moves exemplified above are complex and, thus, require a great deal of effort to execute and maneuver. This can be best supported by Table 2 when the teacher asked few questions along observation reasoning (6.79 percent), recall reasoning (3.24 percent), as well as open reasoning (3.89 percent).

The same pattern was seen in the evaluation part of the lesson where the appeal questions emerged to be the frequently asked questions (3.97 percent) and information (2.90 percent); whereas, recall reasoning (0.63 percent) and open questions not calling for reasoning (0.21 percent) were least asked in the course.

Some of the questions asked in the evaluation phase of the lesson included the following, to wit: *“Are there questions you would like to clarify?”*; *“OK, Larry will you repeat the answer of Miltrudez?”*; *“Will it undergo a tautomerization reaction?”*; *“...before we end, bakit kukunin ng triple bond iyong H⁺?”*; *“Hydrogenate... ay hydrogenate or halogenate, Patricia?”*; *Yes, and then from here...?”*; *“Any question class, regarding the concepts you have learned today?”*; *“OK, plus CuCl₂ to come up with... you’ll come up with?”*

The enumerated questions above exhibit the teacher’s exemplification of students’ comprehension monitoring. The discourse markers, namely: *“yes, and then...”*, *“any question class...”*, *“...before we end...”* were also seen. These prompting and prodding questions reinforced and expanded students’ knowledge about the concepts learned in the les-

son. These questions allowed students to evaluate, conclude, and re-examine the concepts learned in the discussion.

The most prominent grammatical forms elicited in the transcripts within the three phases of the lesson (pedagogical acts) involving students' cognitive processes and strategies were questions that students would have to agree, disagree, and to share their experiences gained in the discussion. These questions involve higher cognitive skills, critical thinking, as well as creative thinking skills. In the transcripts, the teacher included several moves (pedagogical acts) such as observation, analytical, generalization, and exemplification. These moves may take in the form of students' ability to execute the data or information (or answer) desired from them.

It is worth noting that a discernible pattern of discourse in Organic Chemistry has emerged in the discussion. The best feature of the transcripts analyzed were the inclusions of the three phases of the lesson, namely: review lesson, lesson proper, and evaluation lesson. Each of these lessons incorporated questions calling for teacher's pedagogical acts (or moves) followed by strategies which can promote students' comprehension, and language form of teaching between the students and teacher as they developed concepts in Organic Chemistry. The kinds of questions being elicited in the intervention made students to employ varied and several cognitive processes and strategies.

The above findings corroborate Bacungan's (1986) conclusion that it is essential that teachers be aware of these comprehension strategies and be equipped with the language skills identified so that an interplay of form, meaning, and comprehension necessary in effective communication expected of content classrooms will successfully take place.

Cognitive Processes and Strategies Employed by Students in Developing Concepts in Organic Chemistry

Cognitive Processes

The most frequently employed cognitive processes by the students in learning Organic Chemistry include recognition (17.95 percent), application (14.71 percent), and comprehension (11.10 percent). The findings imply that in order to attain the higher forms of thinking, one should also possess the basic thinking skills. The students' employment of recognition and comprehension which are "labeled" to be the lower levels of thinking is vital and is very important as they engaged themselves in higher thinking skills. These basic cognitive processes also become the foundations of critical and creative thinking skills.

Table 3. Cognitive Processes Employed by the Students in Developing Concepts in Organic Chemistry

Cognitive Processes	L E S S O N					Mean %age	Rank
	3	4	5	6	7		
Application	24.29	11.94	9.46	15.63	12.24	14.71	2
Analysis	4.29	1.49	2.70	9.38	22.45	8.06	6
Comparative Analysis	2.86	4.48	4.05	6.25	6.12	4.75	10
Complex Cognitive	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.13	0.00	0.63	13
Comprehension	10.00	5.97	12.16	17.19	10.20	11.10	3
Evaluation	7.14	2.99	10.81	12.50	6.12	7.91	7
Focusing	5.71	17.91	12.16	0.00	6.12	8.38	5
Knowledge Recall	11.43	16.42	9.46	4.69	12.24	10.85	4
Recognition	11.43	19.40	13.51	25.00	20.41	17.95	1
Narrowing	0.00	1.49	5.41	0.00	0.00	1.38	11
Sharpening	2.86	1.49	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.87	12
Synthesis	2.86	11.94	16.22	1.56	0.00	6.52	9
Tolerance	17.14	4.48	4.05	4.69	4.08	6.89	8
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	
Friedman Two-Way ANOVA = 1.47 Not Significant at 0.05							

How can one initiate higher thinking skill if he does not have the array or networks of information which can be facilitated by the lower cognitive processes like recognition and comprehension? We have to consolidate first the lower level cognitive processes before tapping the higher level cognitive processes as expected from all types of learners from building low level skills to higher forms of skills. The revealing result is satisfying since the course is very new to the students. They have no background of it; it is therefore speculated that whatever results at hand are product of the discussion made in the classroom. In the Bloom's taxonomy of educational learning, before one can move to the higher cognitive skills such as application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation, one should possess a good foundation along knowledge and comprehension where the researcher did not fail to actualize this in his class. Cooper (2002) reiterates that factual or knowledge questions which generate recognition as cognitive process can actually promote classroom participation and high success rates towards moving up across the ladder of cognitive thinking among the students.

Another spectrum of cognitive process where the students exhibited is in application level. We have to consider that Organic Chemistry is a pure science whereby students learn concepts and at the same time apply these concepts in daily life. It was also revealed in the study that students employed application as a cognitive process as they developed concepts in Organic Chemistry. Comprehension of these concepts was inevitable since it is also in understanding these concepts where proper application is certain. The students' employment of recognition, comprehension, and application are very important cognitive processes in developing concepts in Organic Chemistry. This findings can further affirm

the effects of task-oriented learning approach on selected affective variables and chemistry achievement among self-handicap students in Bulacan State University revealed that the task and learning activities had emphasis for meaning and understanding of chemistry concepts. These included activating background knowledge, developing skills, key learning process, relating ideas, and applying it to different concepts, among others were vital and needed in order to learn in the Chemistry classroom as Reyes (2002) published in her research.

The students also least employed narrowing (1.38 percent), sharpening (0.87 percent) and complex cognitive (0.63 percent) as cognitive processes in learning concepts in Organic Chemistry. It is therefore very alarming since the study revealed further that these students lacked the higher forms of cognitive thinking. The ability of students to integrate complex information, placements of information through their attributes, as well as maintaining distinctions between old and new cognitive structures without getting confused were their weakest potentials. Although the students manifested good foundations in recognizing, applying, and comprehending as cognitive processes, these may not be enough to show / claim that they were also good in higher forms of cognition. One contributory factor that might have resulted to this revelation is the types of questions that were asked during the discussion. The categories of questions asked in the discussion as revealed in Table 1 showed that "social questions" topped the categories followed by the "reasoning questions." The observation questions (ranked 5, with 8.45 percent) were one of the least questions asked during the discussion. Observation questions are those which ask for the "hows" and the "whys." As per observation, these questions should have been a better foundation for higher cognitive processes. The needs of having good foundations along these questions are precursors to better thinking, hence, attaining quality learning in the course. Cognition is based on the arrays of information, nodes and chunks of experiences towards attaining higher cognitions and are very much needed as basic conditions of good cognition which are basically conditioned in encoding and retrieval procedures (Bruning, 2004; Beyer, 1997; Hunt, 2004; Neath and Surprenant, 2003).

The Friedman two-way analysis of variance value of 1.47 is not significant, therefore, it can be inferred that the students' employment of these cognitive processes as they learned concepts in the Organic Chemistry is the same. The null hypothesis of no significant differences, thus, is accepted.

In summary, the theory discovered along regarding students' employment of cognitive processes are cognitively demanded by the teacher's language readiness (Cummin's model of language proficiency) in order to become an efficient provider of thought-provoking questions for students to apply the different cognitive processes in the classroom. While putting in the context of "theory and practice," the teacher as a knowledge provider should consider the four stages of reflective teaching. This could be reflected from students' ability to use these identified cognitive processes at different rate depending on the stimulus given to them. The students' ability to use these cognitive processes could also be highly dependent on their motivation to succeed, their ability to assimilate sensorial learning, their emotional readiness to ponder on the teacher's challenging and cognitive demanding questions as well as the genetic make-up of the students – their intellectual capability. All of these could be adjudicated to Vygotskian framework of learning through sound social inter and intra-complex environment in the classroom, where learning takes place.

Cognitive Strategies

Cognitive strategies refer to specific mode or procedure by which learning takes place or acted as students learn concepts in Organic Chemistry.

A strategy also refers to a plan or an action as one engages in learning. According to Beyer (1997), it is a plan for achieving a major goal. It is operationalized as a step-by-step procedure, each step of which consists of a routine or set of sub-steps by which that portion of the overall strategy is or can be carried out. The steps in most procedures are not strictly linear but are, in fact, recursive. These are also plans of action which are considered knowledge-producing tasks.

The students had employed (Table 4) more frequently the following cognitive strategies like inferencing (20.31 percent); resourcing (12.92 percent; and basic rehearsal strategy (12.52 percent) in the learning of concepts in Organic Chemistry.

It is implied that the students do employed varied basic science skills like guessing, predicting, and completing / identifying missing parts. Students also used resources such as answers of their classmates, their notes, and their ability to analyze, synthesize new information from old information. The knowledge-producing tasks were manifested by the students because of the nature of the subject. Organic Chemistry deals with the study of compounds of carbon dealing from living organism. Organic Chemistry deals with the synthesis of new products dealing which can be used everyday living to complex synthetic and non-synthetic medicines for health purposes. With these expectations from the students since they would be future teachers, they should be expected to a deeper knowledge about Organic Chemistry, good instructional methods, and efficient knowledge-producing tasks.

The students showed initiative to use these basic knowledge-producing tasks because they would be learning this course efficiently. Cognitive strategies deal with specific mode or procedure by which learning takes place in developing concepts in Organic Chemistry. The table reveals that students employed inferencing as a cognitive strategy more frequently than any other of the cognitive strategies. In other words, they employed guessing, predicting and completing the missing parts of given tasks to them. The mode of eliciting knowledge learned from class may range from basic guessing to predicting outcomes.

The range of speech acts in the teacher and pupil talk, the quality of level of pupil response, and the number of communication or learning strategies the teacher and pupils employed to facilitate comprehension of concepts in science and mathematics are dependent on the teacher and pupils' ethnicities as Barrido (1992) concluded in her study.

Table 4. Cognitive Strategies Employed by the Students in Developing Concepts in Organic Chemistry

Cognitive Strategies	LESSONS					Overall	Rank
	3	4	5	6	7		
Resourcing	14.86	6.90	12.87	12.33	17.65	12.92	2
Grouping	6.76	1.72	1.98	4.11	3.92	3.70	10
Summarizing	10.81	5.17	7.92	8.22	9.80	8.39	6
Deduction / Induction	6.76	13.79	6.93	10.96	13.73	10.43	5
Imagery	6.76	3.45	9.90	5.48	1.96	5.51	7
Auditory Representation	2.70	0.00	0.99	1.37	0.00	1.01	13
Elaboration							
Basic	2.70	5.17	0.99	4.11	1.96	2.99	11
Complex	2.70	6.90	1.98	4.11	3.92	3.92	9
Transfer	6.76	17.24	9.90	16.44	7.84	11.64	4
Inferencing	28.38	15.52	23.76	26.03	7.84	20.31	1
Rehearsal							
Basic	5.41	3.45	1.98	1.37	11.76	4.79	8
Complex	5.41	17.24	16.83	5.48	17.65	12.52	3
Organization							
Basic	0.00	1.72	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.34	14
Complex	0.00	1.72	3.96	0.00	1.96	1.53	12
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	
Friedman Two-Way ANOVA = 6.53 Not Significant at 0.05							
Chi-square (cognitive processes and strategies) = 233.007 Significant at 0.05							
Cramer C coefficient = 0.27 denoting LOW CORRELATION							

Table further reveals that the following are the least employed by the students as cognitive strategies in learning concepts in Organic Chemistry: complex organization strategy (1.53 percent); auditory representation (1.01 Percent); and basic organizational strategy (0.34 percent).

The study revealed also that the students were weak in putting information in hierarchical arrangements, in playing back in one's mind the sound of a word, and language use as well as ability to categorizing, grouping, or ordering new information.

The process of learning, as reiterated by Brown, Collins and Duguid (1989) and de Corte (1995) in the work of Bernardo (1998), involves a deliberate and effortful construction of meaning and understanding. Bernardo (1998) reiterates that construction of meaning involves reckoning the new information related to the old knowledge, noticing and reconciling differences, and others. As discussed earlier this is the kind of deliberate thinking process that leads to important conceptual changes that characterize learning in mathematics and science. This claim was seen to be true in the present study where the students did not have the ability to synthesize new concept using old concepts and ability to categorize, group, or to order new information.

Bernardo (1998) found out that the effectiveness of comprehension and learning in the second language is largely dependent on the learner's emergent proficiency in this language. This observation has been found to be true also in science and mathematics subjects. Thus, looking at it purely from a learning perspective, learners are better able to construct their understanding of the concepts and procedures to be learned when the material is presented in the language in which they are more proficient. Here, the language that author (or researcher) is referring might be the symbols / formulas learned in the subject. The students had difficulty in determining which chemical reactions to be used in the synthesis of a particular product. That made them less employed seldom these knowledge-producing tasks.

The computed Friedman two-way analysis of variance of 6.53 is not significant at 0.05 significance level, therefore, it is inferred that the students' employment of these cognitive strategies as they learned concepts in the Organic Chemistry is the same. Thus, the null hypothesis of no significant differences is accepted. This finding is the same as the findings made by these authorities like Slimming's (1984) and (Garrett, 1986).

The Chi-square test value 233.007 revealed that the students' employment of cognitive processes and strategies is correlated to each other. Cramer C coefficient of 0.27 revealed further that the extent of their correlation is low. It is, therefore, concluded in the study that the students' employment of cognitive processes and strategies in learning / developing concepts in Organic Chemistry has a low correlation.

In summary, the students' extent of employment of the different cognitive strategies is highly dependent on thinking process established in the oral discourse model. This model elicits that the knowledge-producing tasks found to be slightly correlated with how knowledge or skill is acquired by the learners. The extent to which these concepts are developed is highly manifested in the students' act of thinking namely their ability to use these elements of thinking skills such as composing, problem solving, decision making, and research as new information. Again this theory can be magnified by the students' total learning space.

Level of Academic Performance of Students in Organic Chemistry

Table 5 presents the overall academic performance of the students enrolled in Organic Chemistry was 80.13 percent interpreted as average. The students were highest at comprehension (84.96 percent), and knowledge (84.47 percent) whereas they were weakest along synthesis (77.96 percent), and evaluation (72.88 percent). The basic cognitive skills of knowledge and comprehension become the good foundation of thinking, meaning that these skills should be enhanced first before getting along the higher cognitive skills which was seen in this research. These cognitive skills become a precursor for one to engage in higher thinking. The ability to enumerate information, data or remembering previously learned concepts should be a good foundation towards learning Organic Chemistry. Comprehension is the ability of students to decode, discriminate, and other cognitive acts that are knowledge-producing acts. There should be embedded first on the students before engaging them to a higher thinking activity.

Table 5. Summary table on the academic performance of students in Organic chemistry using paper-and-pencil test

Quizzes	COGNITIVE SKILLS						Mean %age Score
	Know-ledge	Compre-hension	Applicat-ion	Analysis	Synthe-sis	Evaluat-ion	
1 (Lessons 1-3)	78.29 (Fair)	79.80 (Ave)	72.33 (Poor)	77.50 (Fair)	70.25 (Poor)	75.33 (Fair)	75.90 Fair
2 (Lessons 4-5)	81.41 (Ave)	82.89 (Ave)	78.90 (Fair)	73.46 (Poor)	79.57 (Ave)	77.89 (Fair)	78.86 Fair
3 (Lessons 6-7)	89.74 (VHigh)	89.30 (High)	76.26 (Fair)	88.22 (High)	80.77 (Ave)	72.12 (Poor)	83.07 Average
4 (Lesson 8)	85.39 (High)	90.97 (VHigh)	85.18 (High)	83.49 (Ave)	84.78 (High)	79.81 (Ave)	85.39 High
Final Exam	87.51 (High)	81.84 (Ave)	79.89 (Ave)	80.25 (Ave)	74.43 (Poor)	59.24 (Poor)	77.20 Fair
OVERALL	84.47 Average	84.96 High	78.51 Fair	80.58 Average	77.96 Fair	72.88 Poor	80.08 Average

Mean percentage score was computed using average weighted mean formula

F-ratio (cal) : **3.28**; F-ratio (tab) : **2.62** ; **Significant** at 0.05

Scheffe's Test of Multiple Comparison : **Not Significant** at 0.05

Chi-square (performance and cognitive processes) = **67.491**

Significant at 0.05, Cramer C coefficient = **0.26 (Low correlation)**

Chi-square (performance and cognitive strategies) = **75.48**

Significant at 0.05, Cramer C coefficient = **0.27 (Low correlation)**

Academic performance is one success indicator of quality instruction; academic performance is the concrete achievement of students in knowledge, skills, and aptitudes in relation to the requirements of the course according to Lavin as cited by Bambico (1997). Performance of any cognitive activity will be awkward and slow. As learning proceeds, however, knowledge of facts (knowledge) can become knowledge on how to use those facts (comprehension). This "procedural knowledge" is much more readily and quickly available for use and greatly reduces the demands on limited cognitive processes (Bruning, 2004). Cosares (2006) concluded that the students' level of academic performance was the same for traditional and non-traditional groups.

It was also seen that level of academic performance of the students along the different cognitive skills differed within the five lessons in Organic Chemistry using one-way analysis of variance. This means that the students' capacity differs across different subject matters. The following factors are suspected to have influenced the students' varied level of academic performance in Organic Chemistry: varied topics being discussed, varied concepts being emphasized, the teachers' art of questioning, social interaction in the classroom, varied teaching procedures, and students' varied interest. When Scheffe's test of multiple comparison was computed, it shows that the disparity in the cognitive skills is still the same across the discussion. The coefficient of correlation shows that the students' level of academic performance is slightly correlated with the students' employment of cognitive processes and strategies as evidenced by 0.26 for cognitive processes while 0.27 for cognitive strategies. Both values were interpreted to be slightly correlated.

Chart 1 illustrates the linear difference of the different cognitive skills across the five lessons in Organic Chemistry. The chart illustrates a trend in the students' cognitive skills

rise from knowledge to analysis and slopes down synthesis and evaluation. This implies that the intervention made may be useful in increasing students' level of academic performance along the first four cognitive skills whereas it may not be effective for the last two cognitive skills.

Chart 1. Comparison on the students' cognitive skills using Bloom's Taxonomy

Table 6 reveals that the use of classroom interaction strategy with a probability value of 1.2798×10^{-9} tells us that it is significant. This means that the students' performances differed before and after the study. This implies that classroom interaction analysis as a method is effective.

The worth of this classroom interaction analysis in the classroom had been proven many times. The school has a bearing on the types of questions posted by the teacher and most of the teachers in the tertiary level did not use questioning effectively as they should. This is shown by the types and levels of questions the teachers asked. They influenced the level of thinking of the students since higher-level questions stimulate higher level of thinking as Bautista found out in her study (1998).

Table 6. Comparison on the Academic Performance of Students in Organic Chemistry **Before** and **After** the Intervention of Classroom Interaction Analysis

Percent Grade Range	Before	After
90 – 94	0	5
85 – 89	0	3
80 – 84	4	5
75 – 79	4	6
70 – 74	8	4
65 – 69	8	3
60 – 64	2	0
Mean	71.91* (Poor)	80.13* (Average)
Probability of correlated T-test = 1.2798×10^{-9}		
Interpretation : Significant , 0.05		
Decision : Reject Ho		

*taken from the individual raw data not weighted mean score

Chart 2 presents the graphical representation in the effectiveness of classroom interaction strategy. It could be seen in the chart that classroom interaction strategy is seen to be effective.

Catherine McLoughlin and Ron Oliver as cited by Sanchez (2003) stress the increased emphasis on students' learning by collaboration rather than by competition. This pedagogical setting offers opportunity for language use and social interaction that leads to learning. Their concluding statement is that the quality of learning around computers is dependent on the whole social climate of the room and the opportunities created for interaction and exploratory talk between the participants and the technology. Wild, as cited by Sanchez (2003), mentioned that social, collaborative and dialogic exchange have been observed and have provided evidence that the computer is a social facilitator in the sense that it provides opportunities for collaboration, group work, and interaction that fosters cognitive change.

Giving lectures, asking questions, and explaining point relating to content occurred most in the classroom interaction of teachers and students while initiating student talk and threatening student occurred least. Clearly, teachers should pay attention to the clarity and sufficiency of their explanations, especially to the extent of students' comprehension. Just as with general feedback, teachers should never assume that their explanations are immediately understood or learned. Students need to be given opportunity to demonstrate comprehension and preferably not merely by solicitation of a "yes" or a "no" as Palasico had mentioned in the work of Sanchez (2003).

Chart 2. Line graph of students' performance before and after the intervention of classroom interaction analysis

The discourse approach to reading facilitated transfer of discourse skills from reading to writing. ESL learners who were explicitly taught with discourse patterns or structures in reading deliberately applied their knowledge and skills discourse in their writing tasks. As a manifestation of transfer or discourse skills, significant improvements in the academic writing were evident at three levels of discourse: discourse macro-patterns, discourse micro-patterns, and discourse signals. The language proficiency level and cognitive restructuring process do not necessarily affect the skill-transfer ability of the learners who received explicit instruction of discourse structures. The transfer of discourse skills from reading to writing automatically took place among learners who received explicit instruction without the influence of language proficiency and cognitive restructuring. Skill-transfer was a manifestation of cognitive restructuring activity and was not its result. Learners manifested their cognitive restructuring activity only through the use of their knowledge and skills which they transferred from reading to writing (Barroga, 2001)

In summary, the development of concepts in Organic Chemistry is seen to be an interplay of several factors. The Cummin's model of language proficiency assures the teacher of his preparation in the classroom during discussion. The teacher reflects (model of reflective teaching) on what concepts to be developed in the classroom. The categories of teacher's questions signal the conduciveness in terms of social interaction between the students and the teacher in the classroom. The teacher's question as he develops concepts in Organic Chemistry must also be effected by students' employment of cognitive processes and cognitive strategies. All of these constitute what the teacher can offer as knowledge producer and what students can learn as knowledge acquirer. The level of concept developed by the students, aside from those the researcher mentioned above, is also highly dependent on students' total learning space.

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Monadic Verbs in Malay and Cebuano Languages

Rodney C. Jubilado

University of Malaya

rodney@um.edu.my

Grammar in the Minimalist Program is seen as the composition of a lexicon and a computational system. From the lexicon, the lexical items enter the computational system with the formal features of which some are interpretable and the others uninterpretable. Assuming **Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis**, derivation starts in the computation with the lexical array or numeration which is composed of lexical items (LI). In deriving the structures, it is also assumed in this paper the employment of the **Derivation by Phase (DBP)** as outlined in Chomsky (2001:1-52). Chomsky pointed out that in DBP syntax is computed by phase. By phase, Chomsky means primarily the **CP** and the **v*P**. CP is deemed a complete clause and therefore propositional in nature. v*P is considered a phase when it is transitive meaning that it has the full argument/thematic structure which the external argument is specifically present. Once the phase is built, the same is sent to PF and LF via **transfer** making the phase impenetrable by other syntactic operations. After sending the phase, computation continues further with the upper parts of the clause.

In this paper, the TP template is used for analyzing the structures. The terminal nodes in the tree structures are the loci of the lexical items (LI). Each LI is composed of phonological, semantic, and syntactic features making an LI a host of these features. In the computation, the phonological features are interpretable in the PF. Semantic features are interpretable in LF. This fact leaves the syntactic features or formal features in its own dimension. Syntactic behavior is determined by the formal features (FF) of the lexical item. In the derivation, a lexical item which is also termed as **FF[α]** (read: formal features of alpha/LI) enters into the computation as such. Where there are interpretable features, there are also uninterpretable ones. These uninterpretable features are removed or marked as deleted in the Spell-out before reaching the relevant interface, PF or LF.

The very central part of this aspect of grammar is the narrow syntax which is an LF computation (Chomsky 2001:3). Narrow syntax is the particular cycle wherein the syntactic structure is built via **MERGE** in coordination with other operations such as feature checking and valuation via **Agree**. Agree holds the constituents **α** and **β** if both constituents are local and that **α c-command β** where **α** is the **probe** and **β** is the **goal**. By probe, it means the head with the uninterpretable feature and goal is the matching syntactic object with the interpretable feature. For the probe's uninterpretable features to delete it searches a goal via c-command. The goal must be local to the probe meaning that it is within the domain of the probe. The goal's uninterpretable features must be unchecked making it active in the computation. After the valuation and the checking of uninterpretable features of the goal, it ceases its participatory powers in relation to Agree (HNG, 2005:317-318).

This paper makes use of the Malay language spoken in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and Cebuano language spoken in Davao, Philippines. Typologically, Malay is SVO and Cebuano is VSO. This paper puts the verb types of Malay and Cebuano onto the dissecting table of syntax applying on it the analytical tools of MP. This explication of

the verb types is inclusive of the discussion on A-movement and the derivation of VP shells. It attempts to analyze the distinction between external and internal arguments. This distinction warrants the discussion and analysis on the realization of external and internal arguments in relation to **VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis (VPISH)**. This hypothesis encapsulates the idea of theta-marking arguments in the verbal projection. This lends a hand to the explication of the processes and mechanisms of the derivation of structural descriptions involving the grammatical relations of subjects and objects. With the theta domains being dealt, this paper attempts further to give an account on the c-command relation between internal arguments and the checking of Case of the arguments.

In order to account for the syntactic behavior of Malay and Cebuano, the VP shell analysis is perused in analyzing the predicates, namely, unaccusatives/ergatives and unergatives. Traditionally, these verbs are classified as intransitive. In the generative parlance, these verbs are classified further according to the type of arguments the verb takes in the event structure, the number of theta roles the verb theta-marks, and the Case properties of arguments among others. These verbs unaccusative/ergative verbs and unergatives are also called monadic verbs. These monadic verbs have only one argument in their argument/thematic structures. The distinctive properties of monadic verbs are expressed in terms of agentivity and patienthood as shown and indicated by the argument/thematic structures of the verbs.

1. Unaccusative/Ergative Verbs

There are subtypes of intransitive verbs which assign only one theta role and do not assign the accusative case. These intransitive verbs are called **unaccusative verbs** or **ergative verbs** (Carnie 2007:304). Some syntactic theories specifically Relational Grammar strictly refer ergative to the verb types whose lone arguments particularly the objects are promoted to subject positions. This phenomenon is common among ergative languages. In the GB parlance (which is adapted eventually in MP), this phenomenon resembles to the unaccusative verbs for the reasons stated above. It is with Burzio's paper in 1981 in which unaccusative verbs are also called ergative verbs. From then on, generative linguistics makes use of these terms interchangeably.

The unaccusative/ergative verb assigns theme theta role to its surface subject argument and checks the nominative case. It is not the logical subject of the sentence which makes it behave similarly to the syntactic object of the accusatives or of the passive predicate. Structurally speaking, the initial computation of the sentential structure bears the fact that such verb type has no subject. This type of verb has its VP-internal argument subsequently moved from its canonical object position to the surface subject position. In fact this type of verb theta-marks its complement as theme which is obligatorily moved to have its uninterpretable Case feature checked and valued for its nominative case and not the accusative case. This is in accordance with the **Burzio's Generalization** wherein verbs which can theta-mark its external argument can also assign accusative case (Burzio, 1986: 178-179).

Using the definition and the structural characteristics of this type of verbs as bases, the Malay and Cebuano languages have the following examples of ergative/unaccusative verbs as shown on **Table 1** below.

No.	Malay	Cebuano	Gloss
1	belayar	maglayag	<i>sail</i>
2	datang	muabot	<i>arrive</i>
3	habis	mahurot	<i>finish</i>
4	hilang	mawala	<i>loss</i>
5	terjatuh	mahulog	<i>fall</i>
6	terkoyak	magisi	<i>tear</i>
7	membesar	mudaku	<i>grow</i>
8	menetas	mamiso	<i>hatch</i>
9	meletup	mubuto	<i>explode</i>
10	meretak	muliki	<i>crack</i>

Table 1. Samples of Unaccusative/Ergative Malay and Cebuano Verbs

All these verbs on Table 1 have only one argument which is theta-marked as theme and behaves like an internal argument of the accusatives. Such arguments are generated as an internal argument which justifies its syntactic behavior. Morphologically, these unaccusative verbs do not have distinctive verbal morphology as shown by the different affixes like **ber-**, **ter-** and **meN-** in Malay, and **mu-**, **mag-**, and **ma-** in Cebuano. In Malay these verbs can also be bare in the computation but not in Cebuano. For the explanation of the syntactic processes in the derivation of the structural descriptions involving unaccusatives, sample sentences are given. Consider the data below.

1. a. Perahu itu sedang belayar.

'The boat is sailing.'

b. belayar: V: <theme>

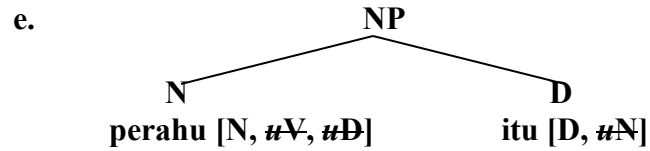
2. a. Nagalayag ang bangka.

'The boat is sailing.'

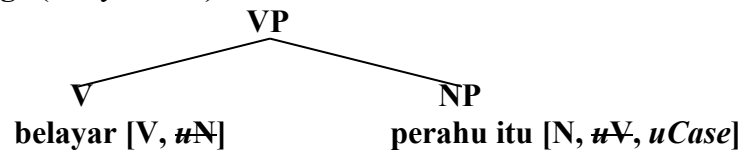
b. nagalayag: V: <theme>

The sentence in (1a) presents an example of a structural projection of the Malay unaccusative/ergative verb **belayar** '*sail*' which licenses only one internal argument theta-marked as theme, the NP **perahu itu** '*the boat*'. This particular argument NP is the canonical structural realization (CSR) of the thematic role **theme** in the argument/thematic structure indicated in (1b). The sentence in (2a) presents an example of a structural projection of the Cebuano unaccusative/ergative verb **nagalayag** '*sailing*'. This verb is inflected with the actor focus prefix **mag** in its incomplete aspect form **naga-**. This verb licenses only one internal argument theta-marked as theme, the NP **ang bangka** '*the boat*'. This particular argument NP is the canonical structural realization (CSR) of the thematic role **theme** in the argument/thematic structure indicated in (2b). By convention, the theta role with the underline in the theta grid corresponds to the external argument (EA) in the syntactic structure (Carnie, 2007:224). This external argument is the one which functions as the grammatical subject for it is the only one available NP in the computation. The sentences (1) and (2) are given its derivation in (3) and (4) below.

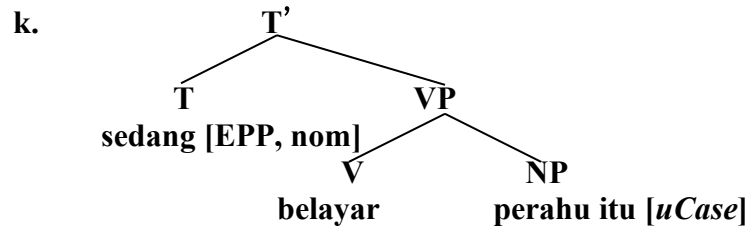
3. a. Lexical Array/Numeration= {*perahu, itu, sedang, belayar* }
- b. Select *perahu*
- c. Select *itu*
- d. Merge (*perahu, itu*)



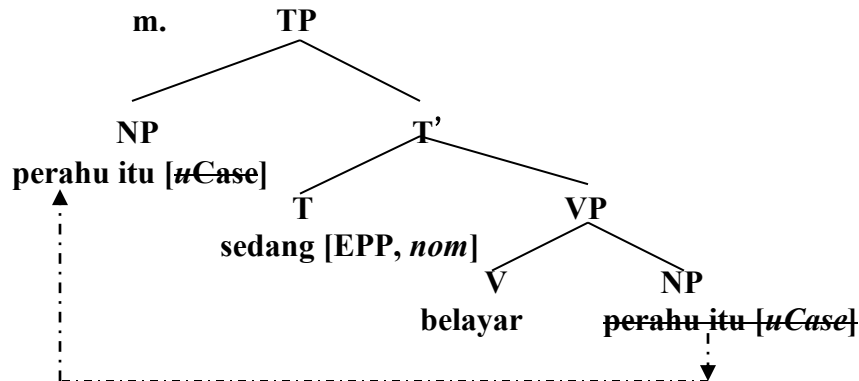
- f. Select *belayar*
- g. Merge (*belayar, NP*)
- h.



- i. Select *sedang*
- j. Merge (*sedang, VP*)

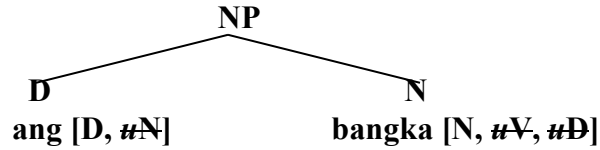


- l. Move NP



4. a. Lexical Array/Numeration= {*nagalayag, ang, bangka, T*}
- b. Select *ang*
- c. Select *bangka*
- d. Merge (*ang, bangka*)

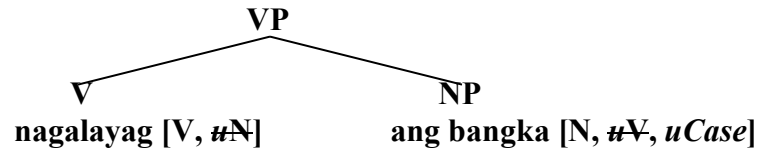
e.



f. Select *nagalayag*

g. Merge (*nagalayag*, NP)

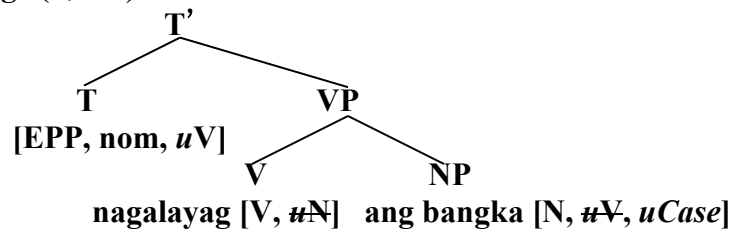
h.



i. Select *T*

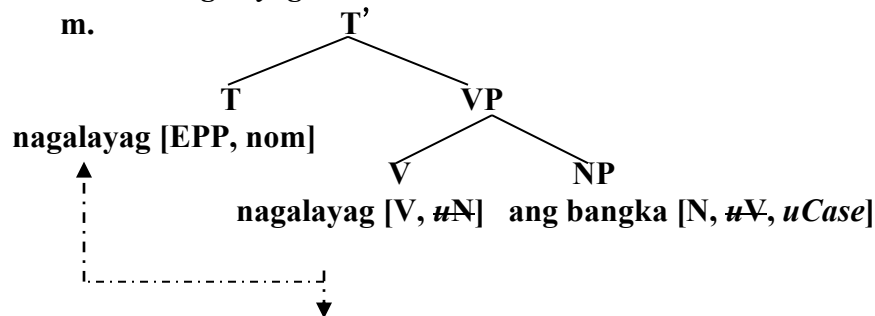
j. Merge (*T*, *VP*)

k.



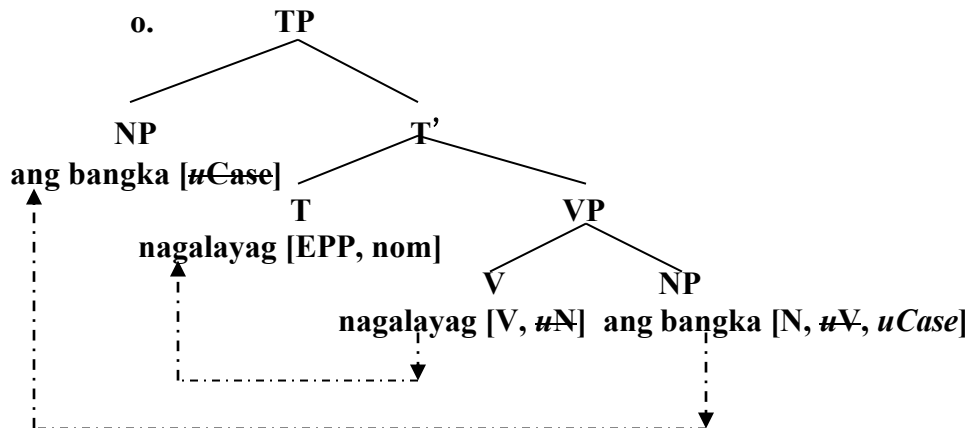
l. Move *nagalayag*

m.



n. Move NP

o.



Deriving a structure in MP is done in bottom-up fashion which means that the lower structures are computed first before the higher structures. Dealing with the derivation above as shown in (3a), the lexical array or numeration has the following lexical items (LI) {*perahu*, *itu*, *sedang*, *belayar* }. These elements correspond to a nominal, a determiner, INFL, and a verb, respectively. The LIs *perahu* ‘boat’ and *itu* ‘the’ are selected as shown in (3b) and (3c), respectively. In (3d), there exists a merger between *perahu* ‘boat’ and *itu* ‘the’. Their respective features are checked and valued in the process of MERGE thereby forming an NP as shown in the phrase structure in (3e).

The LI *belayar* ‘sail’ is selected as indicated in (3f) and merged with the NP *perahu itu* ‘the boat’ in (3g) thereby forming the syntactic object VP *belayar perahu itu* ‘sail the boat’ in (3h). The checking and valuing of c-selectional features are done under sisterhood where the NP *perahu itu* ‘the boat’ and the verb *belayar* ‘sail’ are sisters. The c-selectional features are deleted since the uninterpretable categorial features are checked by the matching of interpretable categorial features. This checking and valuing of categorial features is ensured by the operation Agree (Adger, 2003:64). In this particular instance, Agree assigns the respective values to the unvalued features of the verb *belayar* and the NP *perahu itu* ‘the boat’. It deletes the uninterpretable features of the said verb and NP as demanded by the **Principle of Full Interpretation (FI)** in relation to LF. Once the value of the uninterpretable feature is determined, the same is deleted from the narrow syntax. NPs with the interpretable feature are still available in the computation and can enter into other checking processes. Moreover, the verb *belayar* ‘sail’ assigns the theta role theme to the sister complement NP *perahu itu* ‘the boat’.

Computation goes on with the selection of the INFL *sedang* as shown in (3i). The INFL *sedang* which is a component of the functional category T is merged with the VP as shown in (3j). The merger results to the building of the intermediate structure T’ *belayar perahu itu* ‘sail the boat’ as indicated in (3k).

Notice that the NP *perahu itu* ‘the boat’ is still having this uninterpretable categorial feature [*uCase*]. This [*uCase*] feature must be checked and deleted to avoid a crash. This NP *perahu itu* ‘the boat’ must move (3l) to the [*Spec, TP*] as indicated in (3m) where the feature can be interpreted and valued. The uninterpretable categorial feature [*uCase*] is matched with the categorial feature [*nom*](read: nominative case) of the INFL *sedang*. The [*Spec,TP*] position is an argument position (**A-position**) which only an argument can occupy via movement. This type of movement is known as argument movement or **A-movement**. In reading Chomsky (2001), the functional head T *sedang* acts as the probe and is searching for its matching goal. The goal is the closest NP which in this case the only available is the NP *perahu itu* ‘the boat’. Under the operation Agree, the uninterpretable feature [*uCase*] of the goal NP *perahu itu* ‘the boat’ is valued as **nominative case** by the probe *sedang*. After the valuation, it is subsequently deleted by Spell-out from the narrow syntax.

Moreover, by virtue of the requirement that all clauses must have subjects and that the finite functional category T carries the strong [**EPP**] feature, the NP *perahu itu* ‘the boat’ must move since it is the only available NP in the computation. This entails further the fact that the NP *perahu itu* ‘the boat’ enters into a Spec-Head relation when it moves to the [*Spec, TP*] position wherein the head T *sedang* asymmetrically c-

commands the **NP perahu itu 'the boat'**. The head **T sedang** then attracts the **NP perahu itu 'the boat'** which is the closest NP to be moved to the **[Spec, TP]** position. This particular flow of reasoning is also in line with one of the principles of UG that of **Attract Closest Principle (ACP)** which is stated below in (5).

5. Attract Closest Principle

A head which attracts a given kind of constituent attracts the closest constituent of the relevant kind (Radford, 2004:200).

Dealing with the derivation of (4a), the lexical array or numeration has the following lexical items (LI) {*nagalayag, ang, bangka, T*}. These elements correspond to a verb, a determiner, a nominal, and the abstract functional head T, respectively. The LIs **ang 'the'** and **bangka 'boat'** are selected as shown in (4b) and (4c), respectively. In (4d), the two LIs are merged and their respective features are checked and valued thereby forming the **NP ang bangka 'the boat'** as shown in the phrase structure in (4e).

The LI **nagalayag 'sailing'** is selected as indicated in (4f) and merged with the **NP ang bangka 'the boat'** in (4g) thereby forming the syntactic object **VP nagalayag ang bangka 'the boat is sailing'** in (4h). The checking and valuing of c-selectional features are done under sisterhood where the **NP ang bangka 'the boat'** and the verb **nagalayag 'sailing'** are sisters. The c-selectional features are deleted since the uninterpretable categorial features are checked by the matching of interpretable categorial features. In this particular instance, Agree assigns the respective values to the unvalued features of the verb **nagalayag 'sailing'** and the **NP ang bangka 'the boat'**. The verb **nagalayag 'sailing'** assigns the theta role theme to the sister complement **NP ang bangka 'the boat'**.

Computation goes on with the selection of the abstract **T** as shown in (4i) which is eventually merged with the **VP nagalayag ang bangka 'the boat is sailing'** as indicated in (4j) thereby producing the intermediate **T'** structure in (4k). The abstract T head is affixal and hosts the feature matrix [EPP, nom, *uV*]. The [*uV*] attracts the verb and has it moved and adjoined to it as indicated in (4l). The enhanced **T'** structure (4m) needs a specifier which can be accomplished by moving the **NP ang bangka 'the boat'** as seen in (4n). This movement facilitates the matching of the case features between the NP and the T and the EPP feature as well. In the TP structure of (4o), the **NP ang bangka 'the boat'** is seen as the occupant of the [Spec, TP] position and has its [*uCase*] feature checked off and valued as nominative case. After the valuation, it is subsequently deleted by Spell-out from the narrow syntax.

2. Unergative Verbs

Another type of intransitive verb is the **unergative** verb which has only one argument functioning as the logical and grammatical subject. It is assigned the agent or experiencer theta role depending on the lexical semantics of the verb. These verbs have subjects which are able to execute actions with volition and therefore termed as

agentives. The subjects of these verbs cause the event to take place as signified by the inherent meaning of the verb. Where the verbs are psych verbs, then the subject of the unergative verbs is the entity which feels the action and is assigned the experiencer theta role. Unergatives have no internal argument in their argument/thematic structure. Malay and Cebuano have the following examples of unergatives as shown on **Table 2** below.

No.	Malay	Cebuano	Gloss
1	lari	dagan	<i>walk</i>
2	berenang	mulangoy	<i>swim</i>
3	faham	musabut	<i>understand</i>
4	menangis	muhilak	<i>cry</i>
5	ketawa	katawa	<i>laugh</i>

Table 2. Samples of Unergative Malay and Cebuano Verbs

The verbs on Table 2 are samples of unergative verbs in the Malay and Cebuano languages. By morphology, these verbs enter the derivation either with affix or simply bare. These verbs can be divided into motion and psych verbs according to their inherent meaning. Some of the verbs in the table above can have objects in the syntactic structure. This phenomenon makes unergatives a sub-species of transitives whose objects are left unpronounced (Boeckx, 2006:175). Structurally speaking, it is differentiated from the other intransitive verb, the unaccusative/ergative verb, by virtue of the fact that the sole argument of unergatives occupies the syntactic position of [**Spec, vP**] similar to the accusatives. For the explication and analysis on unergatives, sample sentences are provided below in (6) and (7).

6. a. Ali akan berenang.

'Ali will swim.'

b. berenang: V: <agent>

7. a. Mulangoy ang bata.

'The child will cry.'

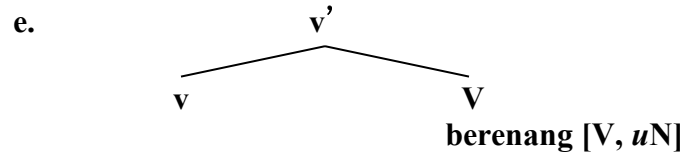
b. mulangoy: V: <agent>

Sample data show the syntactic projection of the unergative verbs **berenang** '*swim*' and **mulangoy** '*swim*' as shown in (6a) and (7a), respectively. In the Malay sentential structure (6a), the bare verb **berenang** '*swim*' has one obligatory argument NP **Ali** assigned the agent theta role as indicated in the argument/thematic structure in (6b). The verb is logically an agentive verb since the sentence (6a) indicates volition of which the action of the agent is executed. Moreover, the sentential structure (6a) has the INFL element **akan** which marks the non-completion of the action, hence, not yet done.

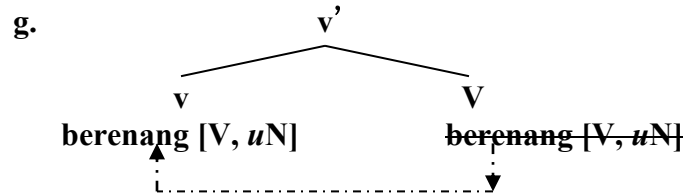
On the other hand, the affixed verb **mulangoy** '*swim*' which is derived from the base verb **langoy** '*swim*' projected the sentential structure in (7a). This verb has only one

argument, the NP **ang bata** '*the child*'. This lone NP argument is assigned the agent theta role as indicated by the argument/thematic structure in (7b). This external argument is the one which functions as the grammatical subject in the computation. To clarify this matter, the sentences in (6a) and (7a) are given the respective derivation below in (8) and (9).

8. a. Lexical Array/Numeration= {*Ali*, *akan*, *berenang*, *v*}
- b. Select *berenang*
- c. Select *v*
- d. Merge (*v*, *berenang*)

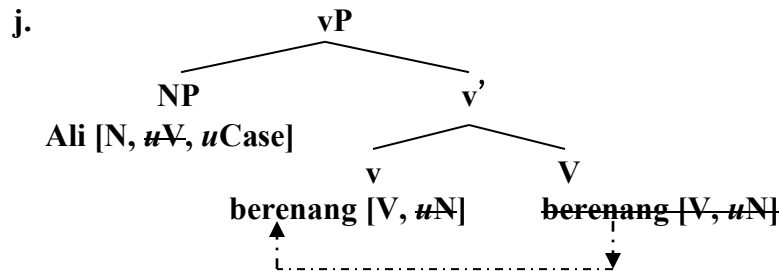


- f. Move *berenang*



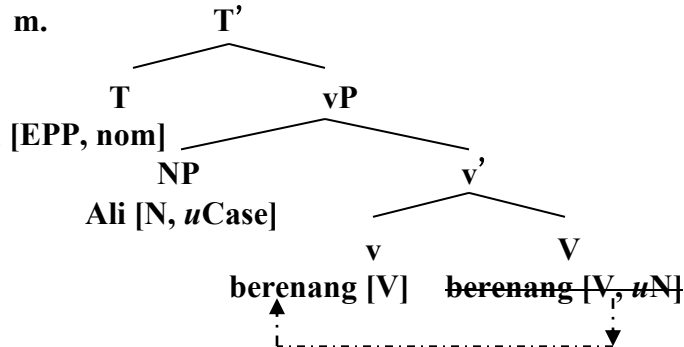
- h. Select *Ali*

- i. Merge (*Ali*, *v*')

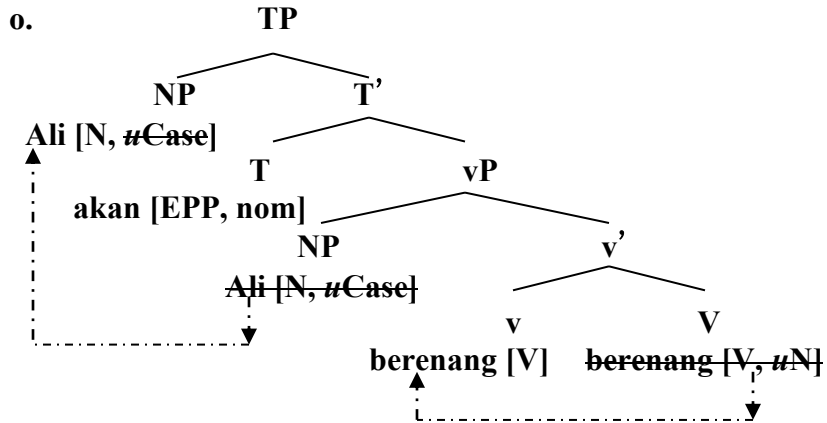


- k. Select *akan*

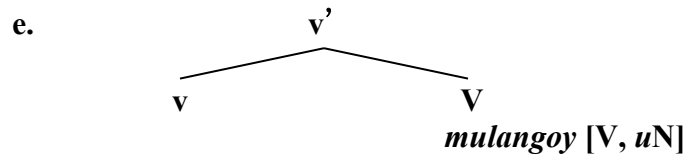
- l. Merge (*akan*, *vP*)



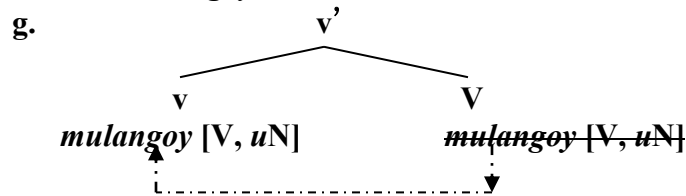
- n. Move NP Ali



9. a. Lexical Array/Numeration= {*mulangoy*, *ang*, *bata*, *v*, *T*}
- b. Select *mulangoy*
- c. Select *v*
- d. Merge (*v*, *mulangoy*)



- f. Move *mulangoy*

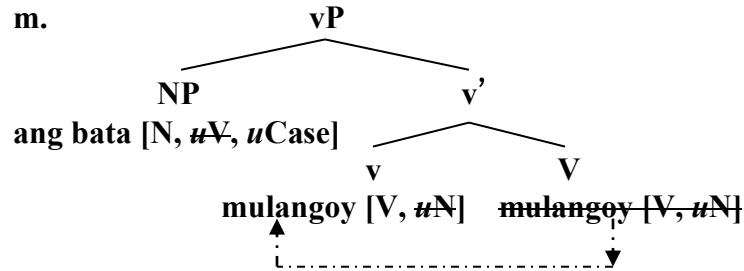


- h. Select *ang*
- i. Select *bata*
- j. Merge (*ang*, *bata*)
- k.

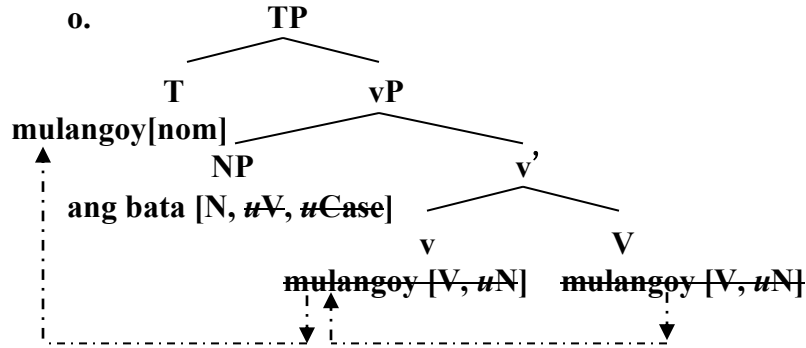


D
ang [D, #N]
N
bata [N, uV, #D]

l. Merge (v' , NP)



n. Move *mulangoy*



The derivation process shown in (8) starts with the lexical array or numeration in (8a) and ends with the TP structure in (8o). The first merger is preceded by the selection of the verb **berenang** ‘*swim*’ and the functional category small v as shown in (8b) and (8c), respectively. These two lexical items are merged as shown in (8d) which results to the building of the **small v'** structure as shown in (8e). This is followed by the movement of the verb **berenang** ‘*swim*’ from the V-dominated position to the small v as shown in (8f) and eventually adjoined with the small v within the same small v' as shown in (8g). This movement leaves a copy as indicated by a strikethrough.

The computation moves further by selecting the nominal **Ali** in (8h) and merges it with the small v' as indicated in (8i) thereby producing the small vP structure as shown in (8j). Focusing on the syntactic object built as shown in (8j), the light verb v as the head of the entire structure triggers the movement of the lexical verb **berenang** ‘*swim*’. This light verb v is affixal making the overt lexical verb move and adjoins to it. This movement is in accordance with the UTAH for the preservation of the surface word order of the Malay language. This is an obligatory movement which produces the new reading ‘*cause to*

swim'. The syntactic position left by the verb **berenang** '*swim*' has the phonetically null copy as indicated by the verb with a strikethrough ~~berenang~~. Furthermore, the adjunction of the lexical verb **berenang** '*swim*' to the small *v* facilitates the checking and the valuing of the uninterpretable formal features of the verb **berenang** '*swim*' and the nominal **Ali**. This small *vP* is a phase since its full argument/thematic structure is fully realized and that the external argument is present (Chomsky 2001). The external argument **NP Ali** occupies the edge of the phase and functions as the accessible goal to the higher probe per **Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC)** (HNG 2005:348).

Computation continues further with the selection of the LI **akan** '*will be*' as shown in (8k). This auxiliary triggers the merger as indicated in (8l) since it needs a complement which is in the case the complex structure of small *vP*. The resulting structure is seen in (8m) which reads [T' [T **akan** [_{VP} [_{NP} **Ali**] [_v ~~berenang~~]]]]. The presence of the INFL element **akan** '*will be*' indicates the required movement of the most available NP-argument to satisfy the morphological requirement of the auxiliary **akan** '*will be*'. The INFL element **akan** '*will be*' as the head has the strong feature [EPP] which requires an external argument to occupy the [Spec, TP]. The morphological requirement of **akan** '*will be*' being the probe is fulfilled by attracting the **NP Ali** being the goal to check also the case property this particular NP argument. Such [*uCase*] of the **NP Ali** is valued **nominative case** by the auxiliary **akan** '*will be*' and therefore must move, as indicated in (8n) to the [Spec, TP] position for the checking and valuation of its case feature. After the valuation under **Agree**, the **NP Ali** is still having its uninterpretable case feature and therefore making it active in the computation. Where auxiliaries are possessing strong feature of **EPP**, such structural fact lends further a hand to the justification of the movement of the **NP Ali**. The whole computation momentarily ends with the building of the **TP** as shown in (8o). Assuming that all sentences are CPs, the TP is then merged with the null C head forming the CP which is charged with the declarative force, it being a statement.

In the case of sentence (7a), its derivation is presented in (9) starting with the lexical array or numeration in (9a) and ends with the TP structure in (9o). The first merger is preceded by the selection of the verb **mulangoy** '*swim*' and the functional category small *v* as shown in (9b) and (9c), respectively. These two lexical items are merged as shown in (9d) which results to the building of the **small v'** structure as shown in (9e). This is followed by the movement of the verb **mulangoy** '*swim*' from the V-dominated position to the small *v* as shown in (9f) and eventually adjoined with the small *v* within the same small *v'* as shown in (9g). This movement leaves a copy as indicated by a strikethrough. The building of this intermediate small *v'* signifies the requirement of a specifier to form the maximal projection of small *vP*.

The computation moves further by selecting the determiner **ang** '*the*' in (9h) and that of the nominal **bata** '*child*' in (9i) from the numeration respectively. The selections are followed by the merger (9j) between the determiner **ang** '*the*' the nominal **bata** '*child*' thereby forming the syntactic object **NP ang bata** '*the child*' as shown in (9k). Within this merger, the checking and the valuation of the uninterpretable features of the merged lexical items are done via **Agree**. This merger is followed by another merger in (9l) merging the small *v'* and the **NP ang bata** '*the child*' thereby producing the small *vP*

structure as shown in (9m). This vP forms a phase since it is transitive meaning that its argument structure is fully represented with the external argument occupying the position of [Spec, vP]. This NP **ang bata** '*the child*' which occupies the edge of the phase is accessible to the higher goal and can be moved for locality and other morphological requirements.

Computation moves further with the movement of the verb **mulangoy** '*swim*' as to T shown in (9n). This particular verb is marked with the contemplative aspect as signified by the verbal prefix **mu-** and therefore a finite verb. This type of movement is known as head movement where the verb moves from small v to T. It is inherent property of a phase that its head and its edge are accessible to the higher probe after such phase undergoes transfer towards PF. With this movement of the verb, the [*uCase*] feature of the NP **ang bata** '*the child*' is checked and valued as nominative via Agree. After the formation of the TP, the whole structure is capped with the CP, the final phase, and is charged with the declarative force, it being a statement.

3. Conclusion

To sum up, **MERGE** is a recursive operation responsible for the building of the structures presented above. All of the movements follow the UG Principle of ACP and also with the condition **Last Resort** which ensures the syntactic operation serves a grammatical purpose (HNG, 2005:210). The operation Spell-out operates on the deletion and removal of the LF-uninterpretable features from the narrow syntax. After the said removal, such structure is transferred to the PF. The vP shell in the structure does not constitute a phase where its external argument is non-existent as seen in the computation of unaccusative verbs in both Malay and Cebuano languages. Only the CP is the phase signifying the final stage of the derivation of the structure. In terms of morphology, the Malay unaccusative/ergative verbs can enter the derivation either with affix or bare while the Cebuano counterparts cannot do so. The unergative verbs in both languages can enter the derivation either with affix or bare. In terms of derivation, the unaccusative structure is different from unergative. In the predication layer, the unaccusative projects only a VP while the unergative projects a vP shell. The little v in the unaccusative computation lacks a specifier and also the power to check and value the accusative case of the logical object. Furthermore, the computation here supports the idea that the NP which is immediately dominated by VP is interpreted as theme and the NP which is dominated by the vP is the agent (Adger, 2003:139).

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The patterns of interaction of viewpoint and situation type aspect in Tagalog

Ma. Althea T. Enriquez, PhD Can.
National University of Singapore
marialenri@yahoo.com

The concept of time in language is expressed typically through the related but quite different concepts of tense and aspect. Although both relating to time, tense and aspect are concerned with it in different ways. Comrie (1976) states the difference as one between situation – internal time (aspect) and situation – external time (tense). Tense is a deictic category, i.e. locates situations in time, usually with reference to the present moment, though also with reference to other situations. Aspect is concerned with the internal temporal constituency of the situation.

There are however, languages that do not have a grammatical category of tense as defined by Smith (1991:136) as “a set of verbal inflections or other verbal forms that expresses a temporal relation to an orientation point.” In these languages, location in time is expressed directly by adverbials. This is the case with Tagalog (and as with other Philippine languages), a language that has overt aspect markings but no direct tense markings on the verb.

In this paper, an attempt is made to provide new insights on the aspectual viewpoint system of Tagalog, their markers and how they operate within the language. Aside from aspectual viewpoint, a basic description of situation type aspect is shown which has not previously been given extensive study. The interrelations of viewpoint and situation type aspect in Tagalog are thus analyzed using this two-component approach modelled from Smith (1991).

There are three important points which are hoped to be presented in this study: 1) the role of the contemplative in the basic opposition in the Tagalog aspectual system; 2) the seemingly clear-cut distribution of situation types according to the type of predicate (verbal/non-verbal); and 3) the argument both for and against a neutral aspect as evidenced by stative sentences.

1.0 Aspect versus Tense

In books specifically designed for teaching Tagalog to non-Tagalog speakers or foreigners like Alejandro (1963) and Aspillera (1971), temporal information is explained through a comparison with English tenses. It may be because of the target readers of the book who are English speakers or it could be as Comrie (1976) notes that aspect tends to be less familiar than other verbal categories such as tense or mood. Moreover, the grammatical terminology of individual languages traditionally refers to them as tenses.

Tense is translated as *panahunan* in traditional Tagalog grammar and the term is derived from *panahon* 'time.' The three tenses are *pangnagdaan*, *pangkasalukuyan* and *panghinaharap* which translate to past, present and future respectively (Alejandro 1963). The use of the term "tense" is assumed to be motivated by the nature of the reference from which this information was taken. However, it is to be clarified that the temporal information conveyed by the Tagalog verb is generally considered to be that of aspect.

In general, there are four viewpoint aspects identified by the inflected form of the verb and are termed as PERFECTIVE, IMPERFECTIVE, CONTEMPLATED/CONTEMPLATIVE, and RECENT PERFECTIVE (Schacter and Otañes 1972; Cubar and Cubar 1994; Gonzales-Garcia 1999), and PERFECT, IMPERFECT, FUTURE, and RECENT PAST (Llamzon 1976). RECENT PERFECTIVE/PAST will not be elaborated in this paper and following studies in this area, the former set of terms will be used to refer to aspectual viewpoint.

To illustrate clearly the difference between tense and aspect, a comparison with English can be made. In English, tense (but not always aspect) is overtly indicated on the verb as the following example show:

- 1) The child *was/is* surprised.

Tense: past/present
Aspect: Perfective

The case is reversed in Tagalog where it is aspect which is overtly marked on the verb:

2) a. Naglaba ako ngayon.

b. Naglalaba ako ngayon.

Example (1) shows that although one situation is temporally located in the past while the other is in the present, both are viewed as a complete or whole event. In (2), both sentences are in the present as indicated by the adverbial *ngayon* but (2a) views the situation as complete while (2b) views it as an incomplete or on-going event. This way of ‘viewing’ is the central notion to the traditional meaning of aspect.

Typically, two aspectual contrasts are identified: Perfective vs Imperfective. However in speaking of this contrast, the inherent semantic meaning of verbs is also taken into account. Dahl (1985) summarizes the distinctions used in studies as one between the grammar or morphological form and the lexicon or verb lexeme. The former is the one normally referred to as aspect while the latter is what is known as ‘Aktionsart.’ While he justifiably points out that this could be problematic when derivational processes enter the picture and effects changes on the aspectual properties of the verbs operated upon, this basic distinction will still be used for the purpose of illustrating the system of aspect. The terms ‘viewpoint’ and ‘aspect’ are used here interchangeably while the term ‘situation type’ will be used to refer to ‘Aktionsart’ following Smith (1991).

2.0 Viewpoint aspect

While tense is concerned in looking at a situation where it happens in time, normally relative to the moment of speaking or speech time, aspect looks or focuses at the internal temporal constituency of that situation. The basic opposition is that of perfectivity and imperfectivity where in the Perfective, a situation may be viewed as a whole without reference to the separate phases making up that situation, while in the Imperfective, reference to the internal structure is essential.

Another notion that comes into play here is that of being ‘complete’ or ‘incomplete.’ Comrie (1976) criticizes that most studies on aspect confuse ‘complete’ with ‘completed’ since the latter gives special importance to the final endpoint of a situation when talking about the Perfective when actually it puts no more emphasis on the end of a situation than on any other part of it. The essential idea is that all endpoints (start and final) of a situation are presented in the Perfective so it is viewed as ‘complete’ or ‘whole’ while no endpoints can be viewed in the Imperfective (although they are implied) so it is said to be ‘incomplete.’ For example, the difference in the sentences *naglakad siya* vs *naglalakad siya* is that in the former, the points of starting to walk and stopping to walk is presented while in the other sentence, there is no reference to that start and end points but rather to its middle although those endpoints are implied, i.e. *kung naglalakad siya, ibig sabihin, nagsimula na siyang maglakad at siguradong titgil rin naman siyang maglakad sa hinaharap.*

Viewpoint aspect is signalled by a grammatical morpheme or aspect marker. This can be clearly seen in Tagalog. Using the two commonly regarded major actor focus affixes of the verb, the infix *-um-* and the prefix *mag-*, the perfective forms of the verbs can be illustrated. The infinitive and the perfective forms of an *-um-* verb are the same, thus:

- 3) infinitive: *bumili* and perfective: *bumili*

For the *mag-* verbs, the verb root takes *nag-*, thus:

- 4) infinitive: *magluto* and perfective: *nagluto*

Usually, the other verbal prefixes that begin with a /m/, like *ma-*, *maN-*,¹ *maka-*, *magpa-*, replace the initial consonant /m/ with /n/ in their perfective form thus:

¹ The /N/ is a phoneme with the feature [nasal] but unspecified for place features.

5) infinitive: perfective:

makita

nakita

mamili

namili

makabili

nakabili

magpahiram

nagpahiram

This regular replacement pattern has been termed in some grammar books as /m-/ replacement and the relevant affixes that change the initial consonant as /m-/ *replacives*.² Schacter and Otanes (1972) go further by postulating a symbol N as an aspect-marking element and is realized as /n/ when a verb affixed with a prefix-initial /m/ is inflected for the perfective aspect.

Infixation is another feature that can be associated with the perfective form of the verb. An infix *-in-* is usually affixed to non-actor focus verbs:

Verb Form/ Focus	Infinitive	Perfective
Objective	<i>bilhin</i>	<i>binili</i>
Locative	<i>bilhan</i>	<i>binilihan</i>
Benefactive	<i>ibili</i>	<i>ibinili</i>

It can be summarized that the perfective in Tagalog is formed and signaled by an /m-/ replacement in /m/ initial-prefixes, and/or the infixation of *-um-* and *-in-*.

The imperfective in Tagalog is signaled by the same indicators of the perfective aspect (/m-/ replacement or infixation) **and** a reduplicative affix. The reduplicant is the first syllable of the verb root, thus:

² Another /m-/ replacing consonant is /p/, e.g. *magsayaw* 'to dance' and *pagsayawan* 'to dance at' (locative focus). This particular /m/ ~ /p/ patterning is discussed in greater detail with agency and cause in Travis 2005 and 2000.

Root	Infinitive	Imperfective
bili	<i>bumili</i>	<i>bumi</i> bili
luto	<i>magluto</i>	<i>naglul</i> luto
isip	<i>isipin</i>	<i>ini</i> isip

In complex affixes³ however, it is usually the second syllable of the affix that is reduplicated:

Root	Infinitive	Imperfective
bili	<i>makabili</i>	<i>nakaka</i> bili
hiram	<i>magpahiram</i>	<i>nagpapa</i> hiram

Perfectivity and Imperfectivity are the two basic oppositions in talking about aspect however in Tagalog, there is a three-way distinction:

6) ***Magluluto*** ako para sa iyo.

This aspectual form is called ‘Contemplative’ and is signalled by partial reduplication as with the Imperfective but no /m-/ replacement. This particular viewpoint has certain implications for the theoretical model of aspect since it adds another notion of ‘begun’ or ‘not begun’ to ‘complete/incomplete’ and ‘whole/part’ as Schacter and Otnes states that aspect in Tagalog is “the characterization of an event as completed or not completed, and, if not completed, as begun or not begun” (1972:66). Travis (2000) reinforces this notion by formally identifying two verbal morphemes that correspond to what she calls as outer aspect with the features [+/- start] and inner aspect [+/- incomplete] and the features of these viewpoints are specified thus:

³ Some grammar books analyze non-monosyllabic prefixes like *magpa-* as *mag-* + *pa-*, others analyze it as a single morpheme *magpa-*.

start	Incomplete	viewpoint aspect
+	+	Imperfective
+	-	Perfective
-	-	Contemplative

Table 1

It can be argued that this form may in fact be considered to be under *mood* similar to how futurity is considered in English. However, there is the concrete evidence of complementary aspectual marking in the language. If one considers /m-/ replacement or infixation and partial reduplication as the aspect markers of the language, /m-/ replacement or infixation is the essential marker for the Perfective while partial reduplication essentially marks the *Contemplative* and *both* markers are used for the Imperfective. Put in another way, the Perfective and the Contemplative seem to be the basic opposition based on the aspectual markers that the language has and not the traditional Perfective/Imperfective dichotomy characterizing Indo-European languages.

3.0 Situation type aspect

The inherent meaning of verbs and their classification goes back to Vendler (1967) where his classification yields four types of situations according to the added temporal properties of *dynamism*, *durativity*, and *conclusiveness* (or *telicity*). Dynamism separates verbs according to **States** and non-states. Non-states are further divided into those that express duration: **Activities** and **Accomplishments**, while telicity is applicable only to accomplishments and **Achievements**. Smith (1991) adds **Semelfactives** to the types and characterizes it as that which is non-durative and atelic, e.g. *cough*. Table 2 below shows the verb types and their features:

	Dynamic	Durative	Telic
State	-	+	n.a.
Activity	+	+	-
Accomplishment	+	+	+
Achievement	+	-	+
Semelfactive	+	-	-

Table 2

Unlike viewpoint aspect which is analyzed and identified as such, situation types are not explicitly covered in studies on Tagalog grammar. However, the morphological and syntactic analysis of the comparatively extensive verb focus system in Tagalog provides the basis for semantic structure in some studies.

In Foley and Van Valin's (1984) study, they present two types of Tagalog statives having the logical structure **predicate'**(x) and the structure **be-at'** (a, b) for those specifying location rather than states.

7) a. *Maputi ang bulaklak.*

b. *Ø-Puti ang bulaklak.*

8) a. *Naupo sa sahig ang lalaki.*

b. *Nasa kusina ang lalaki.*

To add to this, all non-verbal predicates would fall under states and Cubar and Cubar's (1994) list of the types of predicates the language has is more or less the most exhaustive.⁴ The simplest stative sentence is one wherein the predicate ascribes some property to the subject. This is seen in Tagalog by a 'direct equating' of a nominal or adjectival predicate to its subject as shown in examples (10). Another common stative situation is where instead of expressing a property, a location is expressed (11).

Another major type of state is where the predicate refers to unobservable mental states and events, what are called 'private' predicates (Smith 1991). This type of stative situation, (referring to perception, cognition and the like) are structurally formed through verbal sentences in the language. Of all verbal affixes, *ma-* is observed to have a sort of tendency to be associated with stative situations. These verbs generally take *ma-* instead of "activity-type" morphemes *-um-* and *mag-* for their base form infinitive, e.g. *makita* 'to see,' *marinig* 'to hear,' *maamoy* 'to smell,' *madama* 'to feel' Other examples of stative verbs in the infinitive with *ma-* are: *maawa* 'to (feel) pity,' *magulat*

⁴ See appendix which is a table summary of non-verbal sentences and how these were characterized in Cubar and Cubar (1994), Foley and Van Valin (1984) and Martin (1996).

‘be surprised,’ *matuwa* ‘be happy about.’ With the other types of stative verbs which are Ø-affixed in their base form, they take *ma-* to express achievements or changes of states. for example:

- 12) a. Ø*Takot ang bata sa kulog*. [state]
b. *Natakot ang bata sa kulog*. [change of state=achievement]

Dynamic situations or Events are divided into those that have durativity or express punctuality. Durativity refers to the quality of a situation as (or conceived of) lasting for a certain period of time while punctuality means the situation does not last in time or takes place momentarily. Activities and accomplishments are durative while achievements are punctual.

The feature of telicity characterizes events as having a natural endpoint (telic) or not (atelic). Telic events have an intrinsic goal constituting its terminal point. For example in the telic sentence *Gumagawa siya ng saranggola*, the situation described by *gumawa ng saranggola* has given itself a terminal point: it is reached when the kite is made. In contrast, the atelic sentence *Naglalakad siya* has given no such terminal point and the person (*siya*) can stop at any moment and the situation described by *maglakad* will still be true. The following examples further illustrate these dynamic situations:

- 13) a. *Naglakad si Mike*. [Activity]
b. *Naglakad si Mike papunta sa opisina*. [Accomplishment]
c. *Dumating si Mike sa opisina*. [Achievement]

It should be noted that what is being noted here are situation types and not just individual verbs. It was pointed out in both Comrie (1976) and Smith (1991) that identifying a situation type takes into consideration the whole sentence, i.e. the verb and its arguments. Thus while the verb *maglakad* is used both in (12a) and (12b), a distinction can be made with regards to its situation type. (12a) describes a durative and atelic event (*maglakad*) while (12b) is a durative and telic

event (*maglakad papunta sa opisina*). In (12c), the situation described is punctual and telic⁵ (*du-mating sa opisina*). Situations which are punctual and atelic are semelfactives, e.g. *umubo*. These are then the five situation types: States, Activities, Accomplishments, Achievements and Semelfactives.

4.0 Viewpoint distribution in situation types

Viewpoint and situation type are independent of each other, i.e. their semantic information do not overlap or contrast in the syntactic system (Smith 1991) as the examples in (10) illustrate:

14) a. Gumawa siya ng saranggola.

b. Gumagawa siya ng saranggola.

Both sentences are accomplishments but the viewpoints are different with (14a) in the Perfective while (14b) is in the Imperfective. This happens because viewpoint aspect is expressed or marked by a morpheme, in this case on the verb, while it is the verb and its arguments which convey situation type.

This interrelation between these two components is very important since they have different patterns of interaction in languages. In some languages, all viewpoints are available to all situation types while for some, a situation type may not be available for certain viewpoints (Smith 1991). In Tagalog, it would seem that all aspectual viewpoints are available to activities and accomplishments while the imperfective in achievements and semelfactives have other meanings:

15) [*maglakad ang lalaki*] Activity

Naglakad/Naglalakad/Maglalakad ang lalaki.

16) [*gumawa ng saranggola*] Accomplishment

Gumawa/Gumagawa/Gagawa ng saranggola ang bata.

⁵ I am following Smith's (1991) characterization of Achievement. Vendler's (1967) Achievement focuses only on the terminal point of a process but Comrie (1976) argues that telic situations should have both a process leading up to the terminal point as well as the terminal point.

- 17) [mamula ang mga rosas] Achievement

*Namula/(**Namumula**)/Mamumula ang mga rosas.*

- 18) [*kumatok sa pinto*] Semelfactive

*Kumatok/(**Kumakatok**)/Kakatok ako sa pinto.*

The imperfective form of *mamula* in (16) and *kumatok* in (17) are not base-level achievement and semelfactive respectively. *Namumula ang mga rosas* does not refer to a situation where there is a change of state but rather the sentence describes a static situation. On the other hand, *kumakatok ako sa pinto* refers to a repetition of non-durative, atelic events (*kumatok*) making up a derived activity.

There is much to be said about the imperfective viewpoint in Tagalog and particularly, its relation to states. The imperfective form of a non-stative verb can be used to present a stative sentence in certain contexts in Tagalog. For example, an answer to the question “*Ano ang trabaho ni Juan doon?*” can be:

- 19) a. *Taga-alaga siya ng bata doon.*
b. *Nag-aalaga siya ng bata doon.*

Derived habitual statives, meaning the base-level sentence is an event but with a frequency adverbial, also employ the imperfective: *Naglalaro sila ng tennis tuwing Sabado*, *Nagbabasa siya ng dyaryo araw-araw*. And lastly, the imperfective makes apparent a difference between *-um-* verbs and *mag-* verbs. For example, *sayaw* in *Sumasayaw si Ana* can be interpreted as Ana dances or she can dance (state) while *Nagsasayaw si Ana* refers to the situation wherein Ana is dancing (activity).

In some languages, only one viewpoint is available to present statives, e.g. perfective for English, imperfective for Russian, and neutral for Chinese (Smith 1991). In Tagalog, it would seem that it is the imperfective; however the following examples also illustrate another pattern:

20) a. *Nakasabit ang mga diploma nila sa dingding.*

b. *Naka-maong ang lahat ng mga bisita.*

c. *Nakatira kami dati sa Sampaloc.*

The *naka-* affix here is not a perfective form of *maka-* but rather a stative affix in itself (adjectival). Add this to the other stative examples shown in (10), (11), (12a), (19a) and all other sentences with non-verbal predicates.

This matter can be approached in two different ways. Given that verbal predicates in Tagalog have verbs with an *overt* aspectual marker, all the other sentences with non-verbal predicates, classified as relational states, are aspectless or are \emptyset -marked for aspect. Or we can say that there is a neutral viewpoint with a \emptyset -marker (in Tagalog's case) and characterized as having an initial point and at least one internal stage of a situation (compared to the Perfective which has both visible endpoints and the Imperfective which has no visible endpoints). The former is the usual explanation in aspectual studies (e.g. Klein 1994 on Chinese) while the latter is proposed in Smith (1991). The dilemma posed here is that having an aspectless or a neutral viewpoint are both convenient to the characterization of States which refer to situations that obtain for any phase in the whole of the relevant time span and would of course imply an initialization. It would be more productive to see first how the proposed neutral viewpoint is distributed among other languages and its place in the aspectual system within the Tagalog language.

5.0 Final comments

This paper wishes to highlight some essential points presented in the study. First is the notion of a Contemplative viewpoint which seems to be salient in Tagalog (and other Philippine languages) as evidenced by its formal marking (reduplication). The viewpoint dichotomy is thus between the Perfective and Contemplative as opposed to the traditional Perfective/Imperfective. This is supported by its distribution patterning with situation types, i.e. the Perfective and Contemplative are readily available to all situation types except for States which uses the Imperfective.

The type of sentence predicate readily divides situations into states and non-states with all non-verbal predicates describing stative situations. Tagalog verbs are typically characterized as the grammatical category inflected for aspect. This then would make easy a consistent argument of non-verbal sentences having no aspect, and all sentences with this type of predicate are stative sentences. While this is certainly suitable, a compelling argument can also be made for having a neutral aspect in this type of sentences based on the aspectual system of Tagalog which would then make the system uniform as the following models show (where I = initial point, F = final point, /// = relevant situation span, ... = internal stage):

Perfective: I F
 ///////

Imperfective: (I)...////...(F)

Contemplative: ///...(I)

Neutral: I .
 ///

(Recent Perfective: I F ///)

Again the Contemplative seems to have made systematic the aspectual viewpoint in Tagalog. If this proposed situation schema is proved valid, it makes a counterpart for the Recent Perfective which encompasses the temporal span *after* the final endpoint while the Contemplative encom-

passes the temporal span *before* the initial point somewhat akin to how the Perfective and Imperfective are counterparts of each other. The Contemplative will also complement a Neutral viewpoint since the initial point in the former is not presented although implied while the initial point is required in the latter. Whichever the case of having a neutral viewpoint or staying with an aspectless explanation, further study and tests will be needed to shed light on any of these options.

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Appendix: List of non-verbal stative sentences

	Cubar & Cubar	Foley & Van Valin	Martin
<i>Artista ang lalaki.</i> 'The man is an actor.'	nominal	predicate' (x)	intensive
<i>Matangkad ang lalaki.</i> 'The man is tall.'	adjectival	predicate' (x)	intensive
<i>May tao sa labas.</i> 'There's a person outside.'	may (generic)	---	existential intensive
<i>May libro kay Juan.</i> 'There is a book in Juan's possession.'	may (locative)	---	existential circumstantial
<i>May libro si Juan.</i> 'Juan has a book.'	may (possessive)	---	existential possessive
<i>Nasa labas ang tao.</i> 'The person is outside.'	locative (indefinite)	be-at' (x, y)	circumstantial
<i>Na kay Juan ang libro.</i> 'The book is in Juan's possession.'	locative (definite)	have' (x, y)	
<i>Kay Juan ang libro.</i> 'The book is Juan's.'	possessive	---	possessive
<i>Para kay Juan ang libro.</i> 'The book is for Juan.'	benefactive	---	---
<i>Tungkol sa pag-ibig ang libro.</i> 'The book is about love.'	prepositional	---	---
<i>Sa Lunes ang eksam.</i> 'The exam is on Monday.'	adverbial	---	---

NOMINAL AND ADJECTIVAL SENTENCES IN MP: EVIDENCE FROM TAGALOG AND MALAY¹

Maria Khristina S. Manuelli

Dept. of Linguistics, University of the Philippines
Academy of Malay Studies, University of Malaya

Introduction

Malay and Tagalog, belonging to the same language family, Austronesian, have two sets of sentences: verbal and nonverbal sentences. Since verbal sentences in Austronesian languages are quite complex (exhibiting a voice system different from Indo-European languages), studies focusing on this topic is plenty. However, studies on nonverbal sentences (or verbless sentences to others) are but a few, if not, nothing.

Most languages can project a nonverbal predicate, although this projection is always headed by a copula.

- (1) Simon is tall
- (2) Simon is a doctor
- (3) Simon is in the laboratory

Dryer (2007) proposed that the supposed verb *be* is a function word than a predicate. In some languages, there is no copula; the nonverbal predicate is straightforwardly expressed.

Murinyata (West Australia, Dryer 2007)

- (4) panjun kan^yi-ka putput
 woman this-TOPIC pregnant
 ‘this woman is pregnant’
- (5) paŋu-ka l awaŋga
 that.REMOTE-TOPIC wallaby
 ‘that’s a wallaby’
- (6) nukunu-ka ŋaŋa ɖa wiit
 3SG.MASC-TOPIC LOC place bed
 ‘he’s on the bed’

Mualang (Western Kalimantan, Tjia 1965)

- (7) Nya’ ia
 that 3s
 ‘That’s him.’
- (8) Sida’ mayuh
 3p many
 ‘They are many.’

¹ This paper is part of the author’s thesis focusing on the nonverbal sentences in both Malay and Tagalog.

- (9) Inay da pian.
mother LOC bathing place
'Mother is at the bath place.'

- Cebuano (Philippines)
(10) Maayo ang balay
Nice ABS house
'The house is nice'

- (11) Kini si Nuy
Here ABS Nuy
'Nuy is here'

- (12) Doktor ang babayi
doctor ABS lady
'The lady is a doctor'

Constantino (1965, 1971) identified two types of sentences based on 26 Philippine languages, including Tagalog. Schachter & Otones (1972) identified three types of predicates, including the nominal and adjectival sentences. Although the existence of nonverbal sentences were attested, these have been left out for analysis.

- (13) Maganda ang babae (Adjective)
beautiful ABS/NOM girl
'The girl is pretty'

- (14) Guro ko si Lisa (Noun)
teacher I.GEN ABS/NOM Lisa
'Lisa is my teacher'

Nik Safiah (1995) and Nik Safiah et al. (2004) identified four types of sentences in Malay called pola ayat dasar. Pola 1 is the nominal predicate, Pola 2 the verbal predicate, Pola 3 the adjective predicate and Pola 4 the prepositional phrase predicate. Ramli (1992) included the nonverbal sentences with the verbal sentences because of the verb *ada* 'to have, to exist'. Rogayah (2003) followed Ramli (1992) in stipulating that Malay only have one underlying structure, [NP + VP] drawn from the grammaticality of the interrogative counterparts of *ia* and *ada*. When the sentence is declarative, *ada* and *ia* are deleted at the s-structure.

- (15) Ali seorang guru
Ali a teacher
'Ali is a teacher'

- (16) Ada-kah Ali seorang guru?
Copula-qm Ali a teacher
'Is Ali a teacher?'

- (17) Siti cantik
Siti beautiful
'Siti is beautiful'

- (18) Adakah Siti cantik?
 Copula-qm Siti beautiful
 'Is Siti beautiful?'

According to Musgrave (2001), *adalah* and *ialah* are not verbs. He argues that if both *ialah* and *adalah* are verbs, it should follow the verb paradigm of [NEG+MODAL+ASPECT]. But when *ialah* and *adalah* are preceded by a negative, it becomes ungrammatical.

- (19) arini aku ialah tidak sehat sangat²
 day-this I COP not healthy very
 'Today, I don't feel/am not very well'

- (20) *Dia bukan ialah doktor
 S/he NEG COP doctor
 'S/he is not a doctor'

In this paper, we will explain the syntactic structure of the nonverbal sentences in Tagalog and Malay, particularly focusing on nominal and adjectival predicates. The analyses will be based on the Minimalist Program, following Aldridge (2004, In press), Sabbagh (2005), Baker (2003) and Manuelli (2001, 2006). We will examine how adjectives and nouns pattern in Tagalog and Malay syntax and whether they follow the patterning of verbs. This paper will also review the proposals made by Sabbagh (2005) for adjectival predicates, Aldridge (2004) for nominal predicates and Baker (2003) for PredP. This paper will also propose a syntactic structure for nonverbal sentences similar to verbal sentences.

Preliminaries

Constantino's (1965, 1971) initial analysis of the nonverbal predicates suggested that these sentences were derived from verbal sentences, where the verb **maging** 'become' initially appears in the deep structure. In the surface structure, the verb **maging** is deleted, thus generating the following sentences:

- (21) VS_(become) + T + M + {N, ADJ, PP} + AC
 VS: verb stem, T: tense, M: mode, N: noun, ADJ: adjective,
 PP: prepositional phrase
 AC: actor (subject)

Deep structures of nonverbal sentences (Constantino 1971)

- (22) naging titser ang babae
 VS-became N-teacher AC-the woman
 'The woman became a teacher'

- (23) naging malaki ang aso
 VS-became ADJ-big AC-the dog
 'The dog became big'

² (<http://mawarberduri86.wordpress.com>)

- (24) naging para sa babae ang bulaklak
 VS-became PP-for the girl AC-the flower
 ‘The flower became for the girl’

Surface structures of nonverbal sentences

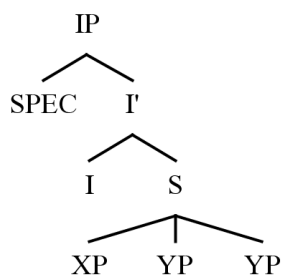
- (25) titser ang bababe
 N-teacher AC-the woman
 ‘The woman is a teacher’

- (26) malaki ang aso
 ADJ-big AC-the dog
 ‘The dog is big’

- (27) para sa babae ang bulaklak
 PP-for the girl AC-the flower
 ‘The flower is for the girl’

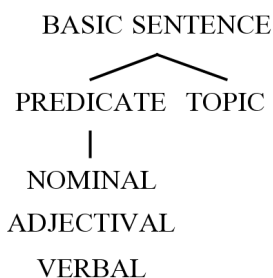
Although this analysis seems plausible, the motivation for the deletion of **maging** was not explained. Also, both sentences have difference in meaning. Sentences (with **maging**) (22) – (24) have the semantic meaning of the AC as becoming {N, ADJ, PP}, while sentences (25) – (28) have a stative meaning of the AC as {N, ADJ, PP}. Kroeger (1994) on the other hand, proposed that Tagalog’s structure is:

- (28)



This structure is more appropriate for both verbal and nonverbal sentences, where IP does not have a VP, instead INFL or I carries the feature of [+TNS]. Schachter & Otnes (1972) also proposed a single structure for all sentences in Tagalog, although no elaborate explanation was given.

- (29)



As for Malay, Ramli (1993) reanalyzed its syntax as having only one underlying structure. In the deep structure, the nonverbal predicates have the copula verb **ada** ‘be’, and subsequently deleted in the surface structure. Thus, the syntactic structure of Malay is:

- (35) *maganda [ang babae_[uCaseABS]]
 (36) *[Thea_[uCaseNOM]] seorang pelajar

Proposal for Adjective Predicates

Tagalog adjectives have two types: the bare adjectives and the adjectives with [ma-] affix. Malay adjectives are never inflected.

- (37) Tagalog Adjectives
 Bare adjectives: pangit 'ugly', payat 'thin', pandak 'short',
 basag 'broken', bitin 'short (length)', tuyo 'dry', basa 'wet'

 [Ma-] adjectives: ma-bilis 'fast', ma-baga 'slow', ma-taba 'fat',
 ma-tapang 'brave', ma-tamis 'sweet',
 ma-sarap 'delicious'

 (38) Malay adjectives
 tinggi 'tall', pendek 'short', ketat 'tight', lebar 'wide', berani 'brave',
 cantik 'pretty', kacak 'handsome'

Usually, adjectives modify nouns or verbs. Adjectives precede the noun it modifies or it can also follow the noun in Tagalog³. Malay adjectives occur after the noun, placing the adjective before the noun as ungrammatical.

- (39) Mataba-ng pusa
 fat-LNK cat

 (40) Pusa-ng mataba
 Cat-LNK fat
 'fat cat'

 (41) Kucing hitam
 Cat black

 (42) *Hitam kucing
 Black cat
 'black cat'

In English, adjectives cannot assign structural case (Haegeman 1994); although Chomsky noted (1986, cited in Haegeman 1994), that it has inherent case.

(43) ***Inherent Case Condition***

If A is an inherent case assigner, then A assigns case to an NP if and only if A theta-marks the NP.

Thus, a sentence like:

- (44) Simon is proud of [the house]

³ Certain ambiguities arise but we will not discuss the ambiguities noted.

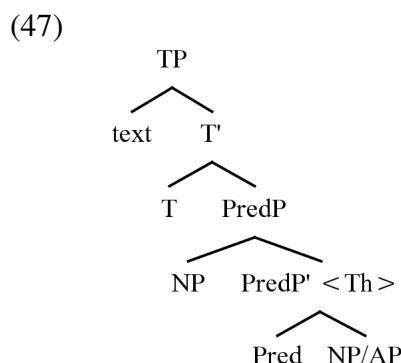
is grammatical. The adjective *proud* has an inherent genitive case, the overt reflex is *of*. However, this cannot account for the absolutive or nominative marking of the DP in question.

Sabbagh (2005) categorized Tagalog adjectives into two classes: Class I unergative⁴ adjectives marked by [*ma-*], and Class II unaccusative⁵ bare adjectives. Although the concepts unergative and unaccusative refer to verbs, it should be noted that adjectives have the feature [+N, +V], making it somehow related to verbs. Adjectival predicates such as

- (45) Maitim ang buhok ko
 black ABS/NOM hair I.GEN
 ‘My hair is (quite) black’

- (46) Payat ang pusa
 Thin ABS/NOM cat
 ‘The cat is thin’

has a [uCase] checked DP with an ABS/NOM marking *ang*. Since adjectives cannot assign structural case, we cannot account for the grammaticality of these sentences. Baker (2003) proposed that adjectives, nouns and prepositions could function as predicate provided they enter into a predication relation. He proposed:



Where **Pred** is a functional category that NP and AP can enter to build a predicative construction. The <theme> argument is projected as an internal argument of VP while it is the external argument of AP. Clark (1969) also proposed a Predicate Phrase for Samoan where both verbal and nonverbal predicates enter. In the case of Tongan, nonverbal predicates appear immediately after tense marker, while the subject has an ABS marker, thus paralleling it with intransitive verbs:

- Tongan (Tonga, Otsuka 2000)
 (48) E ‘ita ‘a Sione
 Fut angry ABS Sione
 ‘‘Sione will be angry’’

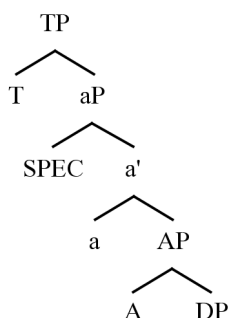
- (49) ‘Oku faiako ‘a e fefine
 Prs teacher ABS def woman
 ‘‘The woman is a teacher.’’

⁴ Unergatives project an external argument.

⁵ Unaccusatives only have internal arguments

The nonverbal predicates in Tongan precede the subject, like Tagalog. This suggests that the nonverbal predicates in Tongan raise to C like the verbs. Otsuka (2000) assumed that the nominals and the adjectives are incorporated into *v* to form a predicate, thus acquiring the similar characteristics of a verb, instead of entering another predication. Sabbagh (2005) proposed a somewhat similar analysis to Baker and Clark. He proposed, for adjectives, that in order to account the grammaticality of these sentences, the adjectives enter a predication similar to *vP*. Class I and Class adjectives differ only in terms of EA projection. He proposed a functional category *aP* where adjectives can enter to license either the EA or IA.

(50)



Ramli (1992) and Rogayah (2003) analyzed Malay as having only one predicate structure, and that is the verbal predicate structure. They proposed that Malay has a copula, *ada*, which has two functions: as a possessive/existential marker and as copula/main verb. At D-structure, the copula *ada* is present. At the S-structure, *ada*⁶ is deleted. The motivation for deletion is the ungrammaticality of the sentence. It then resurfaces as either *adakah* or *iakah* when the sentence becomes an interrogative Yes-No.

- (51) *Arabelle ada cantik
 Arabelle BE pretty
 'Arabelle is pretty'

- (52) *Dia ada doktor
 3sg.nom BE doctor'
 'S/he is a doctor'

- (53) Simon ialah seorang doktor
 Simon BE -lah a doctor

- (54) *Simon ia seorang doktor
 Simon BE a doctor
 'Simon is a doctor'

(data from Ramli, 1992).

- (55) Ahmad guru
 Ahmad teacher
 'Ahmad is a teacher'

⁶ They also noted that at times, *ada* surfaces but with [-lah]. Without it, the sentence will be ungrammatical.

- (56) Adakah Ahmad guru?
BE -kah Ahmad teacher
'Is Ahmad a teacher?'

- (57) *Ahmad guru?
Ahmad teacher
'Is Ahmad a teacher?'

Musgrave (2001) on the other hand, did not categorize *adalah* or *ialah* as a copula verb. He noted, if *adalah* and *ialah* are verbs, it should then be negated by *tidak*, as *tidak* is only used to negate verbs and adjectives. Also, if *ialah* and *adalah* are verbs, it should be preceded by modals or aspectual morphemes. However, doing this will yield ungrammatical sentences.

- (58) *Kucing akan adalah hitam
Cat will BE black
'The cat will be(come) black'

- (59) *Simon akan ialah doktor
Simon will BE doctor
'Simon will be(come) a doctor'

- (60) *Meja tidak adalah bersih
Table not BE clean
'The table will not be(come) clean'

Case and Agreement: Adjective and Noun Predicates

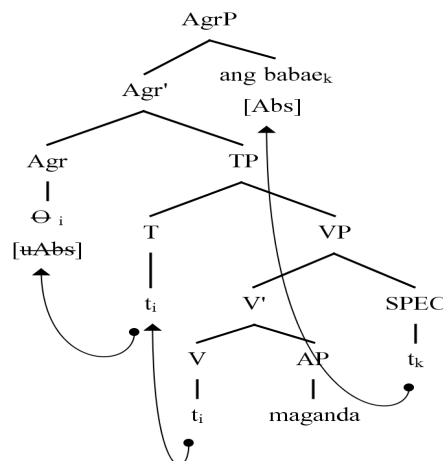
If the adjectives and nouns can occur as predicates, it should have the same features or characteristics as the verbs. Verbs inflect for Aspect or Tense, Number and Person, and have its phonological realization as affixes. When the verb merges with these features, it checks it with its corresponding argument. However, adjectives and nouns do not have these, but the sentences are grammatical. In this case, how can the DPs in the sentence check its features? If the features are not checked, it will crash and produce an ungrammatical sentence.

Kinaray-a was analyzed as having an abstract AGR (Manueli 2001). AGR assigns ABS/NOM case to Spec in order not to violate Case Filter. AGR may have the following features⁷: number, person and case. Subject was assumed to be base generated under AP, NP or PP. Another proposal was also made for both Malay and Tagalog (Manueli 2006); all DPs with a θ -role actor or theme are subjects in AP and are base generated. Furthermore Tagalog, and subsequently Malay, may possibly have a phonetically null copula verb that has the same ϕ -features as that of verbs (Manueli 2006).

⁷ Tagalog does not inflect or check for gender.

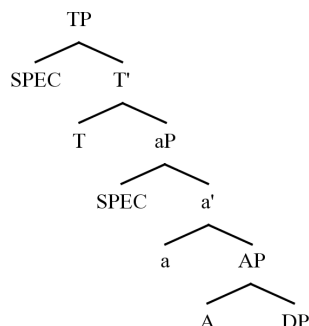
(61) Maganda ang babae
 beautiful ABS/NOM woman/girl

(62)



This analysis is somewhat parallel to that of Baker (2003), Kratzer (1993) and Sabbagh (2005). Both the noun and the adjective enter into a predicative configuration so it can license its overt DPs. Since adjectives are either unergative or unaccusative, following Baker (2003), Sabbagh (2005), Clark (1969) and Otsuka (2000), we propose that the adjectives enter into a predication similar to *v*. This functional category will help in licensing the DPs occurring as either an EA or IA. This also will distinguish the adjective that modifies a noun.

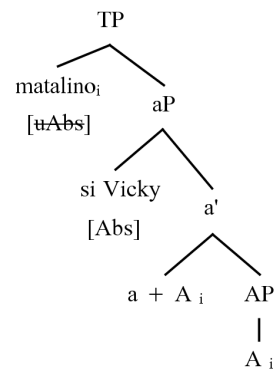
(63)



With this, we can then explain the above sentences in Tagalog and Malay. Class I adjectives project an external argument while Class II adjectives project an internal argument. In line with Otsuka's account of Tongan, the A^0 will merge with *a*, and then to T to complete the [A+a+T] complex. Also, like the intransitive verbs, T has an EPP feature and [uCase] to check with the nearest or closest DP with appropriate features. Thus, T to check its features will probe the DP, which is the EA, in the case of Class I adjectives. The same procedure is also followed with the Class II adjectives. The complex adjective raises to T to maintain the predicate-initial feature of Tagalog.

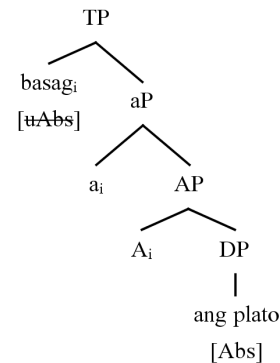
- (64) Matalino si Vicky
intelligent ABS/NOM Vicky
'Vicky is intelligent'

(65)



- (66) Basag ang plato
Broken ABS/NOM plate
'The plate is broken'

(67)

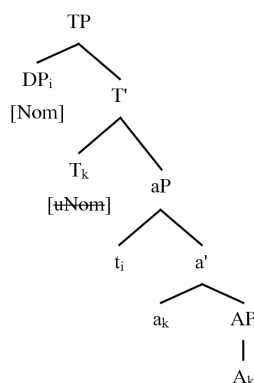


Malay adjectives only project EA. There are no studies done yet about the nonverbal predicates in Malay that can attest to the existence of unaccusative adjectives but for this paper, we will presume that Malay adjective predicates project an EA much the same way as the unergatives. Since Malay is an accusative language, case checking is done via T⁸.

- (68) Rodney baik
Rodney good
'Rodney is good/kind'

- (69) Simon kacak
Simon handsome
'Simon is handsome'

(70)

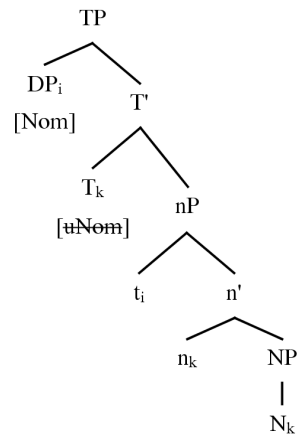


As for nominal predicates, we also extend this proposal. In Malay, it is straightforward: the projection will be an *nP*, parallel to *aP* and *vP*.

⁸ Thus, adjectives in Malay are unaccusative in nature, projecting EA in its derivation. Unless otherwise a new and better analysis of Malay adjective predicates is presented, we will contend to this analysis for the moment

- (71) Simon seorang Jerman
 Simon a German
 'Simon is a German (national)'

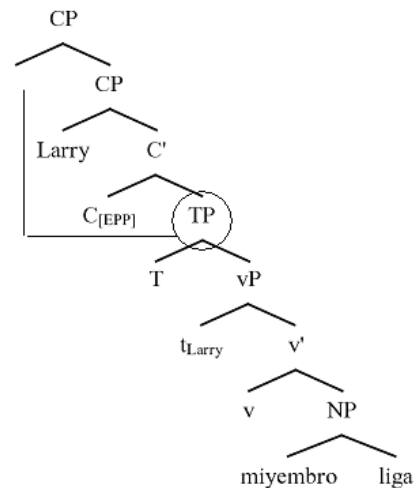
(72)



Aldridge (2004) proposed that the nominal predicates in Tagalog are TP-fronted. Given the sentence below would yield the structure (248) (Data and glossing retained, Aldridge, 2004).

- (73) Miyembro ng Liga si Larry
 Member gen league abs Larry
 'Larry is a league member'

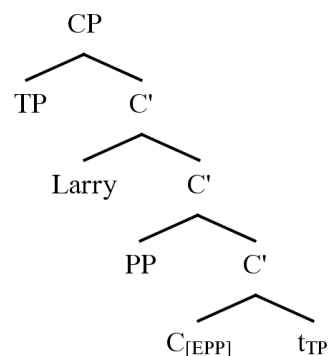
(74)



Aldridge favors this analysis because the complement of NP can be stranded to the right of the absolutive DP. The predicate followed the absolutive DP at some point in the derivation and then reaches the clause-initial position. The argument of the predicate NP, a possessive PP, can be stranded, and the remnant will further move to highest specifier position (Aldridge 2004).

- (75) Miyembro si Larry ng liga
 Member abs Larry gen league
 'Larry is a member of a league/
 Larry is a league member'

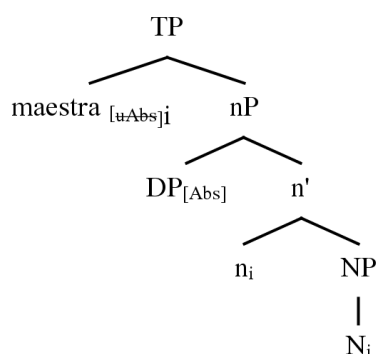
(76)



If this is the case, this will conflict with the proposal being made. Nominals in Tagalog are quite complex. But for typical nominal predicates, like the example below, the proposal of having a functional category nP, will be able to explain the grammaticality of the sentence. However, for complex nominal predicates, we leave this matter at hand⁹. The regular nominal predicates in Tagalog enter the predication presented above. Case checking is done in T, the same way as that of unergatives. The subject in nominal predicates is projected at [SPEC, nP]¹⁰.

- (77) Maestra ako
Teacher I.ABS/NOM
'I am a teacher'

(78)



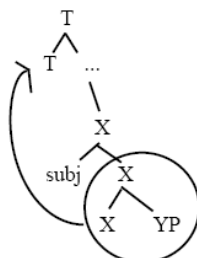
Other matters in Malay

Malay uses copulas in forming most of its nonverbal sentences, particularly when it is in the formal form. However, *ada*, is not a verb, based on the given arguments above. Nevertheless, *ada* patterns like a copula.

- Irish (Ireland, Carnie 1994)
(79) Is *dochtúir ainmhithe* (í) **Beverly Crusher**
C doctor animals (agr)
'Beverly Crusher is a doctor of animals'

Irish has two types of copulas, one that functions in a predicate construction, and one that functions in an equative construction. Although both are different in terms of syntax, the predicate is not introduced by a light verb (*v*). In the predicative construction, *Is* functions as a complementizer, while the predicate raises up to T via head-movement (Carnie, 1991).

(80)

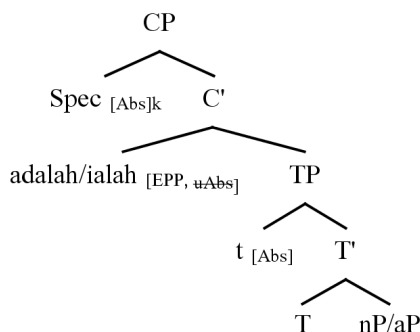


⁹ Nominal predicates, as well as DPs in Tagalog are quite complex and controversial, like its verb morphology. We will not deal with the complex DPs and Nominal predicates in this study.

¹⁰ This is almost parallel with Aldridge (2004), although the difference is that our proposal here uses nP instead of vP. We will maintain the definition of vP as the projection of VP.

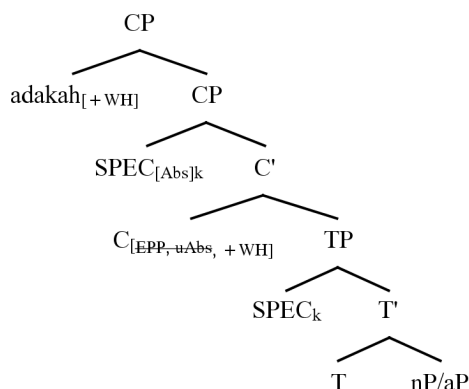
When Malay uses the copula **ada**, it will have the following structure:

(81)



The copula **ada/ia** will have [-**lah**] when the sentence is declarative. When the sentence is a Yes-No question, C will have [+wh] feature, thus [-**kah**] will overtly surface, as well as moving to a higher C level.

(82)



In formal Malay, it is imperative to use **adalah/ialah** or **adakah** whether spoken or written. In informal and colloquial Malay, it is usually omitted. The use of **adalah/ialah** or **adakah** depends on the speaker's intention, situation, or the context of his sentence. In this analysis, we see that **adalah/ialah** or **adakah** are not verbs compared to **ada** (possessive and existential) because first, it cannot be negated and second, it cannot be preceded by aspectual modals. Thus, it is simply a copula¹¹.

Concluding remarks

We have seen that Tagalog and Malay both have nonverbal sentences that enter into a predication to be able to license the appearance of its DP, whether it is an external argument or internal argument. We also saw that the nonverbal sentences presented are almost parallel to verbal sentences in terms of feature checking.

Although it seems adhoc to yet again propose another functional category parallel to ν P, this is one way of explaining the so-called verbless sentences or nonverbal sentences. One way of looking at it as well is to expand the features and definition of ν . Hornstein, et al. (2005) defined ν as forming a kind of complex predicate where its main complement is a VP. If we are to take ν as not only having VP as its complement but other non-VP as well, then

¹¹ Further discussion is given in the main thesis where this paper originally comes from.

we do not really need to propose another functional category to accommodate another group of sentences. However, this should be explored much further, since there are many languages that use either a copula to introduce a nonverbal sentence or no copula at all. This copula is not necessarily a verb, but just a copula. For non-copula languages, it could be that it is phonetically null (as has been proposed earlier in the paper), but the features are not.

It should be noted that this is only an attempt to explain the nonverbal sentences of Tagalog and Malay under the Minimalist Program. It is yet to be final, and additional data and analyses are still needed to pursue further the analyses presented. It is still clear yet whether Tagalog, Malay, and the other Austronesian languages, have nonverbal sentences. Tagalog and Malay are not only composed of verbal sentences. Nonverbal sentences, such as presented above are still needed to be analyzed.

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Control Construction in Filipino

Aquiles P. Bazar III

De La Salle Univeristy

bazara@dlsu.edu.ph

1. Introduction

Control construction is defined as a syntactic process in which the missing argument in the linked clause is the same or coreferential with one of the arguments of the main or matrix clause. Kroeger (1993) in his analysis of Filipino analyses controlees and prove that they are grammatical relation. He further argues that these controlees are realised by non-subject actors and not by subject as compared to other languages.

This paper will focus more on the syntactic pattern of control constructions in Filipino and the status of controllers as well. Controllers interpreted to be coreferential arguments of the controlees play a vital role in the construction. I will also argue that these controllers are characterised not by grammatical relations but by macro roles.

2. Morphosyntax of Filipino

Filipino like any other Philippine languages is a predicate initial language. That is, in a basic clause structure, the verb or predicate comes first followed by its argument/s. In an intransitive clause, the verb is followed by one required argument labelled in this paper as S, as in

(1) Na- tulog ang = bata.

PERF.VOL.ACT- sleep ABS= child

‘The child slept.’

In a transitive clause, the verb is followed by the more agentive argument labelled as A and then followed by the least agentive argument labelled as P as shown in (2). However, although VPA structure is also acceptable in Filipino (3), if the arguments are pronominals, the VAP structure becomes obligatory, as shown in (4).

(2) in...an- halik ni Ben si Bea

PERF.VOL.PAT kiss ERG Ben ABS Bea

‘Ben kissed Bea.’

(3) in...an- halik si Bea ni Ben

PERF.VOL.PAT kiss ABS Bea ERG Ben

‘Ben kissed Bea.’

(4) in...an- halik niya siya.

PERF.VOL.PAT kiss 3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS

‘He kissed her.’

(5) *in...an- halik siya niya

PERF.VOL.PAT kiss 3SG.ABS 3SG.ERG

3. Voice Constructions

Goal or patient focus is believed to be the basic voice construction in Filipino. In this construction, the verb affix *-in-* signals that one core argument is the subject or focused NP. The focused NP is always realised by a patient argument, whereas the other core argument is an actor, as illustrated in

(6) -in-...-an -balat ko ang mangga
PERF.PAT.VOL-peel.off 1SG.ERG ABS mango

‘I peeled off the mango.’

(7) -in -patay niya ang ilaw

PERF.PAT.VOL -turn.off 3SG.ERG ABS light

‘He/She turned off the light.’

Another construction known as anti-passive is also present in Filipino. In this de-transitivised sentence, the less agentive argument is demoted to an oblique position, and the more agentive argument remains a core NP.

(8) -in-...an -kulo niya ang tubig
 PERF.PAT.VOL-boil 3SG.ERG ABS water
 ‘He/She boiled the water.’

(9) -in -putol niya ang sanga
 PERF.PAT.VOL-cut 3SG.ERG ABS branch
 ‘He?She cut the branch (of a tree)

(10) nagpa -kulo siya ng tubig
 PERF.ACT.VOL-boil 3SG.ABS OBL water
 ‘He/She boiled some water.’

(11) nag -putol siya ng sanga
 PERF.ACT.COL-cut 3SG.ABS OBL branch
 ‘He/She cut a branch (of a tree)

(12) *nagpa -kulo siya ang tubig
 PERF.ACT.VOL-boil 3SG.ABS ABS water

(13) *nag -putol siya ang sanga
 PERF.ACT.VOL-cut 3SG.ABS ABS branch

Notice that even semantically, the focused NP in basic voice constructions is also demoted from being definite to indefinite. Making the less agentive argument the focus of anti-passive constructions may result in ungrammaticality, as shown in (12-13).

I will argue that passive constructions, another de-transitivised construction, are also present in Filipino. In this sentence, the A is either deleted or demoted to oblique position, whereas the P is promoted to subject. One interesting feature of Filipino passive is that the sentences should only be marked for volitivity.

(14) nagpa -halik siya kay Ben.

PERF.ACT.VOL-kiss 3SG.ABS OBL Ben

‘She let herself be kissed by Ben (intentionally)’

(15) nagpa-masahe siya sa babae

PERF.ACT.VOL-massage 3SG.ABS OBL woman

‘He let himself be given a massage by a woman (intentionally)’

(16) na...-an -halik siya ni Ben

PERF.ACT.NON-VOL-kiss 3SG.ABS ERG Ben

‘Ben accidentally kissed her.’

(17) na-masahe siya ng babae

PERF.ACT.NON-VOL massage 3SG.ABS ERG woman

‘The woman (accidentally) gave him a massage.’

(18) *na...-an -halik siya kay Ben

PERF.ACT.NON-VOL -kiss 3SG.ABS OBL Ben

(19) *na-masahe siya sa babae

PERF.ACT.NON-VOL 3SG.ABS OBL woman

Sentences (14)-(15) show that the more agentive arguments Ben and *babae* ‘woman’ are demoted to oblique position preceded by oblique markers *kay* and *sa*. If the same sentences are marked for non-volitivity, the sentences become a typical voice construction in Filipino in which the A is a core argument. Demoting the same argument to oblique position will result in ungrammaticality. This is illustrated in (18) to (19).

4. Grammatical Relation

Grammatical relations, sometimes called grammatical functions, play an important role in the grammatical structure of a sentence. A certain argument, for example, can be identified as a subject or object in a clause. Subject, which is one of the biggest issues in Philippine linguistics, is so far the most important grammatical relation for it is involved in many syntactic phenomena as compared to the object. Therefore, it is important to identify grammatical relations in Philippine linguistics. Brainard (1996) gave four criteria to identify an argument as a grammatical relation.

The first criterion is coding properties which refer to verb agreement, the position of an argument in a clause (for a quite rigid language), and case marking. In Philippine languages, arguments are usually identified through case marking system. Brainard (1996) further noted that if a certain argument is encoded differently in the clause, we can easily distinguish it from other grammatical relations and from oblique arguments.

The second criterion is syntactic control. If a certain argument plays a central role in determining the operation of a syntactic process, it is called a grammatical relation (Brainard, 1996).

The third and fourth criteria for grammatical relation are exclusion and multiple semantic roles. Exclusion refers to an argument that consistently functions as the syntactic control of a proc-

ess to the exclusion of other arguments in a sentence (Brainard, 1994). Multiple semantic roles, on the other hand, is the process of encoding different semantic roles to one argument.

These criteria will help the researcher identify grammatical relations in Filipino more specifically in control constructions. Of the three coding properties discussed above, Filipino exhibits case marking system in identifying an argument as a grammatical relation. This is illustrated below.

(20) *na-tulog ang babae*

PERF.ACT.VOL-sleep ABS woman

‘The woman slept.’

(21) *-in-sipa ng babae ang mesa*

PERF.PAT.VOL-kick ERG woman ABS table

‘The woman kicked the table.’

The data above show that the language operates on an ergative pattern of syntactic control (which will be discussed later in this paper). In (20) the single argument *babae* ‘woman’ is the focused NP in the construction, whereas in sentence (21) the marked argument is the object *mesa* ‘table’.

5. Filipino as an ergative language

Ergativity is a language phenomenon which treats the single core argument in an intransitive clause in the same way as it treats the patient or object of a transitive clause for the purpose of case or agreement (Gault, 1999; Bickford, 1998). The following examples from Karao, a Philippine language, illustrate ergative morphology (Brainard, 1994).

(22) *‘on -jo ‘kow ‘i nga’nga*

Act/TH/IMPFT sleep ABS child

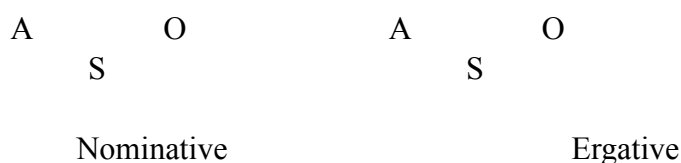
‘The child will sleep.’

(23) *kapkap -en na to’o -‘i mangka*

chop- -Act/TH/IMPFT ERG person -ABS mango
 ‘The person will chop the mangoes.’

Karao has the same marking on both the single argument of the intransitive clause, *nga’nga* ‘child’ and the patient or object of the transitive clause, *mangka* ‘mangoes’ realised by ‘*i*’ which is an absolutive case marker. The more agentive argument of the transitive clause has been treated differently as its case marking is realised by *na*, an ergative case marker.

The pattern illustrated in the examples above represents ergative case marking pattern. The more familiar pattern is known as nominative-accusative case marking pattern in which the single argument of intransitive clause and the more agentive argument of transitive clause receive the same citation form or case marking for nouns, and the patient receives different treatment. The two case marking patterns may be represented as in Figure (1).



Dixon proposed three neutral abbreviations or labels which he called “universal syntactic-semantic primitives” (Gault, 1999, 33). S represents the single core argument in intransitive clause, A for the more agentive argument of a transitive clause, and O for the underlying transitive object.

Filipino or Tagalog will be interpreted in this paper as having an ergative pattern. Noun case markers distinguish ABS (absolutive), ERG (ergative), and OBL (oblique) NPs or arguments in clauses. Noun case marking patterns are summarised in Table the table below.

Filipino Noun Case Markers

Absolutive

Ergative

Oblique/Peripheral

S/O

A

Non-personal nouns

ang

ng

ng/sa

Personal nouns

si

ni

kay

The following examples illustrate the morphological ergativity in Filipino.

- (24) *-um- tawa ang bata*
PERF.VOL.ACT.ANTIPASS laugh ABS child
'The child laughed.'

- (25) *-in- sipa ng bata ang babae*
PERF.VOL.PAT kick ERG child ABS woman
'The child kicked the woman.'

The single argument in the intransitive clause, *bata* ‘child’ is marked by *ang* and the same case marking system has been received by the patient argument of the transitive clause, *babae* ‘woman’. The focal point of the constructions seems to be on the two arguments in absolutive case as assigned by the affix of the verbs.

Philippine languages following an ergative pattern has also been the interpretation of Gerdts (1988) and De Guzman (1988). In her analysis of Ilocano using Relational Grammar theory, Gerdts came up with rules regarding the ergative analysis and passive analysis of the language. Furthermore, she also emphasized that the passive analysis faces major problems in accommodating the three types of Causative formed on notionally transitive embedded clause. In contrast, according to her, Causatives under the Ergative analysis can be handled in a direct manner. Finally, she concluded that the Ergative analysis was the most preferred analysis for Ilokano.

An interesting question is what is the syntactic control of Filipino as it displays a morphologically ergative system? Kroeger (1993) and Brainard (1994) for Karao (a Philippine language) claim that these languages operate on a nominative pattern of syntactic control. A very few Philippine languages including Sama (Trick, 1997) displays an ergative pattern of control. However, it has been explained (Comrie, 1978 and Dixon, 1979) that most morphologically ergative languages, syntactic processes follows a nominative pattern of control.

6. What is the pattern of syntactic control of Filipino control or equi-NP deletion?

Trick (1997) in his description of Equi-NP deletion of Sama Southern claimed that Filipino or Tagalog displayed a nominative pattern of syntactic control in control constructions. That is, only the single argument of an intransitive complement and subject of a transitive complement are deleted in the lower clause. Although this true of many ergative languages, in this paper I will prove that Filipino does not only operate on nominative pattern but on a mixed pattern of control as assigned by some semantic and syntactic constraints.

In Filipino, when the ergative argument of a matrix clause is the same with the single argument of the lower clause, the single argument is deleted, as in

- (26) *Gusto ko ang libro*
want 1SG.ERG ABS book
'I want the book.'

- (27) *Nagsa -sayaw ako araw-araw.*
ACT.IMPRF -dance 1SG.ABS everyday
'I dance everyday.'

- (28) *Gusto ko -ng mag -sayaw araw-araw.*
want 1SG.ERG LNK ACT -dance everyday
'I want to dance everyday.'

Sentences (26) and (27) illustrate how the two clauses are merged together and form one complex clause, (28). The verb *gusto* 'want' is an action verb that can take either an NP complement as shown in (26) or a clause complement as illustrated in (28). *Sayaw* 'dance', on the other hand, is also an action verb and requires a complement argument as shown in (27). When these two clauses are formed together, one core argument from the lower clause is deleted and this is believed to be coreferential with the argument of the matrix verb.

On the other hand, when the ergative argument of the lower clause is the same with the ergative argument of the matrix clause, the ergative argument from the linked clause is also deleted.

- (29) *Gusto ko ang libro*
want 1SG.ERG ABS book

‘I want the book.’
 Kinuha ko ang libro.

- (30) -in- -basa ko ang libro
 PERF.PAT.VOL read 1SG.ERG ABS book
 ‘I read the book.’

- (31) Gusto ko -ng basa -in ang libro.
 want 1SG.ERG LNK read PAT ABS book
 ‘I want to read the book.’

The examples presented show that the process of deletion has a nominative pattern of syntactic control which is true of many ergative languages. The semantic argument is but an actor in ergative case which is also the same with the syntactic argument in the matrix clause. This pattern of control is also common in Filipino constructions. Regardless of the syntactic functions of the deleted argument from the linked clause, non-subject actor in ergative case or ‘nominative’ actor (which is interpreted in this paper as an anti-passive construction), seems to be characterised by a semantic actor. This is illustrated below.

- (32) -in- -pilit niya ang bata -ng bukas -an ang pinto
 PERF.PAT.VOL -force 3SG.ERG ABS child -LNK open -PAT ABS door
 ‘He/She forced the child to open the door.’

- (33) nag -tangka siya -ng -um- -takas
 PERF.ACT.VOL -attempt 3SG.ERG -LNK ACT -escape
 ‘He/She attempted to escape.’

However, examples below show control constructions that operate on ergative pattern of control. The deleted argument in the linked clause which is a coreferential argument of the controller is a non-actor subject. Regardless of the syntactic function of the controller in the matrix clause, the linked clause has its own way of assigning a grammatical function to its deleted argument. This phenomenon can be initially interpreted to be triggered by the lexical semantics and syntactic constraints of the lower verbs. The deleted arguments are assigned to be non-actor subjects in absolutive case despite the fact that the matrix arguments are non-subject actors in ergative case.

- (34) naka...-an -sanay ko na -ng magpa gising
 PERF.PAT.NON-VOL used.to 1SG.ERG already -CLM ACT.VOL wake.up
 sa Nanay ng maaga
 DAT Mother OBL early

‘I become used to be wakened up by Mother early in the morning.’

- (35) -in- -tangka ko -ng magpa -pirma sa abogado
 PERF.PAT.VOL attempt 1SG.ERG -CLM ACT.VOL sign DAT lawyer

‘I attempted to be signed by the lawyer.’

- (36) na...-an -danas ni Ana -ng ma -sipa ng kabayo
 PERF.PAT.NON-VOL -experience ERG Ana -CLM ACT -kick OBL horse

‘Ana has experienced to be kicked by a horse.’

- (37) -in...-an -iwas ko -ng ma -tanong ng guro
 PERF.PAT.VOL avoid 1SG.ERG CLM ACT ask OBL teacher

‘I avoided to be asked by the teacher.’

In other sentences, both the controller and the deleted argument are subjects in the construction. Kroeger labelled this as functional construction in which the shared argument is assigned a grammatical relation by both matrix and lower verbs (Kroeger, 2004). The difference between two clauses is that the first clause, the matrix argument, can be realised by either an actor or a patient. In the same manner, the coreferential argument from the linked clause can also be realised by either a semantic actor or patient.

(38) Nag -pilit si Maria -ng bigay-an ng pera ni Ben

PERF.ACT.VOL-insist.on ABS Maria-CLM give -ACT OBL money ERG Ben

‘Maria insisted on being given money by Ben’ (Kroeger, 1993)

(39) nag -tangka ang babae -ng magpa-huli sa asawa.

PERF.ACT.VOL-attempt ABS woman-CLM PAT -catch DAT husband

‘The woman attempted to be caught by the husband.’

(40) na -himok si Jenny na magpa-kuha ng litrato.

PERF.ACT.VOL-persuade ABS Jenny CLM PAT -take OBL picture

‘Jenny was persuaded to be taken a picture.’

(41) Na -pilit ko siya -ng mag -sayaw.

PERF.PAT.VOL-force 1SG.ERG 1SG.ABS -CLM ACT -dance

‘I forced her to dance.’

The data show that Filipino does not only operate on nominative pattern but on mixed pattern of control. In some control constructions, the ergative argument of a transitive clause and the argument of a single-argument clause control the process, whereas for other sentences, it is the patient argument and the single argument of a transitive clause control the process.

7. What characterises controllers in Filipino control?

Controller as defined by Van Valin (2005) is the argument in the matrix core that is interpreted as being the same with the missing argument from the linked core. Controller plays a vital role in control construction, for this argument is the same with the missing argument from the linked clause which is interpreted to be a subject and therefore a grammatical relation. In an intransitive matrix clause, we can say that the controller is the sole argument by default. In transitive clauses, on the other hand, there will be some problems. Therefore, the issue that lies on controllers is which argument in a transitive matrix clause is the controller of the missing argument of the lower clause. Van Valin argued that controllers must be core arguments in the matrix clause. And this is true of many languages. However, I will present evidence that in some control constructions, controllers are realised not only by core arguments but also by non-core arguments of the matrix clause which will be discussed later in the paper.

(42) -in- pilit ko -ng bukas -an ang pinto

PERF.PAT.VOL -try 1SG.ERG -CLM open -PAT ABS door

‘I tried to open the door.’

(43) -in- hikayat ni Leo si Ana -ng -um- bili ng bahay

PERF.PAT.VOL- persuade ERG Leo ABS Ana-LNK ACT.VOL-buy OBL house

‘Leo persuaded Ana to buy a house.’

(44) nag -tangka ang bata -ng -um- takas

PERF.ACT.VOL -attempt ABS child -CLM ACT.VOL -escape

‘The child attempted to escape.’

The data presented above suggest that the controller can be realised syntactically by either a non-subject actor as exemplified by (42) and (44) or by a non-actor subject, exemplified by sentences (43). In (43) *-in* signals that the absolutive argument of the matrix clause is a patient; in (44), on the other hand, *mag-* signals that the absolutive argument is an agent.

7.1 Single-argument clause

In intransitive matrix clauses, there seems to be no problem identifying the controller because it will be the single argument by default. This argument, however, is realised semantically by an actor regardless whether it's a non-subject actor or a non-actor subject in the syntax, as illustrated in

- (45) *-in- -tangka niya -ng -um- -takas*
 PERF.PAT.VOL -attempt 3SG.ERG -CLM ACT -escape
 'He/ she attempted to escape.'

- (46) *Pinilit ni Mario na ipasa ang test*
-in- -pilit ni Mario na i -pasa ang test
 PERF.PAT.VOL try ERG Mario CLM PAT submit ABS test
 'Mario tried to submit the test.'

- (47) *nag -plano ako -ng -um - punta sa inyo*
 PERF.ACT.VOL -plan 1SG.ABS CLM ACT go DAT 3PL.OBL
 'I had planned to go to/ visit you.'

- (48) *-um- - subok si Lydia -ng -um- -kuha ng pera*
 PERF.ACT.VOL -try ABS Lydia -CLM ACT -get OBL money
 'Lydia tried to get money.'

The first two examples show syntactic controllers realised by non-subject actors as determined by the verbs. The verb infix *-in-* signals that the single arguments are agents in ergative case. When verbs, on the other hand, have actor focus, as exemplified in (47) and (48), the single arguments take the role of agents too but in absolutive case. The explanation lies on the semantic features of the verbs involved. Since this class of verbs requires a single argument in the main clause, this argument should also be realised by a semantic actor who will also instigate the said action in the linked clause as first presented by the matrix verb.

However, there is a special type of verb realised by *napilitan* ‘(complex)-forced’ which also requires a single argument in the main clause. This argument, however, takes the semantic role of a patient or undergoer instead of an actor in the syntax. This is illustrated below:

(49) na...-an -pilit ang bata -ng -um- sama sa babae

PERF.ACT.NON-VOL force ABS child –CLM ACT go.with DAT woman

‘The child was forced to go with a woman.’

(50) na...-an -pilit si Ana -ng -in -hiram ang pera ko

PERF.PAT.NON-VOL –force ABS Ana –CLM PAT barrow ABS money 1SG.GEN

‘Ana was forced to barrow my money’

In the two examples above, the single arguments *bata* ‘child’ and *Ana* take the role of a patient or undergoer in absolutive case as signalled by the verb affix *na...an*. This construction may be roughly interpreted to be a transitive construction whose actor argument is not overtly expressed in the syntax. However, examples in (51) and (52) show that this particular type of verb cannot have a syntactic argument in the same matrix clause. That will result in ungrammaticality regardless of the syntactic function and case of the said actor argument.

An alternative construction is given in (53) and (54), and we can say that with the verb *napilit* ‘be forced’ an actor argument can be syntactically expressed in the matrix clause. Therefore, we can say that *napilitan* ‘be forced’ and *napilit* ‘be forced’ have some syntactic differences. The first one only requires a single patient argument but does not need an actor to act on it. The second verb is almost the same with *napilitan* but it requires an actor argument in the clause.

(51) *na...-an -pilit ng babae ang bata na -um -sama sa
 PERF.PAT.NON-VOL -force ERG woman ABS child CLM ACT -go.with DAT
 kanya
 3SG.GEN

(52) *na...-an -pilit ang bata sa babae na -um -sama sa
 PERF.PAT.NON-VOL -force ABS child DAT woman CLM ACT go.with DAT
 kanya
 3SG.GEN

(53) na -pilit ang bata ng Nanay na -um -sama sa

 PERF.PAT.NON-VOL-force ABS child ERG mother CLM ACT -go.with DAT

 kanya
 3SG.GEN
 ‘The child was force by his mother to go with her.’

(54) na -pilit ko siya -ng -um -sama sa akin

 PERF.PAT.NON-VOL-force 1SG.ERG 3SG.ABS-CLM ACT go.with DAT 3SG.GEN

 ‘I forced her to go with me.’

In order to see the cause/ causer of the action with the verb *napilitan* ‘(complex)-be forced’, a sentential modifier will be needed before or after the basic control, as shown in (55) and (56). This leads us to conclusion that this particular verb is intransitive because there is no possibility to have two arguments in the same clause and if ever it will need an actor argument, it will be a sentential modifier in peripheral or non-core position.

(55) dahil sa kanya na...-an -pilit ako -ng -um -sama

Because DAT 3SG.GEN PERF.PAT.NON-VOL-force 1SG.ABS-CLM ACT go.with
 ‘Because of her/him, I was forced to go (with them).’

(56) na...-an -pilit ako -ng i -sama ang bata dahil sa

PERF.PAT.NON-VOL-force 1SG.ABS-CLM PAT-bring.along ABS child because DAT
 iyo

2SG.OBL

‘I was forced to bring along the child because of you.’

But which triggers the construction? Though the affix na...-an signals that the single argument is a patient, it does not guarantee that the construction is intransitive. With other verbs, like *sabi* ‘say’, when the affix na...-an is attached, these verbs still require an actor argument in the construction. With another group of verbs, as in sentences (57) and (58), when the affix na...-an is attached, the construction requires a single actor argument and not a patient.

(57) na...-an -sabi siya ni Larry na huwag pu -un
 PERF.ACT.NON-VOL-say 3SG.ABS ERG Larry CLM NEG CONTMPL-ACT
 punta sa party

go DAT party

‘Larry told him/her not to go to the party.’

(58) na...-an -hirap siya -ng -um -kuha ng papeles

PERF.ACT-have.a.hard.time 3SG.ABS -CLM ACT -get OBL documents

‘He/She had a hard time getting some documents.’

(59) na...-an-danas na niya-ng ma...-an sakit

PERF.ACT-experience already 3SG.ERG-CLM ACT-hurt

‘He/she experienced to be hurt (or pain).’

7.2 Anti-passive Constructions?

(60) nag -bilin si Maria kay Ben na I -kandado ang bahay
 PERF.ACT.ANTIPASS-instruct ABS Maria DAT Ben CLM PAT-lock ABS house
 ‘Maria instructed Ben to lock the house.’

(61) Nag -sabi ako sa kanya na bantayan ang mga bata.
PERF.ACT.ANTIPASS-say 1SG.ABS DAT 3SG.OBL CLM look.after ABS PL child
'I told him/her to look after the children'

(62) nag -utos ako kay Helen na -in -linis ang kwarto
PERF.ACT.ANTIPASS- instruct 1SG.ABS DAT Helen CLM PAT clean ABS room

‘I instructed Helen to clean the room’

- (63) Nagsabi ako kay Nanay na tirhan ako ng hapunan.

nag -sabi ako kay Nanay na bigay -an ako ng
PERF.ACT.ANTIPASS-ask 1SG.ABS DAT Mother CLM give PAT 1SG.ABS OBL
hapunun
dinner

‘I told Mummy to give me some dinner.’

Adjunct Fronting (Schachter and Otones, 1972; Kroger, 1993) construction is used to test whether a particular argument is core or non-core. It states that in Adjunct Fronting: (1) only non-core arguments can be fronted, (2) there is a lack of any pause or intonation break after the fronted element, and (3) clitic elements must immediately follow the fronted constituent. Examples below illustrate this.

- (64) kay Ben si Maria nag -bilin na i -kandado ang bahay.

DAT Ben ABS Maria PERF.ACT.ANTIPASS-instruct CLM Pat -lock ABS house
‘Maria instructed Ben to lock the house.’

- (65) sa kanya ako nag -sabi na bantay -an ang mga

DAT 3SG.OBL 1SG.ABS PERF.ACT.ANTPASS-say CLM look.after-PAT ABS PL
bata
child

‘I told him/her to look after the children’

- (66) kay Helen ako nag -utos na linis-in ang kwarto

DAT Helen 1SG.ABS PERF.ACT.ANTIPASS-instruct CLM clean-PAT ABS room
‘I instructed Helen to clean the room.’

(67) kay Nanay ako nag -sabi na bigay -an ako ng hapunan.

DAT Mother 1SG.ABS PERF.ACT-say CLM give -PAT 1SG.ABS OBL dinner

‘I told Mummy to give me some dinner.’

The data above prove that these non-subject patients are oblique. This type of construction is true for a certain group of jussive verbs like *bilin* ‘instruct’, *sabi* ‘say’ and , *utos* ‘command’. Since the verb affix *nag-* signals that the argument is an actor, it demotes the patient argument to an oblique argument position. The problem is when we omit the oblique argument the sentence becomes confusing, as shown

(68) ?nag -bilin si Charlie na i -kandado ang bahay
PERF.ACT.ANTIPASS-instruct ABS Charlie CLM PAT-lock ABS house

(69) ?nag -utos ang babae na punas -an ang mesa
PERF.ACT.ANTIPASS-instruct ABS woman CLM wipe -PAT ABS table

(70) ?nag -sabi siya -ng i -sayaw ang mga bata
PERF.ACT.ANTIPASS-say 3SG.ABS-CLM PAT dance ABS PL child

Sentences above show that unless these sentences are put in context, we can hardly identify who the controllee is, because the “syntactic identity” of the controllee is dependent on the oblique argument of the matrix clause. Omitting this argument from the main clause will lead us to some confusion. Another interesting idea is the fact that in most languages, controllers must be terms or core arguments (Van Valin, 1997) which is not true of these sentences.

I should say this is one typological characteristic of Filipino control. Syntactic constraints allow a non-core argument to be a controller but this argument despite its syntactic function cannot be immediately omitted from the construction because of its semantic relation to the lower clause. It’s the

semantic role as a patient that connects this patient argument to the lower clause in order to perform the necessary action. The presence of anti-passive constructions also proves that controllers are not grammatical relations but are characterised as macroroles.

8. Transitive clause

Determining the controller in single-argument control is not as problematic as it may seem as compared to transitive clauses. The controller is mostly realised by a semantic actor which in the syntax can be identified either as a non-subject actor or an actor subject. A special type of intransitive verbs requires a semantic patient but does not need a core actor argument.

Accounting for the controller in transitive matrix clauses poses more issues. If in an intransitive clause, the single argument is the controller by default, in a transitive clause, the problem will be which core argument functions as a controller in the syntax. Foley and Van Valin (1984) proposed a theory of obligatory control most especially in determining the controller in transitive clauses:

Theory of obligatory control:

1. Causative and jussive verbs have undergoer control.
2. All other (M-)transitive verbs have actor control.

The semantically based theory of control explains that causative and jussive verbs in the matrix clause have undergoer or patient control, whereas all other transitive verbs, like commissives, have actor control. Jussive verbs, for example, are the expression of command, request, or demand (Lyons, 1977). This class of verbs include *himok* 'persuade', *utos* 'order' *pilit* 'force', and *bilin* 'instruct'. Examples involving jussive verbs are illustrated below:

(71) pinag...an- bilin ni Nanay si Carlos na i- sara ang bahay
 PERF.PAT.VOL-instruct ERG Mother ABS Carlos CLM PAT close ABS house
 'Mother instructed Carlos to shut the house.'

(72) pinag...an -bawal ko ang anak ko -ng -um -punta sa bahay
 PERF.PAT.VOL-forbid 1SG.ERG ABS child 1SG.GEN-CLM ACT-go DAT house

nila

3SG.GEN

(73) -in -himok ko siya -ng -um -sali sa contest

PERF.PAT.VOL-persuade 1SG.ERG 3SG.ABS-CLM ACT -join DAT contest

‘I persuaded him/her to join the contest.’

(74) -in -pilit ni Charlie si Ben na punta -an si Melissa

PERF.PAT.VOL-force ERG Charlie ABS Ben CLM go -PAT ABS Melissa

‘Charlie forced Ben to go to Melissa.’

(75) Inutusan niya akong kumuha ng pera sa bangko.

-in...-an -utos niya ako -ng -um -kuha ng pera sa

PERF.PAT.VOL-instruct 3SG.ERG 1SG.ABS -CLM ACT -get OBL money DAT

bangko

bank

Examples (71) to (75) show that jussive verbs have patient or undergoer control. That is, the actor argument in the matrix clause acts on the semantic patient with the intention that the patient will participate in some action or event in the lower clause. The missing argument, therefore, from the linked clause must be the same with this patient argument. However, this semantic patient is expressed in the syntax as non-actor subject in absolutive case. What is interesting is the fact that even if the verb takes a *ma-* prefix, the controller will be the same, non-actor subject in absolutive case. The explanation lies on the semantic feature of the prefix *ma-* in control. Unlike some basic constructions, *ma-* prefix does not signal that the argument is actor, but rather, it denotes that the verb is marked for non-volitivity. This is shown below:

(76) napag...-an -bilin ko siya -ng i -sara ang bahay

PERF.PAT -instruct 1SG.ERG 3SG.ABS-CLM PAT -close ABS house

‘I instructed her/ him to close the door.’

(77) napag...-an -bawal ko si Jenny na ma -sigarilyo
 PERF.PAT -forbid 1SG.ERG ABS Jenny CLM ACT -cigarette
 'I forbade Jenny to smoke.'

(78) na-pilit ko siya-ng -um-sayaw
 PERF.PAT-force 1SG.ERG 3SG.ABS-CLM ACT-dance
 'I forced her to dance.'

(79) na...-an-utos ko siya-ng kuha-in ang pera
 PERF.PAT-command 1SG.ERG 3SG.ABS-CLM get-PAT ABS money
 'I commanded him/her to get the money.'

With non-jussive verbs, on the other hand, the controller is realised by a semantic actor. That is, the missing argument from the lower clause is the same with the non-subject actor in ergative case found in the main clause. The problem is that there seems to have two missing core arguments from the lower clause: the controllee of the semantic actor and another missing argument from the linked clause which is the same with the patient argument in the higher clause. Since the first missing argument from the linked clause is the same with the semantic actor in the main clause, this missing argument is interpreted to be the controllee. It cannot have any other arguments aside from the actor argument in the main clause. Now, since the matrix verbs are non-jussive, the semantic actor does not need to act on the patient, but rather, will perform some action in the lower clause which will also be received by the same patient argument. This is illustrated in sentences (80)

(80) pina...-an -pangako ni Ben ang bata -ng i -bi -bili ng laruan
 PERF.PAT -promise ERG Ben ABS child -CLM PAT -IMPRF -buy OBL toy
 'Ben promised the child to buy a toy for him/her.'

(81) pina...-an -pangako ni Ben ang bata na i -bi -bili niya / * ni
 PERF.PAT-promise ERG Ben ABS child CLM PAT-IMPRF-buy 3SG.ERG / * ERG
 Ben ng laruan
 Ben OBL toy
 'Ben promised the child to (he) buy a toy (for the child).'

- (82) pina...-an -pangako ni Ben ang bata na i -bi -bili ang bata / ito
 PERF.PAT-promise ERG Ben ABS child CLM PAT-IMPRF-buy ABS child / this
 ng laruan
 OBL toy
 ‘Ben promised the child to buy the child/ (this?) a toy

The examples given above show sentences whose missing arguments are overtly expressed in the syntax. I will interpret sentences (81) and (82) to have resumptive pronouns as discussed by Kroeger (1993). This will be seen if the pronouns are changed into proper nouns and that results in ungrammaticality. The missing argument then is realised by a semantic actor. The second missing argument, on the other hand, is deleted because of some discourse reference. This can be expressed in the syntax through the use of pronominals like *ito* ‘this’ (level of animacy) which refers to the patient in the main clause.

Conclusion

I have presented in the paper that Filipino operates on a mixed pattern of control. That is, in some constructions, the S of an intransitive clause and A of a transitive clause are missing from the linked clause; in other constructions, on the other hand, the S of a transitive clause and P of a transitive clause are deleted. Also, controllers are characterised in control not by grammatical relations but by macro roles.

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Verbal Co-indexing of Non-Nominatives in Southwest Palawano

Bill Davis and Ricardo Ma. Nolasco
University of the Philippines - Diliman

A major premise of most traditional analyses of Philippine languages, particularly the ‘focus’ analysis, is that there is always a privileged nominal argument which is co-indexed to the affix of the verb and this nominal argument consists of a nominatively-marked np, which consists of either a nominative pronoun or a noun which is marked by a nominative determiner-like particle similar to the Tagalog *ang* or *si*. The verbal affix is then said to identify the semantic role and grammatical core status of that privileged nominal. Another given is that the grammatically privileged argument of a transitive (or ‘non-actor focus’) verb in Philippine languages is by necessity the more patientive nominal (O) and that the more agentive nominal (A) is always realized in a non-nominative case, such as the genitive. This paper will point out some of the inadequacies of that analysis. It will demonstrate that some verbal *an* clauses in Southwest Palawano¹ do in fact have the following ‘aberrant’ features: (1) no nominatively-marked nominal is present, while a locatively-marked nominal is present and receives co-indexing from the verb; and, in some cases (2) a nominatively-marked nominal is present but refuses co-indexing from the verb. The semantic and pragmatic motivations for these constructions will be explored, together with their implications to theory and to typology.

1. Introduction

This paper will be organized as follows. In Section §2, we will give a short note on Southwest Palawano and where it is spoken. Section §3 will state the issues which is the subject of this paper. Section §4 we will discuss the assumed normal pattern for verbal clauses in Philippine languages, giving examples of how Tagalog, Southwest Palawano and other languages illustrate the pattern of having an obligatory, nominatively-marked NP which is co-indexed with the verbal affixation. Examples will be given of the few widely known patterns which are exceptions to this norm. Section §5 gives a brief overview of Palawano syntax and will provide a basis of understanding the phenomena to be described in this paper. Then in Section 6 we will show how in some cases Palawano departs from the expected pattern in ways which cannot simply be considered another mere exception to the rule. Examples will be given, along with our analysis of the Palawano data. In Section §7, we will give our conclusions and discuss the implications of these Palawano data on the analysis of other Philippine languages.

2. Ethnographic and Geographic Summary

Southwest Palawano is a Philippine-type language spoken by approximately 11,000 speakers on the southern end of the island of Palawan in the Philippines. It is one of three Palawano languages listed in the Ethnologue, the other two being Central (a.k.a. “Northern” or “Quezon”) Palawano, and Brooke’s Point Palawano .

Southwest Palawano (‘Palawano’ hereafter in this paper) is a right-branching Austronesian language with ergative alignment which falls within what are often called ‘Philippine type’ languages. It is one of at least six members of the Palawanic microgroup of the Greater Central Philippines subgroup (Blust 1991). The geographical range of Southwest Palawano covers the southern tip of the island of Palawan as far north as Tarusan on the east side of the central mountain range, and the entire municipality of Rizal on the west side of the island.

1

3. Statement of the Issue

There is a universally noted feature in the basic clause of Philippine languages of a nominatively-marked, privileged nominal argument. This argument, its role, and its status as a grammatical relation, are at the center of much of the debate about the syntax of Philippine languages. It is argued vigorously in the literature whether this privileged argument is a subject, a topic, a purely syntactic entity, or some kind of hybrid. Many terms are used to describe this argument, including ‘topic,’ ‘subject,’ ‘focused noun phrase,’ ‘(syntactic) pivot,’ ‘absolutive’ and even ‘*ang* phrase,’ which is simply a theory-neutral reference to its form in Tagalog. But all analyses note the obligatory nature of this privileged argument in Philippine-type grammar except in a few syntactically unusual patterns, such as in the atransitive meteorological phenomena; in pure existentials, where there is no nominatively-marked argument; and, in the recently completive constructions and exclamations, where the only nominal argument is in the genitive case.

However, Southwest Palawano has a common set of verbal clause constructions with *-an* verbs² where no NOM is present. The NP which is co-indexed to the verbal affixation in these clauses shows up in the locative case. These constructions contrast in meaning with identical constructions where the expected NOM is both present and is the NP which is co-indexed to the verbal affixation. This phenomenon contradicts the commonly held view regarding Philippine syntax as described above. The basis of the distinction between these parallel *-an* verb clauses is one of semantics, which determines which locative adjuncts may be promoted to core (O) NOM, and which may not. The unique feature of Southwest Palawano is that those locative adjuncts which do not promote to NOM, behave as would be expected of NOM(O): they are co-indexed with the verbal affix *-an*, and they may be clefted. There is also a typologically interesting phenomenon where the GEN agent pronoun of such a NOM-less clause changes to nominative case when it is attracted to second position.

4. Co-indexing of NOM to the Verbal Affix as Normally Seen in Philippine Languages

The focus analysis of Philippine languages depends on the obligatory co-indexing of the NOM to the verbal ‘focus’ affix, which in turn is said to indicate the semantic role of the NOM argument. The following Tagalog examples are representative:

(1) Tagalog

- a. *Nagtanim=sila ng mais sa lupa na iyan.*
<AF>plant =NOM.3P GEN corn LOC soil LNK that
‘They planted corn on that land.’
- b. *Itinanim=nila ang mais sa lupa na iyan.*
<IF>plant=GEN.3P NOM corn LOC soil LNK that
‘They planted the corn on that land.’
- c. *Tinaniman=nila ng mais ang lupa na iyan.*
<DF>plant=GEN.3P GEN corn NOM soil LNK that
‘They planted corn on that land.’

² These verb forms are typically called “locative/direction/referent focus” or “limited affect.”

In the focus analysis, the NOM pronoun *silá* ('they') in (1a) is said to be co-indexed to an 'actor focus' verbal affix, which indicates that the NOM argument has the semantic role of actor. In (1b) the 'object focus' affix indicates that the NOM *ang mais* ('the corn') has the semantic role of object. And in (1c), the 'direction focus' affix indicates that the NOM *ang lupa* ('the land') has the semantic role of or goal or location.

Southwest Palawano follows this pattern, as well, as shown in the following examples:

(2) Southwest Palawano

a. *Negtambak ey mēge subor et graba eset legwas=ko.*

<AF>pile NOM PLZR young.men OBL gravel LOC yard=GEN.1S

'They planted corn on that land.'

b. *Itinambak et mēge subor ey graba eset legwas=ko.*

<IF>pile GEN PLZR young.men NOM gravel LOC yard=GEN.1S

'They planted corn on that land.'

c. *Tinembakan et mēge subor et graba ey legwas=ko.*

<DF>pile GEN PLZR young.men OBL gravel NOM yard=GEN.1S

'They planted corn on that land.'

As stated in the preceding section, there are a few syntactic patterns in Tagalog and some other Philippine languages, including Southwest Palawano, where there is no NOM to be co-indexed with the verbal affix.

(3) Tagalog

Umulan kahapon.

<AF>rain yesterday

'It rained yesterday.'

(4) Southwest Palawano

Duminres bo nepalid ey sakeb et benwa=kay.

<AF>wind and <POT.PF>blow.away NOM ridge.cap GEN house=GEN.1x

'The wind blew and the ridge cap of our house blew away.'

Atransitive constructions such as meteorological verbs (3 and 4) have no expressed actor and therefore no NOM to co-index with the verbal affix.

(5) Tagalog

Kararating=lang-nila kaninang alas singko.

<RECENT>arrive=just=GEN.3P earlier-LNK o'clock five

'They just arrived at five o'clock.'

Tagalog's 'recently-completed past' constructions in (5) is indicated by the prefix *ka-* plus CV2 reduplication of the verb root. The actor of the verb is realized in genitive form.

(6) Tagalog

Kay sarap ng adobo ni Ka Loling!
how deliciousness GEN adobo GEN honorific Loling
'Auntie Loling's adobo is really good!'

Similarly, Tagalog exclamations such as (6) have only a genitive marked argument.

(7) Tagalog

Walang tao doon.
none<LNK> person yonder
'There are no people there.'

(8) Southwest Palawano

Meinit lalo tiban!
hot very today
'It's very hot today!'

Indefinite existentials in both Tagalog (7) and Southwest Palawano (8) have no NOM argument.

5. Overview of Southwest Palawano Case Marking and Verbal Clauses

We will now give a brief overview of Southwest Palawano case marking and verbal clauses. Space does not permit a detailed description in this paper. Davis (to be published) will provide more detail, with examples of Palawano grammar. Enough data will be shown here to provide a context for the examples cited and the analysis of Southwest Palawano verbal co-indexing presented here. Differentiating the cases in Southwest Palawano is important to an understanding of core, extension-to-core and adjunct clausal elements.

Typically, Tagalog and many other Philippines languages are analyzed as having 3 morphologically-marked cases: NOMINATIVE, GENITIVE and LOCATIVE/OBLIQUE. Hsiu-chuan Liao (2008, pers. communication) questions this analysis for Tagalog and posits another case form. She makes a distinction between core arguments (A) marked with genitive case, and extension-to-core arguments (E) which are marked with oblique case. She notes that while Tagalog common nouns are headed by the same form *ng* in both the genitive and oblique cases, the position occupied by *ng*-marked oblique NPs cannot be filled by genitive pronouns or personal nouns headed by genitive *ni*.

We propose a similar four-case analysis for Southwest Palawano, as it better explains the distinction between core and extension-to-core arguments. This distinction is vital to our analysis of the co-indexation of nominal arguments and the verbal affixation in Southwest Palawano verbal clauses.

6. Southwest Palawano Pronouns

The necessity of distinguishing four cases in Southwest Palawano is more clearly seen in the pronouns, where 2S and 2P contrast in all four cases.

Fig. 1 Southwest Palawano personal pronouns (data from Davis 2008, to be published)

		Nominative		Genitive	Oblique	Locative
		(heavy / free)	(light / bound)	(light / bound)	(free)	(free)
1sg	[+me, -you, -AUG]	ako	ko	Ko	daken / dag	eset² daken
2sg						
2sg	[-me, +you, -AUG]	ikew	ke	Mo	dimo	eset dimo
3sg	[-me, -you, -AUG]	Ya	Ø / (ye/ya¹)	Ye	kenye	eset kenye
1dl.incl	[+me, +you, -AUG]	kite	te	Te	kite	eset kite
1pl.incl	[+me, +you, +AUG]	kiteyo	teyo	Teyo	kiteyo	eset kiteyo
1pl.excl	[+me, -you, +AUG]	kami	kay	Kay	damen	eset damen
2pl	[-me, +you, +AUG]	kemuyo	kew	Muyo	dimuyo	eset dimuyo
3pl	[-me, -you, +AUG]	diye	diye	Diye	kedye	eset kedye

¹normally, bound/light NOM3S is <zero>; some speakers accept *ye* as light/bound NOM3S in contexts, while most do not; some substitute heavy/free NOM3S *ya*.

²*eset* (from *esen* ‘there’ + *et*) is the most commonly occurring form, but any of the locative adverbs (e.g. *ato* ‘here,’ *doon* ‘yonder,’ etc.) may be used to form a LOC+*et* locative preposition.

Fig. 1 shows that Southwest Palawano distinguishes four cases based on morphological form. The cases are distinguished as well by semantics and syntactic distribution. The cases are NOMINATIVE, GENITIVE, OBLIQUE and LOCATIVE. Nominative case is typically used to mark core nominal NPs which are the NOM of their respective clauses (regardless of macrorole), whether (S) or (O). The nominative case also marks predicate nominals and left-dislocated core NPs which have been topicalized or focused in a cleft construction. Genitive case marks the core argument (A). Oblique case marks extension-to-core arguments, which may be promoted to NOM (o). Locatively-marked NPs are non-core (ADJUNCT); some may be promoted to core (NOM) and co-indexed with the *-an* affix of the verb. Other locative adjuncts are blocked from being promoted to NOM and yet they are co-indexed with the verbal affix *-an*, and may be clefted, which is typically only possible with a nominative-marked NOM core argument.

The four cases of Southwest Palawano are more clearly differentiated in the pronouns and personal nouns, as there is overlap of forms in the genitive and oblique common noun phrase markers.

Fig. 2 Southwest Palawano Personal and Common Noun Case Marking (data from Davis 2008, to be published)

Personal Noun Phrase Markers or Determiners

	NOM	GEN	OBL	LOC
sg	<i>si</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>(et) ki</i>	<i>eset ki</i>
pl	<i>de</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>(et) kide</i>	<i>eset kide</i>

Common Noun Phrase Markers or Determiners

	NOM	GEN	OBL	LOC
Sg	<i>ey</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>LOC + et</i>
Pl	<i>ey mēge</i>	<i>et mēge</i>	<i>et mēge</i>	<i>LOC + et mēge</i>

(Fig. 2) shows the phrase markers³ (PMS) or determiners (DET) of Southwest Palawano. The distinction between genitive and oblique case is blurred with common nouns, since both the genitive and the oblique case are headed by the same form, the PM *et*. In addition, as shown in Section the locative case may disform to oblique case when no other oblique (E) is present. But only the locative case is consistently and unambiguously locative and adjunct.

The locative case is formed by creating a complex propositional phrase. A locative adverb is placed before an oblique pronoun or an oblique NP. In oblique case, the PM *et*, normally optional before pronouns and personal NPs, becomes obligatory when forming locative case. Typically the locative adverb and the oblique PM *et* contract:

	LOC	+		oblique PM <i>et</i>	+	oblique pronoun
	<i>ato</i>		+	<i>et</i>		
		+	<i>daken</i>			
	here	+		OBL		
+		OBL.1S				
		‘(here) with/at me’				
	<i>esen</i>	+		<i>et</i>		
		+	<i>ki</i>			<i>Jun</i>
	there	+		OBL		
+		OBL.PERS				
		‘(there) with/to Jun’				
	<i>doon</i>	+		<i>et</i>		
		+	<i>danom</i>			
	yonder	+		OBL		+
	water					
		‘(there) at the river’				

The genitive case marks the more agentive core nominal (A) of a transitive clause. Genitive case is never used to mark extension-to-core nominals or adjuncts. This is clearly proven by the fact that only oblique and locatively-marked pronouns are found in these positions.

The Southwest Palawano genitive case marks the more agentive argument (A) of a transitive verb, as seen in (9) and (10).

(9) Southwest Palawano

Diki ne-seod-an=mo ba embe ey danom.
 NEG POT.PF.PRF-know-RV=GEN.2S if where NOM water
 ‘You did not know where (+/- the) water was.’?

³ These are often called determiners, phrase markers. Space does not permit a discussion of the theoretical issues involved. We will use the more theoretically neutral “phrase marker” (PM).

(10) **Southwest Palawano**

Diki nepe-iskol=ko et ama=ko.

NEG POT~CAU.PF-school=GEN.1S GEN father=GEN.1S

‘My father did not send me to school.’

In verbal clauses, the oblique case marks non-core arguments with a wide range of semantic theme roles, but only one syntactic role, which is that of (E) (extension-to-core nominal). Oblique case in intransitive⁴ clauses marks indefinite or partitive patient/undergoer, instrument, theme and beneficiary. In transitive clauses, the oblique case marks extension-to-core (E) arguments with theme roles such as patient, theme, instrument and beneficiary.

(11) **Southwest Palawano**

Tinigbas=ko et tukew.

<OF>chop=GEN.1S OBL machete.

‘I chopped it with a machete.’

(12) **Southwest Palawano**

Inlen ni Rudi et karbew ey pirak et pengrabas=ye.

<IF>buyGEN Rudi OBL water.buffalo NOM silver GEN GER-slash=GEN.3S

‘Rudi bought a water buffalo with the money from his work clearing brush.’

Locative case is used to explicitly mark adjuncts with the semantic theme roles of source, goal or location. However, in the absence of an oblique (E) complement, a locative adjunct may be disformed into the oblique case form. This disformation will be demonstrated in examples provided in Section 7.

(13) **Southwest Palawano**

Megdagang=ke et karbew eset taaw.

<AF>sell=NOM.2S GEN water.buffalo LOC person

‘You will sell a water buffalo to a person.’

(14) **Southwest Palawano**

Ipegdagang=mo et taaw.

<IF>sell=GEN.2S GEN person

‘You will sell it to a person.’

In (13), the goal is explicitly locative, whereas in (14), the goal *taaw* (‘person’) has been deformed from explicit locative case to oblique.

⁴ Often referred to as actor-focus, antipassive, etc.

7. Comparative Examples: Southwest Palawano and Tagalog

All examples below are affixed with *-an* and therefore in ‘direction/location focus’ according to the traditional ‘focus’ analysis which we are challenging here. Examples are given below in a simple, consistent frame with pronominal (A) in second person to disambiguate the case. In each example (a), a NOM will be present which is co-indexed to the verbal affix *-an*. In each example (b), no NOM will be present and a locatively-marked adjunct is co-indexed to the verbal affix. In each case, compare the Tagalog, where there is no such distinction and (d) is therefore ungrammatical.

(15) Southwest Palawano

- | | | |
|----|---------------------|--------------|
| a. | <i>Edungan=mo</i> | <i>itue.</i> |
| | sit-DF=GEN.2S | this.NOM |
| | ‘Sit on this.’ | |
| b. | <i>Edungan=mo</i> | <i>ato.</i> |
| | sit-DF=GEN.2S | here.LOC |
| | ‘Sit here/on this.’ | |

Tagalog

- | | | |
|----|---------------------|--------------|
| c. | <i>Upuan=mo</i> | <i>ito.</i> |
| | sit-DF=GEN.2S | this.NOM |
| | ‘Sit on this.’ | |
| d. | <i>*Upuan=mo</i> | <i>dito.</i> |
| | sit-DF=GEN.2S | here.LOC |
| | ‘Sit here/on this.’ | |

(16a) refers to a finite, moveable object such as a chair. (16b) refers to a floor or something such as a permanently mounted bench.

(17) Southwest Palawano

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------|--------------|
| a. | <i>Suratan=mo</i> | <i>itue.</i> |
| | write-DF=GEN.2S | this.NOM |
| | ‘Write on this.’ | |
| b. | <i>Suratan=mo</i> | <i>ato.</i> |
| | write-DF=GEN.2S | here.LOC |
| | ‘Write here/on this.’ | |

Tagalog

- | | | |
|----|---------------------|--------------|
| c. | <i>Sulatan=mo</i> | <i>ito.</i> |
| | write-DF=GEN.2S | this.NOM |
| | ‘Sit on this.’ | |
| d. | <i>*Sulatan=mo</i> | <i>dito.</i> |
| | write-DF=GEN.2S | here.LOC |
| | ‘Sit here/on this.’ | |

(17a) refers to a goal such as a single sheet of paper. (17b) refers to a wall, chalkboard, or a book. (17b) would be used to command someone to write somewhere in a book or notebook; (a) would be used to command someone to write on a loose piece of paper or a particular page in the book.

(18) **Southwest Palawano**

- a. *Luakan=mo* *itue.*
plant-DF=GEN.2S this.NOM
'Plant in this.'
- b. *Luakan=mo* *ato.*
plant-DF=GEN.2S here.LOC
'Plant here/in this.'

Tagalog

- c. *Taniman=mo* *ito.*
plant-DF=GEN.2S this.NOM
'Plant in this.'
- d. **Taniman=mo* *dito.*
plant-DF=GEN.2S here.LOC
'Plant here/in this.'

(18a) refers to a finite, moveable goal such as a flower pot. (18b) refers to a garden. (18a) could be used to command someone to plant in a finite section of a garden which had been demarcated with bamboo borders. (18b) would refer either to the entire garden, or to the garden without any reference to a specific part of the garden.

(19) **Southwest Palawano**

- a. *Dipagan=mo* *itue.*
cross-DF=GEN.2S this.NOM
'Cross in/on this.'
- b. *Dipagan=mo* *ato.*
cross-DF=GEN.2S here.LOC
'Cross here/in/on this.'

Tagalog

- c. *Tawiran=mo* *ito.*
cross-DF=GEN.2S this.NOM
'Cross in/on this.'
- d. **Tawiran=mo* *dito.*
cross-DF=GEN.2S here.LOC
'Cross here/in/on this.'

(19a) refers to a manmade, moveable means of crossing a river such as a bridge or a boat. (19b) refers to a permanently situated ford on the river.

(20) **Southwest Palawano**

- a. *Beyaan=mo* *itue.*
accompany-DF=GEN.2S this.NOM
'Take/ride in this.'
- b. *Beyaan=mo* *ato.*
accompany-DF=GEN.2S here.LOC
'Take/follow this (route).'

(20a) refers to a finite, moveable means of transportation such as a bus or boat. (20b) refers to a fixed route such as a trail or street. As far as we know, there is no Tagalog counterpart for these constructions. (But look at 22,)

(21) Southwest Palawano

- a. *Timbunan=mo itue et graba.*
 pile-DF=GEN.2S this.NOM OBL gravel
 ‘Pile gravel on this.’
- b. *Timbunan=mo et graba ato.*
 cross-DF=GEN.2S OBL gravel here.LOC
 ‘Pile’

Tagalog..

- c. *Tambakan=mo ito (ng graba).*
 pile-DF=GEN.2S this.NOM
 ‘Pile in/on this.’
- d. *Tambakaan=mo ng graba dito.*
 ‘Pile here.LOC OBL gravel here.LOC
 ‘Pile here/on this.’
- e. *Tambakan mo dito sa parteng ito.,*
 pile-DF=GEN. here on this part. LOC

(21a) refers to piling gravel to cover or fill an entire spot, for example cover a yard evenly with 10 cm of gravel or filling a ditch. (21b) refers to making a pile somewhere in the yard, but not covering the entire yard. In the foregoing examples, it is only in (21d) and (21e) that the Tagalog verb *tambakan* seems to co-index an argument which is not in the absolutive case. The meaning in these examples corresponds closely those of the Southwest Palawano examples!

In the Southwest Palawano examples above (15-21) it becomes clear that in these clauses, the language makes a distinction between adjunct NPs which may be promoted to core (O) NOM, and those which remain locative. The *-an* verbal affix carries the local affect feature. That is, the *-an* verb ‘imply that their undergoer is an entity that is only partly, not entirely affected, or only whose surface is affected, or the end point of the action, the place to which or from which some other entity is directed.’ (Reid & Liao, 2004.) Nonetheless, the adjuncts which may be promoted to NOM are more (O)-like; they refer to actants which are more fully affected, and often, one which is manmade or potentially more easily manipulated by the volitional (A) of the clause. They describe the actant which is affected by the action. However those adjunct NPs which remain locative are those which are semantically a location or a setting; they define the scope within which the action takes place, rather than referring to an entity which is affected. The same is also true in the Tagalog example in (21d) and (e) where the locative marked entity is only partly affected.

Southwest Palawano is arguably unique among Philippine languages in that it allows these locative adjuncts to co-index with the verbal affix while not allowing them to be promoted to NOM and core (O) status; these adjuncts then remain in locative case and do not receive nominative case. This phenomenon leaves these common verbal clauses with no NOM, which is also typologically unique.

The Southwest Palawano pattern becomes even more clear in clauses with 3-place predicates, and in examples involving the beneficiary theme role.

(22) **Southwest Palawano**

- a. *Inlen=mo* *eset* *kenye*.
 buy-PF=GEN.2S LOC OBL.3S
 ‘You bought it from him.’
- b. *Inlen=mo* *kenye*.
 buy-PF=GEN.2S OBL.3S
 ‘You bought it from/for him.’
- c. *Inlen=mo* *et* *begas* *eset* *kenye*.
 buy-PF=GEN.2S OBL rice LOC OBL.3S
 ‘You bought rice from him.’

In (22a), *eset kenye* is explicitly locative and requires an interpretation of having the theme role of source. In (22b), however, the meaning is ambiguous. The oblique pronoun can be interpreted as beneficiary or as source. Apart from the discourse and situation context, it is unclear whether the oblique is an extension-to-core beneficiary (E), or whether it is an adjunct (SOURCE) which has disformed from locative to oblique case in the absence of an overt oblique (E). When the role of instrument is explicit as in (22c), the presence of the oblique theme (E), the adjunct source cannot disform to oblique; it remains explicitly locative.

The oblique beneficiary is proven to be extension-to-core (E) in that it may be promoted to core (NOM) when the verb is affixed with *-an*:

(23) **Southwest Palawano**

- a. *Inlen=mo* *kenye*.
 buy-PF=GEN.2S OBL.3S
 ‘You bought it for him.’
 ‘You bought it from him.’
- b. *Inlenan=mo* *ya*.
 buy<DF>=GEN.2S NOM.3S
 ‘You bought (something) for him.’
 #‘You bought (something) from him.’

The oblique 3S pronoun in (23a) may be promoted to core (O) NOM with the *-an* affix, as seen in (23b). The NOM.3S in (23b), which is co-indexed to the verbal affix cannot be interpreted as source. Source theme role is always an adjunct and therefore cannot be promoted to core (NOM). However, we are demonstrating here that Southwest Palawano adjunct (SOURCE) may be co-indexed to the verbal affix while retaining locative case, as in (23c):

- c. *Inlenan=mo* *kenye.*
 buy-DF=GEN.2S OBL.3S
 ‘You bought (something) from him.’

The typologically unusual nature of Southwest Palawano adjuncts in these clauses is further demonstrated with clefting. Typically, Tagalog and other Philippine languages allow left dislocation of adjuncts for pragmatic focus. But only the NOM (O) of a transitive clause may be clefted.

(24) Tagalog

- a. *Binili=ko* *ito* *sa* *kanya.*
 buy-OF=GEN.1S this.NOM LOC LOC.3S
 ‘I bought this from him.’
- b. *Sa* *kanya=ko* *ito* *binili*
 LOC LOC.3S=GEN.1S this.NOM buy-OF
 ‘I bought this from him (and no one else).’
- c. *Ito* *ang* *binili=ko* *sa* *kanya.*
 NOM.this NOM buy-OF=GEN.1S LOC LOC.3S
 ‘This (not that) is what I bought from him.’
- d. *Siya* *ang* *binilhan=ko* *nito.*
 NOM.3S NOM buy-DF=GEN.1S this.GEN
 ‘He is the one I bought this from (and no one else).’
- e. **Sa* *kanya* *ang* *binilhan=ko* *nito.*
 LOC LOC.3S NOM buy-DF=GEN.1S this.GEN
 ‘I bought this from him (and no one else).’

In (24b) the adjunct is left dislocated for pragmatic focus. The NOM is clefted in (24c) and (24d). But (24e) is ungrammatical because the locative adjunct may not be clefted in Tagalog.

In Southwest Palawano, NOM may be clefted, as expected. But locative adjuncts which are co-indexed to the verbal affix *-an* may be also clefted.

(25) Southwest Palawano

- a. *Dipagan=mo* *itue.*
 cross-DF=GEN.2S this.NOM
 ‘Cross in/on this.’
- b. *Itue* *ey* *dipagan=mo.*
 this.NOM NOM cross-DF=GEN.2S
 ‘Cross here/in/on this (not that).’
- c. *Dipagan=mo* *ato.*
 cross-DF=GEN.2S this.LOC
 ‘Cross in/on this.’
- d. *Ato* *ey* *dipagan=mo.*
 this.LOC NOM cross-DF=GEN.2S
 ‘Cross here/in/on this (not there/in/on that)’

So it is not only the NOM which may be clefted, but rather whichever nominal is co-indexed to the verbal affix which in some instances may be a locatively-marked adjunct. It must be also noted however, that Tagalog examples (21d) and (e) can likewise be clefted.

(26) Tagalog

a. *Dito ang tambakan mo ng graba.*
 this.LOC NOM pile-DF=GEN.2S gravel. OBL

b. *Dito sa parteng ito ang tambakan mo ng graba.*
 this.LOC on this part here NOM pile-DF=GEN.2S gravel. OBL

8. Summary and conclusion

We see one basic issue here in the above examples. The promotion to NOM and as nominative of non-core arguments appears to favor the extension-to-core oblique. It seems that the locatives which are more object/patient-like, more finite, moveable, alienable and fully affected may promote, but the more source-like, goal-like and location-like arguments don't. These locatives however remain co-indexed to the –an.

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VISUAL LITERATURE AND SIGN LANGUAGE LINGUISTICS

Perpilli Vivienne A. Tiongson and Liza B. Martinez, Ph.D.
Philippine Deaf Resource Centre, Inc.
pdrc@phildeafres.org

Visual Literature, or Visuature (Peters, 2001), refers to the literature of Deaf people, also known as Sign Language Literature, Sign Literature or Deaf Literature. There have been many breakthroughs in the study of Visuature, especially in American and British Literatures, on which more and more critical works are being produced. In American Sign Language (ASL) Poetry alone, academic and scholarly discussions abound, beginning with the pioneering research work of Clayton Valli in the 1960's. His interest in poetry led him to study the linguistic properties of the language as used in poetry, turning to traditional (read: hearing) poetic terminology and features in describing ASL poetry.¹ Concepts such as rhyme, rhythm, meter, line, stanza and metaphor were redefined as to their use in reference to ASL Poetry.

In the Philippines, Tiongson and Martinez's (2008) paper entitled, "Filipino Sign Language (FSL) Literature: Expanding the Definition of Philippine Literature," explored FSL Literature not only as an "imitation of a hearing tradition but the practice of a new, authentic mode of expression" furthering the Filipino Deaf identity. They demonstrated how FSL Literature challenged the traditional definitions of Philippine Literature to include works of a visual nature, and works on the Filipino Deaf culture and experience.

¹ Valli's most noted work is "The Nature of the Line in ASL Poetry." SLR '87 Papers from the Fourth International Symposium on Sign Language Research. Eds. W. H. Edmondson and F. Karlsson. Hamburg: Signum Press, 1990.

Yet a number of these attempts seem to be only mimicry of ASL forms (such as ABC or number stories) so far. This is because the history of FSL is heavily marked by heavy language contact and exposure to Americans, ASL and ASL literature in the last 100 years. The year 2007 marked the centennial of the introduction of ASL in the Philippines through the government formal educational system. This early wave of influence was described by Martinez (PDRC & PFD 2004a: 157) in tracing the timeline of the development of FSL. Through the entire century and particularly through the 70's to the 80's which was a period of heavy language contact, the impact of this mother sign language is strongly reflected in the structure as well as attitudes toward the local visual language, i.e. FSL.

Proving the distinction of FSL from ASL is a continuing research endeavor. This was initiated by the pioneering linguistics reference *An Introduction to Filipino Sign Language* (PDRC & PFD, 2004 a, b, c) which identified key directions for future research in structural and sociolinguistics.

All these linguistic issues have a great deal to do with the emerging visual literature in the country. As was revealed by Tiongson's inquiries into the area, Sign Language Linguistics played a crucial role in the fields of Visuatute and Sign Language. While Visuatute, or Sign Language Literature, in the experience of the West, was used to validate the validity of Sign Language, this was only made possible through Sign Language Linguistics – a new site of knowledge which developed as a result of the need to validate Sign Language, and which bridged the gap between language and science. (Tiongson & Martinez, 2008) Thus, the first critics of creative works were actually linguists who were looking at the linguistic and aesthetic properties of the language. (Bauman, 2007)

It was inevitable then, that research and discourse in these two fields of interest – Visuature and SL Linguistics - would flourish. Apart from the pioneering research of Martinez on the sociolinguistics and structures of FSL (1993, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1996), other works and efforts include the Philippine Federation of the Deaf's Practical Dictionaries for Asian-Pacific Sign Languages, which documents regional variation and history of the use of SL in the regions; the 9th Philippine Linguistics Congress in 2006, which featured a special plenary of papers covering several topics on FSL; and the *Status Report on the Use of Sign Language in the Philippines* by the National Sign Language Committee which was recently published.

On the other hand, efforts in visual literary criticism is still young; however, discourse is slowly moving from a question of existence and poetics of Visuature (Klima & Bellugi, 1979; Sutton-Spence & Woll, 1998; Bauman, 2007), to questions of politics and modes of production. (Peters, 2001; Bauman, 2004; Smith & Bienvenu, 2007) But despite the growing body of scholarly work in these fields, no formal "Deaf theories" have been articulated or posited. (Tiongson & Martinez, 2008)

Notwithstanding, Smith and Bienvenu note that "informal and formal efforts to name and describe the Deaf experience(s)... have been undertaken around the world for years." (2007) In their attempt to articulate a "Deaf Theory" of sorts, Smith and Bienvenu look at feminist theory – its evolution over time and the concept of "difference" as an integral component – and how the Deaf experience presents many striking similarities. Benjamin Fraser's "Deaf Cultural Production in Twentieth-Century Madrid" traces the process of identity formation among Spanish Deaf through cultural studies of film, theater and visual poetry.

However, Brown notes that, despite the thriving critical discourse, efforts are still predominantly hearing-based, making such discourses audist in practice.

For example, Brown (2001) cites how Valli's works on meter and line can be problematic "particularly when he tries to fit ASL poetry into the framework of English poetry." In determining line breaks, Valli describes a variety of features that can be used: "long line-end pause, eyebrow shift, eye gaze shift, head shift, body shift, location change, movement path change, handshape change, handedness change, and/or end-rhyme." Bauman (1998) further problematizes this:

[What is] troubling is the way in which Valli uncritically adopts the signifier of "literature," overlooking the fact that "literature" has been formed within hegemonic practices of spoken and written languages. As the linear model is the structural embodiment of hearing forms of literature, Valli's concept of the "line" places Sign literature directly within a phonocentric/audist tradition....Rather than adopting the linear model based on rhymes, meter, Sign criticism may now see that the line, like all other literary concepts, is not a neutral standard by which "literariness" should be judged. (p. 41)

Other linguists and scholars who have articulated different types of poetics include Geoffrey Leech, who used linguistic principles to describe deviations in the use of ASL which he called "foregrounding;" Ed Klima and Ursulla Bellugi, who identified a three-part poetic structure in the performance of creative signing in ASL; Cynthia Peters, who talked about Deaf American Literature as minority literature; and H-D Bauman, who used cinematic terminologies to analyze ASL poetry. (Tiongson & Martinez)

What exactly makes for audist practices? What is audism?

Simply put, audism refers to the discrimination of Deaf people. It was coined by a Deaf scholar, Tom Humphries, (Bauman 2004) in 1975 in his still unpublished essay, "Audism: The making of a word." In this essay, Humphries describes audism to be the "notion that one is superior based on one's ability to hear or behave in the manner of one who hears." This definition describes the attitudes and behavior of most people who assume that being hearing is superior over being Deaf. Thus, they judge people's intelligence on the basis of their ability in the language of the hearing culture, the spoken languages. They assume that a Deaf person's happiness depends on the possibility to hear again, or at the very least, to "speak" the language. (It should be noted that "speak" as used here means the ability of a Deaf person to use speech merely as a vocal ability and not as a cognitive ability, meaning a Deaf person may vocalize a word but such vocalization is rendered meaningless by the Deaf person's deafness.)

In his essay, Bauman (2004) explores three dimensions of oppression or audism: the individual, institutional and metaphysical. According to him, individual audism manifests itself much like most forms of individual racism, where an individual hold beliefs and exhibits racist behaviors such as low expectations on academic performance. Institutional audism, on the other hand, points to larger systems of oppression that can manifest itself in societal structures and the notion of privilege allotted to hearing people. Lane cites the medical and educational institutions as common sites for this kind of audism, when they claim to act in the interest of the Deaf by making them adapt to hearing norms through cochlear implantation and mainstreaming.

Metaphysical audism, Bauman explains further, has significant implications on what it means to be human, since perhaps the most divisive difference between humans and animals is the ability for language. This notion by itself does not make for audism, not until

we begin to define and equate language with speech. In this sense, metaphysical audism then is the “orientation that links human identity and being with language defined as speech.”

It is for this reason that discourse on sign languages as legitimate systems, and not as signed versions of spoken languages, is inescapable. Recognition of sign languages as true languages is an ongoing struggle. This is what probably led to the World Federation of the Deaf’s adoption of a formal resolution during the 10th World Congress in 1987, which states:

“Recent research both in linguistics and neurobiology has firmly established the spatial languages of deaf people as fully expressive languages which not only exhibit complex organizational properties but also display grammatical devices not derived from spoken languages. Distinct sign languages are now seen as fully developed languages with complex rules of grammar with a rich variety of inflectional processes and an extensive variety of derivational processes, built from both a vast vocabulary base and sophisticated grammatical devices for lexical expansion. These are also autonomous languages comfortably capable of intellectual wit, conversation, evocative disputation and poetry.”

- Formal Resolution adopted by the X World Congress of the World Federation of the Deaf, 28 July 1987, Helsinki Finland

For the Filipino Deaf, the challenge seems greater, for while awareness and acceptance of FSL as a true language is few and far between, still fewer and farther between is the awareness and acceptance of FSL as a distinct language from ASL. The challenge in the study of FSL at all levels of structure is exacting since without the sufficient orientation and training, Deaf as well as hearing may be quick to conclude that “FSL is **just** ASL” or that both languages “*just have the **same** signs*”. This is why the recently concluded project of the national Philippine Federation of the Deaf which documents regional lexical variation and applies some lexicostatistical analysis, is particularly noteworthy (PFD, 2008; PFD, 2005). Martinez (2008) recently summarizes key evidence in the phonology, mor-

phology, syntax and history of FSL and describes how strong language attitudes towards both ASL and Americans are significant factors in the Filipino Deaf community's pursuit of a unique identity.

“Ang pagtatalakay sa mga konseptong pagkilala at sa umuunlad na wikang senyasng komunidad ng mga Pilipinong may kapansanan sa pandinig, ay patunay lamang sa kahalagahan ng FSL. Ang FSL ang sariling wikang senyas ng mga Pilipino. Patuloy itong umuunlad at nangan-gailangan ng pagtatanghal.”

(Quilicot 2007:89)

Why the need for a course in FSL Literature and Linguistics now?

Earlier, it was said that despite the thriving critical discourse, theories and practices remain to be hearing-based or audistic. Brown and Bauman problematized Valli's use of traditional poetics to describe ASL poetry, saying that the linear model as basis for judging literariness is not neutral, to say the least.

Notwithstanding, Bauman understands and agrees with the motivations behind Valli's work, as this points to the fact that “Sign can partake in the literary traditions of the West [as] an indispensable argument in convincing universities to recognize Sign literature.” (p. 39)

As is true for most bodies of literature, recognition and acceptance is more often than not gained when literary criticism of it grows. With the great lack in Philippine Deaf theories and critical discourse on Philippine Deaf Studies, recognition of Filipino Sign Language and Filipino Sign Literature is slow in coming. And, as is seen in the experience of

the West, it was through Sign Language Linguistics and the developments and advancements in this field that the recognition and acceptance of sign languages and sign literatures abroad came about.

The concept of Deaf culture is largely drawn from a Western framework. However, the Filipino Deaf community appears to want to emerge from this shadow of influence and find its unique collective identity. The key cultural components of language, value systems and icons are not yet very distinct in the Philippines though the Deaf are not lacking in experiences in being Deaf, and in being Filipino (PDRC & PFD, 2004c:1-18).

Literature in FSL is known only in some exclusive groups of educated Deaf and is not in the mainstream of Deaf consciousness. Although exposure to various forms of ASL literature is immensely enjoyable and educational for Deaf Filipinos, the creative play on language in poetry, narratives and humor leaves very powerful impressions on audiences and awakens a hunger to see more and for others, to produce their own. With the institutionalization of FSL, FSL Literature and FSL Linguistics as legitimate fields of research and discourse in higher educational institutions, the Filipino Deaf culture can begin to find its place in the larger discourses of Philippine Deaf Studies, Philippine Languages, Philippine Literature and Philippine Linguistics. Its inevitable contributions to these fields of interest can be laid bare, beginning with the encouragement of thought and discussion in these emerging fields. It can break audist practices and pave the way for other fields to follow suit.

It is hoped that a deeper consciousness of self and community will motivate and inspire Deaf *visuateurs* to create literary forms and pieces unique simultaneously to the Deaf ex-

perience, and to the Filipino, thereby not only raising awareness of audism among hearing and Deaf communities but of redefining what it means to be human.

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Ibanag Nominal Marking System

Shirley N. Dita, Ph.D.
De La Salle University
ditas@dlsu.edu.ph

1.0 INTRODUCTION

IBANAG refers to the people as well as the language spoken in Northern Luzon, Philippines. It belongs to the Cordilleran subgroup of the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family. Reid (1974, 2006) classifies Ibanag as a member of the Cagayan Valley sub-group of the Northern Cordilleran Group of Northern Luzon. The other members of the Cagayan Valley sub-group are Itawes, Ga'dang, Northern Cagayan Agta, Atta, Yogad, and Isnag.

Ibanag (also *Ibanak*, *Ybanag*, or *Ybanak*) is spoken by approximately 500,000 people who come mainly from Cagayan and Isabela. Dayag (1993) reports that Ibanag-speaking cities/towns of Cagayan include Tuguegarao, Aparri, Solana, Piat, Lallo, Iguig, Pamplona, Abulug, Camalaniugan, and Peñablanca. Likewise, McFarland (1980) reports that in Isabela, Ibanag is the dominant language in Santa Maria and Cabagan and the minor language in San Pablo, Tumauni, Santo Tomas, Reina Mercedes, Ilagan, San Mariano, Angadanan, Gamu, Naguilian, and Magsaysay. Additionally, Gordon (2005) puts Ibanag on the 18th slot of the top 20 most popular or spoken languages of the Philippine archipelago.

This paper aims to describe the nominal marking system of Ibanag. Specifically, it addresses the questions: 1) what is the order of constituents in Ibanag noun phrases? 2) what are the different forms of Ibanag nominal markers? 3) what features do these nominal markers encode. To be able to satisfy these, various Ibanag utterances will be shown to illustrate these characteristics.

The data used in this paper come from the Tuguegarao variety of Ibanag. Examples come from previously published works on Ibanag, or from direct elicitation from authentic speakers of the language.

2.0 CONSTITUENT ORDER

Determiners are lexical items that occur within NPs and indicate the range of applicability of the noun phrases containing them (Trask, 1993). In Ilocano, for instance, Wimbish (1989) explains that the minimum component of an NP is a determiner and a head noun. Apparently, this holds true for Ibanag NPs, too. He adds that NPs may also include quantifiers, modifiers, and either a relative clause or an embedded clause. Since NPs may have more than two constituents, it is therefore appropriate to describe the order of constituents of an NP.

Basically, there are two types of markers that introduce NPs: determiners and demonstratives.

(1) i tolay
 DET person
 ‘a person’

(2) yari tolay
 DEM person
 ‘that person’

However, when an NP is used as a vocative, no determiner is needed before the head noun, as in (3) and (4).

(3) Babay, sikaw i nawak na balay.
 woman ABS.2s DET light DET house
 ‘Woman, you are the light of the house.’

In addition, when an NP is used as a response to a question, no nominal marker is needed. Hence, the head noun is the sole constituent in a predicate.

(4) Anni kaya’ mu?
 what like ERG.2s
 ‘What do you like?’

- (5) Patta.
'catfish'

A modifier can also appear after the nominal marker or before the head noun, as in the following examples.

- (6) i nataba nga patta
DET fat LIG catfish
'a fat catfish'

- (7) yari baddi nga kamasi
DEM small LIG tomato
'that small tomato'

Finally, nominal markers take the initial position in nominalized clauses. Note that the translation in English does not bear any counterpart of either a determiner or a demonstrative.

- (8) i kinnagi na
DET PERF- say ERG.3s
'what s/he said'

- (9) i inangngayan mu
DET PERF- go ERG.2s
'where you went (to)'

- (10)i pinabbayle'
DET PERF- dance=ERG.1s
'how I danced' or 'my dancing'

- (11)yari pinattolay na
DEM living GEN.3s
'his/her way of living'

- (12)yaw bale da
DEM house GEN.3p
'this house of theirs'

There are two types of Ibanag core nominal markers: the determiners and the demonstratives.

3.0 Determiners

Most Philippine language researchers claim to have found only one definite marker. For instance, Tagalog has *ang* (cf., Schachter 1976:495; Schachter & Otañes 1972) and Botolan Sambal has *ya* (cf. Antworth 1979:13). In Ibanag, this definite marker is the determiner *i*. Just like Ilocano (cf. Rubino 1997; Dita, 2006), Ibanag determiners encode number (singular and plural), case (core and oblique), and distinguish between personal and impersonal.

Table1 Summary of Ibanag determiners

Non-Personal (Common noun) Articles		
	CORE	OBLIQUE
Singular	i	Ta
Plural	i – ira	ta - ira
Personal Articles		
	CORE	OBLIQUE
Singular	ni/si	kanni
Plural	da	kada

3.1 number of determiners

Ibanag determiners also encode either singularity or plurality of the nominal they refer to. NPs that are generally singular in meaning are introduced by the determiner *i*; whereas, NPs that are plural in meaning are introduced, still, by the determiner *i* and is post-modified by the plurality marker *ira*.

3.1.1 the determiner *i*

The determiner *i* is a very versatile nominal marker in Ibanag. Like the determiners of other Cordilleran languages (cf. Reid, 2002), it can introduce a single word noun, a noun phrase, a relativized clause, a verb-like item, or an adjective one. Because of this versatility, I will adapt Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik's (1985) term 'central determiner' to refer to *i*.

- (13)i tolay
 DET person
 'the/a person'
- (14)i mestru
 DET male.teacher
 'the/a teacher'
- (15)i maginganay nga Amerikana
 DET maiden LIG American
 'an American maiden'
- (16)i tolay nga awat tu kofunna
 DET person REL NEG.EXI DET friend-GEN.3s
 'a person who doesn't have friends'
- (17)i pinatollay na
 DET life GEN.3s
 'his/her life'

The determiner *i* can both encode definiteness and indefiniteness of referent. In (18), the determiner *i* introduces a definite referent which is the president. Hence, its equivalent in English is the definite article *the*. On the other hand, (19) uses the same determiner but the referent is indefinite, as suggested by its English counterpart – the indefinite article *a*.

- (18)Egga taw ngana i presidente.
 EXI DEM already DET (DEF) president
 'The president is already here.'
- (19)Ari kanayun nga nasippo i presidente.
 NEG always LIG nice R DET president
 'A president is not always nice.'

Another feature of Ibanag determiners is that, unlike English where some abstract nouns are not preceded by determiners, Ibanag abstract nouns (or any NP for that matter) have obligatory determiners. Consider (20) and (21).

- (20)I pattolay ay panga anna pangiyawa. (P)
 DET life TL receiving and giving

‘Life is a (process of) receiving and giving.’

- (21)I pallag kunna ariling; mabuebbuelta, mabbiribiring. (P)
 DET wheel like wheel back.and.forth spins

‘Fate is like a wheel; it moves back and forth, it spins.’

The determiner *i* is also used to refer to the Supreme Being. In some cases, the determiner *i* is replaced by the honorific term *Yafu*. At times, the determiner still precedes the honorific phrase.

- (22)Nu i Dios managaruli, awan na tu uli-uli. (P)
 when DET Lord punishes NEG LIG DET turning.back
 ‘When the Lord punishes, there is no turning back.’

- (23)I Yafu Dios ay pabbalinan=na noka
 DET HON God TL IMP- make=ERG.3s FUT

yayya. . . (Lucas 1:32)
 ABS.3s

‘The Lord God will make him. . .’

.2 The *i* – *ira* determiner

Unlike other Philippine-type languages, the determiner *i* does not signal plurality of NP. If the nominal it precedes is not morphologically marked, that is, not reduplicated for plurality, the plural marker *ira* is utilized. The marker usually appears after the NP. In the entire paper, the symbol **PLU** is used to indicate *ira* as a plurality marker.

(24)i disipulo ira ni Kristo
DET disciple PLU PERS Christ
'the disciples of Christ'

(25)i libru ira ta balay
DET book PLU LOC house
'the books in the house'

(26)i abbing ira ta lawan
DET child PLU OBL outside
'the children outside'

(27)i tolay ira nga laddug
DET person PLU LIG liar
'people who are liar'

It is also possible that the nominal item is reduplicated for plurality and the plural marker *ira* is still used.

(28)I babagitolay ira ta ili
DET R- bachelor PLU LOC town
The bachelors in town

(29)I mamanu ira ta likuk
DET R- chicken PLU LOC back
The chickens at the back

(30)Minay si Cathy ta baryo.
went PERS Cathy LOC baryo
'Cathy went to the barrio.'

- (31) Minay i babagitolay ira ta babario ira.
 went DET bachelors PLU LOC barrios PLU
 ‘The bachelors went to the barrios.’

Note, however, that the plurality marker *ira* has a homomorph – the third person plural absolutive *ira*. The examples below contrast the two.

- (32) Nassingak=ku ira nga kumkuman ta mangga
 PERF- see=ERG.1s ABS.3p REL eating OBL mango
 anna bayyabo ira.
 anna guave PLU
 ‘I saw them eating mangoes and guavas.’

.2 case of determiners

There are two cases of determiners distinguished here: the core and the oblique. The distinction between core and oblique case lies in its replaceability. As for core arguments that are in full noun phrases, they can be replaced by the ergative or the absolutive pronominal. The oblique, on the other hand, lacks this feature. This can not be replaced by any pronominal, enclitic or not.

.3 core nominal markers

Core determiners introduce core arguments in a clause. As earlier mentioned, there are two types of core nominal markers: determiners and demonstratives. The latter will be discussed at length in section 3.4 of this chapter. Two types are distinguished here: the definite and the indefinite

Intransitive clauses take one core argument. If this is a full noun phrase, it is introduced by a determiner; otherwise, it utilizes an absolutive enclitic pronominal.

- (39) Nagitubang i maginganay.
 PERF- sit DET maiden
 ‘The maiden sat down.’

- (40) Nagitubang yayya.
 sat.down ABS.3s
 'She sat down.'
- (41) Nakkarela i abbing ira.
 PERF-run DET child PLU
 'The children ran.'
- (42) Nakkarela ira.
 PERF-run ABS.3p
 'They ran.'

Transitive constructions, on the other hand, take two core arguments: one is the agent and the other is the patient (cf. Dita, 2008). If these two core arguments co-occur with each other, the personal determiner *ni* introduces the agent and the personal determiner *si* introduces the patient. If the pronominal counterpart is used, the agent is represented by an ergative and the patient by an absolutive. The examples below illustrate how the pronominals are replaced by the core arguments bearing the determiners. Note how the personal determiners *ni* and *si* are used.

- (43) Inummukan=na yayya.
 kissed=ERG.3s ABS.3s
 'He kissed her.'
- (44) Inummukan=na si Gretchen.
 kissed= ERG.3s PERS Gretchen
 'He kissed Gretchen.'
- (45) Inummukan ni John yayya.
 kissed PERS John ABS.3s
 'John kissed her.'
- (46) Inummukan ni John si Gretchen.
 kissed PERS John PERS Gretchen
 'John kissed Gretchen.'

If the core arguments are indefinite nouns, the agent is introduced by the indefinite determiner *na* and the patient by the determiner *i*.

- (47) Inummukan na lalaki i babay.
 kissed DET(IND) man DET girl
 ‘The boy kissed the girl.’

If the action is indefinite, the verb is encoded entirely in a morphologically different manner. In the following example, the actor is introduced by the definite determiner *si* (referring to John). Note that the supposed receiver of the action is introduced by an oblique determiner *ta* (referring to *babay* ‘girl’). This construction is therefore an intransitive.

- (48) Nangummo ta babay si John.
 kissed OBL girl PERS John
 ‘John kissed (at) (some) girls.’

3.4 oblique *ta*

The oblique marker *ta* has also a homomorph, the subordinator *ta*. To distinguish the oblique marker *ta* from the subordinator *ta*, consider the following examples. These illustrate the function of *ta* as a subordinator.

- (49) Manaw na’ ngana ta naribbo ngana.
 leave ABS.1s now because dark already
 ‘I will leave now because it is already dark.’

- (50) Ta tadday kamu ta pinili na
 because one ABS.2p REL chose DET

Dios. . . (2 Tesalonica 2:13)
 God

‘Because you are one of those whom God chose. . .

One feature of Philippine-type languages is that there is no direct counterpart for prepositions. Instead, these preposition-like items are called obliques and are classified as either nominal marker or pronominals. Dita (2007) opines that the oblique pronominals translate to prepositional

phrases or benefactive phrases. For instance, *niakan* translates to ‘to me’ or *sa* translates to ‘to/for him/her’. As for oblique nominal markers, they are the rough counterparts of prepositions which introduce goal or benefactive NPs.

There are various functions of the oblique marker *ta*. For one, locative nouns are introduced by *ta*. These locatives may be generic in nature.

- (51) Ay minay yayya ta interu nga probinsya na
 TL went ABS.3s OBL whole LIG province LIG

Galilea. . . (Marcos 1:39)
 Galilee .

‘So he traveled all over (the province of) Galilee.’

- (52) Egga i bida nga newwara ta ili na Enrile
 EXI DET story REL PERF- spread OBL town LIG Enrile
 ‘There was a story that was spread in the town of Enrile.’ (w)

- (53) Mallusak=ka ta utun; manoli ta mutung. (P)
 IMP- spit=ABS.2s OBL up IMP-return OBL face
 ‘Spit upwards and it comes to the face.’

In intransitive construction, the theme (the entity in motion) is introduced by the oblique *ta*

- (54) Giminatang si Cathy ta dulce.
 PERF- buy PERS Cathy OBL candy
 ‘Cathy bought (a) candy.’

- (55) Nakasinganna’ ta ayong.
 ABIL- see=ERG.1s OBL monkey

- (56) I baranghenas ari mavvunga ta kamasi. (P)
 DET eggplant NEG bear OBL tomato
 ‘An eggplant will not bear tomato.’

- (57) Iniddan na’ ta bagga.
 PERF-give ERG.3s+ABS.1s OBL rice
 ‘S/he gave me rice.’

Nominals that undergo a particular state or condition encoded by an adjective are also introduced by the oblique *ta*.

- (58) Alawa ta abbing yari sinnung.
 loose OBL child DEM clothes
 ‘The clothes are loose on the child.’

- (59) Nakasta ta maginganay i avu’ na.
 nice OBL maiden DET hair GEN.3s
 ‘The hair of the maiden is nice on her.’

- (60) Atazzi i palda ta yena’.
 tight DET skirt OBL mother=GEN.1s
 ‘The skirt is tight on my mother.’

Benefactive phrases are likewise encoded by the oblique *ta*. The benefactive marker *para* ‘for’ can still co-occur with the oblique *ta*.

- (61) Egga i ne-uffun na ta mariga ira nga totolay.
 EXI DET PERF- extend ERG.3s OBL poor PLU LIG people
 ‘She was able to extend (some help) to the poor.’ (w)

- (62) Para ta aran yaw innafi.
 for OBL dwarf DEM rice
 ‘This rice is for the dwarf.’

Temporal phrases are also case marked by the oblique *ta*.

- (63) Ta kaummanan na ta maribbo paga
 OBL early/next day LIG OBL dark still

 laman. . . (Marcos 1:35)
 only

 ‘Very early the next morning, long before daylight. . .’

- (64) Manaw kami ta fugak.
 leave ABS.1pe OBL afternoon
 ‘We will leave this afternoon.’

Causative and resultative phrases, likewise, are introduced by *ta*.

(65) Pinammapia ni Jesus i aru nga totolay ta
PERF- heal PERS Jesus DET many REL people OBL

maganna-gannu nga tulagad=da. (Marcos 1:34)
different LIG illness=GEN.3p

‘Jesus healed many who have different illnesses.’

4.0 Demonstratives

Demonstratives can both function as nominal markers and pronominals. Demonstratives behave as pronouns if they can function as sole constituents in a predicate clause. That is, an NP does not precede the demonstrative. Otherwise, the demonstrative functions as a nominal marker.

There are two types of demonstratives that can function as nominal marker: the spatial and the temporal. As for the spatial, three degrees of space are distinguished here: the proximal, the medial, and the distal. Other philippinists use different terms for this category. Ferreirinho (1993), for instance, marks three deictic categories in Limos Kalinga namely ‘near speaker’ (NS), ‘near hearer’ (NH), and ‘distant’ (DIST).

4.1 Spatial demonstratives

Spatial demonstratives are linked with the head nouns by the ligature *nga*. If the ligature and the head noun do not co-occur with these spatial demonstratives, they could not be considered determiners but demonstrative pronouns. The table below presents the summary of Ibanag spatial demonstratives.

Table 2. Summary of Ibanag spatial demonstratives

	PROXIMAL	MEDIAL	DISTAL
Singular	Yaw	yatun	yuri
Plural	yaw ngamin	yatun ngamin	yuri ngamin

4.1.1 Proximal space

Rubino (1997) explains proximal space as those that refer to entities located within the physical and mental realm of the speaker.

(80) Yaw nga kitu i kiminan ta ikan ta lamesa.

PROX LIG dog DET PERF-eat OBL fish OBL table
 ‘This dog is the one that ate the fish on the table.’

(81) Yaw ngamin ira nga prutas i kaya ku kanan.

PROX all PLU LIG fruit DET like ERG.1s eat
 ‘These are all the fruits that I want to eat.’

These proximal demonstratives can also be used to refer to a subject previously mentioned by the speaker. The referent may not be reconstructed within the sentence or even before the said utterance.

(82) Yaw nga problema i manaki ku maginna’.

PROX LIG problem DET dislike ERG.1s hear
 ‘This problem is what I don’t want to hear.’

(83) Yaw nga relasyon laman i inspirasyon ku.

PROX LIG relationship only DET inspiration GEN.1s
 ‘This relationship is my only inspiration.’

4.1.2 Medial space

Medial space encodes proximity to the addressee. These demonstratives often co-occur with the second person pronominals.

- (84) Yatun nga sapatu i nakasta ta takki=m.
MED LIG shoe DET nice OBL feet=GEN.2s
'That shoe is nice on your foot.'

- (85) Sitaw mu inna' yatun kakkanam=mu.
where ERG.2s get MED eating=ERG.2s
'Where did you get that one you are eating?'

If proximals are usually associated with the speaker, medials are associated with the addressee. They refer to an entity previously mentioned by the addressee.

- (86) Yatun nga mestru i nangiyawa niakan ta
MED LIG male.teacher DET gave OBL.1s OBL

atattannang nga gradu.
high LIG grade

'That teacher gave me a high grade.'

- (87) Nasissippo yatun nga mestru.
very.nice MED LIG male.teacher
'That teacher is very nice.'

4.1.3 Distal space

The referent of distal space, on the other hand, is neither within the realm of the speaker nor the addressee. Because of its nature, the third person pronouns are usually associated with the distal space.

- (88) Yuri sinnung na babay i kaya' ku.
DIST clothes LIG woman DET like ERG.1s
'I like those clothes of the woman.'

- (89) Marake yuri kinnagi na.
bad DIST PERF- say ERG.3s
'Those that s/he said are bad.'

.2 Temporal demonstratives

Rubino (1997) identifies two types of temporal demonstratives for Ilocano: the recent past and the remote past. These temporal demonstratives are used to indicate referents that are not apparent in the speech event. Such referent is most likely to have happened in the past. Hence, the recent and the remote past are identified. Ibanag, likewise, exhibits the recent past and remote past feature. For this purpose, the expressions *yari* and *yuri* are used.

.2.1 recent past

If the referent has been mentioned earlier in the discourse, the demonstrative *yari* is used. Most likely, the referent is living and is known by both the speaker and the addressee.

- (90) Alle nassingak=ku ngana yari babay ganguri.
 like PERF- see=ERG.1s already REC woman a.while.ago
 ‘It feels like I have already seen the woman a while ago.’

- (91) Yari kabiko mu ta umma i nobio’
 REC COM-sit GEN.2s OBL morning DET boyfriend=GEN.1s

 turi high school.
 then high school.

‘The one on your side this morning was my boyfriend back in high school.’

.2.2 remote past

The remote past, on the other hand, is usually used to refer to someone who has not been seen for a long time or to the deceased. The referent could also be things that do not exist anymore.

- (92) Ari ku mattamman yuri ngamin sakripisio’
 NEG ERG.1s forget REM all sacrifice=GEN.1s

 nikaw.
 OBL.2s

‘I couldn’t forget all those sacrifices I had for you.’

(93) Yuri nga kadduba’ i katalakkan nga
REC LIG neighbor=GEN.1s DET SUP- lazy LIG

nassingak=ku na.
PERF-see already (C)

‘My neighbor then was the laziest I had seen so far.’ (assuming that the referent is not existing anymore)

5.0 CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have illustrated the features of Ibanag nominal markers such as the constituent order, the number, the case, and the definiteness. As for the number, the central determiner *i* is contrasted with its plural form *i – ira*. Also, there are two cases of nominal markers identified: the core and the oblique.

There are two general types of core nominal markers used in Ibanag: the determiners and the demonstratives. There are two types of core nominal markers presented here: the *i* and *i-ira* for non-personal or common nouns and the *si/ni* and *da* for personal nouns. The non-personal oblique marker *ta* is also distinguished from the personal oblique pronouns. In addition, I have stressed in this paper, too, that demonstratives are considered determiners only when they co-occur with head nouns. If they are the sole constituents of the NP, though, they behave as demonstrative pronouns.

Having investigated the basic features of Ibanag nominal markers, I recommend that further investigation be conducted to the syntax of Ibanag noun phrases. Specifically, it is intriguing to know if there are constituents that can occur before or after the core nominal marker *i*. Put simply, are there predeterminers or postdeterminers in Ibanag? If it is not possible to analyze the determinatives of Ibanag using the model used in English, what constraints contribute to this difficulty or impossibility.

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MOTION IN NARRATIVES: FINDING THE WAY IN KAVALAN*

HAOWEN JIANG

Rice University

Crosslinguistically speaking, it is common for all the three Frames of Reference (FoR, cf. Talmy 2000a; Levinson 2003; Zlatev 2007) to be present in the same language. However, they typically demonstrate some “division of labor” within a single language. In this paper we investigate how the three FoR are exploited in Kavalan, an endangered Austronesian language in Taiwan, and whether there is preferred FoR under certain circumstances. By analyzing the recorded data from native speakers narrating the same route, we look into the distributions of different types of FoR and spatial chunking (Klippel *et al.* 2003). The result shows that numeral chunking is the least favored type and landmark chunking the most frequent one. In addition, occurrences of direction change do not demonstrate a consistent deployment of any particular type of FoR, both within and across speakers. More importantly, it is found that the FoR is exclusively Relative when direction precedes action whereas the FoR exploited is either Absolute or Intrinsic when direction follows action.

1. INTRODUCTION. A fundamental and possibly universal characteristic of spatial language is the presence of Frames of Reference (hereafter FoR), which construct “a coordinate system of axes and angles.” (Zlatev 2007:328) Although opinions regarding the appropriate categories and labels of FoR tend to vary among researchers (e.g. Talmy 1983, 2000a; Levinson 1996, 2003; Zlatev 2005, 2007), there are three types of FoR that are generally agreed upon. In Levinson’s (1996, 2003) term, for example, they are Relative, Absolute, and Intrinsic FoR. As exemplified in Figure 1 below, these three FoR differ in terms of the different sources of reference points adopted. Relative FoR makes use of the reference points projecting from an observer (with the speaker as the default); Absolute FoR employs the reference points that keep constant throughout the Earth (i.e. geo-cardinal positions); finally Intrinsic FoR appeals to the reference points demarcated by the geometry of a reference entity (i.e. projective relations).

Crosslinguistically speaking, it is common for all the three FoR to be present in the same language. However, they typically demonstrate some “division of labor” within a single language, with some preferred for micro-orientation and others exclusively for macro-orientation. For instance, normally speaker of Mandarin do not use Absolute FoR to describe table-top spatial configurations, but reserve it for large-scale descriptions only, especially for route directions. A convincing piece of evidence comes from Majid *et al.* (2004), which explores the use of FoR in twenty languages. Only four of the investigated languages (i.e. Ewe in Niger-Congo, Kgalagadi in Bantu, Kilivila in Austronesian, and Tiriyó in Cariban) make use of the three FoRs on an equal basis (in this case, showing preference for micro-orientation). Therefore, it seems that different types of FoR, each in its unique manner, conspire to construct the space as we perceive it, whether across or

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within languages.

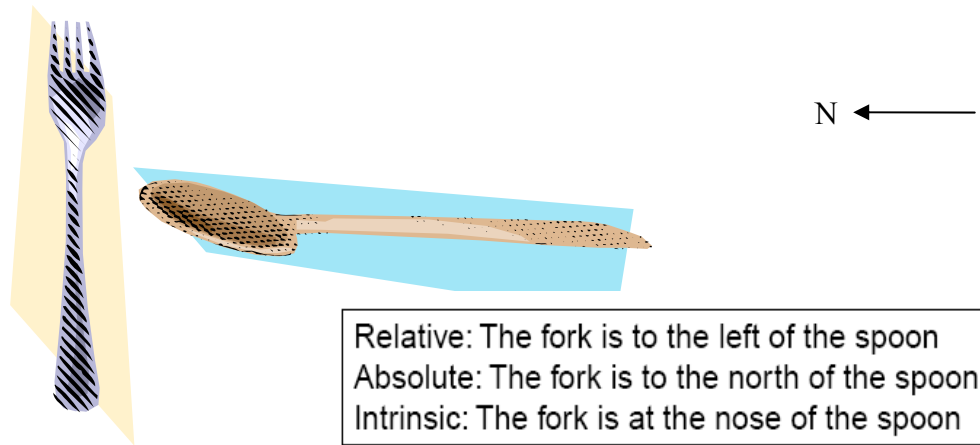


Figure 1: Three Frames of Reference (adapted from Majid *et al.* 2004)

In this present study, we shall investigate how the three FoR are exploited in Kavalan, an endangered Austronesian language spoken in Taiwan. To this end, we have chosen route directions as our object of investigation, for they are perfect loci for all the three FoR to be present at the same time. For example, instructions like “turn left”, “head for the south”, or “follow the river upward” are crucial elements for inquirers to find out the way successfully. In other words, this study is concerned with route knowledge as reflected in how Kavalan people guide wayfinders to find the way. By analyzing the spontaneous narratives from native speakers, we shall look into the distributions of different types of FoR and of spatial chunking (see Section 2) in Kavalan route instructions.

The organization of this paper is as follows: Section 2 introduces the theoretical background of route conceptualization, and particularly the three types of spatial chunking distinguished by Klippel *et al.* (2003); Section 3 presents the direction-giving data from five native speakers of Kavalan, with a view to probing the variations across speakers as well as establishing some generalizations; finally Section 4 summarizes our research and outlines some suggestions for future study.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND. Giving route directions, though as simple as it seems, is in fact nothing straightforward since it involves quite a few prerequisites. First, to be able to give good route directions, one has to have in mind a cognitive map of the real world to be described. Second, with a view to successfully guiding the inquirer from a point of departure to the destination, one has to make a series of decisions over what information should be included and what may be omitted. Third, in order to make the instructions understood, one still has to translate the spatial knowledge into linguistic utterances, which may differ largely not only across speakers of different languages but also over speakers of the same. The simplified model in Figure 2: from Lovelace *et al.* (1999) explains such a complicated process. Since it is impossible to examine spatial knowledge

directly, the best we could do is to investigate the verbal output deriving from that particular knowledge.

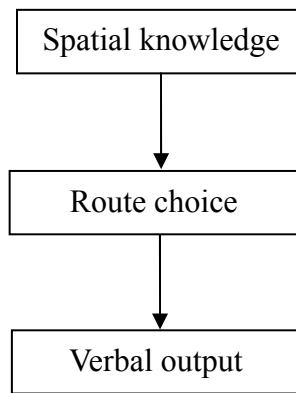


Figure 2: Simplified model of stages in route direction production
(Lovelace *et al.* 1999)

With regard to route conceptualization, Klippel *et al.* (2003) identifies three features, namely, *decision points*, *landmarks*, and *ordering information*. A decision point is an intersection of roads, where one has to make a decision over which way to go. It is also at a decision point that a direction change (DP+) is very likely to occur. Next, a landmark (not to be confused with Langacker's (1986) Landmark, which is equivalent to Talmy's (1983) Ground) is any prominent object en route that helps wayfinders identify a decision point, such as a gas station, a church, a store, and the like. Finally, ordering information provides wayfinders with the action to take at a particular decision point, such as turning right, heading southward, etc. As a result, route directions can be understood as instructions on which actions to take along a series of decision points identified by the landmarks in a given landscape. More concisely, a route is "a sequence of decision point/action pairs" (Richter *et al.* 2004: 4).

Although decision point/action pairs are fundamental elements in route directions, route instructors do not need to mention every pair explicitly to communicate a successful instruction. Instead, they frequently combine several decision point/action pairs into one route direction. This combination, believed to be "an important mechanism in route directions and conceptualization of routes" (Richter and Klippel 2004: 64), is termed *spatial chunking* by Klippel *et al.* (2003) and *segmentation* by Dale *et al.* (2003). According to Klippel *et al.* (2003), three types of spatial chunking can be differentiated, as briefly elucidated in (1).

(1) *Three types of spatial chunking* (summarized from Klippel *et al.* 2003:22)

- a. Numeral chunking: This type of chunking typically involves the use of numbers in the instruction, and numbers are used to count the decision points involving no direction change (DP-) between two decision points involving direction change (DP+). Instructions like "turn right at the second intersection" are of this kind.

b. Landmark chunking: Instead of numbers, this second type identifies a decision point with a DP+ by means of landmarks, which are unambiguous in the local environment. It is illustrated by instructions like “turn right at the post office.”

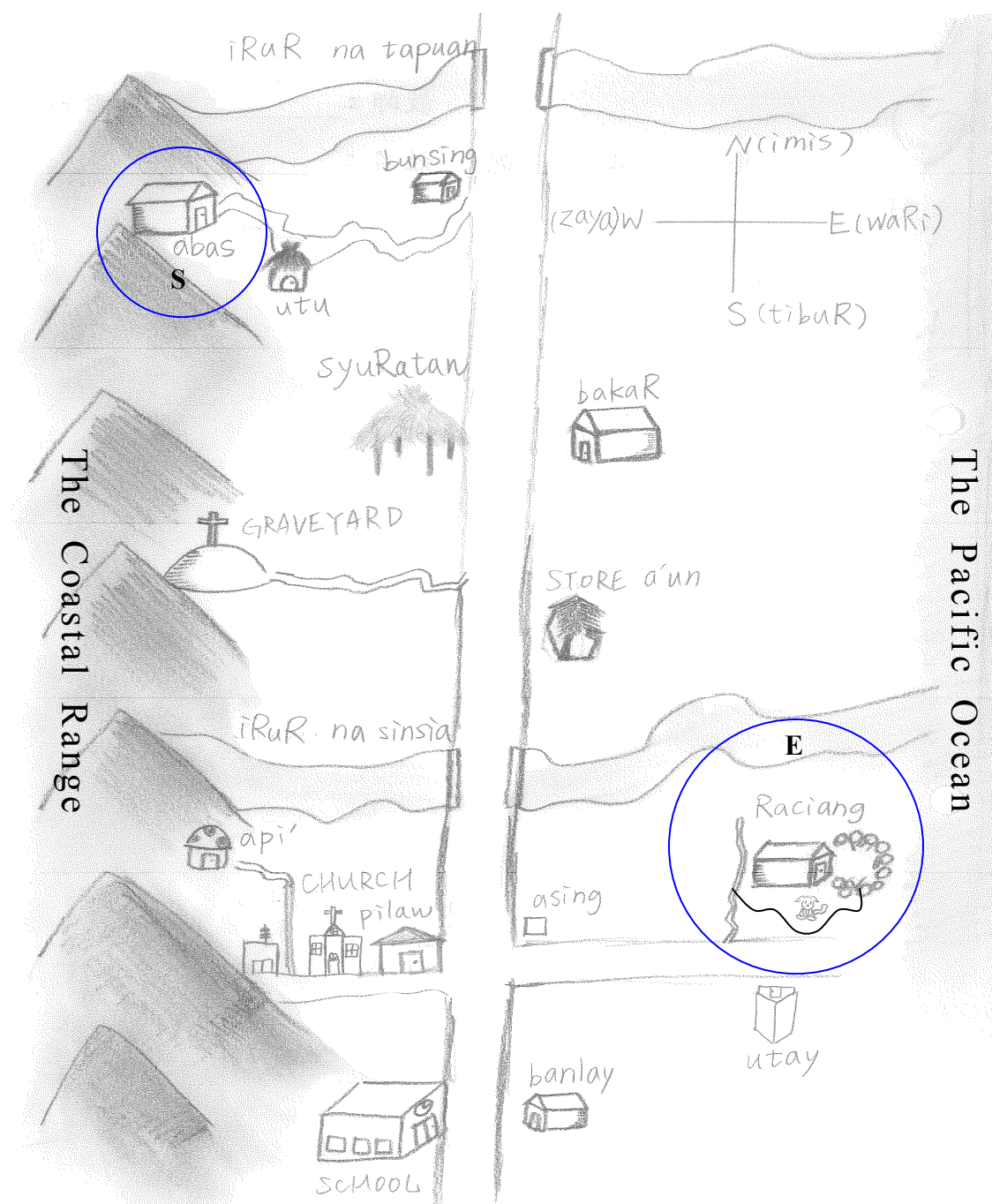
c. Structure chunking: Similar to landmarks, structural features inherent in a route (such as the fork of a road, a river, or a slope, etc.) can also function as identifiers of a decision point. Instructions that utilize these structural features are called structure chunking. Phrases like “turn right at the T-intersection” belong to this type.

Crucially, the type of spatial chunking is independent of the type of FoR that orients the action at a decision point. As is clear from the examples in (1), the same Relative FoR (i.e. “turn right”) is maintained across three types of spatial chunking. Alternatively, it is possible for the same type of spatial chunking to be exploited across three different types of FoR, as is evidenced in instructions like “turn left at the church”, “turn eastward at the church”, and “turn to the tower at the church.” For that reason, we shall examine both spatial chunking for decision points and FoR for accompanying actions.

On the other hand, of the three types of FoR the Absolute system seems the most heterogeneous, and thus allows for further subgrouping. For example, when investigating space in two Tamil linguistic systems, Pederson (1993) subcategories Absolute FoR into three kinds: (i) cardinal directions (abbreviated as NSEW), monsoonwards, and towards sunset/sunrise, etc., (ii) uphill/downhill, and (iii) inland/seaward. Considering this feature of the Absolute system, we shall differentiate different subtypes of Absolute FoR when analyzing our data.

3. ROUTE DIRECTIONS IN KAVALAN. The major community of the Kavalan people lies in the Hsinshê Village, where Kavalan is spoken on a daily basis. It is located at the coastal part of Fengpin Township, southeast of Hualien County, east of Taiwan. As sketched in Figure 3 below, the houses there are scattered along the Coastal Highway, which runs from north to south. To the east lies the Pacific Ocean while in the west stands the Coastal Range, which also runs from north to south. Within Hsinshê Village, north and west quadrants are generally higher than south and east. Consequently, in terms of extensional meanings the cardinal east and west in the local environment are respectively equated with seaward and inland or downward and upward.

The route from Abas’ house to Raciang’s (both are names of the informants), which we believe is the most complicated route available in Hsinshê Village, is about seven hundred meters long. To travel from the starting point (S) to the ending point (E), one has to move downhill following the path that leads to the highway, turn right (or southward) when reaching the highway, move straight down (or southward) until the intersection after Hsinshê Bridge, turn left (or eastward/seaward) at the intersection (with Asing’s house at the corner), turn left again (or northward) to the path opposite to Utay’s house, and finally turn right (or eastward/seaward) at the back of Raciang’s house. In total, there are four occurrences of direction change, including two left turns and two right turns in terms of Relative FoR, or two eastward turns, one southward turn, and one northward turn in terms of Absolute FoR.



NOTE: *iRuR na tapuan* 'Tapuan River'; *iRuR na sinsia* 'Hsinshê River'; *syuRatan* 'the Gathering House'; the others are all names of the villagers.

Figure 3: A sketch of Hsinshê Village: the way from *abas* to *Raciang*¹

¹ We would like to express our gratitude for an anonymous reviewer, who helps us through this sketch of Hsinshê Village.

Five informants were asked to narrate the route described above. All the route descriptions were tape-recorded and transcribed by the present author, and all the transcripts confirmed by one of the informants. Each transcript was divided into chunked route segments, and for each segment the following three parameters were coded:

(2) *Three parameters coded in the data*

- a. The involvement of direction change: DP+ for yes and DP- for no;
- b. Types of FoR that orient the action to take at a particular decision point: A for Absolute, R for Relative, and I for Intrinsic;
- c. Types of spatial chunking that combine several decision points: NC for numeral chunking, LC for landmark chunking, and SC for structure chunking.

Unidentifiable or implicit values of a parameter were labeled N/A for non-applicable. Multiple types of FoR exploited in the same segment were equally appreciated, with each presented in the order of its occurrences in the discourse. Finally, for our present purposes, utterances irrelevant to route directions as well as disfluencies such as repetitions are omitted from the following transcripts.

3.1. PROBING VARIATIONS. First of all, the route instructions from Speaker A are given below²:

The way from *abas* to *Raciang*—Speaker A

A1: *s<m>aRuR=ita nizi ta paw-an-ku Raw.*

<AF>descend=IIPL.NOM move.from LOC house-LOC-1SG.GEN DM

‘We go down from my house.’ [DP-; FoR = A (up-down); SEG = N/A]

A2: *s<m>aRuR=ita nani, pasazi ta Raya-an=ay lazan.*

<AF>descend=IIPL.NOM DM hither LOC big-LOC=REL road

tu maszeq=ita tu Raya=ay lazan nani,

DM arrive=IIPL.NOM OBL big=REL road DM

pasa-tibuR=ti s<n>aqay-ta.

move.toward-south=PFV <PFV>walk-IIPL.GEN

‘We go down toward the big road. We get to the big road, and we walk southward.’

² Abbreviations of the gloss are listed as follows: 1 ‘first person’, 2 ‘second person’, 3 ‘third person’, SG ‘singular’, PL ‘plural’, E ‘exclusive’, I ‘inclusive’, NOM ‘nominative’, GEN ‘genitive’, OBL ‘oblique’, LOC ‘locative’, PN ‘proper name’, PNM ‘personal name marker’, CFL ‘classifier’, NHUM ‘non-human’, LNK ‘linker’, REL ‘relativizer’, NMZ ‘nominalizer’, RED ‘reduplication’, AF ‘Agent Focus’, LF ‘Locative Focus’, NAF ‘Non-Agent Focus’, PFV ‘perfective’, CONT ‘continuative’, IRR ‘irrealis’, IMP ‘imperative’, CAU ‘causative’, EXIST ‘existential’, NEG ‘negative’, FIL ‘filler’, DM ‘discourse marker’.

[DP+; FoR = A (NSEW); SEG = SC]

A3: *wiya=ti t<m>uzus tu tiam nani, maszeq ta tia-tiana-an.*

leave=PFV <AF>reach OBL store DM arrive LOC RED-who-LOC

‘We get to the store (there), and (we) arrive at someone’s place.’ [DP-; FoR = N/A; SEG = LC]

A4: *yau pasa zaya lepaw-na, lazan-na ni pilaw nani,*

EXIST toward west house-3SG.GEN road-3SG.GEN GEN PN DM

naRin t<m>uqaz pasa zaya. pasa-kawili-ka s<m>aRuR.

NEG <AF>ascend LOC west move.toward-left-IMP.AF <AF>descend

‘Toward the west is the way to Pilaw’s house, (so) do not go up toward the west. Go down to the left (instead).’ [DP+; FoR = R&A (up-down); SEG = LC]

A5: *saRuR-ka=ti pasa libeng si. muzus tu*

descend-IMP.AF=PFV LOC downside SI AF.reach OBL

siliw-an na lazan ni Raciang nani,

turn-NMZ GEN road GEN PN DM

pasa-kawili-ka=ti s<m>iliw si.

move.toward-left-IMP.AF=PFV <AF>turn SI

‘Go downward. When (you) get to a turn to the street on which Raciang’s house is, turn left.’ [DP+; FoR = R; SEG = SC]

A6: *maszeq tu tuqeb na lepaw ni Raciang nani,*

AF.arrive OBL back GEN house GEN PN DM

pasa-kawanan=ti=ita s<m>aRuR.

move.toward-right=PFV=IIPL.NOM <AF>descend

tu tayan a lepaw ni Raciang. maszeq=ti tayan.

DM there NOM house GEN PN arrive=PFV there

‘(We) get to the back of Raciang’s house, and we go down to the right. And then Raciang’s house will be there. Here we are.’ [DP+; FoR = R&A (up-down); SEG = LC]

On the whole, Speaker A’s instructions are clear enough since the four occurrences of DP+ were all explicitly identified. However, there is a gap between A3 and A4. In A3, the speaker mentioned the store, but suddenly switched to Pilaw’s house in A4. What’s more, it is difficult for wayfinders to find out the correct decision point in A4 since its identification requires prior knowledge of the location of Pilaw’s house.

Of the four occurrences of DP+, only the first makes reference to cardinal directions (A2) while the others all rely on the left-right axis (A4, A5, and A6). In spite of this,

when identifying the path to Pilaw's house (A4), the speaker refers to it as “toward the west”, rather than “toward the right”, as would have been the case had the Relative FoR been adopted. More importantly, even when referring to the Relative left-right axis, the speaker is at the same time quite aware of the Absolute up-down axis, as evidenced in utterances like *pasa-kawili-ka s<m>aRuR* ‘Go down to the left.’ (A4) and *pasa-kawanan=ti=ita s<m>aRuR* ‘We go down to the right.’ (A6).

Next, the instructions from Speaker B are as follows:

The way from *abas* to *Raciang*—Speaker B

B1: *tu wiya=ti=imi s<m>aRuR nani.*

DM leave=PFV=1EPL.NOM <AF>descend DM

‘And then we go down there.’ [DP-; FoR = A (up-down); SEG = N/A]

B2: *maszeq ta Raya-an=ay lazan nani, pasa-tibuR=ti=imi.*

arrive LOC big-LOC=REL road DM move.toward-south=PFV=1EPL.NOM

‘When arriving at the big road, we go southward.’ [DP+; FoR = A (NSEW); SEG = SC]

B3: *tu maszeq=ti tu damu na iza'u tawian ta sinsia nani,*

DM arrive=PFV OBL village GEN FIL there LOC PN DM

azas-an-ku=pama.

take-LF-1SG.GEN=CONT

‘And then when we arrive there at Hsinshê, I still (have to) keep leading the way.’ [DP-; FoR = N/A; SEG = LC]

B4: *pasa-waRi ya lepaw ni Raciang zin-ku sunis a zau,*

toward-east NOM house GEN PN say-1SG.GEN child LNK this

tu pasazi=imi pasa waRi.

DM hither=1EPL.NOM LOC east

‘I told the child that Raciang's house is toward the east, and then we go eastward.’ [DP+; FoR = A (NSEW); SEG = N/A]

B5: *tu yau a lazan a yau. pasa-imis 'nay.*

DM EXIST NOM road LNK that. toward-north that

pasazi ya lepaw ni Raciang zin-ku tu sunis

hither NOM house GEN PN say-1SG.GEN OBL child

a zau pa-supar nani. yau=ti ya iza'u

LNK this CAU-know DM EXIST=PFV NOM FIL

lepaw ni Raciang.

house GEN PN

‘And then there is a path, (and) that is toward the north. I told the child, “Raciang’s house is this way.” (Here we are) at Raciang’s house.’ [DP+; FoR = A (NSEW); SEG = SC]

Similar to Speaker A’s instructions, there is also a gap between B3 and B4. In B3, the speaker suggested that wayfinders move on after reaching Hsinshê³, but she did not indicate the decision point where they should turn eastward in B4. Maybe it is because the speaker imagined herself moving together with wayfinders and showed them the intersection to turn by leading ahead (hence *pasazi=imi pasa waRi* ‘We go eastward.’ in B4).

Furthermore, the speaker demonstrates a consistent use of FoR. Specifically, the Absolute FoR is utilized across all of the three occurrences of DP+ (B2, B4, B5). Nevertheless, unlike in B2 and B4, the instruction in B5 is rather roundabout. Instead of simply asking wayfinders to turn northward, the speaker first indicated the existence of a path that runs northward and then told wayfinders to track that path she just mentioned.

Now, we turn to the route descriptions from Speaker C:

The way from *abas* to *Raciang*—Speaker C

C1: *s<m>aRuR=ti=ita.*

<AF>descend=PFV=IPL.NOM

‘We start to go down.’ [DP-; FoR = A (up-down); SEG = N/A]

C2: *s<m>aRuR=ita pasa Raqit nani.*

<AF>descend=IPL.NOM LOC crowd DM

‘We go down toward the crowd.’ [DP+; FoR = A(up-down)&I; SEG = N/A]

C3: *syazi ta Raqit-an ta tiam-an, pasa-waRi=ita.*

reach LOC crowd-LOC LOC store-LOC move.toward-east=IPL.NOM

yau lazan qatiw sa taqsian nani,

EXIST road IRR.go LOC school DM

s<m>aRuR=ita pasazi ti-Raciang-an aizipana.

<AF>descend=IPL.NOM hither PNM-PN-LOC 3SG.LOC

‘After reaching the crowd around the store, we move eastward. There is a road

³ In terms of administrative division, this Kavalan tribe belongs to Hsinshê Village. However, local people typically refer to this region by means of three toponyms, namely *tapuan*, *qaudaRan*, and *pateRungan*, with the last also called Hsinshê in Mandarin. Therefore, the speaker was talking about the location *pateRungan* (or Hsinshê), instead of Hsinshê Village as a whole.

leading to the school, (but) we go down toward Raciang's house.' [DP+; FoR = A (NSEW/up-down); SEG = LC]

Compared with the first two speakers, Speaker C contributed a rather contracted version of the route description. Of the four occurrences of DP+, only two were mentioned (C2 and C3). Interestingly, both of them were each identified by two types of FoR. In C2, *s<m>aRuR* 'descend' and *pasa Raqit* 'toward the crowd' appeal to the Absolute and Intrinsic FoR respectively. Since the Coastal Highway and the path to Abas' house form a T-intersection, wayfinders are left with only two alternatives, that is, turning either left (northward) or right (southward). Additionally, as the north is higher than the south due to the geographical layout, a downward movement (*s<m>aRuR* 'descend') suggests a southward movement. To the same effect, movement toward the village center (*pasa Raqit* 'toward the crowd'), where the church and the school are located, implies movement toward the south. On the other hand, the speaker also specified downward movement (*s<m>aRuR* 'descend') in C3, as in C2, but this time the intended direction is different. Since south and east quadrants are both lower, downward movement may refer to either the south or the east. To avoid ambiguity, the speaker first resorted to the cardinal directions (*pasa-waRi=ita* 'We go eastward.') before employing the up-down axis for reference. As a result, two subtypes of the Absolute FoR are exploited simultaneously in the same route segment.

We turn next to the transcripts from Speaker D:

The way from *abas* to *Raciang*—Speaker D

D1: *tu s<m>aRuR=imi nani, lepaw na baqi ti-utu.*

DM <AF>descend=1EPL.NOM DM house GEN grandfather PNM-PN

'We go down, (and we'll see) Grandpa Utu's house.' [DP-; FoR = A(up-down); SEG = LC]

D2: *s<m>aqay=ti=imi tu s<m>aRuR=ti=imi,*

<AF>walk=PFV=1EPL.NOM DM <AF>descend=PFV=1EPL.NOM

m-laziw tu iRuR.

AF-cross OBL river

'We start to walk down, (and we) cross the river.' [DP-; FoR = I; SEG = SC]

D3: *maszeq=imi m-laziw=imi tu iRuR na tapuan,*

arrive=1EPL.NOM AF-cross=1EPL.NOM OBL river GEN PN

tu pasa-tibuR=ti ngayaw-niq.

DM move.toward-south=PFV front-1EPL.GEN

'We reach and cross Tapuan River, and we head toward the south.' [DP+; FoR = A(NSEW); SEG = SC]

D4: *ma-qayta=ti ya lepaw ni sikiyu. tu sanu-an-ku pataqsian*
 MA-see=PFV NOM house GEN PN DM say-LF-1SG.GEN student
zau lepaw ni sikiyu, zau lepaw na suani-ku
 this house GEN PN this house GEN younger.sibling-1SG.GEN
ni a'un, zau nani, lepaw ni ngengi paysiaq zin-ku.
 GEN PN this DM house GEN PN PN say-1SG.GEN
tu wiya=ti=imi.

DM leave=PFV=1EPL.NOM

‘Sikiyu’s house can be seen. And I say to the students, “This is Sikiyu’s house, this is my sister Aun’s house, and this is Ngengi Paysiaq’s house.” And then we leave.’
 [DP-; FoR = N/A; SEG = LC]

D5: *yau=ti iRuR na sazan, ma-qayta-ku=ti ya lepaw na*
 EXIST=PFV river GEN bridge MA-see-1SG.GEN=PFV NOM house GEN
qaqa-ku ni api’
 older.sibling-1SG.GEN GEN PN
 ‘(We come) to the bridge, from where I can see my sister Api’s house.’ [DP- ; FoR = N/A; SEG = SC]

D6: *yau=ti ya taqsian, zau a kyukay na tensukyu,*
 EXIST=PFV NOM school EXIST NOM church GEN Catholicism
s<m>aRuR pasa waRi ngayaw-niq.
 <AF>descend LOC east front-1EPL.GEN
 ‘(When seeing) the school and the Catholic church, we head down toward the east.’
 [DP+; FoR = A(up-down/NSEW); SEG = LC]

D7: *pasa-waRi ngayaw-niq nani, ma-tayta-ku=ti*
 move.toward-east front-1EPL.GEN DM MA-see-1SG.GEN=PFV
lepaw ni cin'ay. tu pasa-kawili=ti=imi.
 house GEN PN DM move.toward-left=PFV=1EPL.NOM
 ‘We head toward the east, (and) I see Cinay’s house. And then we turn left.’ [DP+ ; FoR = R; SEG = LC]

A characteristic of these route directions is the frequent mention of villagers’ houses (*utu*, *sikiyu*, or *bakaR* as shown in Figure 3, *a'un*, *ngengi paysiaq*, *api'*, and *cin'ay*). Since Hsinshê Village is rather small and all villagers know each other, the villagers’ houses become convenient landmarks for the speaker to guide wayfinders through the village. To outsiders, however, local landmarks of this kind are evidently hindrance rather than

assistance.

Another feature in Speaker D's utterances is the indication of orientation by the use of body-part terms. For example, compare the following equivalent pair from Speaker B and Speaker D:

- (3) a. *pasa-tibuR=ti=imi*.
 move.toward-south=PFV=1EPL.NOM
 ‘We go southward.’ (as in B2)
- b. *pasa-tibuR=ti* *ngayaw-niq*.
 move.toward-south=PFV front-1EPL.GEN
 ‘We go southward.’ (as in D3)

While the grammatical subject in (3a) is *=imi* ‘we (exclusive)’, that in (3b) is *ngayaw-niq* ‘our (exclusive) front’. Utterances similar to (3b) are also found in D6 and D7, where *pasa-waRi ngayaw-niq* ‘We head toward the east’ literally means “Our front moves toward the east.” The equivalent pair in (3) implies that directional phrases are capable of predicating over either an individual as a whole or part of that individual. In the latter case, the body-part term *ngayaw* ‘front’ helps to specify the orientation of an individual who faces or moves toward certain direction.⁴

Lastly, the most detailed route instructions come from Speaker E:

The way from *abas* to *Raciang*—Speaker E⁵

- E1: *pasazi-ka* *sinunung-ika* *lazan zau pasa libeng*.
 hither-IMP.AF move.along-IMP.NAF road this LOC downside
 ‘Go down along this road.’ [DP-; FoR = A(up-down); SEG = SC]
- E2: *maseq=isu* *ta* *Raya-an=ay* *lazan* *si*,
 arrive=2SG.NOM LOC big-LOC=REL road SI
 pasa-kawanan-ka=ti *s<m>aqay*. *sinunung-ika* *lazan*
 move.toward-right-IMP.AF=PFV <AF>walk move.along-IMP.NAF road
 s<m>aRuR *pasa* *imis*, *usa*, *pasa* *tibuR*.
 <AF>descend LOC north no LOC south
 ‘When you come to the big road, walk toward the right. Go down the road, (and)
 move toward the north, no, toward the south.’ [DP+; FoR = R&A(NSEW);
 SEG = SC]

⁴ In contrast, the body part term *tuRuz* ‘back’ is not used to indicate someone’s orientation. Thus, sentences like *pasa-tibuR=ti tuRuz-niq* are unacceptable.

⁵ *maseq* ‘arrive’ in Speaker E’s utterances is a free variation of *maszeq* elsewhere.

- E3: *m-laziw=isu ta tabay-an lazan nani, ta kawili-an*
 AF-cross=2SG.NOM LOC wide-LOC road DM LOC left-LOC
ma-tayta-su lepaw ni ti-bakaR si, paqesen-ika
 MA-see-2SG.GEN house GEN PNM-PN SI straight-IMP.NAF
ni-saqay-su s<m>aRuR uman.
 NI-walk-2SG.GEN <AF>descend again
 ‘After you cross the wide road, to the left you’ll see Bakar’s house. Then walk straight down again.’ [DP-; FoR = A(up-down); SEG = LC]
- E4: *m-laziw tu syuRatan na sinsia pateRungan nani,*
 AF-cross OBL gathering.house GEN PN PN DM
uman-ka uman s<m>aRuR.
 again-IMP.AF again <AF>descend
 ‘After (you) pass the Gathering House at Hsinshê , or Paterungan, go down again and again.’ [DP-; FoR = A(up-down); SEG = LC]
- E5: *maseq tu qaudaRan nani, qatuRiyas-ka uman.*
 arrive OBL PN DM straight-IMP.AF again
 ‘When arriving at Qaudaran, go straight again.’ [DP-; FoR = N/A; SEG = LC]
- E6: *m-laziw=ita tu sazan na sinsia.*
 AF-cross=IIPL.NOM OBL bridge GEN PN
 ‘We cross Hsinshê Bridge. [DP-; FoR = I; SEG = SC]
- E7: *m-laziw tu sazan ’nay nani, ma-qayta=ti lepaw-na*
 AF-cross OBL bridge that DM MA-see=PFV house-3SG.GEN
ni asing. yau lazan ’nay kitut=ay pasa-waRi=ay.
 GEN PN EXIST road that small=REL move.toward-east=REL
pasa-lazing si, pasa-kawili-ka=ti k<m>ulikuz tu
 move.toward-sea SI move.toward-left-IMP.AF=PFV <AF>follow OBL
lazan ’nay.
 road that
 ‘After crossing that bridge, (you’ll) see Asing’s house. There is a small road leading to the east. To go to the sea, turn left and follow that road.’ [DP+; FoR = A(NSEW/land-sea)&R; SEG = LC]

E8: *maseq=isu tayan nani, ma-qayta=ti lepaw na qani utay. ta*
 arrive=2SG.NOM there DM MA-see=PFV house GEN QANI PN LOC
kawili-an-na yau u-siq lazan kitut=ay.
 left-LOC-3SG.GEN EXIST CLF.NHUM.one road small=REL
s<m>aRuR qaya.
 <AF>descend also
 ‘When you arrive there, (you’ll) see Utay’s house. To the left is a small road. Go down (along it) as well.’ [DP+; FoR = R&A(up-down); SEG = LC]

E9: *sa-kawili-ka=ti s<m>aRuR sinunung*
 move.to-left-IMP.AF=PFV <AF>descend move.along
tu lazan si, atu u-lima betin siyu
 OBL road SI and CLF.NHUM-five ten SIYU
’nay qa-daud-an. ta kawi- ta kawatanan-an maseq=ti
 that QA-far-NMZ LOC left LOC right-LOC arrive=PFV
lepaw-na ni Raciang. pa-tuRuz tu lazan lepaw ni
 house-3SG.GEN GEN PN CAU-back OBL road house GEN
Raciang si. pasa-kawatanan-ika si, s<m>aRuR si,
 PN SI move.toward-right-IMP.NAF SI <AF>descend SI
maseq=ti ta nasan na qaniyau
 arrive=PFV LOC yard GEN 3PL.OBL
 ‘Go down toward the left, (and) follow the road, and the distance is about fifty meters long. To the left, to the right appears Raciang’s house. Her house faces the road backward. Turn right and go down, (and we’ll) arrive at their (i.e. the members in Raciang’s family) (front) yard.’ [DP+; FoR = R&A(up-down); SEG = NC]

In spite of these detailed instructions, Speaker E seems to be a little hesitant about the accurate directions, for he made two repairs on them. In E2, after correctly guiding wayfinders to turn right, the speaker changed to the Absolute FoR by directing wayfinders to turn north, which is a wrong instruction. Aware of this mistake, he immediately repaired *pasa imis* ‘toward north’ with *pasa tibuR* ‘toward south’. Again in E9, when indicating the location of Raciang’s house, the speaker repaired the truncated phrase *ta kawi-* ‘to the left’ with *ta kawatanan-an* ‘to the right’. This might not result so much from the speaker’s problems with cardinal directions or the left-right axis as from his long absence from the local environment, since he moved away from Hsinshê Village at his late twenties.

Probably for the same reason as stated above, the speaker tends to elaborate on his

instructions. An extreme example comes from E7, where three different systems of FoR are exploited to specify the same direction. After speaking of a small road that leads to the east (*yau lazan 'nay kitut=ay pasa-waRi=ay* ‘There is a small road leading to the east.’), the speaker directed wayfinders to follow that road toward the sea by turning left (*pasa-lazing si, pasa-kawili-ka=ti k<m>ulikuz tu lazan 'nay* ‘To go to the sea, turn left and follow that road.’). In fact, simply “follow that road” would have been informative enough since the intended direction had been laid out in the modification of the road (*pasa-waRi=ay* ‘toward the east’). Nevertheless, the speaker elaborated on the direction by introducing two more directional phrases (*pasa-lazing* ‘toward the sea’ and *pasa-kawili* ‘toward the left’), with each employing different types of FoR. As a result, there are in total three directional phrases used to identify the same direction, two of which belong to subtypes of the Absolute FoR and the other to Relative FoR.

3.2. ESTABLISHING GENERALIZATIONS. To generalize the route descriptions demonstrated above, Table 1 illustrates the tokens of the three coded parameters across the five speakers, namely, direction change (DP), Frames of Reference (FoR), and spatial chunking (SEG)⁶.

Table 1: Tokens of the three parameters in route directions

	DP		Frames of Reference					Spatial Chunking		
	+	-	A			R	I	SC	LC	NC
			NSEW	up-down	land-sea					
Speaker A	4	2	1	2	0	2	0	2	3	0
Speaker B	3	2	3	1	0	0	0	2	1	0
Speaker C	2	1	0.5	2	0	0	0.5	0	1	0
Speaker D	3	4	1.5	1.5	0	1	1	3	4	0
Speaker E	4	5	0.8	4	0.3	1.8	1	3	5	1
Total			6.8	10.5	0.3	4.8	2.5	10	14	1

As can be expected, of the three types of spatial chunking numeral chunking is the least favored one. There is only one token for numeral chunking, which occurs in E9 (*atu u-lima betin siyu 'nay qa-daud-an* ‘The distance is about fifty meters long.’). Between the other two types, moreover, landmark chunking is more popular as a way to segment decision points. This result is understandable, considering the fact that structural features within Hsinshê Village are confined to the Coastal Highway as well as Tapuan and Hsinshê River/Bridge while recurrent landmarks include villagers’ houses (*bakaR, a'un, api', utay, asing*, etc.), toponyms (*qaudaRan* and *pateRungan*), the store, the church, and the school. The pervasive occurrences of villagers’ houses in Kavalan route directions seem to be an inevitable result of the lack of special landmarks in the local landscape. A similar case is also found in the route directions from the Yupno in Papua New Guinea.

⁶ When more than one type of FoR is used for the action in one chunked segment, the token value for each type of FoR is the quotient of one divided by the total number of all the types of FoR used. For example, if there are two types of FoR specifying the same direction in a segment, the token value for either is 0.5. All the calculations are accurate only to the first decimal place.

When narrating the route from Tapen via Gua to Urop (all names for villages), the Yupno constantly enumerate the villages and resting places that have to be traversed (Wassmann 1997: 155). Villagers' houses as well as villages and other toponyms, though convenient points of reference, are rather difficult for outsiders to identify. Consequently, finding the way in Hsinshê Village involves much knowledge not only of the local geography but also of where the local people live.

In addition, though the whole route descriptions include just four occurrences of direction change, only two speakers mention all of them. More importantly, the four occurrences of direction change do not demonstrate a consistent deployment of any particular type of FoR, both within and across speakers, as illustrated in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Reference objects or directions for the four occurrences of DP+

	1 st DP+	2 nd DP+	3 rd DP+	4 th DP+
Speaker A	'south'	'left; down'	'left'	'right; down'
Speaker B	'south'	'east'	'north'	N/A
Speaker C	'the crowd'	'east; down'	N/A	N/A
Speaker D	'south'	'down; east'	'left'	N/A
Speaker E	'right; south'	'east; sea; left'	'left; down'	'right; down'

While the Absolute FoR is exploited by all the speakers, the Relative FoR is adopted by three and the Intrinsic FoR is only restricted to Speaker C. What's more, no speakers employ the same type of FoR across all occurrences of DP+, except for Speaker B, who consistently refers to the cardinal directions. These results may imply the Absolute FoR is the commonest reference system in Kavalan route directions, and that the NSEW subtype is well-established across different direction changes.

The prominent status of the Absolute FoR in Kavalan is further evidenced in Table 1:, where the tokens for the Absolute FoR outnumber those for the Relative and Intrinsic (respectively 17.8, 4.8, and 2.5). Of the three subtypes of the Absolute FoR, reference to cardinal directions and the up-down axis is noticeably more frequent whereas reference to the land-sea axis is extremely rare (6.8 for NSEW, 10.5 for up-down, and 0.3 for land-sea). The two extremes with the up-down axis on the one hand and the land-sea axis on the other are worth some explanations. For one thing, the high frequency of reference to the up-down axis results from the speakers' constant awareness of the altitude change even when the direction has been indicated by cardinal points or the left-right axis. Take the second DP+ in Table 2 for example. Other than cardinal points or the left-right axis, three of the speakers referred to the up-down axis as well. As for the low frequency of reference to the land-sea axis, it might have something to do with the conceptual sources of the cardinal directions in Kavalan. Specifically, cardinal east (*waRi*) and west (*zaya*) in Kavalan are conceptually intertwined with "seaward" and "uphill" respectively. Given this conceptual association, reference to cardinal east and west prevails over reference to the sea (*lazing*) and the mountain (*naung*), thus yielding the low tokens of reference to the land-sea axis (the only example being *pasa-lazing* 'toward the sea' in E7).

Finally, in terms of the syntactic structures that express both direction and action, two constructions are recurrent, as illustrated in (4).

(4) *Two constructions that express both action and direction:*

- a. Direction after Action: *t<m>uqaz pasa zaya* ‘Go up toward the west.’ [A4],
saRuR-ka=ti pasa libeng ‘Go downward.’ [A5], *s<m>aRuR=ita pasa Raqit* ‘We go
down toward the crowd.’ [C2], *s<m>aRuR=ita pasazi ti-Raciang-an aizipana* ‘We go
down toward Raciang’s house.’ [C3], *s<m>aRuR pasa waRi ngayaw-niq* ‘We head
down toward the east.’ [D6], *s<m>aRuR pasa imis, usa pasa tibuR* ‘Move toward the
north, no, toward the sound.’ [E2]
- b. Direction before Action: *pasa-kawili-ka s<m>aRuR* ‘Go down to the left.’ [A4],
pasa-kawili-ka=ti s<m>iliw ‘Turn left.’ [A5], *pasa-kawanan=ti=ita s<m>aRuR* ‘We
go down to the right.’ [A6], *pasa-kawanan-ka=ti s<m>aqay* ‘Walk toward the right.’
[E2], *pasa-kawili-ka=ti k<m>ulikuz tu lazan ’nay* ‘Turn left and follow that road.’
[E7], *sa-kawili-ka=ti s<m>aRuR sinunung tu lazan* ‘Go down toward the left, (and)
follow the road.’ [E9]

Interestingly enough, when direction follows action (4a), the FoR exploited is either Absolute or Intrinsic. When direction precedes action (4b), however, the FoR is exclusively Relative. Although the other way around is not prohibited, this distribution should mean nothing less than a coincidence. It seems that the Kavalan people are conscious of the uniqueness of the Relative FoR and organize it differently by changing the linear ordering between action and direction. A possible explanation is that the ternary relationship in the Relative FoR (among the Figure, the Ground, and the viewer), as opposed to the binary relationship in the Absolute and Intrinsic FoR (between the Figure and the Ground), generates a different degree of cognitive complexity, which contributes to the eventual difference in syntax as shown in (4).

4. CONCLUSION. In this chapter, we have analyzed the route directions from five speakers narrating the way from Abas’ house to Racinag’s in Hsinshê Village. Although different rout directions that guide wayfinders through the same route may be considered equal from a pragmatic point of view, they are very likely to vary on the conceptual level (Richter and Klippel 2004:60). The conceptual variations are mostly reflected in different types of FoR exploited for the direction change at the same decision point as well as different types of spatial chunking that segment a sequence of decision points into a unit. For example, at the decision point where the path to Abas’ house and the Coastal Highway meet, attested descriptions include “toward the south”, “toward the right”, and “toward the crowd”, with each creating a different conceptualizations of the real world.

Due to the geographical layout in Hsinshê Village, the west-east axis corresponds to the land-sea and up-down axes while the north-south axis to the up-down axis. As a result, these overlapping axes in the local environment enhance the prominent status of the Absolute FoR in Kavalan route directions. On the other hand, the Absolute FoR is conceptually more akin to the Intrinsic FoR instead of the Relative FoR, for they both depend on a binary relationship between the Figure and the Ground. This discrepancy

between the Absolute and Intrinsic FoR on one hand and the Relative FoR on the other is in all probability what gives rise to the different morphosyntactic realizations between the Relative FoR, wherein direction exclusively precede action, and Absolute/Intrinsic FoR, wherein direction always follows action.

Due to the nature of the geographical layout of Hsinshê Village, the west-east axis corresponds to the land-sea and up-down axes while the north-south axis to the up-down axis. Consequently, these overlapping axes in the local environment enhance the prominent status of the Absolute FoR (both cardinal directions and the up-down axis) in Kavalan route directions. Moreover, finding the way in Hsinshê Village involves much knowledge not only of the local geography but also of where the local people live as attested by the frequent mentions of villagers' houses that serve as identifiers of a decision point en route.

Given the prominent status of the Absolute FoR in Kavalan route instructions, it is worth asking whether the same type of FoR is still preferred for different scales of orientation. For example, the "Man and Tree" methodology devised by the Nijmegen research group at Max Planck Institute would be an appropriate elicitation tool for expressions of the static configuration between two entities. In fact, we have gathered some conversational data for the "Man and Tree" settings. A preliminary analysis shows that two Kavalan speakers regularly make use of the scene-internal strategy (e.g. "The man is facing the tree.") and the Relative FoR, without ever deploying the Absolute FoR in their negotiations. However, another speaker, when asked to describe each picture alone, ubiquitously appeals to the Absolute FoR. It is hoped that the deployment of Frames of Reference in Kavalan, and ultimately language speaker's conceptualizations of the real world, will become lucid as more data accumulate in the future.

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A Pedagogic Approach to Filipino Lexicography

Peter Paul Sengson, Alexandra David, Camille Dumandan, Casey Giron, Marc Mauro Orenza,
Michael Wilson Rosero, Angelique Sadie, Krystal Joy Sembrano, Paul Julian Santiago, and
Danielle Anne Tadena

University of the Philippines - Diliman

peterpaulsengson@yahoo.com

Introduction

In order to learn a foreign language like English, references such as grammar books, textbooks, and bilingual dictionaries are significant. Among these, bilingual dictionaries are what foreign language learners immediately refer to for quick consultation. The purpose for which a dictionary is intended for is a powerful determining factor for its pedagogical usefulness (Hartmann, 1983).

There are two main purposes why people use or consult a bilingual dictionary: (1) for comprehension, and (2) for translation (Landau, 1989). It is for the latter purpose that a bilingual dictionary is more often used – to help the user translate texts from one language into another.

In the Philippines, where English is one of the official languages and is used widely in communication, dictionaries are essential in learning the language. Bilingual dictionaries that are being sold to the public vary in number of word entries, accuracy in definition and styles. Yet all of these dictionaries seem to be similar in the way they define a given entry (Santiago, pers. comm.). These dictionaries, though presented in various forms, seem to have a common way of defining: a word entry from a target language is defined using the nearest equivalent word or phrase from the source language. This type of definition will be called, henceforth, the “traditional” way of defining. Filipinos learning the English language is then left with no choice but to buy these dictionaries.

Traditional dictionary gives the nearest equivalent of the entry from a target language (L2) to a source language (L1). English-Filipino dictionaries, like Gabby's Practical English-Filipino Dictionary which resembles the Merriam-Webster type of dictionary, list all the possible senses of the entry word. However, the context of word usage is not established thus leaving a vague idea on the word. From all the listed senses or word equivalent given as definition, most are polysemous in meaning and is ambiguous e.g. the synonymous words like *thief* and *burglar*. On the other hand, the use of nearest equivalent in definition follows the principle of substitutability as well as brevity; but still remains confusing. For cases of ostensive definition in which pictures are illustrated and are at times used for concrete referents, the definition in text becomes problematic with respect to other senses of the word. Some of these illustrations do not coincide with the given definitions or sample sentences. Moreover, it does not provide clear ideas on, say, abstract nouns such as "love" which is defined as "*pagmamahal o pag-aaruga*" and beauty as "*kagandahan*". Most of the dictionaries being sold in the market follow this type of definition.

In comparison to this "traditional" type of dictionaries, the Collins COBUILD Advanced Learners Dictionary promotes a new way in which a word should be defined. However, to date there is still no published and on sale English-Filipino dictionary that works in the same way as how the monolingual COBUILD defines an entry. For example, instead of listing its usage only as a noun, the dictionary also points out the correct conjugation of irregular nouns to its plural form thus helping the reader to distinguish it between regular nouns. These classifications are very helpful for the non-native speakers who are more likely to be unsure about how to use a word. Furthermore, COBUILD gives sentence definitions which do not only provide the approximate meanings of the entry word but also contextualize the definition by giving practical descriptions and situations. Although this type of definition does not follow to substitutability and brevity principle in some cases, what it does is that it defines the word in an explanatory way that the learner would

understand the entry without sacrificing its precision. Also it exhibits simplicity as it uses simple terms in defining as it contextualizes the entry to how it is functions in different situations. This type of simplicity is best seen in abstract terms that do not have concrete referent.

Given a sample word entry, we can clearly see the difference between the “traditional” definition and the COBUILD-type definition. In Gabby’s Practical English-Filipino Dictionary (1999), the noun “burglar” is defined as:

burglar (ber’ glar) n. – magnanakaw, kawatan, manloloob; mandarambong; akyat-bahay; BURGLARIOUS (ber’ gle’ ri yus) adj. – hinggil sa panloloob o pagnanakaw ; BURGLARIZE (ber’ gle rayz) v. - nakawan; pagnakawan; looban; pasukin ang bahay o gusali (upang pagnakawan); BURGLAR PROOF (ber’ gler pruf) adj. - hindi kayang pasukin ng magnanakaw; BURGLARY (ber’ gle ri) v. – pagnanakaw; panloloob, pagpasok sa bahay upang ito ay panlooban; BURGLE (ber’ gel) v. - magnakaw

In a dictionary patterned to Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary 1987 edition, the word “burglar” should appear like this:

burglar¹ /bɜːglə/, **burglars**. Ang burglar ay isang magnanakaw na pwersahang pumapasok sa isang bahay o ibang gusali². EG Pinasok ng *burglar* ang kanyang bahay at tinangay ang lahat ng kanyang pagmamay-ari. A burglar broke into his house and took away all his valuable possessions

In this paper we looked at the relative effectiveness of the two types of dictionary as an instrument in gaining vocabulary competence from L1³ to L2⁴. We then tried to see what attributes of a dictionary can be accounted for, to say that it is pedagogic. We argue that a pedagogic English-Filipino dictionary must have (1) definitions which (a) do not only provide the nearest equivalents but contextualizes the definitions by way of giving of practical descriptions and situations, and (b) employs the most frequently-used words in Filipino; and (2) sample sentences in Filipino that demonstrates actual usage of the word.

¹ Other derivations of the word “burglar” such as “burglary”, “burglarize”, etc. is defined as separate entry.

² This definition in Filipino is a direct translation from the English definition available in the Collins-COBUILD dictionary.

³ This is the target language and in this paper this is the English language.

⁴ This is the source language and in this paper this is the Filipino language.

This paper is subdivided into six parts. Section I is this introduction. Section II discusses related works on lexicography. The methodology used in collecting the data will be talked about in Section III. Section IV will be allotted for the presentation of the data collected. In Section V, we will give a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data collected; and Section VI shall conclude this study.

II. Dictionary and Lexicography

The term “dictionary” is a powerful word; the word suggests authority, scholarship and precision (Landau, 1981. p.6). Any successful record of the language such as a dictionary is itself a contribution to authority. People tend to believe that dictionaries tell them what is or is not allowed in a language (Sinclair, 1987). What makes a good dictionary according to Haas (1962) is one in which you can find the word you are looking for preferably in the very first place you look. Its main purpose is to provide help to someone to better understand the language.

There are a number of ways by which a dictionary can be classified. Malkiel (as cited in Landau, 1989) provided three categories: perspective, presentation and range. Perspective is based on how the compiler views the work (diachronic or synchronic) and what approach is taken (how it is organized). Presentation signifies how the material of a given perspective is presented while range refers to the size and scope of the dictionary, including the number of languages covered (monolingual, bilingual or multilingual) and the extent of concentration on lexical data.

Lexicography, as Hartmann and James (1998) defined it, is the professional activity and academic field concerned with dictionaries and other reference works. It has two basic divisions: lexicographic practice or dictionary-making and lexicographic theory or dictionary research. Lexicographic practice or dictionary-making processes abide by the following principles: 1) priority of essence in which the most essential elements should come first before the incidental elements, 2)

Simplicity which suggests that simple words are not defined using difficult words that is why complex words or concepts are learned from a dictionary, 3) substitutability wherein a definition should be substitutable for the word in context and 4) brevity which basically calls for the need to save space without sacrificing the precision of meaning (Landau, 1989). It requires thorough research of the language and the consideration of several factors by the lexicographer when choosing and defining the entry words to be included in the dictionary.

Bilingual Dictionaries

The basic purpose of a bilingual dictionary is to coordinate the lexical units of one language with those lexical units of another language which are equivalent in their lexical meaning (Zgusta, 1971). Unfortunately the way most of the reference materials published thus far have been prepared, makes them useful only for purposes of analysis, recognition or comprehension and there is nothing, or very little, in them that makes them useful for synthesis or production: they are all diagnostic ‘rather than generating’ (Hartmann, 1983). Some dictionaries that can be said to be truly “generating are Hornby’s Advanced Learner’s Dictionary and the more recent Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English. However, these dictionaries still have some limitations such as non-specificity with regard to the learner’s cultural background. For instance, a Filipino high school student might not know that an “igloo” is a dome-shaped house that Eskimos make out blocks of hard snow. In such cases wherein the lexical item has no equivalent term in L1, a good bilingual dictionary should define the term using words and sample sentences in L1 to avoid altering its definition.

Corpus-based Dictionary

The COBUILD ELD was a breakthrough in English lexicography pioneering the use of corpus in making a dictionary. It presented a new kind of definition, a definition that is contextualized by giving practical descriptions and situations as stated above. This type of dictionary pays particular attention to the functions of words and phrases; functions such as in conversation or writing (e.g. you'd better, no kidding) or in drawing the attention of the hearer or reader to what you are about to say (e.g. as for myself). It is a principle of this dictionary that it should be easily understood by the learner for whom it is designed (Sinclair, 1987).

The use of a corpus in lexicography has produced positive outcome and has made significant contributions to the craft of dictionary-making. Advantageous though as it may seem, the main limitations of the use of a corpus is that no matter how large it is and how carefully it has been assembled, it cannot possibly represent truly the myriad ways in which language is used spontaneously in speech and deliberately in writing (Landau, 1989). But then we can be assured that as the corpus gets larger and larger, there will be a greater chance that the definitions and usage of the words being defined will be more accurate. However, it may take a lot of research and time to create a dictionary that can represent all the possible usage of all the words.

III. Methodology

Procedure

The participants in this research were 3rd year high school students from five different schools. There were a total of 159 respondents.

Before doing the actual experiment to test the effectiveness of the two-types of dictionaries, a pre-experiment was conducted to ascertain that the use of a dictionary will help yield higher results for the respondents. One school (Echo) was administered a vocabulary test for three (3):

groups A, B and C. Group A was given pedagogic-type definitions, while students in group B were provided with the word entries defined in the traditional way and no dictionary aid was given to Group C, which served as a control group.

After proving that the use of dictionaries affected the scores of the students significantly, the actual experiment was administered.

The four (4) participant schools in which the actual experiment was conducted as tested for the relative effectiveness of the two types of dictionary, two (2) 50-point vocabulary tests were prepared: Phase I and Phase II. The students of these schools were divided randomly into two groups, A and B. The testing materials distributed to Group A or B, were accompanied by definition of words from one of the two types of dictionary to aid the students in answering each phase.

In phase I, students in group A were given pedagogic-type definitions, while students in group B were provided with the word entries defined in the traditional way. In phase II, the opposite was done, Group A was given definitions in the traditional way, and the pedagogic-type definitions this time was given to Group B.

IV. Presentation of Data

The scores of each student were then recorded according to Group, Phase and School. The data was analyzed using descriptive statistical methods which enabled us to compare the mean scores per group. Refer to **Table I & II** for the graph of mean scores. The data from the first four schools were further analyzed using the *Student's T-Test* to affirm the significance of the difference in mean score of each group. Refer to **Table IV, V, VI & VII**. The data from the last school (Echo) was analyzed using *Single Classification ANOVA (Analysis of Variance)* to account for the source of variation and was further analyzed using the *F-test* for significance. Refer to **Table VIII** for the analysis of variance.

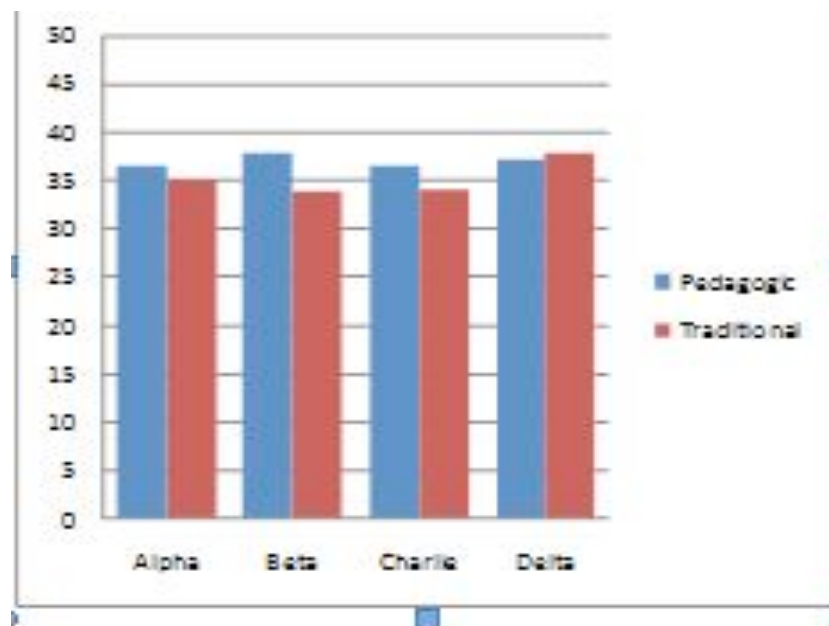


Table 1 *Phase I Mean Scores*

Table 2 Phase II Mean Scores

Table 3 Mean Scores of Echo

PHASE 1		PHASE 2	
df =	16	df =	16
$\alpha =$	0.05	$\alpha =$	0.05
t =	5.66	t =	3.87
T value significant at > 2.120			

Table 4 t-test data (Alpha)

PHASE 1		PHASE 2	
df =	13	df =	13
$\alpha =$	0.05	$\alpha =$	0.05
t =	7.24	t =	2.18
T value significant at > 2.160			

Table 5 t-test data

(Bravo)

PHASE 1		PHASE 2	
df =	16	df =	16
$\alpha =$	0.05	$\alpha =$	0.05
t =	5.66	t =	0.97
T value significant at > 2.120			

Table 6 t-test data (Charlie)

PHASE 1		PHASE 2	
df =	17	df =	17
$\alpha =$	0.5	$\alpha =$	0.5
t =	-1.51	t =	1.46
T value significant at > 2.110			

Table 7 t-test data (Delta)

Source Of Variation	df	Sum-of-squares	Mean-Square
Between groups	2	609.474	304.7037
Within groups	24	489.556	20.3982
Total	26	1099.03	325.1019

$$f = 14.9378$$

value significant at > 3.40

Table 8 Analysis of Variance data (Echo)

V. Analysis of Data

The data showed that the Groups who used pedagogic-type definitions yielded higher mean scores than the Groups who used the traditional definitions. In Phase I, mean scores of Beta exhibited a high difference of 3.8371. However, Delta showed the opposite trend, the group who used traditional-type of definition yielded a mean score 0.6 higher than the other group. In Phase II, a better trend can be observed since all the Groups who received the pedagogic-type definitions yielded higher mean scores than those who used the traditional-type definition. Since almost the same trend was observed for the two phases, we assume that the students were not a big factor that could have affected the results. The *T-Test* data showed that in Phase I, the difference of the means was significant for Alpha, Bravo and Charlie at alpha (α) = 0.05. Delta exhibited a negative *T-Value*. In Phase II, Bravo and Charlie also exhibited a significant mean difference and there were no negative *T-Value* results, which imply that the use of a pedagogic dictionary aids a student extensively, better than the traditional type.

Meanwhile, the Analysis of Variance data for Echo showed a higher *between-group mean square* than *within-group*. This enabled us to conclude that the source of variation was in between the groups. Wherein, we assume that the only factor different among the groups was the type of definitions given to aid them in answering. The mean score of the control group (C) was way lower than the mean scores of Groups A and B. It can be concluded that the use of dictionary of whichever type, greatly affected the score of the students positively. The data also showed a very high *F Value*

at 14.9378, where the significance value was 3.40, which leads us to conclude that the mean differences for this data were also significant.

The statistical data therefore affirmed that the usage of pedagogical-type of definition was more effective than the traditional-type.

VI. Conclusion

The process of dictionary-making requires a great deal of meticulousness. It is an act that should be carried out with utmost consideration of principles that make up a good dictionary. As this paper has shown, these principles include priority of essence, simplicity, substitutability and brevity.

However, although these principles are established, there are dictionaries that stray from certain principles in satisfying their purpose. This paper has differentiated the “traditional” type of dictionary which abides with all of the above mentioned principles from the COBUILD type of dictionary, which do not follow some of these principles, such as substitutability and brevity yet it proved its effectiveness than the “traditional” type of dictionary as seen in the results of this study therefore, supporting our argument that pedagogic English-Filipino dictionary must have (1) definitions which (a) do not only provide the nearest equivalents but contextualizes the definitions by way of giving of practical descriptions and situations, and (b) employs the most frequently-used words in Filipino; and (2) sample sentences in Filipino that demonstrates actual usage of the word. This calls for a publication of a pedagogic English-Filipino dictionary patterned on the COBUILD type of dictionary with consideration with culture-based lexical entries.

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BV construction in Tsou and the coding of adjunct NPs

Huei-ju Huang
National Taiwan University
huanghueiju@yahoo.com

Shuanfan Huang
Yuanze University
sfhuang@ntu.edu.tw

Introduction

Studies on argument structure in languages have traditionally shown little interest in peripheral participants (Goldberg 1995, Grimshaw 1990, Payne 1997, among many other references.) Languages deal with these peripheral participants in a number of different ways. In English, the oblique nominals (as in 'I wrote *with a pen*') usually occur as adjuncts, are more formally marked, and are considered to occur optionally in clauses. In Mohawk (Mithun 2005), the 'peripheral' participants can appear in alternative structures (Example (1)).

(1) Mohawk (Mithun 2005)

a. instrument applicative

<i>Óniehte,</i>	<i>khok</i>	<i>rononnhéhkwén</i>
<i>o-nieht-'</i>	<i>khok</i>	<i>ron-onnhe-khw-en</i>
NEUTER-SNOW-NS	only	M.PL.PAT-live-INST.APPLIC-STATIVE
snow	only	they were living <u>on it</u>
'They were surviving on snow.'		

b. recipient as core

Kon'serehtanihèn:ne'
Kon-'sEre-ht-A-nih-en-hne'
1.SG/2.SG-drag-NMZR-JR-lend-STATIVE-PAST
I car lent you
'I lent you the car.'

c. incorporation of instrument

wakérhon
wake-rh-on
1.SG.PAT-coat-STATIVE
'I have coated it.'

In Tsou, a Formosan language spoken in southwest Taiwan, most types of 'peripheral' nominals must structurally be treated as obligatory core arguments, appearing as a nominative NP in Benefactive voice (BV) clauses. In this study, we demonstrate that the argument realization patterns in Tsou are in part determined by how verbs lexically define their participants. The discussions will demonstrate that BV construction in Tsou are employed for dealing with a participant which ranked as second to core participants of completing an event. That is, these generally recognized as 'peripheral' nominals strongly

tends to be elicited as the nominative NP of BV clauses. Tsou syntactically marks as obligatory arguments those nominal expressions that in European languages are commonly treated as peripheral participants. In other words, Tsou data does not support the argument/adjunct distinction as a language universal.

1. Voice constructions in Tsou

Tsou, a Formosan language spoken in the south-western Taiwan, reveals a characteristic of Philippine-type languages, having a remarkable voice system to indicate the semantic roles of the nominative NPs on verbs. However, unlike many other Formosan languages, Zeitoun (2005:286) points out that Tsou verbs do not exhibit the following morphological distinctions:

- a. Tsou encodes temporal/aspectual distinctions on auxiliary verbs. Main verbs in Tsou do not encode such distinctions.
- b. Tsou main verbs do not employ different voice marking patterns to distinguish indicative from imperative.
- c. Tsou do not morphologically distinguish stative verbs from dynamic verbs.

Based on these characteristics, it can be seen that the voice system in Tsou is used primarily to cross-index the nominative NPs in relation to the verb. However, although Tsou has four voice forms: AV (actor voice), PV (patient voice), LV (locative voice) and BV (benefactive voice), some voice forms have a very limited distribution. For example, Huang (2005) indicates BV clauses only account for just 2.9% of all clauses in the corpus. In addition, verbs with all four voice forms are also only rarely attested. What voice forms a verb can have varies from verb to verb.

In our recent study on Tsou voices (Huang & Huang 2007), the acceptable voice forms of different verb types are sorted out, and the semantic map of NAV voice to the corresponding semantic roles in Tsou has also been figured out (Figure 1). The three non-actor voice forms separately tend to co-occur with certain thematic roles: PV for Patient, LV for Goal, and BV for Transported Theme, Benefactive, Comitative, and Cause.

The co-occurrence of voice forms and the semantic roles of the corresponding nominative nouns to a certain extent are defined by the lexical semantics of verbs, as

shown in Table 1.

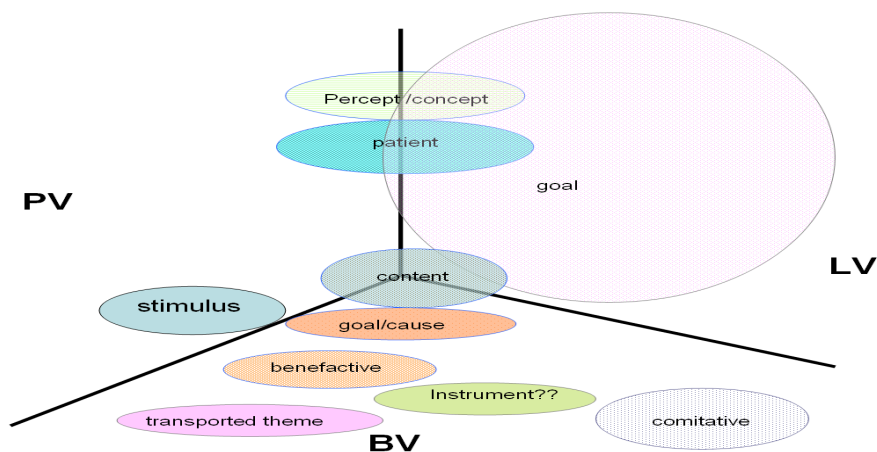


Figure 1 Semantic space of the nominative NPs in NAV clauses (Huang and Huang 2007)

Table 1 Verb type, voice form, semantic roles of nominative NPs (Huang & Huang 2007)

	1 participant	2 participants	3 participants	4 participants
Emotion B/ Sociative action/ Motion A	AV: Experiencer /Agent/Theme	BV: Benefactive /Cause/ Comitative	--	--
Perception & cognition	--	AV: Experiencer PV/LV: Percept/ Concept	--	--
Emotion A	AV: Experiencer	BV: Stimulus	--	--
Action A	--	AV: Agent PV: Patient	BV: Benefactive /Instrument??	--
Action B	--	AV: Agent LV: Goal	BV: Benefactive	--
Ditransitive	--	--	AV: Agent LV: Recipient BV: Transported theme	--
Saying	--	AV: Agent PV/LV: Goal / Cause	BV: Cause	--
Motion B, C	--	AV: Agent PV/LV: Goal / Cause	BV: Cause	--
Placement	--	AV: Agent PV: Patient	LV: Goal	BV: Benefactive

Table 1 shows both the voice forms that each verb type usually can occur in, and the semantic roles of the corresponding nominative NPs in different voice forms. Notice that 'participants' here refers to the NPs that are structurally included in a clause, temporally leaving aside the issue of the core/non-core argument distinction.

Table 1 also indicates that most types of verbs have AV and PV, or AV and LV forms. AV/PV/LV behave more like general indicative clauses, and their semantic roles are more expected based on the general understanding of what are possible core participants in a verbal predicate. In discourse data, the LV clauses with a nominative NP referring to a purely physical location only appear in embedded relative clauses, as shown in example (1), and non-physical locations in LVs usually refer to a Goal argument, as in example (2).

(1) (Snake 54-56)

<i>la</i>	<i>na'no</i>	<i>autut'inghi</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>[la-si</i>	<i>eon-ij</i> REL.
AUX.HAB	very.AV	picky-AV	OBL	HAB-3SG	stay-LV

"They are very picky about their place of living."

(2) (Frog 1:92)

<i>i-he</i>	<i>cu</i>	<i>teok-i</i>	<i>'e</i>	<i>fo'kunge .\</i>
AUX.NAV-3PL	PFV	see.LV	NOM	frog

"They saw the frog."

The BV construction, on the contrary, behaves quite differently. The semantic roles of BV verbs are diverse. Some semantically 'peripheral' arguments of verbs, such as Cause in saying verbs and motion verbs, or Benefactive in placement verbs, can be marked nominative. Compared with AV/PV/LV constructions, what the nominative NP a BV can take is not easy to predict. As in example (3), the nominative NP of the same BV verb *congveni* 'ache.BV' may be the aching body part, as in (3a), and the Cause, as 'Mo'o' in (3b).

(3) (Huang & Huang 2007:429)

a.	<i>os-'o</i>	<i>congveni</i>	<i>co</i>	<i>fngU-'u</i>	
	AUX.NAV-1SG.GEN	ache.BV	NOM	head-1SG.GEN	

'My head is aching.'

b.	<i>la-'u</i>	<i>na'na</i>	<i>congveni</i>	<i>fngU-'u</i>	<i>'e</i>	<i>mo'o</i>
	HAB-1SG.GEN	very.PV	pain.BV	head-1SG.GEN	NOM	PN

<i>ho</i>	<i>la-ta</i>	<i>oha</i>	<i>tmaolalU</i>	
CONJ	HAB-3SG.GEN	NEG	obedient.AV	

'I am having headache over Mo'o, because he fails to heed (my words).'

As pointed out in Huang & Huang (2007), these four voice affixes on the verbs in fact do not always refer to the expected semantic roles. Even though Table 1 summarizes the distribution patterns of the voice forms for each verb type, it remains a mystery as to

why a given verb type A may have PV and BV forms, but verb type B only has a PV, but allows no BV form.

In the following section, we would like to make further observations on the behavior of BV, and we suggest that, based on the distributional facts mentioned above, BV in Tsou is a construction specialized for dealing with semantically 'non-core' participants.

2.0 BV in Tsou

2.1 nominative NP in BV

A Tsou BV nominative-marked NP may refer to a Transported Theme, a Benefactive, a Cause or a Comitative, as shown in Figure 1 and Table 1 above. S. Huang (2005) has proposed that these semantic roles are cognitively related, and that Transported Theme is the more basic function, and Instrument and Benefactive functions are derived. However, empirical data in H. Huang & S. Huang (2007) show that purely verbal semantics only has limited role to play in predicting a proper interpretation of the nominative NPs of the BVs.

As mentioned in the preceding sections, Tsou has four types of voice constructions and each defines different combinations of participant roles, including those generally considered as 'peripheral' participants. The voice affixes on verbs in Tsou indicate which NP must be marked by nominative, and all the other NPs in the clause must then be marked by oblique case. How many voice patterns a given verb may take part in are primarily determined by the lexical semantics of the verb, though there are other complicating factors (Huang and Huang 2007).

Nominative NPs of a BV are usually 'peripheral' arguments. Let's take example (4) as an illustration. The nominative NP in (4a) is a benefactive. The noun in the corresponding English translation is indicated by a preposition, an oblique marker, and is non-core argument, but in (4a) it is marked nominative in Tsou. In (4b), the nominative NP is a Cause/Reason. Also, these semantic roles tend to be coded oblique in many other languages, but in Tsou, they are marked nominative. In (4c), the nominative NP is a companion of the actor. In many other languages, companions are marked as oblique, but in Tsou, companion NP in BV clauses are marked nominative. And in (4d), the nominative NP is an Instrument.

(4) a. BV : Benefactive

os-'o pei'i-neni 'o mo eahioa
 AUX.NAV-1SG cook-BV NOM AUX.AV work.AV
 'I cooked for those were working.'

b. BV: Cause/Reason

os-'o aananaveni
 AUX.NAV-1SG work.hard.BV
'o peisu ci te-ta titha tmops← ta mo'o
 NOM money REL AUX.FUT-3SG use.PV study OBL PN
 'I worked so hard (to earn) the money for Mo'o's studying.'

c. BV: companion

i-si suepoh-neni to mo'o 'o paic←
 AUX.NAV-3SG sit.together-BV OBL PN NOM PN
 'Mo'o sat together with Paic←.' (OBL NP = Actor= bound pronoun –si)

d. BV: instrument

os-'o ciev-eni to zomu 'o s'of←
 AUX.NAV-1SG target-BV OBL bird NOM gun
 'I targeted at the bird with the gun.'

The nominative NPs in the BV clauses above, then, are all semantic roles categorized as 'peripheral' arguments in many other languages (see Table 1). Given the difference of nominative in BV or in AV/PV/LV, we need to find out in what way Tsou marks the distinction on core and non-core participants?

All elicited data and discourse data in our corpus show that Tsou case markers on lexical nouns are not employed to distinguish core from peripheral arguments of events. Since Tsou only has two kinds of case marker on lexical nouns: nominative and oblique, all nouns except for nominative NP are marked as oblique. In example (4), the oblique NP *mo'o* in (4c) is the Actor of the clause, but the oblique NP *zomu* 'bird' in (4d) is a Goal of the activity. Accordingly, case marking in Tsou cannot distinguish NP from core to non-core argument¹.

Tsou has no adpositions and thus, with the exception of times and physical locations, generally recognized 'peripheral' participants can only appear in BV. In our corpus data, the 'peripheral' participants always appear as nominative NPs in BV clauses, as shown in example (4) above, and hardly ever appear as optional adjuncts in either AV or PV

¹ In fact, nominative/oblique distinction in Tsou is simply coding the NP cross-indexing to voice affix on verb. One clear function is for relativization: the head NP in relative clauses must be nominative. Except for this, the function of nominative NP in Tsou so far is still not yet very clear. We strongly surmise that nominative-oblique distinction in Tsou is related to a patterned way of encoding discourse information: to bring in a referent other than Actor roles in focus. Part of the evidence is derived from the discussions on noun-referring patterns in Huang and Huang (to appear). Further discussions will be elaborated in Huang and Huang (2008) and Huang (in progress).

conveying secondary information. BV constructions in Tsou are language specific constructions that function to encode more peripheral arguments of events.

Therefore, the function of a BV construction is mainly to bring in an extra participant which does not and cannot function as the nominative NP in the corresponding AV or PV/LV clauses. That is, the BV construction in Tsou is a mechanism of augmenting an extra argument, that is, a non-Agent, non-Patient and non-Goal argument, into the clause.

However, uses of BV forms are not automatic mechanical processes based on lexical selection or the semantic role of their nominative NPs alone, but may also require more global approach that considers the structure and function of a complex sentence of which the BV clause itself is a part. Moreover, BV in complicated predicates behaves somewhat different. In *pa*-causative construction, if the non-causativized base verb is NAV, a BV suffix *-(n)eni* will attach to the *pa*-V_{NAV} combination, forming the predicate of the causative (cf. Figure 2). Although there is an extra-argument (the Causer) added to the non-causativised clause, the Causer is not what BV cross-indexes (cf. Huang and Huang 2007). As in example (9) and (10), the Causer in (9b) and (10b) are in the Actor position-expressed as a bound pronoun attached to the predicate-initial auxiliary. The nominative NPs of the causativized clauses (9b) and (10b) are themes affected by the causativized events. In this regard, BVs in Tsou cannot be seen simply as devices for manipulating argument augmentation. The argument augmentation from Tsou causativization also results in a re-designation of NP markers (case markers) to all NPs in the new clause, and thus forms a new causative verb of benefactive voice.

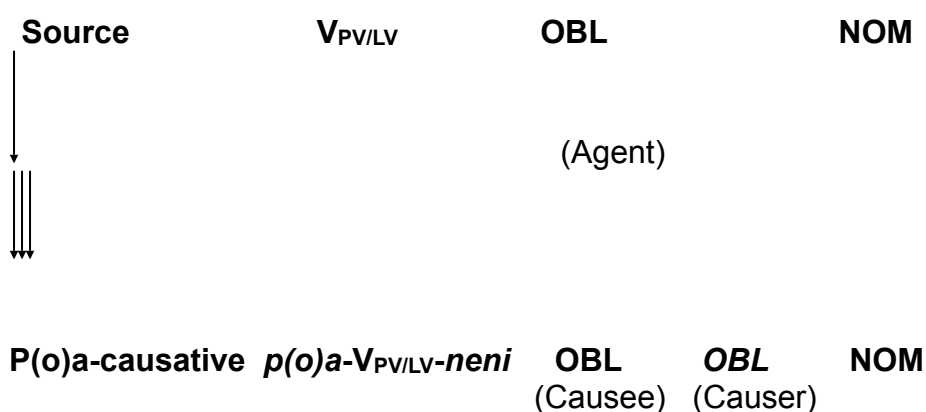


Figure 2 causativization on PV/LV verbs (Huang & Huang 2007:447)

(9) a. Base verb is PV

i-si ana to pasuya 'o f'ue
 AUX.NAV-3SG.GEN eat.PV OBL PN NOM yam
 'Pasuya ate the yam.'

b. PV verb causativized

i-si poa-ana-neni to pasuya to voyu 'o f'ue
 AUX.NAF-3SG CAU-eat.PV-BV OBL PN OBL PN NOM yam
 'Voyu made Pasuya eat the yam.'

(10)a. Base verb is LV

i-si fii to bUnUvhU to mo'o 'o Pasuya
 AUX.NAV-1SG give.LV OBL fruit OBL PN NOM PN
 'Mo'o gave some fruit to Pasuya.'

b. LV verb causativized

os-'o pa-fii-neni to bUnUvhU to mo'o
 AUX.NAV-1SG CAU-give.LV-BV OBL fruit OBL PN
'o Pasuya
 NOM PN
 'I made Mo'o give some fruit to Pasuya.'

In addition, the use of a BV verb in Tsou may not be determined by the nominative NP alone, but by the construction as a whole (Huang and Huang 2006).

(11) *os-'o i'miz-neni to tethu'ta ho aiti*
 AUX.NAV-1SG.GEN from-BV OBL window CONJ see.LV
ne mi-ta sucaefi
 when AUX.AV-3SG.NOM pass.by.AV
 'I saw him passing by from a window (when he passed by).'

In example (11), the nominative nominal of *i'miz-neni* 'from' must be 'seeing him passing by'. The nominative NP of the verb *i'miz-neni* encodes a visual event, which caught the experiencer's attention. However, verbal valence of the minimal verb *i'miz* 'from' does not normally require an argument referring to visual perception. BV in this example is used to associate two nominals (the experiencer and the visual event). The use of a BV verb here is determined not by the nominative NP alone, but by the construction as a whole. All these examples suggest that BV is also employed to include a noun less directly relevant to complete an event, whereas such a usage is more restricted in the idiomatic-like construction as shown in (11).

As shown in Table 1, 3-place verbs, such as ditransitive verbs and placement verbs, may employ BV to encode the Theme role, as shown in Example (12).

- (12)a. *os-'o pa'cohiv-neni ta 'o-'oko*
 AUX.NAV-1SG.GEN teach-BV OBL RED-child
'o la-'o co-cohivi ne noana'o
 NOM HAB-1SG.GEN RED-know.LV past
 'I taught children what I have experienced.'
- b. *os-'o faeni ta yangui 'o b←n←vh←*
 AUX.NAV-1SG.GEN give.BV OBL PN NOM fruit
 'I gave Yangui the fruit.'

Given that in Tsou different voices cross-index NPs with certain semantic roles (as shown in Table 1), each voice construction serve different functions to mark different kinds of NPs as the nominative. As shown in Table 1, AV, PV/LV tend to encode more core roles such as Actor/Patient/Experiencer/Goal, and the Theme role is very unlikely to be the nominative in PV/LV clauses. Thus, in (12) a nominative Theme occurs in a BV construction. Thus BV may be seen as a structure for including one more NP other than what AV, PV/LV can encode, simply because there is no other alternative construction in Tsou for such an expression.

3.0 Conclusion

We have shown that the BV construction is a typical way for expressing the more 'peripheral' semantic role as the nominative NP of BV clauses. Accordingly, BV is not an applicative construction. Moreover, uses of BV forms are not automatic mechanical processes based on lexical selection or the semantic role of their nominative NPs alone, but may also require more global approach that considers the structure and function of a complex sentence of which the BV clause itself is a part. Our discussions also show that BV may be a derived construction, as causativization examples in (9) and (10) show. In addition, BV also may be employed for including a less relevant noun to an event forming a complicated idiomatic-like clause, as shown in (11).

The poverty of preposition in Tsou has forced Tsou to structurally develop two characteristics to express such peripheral roles. First, Tsou typically decompose complex events with more than two oblique NPs into combinations of simpler events and express them either as involving possessive relations (Example (5)), or in separate clauses (Example (6)). Tsou clauses in discourse in fact maximally deal with one nominative NP and two non-nominative NPs, whether core or peripheral. Second, Tsou BV constructions structurally serve to include one more participant than what AV, PV/LV clauses allow. This

extra participant may be a 'peripheral nominal', though it can also be a Theme role in ditransitive constructions.

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An Analysis of the Code-Mixing Behaviors of Interlocutors Interacting with Filipino Toddlers Aged 2 – 4 years old¹

Rachel Ria M. De Guzman, Rhodieleen Anne R. de la Cruz,
Arthea Arese S. Quesada², Jocelyn Christina Marzan³, MA, CCC – SLP
College of Allied Medical Professions, University of the Philippines – Manila

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ABSTRACT

Filipino children are largely exposed to a predominantly bilingual language environment. The most common languages used in Metro Manila are English and Tagalog (Pascasio, 2004). Our study analyzed the code-mixing behaviors of adults and peers interacting with Filipino toddlers in Metro Manila, aged 2-4 years old. Language samples from a related study by Abesamis, Matalog and Trocio (2005) were used. These were 8 one-hour language-laden and interactive caregiver-child encounters. Basic rules of sentence construction (pause, time, intonation, contour, etc.) were used to divide the utterances. The sample yielded a corpus of 4125 sentences. Data were summarized using frequency counts and percentages. The sign test was used for comparison of data samples. Single language sentences (77.80%) were significantly more than code-mixed sentences (22.20%) throughout the sample ($N=8$, $x=0$, $\alpha = 0.05$, $p=1$). When code-mixed sentences occurred, they most often used words from both languages (99.78%; $N=8$, $x=8$, $\alpha = 0.05$, $p = 0.004$) rather than the grammar of one language but lexical items of another. The most commonly used base language was Tagalog (89.53%; $N=8$, $x=8$, $\alpha = 0.05$, $p=0.004$). The average percentage of Tagalog words per sentence (85.72%) was greater than the average percentage of English words per sentence ($N=8$, $x=8$, $\alpha = 0.05$, $p=0.004$). There was insufficient evidence to prove that either nouns (58.96%) or adjectives (64.50%) are predominantly coded in English ($N=8$, $x=2$, $\alpha = 0.05$, $p= 0.965$). As hypothesized, verbs were found to be coded more in Tagalog (75.60%) rather than English ($N=8$, $x=8$, $\alpha = 0.05$, $p= 0.004$). The finding that single language sentences were a predominant feature in caregiver child encounters contrasts with the findings of previous studies by Sibayan (1995) and Bautista (n.d.), which reported that code mixed sentences are more frequently used. Our results agree with Muysken's hypothesis that insertion type of code-mixing occurs most frequently in colonial settings. Our data is consistent with Poplack's (1981; as cited in Boztepe (n.d.)) hypothesis that embedded elements can be integrated in the base language phonologically, morphologically or syntactically. Our data is also consistent with the Morpheme Order Principle of Myers-Scotten. The dominant language is not always the base language (Muysken, 2000; as cited in Schlyter and Bernardini, 2004); in our study the base language was the dominant language (Tagalog). Tagalog was predominantly used for all parts of speech. The Modeling Hypothesis predicts that the child's bilingual code-mixing is directly related to the bilingual code-mixing in the input he receives (Comeau et al, 2003) It is therefore predicted that the Filipino children in our sample will produce more single language sentences than code-mixed sentences; the rate of the children's bilingual code-mixing will also be. The Filipino toddlers in our study are growing up in a bilingual code-mixing but predominantly monolingual interactional environment; this affects the extent to which principles shown to influence bilingual language acquisition apply in our society.

Keywords: bilingual, code-mixing, Filipino toddlers, language, language input

¹ This study was completed in fulfillment of the undergraduate research requirement of the first three authors; the fourth author served as both research adviser and principal investigator

² University of Sto Tomas, College of Education; email <second_book2000@yahoo.com>

³ University of the Philippines – Manila; email <jcbmarzan@post.upm.edu.ph>

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Review of Literature

1. Bilingualism in the Philippine Setting

Bilingualism is the ability to use two language systems in all the four macro skills of communication (reading, writing, listening and speaking) with varying degrees of performance (Aguirre, 1988 and Miller, 1984 as cited in Alejandro(n.d.)). In general, anyone who uses two languages can be classified as bilingual (Baker, 2001 as cited in Marzan, 2003).

In the Philippines, bilingualism is a common occurrence. The Filipino nation has been colonized by Spain, Japan and the United States, fostering a bilingualism that combines Philippine with non-Philippine languages. In addition, the Philippines is an archipelago, with each region subscribing to its own language; interaction between peoples of different regions exposes the Filipino to a variety of Philippine languages (Sibayan, 1995 as cited in Marzan 2003). These factors taken together lead to a Filipino culture that is highly diversified and predisposed to being bilingual or even multilingual. Bilingualism is functional and contributes to national well being in the modern world. Competence in English will better equip the Filipino to handle modern advancements, globalization and information technology (Pascasio, 2004)

2. Code Switching and Code Mixing

Language alternation is an essential aspect of bilingualism (Grosjean, 1982; Kamwangmalu, 1992 and Pennington, 1995 as cited in Alejandro (n.d.)). It is rule bound and represents shifts from one language to another within or between sentences, and is

commonly observed in bilingual speakers (Poplack, 1980; as cited in Alejandro(n.d.)). There are three types of language alternation namely *intersentential code switching*, *code mixing* or *intrasentential language alternation* and *borrowing*. Intersentential code switching is the language alternation between sentences while intrasentential code mixing is the language alternation within a sentence (Grosjean, 1982 and Torres, 1989 as cited in Alejandro (n.d.)) Borrowing refers to the use of words or phrases of one language and integrating it them into another.

Code-switching or code-mixing can be studied using either a morphosyntactic or sociolinguistic approach. The morphosyntactic approach is concerned with the grammatical aspects and syntactic constraints of the utterance while the sociolinguistic approach is focused on the social meaning and the function of code-mixing/ code switching in discourse (Boztepe (n.d.)). Our study used the morphosyntactic approach.

Borrowing is used by both monolingual and bilingual speakers. It entails borrowing words or phrases from one language and integrating them into another. The *matrix language* (ML) is described as the base language of the utterance, and the *embedded language* (EL) is the one whose elements are inserted into the matrix language frame. The ML sets the morphosyntactic frame of the sentence. (Myers-Scotten and Jake, 2000; as cited in Paradis et al, 2000). The borrowed word takes on the phonological and morphological properties of the ML. It fills in the lexical gaps from the other language (Gumperz, 1982 and Kamwangamalu, 1992 as cited in Alejandro (n.d.) and Hammink, 2002). Some researchers deemed it important to differentiate code-switching and borrowing (Poplack et al, 1981 as cited in Boztepe (n.d.)).

The *Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model* attempts to describe the grammar of language alternation. The MLF presents an exhaustive set of constraints rather than specific restrictions for certain configurations. There are two central components for this model. First, this model established the difference between the matrix and embedded language. Secondly, it also differentiates system and content morphemes (Myers-Scotten and Jake, 2000; as cited in Paradis et. al, 2000).

According to this model the sentence must follow the grammatical structure and contain system morphemes of the matrix language. Even though most words are in one language, this does not imply that it is the base language used in the utterance. The sentence should also contain determiners, adverbs, negative operators, verb and noun inflections, copulas and auxiliary verbs of the matrix language.

All system morphemes are of the matrix language and the order in which the morphemes are arranged is dictated by the matrix language. Content morphemes and/or a special set of system morphemes are of the embedded language (Myers-Scotten and Jake, 2000; as cited in Paradis et. al, 2000).

The difference between system and content morphemes is the thematic roles they assume and the quantifying operations. A *thematic role* is defined as the role of the word in the sentence itself, such as the agent of action, and so on. *Content morphemes* bear the meaning of the sentence. They assign and receive thematic roles and do not involve quantification of variables (Muysken, 2003). Word classes that are content morphemes are nouns and verbs. *System morphemes* do not assign or receive thematic roles (Muysken, 2003). They carry the grammatical information of the utterance. Determiners, modifiers,

adjectives, adverbs, negative operators, verb and noun inflections, copulas and auxiliary verbs are examples of system morphemes.

This model has four constraints namely: the System Morpheme Principle (SMP), the Morpheme Order Principle (MOP), the Embedded Language (EL) Island Trigger Hypothesis, and the Matrix Language (ML) Blocking hypothesis (Myers-Scotten and Jake, 2000; as cited in Paradis et. al, 2000)

The System Morpheme Principle (SMP) states that “All syntactically or externally relevant system morphemes (late system morphemes) come only from the ML in ML + EL constituents” (Myers-Scotten, 1995; as cited in Paradis et. al, 2000). .

The Morpheme Order Principle (MOP) states that “surface morpheme order will be that of the ML in ML + EL constituents” (Myers-Scotten, 1995; as cited in Paradis et. al, 2000). If a content morpheme from the EL is inserted into the ML, it follows the order in which that specific content morpheme should be placed in the ML following the grammatical rules of the ML.

The EL Island Trigger Hypothesis states that “if an entire EL constituent is mixed as opposed to a single item insertion, then late system morphemes from the EL may appear within the constituent” (Myers-Scotten, 1995; as cited in Paradis et. al, 2000). Examples of EL Islands are nouns, verbs, adverbs and intransitive phrases.

The ML Blocking hypothesis states that “a filter blocks the insertion of an EL content morpheme not congruent with its corresponding ML morpheme” (Myers-Scotten, 1995; as cited in Paradis et. al, 2000). Congruency pertains to whether the morpheme is system or content in the two languages. An EL morpheme that has no counterpart in the ML will be blocked because there is no congruency (Paradis et. al, 2000).

3. Methods of Language Sampling

Low structured observations have been used to examine the language performance of children in settings that are familiar. These also involve as little intrusion on the children's communicative efforts as possible. Samples of the child's language behaviors may be obtained from persons who interact with the child frequently as well as direct observation of the child. A well-conducted low-structured observation is representative of the child's daily life. It provides the opportunity to explore a variety of contexts to obtain a more representative sample (Lahey, 1988). A low structured naturalistic sample has also been used to sample the language performance and/or environment of bilingual children. Studies by Naigles and Ginsberg (1998) as well as Paradis and Navarro (2003) used naturalistic language production samples to analyze language input. The communicative behavior of interlocutors is likely to have the greatest effect on the language development of the children in their homes. Both Naigles and Ginsberg (1998) as well as Paradis and Navarro (2003) chose parents as their subjects to investigate the effect of language input on children's language development.

4. Statistical Analysis of Proportions

The sign test is a special "non parametric" application of the binomial distribution in where there are N paired observation such as matched pairs in an experiment. This test is applicable to the case of two related samples when the experimenter wishes to establish that two conditions are different (Siegel, 1989). Nonparametric tests are useful for small samples, a feature which should be helpful to the researcher collecting pilot study data and to the researcher whose samples must be small because of their very nature. The sign test

may be used for a single population with a relatively small sample size with no assumptions regarding the normality of distribution. This test can also be applied when the observations in a sample of data are ranks, that is, ordinal data rather than direct measurements.

B. Statement of the Research Problem

1. Rationale & Justification

Children learn language primarily through the input they receive from caregivers (Naigles & Ginsberg, 1998). By analyzing the code-mixing behaviors used by caregivers, we can detail the kind of language input a Filipino toddler receives. This language input is an important factor that may affect the type of language Filipino toddlers use (Matsaka, 1998 as cited in Marzan, 2003).

Language input plays a major role in language development. The quantity and quality of language input influence language learning. (Lieven, 1978 as cited in Sandhofer, 2000). Existing literature does not adequately provide information on the code-mixing patterns Filipino toddlers are exposed to. Most studies on bilingual language acquisition focus on Hispanic, European and American populations. In addition, many of these studies focus typically on “one-parent-one-language” bilingual environments, in which the child uses one language exclusively when interacting with one parent and another language when interacting with the other parent. A majority of these studies focus on children growing up in bilingual environments wherein languages are not mixed (De Houwer, 2005 as cited in Marzan, 2004). In contrast, Filipino children are typically exposed to code-mixing. Code-mixing is commonplace even in mass media (Bautista, 1975).

2. Significance of the study

By specifying the input received by Filipino toddlers, we obtained information that can be used to help formulate hypotheses regarding the kind of language output Filipino toddlers should exhibit (Matsaka, 1998; as cited in Marzan, 2003). The data gathered can be used for future studies comparing the code-mixing behaviors found in the language input received by Filipino toddlers with the code-mixing behaviors of the Filipino toddlers themselves. The information obtained from this study may also be used to formulate a model of bilingual language acquisition and production among Filipino toddlers. There is no formal model for bilingualism and such a model is needed (Li, 2002 as cited in Marzan, 2003) since definitions and conceptual notions regarding this area present great variability (Grosjean, 1998). This information may be used by speech and language pathologists and professionals dealing with language especially linguists, in order to formulate a model and predict the bilingual characteristics of Filipino children.

3. Objectives of the study

1. To determine the proportion of code-mixed sentences and single language sentences used by interlocutors interacting with Filipino toddlers.
2. To determine the proportion of sentences used that contains code-mixing with words from both languages and words from one language only which uses the grammatical function of the other.
3. To determine the proportion of sentences which are predominantly coded in Tagalog or English.
4. To determine the base/matrix language of each sentence.

5. To determine the predominant language used for specific content morphemes such as nouns, verbs and adjectives.

4. Research Hypotheses

1. Code-mixed sentences occur more frequently than single-language sentences in either English or Tagalog.
2. Code-mixed sentences with words from both languages occur more than code-mixed sentences with words from one language using the grammatical structure of the other language.
3. The base language used by interlocutors is Tagalog.
4. The percentage of Tagalog words per sentence is greater than the percentage of English words per sentence.
5. Certain content morphemes are predominantly coded in English or Tagalog.
 - a. Nouns are more consistently coded in English.
 - b. Adjectives are more consistently coded in English.
 - c. Verbs are more consistently coded in Tagalog.

C. Scope and Delimitation

Major language acquisition occurs between the ages of 0 to 5 years old (Craig, 1986). This study focused on analyzing language samples of Filipino toddlers ages 2 – 4 years old from the study of Abesamis, Matalog and Trocio (2005). This age group was chosen because language performance of monolingual children in this age group has been extensively documented and could be compared with that of bilingual children. (Abesamis et al, 2005).

We chose Tagalog and English as the languages to be analyzed since Filipinos speaking both languages may be found throughout the country. They are likely to be present particularly in Metro Manila and the Tagalog provinces. Only Metro Manila was chosen as the sample source. Based on anecdotal evidence, Tagalog-English code-mixing is common in Metro Manila. Data samples from Metro Manila will be useful as most practicing Speech and Language Pathologists are centered in the Metropolitan area (PASP, 2007).

Thirty subjects would be the ideal sample size for this study (Marzan, 2004). However, relevant language samples collected from only eight (8) subjects were available. Utilizing their study, the present study aimed only to provide baseline data for further studies regarding bilingual language acquisition and the language production of Filipino toddlers.

II. METHODOLOGY

A. Subjects

Depersonalized language sample transcriptions from the undergraduate thesis of Abesamis, et al. (2005) entitled “Language Input to Normally Developing 2-4 year old children in Metro Manila Exposed to More Than One Language: A Pilot Study” were used as the data source in this study.

Table 1. Subjects included in the study and the languages they were exposed to.

Child	Age of child (yr:mo)	Relationship of Interlocutor to Child	Age of Inter- locutor (yrs old)	Social Economic Status	Number of words (tokens) analyzed from sample	Number of sentences analyzed from sample	Languages to which the child is exposed
A	4:8	mother	45	Middle Class	2408	717	Tagalog, English
		cousin	8				
B	2:8	mother	39	Middle Class	1148	382	Tagalog, Visayan ⁴ , English
		father	44				
C	2:5	nanny	21	Middle Class	1822	597	Tagalog, English
		sibling	7				
D	3:6	mother	24	Middle Class	1073	277	Tagalog, English
		cousin	9				
E	3:10	mother	46	Middle Class	1809	503	Tagalog, English
		sibling	9				
F	2:11	mother	31	Middle Class	1129	321	Tagalog, English
		father	36				
		cousin	4				
G	3:2	mother	26	Middle Class	2509	794	Tagalog, English
		sibling	1				
H	4:10	mother	38	Lower Class	1661	534	Tagalog, English
		sibling	7				
	<i>Ave = 3:6</i>		<i>Ave = 19.92</i>		<i>Total = 13559</i>	<i>Total = 4125</i>	

We analyzed the language characteristics of 17 interlocutors when interacting with eight (8) children. The children ranged in age from 2 to 4 years old. Seven out of the eight families were classified as middle class and one as lower class. Social class was determined based on monthly income and family type (nuclear or extended). A typical middle class family in Metro Manila has an average monthly income of PhP15,000 – 30,000 which

⁴ Visayan sentences (n=2) were not included in the analysis

comes from their profession of the earners, most commonly the parents. Generally they do not live with extended family members. Their place of residence is either rented apartments or owned condominiums and houses (Aguilar, 2006).

For the purpose of this study, the term interlocutor was used to refer to persons interacting or conversing with the child in the language sampling.

B. Data Gathering Procedure

Abesamis et al (2005) used convenience sampling to select subjects. Children geographically accessible to the researchers were identified. Their parents were approached for a meeting, during which the procedures and objectives of the study were explained. If the family was willing to participate, written consent was obtained. The Metro Manila Developmental Screening Test was administered to ensure that the participating children were developing within age-expected norms. The primary care-giver was interviewed to determine what language-laden activities the child participated in on a daily basis (as opposed to activities that were typically carried out with minimal language interaction, such as pure motor play). In most cases, the activities in which the child engaged in conversation and/or was exposed to language input were playtime, study time or watching television. Videos were taken of the children in their 2 most language laden activities. This yielded eighteen one-hour samples consisting of 11 hours of caregiver-child interaction and 7 hours of TV viewing. Rather than video the child viewing television, copies of the shows being viewed by the child were obtained. The 18 hours were transcribed and manually analyzed. The transcription yielded a total corpus of 52,135 words; interpersonal interactions constituted 29% while TV shows constituted 71% of the corpus. Sixty-six percent (60%) of

the corpus was in English and 33% was in Tagalog. Seventy-six percent of words in interpersonal interactions were in Tagalog while 65.8% transcribed from TV shows were in English.

C. Data Analyses

In the present study, we analyzed only the transcriptions of interpersonal interactions and excluded the television shows and/or films viewed by the children. The interlocutors' language input was chosen as our object of analysis. Utterances were parsed into sentences using the basic rules of sentence construction such as pause-time, intonation, contour, etc. We considered all independent clauses, utterances with subjects and predicates and single utterances with no subject and no predicate (e.g. "Hi" or "The ball") as sentences even when they did not possess the grammatically complete sentence structure. Parsing of each sample into sentences was done by consensus, with all three research assistants making independent judgments. In instances where 100% agreement was not reached regarding the boundaries of an utterance, a 2/3 vote was used to finalize a judgment. Once parsed into sentences, the eight samples were divided among the three research assistants for analysis of code-mixing, language of lexical items, and so on.

Table 2. List of samples analyzed according to research assistant

Research Assistant	Samples analyzed
Rachel De Guzman	G, H
Rhodieleen dela Cruz	D, E, F
Arthea Quesada	A, B, C

We used the definition of Bentahila and Davies (1983) and Myers-Scotten (1993, as cited in Boztepe (n.d.)) that single word and multiple word occurrences are two forms of

code-switching rather than different processes to be distinguished from one another. The term code-mixing refers to *intra-sentential alternation* for the purposes of our study. Code switching or intersentential alternation was not analyzed. Code mixing was defined as the use of words and morphemes from two languages in the same utterance, without a specific functional intent (Schlyter and Bernardini, 2004)

The number of code mixed sentences was compared to the number of single-language sentences in order to determine if code mixed sentences occur more frequently than single language sentences. The number of code-mixed sentences with words from both languages and with words from one language but using the grammatical function of the other language was also counted.

The Matrix Language Frame model was adopted to determine the base language for the interlocutor's utterance in this study. Bautista (1975) stated that a sentence can generally be labeled as English or Tagalog and that the base language will dictate the acceptability of the insertion of certain lexical items was utilized as basis for determining the base language of each sentence. The number of code-mixed sentences with a Tagalog base language and the number of sentences with an English base language were counted. A code-mixed sentence was judged to have an unclassified base language when none of the rules of MLF model was applicable (e.g. "Ay, pink!")

To describe language input in the present study, code-mixed sentences and base language were analyzed as well as the language dominance and the language preference for certain lexical items.

In a study by Sandhofer, Smith and Luo (2000) the language input of children was analyzed by describing the type/token ratios of lexical items and examining the frequencies

of nouns, verbs, descriptors and the learning task presented to the children. We decided to determine the frequency of the different parts of speech and analyzed lexical categories such as nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, ligatures and modals/interjections counting each token as a separate sentence. Frequencies in English and in Tagalog were then compared

In order to determine if the sentences consisted of a greater percentage of English or Tagalog words, the total number of words in Tagalog and the total number of words in English per sentence as well as for the over all language sample were counted. A word was classified as English or Tagalog if it is currently used in written or spoken form in that particular language. Borrowed words such as “ref” (for refrigerator) which have no corresponding Tagalog translation were also considered as English. The total number of Tagalog words was divided by the total number of words in each sentence to get the percentage of Tagalog words per sentence. Each sentence was categorized as English if it contained more than 50% words in English and as Tagalog if it contained more than 50% words in Tagalog. A total of 905 sentences with ambivalent words such as “haha” and “aahh” were excluded from this analysis.

A Microsoft Excel Worksheet was used in order to collate the above data. Totals for each category were computed.

Inter rater reliability testing was done by taking 100 sentences from the corpus. These sentences were analyzed independently by each research assistant. Inter rater reliability for all research assistants was 97.75%. The results are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Inter rater Reliability Testing Results for all parameters (N=100)

Parameter	Percentage Value
Single Language Tagalog Sentences	97%
Single Language English Sentences	100%
Code-mixed sentences using words from both languages	100%
Code-mixed sentences using words from one language but using the grammatical structure of the other	100%
Base Language Tagalog	95%
Base Language English	95%
Unclassified	96%
Number of English words	98%
Number of Tagalog words	97%
Total number of words	97%
Percentage of Tagalog words	99%
Percentage of English words	99%

Doubt regarding the language classification of a word was resolved using the UP Diksyonaryong Filipino (Almario, 2001) for Tagalog parts of speech and Webster's Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language (1990) for English.

D. Statistical Analyses

All the data obtained above was analyzed using the sign test. This statistical test is appropriate for the present study which has a sample size of only eight. Our data can be considered "paired" data in which the data set for each child is compared against itself for each of the parameters being tested.

The total of the differences was then compared with a table which provides a sign value (x) and a critical value (p), at alpha (α) = 0.05. If the critical value is greater than alpha, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected however if the critical value is less than alpha the null hypothesis is rejected in favor of the alternative hypothesis.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

There was insufficient evidence to state that adults and/or peers speaking with Filipino toddlers use code-mixed sentences more than single language sentences. Code-mixed sentences almost always contained words from both languages; code-mixed sentences using the grammar of one language but lexical items of another were very rare. This agrees with Muysken's hypothesis (2000; as cited in Chloros and Malcolm) that insertion was the most common type of language alternation for colonial settings. Our interlocutors predominantly used Tagalog as their base language and seldom used the grammatical structure of English during interpersonal interactions. The percentage of Tagalog words per sentence was greater than that of English words. Data indicated that neither nouns nor adjectives were predominantly coded in English; verbs were coded more frequently in Tagalog than English.

Table 8. Summary of Statistical Analysis for all null hypotheses ($\alpha = 0.05$)

Null Hypothesis(H_0)	Sign Value (x)	Critical Value (p)	Decision
Code-mixed sentences occur as frequent as single language sentences in either English or Tagalog.	0	1	Insufficient evidence to reject
Code-mixed sentences with words from both languages occur as frequent as the code mixed sentences with words of one language but using the grammatical function of the other language.	8	0.004	Reject
Interlocutors use Tagalog as frequent as other languages as their base language.	8	0.004	Reject
Interlocutors equally use Tagalog and English words in their sentences.	8	0.004	Reject
There is no preference for language when coding nouns	2	0.965	Insufficient evidence to reject
There is no preference for language when coding adjectives	2	0.965	Insufficient evidence to reject
There is no preference for language when coding verbs	8	0.004	Reject

A. Hypothesis 1: Code-mixed sentences occur more frequently than single language sentences in either English or Tagalog.

Single language sentences (78%) (e.g. Balik mo muna yan) occurred significantly more frequently than code mixed sentences (22%) (e.g. eat na tayo) in the corpus (N=8, $\chi^2=0$, $\alpha = 0.05$, $p=1$). The single language sentences were 86% Tagalog sentences and 14% English.

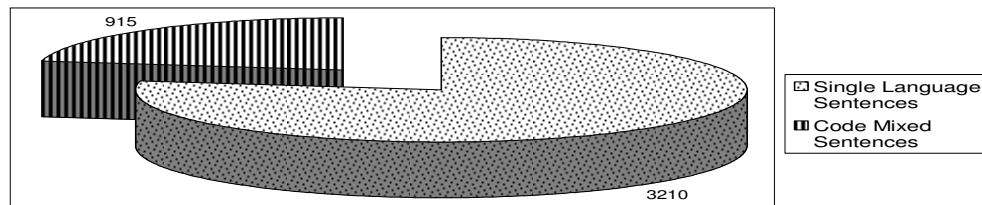
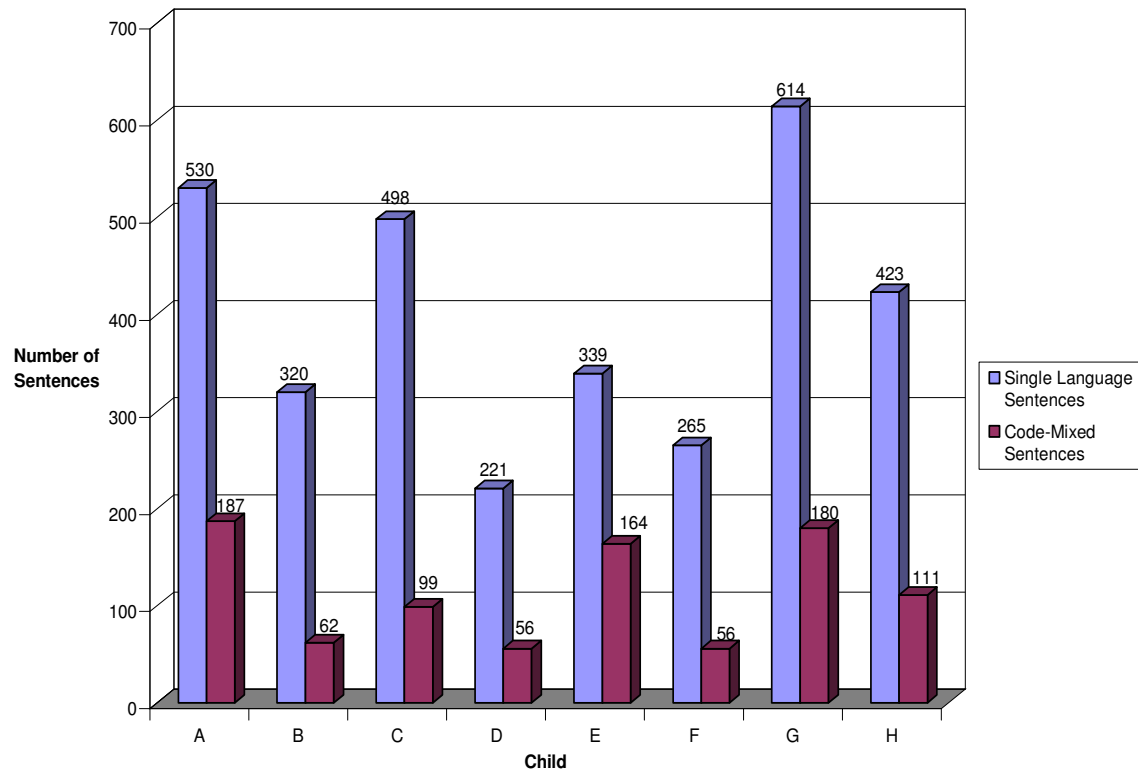


Table 4. Number of Single Language and Code-Mixed Sentences to which the child was exposed (N=8)

Child	Single Language		Code Mixed	
	Tagalog	English	Base = Language 1 Lexicon = Language 2	Base = Language 1 Lexicon = Language 1+2
A	(80.6%) 427	(19.4%) 103	(0%) 0	(100%) 187
B	(88.4%) 283	(11.6%) 37	(0%) 0	(100%)62
C	(82.5%) 411	(17.5%) 87	(0%) 0	(100%) 99
D	(96.8%) 214	(3.2%) 7	(0%) 0	(100%) 56
E	(90.9%) 308	(9.1%) 31	(0%) 0	(100%) 164
F	(94.3%) 250	(5.7%) 15	(0%) 0	(100%) 56
G	(75.1%) 461	(24.9%) 153	(0.56%) 1	(99.44%) 179
H	(94.8%) 401	(5.2%) 22	(0.9%) 1	(99.1%) 110
Subtotal1	(85.8%) 2755	(14.2%) 455	(0.22%) 2	(99.78%) 913
Subtotal2	(77.80%)3210		(22.20%) 915	
TOTAL	4125			



While according to Sibayan (1995; as cited in Marzan, 2003) code-mixing is a common occurrence in Metro Manila, it does not appear to be a predominant feature of the interlocutors interacting with toddlers ages 2-4 years old in our sample. who did not primarily converse using code-mixed utterances at least while conversing to young children. Hence these toddlers were not predominantly exposed to bilingual language. Bautista (1975) found that in the “Pulong-pulong sa kaunlaran” radio show, code-mixed sentences constituted 66% of the entire corpus. Taken together, this contrast in findings may indicate that adults code mix more when interacting with other adults than when interacting with children; alternatively it may mean that there has been a shift in code-mixing patterns over the past three decades.

B. Hypothesis 2: Code-mixed sentences with words from both languages occur more than code-mixed sentences with words from one language but using the grammatical function of the other language

Code-mixed sentences with words from both languages (99.78%) (e.g. color mo na yan⁴) occurred significantly more than code-mixed sentences with words from one language but using the grammatical function of the other (0.22%) (e.g. ba-bye papa) (Sign Test N=8, $\chi=8$, $\alpha = 0.05$, $p = 0.004$).

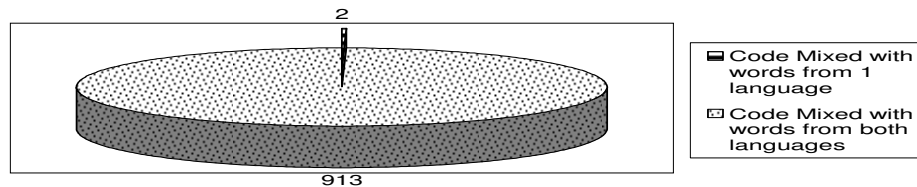


Table 5. Base Language of Code-mixed Sentences to which the child was exposed (N=8)

Child	Base Language		
	Tagalog	English	Unclassified
A	(89.84%) 168	(2.14%) 4	(8.02%) 15
B	(98.39%) 61	(0%) 0	(1.61%) 1
C	(78.79%) 78	(13.13%) 13	(8.08%) 8
D	(96.43%) 54	(0%) 0	(3.57%) 2
E	(83.44%) 136	(9.20%) 15	(7.36%) 12
F	(98.21%) 55	(0%) 0	(1.79%) 1
G	(90.66%) 165	(3.30%) 6	(6.04%) 11
H	(92.73%) 102	(0.91%) 1	(6.36%) 7
Subtotal	(89.52%) 820	(4.26%) 39	(6.22%) 57
Total	915		

Muysken's bilingual speech model stated several principles that govern adult code-mixing namely insertion, alternation, congruent lexicalization and functional elements effect. (Muysken, 2000 as cited in Chloros and Malcolm, 2004)

The principle of *insertion* discusses the inclusion of a single constituent, a single noun or a content word, into the matrix language. According to the matrix language frame, the inserted elements are of the embedded language and they are inserted into the matrix language. Inserted elements should have counterparts in the matrix language.

Alternation occurs when there is compatibility or equivalence between the two languages especially at the point where the switch occurs. The grammatical structure of both languages is a hybrid and the elements following and preceding the switched part are not structurally related. (Muysken, 2000 as cited in Chloros and Malcolm, 2004)

The *functional elements effect* states that functional elements are of the matrix language for adult bilinguals (Muysken, 2000 as cited in Schlyter and Bernardini, 2004). There are two groups of words in English. Open-class words convey the meaning of the sentence while closed-class words include grammatical information in sentence processing. (Weber and Neville, 2001) The function words used in a sentence behave differently from content words such that they are inserted in different contexts (Deuchar, 1999). Functional elements belong to the closed class, have abstract meaning and cannot be modified by an adverb or adjective (Muysken, 2003).

Congruent lexicalization is a process in which the vocabulary comes from two languages but the grammatical structure is shared. It is a result of the grammatical convergence between two languages. (Muysken, 2000 as cited in Chloros and Malcolm)

These processes are related to linguistic, psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic factors. Alternation is common in stable bilingual environments with a custom of language separation. Insertion occurs in situations in which the development of both languages is unequal such as in colonial and migrant settings. Congruent lexicalization happens in closely related languages. There is no practice of language separation and they share the same processing system. This process is present in 2nd generation migrant groups and post creole continua. (Muysken, 2000; as cited in Chloros and Malcolm)

Our results support Muysken's hypothesis that insertion type of code-mixing (i.e. code-mixed sentences using words from both languages) occurs most frequently in colonial settings. In Metro Manila, there is an unequal development of languages such that Tagalog was developed over centuries, while the use of English was introduced only when the country was colonized. The presence of the second type of code-mixing is consistent with Poplack's (1981; as cited in Boztepe (n.d.)) hypothesis that embedded elements can be integrated in the base language phonologically, morphologically or syntactically.

C. Hypothesis 3: The base language used by interlocutors is Tagalog

Interlocutors predominantly used Tagalog as their base language (N=8, x=8, $\alpha = 0.05$, $p=0.004$). Tagalog was used as the base language (90%) (e.g. yung sa cellphone) most frequently followed by the unclassified category (6%) (e.g. Sa color). English was used the least as the base language for code-mixed sentences (4%) (e.g. Ay, o, give!).

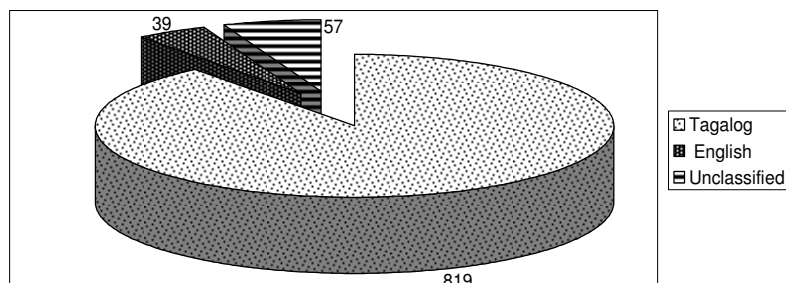


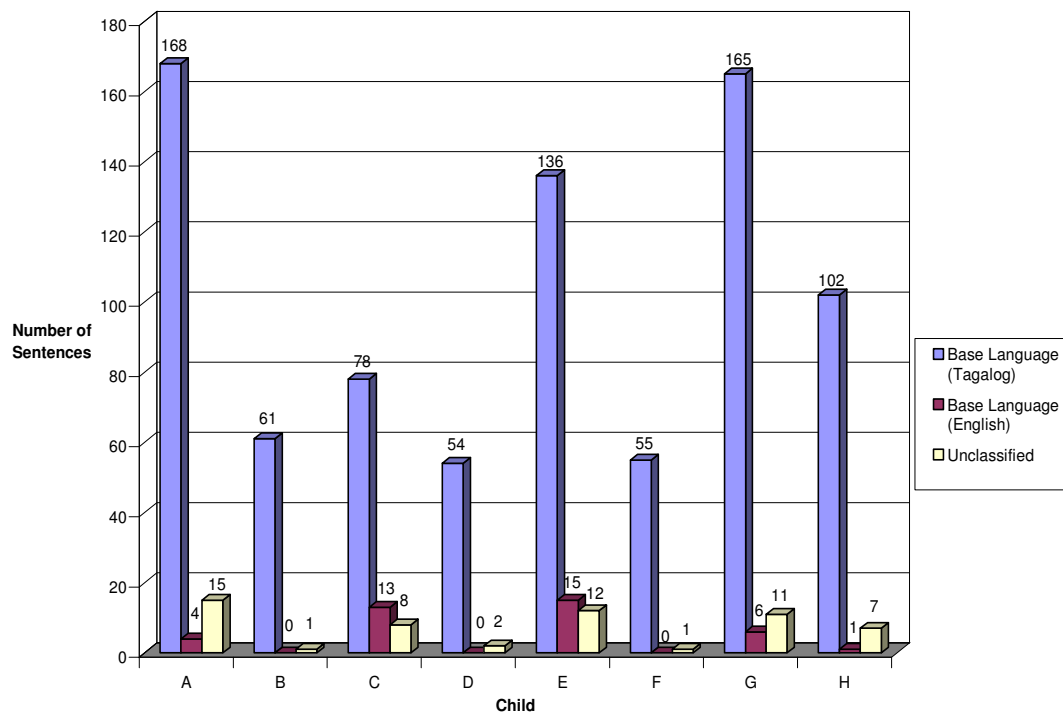
Table 7. Number of Sentences composed of greater than 50% English or Tagalog words to which the child was exposed (N=8)

Child	Composed of Greater than 50%	
	English Words	Tagalog Words
A	(21.13%) 116	(78.87%) 433
B	(12.22%) 33	(87.77%) 237
C	(17.97%) 94	(82.03%) 429
D	(3.56%) 8	(96.44%) 217
E	(10.42%) 40	(89.58%) 344
F	(6.10%) 15	(93.9%) 231
G	(22.07%) 126	(77.93%) 445
H	(6.20%) 28	(93.8%) 424
Subtotal	(14.29%) 460	(85.71%) 2760
Total	3220	

Tagalog was utilized long before the integration of English in our language, its grammatical structure was more widely used than English by our participants. Among the four principles of the Matrix Language Frame model, our analysis suggests that the corpus follows the second principle, the Morpheme Order Principle. For example in the sentence “Gusto mo na mag-sleep”, *sleep* is the content morpheme from the embedded language

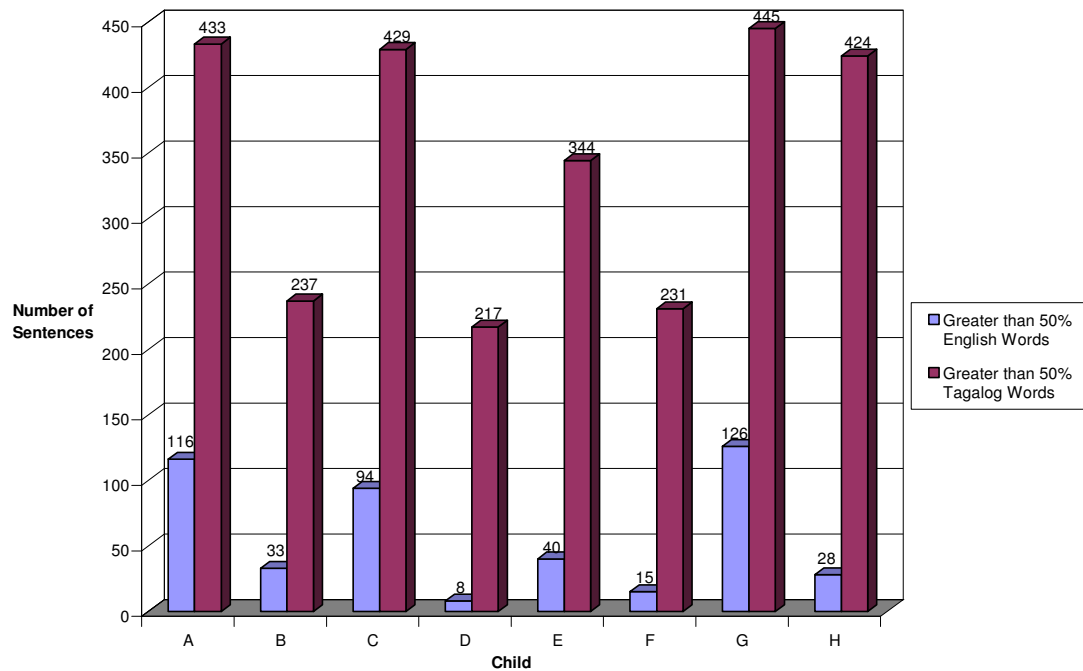
(English). When it is inserted in the sentence it follows the morpheme order of the matrix language (Tagalog).

A study of the code-switching patterns of five television hosts in Metro Manila (Chanco, Francisco, Talamisan; as cited in Bautista and Tan, 1999) revealed that all television hosts used code-switching to speak in their talk shows. Three out of the five used Tagalog as their base language and code-mixing was the most common pattern. The results of our study concur with the findings of Chanco, Francisco and Talisman (1999) (as cited in Bautista and Tan, 1999) regarding preference of base language used.



D. Hypothesis 4: The percentage of Tagalog words is greater than the percentage of English words per sentence

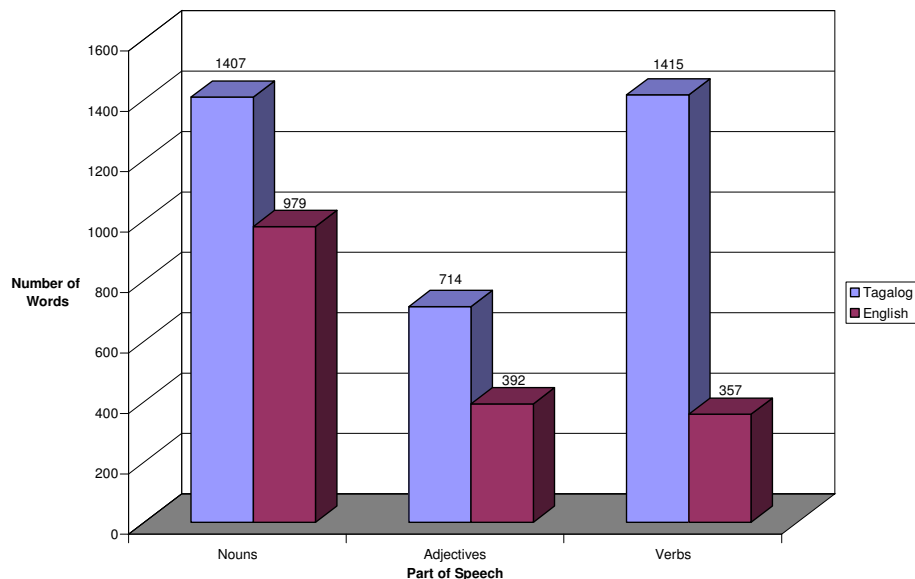
There were more sentences composed of more than 50 percent Tagalog words (e.g. Throw mo kay ate) (86%) for each interlocutor as seen in Figure 4. Among our participants, most sentences produced are predominantly coded in Tagalog rather than English (N=8, $\chi^2=8$, $\alpha = 0.05$, $p=0.004$).



Abesamis et al. (2005), analyzing this same sample, concluded that the corpus was Tagalog dominant. They found that 76% of words used in interpersonal interactions were Tagalog. This concurs with our findings. The results are consistent that certain parts of speech such as verbs are coded more in Tagalog than in English.

In a study by Muysken (2000; as cited in Schlyter and Bernardini, 2004) the dominant language is not always the base language. However, in the present study the base language used by most interlocutors is the same as the dominant language found across all subjects which is Tagalog.

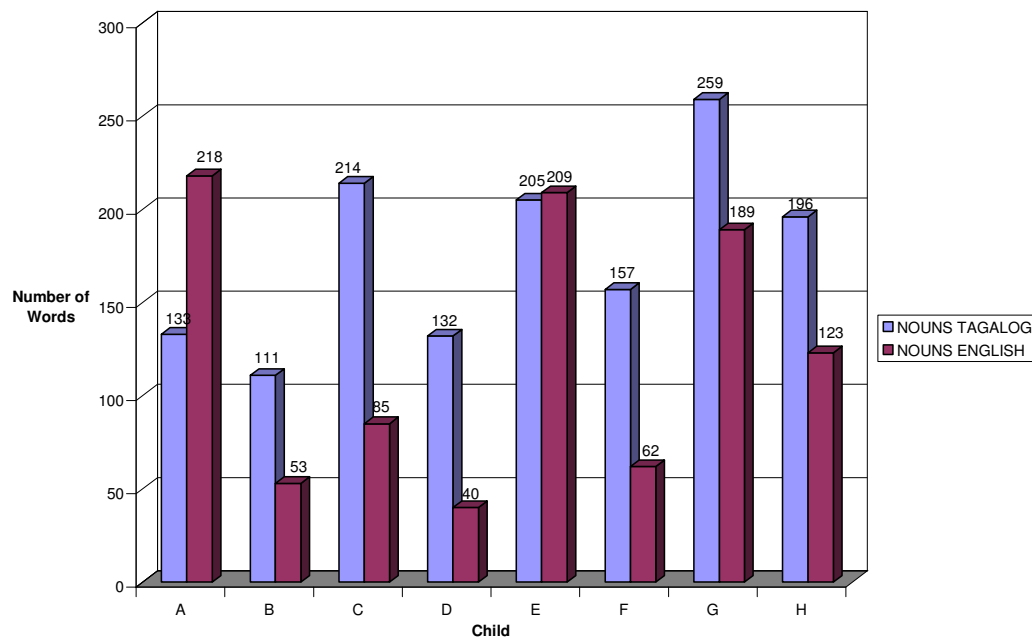
E. Hypothesis 5: Certain lexical items are predominantly coded in English or Tagalog
Throughout the corpus, nouns, adjectives and verbs were coded in both Tagalog and English.



1. Nouns are predominantly coded in English

Most interlocutors coded nouns in Tagalog predominantly (59%). However, interlocutors for Child A and E coded nouns more in English than in Tagalog. As shown in Figure 1, the samples of Children A and E are also among those with the greatest number of code mixed sentences with words from both languages.

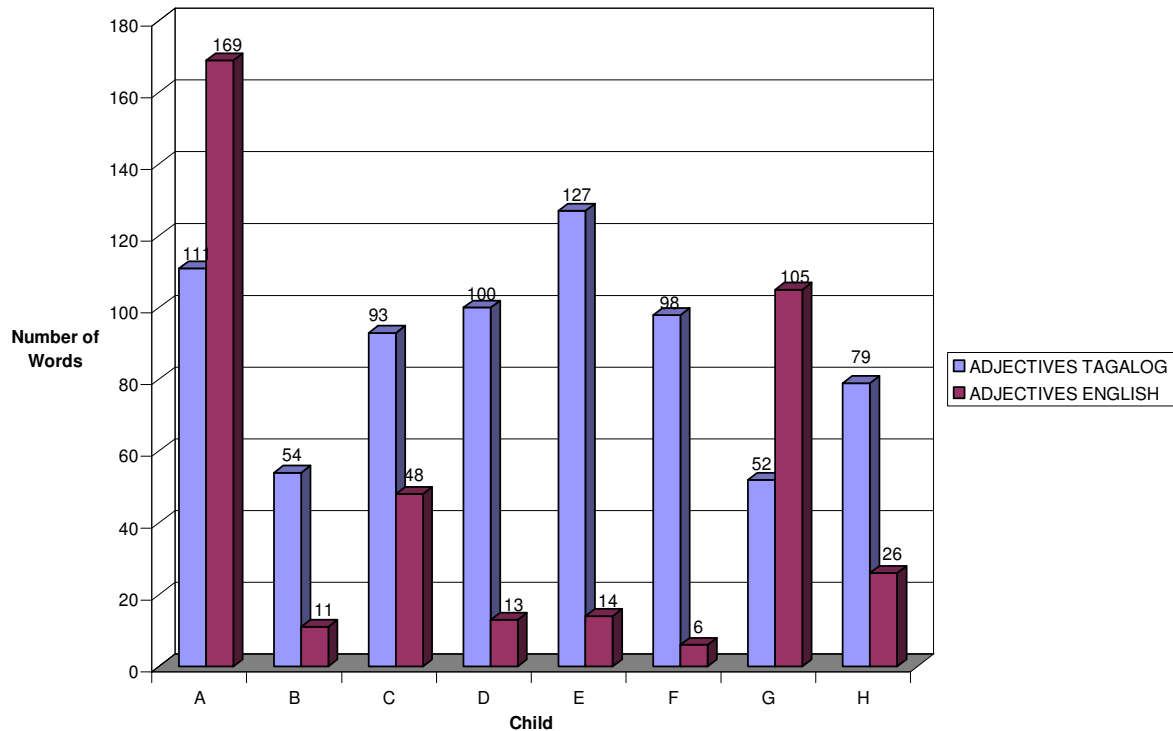
Based on anecdotal evidence, we had hypothesized that nouns are predominantly coded in English since many English words have been frequently borrowed in the Tagalog language (e.g. refrigerator, pizza). However, statistical analysis showed that there is insufficient evidence to prove that nouns are predominantly coded in English ($N=8$, $x = 2$ $\alpha = 0.05$, $p = 0.965$).



2. Adjectives are predominantly coded in English

There is an inconsistency in the pattern of adjectives coded in Tagalog and English. Interlocutors for child A and G coded adjectives more in English (65%) than Tagalog (Figure 5). As seen in Figure 1 they are among those that have the highest value for code-mixed sentences. The sign test indicates that there is insufficient evidence to prove that the

adjectives are more consistently coded in English than in Tagalog ($N=8$, $x = 2$ $\alpha = 0.05$, $p = 0.965$).



3. Verbs are predominantly coded in Tagalog

There is a consistent pattern of the occurrence of verbs in both languages. The use of Tagalog verbs appears to exceed (80%) that of English verbs (20%) for all interlocutors. This was corroborated by the sign test ($N=8$, $x=8$, $\alpha = 0.05$, $p= 0.004$). Children in our sample were exposed to more Tagalog verbs. Naigles and Ginsberg (1998) enumerated the three characteristics of verbs in input to predict how the child will use the verbs namely total frequency, frequency in final position and diversity of syntactic environments in which the verbs appeared. In this study, only the total frequency was determined. Using the

information from their study, we can assume that children will also produce more Tagalog verbs.

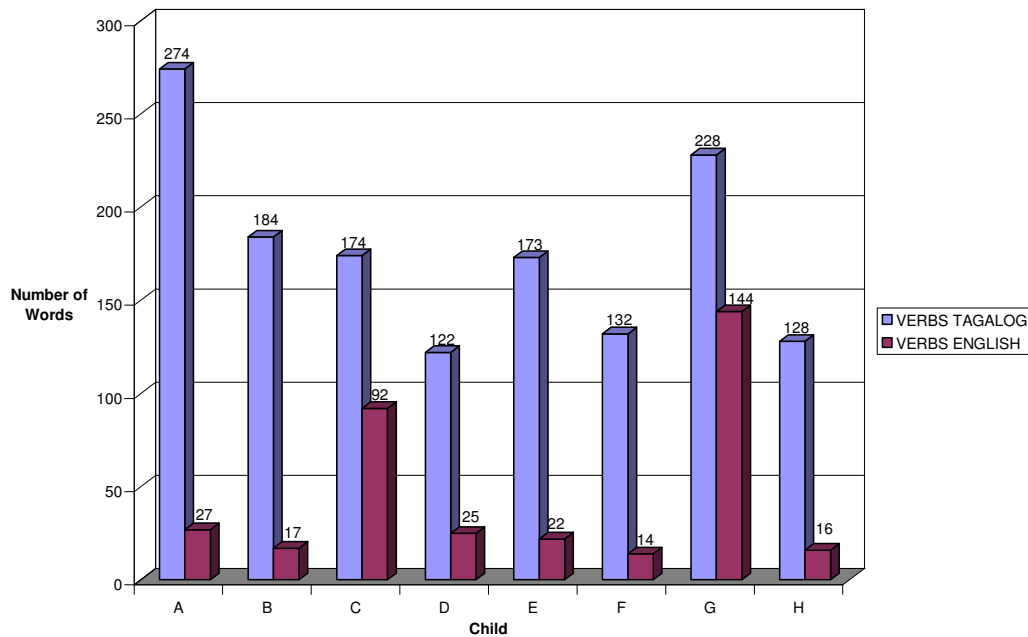


Figure 5.2. Number of English and Tagalog verbs each child was exposed to during the language sampling (N=8)

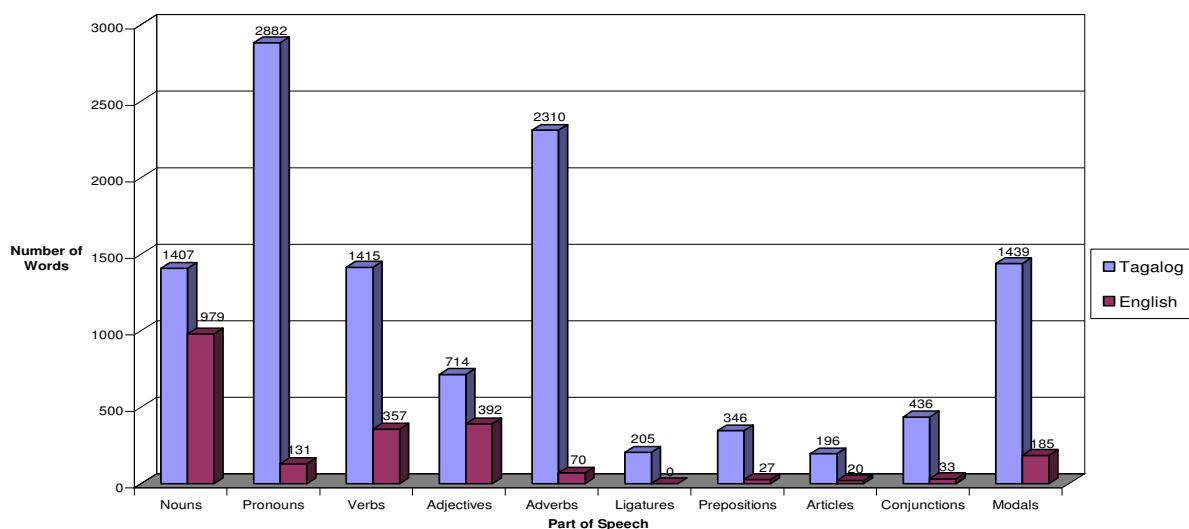
4. Other Lexical Items

Other lexical items such as pronouns adverbs, prepositions, articles, conjunctions and modals were non-statistically evaluated. There was a consistent pattern to the occurrence of the following lexical items in both languages. As shown in the figures below, Tagalog pronouns (96%), adverbs (97%), prepositions (93%), articles (91%), modals (89%) and conjunctions (94%) exceeded the use of their English counterparts. All lexical items were predominantly coded in Tagalog as shown in Figure 5.10. However, they were inconsistently coded across all eight samples. The corpus was composed mostly of Tagalog

pronouns followed by Tagalog adverbs then by Tagalog modals, nouns and verbs. Adjectives ranked sixth among the most frequently occurring lexical items followed by conjunctions, prepositions, ligatures and articles. For English words, the corpus showed that English nouns occurred most frequently followed by adjectives, verbs, modals, pronouns, adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions and articles. There were no English ligatures in the corpus since ligatures do not exist in English.

Table 9. Number of lexical items each child was exposed to during language sampling (N=8)

Child	Nouns	Pro-nouns	Verbs	Adj	Adv	Liga-tures	Arti-cles	Prep	Conj	Modals	Total
A	351	520	301	280	481	14	32	47	71	291	2388
B	164	247	201	65	202	1	16	44	46	159	1145
C	299	396	266	141	325	10	20	50	55	255	1817
D	172	209	147	113	228	4	19	38	41	107	1078
E	414	380	195	141	351	1	31	61	75	164	1813
F	219	248	146	104	223	2	20	27	41	111	1141
G	448	542	372	157	306	108	38	69	87	375	2502
H	319	471	144	105	264	60	40	37	53	182	1675
Total	2386	3013	1772	1106	2380	200	216	373	469	1644	13559



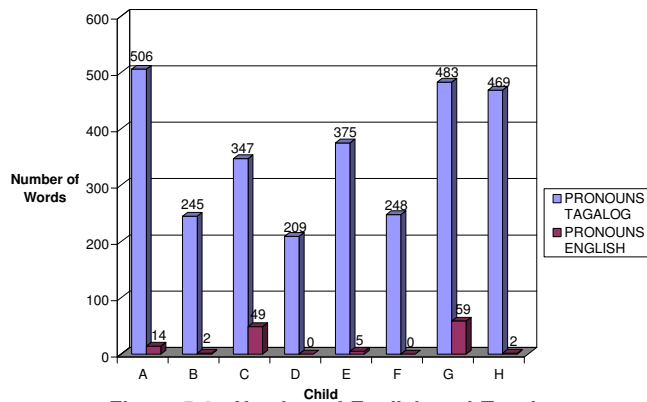
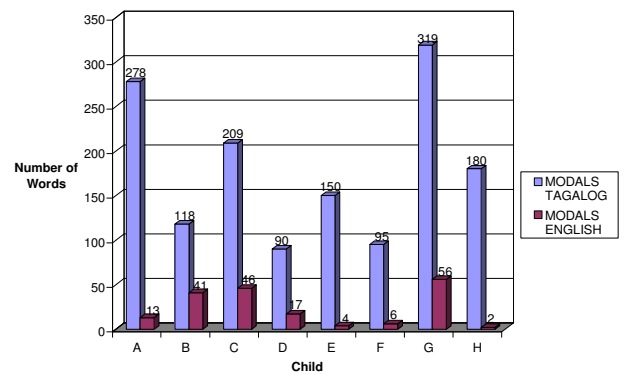
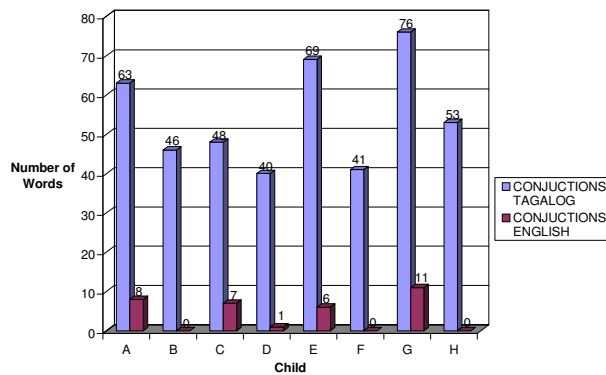
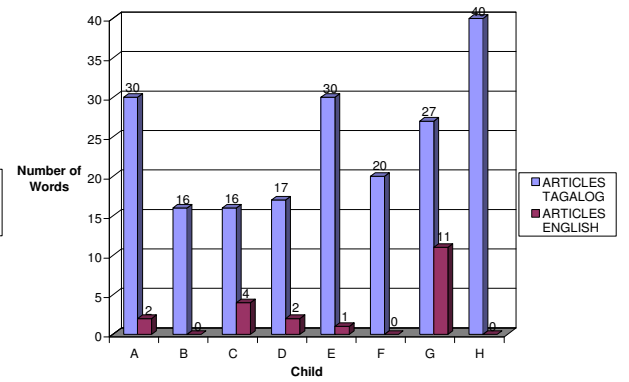
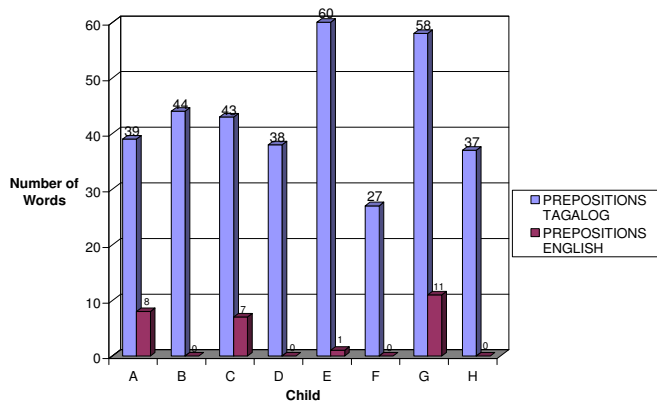
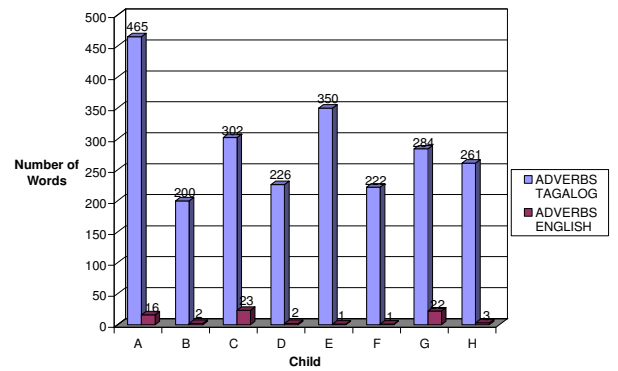


Figure 5.4. Number of English and Tagalog pronouns each child was exposed to during language sampling (N=8)



F. Effect on Bilingual Language Acquisition of Children

Comeau, Genesee and Lapaquette (2003) state that there are two subcategories which can explain children bilingual code-mixing namely: *discourse features* and *statistical properties*. Based on the principle of discourse features, the code-mixing behaviors of individual bilingual children can be attributed to the conversational styles and approach of their parents and primary interlocutors during the child's developmental years. Children acquire the socio-pragmatic constraints and patterns dictated by the community in order to become fully functioning parts of the said community. According to the *statistical properties approach* the rate of a child's bilingual code-mixing is related to the rate of bilingual language input that they receive. Their study reveals that "young bilingual children are able to differentiate their developing languages pragmatically and at the same time they extend our understanding of bilingual children's pragmatic skills by demonstrating that children in the early verbal stages of dual language acquisition can monitor rates of mixing in the input addressed to them and modify their own rates of mixing on-line and in accord with the input." They proposed the *modeling hypothesis* which states that the child's bilingual code-mixing is directly related to the bilingual code-mixing in the input. Comeau et al (2003) also stated that parents encourage children to code-mix when they use code-mixed utterances during their interactions with their children. Furthermore, they concluded that children are able to monitor the rates of code-mixing they receive and modify their output based on the rate of the input. If we apply the modeling hypothesis to the present study, our toddlers would have also modeled the input that they received. In view of the fact that they are not primarily exposed to code-mixed sentences it is also predicted that they will

produce more single language sentences than code-mixed sentences. The rate of the child's bilingual code-mixing will also be low based on the language input.

In a study by Lieven, (1978; as cited in Sandhofer, 2000), differences in communicative behavior of the parents determine the differences in language output of their children. Noun types found in children's first 50 words are associated with the nouns used by mothers during interaction. Huttenlocher et al (1991; as cited in Sandhoffer, 2000) found that there is a significant relationship between the number of words used by parents during language interactions and the words found in the child's early lexicon.

Pearson, Fernandez, Ledweg and Oller (1997; as cited in Schlyter and Bernardini, 2004) state that the amount of input is a predicting factor for vocabulary learning in bilingual Spanish-English children. The lexicalist view of language acquisition considers that the more the child is exposed to and interacts in one language, the more lexemes of this language will be acquired, and the more syntactic structure of that language will be developed (Huss 1991; as cited in Schlyter and Bernardini, 2004). Schlyter and Bernardini (2004) proposed that lack of input and lexicon in one language may cause an uneven syntactic development; when this occurs, the child may have to recourse to the other language in sentence-internal code-mixing.

Hall, Burns and Pawluski's (2003) findings indicate that parental speech provides a rich source of information to children in learning how different lexical categories are expressed in their native language. When children hear new words used to define new things they make default assumptions about the word's meanings. Thus, children learn how these different lexical categories are expressed syntactically in their language by noting the sentence contexts in which these words appear in their caregiver's speech.

Other studies show that frequent relatively well-tuned parent-child interaction and positive verbal interaction is important for rapid language acquisition. This also creates various language environments which foster language skills (Huttenlocher, 1998; as cited in Chapman, 2000).

Lyon (1996) concurs that parental input affects the bilingual language acquisition of early developing children. Issues in predicting bilingual language development include: (1) the family's language background, (2) parental language attitudes, and (3) language/s used with the child. The least accurate predictor of successful child bilingualism is parental attitudes followed by the family's language background. Maternal language used with the child was by far the best predictor of language development in the child with paternal use also making a significant though much smaller contribution. Thus, children are most affected by the language input they receive from their mothers. In our study, those interacting with the children used predominantly Tagalog. This would suggest that the children with whom they were speaking will predominantly speak in single language Tagalog sentences.

The majority of the words used in the sample are Tagalog. However, this is not sufficient to claim that these children are predominantly monolingual. Moreover, the results show that most of the code-mixed sentences in the sample were characterized by insertions. These sentences did not necessarily use the grammar of the English language since the base language used by most interlocutors was Tagalog. Furthermore, most lexical items were coded in Tagalog which will also affect the child's language output.

The study also appear to show that there is no difference between the type of language input that a child from a middle class family receives and that of a lower class.

However, our data is not sufficient to draw any conclusion since only one lower class family was included. The study by Hoff-Ginsberg (1991,1992 as cited in Chapman, 2000) found large differences in the amount of language input with respect to differences in socioeconomic class of the mothers.

IV. CONCLUSION

This paper presented evidence of the code-mixing behaviors of interlocutors when interacting with Filipino toddlers aged 2-4 years old. As a whole, the data demonstrated that there is insufficient evidence to state that adults and peers speaking with Filipino toddlers use code-mixed sentences more than single language sentences. Contrary to previous findings that Filipinos in Metro Manila predominantly engage in code-mixing, the interlocutors in our study used single language (Tagalog) sentences most often. Our data also showed that code-mixed sentences using words from both languages occurred more rather than code-mixed sentences using the grammar of one language but lexical items of another. It was interesting to note that this data agrees with Muysken's hypothesis (2000; as cited in Chloros and Malcolm) that insertion was the most common type of language alternation for colonial settings. The data from the study also showed that our interlocutors predominantly used Tagalog as their base language. This means that the interlocutors insert some items from English into Tagalog sentences. However, they seldom used the grammatical structure of English during interpersonal interactions. Moreover, the data also showed that the percentage of Tagalog words per sentence is greater than that of English words per sentence. This data concurred with Abesamis et al's (2005) findings that Tagalog was the dominant language in the corpus analyzed. In this particular sample the base

language and the dominant language was the same. This showed that the Filipinos in our sample used a majority of Tagalog words when expressing themselves. We also analyzed the different lexical items in the corpus. It showed that there is insufficient evidence to prove that nouns are predominantly coded in English nor that adjectives are predominantly coded in English. However, there was sufficient evidence to state that verbs were predominantly coded in Tagalog. Other lexical items appeared to be predominantly coded in Tagalog, however these were not statistically analyzed.

All of these characteristics describe the input received by Filipino toddlers. Several studies have shown that parental or interlocutor's input is vital in children's learning of language and affects how they will develop their own spoken language. Hence, the code-mixing behaviors observed in this study might be the same code-mixing behaviors that the children will display. The study also showed that Filipino toddlers are predominantly growing up in a monolingual interactional environment and principles presented by various studies regarding bilingual language acquisition may not necessarily apply in all cases in the Philippine society.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

Describing the code-mixing behaviors of interlocutors when interacting with Filipino toddlers is important, as this will help define the bilingual environment that the child is exposed to and how this affects his/her language development. It is recommended that the same data be further analyzed in order to determine if there is some consistency in the use of lexical items from one language in relation to specific referents. Differentiating parent versus peer input could also be studied. A study of the impact of the educational history of

parents could also be done. A study to determine if the language directed to younger children (0-2 years old) will be simpler than language directed to older children is also recommended. Furthermore, it would also be interesting to determine if there is a change in pattern of code-mixing behaviors per socio-economic status. The Matrix Language Frame was used to analyze the present data; it would be helpful to determine if the code-mixed sentences in the corpus follow the constraints stated by the same model. Moreover, an analysis of the child's output versus the language input he/she receives would show the extent to which the code-mixing behaviors by the interlocutors affect the language development of the children. Since the corpus was also derived from only eight (8) samples, a larger sample would increase the reliability of the data presented. It is suggested that 30 children per socio-economic status be chosen for further study. Having done a morphosyntactic analysis of the data it would be also interesting to study the sociolinguistic features of code-mixing. This would provide a description of the preferred context in which code-mixing occurs and why people tend to use code-mixed utterances. According to Pascasio (2004), code switching has a social meaning which can be accounted for by the social function it plays in a discourse. The knowledge of two languages is not enough.

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DUAL LANGUAGE PROGRAM MODELS IN PHILIPPINE PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS

J. Aleta R. Villanueva

UP Open University

julietaleta@gmail.com

Ani Rosa S. Almario

The Raya School

ani@adarna.com.ph

INTRODUCTION

In today's world, "bilingualism is more the norm than the exception," (Lessow-Hurley, 2000). Governments around the world are now developing bilingual/multilingual educational policies, not only as a response to their nations' innate linguistic heterogeneity, but also as a means of coping with a world whose borders are increasingly disappearing.

The Philippines is no different from the rest of the world: the average Filipino speaks three to four languages. There are two official languages, English and Filipino. Filipino, the amalgam of various local languages, is the language of the streets, popular media and the masses. Inhabitants of Metro Manila, the nation's capital, are all exposed to these two languages the minute they are born. Yet, when they enter school, English is introduced as the "global" language, as well as the language of math, science and technology. The Philippines is in a linguistic situation where English and Filipino are used predominantly for different functions: English is used for formal and business communication needs, as well as for most academic discourse. Thus, it becomes imperative to learn this language, mostly at the expense of the other.

Background of the Study

Research both here and abroad prove the positive outcomes of bilingual education programs. In the United States, a major research finding is that students in bilingual programs outperform their monolingual counterparts in metalinguistic awareness, concept formation tasks and analogical reasoning ability (Cloud, Genesee, and Hamayan, 2000). Students in bilingual programs also outperform their peers in standard-

ized achievement tests in either language (Howard, Sugarman, Christian, Lindholm-Leary, and Rogers 2005).

Like other multilingual countries, the Philippines also has research pointing to the benefits of mother tongue maintenance and bilingual education programs. In 1984, the Linguistic Society of the Philippines (LSP) conducted an evaluation of the bilingual education program, then on its tenth year of implementation. The findings showed that though students performed well in achievement tests and teachers and school administrators saw the need for bilingual education, there was a dearth in materials in Filipino and a lack of preservice and inservice training for teachers in Filipino (Gonzales and Sibayan, 1988). The LSP study emphasized the need for a regular evaluation of the nation's bilingual education program.

The said study also significantly stressed the role of the mother tongue in bilingual or multilingual education. In some parts of multilingual Philippines, the mother tongue might be neither English nor Filipino (Tucker, 1998; Gonzales and Sibayan 1988). The use of the child's mother tongue in developing his basic and functional literacy skills enables him to transfer these skills to a second language (Gonzales, 1996), or even a third (BESRA Report, 2006).

Probably the most important piece of research concerning language in Philippine education is the one based on the First Language Education project done in Lubuagan, Kalinga Apayao. The Lubuagan project boasts of a trilingual program initially implemented in 5 government schools. After only two schoolyears into the program, standardized test results showed the students in the Lubuagan program edging out their counterparts who were not taught in their mother tongue (Dumatog and Dekker, 2003).

The message of both local and international research is quite clear: children should no longer be in monolingual classrooms. Despite this growing body of research showing the benefits of mother tongue maintenance and bilingual programs, the De-

partment of Education issued Executive Order No.210, declaring English to be the medium of instruction, as second language starting at Grade 1, then a primary language of instruction from Grade III until the secondary levels (Department of Education, 2006). Proof that the inconsistency between reality and rhetoric, pointed out by Gonzales in 1996, still persists.

Though studies show that systematic implementation is at the crux of the problem pertaining to bilingual education in the Philippines, the lack of a dual or multilingual program model to emulate also presents a problem to local schools. As Yanilla-Aquino (1995) stated, there has yet to be a definitive bilingual program for the early grades in the Philippines. If the government is serious about multilingual or even just bilingual education, program models for bilingual education have to be constantly developed and studied (Villanueva, 2007).

Currently, there are bilingual education models being implemented in local schools such as the University of the Philippines Integrated School, a government school; and, The Raya School and The Builders' School, both private, progressive schools. These last two schools are currently developing and implementing dual language programs that are closely akin to two way immersion.

AIMS OF THE STUDY

This research aims to describe the dual language program models currently at work in two progressive schools, namely The Builders' School and The Raya School. It closely examines models which show possibilities of making dual language work in the local classroom. Through a discussion of the said schools' dual language programs, this paper aims to outline factors which support dual language programs, most especially the favourable curricular conditions arising from progressive learning environments.

METHODOLOGY

The findings and conclusions of this study were drawn from a careful review and analysis of both schools' curriculum documents, students' assessment results and records of classroom observation. The researchers were directly involved in the planning, development and implementation of the program models in their respective schools.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This research is actually a work in progress, as both The Builders' School and The Raya School are in their early years of existence. The bilingual education happening in both schools are in their first years of implementation. Despite this, findings from both schools' initial years may help in the development of a dual language model that is appropriate for the Philippine setting.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study intends to contribute to the search for good and effective program models of bilingual education for the Philippine setting. Specifically, the model it seeks to explore may be beneficial to both public and private schools, which all seek to achieve student proficiency in two languages. Findings in this research may also give rise to the role of progressive schools in educational research and the development of alternative, pedagogical systems.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Dual Language

Over the years, bilingual education has acquired many terms to mean a variety of activities pertaining to second language learning. This is because education in more than one language is necessary and common around the world (Lessow-Hurley

2000). In the United States alone, instruction in two languages or more has taken different forms, each with its own set of goals, design and manner of implementation. A variety of labels, terminologies, program models and designs for types of population is well documented in literature. Commonly used terms include dual language education, two way immersion, enriched education and developmental bilingual education. The more all-encompassing term used is dual language instruction. The term indicates that teaching and learning is happening in two languages (Calderon and Minaya-Rowe 2003, Lessow-Hurley 2000). Dual language instruction is used as an umbrella term for several types of program models which use two languages for instruction with the goal of having students achieve full conversational and academic proficiency in two languages (Freemen, Freeman and Mercuri, 2005).

According to Thomas and Collier (2002), compared to other bilingual programs, dual language models are the only programs which result in maintaining high levels of achievement in all subjects among students after five to six years of schooling. Unlike other bilingual education programs, dual language programs are considered to have an additive approach to language learning. In additive approaches, a second language is learned without losing one's first language. In contrast, subtractive approaches result in one language being gradually lost, as the other language is being acquired (Lessow-Hurley, 2000).

Two Way Immersion

The bilingual education model being utilized by both schools involved in this study is called two way immersion (TWI). Howard and Christian (2002) refer to TWI as "an educational approach that integrates native English speakers and native speakers of another language for content and literacy instruction in both languages...it is two-way in two ways: two languages are used for instruction and two groups of students are involved." In immersion programs, "all the usual curricular areas are

taught in a second language—this language being the medium, rather than the object, of instruction” (Lessow-Hurley, 2000). A 2002 research conducted by Thomas and Collier in the United States showed definite findings in favour of two way immersion for students in bilingual contexts (UNESCO, 2007).

Unlike other bilingual education models, TWI programs serve both language minority and language majority students (Cloud, Genesee and Hamayan, 2000). In the latest book from Center for Applied Linguistics on Two Way Immersion, Howard and Sugarman (2007) identified distinct characteristics of TWI:

- promotes additive bilingualism by providing content and literacy instruction in English and the partner language for an extended period of time
- throughout the program, a minimum of 50 percent of instructional time is in the partner language
- the program enrolls a balance of students who are native speakers of each of the two languages, preferably in a 50-50 ratio, but no more than two thirds of the students are native speakers of either language
- the two groups of students are integrated for at least 50 percent of the instructional day

Various TWI program models have been developed in the recent years. These program models vary in terms of a) language population and b) language distribution across content areas. Howard and Christian (2002) describes in detail two main program models in TWI. One model is 50/50 while the other is 90/10. A 50/50 model means that instruction in the two languages is divided evenly at all grade levels. This is usually done through a daily division where the morning session is spent learning in one language, and the afternoon session in another.

The 90/10 model, on the other hand intentionally allots 90% of instruction in the minority language and 10% in English during the first up to two years of schooling. Gradually, the language distribution then evens off at 50/50 during the 4th to 6th year of elementary education. Other models of TWI are discussed in recent literature such as the 80-20 model and the 70-30 model, which provide for the use of more English in the early years (Calderon and Minaya-Rowe 2003).

Besides language distribution, language population is also a major consideration for the development of program models. TWI program models reflect equal proportion of language majority and language minority students: literature suggests a 50-50 balance among students. Lindholm-Leary (2002) also mentions TWI happening in a 1/3, 1/3, 1/3 language population: one population has English as their first language, another has Spanish, and still another has bilingual speakers. In some US schools, a 33-67 balance is aspired (Minaya Rowe and Calderon, 2003).

Lindholm Leary (2002) outlines conditions for the successful implementation of TWI:

- programs should provide for a minimum of four to six years
- the focus of the instruction should be on the same core academic curriculum
- the non-English language should be used a minimum of 50% to a maximum of 90%
- English should be used a minimum of 10% of the time
- the program should be additive— all students MUST learn a second language
- classrooms should include a balance of speakers English language speakers and speakers of another language who participate together
- presence of positive strategies such as cooperative learning
- support for qualified school personnel and home-school collaboration

Effective instructional approaches in dual language instruction primarily draw from teaching models employed in second language learning. To those involved in second language learning, curricular themes arising in dual language instruction will sound familiar, and these are namely balanced literacy; cooperative instruction; student-centered learning; thematic units; content based instruction and integration (Freeman, et al 2005, Howard and Sugarman, 2007).

The choice of which among the various bilingual education program models to use in a particular educational setting brings up many curricular aspects and considerations. Howard and Sugarman (2007) noted that, "whatever program model and approach to initial literacy are selected, the choices must produce a coherent whole that makes sense internally and matches the program's vision and goals"

Multilingual and Bilingual Program Models in the Philippines

In the Philippines, bilingual education started way back in 1974, when the Department of Education and Culture mandated the use of English and Filipino as the media of instruction in both primary and secondary schools. This decree was likewise renewed in 1987 in pursuit of a "bilingual nation, competent in both Filipino and English" (Gonzales and Sibayan, 1988). According to the 1987 decree, Filipino was to be used as a language of instruction in the subjects Filipino and Araling Panlipunan (Social Studies). On the other hand, English was used for Mathematics and Science. Decades have passed since bilingual education was mandated in both the public and private schools. In the process, the Philippine educational system has witnessed changes in the official language of instruction influenced by changes in political leadership.

In the light of this decree, The University of the Philippines' laboratory school, UP Integrated School (UPIS), implemented a bilingual program with a strong bias for Filipino language maintenance. It opted to teach all subjects in Filipino throughout the elementary years then introduced English as a language of instruction at the secondary level. After a thorough evaluation of the program in 2003, it recommended a new bilingual program model which prescribed the use of Filipino from Kinder through the Grade 4 levels for all subjects except English, Music and Art. From Grade 5 until the high school level, UPIS used both Filipino and English as media of instruction, with English used in Math and Science (Resuma and Ocampo, 2005).

In some parts of the Philippines, the mother tongue, or the child's first language, is employed in learning, together with English and Filipino. A popular example is the trilingual teaching approach used in Lubuagan a municipality in the province of Kalinga. The program model uses the mother tongue in all subjects including Science and Math for 4.5 hours a day, then Filipino and English as specific subjects for 1 hour

each day (Dumatog and Dekker, 2003). Research findings support Lubuagan's model stating that not only did using the mother tongue improve student performance and parent participation, it also strengthened the community's connection to their local roots and culture (Ibid).

Despite these models of bi/multilingual education, what is seen in most Philippine private schools today, especially in the National Capital Region (NCR), are students failing in their subjects taught in the national language. Moreover, most schools employ monolingual instruction in English from preschool to the primary years, only teaching one or two subjects in Filipino starting in the 2nd grade.

Only a handful of schools, namely, The Builders' School and The Raya School, openly promote their use of dual language instruction in their preschool and early grades classrooms (Villanueva, 2007).

The TWI Program Model of the Builders' School

School Profile

The Builders' School started in schoolyear 2007-2008 with a program grounded on a progressive philosophy. This small school was organized by parents who themselves are educators and believe that the existing learning culture in big schools are not compatible with their own views of children's needs and interests, and how they learn. Thus, the resulting program choices of the founders are a synthesis of experience, research and lessons learned from years of working in non-traditional and innovative schools in the Philippines. Like other progressive schools in the Philippines, its curriculum design is primarily integrated. However, the school program takes it further by providing organizing themes with a major focus on Philippine History, Culture and Global Citizenship. Salient features of its curriculum include Inquiry Learning Projects to ensure integrative learning and discipline based approaches to ensure learning of content and subject specific skills.

The Builders' School targets middle class children who have either English or Filipino as their first language. One of the major goals of the school is to develop biliterate learners through a dual language program. The program is committed to teach all subject areas equally in English and Filipino so students become proficient in two languages. For its approach to language instruction, the Builders' School essentially promotes the balanced literacy approach for all types of language learners, including children with reading difficulties.

Language Profile of Students

For its first schoolyear in 2007, The Builders' School had a total of 12 children in a multigrade class setting having Kinder, Grade 1 and Grade 2 children in one class. The class had 2 children who have English as their first language, 2 children who are good speakers of both English and Filipino, and 8 children who have Filipino as their first language. In other words, the class language distribution is 1/6 - 1/6 - 2/3.

Since the school is in its first year, screening for the student's language was informal in nature. An item was included in the Child's Application Form for parents to indicate their child's dominant language and other languages spoken fluently at home. Parent interviews, as part of the screening process, were used to validate information provided. Group assessments were arranged for the teachers to have an initial working knowledge of the child's oral language, comfort and response to English and Filipino group facilitation. Individualized assessments were used to verify child's comprehension of basic English and Filipino instructions. Though there was a formal standardized test given to assess children's literacy in English midway into the school year, there was none for Filipino. Assessment of language development in Filipino was mostly done through teacher made tests and other assessments.

Language Use and Distribution Across Subject Areas

A. Inquiry Learning Projects in Science or Social Studies

The school's program ran Science or Social Studies learning projects alongside other approaches for the teaching of other subject areas. The Builders' School Inquiry Learning Project was drawn from the models of inquiry learning developed by Kath Murdoch and Sylvia Chard. During Learning Project Period, children engaged in a variety of collaborative work to investigate answers to their questions. This was where skills application took place and thus, thinking across subject matter, content and concepts mostly happened. Planning for Learning Projects included skills in the areas of thinking, communication, self-management, group work and research.

Since Learning Projects were at the core of the school's integrated curriculum, the school year was divided into three semesters to accommodate a total of 6 Learning Project Units for the whole year. A Learning Project unit normally ran for 5-6 weeks. In terms of language immersion, this means, children were immersed in the use one language for a 5-6 week span during the Learning Project Period (approximately 4.25 hrs per week). Throughout the year, children were immersed in a total of three Learning Projects in English and likewise in Filipino, either in Social Studies or Science. This scheme is illustrated as follows:

Term 1		Term 2		Term 3	
Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6
SS in FIL	Sci in FIL	Sci in ENG	SS in FIL	SS in ENG	Sci in ENG

The dual language program decisions pertaining to language choice in relation to Social Studies and Science, language use in special subjects and Meeting Time, as well as time allotments (daily/weekly/per trimester) depended on the nature of the Learning Projects. To illustrate further, a sample weekly schedule of language use are as follows:

	ART/Music	PE
5 hrs	MATH + Sci/SS Stand Alone	MATH + Sci/SS Learning Project
4.75 hrs	ENGLISH	FILIPINO
1 hr	MTG Time	MTG Time
ENGLISH 11.5 hrs		FILIPINO 12.25

Hence, the resulting program model born out of this major consideration is illustrated as follows:

60% FILIPINO	50% FILIPINO	40% FILIPINO
40% ENGLISH	50% ENGLISH	60% ENGLISH

Term 1**Term 2****Term 3**

It is important to note however that some amount of flexibility in language use during Learning Project Period was also accommodated especially when it comes to children's written output. Children were given the choice of which language to use in their self-made books and posters. During the first learning project, most children chose to do outputs in their first language. But come the third learning project for the year, students with L1 Filipino wanted to do their books in English while one student with L1 English was already open to making her book in Filipino. In some cases where children pursue research work and the only available child friendly material is in English, a certain flexibility in language use and output was also exercised.

B. Language Instruction in Language Periods

Language classes for both English and Filipino ran for an hour each day, four times a week. Major components of its balanced literacy program in both English and Filipino included explicit reading strategy instruction, guided reading for fluency, read aloud of authentic literature using narrative and informative formats, and guided writing in small groups. English Periods were maximized to work on phonemic awareness, and explicit reading instruction. Filipino periods were utilized to do handwriting lessons, word study, and oral language practice. These components were done heavily during the first two terms of the school year. Later on, mini-grammar lessons, interactive and independent writing activities happened during both language periods. Some language activities related to the Learning Project Period spill over to the Filipino language period where children engage in more interactive writing activities directly related to their experiences with their project work.

Once a week, for a 45-minute session, students were divided into 3 language groups. The language groups were according to the children's first language so that L1 learners get to do mini-grammar lessons, word study and writer's workshop in

support of the child's mother tongue. The third grouping was for children with reading difficulties where they work directly with a reading specialist who designed the integrated literacy support to include direct skills instruction and levelled reading practice for fluency.

Language teachers also tried to map out coverage in grammar and vocabulary content at the start of each term to make sure that introduction of content along these lines coincide. However, it became a challenge to plan the dual language program primarily by dividing the day into half-day English and half-day Filipino because of the nature of the class schedule which was also subject to the availability of part time specialist teachers.

C. Language Use in Mathematics

The Math Period ran for 45 minutes, thrice a week and 1 hour, twice a week. Math was taught by a math specialist who was fluent in both languages. However, sustained language use either in Filipino or English was difficult for the teacher since her priority was for children to understand the concepts more than to acquire language proficiency. To the Math teacher, support for the child's mother tongue was primary for children to understand the important math concepts. Alternating languages on a weekly basis as originally intended was difficult for the teacher especially during the first term. What worked best for the teacher eventually was to teach Math in English and Filipino over the course of a week. This was the pattern used during the second trimester that enabled the children to comprehend the necessary concepts and problems tackled in Math.

D. Language Use During Meeting Time

Language use during Meeting Time (15 minutes each start of class and before dismissal) became opportunities to developing dual language awareness. Meeting time was maximized to do teacher-directed discussions, oral language practice, and language awareness activities through our bilingual word wall. Teacher directed discussions were facilitated for the purpose of reviewing and reinforcing previously learned concepts and content learned using Filipino for their Learning Project. Some Meeting Time sessions served as a clearinghouse for L1 English students who perhaps may have participated in a Science/ Social Studies Learning Project in Filipino but might not fully comprehend everything that went on during discussions.

Meeting time was also a way to develop language awareness through our bilingual word wall, wherein the teacher consciously models ways to pronounce and explain Filipino words borrowed from English, Filipino counterparts for English terms and vice versa. Oral language practice during Meeting Time include question and answer relay drills, doing songs and chants. Children are encouraged to use and complete sentence stems orally.

Evolving Program Model of Two way Immersion

Given the entry of more L1 Filipino students on its second schoolyear, the model of dual language in The Builders' School continue to evolve. Given that more L1 Filipino students join the school at the Kinder and Grade 1 level--a stage where they are beginning readers who need more support in using their mother tongue for expressive and receptive purposes--then the foreseen model of TWI is as follows:

60% FILIPINO	50% FILI- PINO	50% FILI- PINO	60% FILIPINO
40% ENGLISH	50% ENGLISH	50% ENGLISH	40% ENGLISH
Kinder-Gr 1	Gr 2-3	Gr 4-5	Gr 6-7

Another point for consideration pertains to observations of the L1 students in both languages. For one, it was observed that from last school year's pioneering batch, two children initially classified as L1 Filipino and L1 English respectively, became classified as bilingual during the last term of the year. This led to the evening out of the L1 vs L2 vs bilingual ratio, which makes the 50-50 model most suitable.

Though the percentages of time allotments and language distribution should not entirely depend on the L1 and L2 student population or distribution per class, in the end, support for the dominant mother tongue in a class population is a factor greatly considered specifically in program model decisions at the primary level. This is one way to ensure that language learning of L1 will eventually facilitate learning of L2, thus helping children become bilingual by the time they will be subject to the 50-50 model.

These considerations as well as the foreseen program model of dual language, necessitate the development of a first and second language screening instrument and language proficiency tests in both languages. These instruments shall be definitive part of assessing children's onset skills and growth in biliteracy.

The TWI Program Model of The Raya School

School Profile

The Raya School is a non-sectarian, private, progressive school in Quezon City. Set up as the laboratory school of Adarna House, the country's leading children's publishing firm, the school opened in 2005 with 19 students. During school year 2007-2008, the school had 40 students, spread out across four grade levels: nursery (3-4 years old); kindergarten (4-5 years old); prep (5-6 years old); and grade 1 (6-7 years old). The school plans to add a grade level every year until it reaches grade 6. The school has three main curricular thrusts: Science, Reading and Sense of Country. The Raya School's founders decided to implement a bilingual program, owing to their belief that good citizenship includes being proficient communicators in both English and Filipino, and that a true sense of cultural and historical identity is mostly rooted in one's own language. The school has also undertaken the development of its own instructional materials, not only to have worksheets, visual aids and charts that are bilingual, but are also culturally appropriate.

During its first year of existence, the school implemented a bilingual program where Filipino and English were used alternately: Monday and Thursday classes were conducted in Filipino, while Tuesday and Thursday classes are conducted in English. Friday was Supplementary Day, meaning it offered film showings, field trips or expert visits. The language used on Fridays was totally dependent on the language that the visiting expert used, the language of the guide at a field trip, or the language used in the film being viewed.

Upon the advice of its curricular consultants and faculty discussions, the school adopted the 50/50 two way immersion model on its second and third school year. Generally speaking, snacktime for the children also served a language segue as classes before snacktime were taught in Filipino, while those that came after snacks were taught in Filipino. To aid the children in the language switch, visual indicators

(e.g. a language “clock” whose arm points to either E or F to indicate the language of learning in the classroom) were placed in the classrooms, and teachers had to ask the children to answer questions or converse in the target language. Concurrent translation or codeswitching was done by teachers during the first two months of school, but were gradually faded as the school year progressed. Even the school environment supports bilingualism: things are labelled bilingually in order to develop the students’ vocabulary in both languages.

It is also worth noting that the parents of Raya students are also supportive of the bilingual education happening in the school. In fact, parents have shared with the school’s administration and faculty, their effort to speak fluently in both languages at home, as well as expose their children to storybooks in both English and Filipino.

Language Profile of Students

During academic year 2007-2008, The Raya School had 40 students. The language profile of these students was gleaned from the one-on-one entry assessment sessions held with each student, as well as the parent interviews conducted by the School Director. The table below summarizes the language profile of each class during the said academic year:

Grade Level	Number of Students	Number of Bilingual Students	Number of L1 Filipino Students	Number of L1 English Students
Nursery	6	1	2	3
Kindergarten A	9	2	5	2
Kindergarten B	6		4	2
Prep	9	2	5	2
Grade 1	10	3	5	1

Given this language profile, scaffolding happened not only at the teacher-student level, but also at the student-student level: L1 English students scaffolded the L1 Filipino students' English speaking skills and vice-versa. By the end of the second trimester, it was observed that students had not only substantially acquired vocabulary and oral language structures in their second language, they were also codeswitching not only the classroom, but also at the playroom and at fieldtrips. For example, when an L1 English student perceives that the student he is playing with is more proficient in Filipino, he immediately utilizes Filipino in conversing with the other child.

Language Use and Distribution Across Subject Areas

A. Reading

In teaching reading, the school uses the Four Pronged Approach, a local approach that not only seeks to develop a child's reading and comprehension skills, but also encourage a love for literature. There are four parts to a four-pronged approach reading unit: storyreading; postreading activities designed to develop critical thinking; grammar and oral language lessons; and, a decoding lesson. Raya does the four pronged approach unit twice in a week, reading a literary selection in Filipino on Mondays and a literary selection in English on Wednesdays. These selections serve as springboards for the week's lessons in all subjects, as the curriculum of Raya is integrated. Having weekly selections in both languages ensures equal exposure to literature in English and Filipino, as well as equal time spent discussing and learning both languages.

Following research in the area, beginning reading is taught in the child's first language. In kindergarten, where reading instruction takes place, students are divided into two groups according to their L1. The Filipino group is taught to identify, sound out and write letters according to the Marungko sequence, which is arranged from the letters most frequently occurring in the Filipino language to the least occurring. On

the other hand, the English group is taught to identify, sound out and write letters according to the Fuller sequence.

B. Science and Math

In nursery and kindergarten, Science is taught for equal amounts of time in English and Filipino. Though most science concepts and mathematical concepts are in English, the teachers explain these in Filipino. But once the students reach prep, Science and Math are taught in English, to conform to the language standards set for these subjects, nationwide. Yet, the school makes sure that discussions about the applications of these scientific and mathematical concepts are done in the other subjects which are taught in Filipino. It is imperative for the teachers to develop the students' understanding of scientific and mathematical concepts, to allow them to talk about the said concepts in both languages.

C. Alternating Language Use

The Raya School has adopted the Project Approach and in fact, Project Time is considered one of the school's subjects. During Project Time, students do investigatory projects about topics that they or their teachers chose, usually in the fields of science or social studies. These projects integrate student learning in all subjects. During Project Time, teachers and students may use whichever language is more comfortable to express their thoughts about their investigations, and more conducive to inquiry. There are also some parts of the weekly schedule where language use is as "interchangeable" as Project Time: supplementary activities, art and music.

Challenges of the Fourth Year and the New Bilingual Model

This coming school year is quite a different story in terms of the students' language profile. Unlike in past school populations, where Filipino was predominantly L1,

this coming school year's new students are almost all L1 English speakers. Given the said language profile and after discussing how some children in nursery and kindergarten found it difficult to adjust to the 50/50 model, the Raya faculty deliberated and decided on using the following model:

90% in English	70% in English	50% in English
10% in Filipino	30% in Filipino	50% in Filipino
	2 nd Trimester- Nursery 1 st & 2 nd Trimester- Kinder	3 rd Trimester-Nursery 3 rd Trimester-Kinder Prep-Grade 2

1st Trimester-Nursery

The model above shows that Nursery students begin with the 90/10 model during the first trimester, gradually moving on to 70/30 during the second trimester, and then achieving the 50/50 model in the final trimester. The kindergarten level, on the other hand, will use the 70/30 model in the first and second trimesters, before using a 50/50 model in the third trimester. The 50/50 model, the ideal two way immersion model for the school's faculty and administration, is used from Prep to Grade 2. Below is an example of how language operates at the Preparatory level, following the 50/50 model:

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8:00 – 8:15	Free Play				
8:15 – 8:30	Circle Time				
8:30 – 9:00	Storyreading and Critical Thinking	Reading	PE	Social Studies	Supplementary Activity
9:00 – 9:30	Grammar and Oral Language Development	Art	Social Studies	Library Time	
9:30 – 9:50	Snack Time				
9:50 – 10:30	Science	Writing	Storyreading and Critical Thinking	Music and Movement	Math
10:30-10:50	Computer	Math	Grammar and Oral Language Development	Science	Reading

In the schedule below, the gray portions indicate the subjects taught in Filipino; the blue portions indicate those taught in English; and those in green are those taught interchangeably in Filipino and in English.

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

Conditions Supporting Dual Language Programs

From the research done on the TWI program models taking place in both schools, the authors found common conditions that make the said learning environments conducive to bilingual education:

- Progressivism supports a developmental and child-centered curriculum, thus encouraging an exploration of alternative, innovative approaches to education
- The founders of both schools advocate the value of raising biliterate Filipinos
- Most progressive school parents are supportive of innovation, and participate in curriculum development, as well as performing activities at home that support the curriculum

- An integrated curriculum encourages connections among skills, content, and themes, as well as across languages
- Both schools employ faculty who are bilingual, able to conduct interesting lessons and rich classroom discussions in both languages
- Progressive schools are more responsive to individual student needs and skills than their traditional counterparts; in Raya, for example, the change in incoming students' language profile prompted a change in how TWI is carried out
- Both schools' administration and faculty do a yearly orientation and training directed towards understanding two way immersion, as well as improving bilingual teaching techniques and developing instructional materials in both languages.

The above conditions are congruent to the features enumerated in research as necessary for the success of TWI program models.

However, beyond conditions already mentioned in earlier research, the following are conditions within these Filipino progressive schools which make dual language possible:

- The Builders' School is run by a reading specialist and a program coordinator, whose research background and professional experience make them equipped and committed to support dual language using a balanced literacy approach
- The Raya School's instructional materials are jointly designed and developed by both the school's faculty and the staff of Adarna House, which is known for producing quality, bilingual materials for children
- Both schools' small set up makes team planning possible in addressing student needs, most especially reading and language needs
- Both schools employ assessment procedures that help the school administration and faculty make an adequate language profile of their students, and monitor their development in both languages

- A grounding on progressive philosophy encourages teachers to be experimental and reflective with their teaching and learning to ensure TWI happens effectively

There are challenges to bilingual education in the Philippines that have persisted since the first year that bilingual education was decreed by the government. Some of these are the lack of materials in Filipino, as well as training for teachers in teaching using the national language. In addition, studies on bilingual or trilingual programs in the Philippines, number close to none. Perhaps the biggest obstacle that dual language program advocates face is the unequal status of Filipino and English (Gonzales, 1996). Unlike well-developed, canon-supported and widely-used English, Filipino is considered by most linguists as still in the process of intellectualization: a status that it has held for the past thirty years. Filipino is still undergoing modernization and standardization, and is viewed as a problematic language by most educators. In addition, the growing call center industry in the Philippines puts a premium on speaking English, making this language the priority of schools, and most of the time, the only language of instruction. Thus, the major challenge in developing and propagating dual language programs in the Philippines is the secondary status of Filipino alongside English.

CONCLUSION

Bilingual classrooms do more than just preserve national identity by the propagation of Filipino. Bilingual classrooms also result in numerous benefits on the part of the bilingual Filipino learner. Thus, Filipino educators and educational researchers should endeavor to work towards making bilingual learning systematic and effective.

As this study shows, progressive schools are the best environment for exploring dual language programs in the Philippines. Progressive schools naturally provide for pedagogical exploration and curricular experimentation. It is within this climate of in-

novation and experimentation that an effective dual language program suited to the Philippine situation can be developed. Studying and monitoring the progress of dual language programs in progressive schools such as The Builders' School and The Raya School are necessary to see what educational conditions and context leads to students who are proficient in both English and Filipino.

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Politicizing the Second Language Classroom: Prospects for Change

Noel Christian A. Moratilla

St. Scholastica's College

nomorat@yahoo.com

Introduction

Modern educational theories have done much to downplay some of the basic precepts of the traditional, teacher- or subject-centered education which, to use Freire's (1985) term, employed the one-sided "banking method" and, in the main, treated the learner as an empty vessel to be filled. These theories, when coupled with critical consciousness, will radicalize the usually passive second language classroom and enable teachers and students to assume more active roles in shaping society. While language-based methodologies have proven effective in facilitating the teaching-learning process, little has been done to decolonize the language classroom and develop a more critical awareness of pressing social issues and concerns. As the country finds itself beset by one crisis after another, it is expedient that the educational system respond to these concerns. This paper attempts to address the need for greater political awareness in the language classroom. In this context, the words "political," "politics," "politicizing," and the like do not necessarily refer to government affairs but, in its broadest sense, the nexus of power relations—social, economic, and cultural.

Language and Colonization

Language has played an interesting role in the political history of the country. During the Spanish and American colonial regimes, language was inextricably bound to political, social and economic conditions in the country, and to policies implemented in the pursuit of colonial interests.

The advent of the Spaniards in the 16th century permanently altered the natives' way of life. Nonetheless, the islands were never completely hispanized because of the colonizers' refusal to

teach their language to the natives. To facilitate the spread of the Western religion, European missionaries took pains to learn the vernaculars, as evidenced by the linguistic studies (based on local languages) conducted and published during the Spanish period. Only the elite, that is, the *ilustrado* class (to which Rizal, among others, belonged) had the privilege to learn the Spanish language. Many of these *ilustrados* labored under the impression that Spain would assimilate the Philippines (i.e., declare the country as a province of Spain) and treat the natives as equals of the Spaniards. To their discomfiture, however, the Spaniards did not grant their demand and instead took stringent measures against calls for integration and outright independence.

At the turn of the century, the Filipinos found themselves under new colonizers from the west. It was the Americans' first foray into new territory, and bespoke the polypragmatic policies that have characterized American foreign affairs since then. Nonetheless, some Filipino leaders continued the struggle for sovereignty, for which they paid a high price. Some revolutionaries were exiled, imprisoned or executed. Mabini, a legal luminary and Aguinaldo's factotum, refused to take an oath of allegiance and was sent to Guam. Others who continued the resistance after Aguinaldo's capture in 1901, like Sakay, were branded as *bandidos* (bandits) and *tulisanes* (scoundrels) and killed on the orders of the American government.

The Filipinos' past experiences as a people have shown that language may be used as a tool for oppression, domination and polarization. During the Spanish regime, natives were deprived of opportunities to learn the language of the colonizers in order to maintain social distinctions. The likes of Rizal, del Pilar and other *ilustrados* who had the opportunity to attend schools run by the Spaniards were able to learn the language and, painstakingly, enjoyed some prestige among the members of the *alta sociedad*. Being natives, they still experienced discrimination.

The Americans, on the other hand, employed language and the educational system to promulgate and justify their colonization of the archipelago at the turn of the century. Part of the American colonizers' policy of "benevolent assimilation" was the introduction and promulgation of the

English language. The Americans believed that the subjugation of the natives would be easier through education and the spread of their language. Before long, some of the natives, particularly those from the upper class and the middle class easily learned and mastered the language. Not a few of them joined the colonial government and ensconced themselves in the corridors of power. Since then, English has become an integral, ubiquitous component of an educational system patterned after the western model, aimed at producing learners with a western outlook and a mastery of the foreign tongue.

At present, most of the currently existing second language programs are said to be in response to the “growth of the global economy” wherein English represents a “marketable global commodity” (Maminta, 2001, p. 36). Language scholars here in the Philippines and abroad have called for the spread of the language on account of globalization which aims to remove national boundaries purportedly to erase commercial intercourse among peoples of the world (Lumbera, 1997), to the advantage of strong economies and superpowers, and to the disadvantage and discomfiture of weak economies like the Philippines. Would it be prudent then, given this bleak scenario, to pursue English learning because of globalization?

Pennycook (1994, as cited in Maminta, 2001) argues that the spread of English is natural, neutral and beneficial. It is natural because it is the consequence of global progress, neutral because it serves as a transparent medium of communication, and beneficial because it is a tool for international communication. The assertion, of course, tries to strip language education of its political character, making it appear static, naturalistic, free from ideological intent. Is the current language policy really non-political and neutral?

The claim made by Pennycook and many other language scholars, both local and foreign, is redolent of the liberal philosophy of education that struggles to perpetuate the existing social model of power and privilege. According to Sarup (1978), the liberal philosophy of education puts forward the idea that knowledge is objectively existent and external to the learner. This philosophy re-

jects the idea that a form of knowledge—in this case, linguistic knowledge—is not influenced by the historical constructs of a particular time.

The assertions of Pennycook and of several others about the spread of the English language—its naturalness, its being the result of global progress (whose progress?), its being neutral and non-political—are themselves reflective of a political stance because they are the product of the claimers' historical constructs. Globalization, to which language scholars usually advert in justifying the spread of English, is itself loaded with political implications.

Since the colonial times, the Philippine educational system has never been a neutral ground because, like any other system of formal education in class societies, it has always catered to the interests of the dominant class. Tuibeo (1995, p. 102) states:

Historically, formal education in this country was established by foreign warlords who came to dominate the Filipino nation under various guises. Its underlying philosophy, despite appearances to the contrary, has always been the justification of colonial aggression and therefore foreign domination over our economic and political life. So effective was education as an instrument of colonization that the Filipino psyche was totally bastardized. What emerged as a product of colonial obfuscation was, indeed, a Filipino completely devoid of national identity and consciousness...Such defeatist outlook and servile character only demonstrate how deep and pervasive our “cultural perversion” under colonial tutelage.

During the American period, the introduction of an educational system palpably patterned after the western model did not stem from a pure intention to “educate” the natives. Parenthetically, Filipinos were not the “benighted heathens” that the apologists of colonialism perceived us to be; their struggle for independence from Spain and their establishment of a revolutionary government demonstrated their knowledge of basic democratic tenets. The Americans implemented Act 477 to use education in suppressing the natives' struggle for sovereignty and compelling the *ilustrado* class to support colonial aggression (Tuibeo, 1995).

According to Rodriguez (1997, p. 57), the dominant belief about colonization is that “it transformed the Filipinos from a primitive society into a civilized, Christian nation amidst a largely non-Christian region of the world, which is Southeast Asia.” Most Filipinos think that “had it no

been for Spain and the United States, the Philippines would have been like Malaysia or Indonesia, which are non-Christian nations, and where English is not widely spoken.” These common forms of discourse obviously overlook the harm that colonization had wrought. Colonization by the United States, in particular, introduced “the destructive idea of idealism...a pursuit of happiness...a desire to achieve happiness even if it involves crushing other nations’ freedom”.

Empowering the Learner/Reader: Some Modern Theories and Approaches

Apart from treating the language classroom as a non-neutral ground, being aware of some of the modern theories relative to second language teaching may be also be an initial step towards decolonizing and politicizing the language classroom. These theories further attenuate and repudiate the educational principles of the past, and may serve as academic tools through which learners may be empowered.

The common impression is that reading simply involves decoding the printed word. This was the prevailing belief in the old reading and language classroom which, for the most part, employed behavioral approaches in teaching reading and language. Recent theories relative to reading and language education have spawned approaches and methods which, as it were, no longer treat the learner as an empty vessel to be filled. The application of such views, when coupled with cultural and national consciousness, has the potential to politicize the second language classroom and serve as an authentic referent for change.

According to Krashen (1981, 1982), meaningful and understandable input plays a most crucial role in the acquisition of another language. Along this line, he recommends the use of instructional materials and tools that may be relevant and appropriate to the learner. Exposing learners to texts that are familiar to them are expected to yield better results.

Carre (1984 as cited in Eun, 1991)) maintains that reading difficulty may be ascribed not only to the learner’s lack of familiarity with vocabulary, but also to his failure to understand some

of the concepts and allusions embedded in the text. This means that if the Filipino learner is exposed to foreign materials and contexts, there will likely be difficulty in learning.

According to Freire (1987), reading is not merely decoding or deciphering the written word or language. Reading is an activity that is preceded by and bound to one's knowledge of the world. This shows the undeniable connection between language and reality, a connection that should be reinforced through the selection of texts and the exercise of critical thinking on the part of the language learners. The traditional banking approach to education, according to Freire (1970, p. 61), will never encourage the student to critically consider reality. Freire (1970, p. 62) adds

Implicit in the banking concept is the assumption of a dichotomy between man and world: man is merely in the world, not with the world or with others; man is spectator, not re-creator. In this view, man is not a conscious being (*corpo consciente*); he is rather the possessor of a consciousness: an empty "mind" passively open to the reception of deposits of reality from the outside world. For example, my desk, my books, my coffee cup, all the objects before me—as bits of the world which surrounds me—would be "inside" me, exactly as I am...

This claim is buttressed by reading specialists. Esky (1986) argues that reading is the reconstruction of meaning based on a text, which is affected by prior knowledge. If the reader does not have any critical skill or piece of knowledge in relation to the text, he/she will encounter a difficulty in analyzing and understanding the flow of information, and, in consequence, he/she is likely to grapple with the reading material. Schema, or the student's background knowledge in relation to the text, will influence success in reading (Eun, 1991).

The schema theory argues that if the learner knows more about the text, there is better chance of comprehension. Schema may be considered as the organization of an individual's past experiences that directly affect perception; it can also be viewed as mental constructs that make possible the organization of information in long-term memory. Minsky (n.d., as cited by Brown and Yule, 1983) states that knowledge is stored in memory in the form of data structures that show stereotyped situations. When activated, these structures will help the learner in understanding what

he reads. This activation, however, will not be enough; it should be coupled with the learner's critical thinking in relation to the text.

Hinkel (1991) laments that teachers and linguists have not addressed the culture of the community in which it is used. She cites Thomas' (1983) call for more research to design ways and means for heightening and refining the learner's metapragmatic awareness through the use of more authentic instructional materials.

Behaviorist, "repeat-after-me" approaches will not be so effective. Explicit instruction of adults and attempts to speak like a native speaker of the target language cannot take the place of the socialization process. This means that the conceptualization of socio-cultural frameworks and the structure of the first language, beliefs, knowledge, presuppositions, and behaviors are and will remain to be bound to the first culture, and to disregard the culture of the learners will not yield remarkable results (Scollon and Scollon, 1989).

Byram and Morgan (1994) aver that in learning another language, one cannot ignore the first culture and step into another because culture is part of an individual and makes him part of a social group. Learners are inextricably linked to their own culture and to deny them any part of it is to deny something within their own being. Therefore, to expose Filipino students to foreign texts only for the purpose of making them learn the second language would not only be improper but would prove futile as well. Language is a social, rather than exclusively linguistic phenomenon.

The aforementioned concepts show that culture should be taken into consideration in second language acquisition. Flowerdew and Miller (1995) assert that at least four notions of culture need to be considered in the teaching-learning process, namely: ethnic culture, local culture, academic culture, and disciplinary culture. Learning, in this regard, is shaped and affected by:

- 1) teachers' and students' ethnicity;
- 2) degree of familiarity with local versus distant examples;
- 3) practices of academic life governing lectures and discussions; and
- 4) specific practices of the discipline within which they are studying.

Fowler (1986) laments that the context of culture and the interactional context of learner and text are given secondary importance in most second language or foreign language classes. Foreign language or second language students are not instructed how native readers might have interpreted the text in its foreign cultural context, or how the personal experiences of the non-native speakers themselves might affect their own interpretation of the text. Literature that serves as a reflection of an alien culture renders problematic, stagnant and ineffectual the language teaching-learning process. At best, it would only produce learners familiar with foreign culture and civilization and with little knowledge about their own.

Education for Emancipation

The teacher and learner should first be situated within a non-traditional framework. We should learn to dismiss some long-held beliefs with regard to education, particularly that assumptions that education is neutral and that the school is a neutral ground. Young (1971 as cited in Sarup, 1978) asserts that knowledge transmitted in education is not absolute nor arbitrary, because it is composed of sets of meanings that are collectively given. What is deemed logical or valid is based on various standardized models. The interaction involved in education is the product of the defining, subjective categories that most teachers would rather ignore.

Simply put, the learning that takes place in school is problematic and may be subjected to a "radical reappraisal" (Sarup, 1978). Learning is influenced by an ideology that involves hidden forms of repression and domination. The content of what is learned, as well as the manner in which it is transmitted, is affected by social conditions positions and should, therefore, be constantly

evaluated. The view that knowledge is non-political should be questioned and dismissed eventually. In this regard, it is the goal of this paper to motivate learners and educators to exercise critical thinking in relation to the content and methodology of what takes place in the language classroom.

Zawiah (1997) calls for the domestication of English for the “postcolonial” classroom in Southeast Asia. As he suggests, reliance on and belief in the Western cultural canon should be “exorcised from our system” and shift to “more pressing local imperatives.” The Western cultural canon imposed in most schools should be subject to suspicion because it is “a policing device that enables Western institutions to exercise their will to power and knowledge by prescribing what must be included or excluded.” He exhorts the reader to locate and use “the power to prescribe what must or must not be included” (Zawiah, 1993, p. 13).

Liberating education, according to Freire (1984), would not be effected through mere transfers of information. Education should be considered as a special situation in which the cognizable object intermediates the cognitive actors—i.e., the teacher and the students. The teacher’s role is radicalized, for he is no longer the one who teaches, but one “who is himself (or herself) taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teach” (Freire, 1970, p. 67). Such kind of education denies the old notion of man as a being abstract, isolated and unattached to the world.

Conclusion

The English language has had a long history in the Philippines and removing it outright from the curriculum would not be prudent. However, its propagation has been a tool for the perpetuation and justification of certain interests.

In the main, the second language classroom in the Philippines uses Western texts that perpetuate the ideology that is embedded in them, i.e., an ideology that seeks to continue the lopsided nexus of power relations. This does not mean, however, that the learner should exclude Western

texts from the second language classroom. What can perhaps be done is to read and approach a text with the learner's own cultural schema "to interpret what is not-said by the author and his colonial characters through what is said" (Zawiah, 1997, p. 13). The end product is a reading of the colonial text, as seen from the learner's viewpoint. Such a radical approach is needed especially at a time of nation building.

Another step that can be taken is the adoption of more texts that reflect Philippine history and culture. Unfortunately, according to Lumbera (1997, p. 7), this literature is "hardly accessible even to the most assiduous student of Philippine literature in the form that will allow it to claim a place in literary studies." Such limitations should be addressed by both educators and students.

Teachers should be empowered and play a pivotal role in the use of education for social transformation. Teachers are transformative intellectuals and should guide the learning in analyzing the current socio-political structure. This does not mean, however, that it is only through education that change can be effected. As has been intimated, the school is no neutral ground. Critiquing and changing curricular programs cannot solve the problems besetting the educational system. Teachers and learners can only realize their full potential as shapers of society if they will partake in the struggle for a just and humane society. This realization, coupled with a desire to rediscover his identity, are potent tools to change himself and the world.

If both educators and learners will remain naïve and will continue to labor under the misconception that education is not informed by socio-historical realities, the education offered in the schools will serve the interests of foreign economies and their local lackeys. Such a twisted conception, it is said, will "continue to condition our youth to accept social inequality, foreign dominance and elite democracy" (Tuibeo, 1995). Democratization will only be realized if the public educational system will be critical of neo-colonial perversion and articulate the real aspirations of the nation.

The radical theory of schooling “assumes that the main functions of schools are the reproduction of the dominant ideology, its forms of knowledge and the distribution of skills needed to reproduce the social division of labor” (Aranowitz and Giroux as cited in Balmores, 1990). Institutions may be understood through an analysis of their connection to the state and economy. The school, therefore, serves as an agency of social and cultural reproduction.

There is an imperative need to address the age-old problems plaguing the Philippine educational system, such as the big class size (the highest in this part of the world), inadequate instructional and instructional materials, and the low wages of education workers, but there is also a necessity to review and, if need be, change existing curricular programs. However, the educator and the learner should first realize that the school is no neutral ground. Secondly, there should be reinforcement of the ethnocentric perspective in contrast to the eurocentric perspective that prevails in most school curricula.

In closing, worth citing here are some questions posed by Jocano (2001) in addressing what he calls the Filipinos’ “cultural amnesia,” to wit:

1. Shall we maintain the status quo and allow our colonial experience to shape our future perspective as this continues to shape us at present?
2. Shall we grapple with the problem of national identity in terms of models structured out of Western experiences? or
3. Shall we write the script of our destiny and become principal actors than timid spectators on the stage of national development and nation building?

It is expedient that, given the socio-politico-economic crises at present, the language educator and the language student play more crucial roles in re-shaping the nation and the world at large. The educator’s thinking can only be authenticated by engaging in the struggle for his and the learner’s liberation.

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The Impact of Government Policies on the Indigenous Languages of the Philippines

Atty. Manuel Lino G. Faelnar
DILA Philippines Foundation, Inc.
manuelfaelnar@gmail.com

Junica P. Soriano
Innovations for Poverty Action
j.soriano@yahoo.com

In the concluding paragraph of Kaplan and Baldauf's (2003) exposition on the history of language development in the Philippines, they noted that language planning has for a very long time been enmeshed in politics; instead of being drawn from the wisdom of linguists, policies are almost always of politicians' makings entirely.

Policies are instituted to direct a polity towards the attainment of the often-elusive common good—a task that becomes all the more daunting in a country like the Philippines where what is common is itself a question. Where diversity is the rule of day, the presence of a large number of ethno linguistic groups is just the beginning of the story.

The state, having the function of regulating social interaction has the capacity if not duty to mediate competing, even conflicting interests within the public sphere. This however is best achieved in a multicultural setting not by centrist control but by decentralized governance that enables the state to respond to the needs of communities in its various levels.

Why language is a key subject in the discourse of policy setting in the country need not be explained to the attendees of this conference. In a nutshell, language is a vessel that is both necessary and consequent to the flourishing of culture and identity, which in turn is essential to nation building. Presently, the Philippine situation is looking glum.

Indigenous languages in this paper refer to the native tongues throughout the country. This and the term vernacular are used interchangeably.

Our Dying Languages

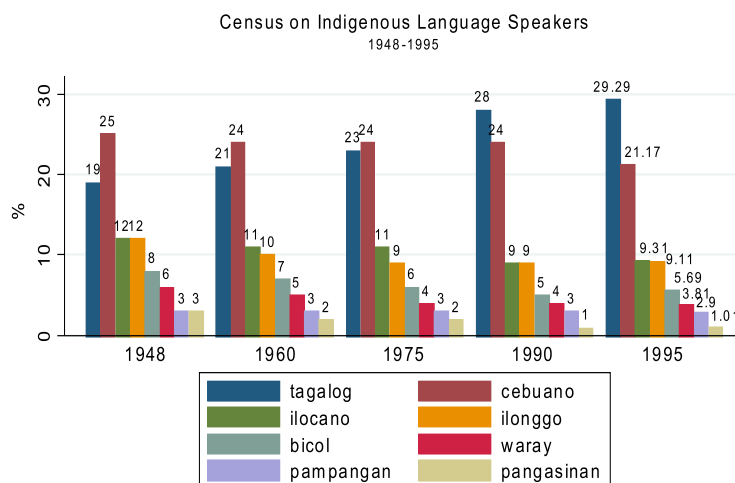
At this point it is important to distinguish between extinction—the loss of a language, and death—the degeneration and remarkable decrease in dynamism of a language, which in most instances is a prelude to extinction.

Obviously, a language with no living user left is extinct. The term is also used to refer to languages gone with very little or no documentation. What qualifies the death of a language on the other hand is not as clear, but there are a couple of accepted propositions. For one, a language is dead even when there are still people who know the language but do not use it. It may continue to exist in a recorded form or archive but if it is no longer used, no longer evolving, it is dead. The same is true even though there is still one speaker left. Quoting David Crystal (2000), “as speakers cannot demonstrate their fluency if they have no one to talk to, a language is effectively dead when one speaker is left.”

He then goes on to ask, “But what do we say if there are two speakers left, or 20 or 200?” He observes that there is very little consensus on what the threshold is for declaring a language dead. Ac-

According to an article published in the Manila Times in September 2007, Language experts are agreed that languages spoken by less than 300,000 persons are endangered as these can disappear soon (Bas 2007).

Where the Philippines stand in the midst of this language death-extinction phenomenon is quite appalling. Following is a graph of census data from the National Statistics Office showing the percentage distribution of the country's major language speakers:



1

Even without looking at the numbers, one can see a rising trend in one language—Tagalog. In a span of five decades, the number of Tagalog speakers has grown by 54.16% of its original figure. Another very noticeable detail though is that it is the reverse for the rest of the vernaculars; Cebuano, formerly more widely spoken than Tagalog by 6%, is now lagging behind by 8.12%. All other languages represented here are falling. In fact, the same Manila Times article reported that it is projected that 20 years from now, the bottom two—Kapampangan and Pangasinan are already dead. This carries dire implications for the rest of the other 110 languages of the islands, which is already a far cry from the original 175.

A more recent tabulation came out in 2000 where the languages were categorized differently. Separate counts were made for additional categories; Bisaya/Binisaya, and Boholano. As there is a controversy about the new grouping, whether all added are proper languages or some are mere dialects of one another, we stick to the old dataset. Boholano is a variant of Cebuano and both are mutually intelligible. Cebuano speakers in Mindanao and Leyte, indeed even in Cebu itself, identify themselves as Bisaya and their language Binisaya. What also pollutes the new system is that speakers of Ilonggo in Southern Mindanao (Sarangani, General Santos, Cotabato, Sultan Kudarat, and indeed in Panay and Negros Occidental) also identify themselves as Bisaya and their language Binisaya. But even in the new system, Tagalog towers with a 15% lead over the next in line.

The predominance of English goes without saying. It is the language of government, media and the academe. The disparity between the status of Tagalog and English on one hand, and the indigenous languages on the other, can be traced through the course of history.

¹ Tabulated from census data by Edwin Camaya of DILA Philippines Foundation, Inc.

History of Language in Brief

Predating this is a long saga of political instability. Numerous foreign and local administrations have come and gone, each with unique agendas furthered by language-related directives.

As the history of Philippine languages is as old as the history of the Republic itself, as reference for the discussion following, below is a concise timeline of major policies that surfaced over time. From the first republic to the present constitution, listed are years, specific policies, and dominating language of the period (in italics). Note that letters of policies do not always correspond with reality and practice. Explanatory footnotes are provided in such cases.

Pre-1897 *Spanish, vernaculars*²

1897 Provisional Constitution of Biak-na-Bato

Article VIII: “*El Tagalog sera la lengua official de la Republica*”

(Tagalog shall be the official language of the republic)

Tagalog

1898 Malolos Constitution, The First Republic

Article XCIII: The use of the languages spoken in the Philippines is optional. It can only be regulated by law, and solely as regards acts of public authorities and judicial affairs. For these acts, the Spanish language shall be used for the present.

*All existing languages (vernaculars) plus Spanish*³

1901 American Period, Ordered by McKinley

Instruction is “...to be given in the first instance, in the language of the people...”

*English and Spanish*⁴

1935 Constitution of the Commonwealth

Article XIII Section 3: The National Assembly shall take steps toward the development and adoption of a common national language based on one of the existing languages. Until otherwise provided by law, English and Spanish shall continue as official languages.

*Tagalog*⁵

1943 Constitution, Japanese Occupation, Second Republic

Article IX Section 2: The government should take steps toward the development and propagation of Tagalog as the national language.

Tagalog

1946 Post War, Third Republic

English medium of instruction, Tagalog subject

English and Tagalog

1959 National language called Pilipino

English and Pilipino (still mainly Tagalog)

1960's Youth anti-Imperialist movement⁶

Anti-English, pro-Pilipino

Pilipino (still mainly Tagalog)

² While Spanish was the official language, it was not readily available to the masses. The ilustrado class was the only Filipino group that gained competency in Spanish. Native languages remained largely unregulated.

³ Kaplan and Baldauf explains that “the effect of this article was to displace Tagalog as the official language, to declare all Philippine languages equal, and to designate Spanish as the language of ‘acts of public authorities and judicial affairs’ at least for the time being”.

⁴ This has been contradicted by The Organic Law of 1902, where it is provided that the official languages were to be English and Spanish. Another major event that brought about fast popularization of English was the institution of the public school system, which was more available to less affluent Filipinos.

⁵ The ‘one of the existing languages’ clause referred to Tagalog. While English and Spanish continued to be the *official* languages, a *national* language was already identified.

⁶ At the time of then President Marcos, a boom in the youth population in tertiary schools led to increased mass action against ‘economic and cultural imperialism’. This also entailed a repulsion of the English language.

1973 Constitution

Article XV Section 3 (2): The National Assembly shall take steps toward the development and formal adoption of a common national language to be known as Pilipino.

(3) Until otherwise provided by law, English and Pilipino shall be the official language.

Pilipino (still mainly Tagalog)

1987 Constitution

Article XIV Section 6. The national language of the Philippines is Filipino. As it evolves, it shall be further developed and enriched on the basis of existing Philippine and other languages.

Subject to provisions of law and as the Congress may deem appropriate, the Government shall take steps to initiate and sustain the use of Filipino as a medium of official communication and as language of instruction in the educational system.

Section 7. For purposes of communication and instruction, the official languages of the Philippines are Filipino and, until otherwise provided by law, English.

The regional languages are the auxiliary official languages in the regions and shall serve as auxiliary media of instruction therein.

Spanish and Arabic shall be promoted on a voluntary and optional basis.

English and Filipino

Jacobinist Beginnings

As expected of a country previously subjected to foreign rule and suppression, patriotism became the banner cry of Philippines post Spanish era. Nationalist sentiments peaked and this was reflected by government policies introduced at the time. To seal off breaking away from the old colonizer, a national identity had to be established. Needless to say, a national language—as opposed to the elitist Spanish, the language of the peninsulares and ilustrados, likewise became a popular notion.

It can be argued that the first Filipino-led efforts toward language planning, the deliberate guiding of language development in view of social change (Alisjahbana 1974, as cited in Atienza, Constantino 1996), was during the time of President Quezon. It was when initial steps towards the concretization of the 1935 Constitutional directive of adopting and developing a national language were taken.

While technically it was the Revolutionary Constitution of 1897 that saw the first provision on language, Brillantes and Marler (2007) comment that it was merely a product of bias as all revolutionary leaders who wrote the constitution were Tagalog speakers. Short of saying that no consideration had been given to other local languages, other ethno linguistic groups were not represented in the assembly. The selection being arbitrary, it can hardly be called planning. The succeeding Malolos Constitution was more considerate of ethno linguistic difference, arguably the best in this regard, but it was never concretized.

It was during Quezon's administration that Executive Order 134 was signed, declaring Tagalog as the *basis* of the national language, as recommended by the Institute of National Language, which was then tasked to direct the propagation and development of the national language. The national language was later incorporated into the school curriculum with the passing of Executive Order 263⁷ and Bureau of Education Circular No. 26⁸ in 1940 (Espiritu 1991).

⁷ Ordered the teaching of the national language in all public and private schools in the country.

⁸ Department Order issued by the Secretary of Public Instruction to implement EO 263. States that “effective June 19, 1940 the national language shall be taught forty minutes a day as a regular, required two-semester subject”.

The development of the national language, however, seemed to translate to the development of Tagalog only. With the coming of the Japanese forces in 1942 and the prohibition of the use of English, Tagalog was further thrown into the limelight. It became the principal medium of instruction. Previously used in fourth year of high school only, Tagalog became part of the curriculum at all levels in lieu of English. Massive training of teachers, both Tagalog and non-Tagalog speakers commenced. In the midst of the entire hubbub, the rest of the local languages have taken a backseat.

Attempts at Breaking Monolingualism

The next notable development came in 1957 when the Board of National Education put forth the Revised Educational Program. Under this scheme, the local vernacular was used as medium of instruction in grades 1 and 2 of elementary school. Brillantes and Marler recount an influential event that brought about this policy:

Jose V. Aguilar, Superintendent of Schools in Iloilo in 1948 conducted a controlled experiment, which ended in 1954, in that province. He compared the academic achievement of a controlled group which was instructed in English and of an experimental group which was instructed in the vernacular, in this case Hiligaynon, in their first two years of formal schooling. The experiment concluded that after the first and second grades, those of the experimental group "were significantly superior" in reading, arithmetic and social studies than those of the controlled group.

Further:

After the second grade, both groups were taught in English and after each year, their academic achievements were compared. After the third grade, the academic performance of both groups was statistically indifferent. Thus, instruction in the vernacular in the first and second grades did not affect the experimental group's ability to learn English in the higher grades. After the sixth grade, there was no statistically significant difference between the academic achievements of both groups. Furthermore, the students in the experimental group "were more emotionally stable, more emotionally mature than those in the control group" (Bernabe 80-82). Clearly, from this experiment, instruction in the first and second grades should be in the vernacular.

The use of the vernacular in lower primary education was indeed very promising. As the Iloilo experiment proved, it poses enormous benefits for the learners. There was, however, a fault in the 1957 multilingual scheme. On top of the vernacular, Tagalog and English were taught at the same time, not to mention Spanish, which was still the language of a good number of educators then. The use of no less than four languages proved to be problematic. Four languages in a child's first year of schooling is overwhelming, to say the least.

The multilingual policy eventually gave way to a bilingual policy a year after the 1973 Constitution came to being. Department of Education, Culture and Sports Order No. 25, series 1974⁹ defined bilingual education as the separate use of Pilipino and English as media of instruction in specific subject areas from grade I in all schools. Social Studies/Social Science, Work Education, Character Education, Music, Health and Physical Education were covered with Pilipino while all other subjects were taught in English. The succeeding 1987 Constitution all but reinforced the Bilingual Policy. Following this, Department Order No. 52, s. 1987 provided:

The policy on Bilingual Education aims at the achievement of competence in both Filipino and English at the national level, through the teaching of both languages and their use as media of instruction at all levels. The regional languages shall be used as auxiliary languages in Grades I and II. The aspiration of the Filipino nation is to have its citizens possess skills in Filipino to enable them to perform their functions and duties as Filipino citizens and in English in order to meet the needs of the country in the community of nations.

⁹ Titled "Implementing Guidelines for the Policy on Bilingual Education."

Unlike the vernacular language policy which was based on the Hiligaynon Experiment, there is no evidence that the bilingual policy was adopted on the basis of scientific experiments with control and experimental classes compared against each other. Rather, the policy seemed to have been adopted on the basis of a priori and ideological conclusions. The ongoing experiment in Lubuagan, Kalinga Province corroborate the earlier findings of the Hiligaynon Experiment and conclusively prove that children learn faster and better when taught in the mother tongue (Walter, Dekker 2008).

Declining Vernaculars: the Impact

As of most recent figures in 2000, the Philippines boasts of a 92.3% simple literacy rate. The Functional Literacy, Education and Mass Media Survey (FLEMMS), a survey conducted by the National Statistics Office (NSO), defines *basic literacy* as the ability to read and write with understanding simple messages in any language or dialect.

However another test, of *functional literacy*, reveals a much lower statistic, 84% in 2003. Functional literacy, again according to FLEMMS, “represents a significantly higher level literacy which includes not only reading and writing skills but also numeracy skills. These skills must be sufficiently advanced to enable the individual to participate fully and effectively in activities commonly occurring in his life situation that require a reasonable capability beyond oral and written communications.”

The second figure, if accurate, is lamentable. While a 16% non-functionally literate mass is not exactly terrifying, what about a headcount of 11,200,000¹⁰ individual Filipinos? Given FLEMMS’ minimalist definition of literacy and that census figures are approximations only, it is not all too unreasonable to say that the count in reality may be much bigger.

Gudchinsky (1974) even argues that a person should not be called literate or truly capable of reading or writing if he cannot express *everything* that comes to his mind in writing (emphasis supplied). The same is true if he cannot understand everything he reads as if it is spoken to him. From this, two inferences can be made. First, that if a strict and meaningful conception of literacy is to be considered, the country’s literacy rate is bound to be less than projected. Second, as Consuelo Paz (1996) points out, a person’s ability to read and write, or to learn reading and writing, rests on his aptitude for the language used. In other words, a person cannot be truly literate using a language he does not fully understand and because the Philippines’ official languages and medium of instruction, English and Filipino are not native tongues of roughly 70% of the national population, there is something very wrong with the current bilingual policy.

On Education

Noam Chomsky, one of the foremost linguists in the world is renowned for his theory on language acquisition. In an interview called *Things No Amount of Learning Can Teach*, he discusses his belief in a genetically preprogrammed language organ in the brain. He goes as far as saying that language knowledge is built in. In essence, people can learn any language with all their complexities because of this built-in aptitude for language, based on a set of common principles he calls universal grammar.

Humans then are predisposed to learning language. It is acquired naturally in early years, even preceding school. This goes hand in hand with the development of consciousness for it is language that bridges the gap between the child and his environment. Knowledge is digested in words. It can be

¹⁰ Sixteen percent of 70 million, only a ballpark figure of 2003 population.

surmised that comprehension is not bound to reading and writing; a person, even without the ability to read and write, has the ability to think and understand from what he hears. Undeniably, some people never even get to receive formal schooling but are able to interact socially.

While information reception is limited by lack of training in reading and writing, this only reaches the point of disability when a person is in an environment where terms he hear are unknown to him, coded in a different language. But as children are exposed to limited environments at first where presumably the native tongue is used, this is not a problem. The terms used around him correspond to the elements he finds around him. As the child grows and his horizons expand, both language and consciousness widen, at the same pace.

The trouble with instructing primary graders in a language not naturally acquired by them then becomes apparent. It is a skip in consciousness. Reiterating Chomsky, a person can acquire any number of languages. But obviously, not all at the same time. One has to bridge the learning of the others. And what can do this better than the native tongue through which toddlers make sense of on-goings around them? This section contends that the vernacular cannot be rivaled when it comes to forming the core of literacy and strengthening the foundations of a person's learning. The discussion will later expand to the economic and political drawbacks of limiting the use of vernaculars in formal education, which shows the irony of Philippine language policies—how the insistence on the predominance of English and Filipino results to the opposite of what it is intended for.

It can be said that the goal of bilingualism—achieving competence in both English and Filipino, and raising education quality, is hindered by the policy itself. According to the UP Forum Primer (2008) on the Filipino Language as a Language of Education:

If ever, according to language experts, the students' level of language proficiency has become low both in English and in Filipino. They claim students experienced what they call subtractive bilingualism and not additive bilingualism. The second language is introduced prematurely that the child does not turn into a true bilingual, unable to learn neither the first nor the second language. What could have been done is first to ensure the academic mastery in the use of the mother tongue before the child is allowed to learn a second one. Numerous studies have shown that a child acquires a second language better and faster if the first language is mastered before hand. Also the child learns the other subjects more easily if these are taught in a language he knows by heart.

A study in cognitive neuroscience concluded very recently tells us why. The native language of bilingual individuals is active during second-language comprehension. By studying a group of bilinguals, the researchers were able to demonstrate implicit access to the first language when participants read words exclusively in their second language.¹¹ It turned out that words in the second language were automatically and unconsciously translated into the first language, as indicated by brain activity patterns. This points to the fact that even with the exclusive use of the second language, the mother tongue is also at work, even without the person knowing it. Understanding of the second language thus subconsciously rests on the first.

On Economy and Polity

Historically, the choice of the language of instruction (in the Philippines) has always been primarily political, and currently economical, but never educational (Brillantes, Marler 2007). An odd practice given that the importance of education as catalyst to real economic and political growth can hardly be understated. The problem is that there seems to be a culture of “quick fix”—going for

¹¹ Guillaume Thierry and Yan Jing Wu conducted the study with a group of Chinese-English Bilinguals.

immediate gain without really looking at the long run. English is supposed to “meet the needs of the country in the community of nations”. In the age of globalism when most companies are owned or run by foreign entities, fluency in English is definitely marketable. However, if only to supply labor for alien cost-minimizing bubble industries, the nation would have to rethink what the country really is gaining. Sure, this puts food to the table of some but considering the backlash of brain drain and gross underemployment where people get jobs but fail to build careers, ultimately, no real development takes place. On the side of politics, it seems that language policy, with the imposition of uniform rules, has been seen as a shortcut to fostering unity. But the road to that is so much longer and ironically, appears to be in the reverse direction.

Education is a prerequisite to long-term economic and political productivity. The World Bank-IMF Global Monitoring Report for 2008 relates the outcome of Hanushek and Wößmann’s study who, after using a set of international standardized test score of 50 countries for the last 40 years, arrives at two conclusions; first, that educational quality has a strong causal impact on individual learning and economic growth, and second, that the payoff to increasing quality per year of schooling of the population is 80 per cent higher for developing countries than developed countries. One standard deviation increase in these standardized test scores contribute to higher growth in long-term GDP per capita of 2 per cent.

Clearly, better education, whose ties to language proficiency has thus far been illustrated, leads to economic growth, especially in an economically challenged country like the Philippines. Education at a certain level makes people equipped to participate and be at par with the demands of the market. This is also true in terms of political participation; the cornerstone of representative governments like the Philippines. An educated citizenry is better able to take part in public affairs, which in many ways makes governance more effective. An actively participating public also means a legitimately accepted government, a recognized nation-state, which has the mandate of and encompassing its people.

Divisiveness has long been a problem of this country. Apart from the normal conflicts to be expected in any group, there exists a custom of regionalism that is while admirable for advancing respective local cultures, also posits immense challenge to national consolidation. In an ideal world, the Philippines would be a pluralistic nation-state but it can’t be a nation-state unless it is pluralistic first. Pamela Constantino (1996) discusses what constitutes the backbone of the nation-state ideology and claims that for it to prosper, it has to satisfy two conditions. First, it must reflect the cultural identity of the people and second, it must be instrumental to the satisfaction of people’s needs. The recognition and promotion of the vernaculars is one of the best ways the government can grant this as language has both sentimental and functional value as will be illustrated below.

There are more direct ways in which language freedom translates to a healthier polity. On the functional side, for people to participate actively in public affairs, they must have the capacity to do so. It is a fair bet that a good portion of the population still does not know English or Tagalog well enough to grasp every media report or official document there is exclusively produced in these languages. How these groups are expected to make well-informed decisions come election time, or other exercises of democratic rights and duties, does not make sense. This is just one of the ways in which certain clusters are left out of the loop but bit by bit, this results to the dominance of a few who end up making all political decisions without taking into account the needs of marginalized groups.

Apart from performing the function of carrying information, an interesting case study conducted in Catalonia reveals that language plays a part in the process of identity formation, which ultimately manifests in voting behavior. Results show that individuals schooled in Catalan¹² feel a strong affinity for the local Catalan identity. It was found that they are more likely to vote for parties with Catalanist platforms. This is an example of the sentimental reflection of language. This effect of language advancement can be a key to reforming the Philippines' electoral scene where arguably, elections are mere contests of popularity. When people identify with their communities, groups with whom they share common ideals, values and needs, they develop loyalties to causes, instead of personalities. By electing candidates who can also identify with them, they can make the government more representative and more responsive.

In the end, developments in language, education, economics and politics will be mutually reinforcing. A break in the down-heading cycle can start just by paying closer attention to the language used in school and day-to-day dealings.

Lessons from Abroad

Harold Schiffman (2000) observes that France has what can be considered the most centrist of all language policies in the world. This is a product of possibly the most distinct feature of French governance—Jacobinism, the tendency to control everything from the center and espouse uniformity all throughout the nation.

His paper raises the question of whether language can in fact be suppressed, and yields a negative answer; governments cannot realistically expect to control the linguistic habits of its citizenry in any meaningful way. Where policies are oppressive, he points to the existence of a linguistic black market—much like an economic black market where items banned in the mainstream market are available. The government can impose repressive policies but as long as there's a need for the commodity, much like language, people will find ways to acquire and make use of them. Indeed, language suppression has caused civil unrest in a number of countries.

Take Sri Lanka for instance, a country infested with severe ethnic conflict. Its three largest ethnic groups, the Sinhalese, Sri Lanka Tamils, and Indian Tamils speak different languages; Sinhala, and Tamil, respectively. There are a number of smaller groups who also speak various languages.

On top of political disputes, language has been a cause of discord. As Oberst (1988) observes, "Tamil discontent has largely been caused by the use of Sinhala as the language of government. The use of Sinhala has led to several allegations by the Tamil leadership. Briefly, they include allegations of job discrimination against Tamil-speakers in government hiring (the main source of white-collar jobs in the society), discontent with a university admissions affirmative action program that has protected Sinhalese-speaking applicants for admission to the university, and a need for regional autonomy".

The birth of Bangladesh has also been spurred by language conflict. Formerly a part of Pakistan, the Bangladeshi secession has received wide international recognition for the discrimination and human

¹² The language of Catalonia, Spain.

rights violations afflicted by the government. The majority¹³ has been alienated by the ruling faction and the insistence on the sole use of Urdu has become one of the anti-majority policies of government.

Belgium and Spain has, at some point in their history, also faced civil discord due to language differences. In Belgium, there was a contest between French, largely perceived as the language of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie, and Dutch, the language of the common people. While Dutch was more widely spoken, French enjoyed a somewhat higher status as an aftermath of the French Revolution. Spanish life during the Franco dictatorship was characterized by robust attempts at homogenization. Despite the multitude of ethnicities and languages in Spain, policies remained highly centrist.

Yet both managed to overcome these differences through changes in language policy and government at large. Belgium, a federal government today, grants extensive liberties to its autonomous regions for issuing decrees concerning language. Federal laws are also in support of the promotion of Dutch and French as co-equal official languages. Official communications, especially in the capital city Brussels, always make use of both languages. A fifty-fifty membership of Dutch and French speakers in government offices and organizations like the Council of Ministers, Court of Arbitration, the Council of State, the Court of Cassation, the Supreme Council of Justice, is mandatory.

Spain, now governed as a parliamentary democracy, has a constitution that guarantees the self-government of its seventeen *comunidades autonomas*. Three of these are recognized as historical nationalities; the Basque Country, Catalonia and Galicia, where regional languages enjoy full legal status alongside Castilian. In an article titled *A Country in Spain*, Ryser (2007) notes that Spain demonstrates the most substantial example of the principle of subsidiarity, that is, the principle that matters ought to be handled by the smallest competent authority in a system of politics. He further observes that the Spanish political system realistically reflects the cultural and political realities of a multi-national state.

There are a number of similar success stories where accommodation for difference is practiced. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales, a product of conquest and fierce resistance, is able to move forward with policy concessions. The parliament recognizes the distinctness of Irish, Scottish and Welsh cultures and languages and took steps toward regional devolution. These constituent countries now have respective assemblies and language is no longer as big an issue. In Wales, for example, there is a Welsh language commission, and a separate Welsh national education curriculum, even a Welsh television channel.

Canada, where linguistic and cultural diversity has been deeply entrenched ever since the settlement of English-speaking Protestants alongside the French-speaking Catholics, gives equal recognition to both languages by having the government conduct official business and provide public service using them both. All statutes, journals and records of parliament are published in both languages and having equal status before the courts. The federal government extends this show of support by giving grants to civil society organizations that further the development of both English and French.

¹³ The people later to form Bangladesh were the majority of Pakistan. M. Rafiqul Islam notes that as opposed to most other multi-racial states where minorities are discriminated, it is the contrary in Pakistan.

India is another case in point. Stepan and Sayre (2003) observes that the presence of thirty different languages, having their own scripts and spoken by at least one million people at the time when India's independence was declared makes it extraordinarily interesting. As it is elsewhere, language has been a problem but thanks to the fore vision of those who composed the Constituent Assembly, future parliaments were given the liberty to eventually reorganize redraw states along linguistic lines.

Being born from an alliance of several diverse communities, Switzerland is much like a conglomerate of units who have come together and agreed to one government that allows them to maintain their independence and govern themselves accordingly. Fleiner (2002) remarks that this is the reason why "at the edge of the three big language groups of Western Europe (German, French, and Italian), some 25 democratic corporations could unite in an alliance around the Alps".

Coming from the apartheid regime where indigenous languages were denied meaningful channels for development, South Africa now has a constitution that expressly provides for the promotion of multilingualism, equal treatment of all languages in South Africa, the development and modernization of African languages, and the official status of no less than eleven South African languages. The more minor languages without official status are represented by the Pan-South African Language Board. Anti-discriminatory and oppressive provisions are likewise in place.

The European Union, composed of 27 member states with impressive success in bringing together diverse nations towards development in various aspects, is an outstanding example of language management. The Article 22 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights adopted in 2000 states that the Union has the obligation to respect linguistic diversity while Article 23 refers to the prohibition of discrimination on grounds of language. It is admirable how by having official documents translated into a number of languages most spoken by member states' locals, the Union reaches out to the people. The Union also promotes the propagation of languages of member nations and encourages everyone to learn as many languages as they desire in recognition of the importance of language in personal development.

Federalism Matters

The very object of local government is in order that those who have any interest in common, which they do not share with the general body of their countrymen, may manage their joint interests by themselves. –John Stuart Mill

All the countries cited are either federal, or having features of a federal government. As opposed to the Philippine unitary government where powers are essentially allocated in three branches—the executive, legislative and judiciary, a federal state is characterized by vertical power sharing among multiple layers of government. It allows for the allocation of powers and responsibilities for local governments to act on issues close to home.

Consociational theory tells us that the adoption of decentralized forms of governance - notably federal constitutions - facilitates social stability and democratic consolidation in multinational states. Proponents argue that decentralization has many potential advantages for bringing decisions closer to the community, for policy flexibility, innovation, and experimentation, and for ensuring government responsiveness to local needs (Norris, 2008).

In the Philippines, for example, while it is tall order to have all official documents and road signs translated to vernaculars in the country, this is something that a federal government can easily manage. With division of labor, enabling the customization of public communication and service is possible. The national government can mind issues that are national in scope but it makes a lot of sense for local governments, who have deeper insights of what their constituents need, to attend to them. Surely this will be faster and better targeted.

Language directives formulated and implemented at the local level are much less likely to cause discord among the people concerned. There is the marked advantage of easily instituting mechanisms for input and feedback. It would be relatively easy to determine how the community responds to policies set and see what areas there are for improvement.

Conclusion

Postcolonial Philippines has been all for establishing a Filipino identity and what has in modern times been best represented by the term *nation building*. This has proven to be a big challenge in the face of the country's highly diverse cultural portfolio. Unification efforts have been taken yet up to the present, whether these are on target is still questionable especially in the domain of language.

Nationalism—the idea of a unified socio-political entity can exist only where people can identify with the rest of the populace within the state's bounds. This is possible even in multicultural states as evidenced by countries surveyed above. It does not necessitate a homogenous national culture, just a pluralistic one which gives due respect to the peculiarities of each community within the state.

Language as a vehicle of knowledge and cultural expression should be given top consideration, as it is the first block in a linear relationship with education, economic and political development. More than yet another shift in policy, a shift in governmental mechanism should be instituted. A federal state is better suited to multicultural territories like the Philippines for it allows the concentration of resources in providing first-rate service to citizens and management of local affairs.

Thus far national language policies have greatly contributed to, if not directly caused, the decline of the vernaculars. Indigenous languages are dying, taking with them the cultures they carry. The government and the Filipino people should recognize this and make reforms to revive the country's dying languages.

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THE PRONOMINAL SYSTEM OF WARAY-WARAY

Alexandra N. Kaluag
De La Salle University
kaluaga@dlsu.edu.ph

INTRODUCTION

Waray-Waray or what is commonly referred to as **Waray** is a recognized regional Philippine language spoken in the provinces of Samar, Northern Samar, Eastern Samar, Leyte, and Biliran. The Warayan group of languages all belong to the Visayan language family and are known to be related to Cebuano and more closely to Hiligaynon and Masbatenyo. Varieties of Waray-Waray like Samaron, Lineyte, and Binisaya all belong to the Malayo-Philippine languages, and like most Philippine languages, is part of the Austronesian family. As of the 1990 census, the Philippine National Statistics Office lists 2,437,688 Waray-Waray speakers from Northern and eastern Samar-Leyte (www.smso.net). The Warayan group of languages consists of Waray, Waray Sorsogon and Masbate Sorsogon. Waray Sorsogon and Masbate Sorsogon are called Bisakol because they are intermediate between Visayan and Bicolano languages.

The Waray pronominal system, as described in this paper, will be limited to the Waray language spoken in the province of Samar. The two kinds of Waray pronouns that will be discussed will be the (1) Waray personal pronouns, and the (2) Waray demonstrative pronouns. A description of the Waray pronominal system will show that the two classes of Waray pronouns serve different functions, and encode person, number, location, and distance. Personal pronouns shall be discussed according to their absolute, genitive, ergative, possessive, and oblique classes and functions. Demonstrative pronouns, on the other hand, will be subclassified in their spatial, similative, and locative forms showing proximal, medial, and distal orientations.

Previous studies on Waray seem to have been limited to Tagalog translations such as Lagartija's (1999) Tagalog translation of Iluminado Lucente's Lineyte-Samaron Didactic Plays or lexical references such as Tizon's (1972) Tagalog-Samar-Leyte Cognate Words with Identity Meanings, and Radaza's (1978) Waray Sentences. Among studies on the pronominal system of Philippine languages is Dita's (2007) reference grammar of Ibanag, which I shall be citing in this study.

This paper is a brief grammatical sketch of Waray-Waray, focusing on the pronominal system. Although I have not found studies in Applied Linguistics on the pronominal system of Waray-Waray, Culwell-Kanarek's (2004) study on ergativity of pre-verbal pronouns in Tagalog syntax proved helpful in my analysis of Waray-Waray pronouns. I have chosen to pattern my paper after Dita's (2008) study on Ibanag, and other Waray-Waray examples were provided by resource persons who were native speakers of the language. Sample sentences were taken from Waray-Waray printed materials and local correspondences written in the said language.

Reid & Liao's (2004) study on the syntactic typology of Philippine languages was also helpful in distinguishing genitives as noun phrases typically expressing both the agent of a transitive clause as well as the correspondent, or "possessor", of possessed nouns. In this study, I chose to further Dita's (2007) argument that genitives and ergatives are two separate classes, distinct from each other where the term ergative is used to refer to the agent in a transitive construction, and genitive to refer to the possessor in an NP. The present study will also show that Waray-Waray ergative pronouns have some exceptions that contradict Dita's distinction between genitives and ergatives; however, it would be even more interesting to see that in the final analysis, these exceptions proved not only to strengthen Dita's argument but also highlight the distinct features of Waray.

2.0 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Dita's (2007) study on Ibanag pronominals shows that certain pronominals encode two possible meanings; hence, they may have the same form but serve different functions. In the case of ergatives and genitives, for example, Dita demonstrates how the term "ergative" is used to refer to the agent in a transitive construction, and the term "genitive" to refer to the possessor in an NP. This is a variation from Reid and Liao's (2004 in Dita) general use of the term "genitive" to refer to either possessors in an NP or to the agents of transitive constructions. In this study, Waray pronominals will maintain Dita's definition of the term "ergative" and "genitive" as two separate classes. Thus, the following examples illustrate how ergatives and genitives in Waray-Waray have the same form but account for two separate functions, where exceptions are found only in the first and second person genitives.

- (2.1) Dadakpon **ko** an **akon** bakten nga nahayaw.
catch **ERG.1s** DET **POS.1s** pig **LIG** escaped.
'I will catch my pig which escaped.
Tagalog: Huhulihin **ko** ang **aking** baboy na nakawala.

The same utterance can be stated as follows, where the alternative second person genitive is used:

- (2.2) Dadakpon **nira** an bakten **nira** nga nahayaw.
Catch **ERG.3p** DET pig **GEN.3p** **LIG** escaped.
'They will catch their pig which escaped.
Tagalog: Huhulihin **nila** ang baboy **nila** na nakawala.

As seen in example (2.1), the first person absolute possessive is used instead of the genitive first person "nakon". This exception will further be discussed in this paper.

A summary of Waray-Waray personal pronouns is found on Table 1. The personal pronouns have been grouped into five classes: absolutes, ergatives, genitives, absolute possessives, and obliques. Pronouns in Waray encode person and number, but unlike

other Philippine languages like Ibanag, Waray pronouns do not encode respect. Like most Philippine languages, though, such as Tagalog and Ibanag, the first person plural pronouns differentiate between inclusivity (including addressee) and exclusivity (excluding addressee). To begin the discussion on personal pronouns, the absolutive pronoun will be described as the core argument of an intransitive verb which may also be the minor argument (patient) of a transitive verb (Dita, 2008). Absolutive pronouns will be shown to function both as subject or object, depending on the transitivity of the verb.

Table 1: Matrix of Waray-Waray Personal Pronouns					
PERSONAL PRONOUNS	ABSOLUTIVE (Abs)	ERGATIVE (Erg)	GENITIVE (Gen)	ABSOLUTE POSSESSIVE (Pos)	OBLIQUE (Ob)
1 ST person SING	ako (I)	ko (I)	ko/nakon (my)	akon (Mine)	ha akon (to me)
2 ND person SING	ikaw/ka (You)	mo (you)	mo/nimo (your)	imo (yours)	ha imo (to you)
3 RD person SING	hiya (He/She)	niya (he/she)	niya (his/her)	iya (his/hers)	ha iya (to him/her)
1 ST person PLU inclusive	kita (We, inclusive)	naton (we, inclusive)	naton (our, inclusive)	aton (ours, inclusive)	ha aton (to us, inclusive)
1 ST person PLU exclusive	kami (We, exclusive)	namon (we, exclusive)	namon (our, exclusive)	amon (ours, exclusive)	ha amon (to us, exclusive)
2 ND person PLU	kamo (you)	niyo (you)	niyo (your)	iyo (yours)	ha iyo (to you)
3 RD person PLU	hira (they)	nira (they)	nira (their)	ira (theirs)	ha ira (to them)

2.1 Absolutives The term “absolutive” as used in this study maintains the recent trend in Philippine linguistics which is the “ergative-absolutive” analysis. As opposed to “nominative” in Reid and Liao (2004) absolutive is “the case form which marks both the subject of an intransitive and the direct object of a transitive verb, and which contrasts with the ergative” (Trask 1993 cited in Dita 2007). Table 2 presents the absolutive pronouns of Waray-Waray.

Table 2. Waray Absolutive Pronouns

PERSON	SINGULAR	Gloss	PLURAL	Gloss
First Person	ako (1s)	<i>I</i>	kita (1p-inclusive) kami (1p-exclusive)	<i>we (inclusive)</i> <i>we (exclusive)</i>
Second Person	ikaw/ka (2s)	<i>you</i>	kamo (2p)	<i>you</i>
Third Person	hiya (3s)	<i>he/she</i>	hira (3p)	<i>they</i>

Absolutive personal pronouns mark the patient or theme of the sentence. Sometimes, these appear as the subjects of the sentence; at other times they are the object of the action, or the recipient or beneficiary of the action (theme). The marker *mga* also functions as the pluralizer, indicating a plural form of the noun or pronoun following.

- (2.3) Mahusay **hiya.**
beautiful **ABS.3s**
'She is beautiful.'
- 4) Mga mahusay **hira.**
beautiful **ABS.3p**
'They are beautiful.'

Similar to Tagalog, the absolutive pronouns mark number and inclusivity/exclusivity, but do not mark gender. Also, as shown in Table 2 and the examples given above, free and bound absolutes are not found in Waray.

Waray absolutes also function as the predicate in an identificational clause, as seen in the following utterance.

- (2.5) **Ako** an koma-on han saging.
ABS.1s DET ate DET banana.
 'I (was the one who) ate the banana.'

It can also stand alone in an utterance, usually as a response to a question.

- (2.6) Hin-o an koma-on han saging?
 'Who ate the banana?'

Hiya!
ABS.3s
 'S/he did.'

Because Waray, like other Philippine languages, does not have any exact equivalent to the English copula *be*, the Waray language would express the Tagalog phrase "*Siya ay maganda*" (She is beautiful) as "*Mahusay hiya*" or sometimes "*Mahusay iton hiya*" (*iton* functioning as a definite article of *hiya*, or "she"). Thus, the function of Tagalog's *ay*, which is a marker of sentence inversion (contrary to popular belief that *ay* is an equivalent of *be* or a copular verb) is not found at all in Waray—whether it be a present tense copula or even an inversion marker. Other examples illustrating this feature are found below where *(2.8), *(2.10), and *(2.12) Tagalog equivalents are ungrammatical.

- (2.7) Estudyante **hiya**.
 student **ABS.3s**
 'S/he is a student.'

*(2.8) ***Hiya** ay estudyante.

- (2.9) Riko **hira**.
 rich **ABS.3p**
 'They are rich.'

*(2.10) ***Hira** ay riko.

- 11) Kristohanon **kami**.
 Christians **ABS.1pe**
 'We are Christians.'

*(2.12)***Kami** ay Kristohanon.

Waray absolutes also function as subjects in classificational nominal clauses as found in the following examples.

(2.13) Hobya **ka**.
lazy **ABS.2s**
'You are lazy.'

(2.14) Mga bo-waon **hira**.
DET liar **ABS.3p**
'They are all liars.'

They can also function as a topic in a contrastive clause:

(2.15) Mahibabaya-an **ka** na; malakat na **kami**.
left **ABS.2s** **LIG**; go **LIG** **ABS.1pe**
'You will be left; we will go.'

16) Matambok **ka**; **ako** magasa.
fat **ABS.2s**; **ABS.1s** thin
'You are fat; I am thin.'

Finally, Waray absolutes can function as object or patient of a dyadic transitive.

(2.17) Nahidong-an ko **hira**.
heard **ERG.1s** **ABS.3p**
'I heard them.'

(2.18) Gin bibiling nira **ako**.
LIG looked **ERG.3p** **ABS.1s**
'They looked for me.'

As shown in the examples, Waray absolute pronouns serve various functions without encliticizing to any host word. The second person singular *ikaw* or *ka*, or its plural form *kamo* (you) is used to address any individual without regard to age difference, position, or relationship between speaker and addressee. This pronominal feature can be distinguished from other Philippine languages like Tagalog, where the second person plural (*kayo*) or third person plural (*sila*) is used to address an individual as a sign of respect.

2.2 Ergatives

Ergative personal pronouns function as the agents in transitive clauses. As mentioned earlier, ergatives and genitives in Waray-Waray have the same form except for the first and second person singular genitive (See Table 1). Whereas genitive personal pronouns function as possessors when attached to a noun, as seen in the following phrases (2.19, 2.20, and 2.21) which were taken from the website on Waray lessons (Waray lessons.netfirms.com), ergatives function as agents in transitive clauses as seen in examples (2.22) and (2.23). It is also worth noting that the Tagalog equivalent of examples (2.19) and (2.20) serve the same genitive function, i.e. “libro ko” or “lapis mo”, although “nakon” and “nimo” are preferred in short Waray-Waray utterances, usually in response to questions pertaining to ownership. A possible explanation to this Waray feature will follow in the discussion on genitives.

(2.19) Libro **nakon**
book **GEN.1s**
'my book'

(2.20) Lapis **nimo**
pencil **GEN. 2s**
'your pencil'

(2.21) Uyab **niya**
girlfriend/boyfriend **GEN.3s**
'his girlfriend/her boyfriend'

(2.22) Kina-on **ko** an saging.
ate **ERG.1s** DET banana
I ate the banana.

(2.23) Nahikit-an **niya** an akon saging.
saw **ERG.3s** DET POS.1s banana
S/he saw my banana.

It can be noted in Table 3 and Table 4 that the Waray ergative and genitive pronouns are similar in form, except for the first person ergative *ko* and the second person ergative *mo* (Table 3). This exception is the only Waray pronominal feature that seems to contradict Dita's (2007) claim for Ibanag that ergatives and genitives have the same form, and to Schachter & Otnes' (1972 cited in Dita, 2007) claim for Tagalog. Thus, except for these exceptions in Waray, analysis of ergatives and genitives prove that the term ergative refers to the agent in a transitive construction, and the term genitive to refers to the possessor in an NP even if the pronouns are similar in form.

Furthermore, Table 1 presents ergatives and genitives in Waray as having the same form, although the English translations would imply the difference in their grammatical functions. Although the first and second person genitive forms show that *ko* and *nakon* (GEN.1s) and *mo* and *nimo* (GEN.2s) are the only pronouns which divert from the rest of the genitive pronouns and are therefore treated as exceptions to the rule, it is also possible to speculate that the genitive forms *nakon* (GEN.1s) or *nimo* (GEN.2s) seem to be uncommon in daily informal conversations, perhaps because they are used more formally between speaker and addressee, and as mentioned earlier, used normally only in short responses to interrogatives. Consider the pragmatic implications in the following examples:

- (2.24) Kinaon **nimo** an kan-on **ko**?
 Ate **ERG.2s** DET rice **GEN.1s**?
 'Did you (by any chance) eat my rice (by mistake?)?'

- (2.25) Oo, kinaon **ko**.
 Yes, ate **ERG.1s**
 'Yes, I ate (your rice).'

(2.26) Kinaon **ko** ba an kan-on **mo**?
 Ate **ERG.1s** LIG DET rice **GEN.2s**
 ‘Did I (just) eat your rice?’

(2.27) Oo, kinaon **nimo**.
 Yes, ate **ERG.2s**
 ‘Yes, you (just) did (eat my rice).’

I surmise that the genitive first and second “polite” and rarely used pronouns are maintained perhaps because there is no Waray-Waray pronominal feature for respect, which is a feature usually observed in other Philippine languages. In fact, one of the most common polite Tagalog expressions, *Opo* or “yes” is never used in Waray-Waray. The only equivalent for “yes” in Waray-Waray is *Oo*, whoever the addressee is.

It is also found that the genitive first and second person *nakon* and *nimo* are hardly used in sentences. Rather, they are used to identify objects in phrases, such as “libro nakon” (my book) or “lapis nimo” (your pencil), which are equivalents of the Tagalog expressions “aking libro” (my book) or “iyong lapis” (your pencil).

The ergative pronouns of Waray-Waray are summarized in Table 3, and can be compared to the summary of genitives in Table 4.

Table 3. Waray Ergative Pronouns

PERSON	SINGULAR	Gloss	PLURAL	Gloss
First Person	ko (1s)	<i>I</i>	naton (1p, inclusive)	<i>we (inclusive)</i>
			namon (1p, exclusive)	<i>we (exclusive)</i>
Second Person	mo (2s)	<i>you</i>	niyo (2p)	<i>you</i>
Third Person	niya (3s)	<i>He/she</i>	nira (3p)	<i>they</i>

2.3 Genitives

As distinguished from ergative pronouns, Waray genitives are presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Waray Genitive Pronouns

PERSON	SINGULAR	Gloss	PLURAL	Gloss
First Person	ko/ nakon (1s)	<i>my</i>	naton (1p, inclusive) namon (1p, exclusive)	<i>our (inclusive)</i> <i>our (exclusive)</i>
Second Person	mo/ nimo (2s)	<i>your</i>	niyo (2pl)	<i>your</i>
Third Person	niya (3s)	<i>his/her</i>	nira (3pl)	<i>their</i>

Similar to Tagalog and Ibanag, Waray genitives are attached to the nouns to express possession, that is, with the exception of the first and second person singular *nakon* and *nimo*, which have their own distinct grammatical features. Following Dita's (2007) argument that genitives are not the same as ergatives, and that "there is only one function of genitives...that is, to show possession," the following examples are evidence of Waray functioning not only as possessors, but also as genitives being post-nominals. Hence, the possessed entity comes first before the possessor.

(2.28) Mahusay an mga anak **namon**.
pretty LIG DET children **GEN.1pe**
'Our children are pretty.'

(2.29) Bag-o an leksyon **naton**.
new LIG lesson **GEN.1pi**
'Our lesson is new.'

(2.20) Iton nga babaye uyab **ko**.
DEM LIG girl girlfriend **GEN.1s**
'That girl is my girlfriend.'

2.4 Absolute Possessives

Thus, following Dita's (2007) "ergative-absolutive" analysis, Waray absolute possessives further support her study on Ibanag and Quirk, Greenbaum, Leach, & Svartvik's (1985 cited in Dita 2007) definition of genitives and possessives both encoding possession. According to Dita, however, if genitives are always attached to the NP being pos-

sessed, possessives are always independent. Thus, Quirk et al. refers to independent possessives which are used to replace the NP expressing possession as absolute possessives. Table 5 presents the possessive pronouns found in Waray.

Table 5. Waray Possessive Pronouns

PERSON	SINGULAR	Gloss	PLURAL	Gloss
First Person	akon (1s)	<i>Mine</i>	aton (1p, inclusive) amon (1p, exclusive)	<i>ours (inclusive)</i> <i>ours (exclusive)</i>
Second Person	imo (2s)	<i>Yours</i>	iyo (2p)	<i>yours</i>
Third Person	iya (3s)	<i>his/hers</i>	ira (3p)	<i>theirs</i>

The function of absolute possessives is seen in the following utterances:

(2.21) **Akon** na **iya** han pinamaiha nga oras.
POS.1s LIG **POS.3s** LIG longest time.
 'Mine has been hers/his for the longest time.'

(2.22) Ini nga tanan **aton**.
 DEM LIG all **POS.1pi**
 'These are all ours.'

(2.23) **Imo** ini leksyon.
POS.2s DEM lesson.
 'This lesson is yours.'

It is also interesting to note that in either of the following genitive or possessive use of the first person singular pronoun, both uses are acceptable, although the second is more common.

(2.24) Ini an lapis **nakon**.
 DEM DET pencil **GEN.1s**
 'This pencil is mine.'

(2.25) Ini an **akon** lapis.
 DEM DET **POS.1s** pencil.
 'This is my pencil.'

Notice that the genitive pronoun **nakon** always follows the noun, while the possessive **akon** always precedes the noun. The following example also demonstrates how the possessive pronoun is used in Waray. It is interesting to note that it would be ungram-

matical to use the second person genitive form in the following example because the possessed item, “feet”, is definitely a part of the agent’s body and not an external possession.

(2.26) Hugasi iton **imo** ti-il.
 (You) wash LOC **GEN.2p** feet.
 ‘Wash your feet.’

*(2.27) *Hugasi iton tiil **mo**.
 (You) wash LOC feet **GEN.2s**
 ‘Wash those feet which are your feet.’

Another interesting feature of Waray possessives is in its interrogative use. The following examples demonstrate this. As mentioned earlier, because Waray does not carry the copular verb, the possessive pronoun probably compensates for this.

(2.28) **Akon** ini bag?
POS.1s DEM bag?
 ‘Is this my bag?’

(2.29) **Imo** ini bag?
POS.2s DEM bag?
 ‘Is this your bag?’

Other examples that show the possessive pronouns of Waray are seen in the following:

(2.30) Inminom an **akon** uyab hin kape.
 drank LIG **GEN.1s** girlfriend/boyfriend LIG coffee.
 ‘My boyfriend (girlfriend) drank coffee.’

(2.31) Dinmala ako ha **imo** bag.
 brought ABS.1s LIG **POS.2s** bag.
 ‘I brought your bag.’

(2.32) Peligroso an **iya** gugma.
 Dangerous LIG **POS.3s** love.
 ‘His/Her love is dangerous.’

2.5 Obliques

Table 6 shows how the possessive pronouns become oblique when used as a prepositional phrase headed by the particle **ha**, thus showing the benefactive. A variation of the possessive personal pronouns carries with it the **ha** particle, which would classify them as oblique pronouns. Whereas possessive pronouns show possession, oblique pronouns show the benefactive.

Table 6. Waray Oblique Pronouns

PERSON	POSSESSIVE	Gloss	OBLIQUE	Gloss
First Person	Akon (1s)	<i>Mine/My</i>	Ha akon	<i>To (at, for, with) me/ To (at, for, with) my</i>
Second Person	Imo (2s)	<i>Yours</i>	Ha imo	<i>To (at, for, with) you/ To (at, for, with) your</i>
Third Person	Iya (3s)	<i>Her/his</i>	Ha iya	<i>To (at, for, with) her/him/ To (at, for, with) her/his</i>
First Person (incl)	Aton (1p, incl)	<i>Ours (incl)</i>	Ha aton	<i>To (at, for, with) us/ To (at, for, with) our</i>
First Person (excl)	Amon (1 p, excl)	<i>Ours (excl)</i>	Ha amon	
Second Person	Iyo (2p)	<i>Yours</i>	Ha iyo	<i>To (at, for, with) you/ To (at, for, with) your</i>
Third Person	Ira (3p)	<i>Theirs</i>	Ha ira	<i>To (at, for, with) them/ To (at, for, with) their</i>

When possessive pronouns emphasize BENEFACTIVE and the DIRECTION of the action of the verb, the **ha** added before the root pronoun makes it function as a prepositional phrase. As shown on Table 6, the most commonly used English translations are *to*, *at*, *for*, *with*, or *from* followed by the genitive pronoun.

(2.33) Matan-aw hiya **ha akon.**
 will look BS.3s **OBL.1s**
 'S/He will look for me.'

(2.34) Mabasa-an akon anak hini nga libro **ha amon.**
 will read POS.1s child DEM LIG book **OBL.1pe**
 'My child will read this book to us (excl).'

(2.35) Nakanta hi Liling **ha iyo.**
 singing LIG Liling **OBL.2p**
 'Liling is singing to you.'

Because obliques are used to express direction towards a benefactive, the semantic roles of location, source, goal, cause, result, are encoded by the oblique pronouns, all being preceded by the marker **ha**. The semantic role of source, for example can be seen in the following sentence:

- (2.36) Tikan ini **ha akon**.
 came DEM **OBL.1s**
 'This came from me.'

To denote the goal semantic role, the following sentence also shows the oblique pronoun.

- (2.37) Maupod ako **ha imo** ngadto hin umabot ako tikan ha Ma-
 nila.
 will come ABS.1s **OBL.2s** DEM LIG arrive ABS.1s from LOC Ma-
 nila.
 'I will come to you there when I arrive from Manila.'

Obliques as benefactives are most common in Waray.

- (2.38) Yana iton adlaw para **ha aton**.
 now DEM day for **OBL.1pl**
 'Now, this day is for us.'

To express location in terms of person, obliques can be used thus:

- (2.39) Dako ini **ha akon**.
 loose DEM **OBL.1s**
 'This is loose on me.'

When they co-occur with existentials, obliques express possession.

- (2.40) An Dios aada **ha imo**.
 DET Lord EXI **OBL.2s**
 'The Lord be with you.'

- (2.41) Ngan aada liwat **ha imo**.
 and EXI also **OBL.2s**
 'And also with you.'

As shown in the examples, oblique pronouns represent a benefactive, that is, a recipient of the action (someone for whom the action is done). The benefactive of the action is thus marked by the class markers **ha**, which functions like the English preposition “for” to signify ownership or direction. The word **para** (for) is also sometimes added.

3.0 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Demonstratives function as pronominals in Waray. They may appear as part of nominal phrases or as heads or sole constituents of predicate clauses. As seen in Table 7, the following discussion will show three classes of demonstrative pronouns, which adapt the three degrees of spatial, locative, and similitive orientation: proximal, medial, and distal.

Table 7. Waray-Waray Demonstratives

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS	Proximal (PROX)	Medial (MED)	Distal (DIST)
Spatial (/SP)	Ini (This)	Iton (That, near addressee)	Adto (that, over there)
Similitive (/SIM)	Hini (like this)	Hiton (like that)	Hadto (like that, far)
Locative (/LOC)	Dinhi/didi (Here)	Dida (There)	Didto (there, far)

For purposes of clarity, proximal demonstratives are those that refer to entities near the speaker which are visible. Medial demonstratives are those that refer to entities near the addressee which are also visible to both the speaker and the addressee. Distal, on the other hand, refers to demonstratives indicating entities that are far from both the speaker and the addressee. These entities may not be visible to both parties.

3.1 Spatial Demonstratives

Spatial demonstrative pronouns in Waray-Waray are equivalent to the English pronouns *this*, *that*, *these*, *those*. In Waray, these pronouns are based on locus, the case relation that describes the perceived concrete or abstract source, goal, or location of the Patient, or of the action, state, or event. As seen in Table 7, the conventions PROX, MED, and DIST are used to refer to ‘proximal’, ‘medial’, and ‘distal’, respectively. (/SP) is added to indicate that the demonstrative being referred to is ‘spatial’.

- (3.1) Tubig **ini**.
Water **PROX/SP**
This is water. (near speaker)
- (3.2) Lamesa **iton**.
Table **MED/SP**
That is a table. (near addressee)
- (3.3) Kahoy **adto**.
Tree **DIST/SP**
That “over there” is a tree. (far from both speaker and addressee)

It should be noted that in Waray, demonstrative pronouns are neither singular nor plural. Plural pronouns show plurality with the noun marker *mga*.

- (3.4) **Ini** an mga lingkuran
 PROX/SP LIG DET chairs.
 ‘These are chairs.’
- (3.5) Mga lingkuran **ini**.
 DET chairs **PROX/SP**
 ‘These are chairs.’

Sometimes, the spatial demonstrative pronouns are linked with another noun using a *nga* ligature, a common feature of Philippine languages.

- (3.6) Karuyag ko **ini** nga sapatos.
 like ERG.1s **PROX/SP** LIG shoe
 ‘I like these shoes.’

3.2 Similative Demonstratives

In her study on Ibanag, Dita (2007) uses the term “similative demonstrative” to refer to expressions that instruct or demonstrate the similarity of two entities. These expressions are usually accompanied by actions denoting the points of similarity, either shape, length, etc. Just as Ibanag expressions were shown to be morphologically complex in nature, Waray-Waray demonstratives seem to carry a somewhat similar feature by adding an /h/ to its spatial form when comparison is made between two entities.

For example, when used to show comparison or contrast in proximal space, the similative form is used.

- (3.7) Maupay ini kontra hiton.
Nice PROX/SP COMP than MED/SIM
'This is nicer than that.'

Aside from showing proximal space, demonstratives are also used in the following sentence as a receiver of the verb or as a direct object.

- (3.8) An iya gin buhat sogad hini, pero diri hiton.
What s/he LIG did like PROX/SIM but NEG MED/SIM
'What s/he did was like this, not like that.'

3.4 Locative Demonstratives

Sometimes, demonstrative pronouns may be used alone (by themselves) to show a location or direction, or with another location word. When it is combined with another location, the general pronoun gives emphasis.

- (3.9) Malukso hira Roy ngan Tessie dinhi.
Will jump DET Roy CONJ Tessie PROX/LOC
'Roy and Tessie will jump here.'

- (3.10) Mapalit ako hin utan dida.
Will buy ABS.1s LIG vegetables MED/LOC
'I will buy vegetables there.'

- (3.11) Makaon kami didto ha Jollibee.
Will eat ABS.1pe DIST/LOC LIG Jollibee
'We (excl) are going to eat over there at Jollibee.'

As mentioned earlier, locative demonstratives can function as sole constituents of predicate clauses; otherwise, they are modified by an oblique phrase identifying the specific place or location of the actor. This would obviously indicate proximal, medial, and distal distinctions. When the speaker is in proximal space at the moment of speaking, the locative demonstrative *dinhi* or more commonly, *didi* is used.

- (3.12) Kumatorog hiya **dinhi**.
 Slept ABS.3s **PROX/LOC**
 'S/he slept here.'

When the speaker is in medial space at the moment of speaking, the locative demonstrative *dida* is used.

- (3.13) Imbes nga natukdaw ka **dida**, ano nga diri ka nala
 Instead LIG standing ABS.2s **MED/LOC**, why LIG NEG ERG.2s DET
 manhugas han mga plato?
 wash LIG DET dishes?

'Instead of standing there, why don't you wash the dishes?'

Finally, the distal demonstrative refers to the location where neither the speaker nor the addressee is at the moment of speaking. Thus,

- (3.14) Kinaturog hiya **didto**.
 Slept ABS.3s DIST
S/he slept over there.

- (3.15) Ikaw kadto **didto**.
 ABS.2s go DIST
You go over there.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The Waray Pronominal System discussed in this paper presented two sets of pronominals which are used specifically in the provinces of Samar, Northern Samar, and Eastern Samar. Two sets of pronouns were analyzed: the personal pronouns and the demonstrative pronouns.

Waray personal pronouns are classified into five groups: absolutives, ergatives, genitives, possessives, and obliques. Although ergatives and possessives can be classified into one group, I chose to distinguish ergatives as agents in transitive constructions and absolute possessives as personal pronouns that clearly denote possession. Genitives were distinguished from possessives, owing to Dita's argument that ergatives and genitives may have the same form but do not serve the same function in some Philippine languages like Ibanag. Obliques, on the other hand, are possessive pronouns which serve the same function as possessives, but which need a locative marker *ha*, which turn the possessive pronoun into a prepositional phrase denoting direction and benefactive.

Waray demonstratives were discussed according to three classes depicting distance, proximity, and location from the point of view of the speaker to the addressee. It was seen that demonstrative pronouns in Waray can be classified as spatial, similative, and locative classes, each of which indicate proximal, medial, and distal forms.

The characteristics displayed by the pronominals in Waray-Waray do not only show the distinct qualities of the language itself, but also support Dita's argument on grammatical features common in Philippine languages which classify ergatives and genitives as two separate pronominal classes which serve their own distinct functions particularly in transitive clauses. Though this paper is limited in investigating only one grammatical category of Waray-Waray, the grammatical features presented define the uniqueness of the language. It is therefore recommended that further analysis of the Waray Pronominals include verbal clauses and pronouns used as interrogatives. The role of pronoun markers

can also be an interesting topic for research, especially in the way they function to depict focus or emphasis in Waray clauses.

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The Right to Language: A Call for Sign Language Policy in the Legal and Judicial Systems

Liza B. Martinez, PhD
Philippine Deaf Resource Center, Inc

Golda S. Benjamin, J.D.
Initiatives for Dialogue & Empowerment
through Alternative Legal Services, Inc.

pdrc@phildeafres.org

Right to language as a human right

The right to language is a basic and fundamental right. It is intricately and unavoidably linked to two other fundamental rights, the freedom of speech and the right to information, both recognized by most national laws and several international covenants.

The right to language, freedom of speech, and the right to information are supreme human rights that must be recognized, promoted, and respected without limitations as to color, creed, or character. Neither are these rights to be deprived from the deaf. Human rights are extended to all; with no special favors to those with any form of disability.

Hence, it is only proper that a shift in the view of disability from a social welfare concern to a human rights issue is seen in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities; an agreement recently approved by the Philippine Senate. The UNCRPD not only recognizes the right to language of the deaf as a human right but also requires that the institutions and avenues for it are accessible. In its preamble, it provides:

... Recognizing the importance of accessibility ...to information and communication, in enabling persons with disabilities to fully enjoy all human rights and fundamental freedoms..."

Consistent with the rightful shift in the treatment of disability from a social welfare concern to a human rights issue, it is also strongly asserted that the call for a sign language policy in the Philippine legal and judicial system is not a call for special treatment. Neither is it a call for accommodation. Rather, it is a simple call for equal and non-discriminatory treatment: a call supported by several instruments. Found below are relevant excerpts from the explanatory note of the proposal for amendments of Supreme Court Memorandum Order 59-2004: *Authorizing the Court Administrator to Act On and Approve Requests of Lower Courts for the Hiring of Interpreters for the Deaf*.

International human rights law determines that every person regardless of hearing has among other rights:

1. The right to equality before the law
2. The right to non discrimination
3. The right to equal opportunity

International policy on deafness is one of “equalization of opportunities” necessitating the use of resources in such a way as to give every individual, including a deaf person, an equal opportunity to participate in society.

The following international instruments protect the rights of deaf persons. They mainly focus on protecting deaf persons from discrimination and creating equal opportunities for them to participate in society:

1. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948 and provides human rights standards accepted by all member states. The UDHR represents the normative basis that led to formulating the standards concerning deaf persons. Article 7 guarantees equality before the law and equal protection by the law for all people, including against discrimination.
2. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) is a treaty listing several rights that are relevant to disability. Article 26 states that all people are equal before the law and have the right to equal protection of the law.
3. The Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons (1975) adopted by the UN General Assembly is the first international document that tried to define the term “disability.” The Declaration includes a number of social and economic rights as well as civil and political rights.
4. The Declaration on the Right of Deaf-Blind Persons (1979) states that “...every deaf-blind person is entitled to enjoy the universal rights that are guaranteed to all people by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the rights provided for all disabled persons by the Declaration of the Rights of Disabled Persons” (Article 1).
5. The formulation of the World Programme of Action Concerning Disabled Persons (WPA) in 1982 was a major outcome of the International Year of Disabled Persons in 1981. The WPA is a global strategy to enhance disability prevention, rehabilitation and equalization of opportunities, which pertains to full participation of persons with disabilities in social life and national development. The WPA also emphasizes the need to approach disability from a human rights perspective.
6. The Standard Rules on the Equalization of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities (1993), adopted by the General Assembly

in 1993 in the aftermath of the Decade of Disabled Persons, are the most comprehensive set of human rights standards regarding disability police to date and represent “ a strong moral and political commitment of Governments to take action to attain equalization of opportunities for persons with disabilities.” The document addresses preconditions for equal participation, target areas of equal participation, implementation measures and monitoring mechanisms. Implementation of the Standard Rules on the Equalization of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities are monitored by the UN Special Rapporteur on Disability.

7. The Beijing Declaration on the Rights of People with Disabilities (2000) was adopted at the World NGO Summit on Disability and calls for a higher standard of living, equal participation and the elimination of discriminatory attitudes and practices.

8. The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was adopted on 13 December 2006 during the sixty-first session of the General Assembly by resolution A/RES/61/106. In accordance with its Article 42, the Convention and its Optional Protocol opened for signature by all States and by regional integration organizations at United Nations Headquarters in New York on 30 March 2007.

9. The Biwako Millennium Framework (BMF) of 2006 provides a framework for action to further the goals of an inclusive, barrier-free and rights-based society for persons with disabilities in Asia and the Pacific. BMF contains seven priority areas for action and four strategic actions that governments, in cooperation with civil society, are urged to pursue to further achieve the goals and commitments of BMF in the period 2003-2012.

Domestically, the 1987 Constitution of the Philippines guarantees to every person, a deaf person included, the equal protection of the laws (Article III, Section 2). Moreover, state policy finds expression in REPUBLIC ACT NO. 7277, AN ACT PROVIDING FOR THE REHABILITATION, SELF-DEVELOPMENT AND SELF-RELIANCE OF DISABLED PERSONS AND THEIR INTEGRATION INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF SOCIETY AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES, as amended by REPUBLIC ACT NO. 9442:

“ Disabled person have the same rights as other people to take their proper place in society.”

The right to language, including sign language, without doubt, is a supreme right and must not only be recognized but also promoted and supported in various systems and institutions, including the legal and judicial system of any country, including the Philippines.

Official recognition of sign language

Official recognition of sign languages has taken place in countries throughout the world at different levels and in different contexts. Nations have recognized visual languages in the constitution, in a government policy, resolution or in a separate law altogether. For example:

Level of recognition of national sign language	Countries
In national constitution	Brazil, Czech Republic, Ecuador, Finland, Greece, Portugal, South Africa, Uganda, Venezuela
In other government legislation or policy	Australia, Belarus, Canada, Colombia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Ecuador, Finland, France, Iceland, Lithuania, Norway, Peru, Poland, Russian Federation, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, U.S.A., Uruguay, Zimbabwe, various German states
In a government resolution	Thailand
In a separate sign language law	Slovak Republic

(PDRC & PFD 2004c:47)

One of the provisions enumerated under *Cultural objectives*¹ of the Ugandan Constitution recognizes generic sign language and provides that:

The State shall:

xxx

(c) promote the development of a sign language for the deaf

New Zealand takes several steps forward by its recognition of a more specific sign language system: the New Zealand Sign Language (NZSL). Separate provisions of the New Zealand Sign Language Bill² provide:

1. In the policy statement:

This Bill provides official recognition of New Zealand Sign Language (NZSL), the first or preferred language of Deaf New Zealanders.

This Bill addresses the uncertain legal status of NZSL. The legal status of the right to language has caused problems with the recognition of NZSL. Language is not a separate prohibited ground of discrimination under our human rights law but has usually been dealt with as an aspect of race or ethnicity.

2. Clause 3, statement of purpose

... the purpose of the Bill is to promote and maintain the use of New Zealand Sign Language by—

(a) declaring New Zealand Sign Language to be an official language

1 XXIV. Cultural objectives.

“Cultural and customary values which are consistent with fundamental rights and freedoms, human dignity, democracy and with the Constitution may be developed and incorporated in aspects of Ugandan life.

The State shall—

(a) promote and preserve those cultural values and practices which enhance the dignity and well-being of Ugandans;

(b) encourage the development, preservation and enrichment of all Ugandan languages;

(c) promote the development of a sign language for the deaf; and

(d) encourage the development of a national language or languages.”

2 New Zealand Sign Language Bill.
<http://www.odi.govt.nz/documents/nzds/nzsl-bill.pdf>

guage of New Zealand; and

(b) providing for the use of New Zealand Sign Language in legal proceedings; and

(c) empowering the making of regulations setting competency standards for the interpretation in legal proceedings of New Zealand Sign Language;...”

3. Use of NZSL in the legal proceedings

The Bill provides the right to use NZSL in legal proceedings where a person’s first or preferred language is NZSL and where the person would otherwise speak.

In the U.S. where research and advocacy for American Sign Language (ASL) is extremely active, ASL is recognized as a foreign language valid for interpretation during legal proceedings.³

Filipino Sign Language: Legal Basis for Official Recognition

In the Philippines, research documenting the indigenous origins of the visual language of the Filipino Deaf community began in the nineties with the studies of Martinez (1996, 1995a, b, 1994). Because of the central role that sign language plays in all the aspects of the lives of Deaf people, there were efforts early on by stakeholders, namely the (then) National Council for the Welfare of Disabled Persons with the Philippine Federation of the Deaf (PFD) and Philippine Deaf Resource Center (PDRC) to initiate consultations with various sectors.⁴

Research thus reveals that an indigenous sign language system does exist and is being used by the Deaf in the country. In this section, the authors shall assert that the 1987 Constitution of the Philippines, the highest law of the land, provides for the legal basis for government to craft and recognize and definite sign language policy in different national institutions.

While section 7, Article XIV of Constitution speaks only of English and Filipino as official languages, the same provision qualifies this to be in relation to communication and

3 Russell, D. 2002. Interpreting in legal contexts: Consecutive and simultaneous interpretation. Lin-stok Press: Maryland.

4 Philippine Deaf Resource Center. 2005. Preliminary Sectoral Position Papers for an Initiative in Language Planning for Sign Language Policy for the Republic of the Philippines: A Compilation. Unpublished manuscript, Quezon City.

instruction. Immediately after the said provisions, section 9 recognizes the need to develop, propagate, and preserve Filipino and other languages. It provides:

SECTION 9. The Congress shall establish a national language commission composed of representatives of various regions and disciplines which shall undertake, coordinate, and promote researches for the development, propagation, and preservation of Filipino and other languages.

The Philippine Constitution thus provide sufficient basis for the following situations:

1. Sign language to be recognized as an official language of the Philippines
2. Granting equal rights in terms of access to communication and information systems to the deaf

Efforts towards a recognized sign language policy in the Philippine legal and judicial systems

The right to language includes the corresponding obligation to develop the languages themselves and to ensure that their speakers are also understood and/or have a way of being understood by the non-speakers.

Note that on 16 May 2007, the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed 2008 to be the International Year of Languages. To celebrate the International Year of Languages, UNESCO invites governments, United Nations organizations, civil society organizations, educational institutions, professional associations and all other stakeholders to increase their own activities to promote and protect all languages, particularly endangered languages, in all individual and collective contexts:

By encouraging and developing language policies that enable each linguistic community to use its first language, or mother tongue, as widely and as often as possible ...⁵ [emphasis ours]

However, it must not be forgotten that efforts to bring sign language communication into the domains of education, legal proceedings, health & medical settings as well as mass media have started several years before the current one and these have remained as continuing advocacies all over the world.

5 Matsuura, K. 2007. On the celebration of 2008 as the International Year of Languages. http://portal.unesco.org/culture/admin/ev.phpURL_ID=35344&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201&reload=1199465343

Language accessibility of the legal and judicial systems to Deaf Filipinos has been the focus of a recent flagship project led by the Philippine Deaf Resource Center to highlight the need for a coordinated system for courtroom interpreting.⁶ This is an important thrust considering how cases involving deaf parties have addressed language difficulties for the past century.⁷ A survey of Supreme Court cases from 1916 to 2007 made possible the following observations:⁸

1. From 1916- to the present, **deaf-mute** is still the most commonly-used term to refer to deaf parties and witnesses. However, it must be noted that:

- Medical studies show that a deaf person is not necessarily biologically mute. His inability to speak may be attributed to the fact that he has not been given the chance to learn the spoken language or to develop his verbal skills.
- The deaf may also choose not to use his voice for various personal reasons. He may not be comfortable with such use or may simply refuse to communicate verbally for personal reasons.

2. The needs of the deaf must not be viewed by the Court or any other institution through a single lens. These institutions must not group together all persons that they consider deaf. The Courts must be able to tell the difference between and among the following: deaf (who may also be linguistically-isolated) and the hard-of-hearing.

In 2006, stakeholders of the Deaf community submitted a comprehensive proposal covering guidelines for the identification, selection and appointment of sign language interpreters.⁹ The SC Office of the Court Administrator has issued a recent administrative

6 World Bank. 2006. <http://www.panibagongparaan.com/pp06/project-grants-by-proponent.html>

7 Benjamin, G.S. 2007. Notes on Deaf Jurisprudence. Full Access: A Compendium on Sign Language Advocacy and Access of the Deaf to the Legal System. Quezon City: Philippine Deaf Resource Center and Initiatives for Dialogue and Empowerment through Alternative Legal Services. **and** Martinez, L.B. 2007. Annotations on Deafness, Signing and Interpretation on Selected Supreme Court cases. Full Access: A Compendium on Sign Language Advocacy and Access of the Deaf to the Legal System. Quezon City: Philippine Deaf Resource Center and Initiatives for Dialogue and Empowerment through Alternative Legal Services.

8 *Id*

9 Philippine Deaf Resource Center and Initiatives for Dialogue and Empowerment through Alternative Legal Services. 2007. Proposal for expanding provisions for courtroom interpreting. Full Access: A Compendium on Sign Language Advocacy and Access of the Deaf to the Legal System. Quezon City: Philippine Deaf Resource Center and Initiatives for Dialogue and Empowerment through Alternative Legal Services.

memo regarding the compensation of these interpreters.¹⁰ Though significant, no action has been taken on the critical portions of the proposal which directly pertain to communication in the courtroom, and consequently, the right of deaf parties to language and justice. Salient points in this proposal are shown in the following table¹¹:

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES SUPREME COURT MEMO 59-2004 (existing policy)	PROPOSED AMENDATORY MEMORANDUM*
Cost of the interpreting: may be passed on to the deaf	- Charge to the SC Office of the Court Administrator - Within a year, SC shall create a specific fund
Deaf representatives are not involved in the planning or implementation of policy	Participation of Deaf in: - creation of this memo - training, selection, qualification, testing, and assignment of interpreters
Interpreting is seen as a need only of the deaf	Interpreting is needed by both the deaf and hearing for two-way communication
No mention of when an interpreter is needed	- It shall be the right of any person with hearing loss to have an interpreter - Deaf can choose to waive this right

¹⁰ Supreme Court OCA Circular No. 104-2007.

¹¹ Mendoza, J., M.R. Corpuz and L. Martinez. 2008. Fighting for Access to Communication for Deaf women in the Philippine Legal System – A situationer. **Regional Conference on Women with Disabilities 2008 (East and South-east Asia), Hong Kong.**

No mention of the qualifications of a sign language interpreter?	<p>Temporary requirements (until 3 years from issuance of memo):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Endorsement from deaf organization on interpreting experience 2. Empirical testing of language competencies and interpreting ability <p>Supplementary evidence of skills:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. documents on interpreter training (specifying sign language / sign system) 2. documents on employment related interpreting experience 3. documents on sign language instruction completed (specifying sign language / sign system; exit level of sign language competency) 4. documents from local deaf organization confirming signing deaf parent(s) or siblings of interpreter
No mention of procedure or guidelines for choosing and assigning an interpreter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A Committee of consultants in NCR and the provinces shall be created with representatives from Deaf organizations, the SC, the IBP and the linguistics field - Panels of accredited evaluators for language competency and interpreting ability - Accrediting body for evaluators - Guidelines for selection and assignment
Any interpreter selected and assigned	<p>3-step process:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Determine communication needs of deaf 2. Consider pool of qualified interpreters 3. Select interpreter with skills matching what deaf client needs
No mention of ethics	Oath of confidentiality, neutrality, professionalism
No specific guidelines during actual courtroom interpreting	Guidelines include support interpreting, prevention of Repetitive Motion Injury during continuous sign interpreting, use of consecutive interpreting and simultaneous interpreting, provision of deaf (relay) interpreters for linguistically isolated deaf, gender sensitivity of procedures.
No provision for transportation	Charge transportation expenses of the interpreter especially if it requires the interpreter to travel to another island, or across the province or region

Training is responsibility of private entities	Supreme Court and Department of Justice provide legal training for interpreters (including legal terms in sign language) accessible to the different regions.
Lacks a long term context	Long term objectives, transitional provisions

Since the PDRC began advocacy in this arena a few years ago, increasingly more cases have been identified. Over 40 cases are currently being monitored throughout the country, presumably only a tip of the iceberg. Majority of these involve deaf complainants who are victims of rape and sexual violence, many of whom are minors. Almost all are isolated, indigent and unschooled, and thus use nonstandard sign communication which require differing interpreter needs.

With the possibility of the Supreme Court approving a stakeholder-crafted set of guidelines for the assessment and assignment of interpreters for deaf parties, the many cases involving these people might be better litigated in courts.

Unfortunately, in its current state, the legal and judicial systems continue to pose several challenges to the deaf. Among others, the deaf:

- a. are often mislabelled as ignorant and in many cases, retarded
- b. are often denied the right to a fair hearing in court and often not necessarily out of malice but simply for the reason that no one can understand them and they have no way of being understood by the lawyers, judges, and court personnel
- c. find themselves with cases that remain unresolved despite several years of being in court

The efforts geared towards a reformulation of Supreme Court policies in relation to court interpreting need to be expanded in order to address the multiple concerns which may, to a hearing person, seem trivial, but to the deaf is an issue in relation to his basic and fundamental right to a language that he can use and be understood if used, the freedom of speech, and the right to information.

Closing notes

State policies are often difficult to change but when the policy must change because these are no longer relevant, responsive, or right, the advocacy for change becomes a burden that is easier to bear.

A national sign language policy must work within the framework that the right to language, including sign language is a human right and not a right by accommodation.

It requires deeper understanding of the Deaf and the necessary disengagement from the traditional ways of looking and treating people with disabilities as an inferior class. This understanding can be cultivated through education and active steps to change the discourse in relation to these so-called disabilities. For example, the courts and the law must cease using careless and incorrect terms like deaf-mute and deaf and dumb. It must caution itself against the temptation to continue the old associations of deafness and mental inferiority.

The call for a national sign language policy will not stop when a national legislative, judicial, or executive issuance is written and passed. It must be given life through policies similar to the current efforts by the Deaf community to ensure that deaf parties do get the right type of interpreter suited to their needs.

The Pronominal System of Binukid

Hazel Jean M. Abejuela

De La Salle University-Manila

hazeljeanabejuela@yahoo.com

Introduction

The languages of various groups in the Philippines have generated wide interest among linguists and organizational entities. Scholars assert that there is a need to promulgate and preserve these languages through extensive research on Philippine linguistics. According to Crystal (2000) as cited by Dita (2007), the study of these languages is crucial for it establishes one's cultural identity, safeguards history, and contributes to human knowledge. Following a line of inquiry, it has been noted though that most of the linguistic investigations focus on the major languages. Hence, many researchers have recently turned to minor languages which are imminently endangered. Of particular concern is the Binukid language.

Binukid is one of the languages within the Manobo language family which has its distinct grammatical features. The linguistic repertoire of Bukidnon where this is spoken is so diverse because of the presence of the seven tribes (notwithstanding the various immigrant groups) with each group having a language of its own. The two most dominant indigenous languages are Binukid Manobo and Binukid Higaonon. A survey of Philippine linguistic studies reveals that the former is more extensively explored than the latter. Of the studies conducted on Binukid Higaonon which is widely used in the northern and central parts of Bukidnon, only very few have been noted. These are Post's (1978) Binukid texts; Post and Gardner's (1992) Binukid Dictionary; Guasa's (1991) grammatical description of Binukid; and Peng and Billings' Pronominal Clisis (2006).

The researcher, a native of Central Bukidnon and a speaker of Binukid Higaonon, is therefore indebted to conduct a study of her indigenous language. Specifically, she sought to describe the

pronominal system of Binukid according to its categories. The particular aspects examined were the pronominals' 1) case-marking, 2) person, 3) number, and 4) functions.

Methodology

The current study is generally descriptive because it categorized and illustrated the various aspects of the pronominal system of Binukid . Specifically, it followed Dita's (2007) framework on pronominals.

The data were drawn from various texts in Binukid. These included nanangen (stories), bat-batenen (plays), dialogues (taglalangen), and pamuhat (rituals). These literary works closely resemble naturalistic interactions among the Binukid speakers; hence, the use of pronominals are embedded within spontaneous utterances .

The sentences/lines in the texts were parsed. Only those with pronouns were included in the analysis using Dita's (2007) categorization of pronominals. The first round of analysis involved the identification of the three major categories of Binukid pronominals: personal, demonstrative and indefinite. The second round of analysis entailed a specific examination of personal pronouns in terms of their forms and functions: absolutes (free and encliticized); ergatives; genitives; obliques; and possessives. The third round of analysis led to the classification of demonstratives into spatial, locative, similarity and mental. Subsequently, the extent of space was also determined by looking into proximal, medial and distal pronouns. Finally, the interrogative and indefinite pronouns were examined.

Presentation and Analysis of Data

The pronominal system of Binukid involves four major types; namely, personal, demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite. Of these four, the data shows a preponderance of personal pronouns which are in turn categorized according to their forms and functions. The personal pronominals include absolutes (free and cliticized), ergatives, genitives, obliques, and possessives. The second major type consists of demonstrative pronouns indicating spatial, locative, similarity and mental. Subsequently, pronouns indicating the extent of space are also found. These are the proximal, medial, and distal pronouns. Indefinite pronouns derived from wh-interrogative pronouns have also been noted.

1. Personal Pronouns

Findings reveal that Binukid personal pronouns take five forms. These are shown in the table on the next page.

Table 1. Personal Pronouns in Binukid

	Free Absolute	Gloss	Enclitic Absolute	Gloss	Ergative	Gloss	Oblique	Gloss	Genitives	Gloss	Possessive	Gloss
1 st person SING	Yan a/ A Kud, Siak	‘I’	Ad/A/Siak	“I”	Yan a/ad	“I”	Kanak	To me	Ku	my	Kanak	mine

1 st person PLURAL Exclusive	Sikay/Kay/	‘We’	Kay	“We”	Day	“We”	Kanay	To us	Day	our	Kanuy	ours
1 st person Dual	Sikit	‘We’	Ki (d)	“We”			Kanit	To us	Ta(d)	our		
1 st person PLURAL Inclusive	Sikuy/ Yan kuy/	‘We’	Kuy	“We”	Taw	“We”	Kanuy	To us	Taw	our	Kanay	Ours
2 nd Person SING	Sikaw/kaw/ Kad	‘You’	Ka(d)	“You”		“You”	Ikaw	To you	Nu(d)	your	Nu	yours
2 nd Person PLURAL	Sinyu	‘You’	Kaw	“You”	Nuy/Nu	“You”	Kanyu /Inyu	To you	Nuy	your	Kanyu	yours
3 rd Person SING	Din (op- tional)	S/he	Ø		Din	‘S/he	Kandin	To him /her	Din/hi	His/her/its	Kandin	His/ hers
3 rd Person PLURAL	Sidan/ Siran	‘They’	Siran	‘They’	Dan	“They”	Kandan	To them	Dan	their	kandan	Them

As can be gleaned from the table, the personal pronouns varies across the different forms. Although there are some pronominals bearing the same form, they differ in their functions. Take for example the 1st person singular pronouns. The obliques and possessives are represented as **Kanak**. Their functional differences are illustrated in the following sentences

- 1 *In-ila hi Dan sa nangkaku ha mangga **kanak**.*
gave DET Dan DET sack of mangoes OBL.1s
Dan gave a sack of mangoes to me.
- 2 ***Kanak** hayon sa maputi ha pinaksuy.*
POS.1s that DET white DET dress.
That white dress is mine.

Note that in the first and second sentences, the pronoun **kanak** performs different functions. In the first utterance, the pronoun **kanak** functions as an oblique pronoun indicating the transmission of an object **mangga** towards its recipient. On the other hand, **kanak** in the fourth sentence is a possessive pronoun.

The same is true with the 1st person plural exclusive **Day** used as an ergative and a genitive.

For the 2nd persona singular pronouns, **nu** is used for both genitive and possessive forms. On the

other hand, the 2nd person plural pronoun **kanyu** is used in oblique and possessive forms. Finally, the 3rd person singular pronoun **kandin** represents both oblique and possessive tokens; the plural form has **kandan** for oblique and possessive. Apparently, a number of pronouns bear have identical forms; nonetheless, they have different functions in the texts.

Another feature of personal pronouns is its differentiation of inclusivity and exclusivity in 1st person plural pronouns. Addressees are taken into account in the former and ruled out in the latter. Specially interesting is the inclusive pronoun *yan kuy* which compounds **yan** (you) and **kuy** (we). Data clips 3 and 4 exemplify the inclusivity and exclusivity feature .

- 3 **Yan kuy** *tagduma-duma diya ta Starbucks.*
 ABS.1pi will.go LOC Starbucks.
 We (both) will go to Starbucks.
- 4 **Sikay** *ta mga Bukidnon, na tagbinuligay kuy.*
 ABS.1pe DET Bukidnons should.help
 We, the Bukidnons should help each other.

In addition to this characteristic is the presence of a 1st person dual pronoun **sikit** which appears with its cliticized form **ki(d)**. The data shows that this pair of pronouns may encode inclusivity or exclusivity depending on the context of the utterance. They are general expressions which do not specify whether or not the addressee is included or excluded. Here are the following tokens:

- 5 **Sikit** *ta mga magtutudlo na tagpanigudu= kid makapunga hu gradu.*
 ABS.1d LIG teachers LIG persist ABS.1d finish DET grade
 We teachers should persist to finish the grades.
- 6 **Sikit** *ta mga Bukidnon na tagbinuligay ki(d) gayed.*
 ABS.1d LIG Bukidnon LIG help ABS.1d should
 We the Bukidnons should help each other.

Just like other Philippine languages, Binukid pronouns do not mark gender. When referring to male or female individuals, a determiner **si** plus the name is used. The third person singular pronominals specifically the ergative and genitive forms are encoded as **din** and **kandin** for oblique and posses-

sive forms . It has been noted that there is no pronoun for free and bound absolutes; thus, the table indicates the symbol \emptyset . Below are examples of pronouns encoding both masculine and feminine genders as indicated by the slash.

- 7 *Napalanewan ha gamiten sa sakayan hu gali din.*
Planned \emptyset that will.use DET car DET boy friend POS.3s
She/he planned to use the car of his/her boy friend.

- 8 *Timua sa yabi=ku diya ta **kandin.***
get DET key GEN from DET OBL.3s
Get my key from her.

- 9 *Madagway ayuwa sa laga=**din.***
pretty very DET daughter GEN.3s
His/her daughter is very pretty.

- 10 ***Kandin** un sa salapi ta gobyerno.*
POS.3s already DET money DET government
The government's money is his already.

The study also shows that a number of Binukid pronouns are used to substitute non- pronominal expressions without in the same morphological case. That is, there is no alternation of the word order when the pronouns replace the nominals. The following examples illustrate this point.

- 11 a. *Agpamipi si Inay hu pinaksuy.*
laundry DET mother DET clothes
Mother will laundry the clothes.

- b. *Agpamipi \emptyset hu pinaksuy*
laundry ABS.3s DET clothes
She will laundry the clothes.

- 12 a. *Pinpamula hi Amay su similya.*
sowed DET father DET seeds
Father sowed the seeds.

- b. *Pinpamula din su similya.*
sowed ABS.3s DET seeds.

- 13 a. *Agduma*=a *ki* Rose.
 accompany ABS.1s. DET Rose.
 I will go with Rose.
- b. *Agduma*=a *kandin*.
 Accompany=a *OBL.3s*
 I will go with her.

Another feature of the pronominal system of Binukid is the sequencing of pronouns according to the person hierarchy: first, second and third. In cases where two pronouns appear within a clause, the pronoun which is higher in the order is placed first or to put it clearly, whichever of the two pronouns encodes first person precedes the other. The following tokens will demonstrate this rule.

- 14 Kabayaan **ku** **ikaw**.
Like/love ERG.1s ABS.2ps
I like/love you.
- 15 Kabayaan=**a** **kandan**.
Like/love= ERG.1s ABS.3p

1. Absolutives

One category of personal pronominals that emerges from the data consists of absolutes. According to Trask (1993) as cited by Dita (2007), absolute is the case form which marks both the subject of an intransitive and the direct object of a transitive verb, and which contrasts with the ergative. This case form is either used independently (free) or dependently (cliticized). To differentiate each of these forms, the following examples are given.

1.1.1 Free Absolutives

- 16 **Yan a** Hazel Jean M.Abejuela, tagtungha diyan ta DLSU.
ABSIs studying PROX DET
I am Hazel Jean M.Abejuela, studying at DLSU.
- 17 **Siak** nadaluwan=a gabia.
Abs.ls sick ABS.Is yesterday.

As for me, I was sick yesterday.

- 18 *Tagpalimana **sikay** hu balita mahitunged gubat diya ta Lanao.*
Listening ABSpe DET news about war PROX DET
We are listening to the news about the war in Lanao.

- 19 ***Sikit** sa mga La Sallians, mabalu gayed.*
We the La Sallians are really competent.

- 20 ***Yan kuy** tag-andam duun ta kaamulan.*
ABS.1pi will.prepare OBL DET celebration(birthday)
We (both)will prepare for the birthday celebration.

- 21 ***Sikuy** sa mig-ila hu amuta.*
ABS.1pi LIG gave DET contribution
We were the ones who gave the contribution.

- 22 ***Sikaw** man sa matangkaw, hadi sa suled nu.*
ABS2s (indeed) DET tall not DET sister/brother GEN
You are indeed tall, not your brother.

- 23 *Hadi **kaw** magikagiya, daw hadi **kaw** tagkayug.*
Stop ABS2s talking, and stop ABS2s moving.
(You)stop talking and moving.

- 24 *Tabangan **a inyu** ta egkalegenann a pagginhawa.*
help ABS1s ABS2p because difficulty ABS1s breathe
(All of you) help me because I can hardly breathe.

- 25 *Pangitaen **nu** sa lawa taini ha tagbis.*
Look for ABS2p DET body PROX DET bird

- 26 *Pig-uwit **din** sa Amay din diya ta hospital.*
Brought ABS3s DET father GEN3s DIST DET hospital
He brought his father to the hospital.

- 27 *Malambu tungkay **sidan**.*
Fat very ABS3p
They are very fat.

Examining each of the examples, one can deduce the various functions of free absolutes.

First, they can be used as sentence initial subject as reflected in Sentences 17, 19 and 20. This is consistent with the findings of Dita (2007) of the Ibanag pronominals. It is therefore surmised that even with the VSO order, Philippine languages like Binukid follow the SVO pattern for stylistic

reasons. Basically, they serve as subjects for the VSO-bound sentences as reflected in Sentences 18 and 24. Thirdly, free absolutes serve as predicates in identificational clauses as represented by Sentence 16. Fourthly, they function as subjects in classificational clause as illustrated in Sentence 16. Fifthly, they function as null subjects in imperative sentences such as those in Sentences 21, 22, and 23. Moreover, they serve as objects of a dyadic transitive in prepositional predicate as illustrated by Sentence 22. Although, it's generally a social taboo to use vocatives, some myths exemplify how pronouns are used as heads in vocatives such as

- 28 *Sikaw* *Pidro, naaha nu ba sa prinsesa?*
ABS2ps Pedro, saw ABS2ps DET princess
 You Pedro! Have you seen the princess?

Further, free absolutes also serve as subjects in prepositional predicate as exemplified by the following:

- 29 *Para a kandin*
For ABS.1s OBL
I am for him/her.

Finally, absolutes can also function as a topic in a contrastive clause.

- 30 *Sapian sidan; pubri kay.*
rich ABS3p poor ABS1pe
They are rich; we are poor.

1.1.2 Enclitic Absolutes

The data reveal the Binukid enclitic absolutes; namely, **a(d)**, **kay**, **ki(d)**, **kuy**, **ka(d)**, **kaw**, **and siran/sidan**. The Binukid enclitic absolutes are typically attached to a verb or a negative expression that precedes it. These are illustrated in the following examples:

- 31 *Tagkapauk=(k)ay kandan ta pigtimo sa bugta day.*
mad=ABS.1pe OBL CONJ grab DET land GEN1pe
We are mad at them for grabbing our land.

- 32 *Agduma= a kandan.*

- Accompany=ABS.1s OBL.3p*
I will go with them.
- 33 *Hari= a agduma kandan.*
NEG=ABS.1s accompany OBL.3p
I will not go with them.
- 34 *Aman umiyagak=a.*
so cried ABS.1s
So I cried.
- 35 *Aman hari=ad umiyagak*
So NEG=ABS.1s cried.
So I did not cry.

Although verbs and negative expressions serve as host words for the enclitic absolutes, there are cases where the pronominals encliticize to other expressions such as the following:

- 36 *Sigi= kay tagpamuhat*
Always= ABS.1pe perform ritual
We always perform rituals.
- 37 *Ta daw=ka kandin mapanalangianan.*
So.that=ABS.2s ERG.3s. bless
So that s/he will bless you.
- 38 *ku iyan=a ikaw ipasayaw hu dugsu.*
If = ABS.1s OBL.2s dance DET dugsu
. . . if I am the one made (by you) to dance the dugsu.

Just like other clitic pronominals in other Philippine languages, there are also instances when they are detached from their base words.

Enclitic absolutes perform various functions in the language. First, they serve as subjects in monadic intransitive clauses:

- 40 *Hipanaw ad en lang!*
will.leave ABS.1s just
I will just leave! (I better leave!)

Second, they also function as subject of dyadic intransitive clause:

- 41 *Kabaya= kay tagpaliman hu limbay nu.*
like=ABS.1pe listen DET song GEN.2ps

We like to listen to your song.

Third, they also perform as objects in dyadic transitive clauses:

- 42 *Mig-enda* **ad** *tayana ha bisyu.*
 stopped ABS.1s MED DET vice.
 I stopped that vice.

Fourth, they function as objects in a triadic clause:

- 43 *Agpanambay=a* *hu salapi ha igpalit ku hu kalembegas.*
 will.borrow=ABS.1s DET money DET buy ABS.1s DET corn grits.
 I would like to borrow money for I will buy corn grits.

Notice that the enclitic absolutive **ad** is at times reduced to **a**. This process has been repeatedly observed in the texts.

1.2. Ergatives

Ergatives basically function as agents in divalent or trivalent constructions. Binukid, like other Philippine languages, entails two core arguments; namely, an agent and a patient. The former is case-marked as ergative while the latter as absolutive. The ergative pronominals in Binukid are **a/ad (1s)**, **day (1pe)**, **taw (1pi)**, **sikaw (2s)**, **nuy/nu (2p)**, **din (3s)**, and **siran/sedan/dan (3p)**.

Here are examples of dyadic constructions in Binukid.

1.2.1. Bivalent/Dyadic Constructions

- 44 *Mig-aha=a* *hu sini.*
 watched=ERG.1s DET movie.
 I watched a movie.

- 45 *Pigbasa=dan* *sa sulat.*
 read=ERG.3p DET letter
 They read the letter.

- 46 *Kahid-u a* *kandan*
 Pity ERG.1s ABS.3p
 I pity them.

- 47 *Pigdapi din* *siak.*
 hit ERG.3p ABS.1s

He hit me.

Looking at the data clips, one can distinguish the variations in the bivalent constructions. The first and second sentences have pronominals as agents and noun phrases as patients. On the other hand, the succeeding sentences demonstrate the use of two pronominals as core arguments, ergatives and absolutes respectively.

1.2.2. Trivalent/ Triadic Constructions

A further type of transitive construction involves three core arguments; specifically the agent (ergative), the theme (absolute), and the benefactive (oblique).

Here are examples to exhibit how these three arguments work in a trivalent construction.

- 48 *Ilahan=nu hu utan siran .*
 give=ERG.2p ABS vegetables OBL3p erg and oblq pro
 (You) give vegetables to them. Abs-nominals
- 49 *Tagpanambay siran hu salapi kanak*
 borrow ERG.3p . ABS money OBL.1s. same
 They borrow money from me.
- 50 *Tagpamipi= a hu pinaksuy say Apo Bahi ku*
 folding= ERG.1s DET clothes OBL grandmother GEN.1s
 I am folding the clothes of my grandmother.
- 51 *Tagtuen siran hu limbay para bisita day.*
 practicing ERG .3p ABS song for OBL visitor.
 They are practicing the song for our visitor.

In the foregoing trivalent structure, the ergative agent and the oblique benefactive employ pronominals as arguments as exhibited in sentences 48 and 49. In the ensuing sentences, the agents are expressed in ergative pronominals while the benefactives are encoded in noun phrases.

1.3. Obliques

Obliques are pronominals which indicate direction towards a person(s) or the transference of an object towards the subject which the pronouns specify. In Binukid, obliques include **kanak (1s)**, **kanuy (1pe)**, **kanay (1pi)**, **ikaw (2s)**, **kanyu (2p)**, **kandin (3s)**, and **siran/kandan (3p)**. These

pronouns express the semantic roles of location, source, goal, cause, result and benefactive (Dita, 2007). This type of pronominals is exemplified in the ensuing sentences according to their functions.

1.3.1. As a Source

- 52 Intabun *kud* *un* **sidan** *lugay un.*
 left ABS.1s already OBL.3p long ago
 I left (from) them already long ago.
- 53 Taini ha *similya* *pigtimu* **kandan** *ha daru..*
 This DET seedling took OBL.3p DET farm.
 This seedling was taken from their farm.

1.3.2. As a Goal

- 54 In-ila din *sa* *singsing* **kanak.**
 gives ABS.3s DET ring OBL.1s
 S/he gives the ring to me.
- 55 Migdiya kay **kandan** *gabia.*
 went ABS.1pe OBL.3p yesterday.
 We went to them yesterday.

1.3.3. As Benefactives

- 56 Taini ha *balagen ig-ila* *ku* **inyu** *alang hu kalinaw.*
 this DET rattan offer ABS.1s OBL.2p for DET peace
 I offer you this rattan for peace.
- 57 Taini ha *balasahen* *alang* **inyu.**
 This DET book for OBL.2p
 This book is for you.

1.3.4. As a Location of a Person

- 58 Atiyu **kandin**
 small OBL.3s
 It is small on him/her.
- 59 Tungkay *madagway* *sa* *pinaksuy* **kanak.**
 exceedingly beautiful DET dress OBL.1s
 The dress is stunning on me.

1.3.5. As a Possession When Co-Occurring with Existentials

61 *Dini ta **kanak** sa basahen.*
 EXI OBL.1s. DET book
 The book is with me.

62 *Kalinaw maangken **nu**.*
 Peace EXI OBL.2p
 Peace be with you.

1.4. Genitives

Another category of personal pronominals comprise of genitives which are used to encode possession. After examining, the features of genitives in Binukid, it is found that they don't encliticize into the possessed entities unlike the other Philippine languages like Ibanag. Also, they appear after the nouns and not before the nouns. Genitives include **ku (1s)**, **day (1pe)**, **taw (1pi)**, **nu (2s and 2p)**, **din/hi (3s)**, and **dan (3p)**. To exemplify this trend in Binukid texts, the following excerpts are provided.

63 *Agka baya-bayaan ku sa mga bata **ku**.*
 so fond ABS.1s DET children GEN.1s
 I'm so fond of my children.

64 *Hura man makahiwal sa bisita **dan**.*
 NEG did arrive DET visitor GEN.3s
 His/her visitor did not arrive.

65 *Migtima a diya ta balay **dan**.*
 lived ABS.1s MED DET house GEN.3p

66 *Agkabayaan ku tungkay sa inay daw amay **day**.*
 love ABS.1s very DET mother and father GEN.1pe
 I really love my mother and father.

1.5. Possessives

Performing the same function as genitives are possessives. This set of personal pronouns are also encoded independently. According to Quirk et al (1985) as cited by Dita (2007), independent possessives are used in lieu of the NP expressing possession. The Binukid possessive pronouns are *kanak (1s)*, *kanuy (1pe)*, *kanay (1pi)*, *nu (2s)*, *kanyu (2p)*, *kandin (3s)*, and *kandan (3p)*. The following examples illustrate how these pronouns operate in Binukid texts.

- 67 **Kanay** *man hayan ha tarak.*
 POS.1pi LIG DEM DET truck.
 That truck is ours.
- 68 **Kanak** *man hayan sa maputi ha pinaksuy.*
 POS.1s LIG that DET white DET dress.
 That dress is mine.
- 69 **Kandan** *man tauna ha bugta hu pig-ilug hu dumagat.*
 POS.3p LIG that DET land LIG grabbed DET dumagat
 The land that was grabbed by the Dumagat was theirs.
- 70 **Kandin** *un sa mga bulawan ha datu.*
 POS.3s already DET gold DET datu.
 The gold bars of the datu was already his.

2. Demonstratives

Demonstratives are pronominals which entail spatial, locative and similitive orientations. All of these subtypes express the extent of space: proximal, medial, and distal. In Binukid pronominal system, singular spatial demonstratives are **sai/hai/taini** (this:proximal), **hayan/tayan/yan/taya** (that:medial), and **yan hayan/ hayan** (that:distal) while the plural forms are **saini** (these: proximal) and **saena** (those: medial and proximal). Proximal demonstratives refer to objects near the speaker which are visible; medial to those near the addressee which are perceptible to him/her and the speaker; and distal to those that are far-off to both the speaker and the addressee. As can be gleaned from the data clips, first person pronouns and second or third person pronouns co-occur with these demonstratives respectively. In the ensuing examples, the spatial demonstratives function as pronouns because they are singular elements of a predicate clause.

2.1. Spatial Demonstratives

2.1.1. Proximal Space

- 71 **Sai** sa lapis ku malayat.
 PROX/SP DET pencil POS.1s long.
 This pencil of mine is long.
- 72 **Saini** sa mga kamuyot ku ha pighatag hu angaray ku.
 PROX/SP DET bags POS.1s LIG given LIG girl friend GEN.1s
 These bags were given by my girl friend.
- 73 Di ba lapis nu **hai**?
 LIG pencil GEN.2s PROX/SP
 Is this your pencil?
- 74 Di ba kamuyot nu **haini**?
 LIG bag GEN.2s PROX/SP
 Are these your bags?

Notice the difference between the Binukid proximal demonstratives **sai** and **hai**. Sai is used when the speaker is holding the object that s/he is talking about; whereas, hai is used when the speaker is asking about the object s/he is holding.

2.1.2. Medial Space

- 75 Kailing **tayan** ha kalu sa pighatag kanak hu gali ku.
 like MED/SP DET hat LIG given OBL.1s LIG boy friend GEN.1s
 That hat looks like the hat given to me by my boyfriend.
- 76 **Hayan** sa ekang
 MED/SP DET owl
 That is an owl.
- 77 **Yan** man sa nalaag ku ha dayumpak.
 MED/SP DET lost ABS.1s the bolo
 That is the bolo I lost.
- 78 **Saena** sa mga tagbis.
 MED/SP DET birds.
 Those are the birds.

2.1.3. Distal Space

- 79 **Yan hayan** sa tunghaan day.
DIST/SP DET school GEN.1p
That is our school.
- 80 Hadi= nuy ibitan **hayan**!.
NEG=ERG.2p touch DIST/SP
Don't touch that!
- 81 **Yan hayan** sa buntud hu Kitanglad
DIST/SP DET mountain LIG Kitanglad.
That is Mt. Kitanglad.
- 82 Ahaa! Saena sa mga bituen ta langit.
Look! DIST/SP DET stars DET sky.
Look! Those are the stars in the sky.

2.2. Locative Demonstratives

Locative demonstratives are pronominals used to indicate the definite place referred to by the locative. Just like spatial demonstratives, they also perform as single units in predicate clauses. In Binukid, the locative demonstrative **dini** indicates a proximal space which refers to the location where the speaker is at the moment of speaking. On the other hand, **diya** is a locative pronoun which encodes both medial and distal space. The former referring to the location of the addressee at the moment of speaking and the latter specifying a location where neither the speaker nor the addressee is at the moment of speaking. Given are exemplars showing how each of these locatives functions in sentences.

2.2.1. Proximal Space

- 83 **Dini** ka pinuu ta ubay ku.
PROX ABS.2s sit LIG beside GEN.1s
(You) sit here beside me.
- 84 Huda pa makahiwal **dini** ta banuwa day sa gali nu.
NEG LIG been PROX DET place GEN.1pi.LIG boyfriend GEN.2s
Your boyfriend has not been here in our place.
- 85 **Dini** day man in-ugsak sa mga basahen day..
PROX ERG.1pe LIG put DET books GEN.1pe
We put our books here.

2.2.2. Medial Space

86 *I-ugsak nu **diya** sa radyu.*
 place ABS.2ps MED DET radio.
 You place the radio there.

87 *Humiwal ka **diya.***
 move ABS.2s there
 You move there.

88 *Mintuleg sidan **diya.***
 slept ABS.3p there
 They slept there.

2.2.3. Distal Space

89 *Mighipanaw sidan **diya***
 went ABS.3p DIST
 They went there.

90 *Nangamulan say Arianne **diya.***
 Attended (a party)DET DIST.
 Arianne attended a party there.

91 ***Diya** kuy kun makadaeg kuy hu lutu.*
 DIST ABS.1pi will.win ABS.1pi DET lotto
 We will go there if we'll win the lotto.

2.3. Similitative Demonstratives

The Binukid pronominal system also encompasses similitative demonstratives. These expressions are used to indicate the similarity of two entities. According to Dita (2007), these pronouns are usually accompanied by actions denoting the points of similarity, either shape, length. Unlike in Ibanag where the demonstratives are attached to lexical items, the Binukid counterparts are free. The similitative demonstratives are **yan haini, sa ini/ hayan, sa yana (proximal), yan hayan, sa yana/hai, sa ini (medial), and yan hayan/hayan (distal)**. To illustrate how two the similarity of two entities are done in Binukid, model sentences are provided below.

2.3.1. Proximal Space

92 *Kailing **haini** sa pighimu din, kuna iling **hayan***

like SIM LIG did ABS.3s NEG like.SIM
What s/he did was like this, not that.

93 *Kailing haini sa pagpanlupi din hu pinaksuy, kuna iling hayan.*
Like. SIM LIG fold ABS.3s DET clothes, NEG like. SIM
How she folded the clothes was like this, not like that.

94 *Di ba kailing sa ini sa pag-layag hu banug, hadi iling sa yana?*
INT like SIM LIG flutter DET eagle, NEG like.SIM
Isn't this how an eagle flutter, not like that?

Note that there are three variations of this (**yan haini**, **yan hai**, **sa ini**, **sai**) and that (**hayan**, **sa yana**). However, if the expression like is used with the similatives, the latter is reduced to **haini** or **hai**. In data clips 92 and 93, the speakers use **haini**, **hai/ hayan**; and **yan hai/hayan** to instruct similarities in statements. However, when the speaker asks or clarifies about the similarities, s/he uses **sa ini/sa yana**.

2.3.2. Medial Space

95 *Kailing hayana sa pigbuhat din, kuna iling hai.*
like. SIM LIG did ABS.3s NEG like. SIM
What she did was like that, not like this.

96 *Kailing hayana sa pagpanlupi hu pinaksuy, kuna iling hai.*
Like.SIM LIG folded DET clothes NEG like.SIM
How she folded the clothes was like that, not like this.

97 *Di ba kailing sa yana sa pag-layag hu banug, hadi kailing sai?*
INT like SIM LIG flutter DET eagle, NEG like.SIM
Isn't that how an eagle flutter, not like this?

The proximal simulative **haini** is reduced to **hai** while the proximal pronoun **hayan** is expanded into **hayana** in the foregoing examples. A rule is therefore hypothesized that when similatives express medial space, the simulative **haini** (this) is reduced while the simulative **hayan** (that) is expanded.

2.3.3. Distal Space

98 *Kailing hayana sa pighimu din, kuna iling hayan.*
like SIM LIG did Abs.3s NEG like SIM

- What s/he did was like that, not like that.
- 99 *Kailing **hayana** sa pagdapi dan kandin, kuna iling **hayan**.*
like SIM LIG hit Abs.3p ERG.3s NEG like SIM
How they hit him/her was like that, not like that.
- 100 *Kailing **hayana** sa pag-ibit din kanak, kuna **hayan**.*
like SIM LIG embraced ABS.3s ERG.1s NEG SIM
How s/he embraced me was like that, not like that.

2.4. Mental Demonstratives

Another type of demonstratives which emerge from the data involves mental demonstratives. Unlike other demonstrative pronouns, these expressions refer to unimageable ideas that are both shared by the speaker and the addressee. Binukid mental demonstratives include **yan sai/hai**, **ta ini** (proximal), **sayana/hayan/tayan** (medial), and **yan hauna/haun, tauna/taun** (distal). In the proximal degree, only the speaker has knowledge of the referent; in the medial degree, only the addressee is familiar with the entity; while in the proximal degree, both the speaker and the addressee have remote or no experience at all with the referents.

2.4.1. Proximal Space

- 101 ***Yan hai** sa **makalilibeg** kanak.*
PROX/MEN LIG confusing OBL.1s
This is what is confusing me.
- 102 ***Yan taini** sa natulen ku.*
PROX/MEN LIG realize ABS.1s
This is what I realize.
- 103 *Malegen gayud agsabuten **sai**.*
difficult really understand PROX/MEN
This is really difficult to understand.

2.4.2. Medial Space

- 104 ***Yan hayan** sa taghuna-hunaen nu sa madaut.*
MED/MEN LIG thinking Abs.2s LIG destructive.
That what you are thinking is destructive.

105 **Yan hayan** sa agkabelengan ku.
 MED/MEN LIG baffles OBL.1s
That is what baffles me.

106 Nalipatan ku **hayan**.
 forgot ABS.1s that
I forgot about that.

2.4.3. Distal Space

107 Nangadamugo sidan **tauna** hu ikaayun hu tagbuhaten dan
 dreamt ABS.3p DIST/MEN LIG better LIG work GEN.3p
They dreamt of that which would make their work better.

108 Yan man su tumanud hu mga laas tagbuhat hu iling **ta una**.
 LIG DET guardians LIG elders performed like DIST/MEN
It was the guardians of the elders who performed that.

109 **Yan haun** sa pigtuuhan mga apo ku.
 DIST/MEN LIG believed DET grandparents GEN.1s
That is what my grandparents believed in.

3. Interrogatives

Another category of pronouns in Binukid consists of expressions used for asking information questions. These include **sin-u** (who), **inu/nainu** (what), **hindu** (where), **kan-u** (where), **imba** (why), **tag-inu-inuhun** (how), and **pila** (how much). Below are illustrations of interrogative pronouns used in sentences.

3.1. Who

110 **Sin-u** sa duma nu gabi-a?
 WHO DET companion GEN.2s yesterday
Who was your companion yesterday?

111 **Sin-u** sa tag-iya taya ha balay?
 WHO DET owner MED/SP LIG house
Who is the owner of that house?

112 **Sin-u** sa magtutudlo nu hu AGRAPHIL?
 WHO DET teacher GEN.1s LIG

Who is your teacher in AGRAPHIL?

3.2. What

- 113 **Inu** sa inuwit nu ganin maselem?
WHAT *LIG* brought *ABS.3s* last night?
What did you bring last night?
- 114 **Inu** gid sa hinengdan imba migsaba sidan?
WHAT could be *DET* reason *WHY* fought *ABS.3p*
What could be the reason why they fought?
- 115 **Inu** sa tubag nu bahin sa panginsa=ku?
WHAT *LIG* answer *GEN.2s* about *LIG* question= *GEN.1s*
What is your answer to my question?

3.3. Where

- 116 **Hindu** agdiya si Amay?
WHERE will. go *LIG* father?
Where will father go?
- 117 **Hindu** sa antipara ku dini?
WHERE *LIG* glasses *GEN.1s* *LOC*
Where are my glasses here?
- 118 O, Romiyo! **Hindu** kad ?
WHERE *ABS.2s*
Oh, Romeo! Where are you?

3.4. When

- 119 **Kan-u** ka agdiya ta Malaybalay?
WHEN *ABS.2s.* going *LIG* Malaybalay
When are you going to Malaybalay?
- 120 **Kan-u** ka ba inbata?
WHEN *ABS.2s* *LIG* born
When were you born?
- 121 **Kan-u** agdini sa gali nu?
WHEN coming *LIG* boyfriend *GEN.2s*
When is your boyfriend coming?

3.5. Why

- 122 Imba madakel sa etaw?

WHY many LIG people
Why are there many people?

123 *Imba* *hadi paka-ikagi sa bata nu?*
WHY NEG talk LIG child GEN.2s
Why can't your child talk?

124 *Imba* *ag-iyagaka sa suled nu?*
WHY crying LIG sister/brother GEN.2p
Why is your sister/brother crying?

3.6. How

125 *Tag-inu-inuhun* *nu pagsabut hu surat din?*
HOW ABS.2s understand DET letter GEN.3s
How do you understand his/her letter?

126 *Tag-inu-inuhun* *day pagsayaw hu dugso?*
HOW ABS.1pe dance DET dugso
How do we dance dugso?

127 *Tag-inu-inuhun* *din paglutu hu binggala?*
HOW ABS.3s cook DET cassava
How do we cook cassava?

3.7. How Many

128 *Pila* *en sa bata nu?*
HOW MANY already LIG children GEN.2s
How many children do you have?

129 *Pila* *ha buuk sa uwiten nu ha manuk?*
HOW MANY LIG pieces LIG bring GEN.2s DET chicken?
How many pieces of chicken will you bring?

130 *Pila* *ha impis sa natago din?*
HOW MANY LIG eggs LIG kept GEN.3s
How many eggs did s/he keep?

3.8. How Much

131 *Pila* *en iman sa nangkaku hu begas?*
HOW MUCH LIG today LIG sack LIG rice?
How much is a sack of rice today?

- 132 **Pila** *en sa salapi ha natimu nu?*
HOW MUCH LIG LIG money LIG earned GE.2s
How much money did you earn?
- 133 **Pila** *en iman sa paliti dun hu iruplanu?*
HOW MUCH LIG today DET fare LIG DET airplane
How much is the plane fare today?

4. Indefinite

Indefinite pronouns are morphologically derived from interrogative pronouns and are compounded with the expression ‘**bisan**’ or ‘**kun**’. In Binukid, indefinite pronouns include **bisan/kun sin-u** (whoever), **bisan inu pa** (whatever), **bisan hindu** (wherever), **bisan inu-inuhun** (however), and **bisan kan-u** (whenever).

4.1. Whoever

- 134 **Kun sin-u** *sa nanlimbung ta suled din, tag-anitan gayed.*
WHOEVER LIG betrays LIG brethren GEN.3s curse really
Whoever will betray his/her brethren will really be cursed.
- 135 **Kun sin-u** *sa tag-ampu duun, tagpanalanginan gayed.*
WHOEVER LIG pray LIG bless really.
Whoever will pray, will really be blessed.
- 136 **Bisan sin-u** *pa inyu, tagbulig a gayed.*
WHOEVER LIG ABS.3p, help LIG really
Whoever you are, I will really help you.

4.2. Whatever

- 137 **Bisan inu** *pa sa ikagiyen din, hari ad un tagtuu.*
WHATEVER LIG said ABS.3s NEG ABS.1s LIG believe
Whatever he says, I don't believe it any longer.
- 138 **Bisan inu** *pa sa hinegdan sa pigsaba dan, hura taw labet.*
WHATEVER LIG DET reason DET fight GE.3p, NEG ABS.1pe business
Whatever was the reason for their fight, we have no business.
- 139 **Bisan inu** *pa sa sambayan nu, tag-ila a baya inyu.*
WHATEVER LIG borrow ABS.2p lend ABS.1s LIG OBL.2p
Whatever you borrow, I always lend you

4.3. Whenever

- 140 **Bisan kan-u** pa sidan uminuli, ag-angatan kud lang siran.
WHENEVER LIG ABS.3p return , will.wait ABS.1s LIG OBL.3p
Whenever they will return , I will just wait for them.
- 141 **Bisan kan-u** pa mapenga sai kauyagan ku, tagpadayunen ku gayed.
WHENEVER LIG complete PROX/MEN work GEN.1s persist ABS.1s LIG
Whenever this work will be completed, I will really persist.
- 142 **Bisan kan-u** pa luminiku gali ku, agdawaten ku gihapun.
WHENEVER LIG come back boyfriend GEN.1s accept ABS.1s still
Whenever my boyfriend will come back, I will still accept him.

4.4. Wherever

- 143 **Bisan pa hindun a**, ag-uli a diya ta Bukidnon, kanak ha banuwa.
WHEREVER ABS.1s goback ABS.1s DIST Bukidnon GEN.1s home
Wherever I may be, I will go back to Bukidnon, my home.
- 144 **Bisan hindu** kad un iman, tagpan-aha a gayed ikaw.
WHEREVER ABS.2s LIG now, searching ABS.1s still OBL.2s
Wherever you are now, I am still searching for you.
- 145 **Bisan hindu** siran, tagdamuguhen ku siran.
WHEREVER ABS.3p dreaming ABS.1s OBL.3p
Wherever they are, I am dreaming of them.

4.5. However

- 146 **Bisan inuhun** din pa pagpasabut kanak, nasakit a gayed
HOWEVER ABS.3s LIG justify OBL.1s hurt ABS.1s really
However he tries to justify, I am really hurt.
- 147 **Bisan inu-inuhun** dan pagpanigudu pamula daruhan ,hura dan gihapun abut .
HOWEVER ABS.3p very hard till farm NEG ABS.3p still produce.
However, they till very hard the farm, they still don't have produce.
- 148 **Bisan inu-inuhun** dan pagbasa, hadi dan gayed agkasabetan.
HOWEVER ABS.3p read, NEG ABS.3p really understand
However they tried to read, they really can't just understand.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to describe the pronominal system of Binukid, one of the minor languages in the Philippines. Just like other Philippine languages, it encompasses various categories

such as personal, demonstrative, interrogative, and indefinite. In turn, each of these main categories is sub-classified. Grouped under the personal pronominals are absolutives (free and bound), ergatives, genitives, obliques and possessives. For the demonstratives, the pronouns are clustered into four types: spatial, locative, similarity, and mental. In turn, the pronouns in each group is distinguished according to the extent of space: proximal, distal. The third major set comprises of interrogatives pronouns which are used to express information questions. Derived from these wh-expressions are the indefinite pronouns which are expressed in phrases as the words are combined with the Binukid expression “ bisan.”

On examining the pronominal system of Binukid, the following conclusions can be drawn: First, most of the pronominal forms across the major categories may be identical morphologically; nonetheless, they differ in the purposes they serve. It is therefore suggested that non-native speakers of Binukid who want to undertake this type of research need to analyze the context of the pronominal use. This is crucial because Binukid pronouns are complex considering that in a particular set, a pronoun has three or even four variations which encode the same semantics but perform differently according to the syntactic constructions where they are embedded and their functions.

In addition, processes such as reduction and expansion are preponderant in the use of pronouns. In some structures, pronouns are clipped by removing a letter (s); and at times, they are expanded by adding an element. Also, the alternation of letters such *s* and *h* (i.e. *sai* and *hai*) should be carefully taken into account because they determine the type of sentence; *sai* is for statements and *hai* for questions. Aside from single pronouns, there is also a reasonable number of phrasal pronouns which is formed by combining, for instance, interrogative pronouns and the expression *bisan*. Unlike other Philippine languages, Binukid minimally involves cliticization of pronouns. Even the enclitic absolutives, ergatives and genitives are seldom attached to their host words. In the main, Binukid is a non-clitical language.

Moreover, Binukid has features similar and at the same time different from other languages. For the commonalities, it shared with other indigenous languages, Binukid does not mark gender; hence, it only has one expression (din) to refer to either male or female entity. Another common characteristic is its differentiation of inclusivity and exclusivity in 1st person plural pronouns. Addressees are taken into account in the former and ruled out in the latter. In terms of cliticization, Binukid pronominals are usually attached to verbs and negative markers. However, this is inconclusive because there are cases where enclitic pronouns encliticize into adverbials and conjunctions. Two distinct marks of the Binukid pronominal system involve the sequencing of personal pronouns according to a person hierarchy and the presence of dual first person pronouns. The ordering principle requires that in cases where two pronouns co-occur, the one that encodes a first person will appear first in the pronominal cluster. The other unique feature of Binukid is the occurrence of first person plural pronouns which encode neither exclusivity nor inclusivity of the addressee.

This paper is not exhaustive; hence, there is a need for further investigation regarding the pronominal system of Binukid. For future research, investigators may look into the monosyllabic and disyllabic pronouns and explain how they are used in syntactic constructions. Also, the positioning and encliticization of pronouns need to be further explored. Even the pragmatics of pronouns is an interesting area to examine. Definitely, Binukid Higaonon is a rich avenue for linguistic studies.

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