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## EDITOR'S NOTE

The *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* is the official publication of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines. It publishes original studies in descriptive, comparative, historical, and areal linguistics. Although its primary interest is in linguistic theory, it also publishes papers on the application of theory to language teaching, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, anthropological principles which underlie specific techniques rather than with the mechanical aspects of such techniques. Articles are published in English, although papers written in Filipino, the national language of the Philippines, will occasionally appear. Since the Linguistic Society of the Philippines is composed of members whose paramount interest is the Philippine languages, papers on these and related languages are given priority in publication. This does not mean, however, that the Journal will limit its scope to the Austronesian language family. Studies on any aspect of language structure are welcome.

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**PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS**

## WHY THE 'FOCUSED NP' IS NOT THE SUBJECT IN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES: EVIDENCE FROM KARAO

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

In a recent article, Paul Kroeger (1993a) has raised the time-honored question of what is the function of the *ang-NP*, the 'focused NP,' in Tagalog. His conclusion, one similar to an earlier proposal made by McLaughlin (1973), is that the *ang-NP* in Tagalog is the subject of a clause.<sup>1</sup> Kroeger's claim is important for the study of Philippine languages since it is generally assumed that the system which controls the focused NP in one Philippine language, e.g. the *ang-NP* in Tagalog, operates much the same way in other Philippine languages, although recognizing that there may be differences in detail from language to language. While I agree with Kroeger that the *ang-NP* in Tagalog, and by extension the focused NP in Philippine languages in general, is a grammatical relation, and not topic or focus as defined by Cooreman (1982, 1985, 1987) and Bresnan and Mchombo (1987), I question whether we want to accept the claim that it is a subject.

One of the problems with previous analyses of the focused NP in Tagalog and other Philippine languages is that they have tended to concentrate on the focused NP and the question of whether or not it is a subject, ignoring the more general issue of grammatical relations. By taking up this broader issue, the focused NP can be considered within the general context of grammatical relations, and its function compared with that of subjects, objects, and obliques in other languages.

In this paper, I will present the findings of an investigation of grammatical relations in Karao (Brainard 1994b), a language of the Northern Philippines.<sup>2</sup> I will argue that Karao has two grammatical relations, a subject and an object, and that in a transitive clause the focused NP is not the subject, but the object. I will also argue that in a transitive clause, syntactic processes display a 'mixed' pattern of syntactic control in that control of these processes is more or less evenly distributed between the subject and the object.

### 2. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Kroeger's analysis of the focused NP, the *ang-NP*, in Tagalog rests upon the assumption that the subject is a syntactic notion that '...must be identified by syntactic properties, rather than by semantic roles or discourse functions' (1993a:1). This, however, is not the only available definition of subject. Subject has also been defined as a notion that consists of not only syntactic properties, but also semantic properties and pragmatic (i.e. discourse) properties (Givón 1984, 1990 among others). This definition of subject is based on a common cross-linguistic pattern: In a prototypical transitive

clause, Agent, the dominant syntactic control, and the most topical argument are all usually encoded in the same NP.<sup>3</sup>

The problem for Philippine linguistics is that in a transitive clause the single argument which usually encodes the Agent and which is usually the most topical argument is not the dominant syntactic control in most Philippine languages. Various approaches have been taken to this problem. One has been to conclude that since the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties of subject do not converge on the same NP, Philippine languages do not have a subject; instead, these subject properties are distributed between the Agent and the focused NP (Schachter 1976, 1977 among others). Another approach has been to ignore the semantic and pragmatic properties of subject and to assume that only syntactic properties count for identifying a subject; thus, the focused NP, which controls many syntactic processes in Philippine languages, is the subject (McKaughan 1973; Kroeger 1993a, 1993b). A third approach has been to accept the cross-linguistic evidence that Agent, syntactic control, and greatest degree of topicality usually converge on the same NP and conclude that in a prototypical transitive clause, the Agent is the subject and the Patient the object. In this approach, the focused NP is the object. For those who adhere to this analysis (Payne 1982; Gerdts 1988; Mithun 1994), it remains an empirical question whether or not the subject of the transitive clause controls a significant majority of the syntactic processes in all languages. This is the approach adopted here.

### 3. OVERVIEW OF KARAO MORPHOSYNTAX

Karao has typical Philippine-type verbal clause structure. Word order is VAP (Verb Agent Patient) and is relatively rigid. In a basic verbal clause, each NP is preceded by a case marker: *i* (-y), an absolute marker; *na*, an ergative marker or an oblique marker, and *cha* (-d), an oblique marker.<sup>4</sup> Every verbal clause has one required NP that is preceded by the absolute marker *i*; the semantic role of the absolute NP is identified by an affix on the verb.<sup>5,6</sup> The *i*-marked absolute NP is the focused NP in Karao and the equivalent of the *ang*-NP in Tagalog.

An example of a basic intransitive clause is given in (1), and a basic transitive clause in (2).<sup>7</sup>

(1) 'onjo' kow	<i>i</i>	nga'nga
'on	-jo'kow	<i>i</i> nga'nga
ACT/EXP/IMPFT-sleep	ABS	child

'The child will sleep.'

(2) ketno'en	<i>na</i>	to'oy	bila'jo
ketno-en	<i>na</i>	to'o	<i>-i</i> bila'jo
break-ACT/PAT/IMPFT	ERG	person-ABS	stick

'The person will break the stick.'

As (1) and (2) illustrate, Karao is a morphologically ergative language in that the required argument of a single-argument clause and the least agentive argument of a transitive clause are preceded by the same case marker, *'i*, while the more agentive argument of a transitive clause is preceded by a different case marker, *na*.<sup>8</sup>

Elsewhere (Brainard 1994b) I have argued that the clause in (2) is the active construction (i.e. the basic transitive clause) in Karao. Traditionally, this clause type has been referred to as the 'goal-focus,' or the 'goal-topic,' construction. In the active construction, the ergative NP encodes the Agent and is the more topical argument; the absolute NP encodes the Patient and is the less topical argument. Karao also has an antipassive construction shown in (3), and a passive construction shown in (4).

(3) mengetnoy		to'o	na	bilajo
meN	-ketno- <sup>i</sup>	to'o	na	bilajo
ACT/AG/IMPFT	break-ABS	person	OBL	stick

'The person will break a stick.'

In the antipassive construction in (3), the more agentive argument, *to'o* 'person', is the absolute NP and is cross-referenced on the verb by *meN*, indicating that the absolute NP is an Agent; the less agentive argument, *bila'jo* 'stick', has been demoted and is preceded by the oblique marker *na*. (Although the demoted argument in an antipassive construction is usually indefinite, it can be definite).<sup>9</sup>

(4) meketnoy	-ketno-i	bila'jo
me		bila'jo
PASS/IMPFT	-break-ABS	stick

'The stick will be broken.'

In the passive construction in (4), the more agentive argument has been deleted. The less agentive argument is the absolute NP and is cross-referenced on the verb by *me-*, signalling that the event is a state. Strictly speaking, *me-* does not have a semantic role morpheme as do most other verb affixes; however, on a semantically transitive verb, *me-* only cross-references an absolute NP that is a Patient.

#### 4. DEFINITION OF GRAMMATICAL RELATION

An argument is identified as a grammatical relation if it satisfies four criteria. The first criterion is unique coding. Coding refers to structural, or formal coding; that is, morphology and word order. Cross-linguistically, arguments are most commonly distinguished by three types of coding properties: case marking, verb agreement, and word order (Keenan 1975, 1976). Thus, if a language has grammatical relations, we would expect them to be distinguished by at least one of these coding properties, although they might also be distinguished by language-specific coding properties. The criterion of unique coding provides a structural means of identifying grammatical relations.

The second criterion is syntactic control.<sup>10, 11</sup> Traditionally, a grammatical relation is defined as an argument that bears a relation to the verb. In operational terms, an argument may be said to bear a relation to a verb if it plays a fundamental role in determining the operation of a syntactic process. Syntactic processes can be grouped into two kinds: 1) those that change the relation of an argument to the verb (e.g. promotion to direct object or passivization), and 2) those that control coreferential deletion (e.g. equi-NP deletion or relativization) (Keenan 1975, 1976). The syntactic control criterion provides a behavioral means of identifying grammatical relations.

The third criterion is exclusion. If a certain argument consistently functions as the control for a syntactic process to the exclusion of other arguments in the clause, this demonstrates that syntactic processes differentiate between arguments. The exclusion criterion is a second behavioral means of identifying grammatical relations, but more importantly, it is a means of distinguishing between different grammatical relations, demonstrating that not all grammatical relations bear the same relation to the verb.

The fourth criterion is multiple semantic roles. If an argument encodes different semantic roles, yet consistently controls a syntactic process regardless of its semantic role, then the one-to-many relation between the argument and the semantic roles confirms that semantic roles do not map directly onto the syntactic structure of a clause in a one-to-one manner. This criterion provides evidence for the presence of a level of syntactic relations that is independent of semantic role.

For Karao, I will specify that an argument is a grammatical relation if: it is uniquely identified by at least one coding property, it controls at least one syntactic process to the exclusion of all other arguments, and, as a syntactic control, it encodes different semantic roles. If the ergative NP and the absolute NP of a transitive clause satisfy these criteria, verifying that they are grammatical relations, then assignment of the labels 'subject' and 'object' will be made following associations commonly found in languages between syntactic control, semantic role, and topicality in transitive clauses. Specifically, I will identify the more agentive and more topical argument, which would be the ergative NP, as the subject, and the less agentive and less topical argument, which would be the absolute NP (or the focused NP) as the object. This identification will be further verified by noting the kinds of syntactic processes that each argument controls. In general, relation-changing processes are a means of establishing the particular identity of a grammatical relation (i.e. subject or object); thus, there is generally no disagreement that the object controls promotion to direct object and passivization, if these processes occur in a language. On the other hand, coreferential deletion processes are usually not a means of establishing the identity of a grammatical relation, since the syntactic control for these processes varies from language to language.<sup>12</sup>

## 5. PATTERNS OF SYNTACTIC CONTROL

Cross-linguistically, syntactic control is organized along one of three patterns: 1) a nominative pattern in which the required argument of a single-argument clause and the subject of a transitive clause control most of the processes, 2) an ergative pattern in which the required argument of a single-argument clause and the object of a transitive clause control most of the processes, and 3) a 'mixed' pattern in which the required argument of a single-argument clause combines with the transitive subject to control

some syntactic processes (following a nominative pattern), and with the transitive object to control other syntactic processes (following an ergative pattern).

Patterns of syntactic control have been described in terms of the 'required argument of a single-argument clause,' and the 'subject' and 'object' of a transitive clause in order to capture the fact that the difference between nominative and ergative patterns of syntactic control is not so much a difference in the fundamental properties of the grammatical relations of the transitive clause as in the distribution of syntactic control between those grammatical relations. This approach allows us to maintain that regardless of whether the subject or the object controls the majority of the syntactic processes in a transitive clause, the subject will still be the more agentive and more topical argument while the object will still be the less agentive and less topical argument.

Any discussion of syntactic control must also consider what to call the required argument of a single-argument clause which as the only required argument controls by default all syntactic processes in the clause. If syntactic control consistently follows a nominative pattern, the single required argument may be called a 'subject'; conversely, if syntactic control consistently follows an ergative pattern, the required argument may be called an 'object.' If, however, control follows a 'mixed' pattern in which the required argument patterns with the transitive subject in some processes, but with the transitive object in other processes, then neither the label 'subject' nor 'object' is appropriate. For this reason, I will refrain from giving a label to the required argument of the single-argument clause if Karao has a mixed pattern of control, as I suggest.

## 6. CODING PROPERTIES

Of the three coding properties that commonly identify grammatical relations, Karao exhibits only case marking.<sup>13</sup> As we have seen, case marking in Karao displays an ergative pattern. The pattern is shown again in the following examples: (5) is an intransitive clause and (6) is a transitive clause.

(5) man'ekad	í	to'od	kolos
man	'ahad	í	to'o -cha
ACT/AG/IMPFT-walk	ABS	person-OBL	river

'The person will walk to the river.'

(6) bosahen	na	to'oy	'ispiko
bosak-en	na	to'o -i	'ispiko
break-ACT/PAT/IMPFT	ERG	person-ABS	mirror

'The person will break the mirror.'

Although Karao does not have verb agreement, it does have a language-specific coding property which is characteristic of Philippine languages: An affix on the verb cross-references the absolute argument (i.e. the focused NP), identifying the semantic role of the argument. In (5), *man-* signals that the absolute NP is an Agent; in (6), *-en* signals that it is a Patient. Notice that the verb affix identifies the semantic role of the

absolutive NP and only the absolutive NP in both the intransitive and the transitive clause; thus, verb cross-referencing displays an ergative pattern.

To summarize, coding properties present a consistent pattern in that both case marking and verb cross-referencing follow an ergative pattern.

## 7. RELATION-CHANGING PROCESSES

Relation-changing processes are those processes that alter the grammatical relation that an argument bears to the verb. One of the characteristics of an argument bearing a relation to a verb is that it controls a syntactic process. It follows then that if an argument changes its relation to the verb, its ability to control such a process may also change. Thus, relation-changing processes provide a means of testing an argument for its ability to function as a syntactic control. Furthermore, these processes provide a means of identifying the argument as a particular grammatical relation, i.e. subject or object, based on cross-linguistic patterns of control for these processes.

Relation-changing processes in Karao include: 1) promotion to direct object, (2) passivization, 3) antipassivization, and 4) raising. A general description will be given for each process as it usually occurs in a prototypical transitive clause in various languages. Following the general description, an explanation will be given of the process as it occurs in Karao.

### 7.1. Promotion of Direct Object

Promotion to direct object is a process by which an oblique argument is promoted to direct object. If promotion occurs in a transitive clause, the semantic role that is normally the direct object, usually a Patient, will be demoted to an oblique argument. Once an argument is promoted to direct object, it controls the same syntactic processes as a direct object Patient.

In Karao, non-Patient arguments can be promoted to absolutive NP; these arguments are Location, Recipient, Instrument, Associative, Source, and Beneficiary. Once a non-Patient is promoted to absolutive NP, it controls the same syntactic processes as an absolutive Patient, e.g. passivization, antipassivization, relativization, and clefting. Promotion to absolutive NP occurs in intransitive as well as transitive clauses.

When an oblique argument is promoted to absolutive NP in an intransitive clause, only promotion takes place, and the intransitive clause is transitivized. The oblique Location in (7) is promoted to absolutive NP in (8), and (8) becomes a transitive clause.

## (7) Location as Oblique

'ontokkong	'i	nga'nged	chet'al
'on	-tokkong	'i	nga'ngga-cha
ACT/PAT/IMPFT-sit	ABS	child	-OBL floor

'The child will sit on the floor.'

## (8) Promotion of Location

tokkongan	na	nga'ngiy	chet'al
tokkong-an	na	nga'ngga-'i	chet'al
sit	-ACT/LOC/IMPFT	ERG	child -ABS floor

'The child will sit on the floor.'

When an argument is promoted to absolute NP in a transitive clause, promotion of the non-Patient is accompanied by demotion of the Patient, as shown in the following pairs of transitive clauses.

## (9) Recipient as Oblique

'ikan	na	to'oy	dibchod	nga'nga
'ikan	na	to'o -'i	dibcho-cha	nga'nga

'The person will give the book to the child.'<sup>14</sup>

## (10) Promotion of Recipient

'ikanan	na	to'oy	nga'nga	na	dibcho
'i-an	-'i-kan	na	to'o -'i	nga'nga	na
ACT/RECIP/IMPFT-give	ERG	person-ABS	child	OBL	book

'The person will give the child a book.'

## (11) Instrument as Oblique

teglegen	na	to'oy	'aramdi	na	batho
tegleg-en	na	to'o -'i	'aramdi	na	batho

'The person will flatten the wire with a rock.'

## (12) Promotion of Instrument

itegtek	na	to'oy	bathod		'aramdi
<sup>i</sup> -tegtek	na	to'o	<sup>-i</sup>	batho-cha	'aramdi
ACT/INSTR/IMPFT-flatten	ERG	person-ABS	rock	-OBL	wire

'The person will use the rock to flatten the wire.'

## (13) Beneficiary as Oblique

tongkalen	na	to'oy	'amayo	para	nga'nga
tongkal-en	na	to'o	<sup>-i</sup>	'amayo	para
buy	-ACT/PAT/IMPFT	ERG	person-ABS	toy	for child

'The person will buy the toy for the child.'

## (14) Promotion of Beneficiary

itongkalan	na	to'oy	nga'nga	na	'amayo
<sup>i</sup> -an	-tongkal	na	to'o	<sup>-i</sup>	nga'nga
ACT/BENEF/IMPFT-buy	ERG	person-ABS	child	OBL	toy

'The person will buy the child a toy.'

Although these examples show that the absolute NP controls promotion to absolute NP, they do not actually show us that the promoted argument is an object. What we need to see is that any argument encoded as the absolute NP of a transitive clause behaves like an object. For example, if the absolute NP is an object, it should play a central role in a process normally controlled by an object, such as passivization.

## 7.2. Passivization

When a transitive clause undergoes passivization, the subject is demoted, either by being encoded as an oblique argument or by being deleted altogether, and the object becomes the single required argument of a passive clause. The object may or may not change its relation to the verb.

When a prototypical transitive clause undergoes passivization in Karao, the ergative Agent is usually deleted. Following passivization, the absolute Patient of the transitive clause is the single remaining required argument in the passive clause. Since the Patient is already encoded as the absolute NP, no change occurs in its case marking. (15) is a prototypical transitive clause; (16) is its passive counterpart. The verb *ketno* 'to break' does not allow a demoted Agent to be present in the passive clause.

(15) ketno'en	na	to'oy	bila'jo	
ketno-en	na	to'o	<sup>-i</sup>	bila'jo
break-ACT/PAT/IMPFT	ERG	person-ABS	stick	

'The person will break the stick.'

(16) meketnoy  
me -ketno-i  
PASS/IMPFV-break-ABS

'The stick will be broken.'

(17)-(19) show that non-Patient arguments which have been promoted to absolute NP can also trigger passivization. (Examples (17), (18), and (19) are passive counterparts of transitive clauses (10), (12), and (14) respectively.)

(17) may'ikanan		i	nga'nga	na	dibcho
may-an	-'ikan	i	nga'nga	na	dibcho
PASS/RECIP/JMPFT-give		ABS	child	OBL	book

'The child will be given a book.'

(18)	mayteg <sup>teg</sup>	<sup>i</sup>	bathod	'aramdi
	may	-teg <sup>teg</sup>	<sup>i</sup>	batho-cha
	PASS/INSTR/IMPFT-flatten	ABS	rock -OBL	wire

'The rock will be used to flatten the wire.'

(19)	mayongkalan	'i	nga'nga	na	'amayo
	may-an	-tongkal	'i	nga'nga	na
	PASS/BENEF/IMPFT-buy		ABS	child	OBL

'The child will be bought a toy.'

Some Karao speakers accept the presence of a demoted ergative NP in a passive clause for certain semantically intransitive verbs, such as *tokkong* 'to sit,' *japtop* 'to jump,' and *sada* 'to dance' (but not for semantically transitive verbs). For these semantically intransitive verbs, an oblique argument must first be promoted to absolute NP; passivization may then follow. The presence of the demoted ergative NP is optional.<sup>15</sup>

(20) tokkongan	na	nga'ngiy	chet'äl
tokkong-an	na	nga'ngä-i	chet'äl
sit -ACT/LOC/IMPFT	ERG	child -ABS	floor

The child will sit on the floor.'

(21) metokkongan	i	chet'al	(na	nga'nga)
me-an -tokkong	i	chet'al	na	nga'nga
PASS/LOC/IMPFT-sit	ABS	floor	OBL	child

'The floor will be sat on (by the child).'

Since objects play a central role in passivization, and since the absolute NP in Karao plays a central role in passivization, this is evidence that the transitive absolute NP is an object. Furthermore, since any non-Patient argument that is promoted to absolute NP in a transitive clause can trigger passivization, this verifies that promotion to absolute NP is in fact promotion to direct object.

### 7.3. Antipassivization

Antipassivization is a process by which the object of a transitive clause is demoted, either by being encoded as an oblique argument or by being deleted. Following antipassivization, the subject may or may not change its relation to the verb, depending on the language.

Following antipassivization in Karao, the absolute Patient of the transitive clause is demoted: The demoted Patient is preceded by the oblique marker *na*; the former ergative Agent is preceded by the absolute marker *'i*; and the affix on the verb changes to identify the semantic role of the absolute NP as Agent, as shown in the following examples. Notice that the demoted absolute NP can have different semantic roles: In (22), it is a Patient; in (23), it is an Instrument. ((22) is the antipassive counterpart of transitive clause (15); (23) is the antipassive counterpart of (12).)

(22) mengetnoy	to'o	na	bila'jo
meN	-ketno- <i>i</i>	na	bila'jo
ACT/AG/IMPFT	-break-ABS	person	OBL

'The person will break a stick.'

(23) mengitegtek	'i	to'o	na	bathod	'aramdi
mengi	-tegtek	'i	to'o	na	batho-cha
ACT/AG/IMPFT-flatten		ABS	person	OBL	rock-OBL

'The person will use a rock to flatten the wire.'

Kroeger (1993a:12, 13) suggests that the equivalent of this construction in Tagalog is not an antipassive construction because the demoted Patient does not act like an oblique. He cites this as strong evidence against the 'object' analysis proposed here (which Kroeger calls the 'ergative' analysis). The central question for the Patient in (22) and (23) is not does it act like an oblique, but does it act like an object? For Karao, the answer is no. The *na*-NP in (22) and (23) cannot control any of the syntactic processes that are controlled by the absolute NP in a transitive clause, thus indicating that it is not a required argument. (See (63) in Relativization and (77) in Clefting for evidence that a demoted transitive absolute NP cannot control syntactic processes normally controlled by a transitive absolute NP.)<sup>16</sup>

### 7.4. Raising

Raising is a process in which the subject or the object of the complement clause moves to the subject position of the main clause (raising-to-subject) or to the object position (raising-to-object).

Karao has a relation-changing process that resembles raising-to-object: The ergative NP or the absolute NP of the complement clause can move to the absolute position of a transitive main clause.<sup>17</sup> If the ergative NP of the complement clause and that of the main clause are not coreferential, only the ergative NP can be raised, as shown in (24)-(28). (26) is an unraised complement construction; (27) is a raised complement construction. (28) shows that the complement absolute NP cannot be

raised when the main clause ergative NP and the complement ergative NP are not coreferential.

(24)	mitak	<i>i</i>	nga'nga
	matha-iy- see	-ko	<i>i</i> nga'nga
		-ACT/PFT-1SG/ERG	ABS      child

'I saw the child.'<sup>18</sup>

(25)	biyosak	na	to'oy	'ispaho
	bosak-iy-	na	to'o    -i	'ispaho
	break-ACT/PFT	ERG	person-ABS	mirror

'The person broke the mirror.'

(26)	mitak	<i>'a</i>	biyosak
	matha-iy- see	-ko 'a	bosak-iy-
		ERG	LK
	na      nga'ngiy		'ispaho
	na      nga'nga-i		'ispaho
	ERG      child	-ABS	mirror

'I saw that the child broke the mirror.'

(27)	mitak	<i>'i</i>	nga'ngen
	matha-iy- see	-ko	<i>'i</i> nga'nga-'a
		ERG	child      -LK
	biyosak	toy	'ispaho
	bosak-iy-	to    -i	'ispaho
	break-ACT/PFT	3SG/ERG-ABS	mirror

'I saw the child break the mirror.'

(28)	*mitak	<i>'i</i>	'ispohon
	matha-iy- see	-ko 'i	'ispaho-'a
		ERG	mirror-LK
	biyosak	na	nga'nga
	bosak-iy-	na	nga'nga
	break-ACT/PFT	ERG	child

Changes in word order and case marking provide evidence that *nga'nga* 'child,' the ergative NP of the complement clause in (26), is raised to become a syntactic argument of the main clause in (27): *nga'nga* 'child' moves from the ergative position in the complement clause in (26) to the absolute position in the main clause in (27), and its case marking changes from ergative *na* in (26) to absolute *'i* in (27).

Kroeger (1993a footnote 5) refers to this process as 'Copy Raising' and distinguishes between it and what he calls 'true Raising.' He dismisses the pattern in (27) as an example of raising because an anaphoric pronoun is deposited in the ergative position of the complement clause, coreferencing the raised argument; thus, in order for (27) to qualify as raising, Kroeger requires the ergative position in the complement clause to be entirely deleted. This, I suggest, is a false issue. The use of an anaphoric pronoun versus deletion to recover the identity of a raised argument in the complement clause is an issue of coding; languages have different coding strategies for tracking repositioned arguments. The central issue for raising is, does a semantically required argument of the complement clause become a syntactic argument of the main clause? Both word order and case marking indicate that a semantically required argument of the complement clause in (26), *nga'nga* 'child,' becomes the syntactic argument of the main clause in (27); thus, (27) is a *bona fide* example of raising. Now consider the absolute NP of a complement clause.

If the ergative NP of the complement clause and that of the main clause are coreferential, the absolute NP of the complement clause can be raised to the absolute position of the main clause, as in (29)-(32).

(29) *kincheng*                    *koy*                    'obda  
*kecheng-iy-*                    *ko*                    '-i                    'obda  
 finish -ACT/PFT 1SG/ERG-ABS work

'I finished the work.'

(30) *'iniris*                    *koy*                    *sili*  
*'iris-iy-*                    *ko*                    '-i                    *sili*  
 crush-ACT/PFT 1SG/ERG-ABS chili

'I crushed the chilis.'

(31) *kincheng*                    *kon*                    *'iniris*                    'i                    *sili*  
*kecheng-iy-*                    *ko*                    '-a                    *'iris-iy-*                    'i                    *sili*  
 finish -ACT/PFT 1SG/ERG-LK crush-ACT/PFT ABS chili

'I finished crushing the chilis.'

(32) *kincheng*                    *koy*                    *silin*                    *'iniris*  
*kecheng-iy-*                    *ko*                    '-i                    *sili* '-a                    *'iris-iy-*  
 finish -ACT/PFT 1SG/ERG-ABS chili-LK crush-ACT/PFT

'I finished crushing the chilis.'  
 [Literally: 'I finished the chilis crushed.']}

Again changes in word order and case marking provide evidence that *sili* 'chili,' the absolute NP of the complement clause in (31), is raised to become a syntactic argument of the main clause in (32). Notice that following raising, the absolute NP in the complement clause is deleted. (The complement ergative NP is also deleted as a result of equi-NP deletion. See 8.1.)

The following examples show that a raised ergative NP can encode a semantic role other than Agent. With 'awat 'to understand,' the ergative NP, the cognizer, is an Experiencer.

(33) piyan key dibcho  
 piyan ko -i dibcho  
 want 1SG/ERG-ABS book

'I want the book.'

(34) 'egwathan moy songbat  
 'awat -en mo -i songbat  
 understand-ACT/PAT/IMPFT 2SG/ERG-ABS answer

'You will understand the answer.'

(35) piyan kon 'egwathen  
 piyan ko -a 'awat -en  
 want 1SG/ERG-LK understand-ACT/PAT/IMPFT

moy songbat  
 mo -i songbat  
 2SG/ERG-ABS answer

'I want that you will understand the answer.'

(36) piyan tahan 'egwathen  
 piyan ko -ka -a 'awat -en  
 want 1SG/ERG-2SG/ABS-LK understand-ACT/PAT/IMPFT

moy songbat  
 moy -i songbat  
 2SG/ERG-ABS answer

'I want you to understand the answer.'<sup>19</sup>

In the same way, a raised absolute NP can encode a semantic role other than Patient. In the examples below, the absolute NP of *tongkal* 'to buy' is a Beneficiary.

(37) dininggaing key dibcho  
 dingding-iy- ko -i dibcho  
 forget -ACT/PFT 1SG/ERG-ABS book

'I forgot the book.'

(38) 'itongkalan key nga'nga na dibcho  
 'i-an -tongkal ko -i nga'nga na dibcho  
 ACT/BENEF/IMPFT-buy 1SG/ERG-ABS child OBL book

'I will buy the child a book.'

(39)	diningding	kon	itongkalan
	dingding-iy-	ko	ि-an
	forget -ACT/PFT	1SG/ERG-LK	-tongkal

'i	nga'nga	na	dibcho
'i	nga'nga	na	dibcho
ABS	child	OBL	book

'I forgot to buy the child a book.'

(40)	diningding	koy	nga'ngen
	dingding-iy-	ko	ि-a
	forget -ACT/PFT	1SG/ERG-ABS	child -LK

itongkalan	na	dibcho
'i-an	-tongkal	dibcho
ACT/BENEF/IMPFT-buy	OBL	book

'I forgot to buy the child a book.'

In many languages, subjects and objects play a central role in the raising of arguments from a complement clause to a main clause. Since both the ergative NP and the absolute NP of a transitive complement clause in Karao can be raised to the absolute position of a main clause, we have evidence that these arguments are grammatical relations. Furthermore, in many languages the subject outranks the object in eligibility for raising. In Karao, if the ergative NP of the main clause and that of the complement clause are not coreferential, only the ergative NP can be raised. On the other hand, if these arguments are coreferential, in which case the complement ergative NP is, in a sense, already present in the main clause by virtue of coreference, then the absolute NP can also be raised. In this sense, the ergative NP outranks the absolute NP in eligibility for raising in Karao, thus offering evidence that the ergative NP is a subject.

## 7.5. Summary of Relation-Changing Processes

Karao has four relation-changing processes: 1) promotion to direct object, 2) passivization, 3) antipassivization, and 4) raising. For all four processes, the absolute 'i-marked NP of a transitive clause plays a significant role. For raising, the ergative na-marked NP also plays a significant role. The findings are summarized in Table 1.

**Table 1:** Relation-changing processes in Karao

Process	Syntactic Control	
	<i>na</i> -NP (AG)	<i>'i</i> -NP (non-AG)
Promotion to Direct Object		X
Passivization		X
Antipassivization		X
Raising	X	X

These processes show that the absolute NP of a transitive clause satisfies all four criteria for grammatical relations. The coding property and syntactic control criteria are satisfied in that the absolute NP, which is uniquely and consistently marked by *'i*, has a significant role in all four processes, and so by definition is a syntactic control. The exclusion criterion is satisfied in that only the absolute NP controls promotion to direct object, passivization, and antipassivization. The multiple semantic role criterion is satisfied in that as the syntactic control for the four processes, the absolute NP can encode semantic roles other than Patient. Since the absolute NP satisfies the criteria for grammatical relations, we conclude that it is a grammatical relation. Furthermore, since the absolute NP is also the less agentive and the less topical argument of a transitive clause, and since it controls relation-bearing syntactic processes that by definition are controlled by objects, we conclude that the absolute NP is an object.

In the same way, the ergative NP also satisfies all the criteria for grammatical relations. The coding property and the syntactic control criteria are satisfied in that the ergative NP, which is uniquely and consistently marked by *na*, plays a significant role in raising, and so is a syntactic control for that process. The exclusion criterion is satisfied in that under certain conditions only the ergative NP controls raising. The multiple semantic role criterion is satisfied in that as the syntactic control for raising, the ergative NP can encode semantic roles other than Agent. Since the ergative NP satisfies the criteria for grammatical relations, we conclude that it is a grammatical relation. Since it is the more agentive and more topical argument of a transitive clause, and since it outranks the absolute NP in eligibility for raising as do subjects in many language, we conclude that the ergative NP is a subject. (Equi-NP deletion will provide further evidence that the ergative NP is a subject.)

## 8. COREFERENTIAL DELETION PROCESSES

Coreferential deletion processes in Karao are: 1) equi-NP deletion, 2) relativization, 3) clefting, 4) zero anaphora in chained clauses, 5) coreference in imperatives, and 6) coreference in reflexives.<sup>20</sup> Coreferential deletion processes provide evidence for grammatical relations. If a uniquely coded argument in clause 1 consistently and exclusively triggers deletion, regardless of its semantic role, when it is coreferential with another argument, then it is a grammatical relation. Conversely, if a uniquely coded argument is consistently and exclusively deleted, regardless of its semantic role when it is coreferential with another argument, it is also a grammatical relation.

Coreferential deletion processes also provide evidence for patterns of syntactic control. If the ergative NP of transitive clause 1 is coreferential with a deleted absolute NP in a single-argument clause 2, or a deleted ergative NP in a transitive clause 2, the coreferential deletion process has a nominative pattern of syntactic control. Conversely, if the absolute NP of a transitive clause 1 is coreferential with a deleted absolute NP in a single-argument clause 2, or a deleted absolute NP in a transitive clause 2, the coreferential deletion process has an ergative pattern of control. These patterns are illustrated in Table 2. Clause 2 is placed in square brackets.

Table 2: Patterns of syntactic control

Nominative Patterns						
V	<i>na-NP<sub>i</sub></i>	<i>'i-NP<sub>j</sub></i>	[V	O <sub>i</sub> ]		
V	<i>na-NP<sub>i</sub></i>	<i>'i-NP<sub>j</sub></i>	[V	O <sub>i</sub>	<i>'i-NP<sub>j</sub></i> ]	
Ergative Patterns						
V	<i>na-NP<sub>i</sub></i>	<i>'i-NP<sub>j</sub></i>	[V	O <sub>j</sub> ]		
V	<i>na-NP<sub>i</sub></i>	<i>'i-NP<sub>j</sub></i>	[V	<i>na-NP<sub>i</sub></i>	O <sub>j</sub> ]	

Taken together, coreferential deletion processes will allow us to see whether the subject or the object of a transitive clause controls the majority of the processes in Karao. If a significant majority of these processes have a nominative pattern of control, then the ergative NP, the subject, will be the dominant syntactic control. If a significant majority have an ergative pattern of control, then the transitive absolute NP, the object, will be the dominant syntactic control. On the other hand, if at least one process has an exclusively nominative pattern of control and at least one other process has an exclusively ergative pattern of control, then syntactic control is divided between the subject and object of a transitive clause, and Karao has a mixed pattern of control.<sup>21</sup>

### 8.1. Equi-NP Deletion

Equi-NP deletion takes place between a main clause and a complement clause: When an argument in the main clause is coreferential with one in the complement clause, the coreferential complement argument is deleted. Of importance here is the near-universal tendency for subjects to control equi-NP deletion; consequently, if the ergative NP in Karao is a subject, it should control equi-NP deletion.

In Karao, when the ergative NP of a main clause is coreferential with the absolute NP of a single-argument complement clause, the complement absolute NP is deleted, as predicted. An example is given in (41)-(43); note that the deleted argument is an Agent. (44) shows that equi-NP deletion is obligatory.

(41) piyan koy dibcho  
piyan ko -i dibcho  
want 1SG/ERG-ABS book

'I want the book.'

(42) manpasiyalak  
man -pasiyal -ak  
ACT/AG/IMPFT-go.visit -1SG/ABS

'I will go visiting.'

(43) piyan kon manpasiyal  
piyan ko -a man -pasiyal  
want 1SG/ERG-LK ACT/AG/IMPFT-go.visit

'I want to go visiting.'

(44) \*piyan kon manpasiyalak  
piyan ko -a man -pasiyal -ak  
want 1SG/ERG-LK ACT/AG/IMPFT-go.visit -1SG/ABS

'I want to go visiting.'

When the ergative NP of a main clause is coreferential with the ergative NP of a transitive complement clause, the complement ergative NP is deleted, as in (45) and (46). Here again the deleted argument is an Agent. (47) shows that equi-NP deletion is obligatory.

(45) besa'en koy dibcho  
basa-en ko -i dibcho  
read-ACT/PAT/IMPFT 1SG/ERG-ABS book

'I will read the book.'

The following examples verify that the deleted argument can encode semantic roles other than Agent, indicating that it is a grammatical relation. The complement clause in (49) is a single-argument clause, and the deleted argument is an Experiencer.

"I will sleep."

(49) piyan	kon		'onjo'kow
piyan	ko	'a	'on
want	1SG/ERG-LK		-jo'kow

ACT/EXP/IMPFT-sleep

"I want to sleep."

The complement clause in (51) is a transitive clause, and the deleted argument, the cognizer, is an Experiencer.

(50) 'egwathan 'awat understand-ACT/PAT/IMPFT	-an -i 1SG/ERG-ABS	koy ko 1SG	-i -i -i	songbat songbat answer
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"I will understand the answer."

(51) piyan kon	piyan ko	-'a	'egwathan 'awat -an understand-ACT/PAT/IMPFT
want 1SG/ERG-LK			
'i songbat			
'i songbat			
ABS answer			

"I want to understand the answer."

(52)-(54) demonstrate that when the ergative NP of a main clause is coreferential with the absolute NP of a transitive complement clause, the complement absolute NP is not deleted.

(52) cha'cha'an mo'ak  
 cha'cha-an mo -ak  
 help -ACT/PAT/IMPFT 2SG/ERG-1SG/ABS  
 'You will help me.'

(53) piyan kon cha'cha'an mo'ak  
 piyan ko -'a cha'cha-an mo -ak  
 want 1SG/ERG-LK help -ACT/PAT/IMPFT 2SG/ERG-1SG/ABS  
 'I want that you will help me.'

(54) \*piyan kon cha'cha'an mo  
 piyan ko -'a cha'cha-an mo  
 want 1SG/ERG-LK help -ACT/PAT/IMPFT 2SG/ERG  
 'I want that you will help me.'

The preceding examples show that deletion has a nominative pattern, and that the target of equi-NP deletion, i.e. the deleted NP, is a grammatical relation. The following examples show that the trigger for this process also has a nominative pattern and that it is also a grammatical relation. In the examples above, the ergative NP of *piyan* 'to want' is the trigger for equi-NP deletion; the ergative NP is an Agent.<sup>22</sup> In the examples below, the ergative NP of *diningding* 'to forget' is the trigger for equi-NP deletion, and the ergative NP is an Experiencer, confirming that the trigger for equi-NP deletion can have a semantic role other than Agent.

(55) 'onkwanaak cha kantina  
 'on -kowan -ak cha kantina  
 ACT/PAT/IMPFT-go/come-1SG/ABS OBL store  
 'I will go to the store.'

(56) diningding kon 'onkwan  
 dingding-iy- ko -'a -kowan  
 forget -ACT/PFT 1SG/ERG-LK ACT/PAT/IMPFT-go/come  
 cha kantina  
 cha kantina  
 OBL store  
 'I forgot to go to the store.'

The trigger for equi-NP deletion can also be the absolute NP of a single-argument clause. As the trigger, the absolute NP can encode semantic roles other than Agent. In (57)-(59), the absolute NP of *safa* 'to be early' is an Experiencer.

## BRAINARD

(57) 'esafa'ak  
'e -safa -ak  
STAT/PFT-be.early-1SG/ABS

'I was early.'

(58) dimajathak  
da'jat-im- -ak  
leave -ACT/PAT/PFT-1SG/ABS

'I left.'

(59) 'esafa'ak 'a dimajat  
'e -safa -ak 'a da'jat-im-  
STAT/PFT-be.early-1SG/ABS LK leave -ACT/PAT/PFT

'I was early leaving.' or 'I left early.'

To summarize, both the trigger and the target for equi-NP deletion follow a nominative pattern of syntactic control. The absolute NP of a single-argument main clause or the ergative NP of a transitive main clause triggers the deletion of a coreferential argument in a complement clause. The deleted argument can be the absolute NP of a single-argument complement clause or the ergative NP of a transitive complement clause. These arguments satisfy the syntactic control criterion for grammatical relations in that as the trigger and the target of equi-NP deletion, they are central to the operation of the process. The arguments also satisfy the coding criterion in that the trigger and the target are always encoded as either the absolute NP of a single-argument clause or the ergative NP of a transitive clause. They satisfy the exclusion criterion in that only the absolute NP of a single-argument clause and only the ergative NP of a transitive clause can function as the trigger or target of this process. Finally, the arguments satisfy the semantic role criterion in that they can encode different semantic roles when they function as the trigger or target for the process. Equi-NP deletion, then, verifies that the absolute NP of a single-argument clause and the ergative NP of a transitive clause are grammatical relations. Since syntactic control for equi-NP deletion follows a nominative pattern, this supports the claim that the ergative NP is a subject.

## 8.2. RELATIVIZATION

Relativization is a process by which a subordinate clause modifies an argument in a main clause; the subordinate clause is the relative clause, and the argument that it modifies is its head noun.

Karao has two types of relative clause, both of which share the same general structure: A head NP is joined to a subordinate clause by the linker 'a (or its allomorph -n). The head NP is obligatorily moved to the front of the relative clause unless it is the absolute NP of a transitive relative clause, in which case it can optionally remain in its normal position in the relative clause.

## 8.2.1. Relative Clause 1

Relative Clause 1 is the basic relative clause. The predicate of the main clause can be any finite verb. The only arguments that can be the head noun are the absolute NP of the relative clause and the possessor of the absolute NP.

In (60), the relative clause is an antipassive construction, and the absolute NP, an Agent, is the head noun.

(60) mitak		'i	nga'ngen
matha-iy-	-ko	'i	nga'nga-'a
see	-ACT/PFT-1SG/ERG	ABS	child -LK
'engomas		na	'amayo
'eN	'omas	na	'amayo
ACT/AG/PFT-break		OBL	toy

'I saw the child who broke the toy.'

Here, a deletion strategy is used to recover the identity of the head noun in the relative clause: The absolute NP is absent, and an affix on the verb in the relative clause identifies the semantic role of the missing NP.

In (61), the relative clause is a passive clause, and the possessor of the absolute NP is the head noun.

(61) mitak		'i	nga'ngen
matha-iy-	-ko	'i	nga'nga-'a
see	-ACT/PFT-1SG/ERG	ABS	child -LK
'a'omas		'i	'amayo to
'e -'omas		'i	'amayo to
PASS/PFT-break		ABS	toy 3SG/GEN

'I saw the child whose toy had been broken.'

Here, a prounoun strategy is used to recover the identity of the head noun in the relative clause: An anaphoric prounoun is deposited in the relative clause, marking the position and the morphological case of the missing NP; the anaphoric prounoun agrees in person and number with the head noun.<sup>23</sup>

In (62), the relative clause is an active intransitive clause, and the head noun is a Patient, demonstrating that the head noun of a single-argument relative clause can encode different semantic roles.

(62) mitak		i	'oleg	'a	simekep
matha-iy-	-ko	i	'oleg	'a	sekep-im-
see	-ACT/PFT-1SG/ERG	ABS	snake	LK	enter -ACT/PAT/IMPFT
cha	baliy				
cha	baliy				
OBL	house				

'I saw the snake that entered the house.'

The following examples verify that only the absolute NP can be the head of Relative Clause 1: (63) shows that the ergative NP cannot be the head of Relative Clause 1: (64) shows that a demoted absolute NP cannot be the head.

(63) *mitak		i	nga'agen
matha-iy-	-ko	i	nga'nga'-a
see	-ACT/PFT-1SG/ERG	ABS	child -LK
iyomas		toy	'amayo
'omas-iy-	to	-i	'amayo
break-ACT/PFT		3SG/ERG-ABS	toy

'I saw the child who broke the toy.'

(64) *mitak		í	'amayon
matha-iy-	-ko	í	'amayo'-a
see	-ACT/PFT-1SG/ERG	ABS	toy -LK
'engomas		í	nga'nga
'eN	-'omas	í	nga'nga
ACT/AG/PFT-break		ABS	child

"I saw the toy that the child broke."

Oblique arguments can be the head of a relative clause if they are first promoted to direct object, in which case they automatically become absolute NPs. In (65), the oblique argument has been promoted before relativization; in (66), it has not been promoted before relativization and so (66) is an unattested construction. The same pattern is given for (67) and (68). Notice that the head noun is a Location in (65) and an Instrument in (67), demonstrating that the head noun of a relative clause can encode different semantic roles.

(65)	sejay	i	bangkon	tokkonghan	na	nga'nga
	sejay	i	bangko-'a	tokkong-an	na	nga'nga
	this	ABS	bench -LK	sit -ACT/LOC/IMPFT	ERG	child

'This is the bench that the child will sit on.'

(66)	*sejay	i	bangkon	'ontokkong	i	nga'nga
	sejay	i	bangko-'a	'on	-tokkong	nga'nga
	this	ABS	bench -LK	ACT/PAT/IMPFT-sit	ABS	child

'This is the bench that the child will sit on.'

(67)	sejay	i	bathon	'itegtek		
	sejay	i	batho-'a	'i	-tegtek	
	this	ABS	rock -LK	ACT/INSTR/IMPFT-flatten		
	na	nga'nged		'aramdi		
	na	nga'nga-cha		'aramdi		
	ERG	child	-OBL	wire		

'This is the rock that the child will use to flatten the wire.'

(68)	*sejay	i	bathon	tegtegen		
	sejay	i	batho-'a	tegtek-en		
	rock	-ABS	rock -LK	flatten-ACT/PAT/IMPFT		
	na	nga'ngiy		'aramdi		
	na	nga'nga-i		'aramdi		
	ERG	child	-ABS	wire		

'This is the rock that the child will use to flatten the wire.'

### 8.2.2. Relative Clause 2

Relative Clause 2 modifies the argument of an existential clause, and the head noun can be an ergative NP as well as an absolute NP.<sup>24</sup> When the ergative NP is the head noun, the pronoun strategy is used to recover the identity of the head noun in the relative clause: an anaphoric pronoun is deposited in the ergative position in the relative clause; the pronoun agrees in person and number with the head noun, as in (69). (The presence of the anaphoric pronoun is obligatory.)

(69)	gwara	diy	'iKadasan			
	gwara	da -i	'i	-Kadasan		
	EXT	DIR-ABS	person.of-Kadasan			
	'a	'in'anop	toy	'aso	tho	
	'a	'in	-'anop to -i	'aso	to	
	LK	ACT/PAT/PFT-hunt	3SG/ERG-ABS	dog	3SG/GEN	

'There was a person from Kadasan who went hunting with his dog.'

In (69), the head noun is an Agent; in (70), it is an Experiencer. This shows that as the head of Relative Clause 2, an ergative NP can encode a semantic role other than Agent.

(70)	gwara	diy	'arin	dining	toy	
	gwara	da -i	'ari -a	dingding-iy-	to	-i
EXT		DIR-ABS	king-LK	forget	-ACT/PFT	3SG/ERG-ABS
	ngaran	to				
	ngaran	to				
	name	3SG/GEN				

'There was a king who forgot his name.'

To summarize, Relative Clause 1 displays an unambiguous ergative pattern in that only the absolute NP can be the head noun. Relative Clause 2, on the other hand, can follow either an ergative or a nominative pattern of syntactic control since either the ergative NP or the absolute NP can be the head of a transitive relative clause.

Since the ergative NP and the absolute NP can be the head of a relative clause, this satisfies the syntactic control criterion for grammatical relations. Since only the absolute NP can be the head of Relative Clause 1, this satisfies the coding and exclusion criteria for the absolute NP. The fact that the ergative NP cannot be the head of Relative Clause 1, but can be the head of Relative Clause 2 demonstrates that relativization differentiates between the ergative NP and the absolute NP. Since this pattern of inclusion and exclusion as syntactic control applies only to the ergative NP, it satisfies the coding and exclusion criteria for the ergative NP. Finally, since the absolute NP and the ergative NP can encode different semantic roles as the head of a relative clause, this satisfies the semantic role criterion. Thus, relativization demonstrates that the absolute NP and the ergative NP are grammatical relations.

### 8.3. Clefting

Cross-linguistically, the structure of relative clauses and cleft constructions tends to be similar, and this is true for Karao. In a cleft construction in Karao, the head noun occurs in the sentence initial position; the absolute marker *i* is inserted before the verb, nominalizing the remaining clause. (The nominalized clause is a headless relative clause.) The head noun is always coreferential with the deleted absolute NP of the headless relative clause. An affix on the verb identifies the semantic role of the deleted NP. In cleft constructions, the headless relative clause can be a transitive clause, as in (71), or a single-argument clause, as in (72).

(71)	nga'ngiy	kidat	na	'oleg
	nga'ngia -i	kalat-iy	na	'oleg
	child -ABS	bite -ACT/PFT	ERG	snake

'The child is who the snake bit.'

(72)	'oleg	i	simekek	cha	baliy
	'oleg	i	sekep-im	cha	baliy
	snake	ABS	enter -ACT/PAT/PFT	OBL	house

'The snake is what entered the house.'

Oblique arguments can be the head of a cleft construction if they are first promoted to direct object, in which case they automatically become absolute NPs. In (73), the oblique argument has been promoted before clefting; in (74), it has not and so (74) is an unattested construction. The same pattern is given for (75) and (76). Notice that the head noun is a Location in (73), and an Instrument in (75), demonstrating that the head noun of a cleft construction can encode different semantic roles.

(73)	bangkoy	tokkongan	na	nga'nga
	bangko-'i	tokkong-an	na	nga'nga

bench -ABS sit -ACT/LOC/IMPFT ERG child

'The bench is what the child will sit on.'

(74)	*bangkoy	'ontokkong	'i	nga'nga
	bangko-'i	'on	-tokkong	'i

bench-ABS ACT/PAT/IMPFT-sit ABS child

'The bench is what the child will sit on.'

(75)	bathoy	'itegtek	na	nga'nged
	batho-'i	'i	-tegtek	na

rock -ABS ACT/INSTR/IMPFT-flatten ERG child -OBL

'aramdi

'aramdi

wire

'The rock is what the child will use to flatten the wire.'

(76)	*bathoy	tegtegen	na	nga'ngiy
	batho-'i	tegtegen-en	na	nga'ng-a-'i

rock -ABS flatten-ACT/PAT/IMPFT ERG child -ABS

'aramdi

'aramdi

wire

'A rock is what the child will use to flatten the wire.'

The following examples verify that only the absolute NP can be the head of a cleft construction. (77) demonstrates that the ergative NP cannot be the head of a cleft construction.<sup>25</sup>

(77)	*'oleg	'i	kidat	toy	nga'nga
	'oleg	'i	kalat-iy-	to	'i

snake ABS bite -ACT/PFT 3SG/ERG-ABS child

'The snake is what bit the child.'

(78) demonstrates that a demoted absolute NP also cannot be the head of a cleft construction.

(78)	*ngā'ngiy	'engalat	'i	'oleg
	ngā'ngā-'i	'eN	-kalat	'oleg
	child	-ABS	ACT/AG/PFT-bite	ABS

'A child is what the snake bit.'

These examples confirm that clefting has an unambiguous ergative pattern of syntactic control: Only the absolute argument can be the head of a cleft construction. As the head of a cleft construction, the absolute argument meets the syntactic control criterion for grammatical relations. It meets the coding criterion in that the head of a cleft construction is always encoded as an absolute NP; it meets the exclusion criterion in that only an absolute argument can be the head of a cleft construction; and it meets the semantic role criterion in that as the head of a cleft construction, the absolute NP can encode different semantic roles. Thus, clefting provides evidence that the absolute argument of a single-argument or a transitive clause is a grammatical relation.

#### 8.4. Zero Anaphora in Chained Clauses

Zero anaphora in chained clauses involves conjoined or adjacent independent clauses that share coreferential arguments. An absent argument, i.e. a zero anaphor, in the second clause is coreferential with a third person antecedent in the first clause. Cooreman et al. (1984) give the following attested coreference patterns for zero anaphora in chained clauses. In Table 3, clause 1 is a transitive clause; clause 2 is either a transitive clause or an intransitive clause (which represents any single-argument clause).

**Table 3:** Coreference patterns for zero anaphora in chained clauses

Transitive Clause 2					
(i) Ergative Pattern					
John <sub>i</sub>	saw	Bill <sub>j</sub>	and	he <sub>i</sub>	kicked O <sub>j</sub>
(ii) Nominative Pattern					
John <sub>i</sub>	saw	Bill <sub>j</sub>	and O <sub>i</sub>	kicked	him <sub>j</sub>
Intransitive Clause 2					
(i) Ergative Pattern					
John <sub>i</sub>	saw	Bill <sub>j</sub>	and (then) O <sub>j</sub>	left	
(ii) Nominative Pattern					
John <sub>i</sub>	saw	Bill <sub>j</sub>	and (then) O <sub>i</sub>	left	

In chained clauses, if clause 2 is a transitive clause, two argument slots are available and both arguments in clause 1 can be coreferenced, in which case the coreferential arguments are normally assigned to NPs in clause 2 in the same way as in clause 1. On the other hand, if clause 2 is an intransitive clause (or any single-argument clause), only one argument slot is available, and so only one argument in clause 1 can be coreferenced. If coreference follows an ergative pattern, the non-Agent of clause 1 is the antecedent of the zero anaphor in clause 2; if it follows a nominative pattern, the Agent of clause 1 is the antecedent of the zero anaphor.

Karao displays both nominative and ergative coreference patterns for zero anaphora.<sup>26</sup> We will begin with the ergative pattern since it occurs most frequently. In (79) and (80), clause 2 is a transitive clause; the zero anaphor is a Patient in (79) and a Beneficiary in (80).

## (79) CLAUSE 1 (Transitive)

ida	na	nga'ngiy	mangka
'ala-iy-	na	nga'ngi-	mangka
get -ACT/PFT	ERG	child -ABS	mango

## CLAUSE 2 (Transitive)

et	kiyakan	to	0
et	CV-kan-iy-	to	0
and	R -eat-ACT/PFT	3SG/ERG	0

'The child got the mango and he ate it [the mango].'

## (80) CLAUSE 1 (Transitive)

'iyodop	na	bi'iy	'anak	tod	kantina
'olop-iy-	na	bi'i	'anak	to	kantina
take -ACT/PFT	ERG	woman-ABS	child	3SG/GEN-OBL	store

## CLAUSE 2 (Transitive)

'et	intongkalan	toy	0	na	kindi
'et	'in-an	-tongkal	to	0	na
and ACT/BENEF/PFT-buy		3SG/ERG-ABS	0	OBL	candy

'The woman took her child to the store and bought her some candy.'

In (81) and (82), clause 2 is a single-argument clause; the zero anaphor is an Experiencer in (81) and a Patient in (82).

## (81) CLAUSE 1 (Transitive)

tiyo'kan	na	'asoy	nga'nga
to'kan	-iy-	'aso-'i	nga'nga
knock.down-ACT/PFT	ERG	dog -ABS	child

## CLAUSE 2 (Intransitive)

etnimangis	0
etnangis-im-	0
and cry -ACT/EXP/PFT	0

'The dog knocked down the child and he [the child] cried.'

## (82) CLAUSE 1 (Transitive)

binirok	na	nga'ngiy	'osab
birok-iy-	na	nga'ngi-'i	'osab
blow-ACT/PFT	ERG	child -ABS	bubble

'et	timayab	0
'et	tayab-im	0
and blow.away-ACT/PAT/PFT		0

'The child blew the bubble and it [the bubble] blew away.'

Although the ergative coreference pattern in (79)-(82) is the most frequently occurring pattern for zero anaphora in Karao, a nominative pattern is also possible, as the following example shows.<sup>27</sup>

(83) CLAUSE 1 (Transitive)

sinit	tos	'ahi	to'
senit -iy-	to -si	'ahi	to
offend-ACT/PFT	3SG/ERG-ABS	sibling	3SG/GEN

CLAUSE 2 (Transitive)

'isonga	'eg	to	tetetbalen	0
'isonga	'eg	to	CV -tebal	0
that's.why	NEG	3SG/ERG	CONT-talk.with-ACT/PAT/IMPFT	0

'He offended his brother; that's why he [his brother] never talks to him.'

To summarize, zero anaphora in chained clauses can follow either an ergative or a nominative pattern of syntactic control. Thus, both the ergative NP and the absolute NP satisfy the syntactic control criterion for grammatical relations. The arguments satisfy the coding criterion in that the syntactic control for zero anaphora in chained clauses is always encoded as either an ergative NP or an absolute NP; the exclusion criterion is satisfied in that only the ergative NP or the absolute NP can be the syntactic control for this process; and the semantic control criterion is satisfied in that as the syntactic control, these arguments can encode different semantic roles. Thus, zero anaphora in chained clauses verifies that the ergative NP and the absolute NP of a transitive clause are grammatical relations.

## 8.5. Coreference in Imperatives

Imperatives are constructions in which one argument of a single clause is coreferential with the addressee; thus, the argument can be said to control coreference. The argument may be present in the surface structure, usually as a second person pronoun, or it can be absent, depending on the language.

Karao has three imperative constructions: a positive imperative, a negative imperative, and a first-person imperative. Each imperative construction has a unique structure.

### 8.5.1. Positive Imperative

In the positive imperative, a second person pronoun coreferences the addressee; (84) and (85) are single-argument clauses, and the absolute NP is coreferential with the addressee.

(84) kepejas ka  
       ke -payas ka  
       IMPER-stay.behind 2SG/ABS

"You stay behind."

The verb in (84) corresponds to the stative from *mepejas* (*me*+*payas*) 'to stay behind.' The lack of a semantic role morpheme on the verb indicates that the absolute NP *ka* 'you' is a Patient.

(85) <i>pansada</i>		ka
pan	-sada	ka
IMPER/AG-dance		2SG/ABS

"You dance."

The verb in (85) corresponds with the active intransitive form *mansada* (*man+sada*) 'to dance', and the semantic role of the absolute NP is Agent.

Now consider imperatives that are transitive clauses.

(86)	'alam	i	kompay
	'ala-mo	i	kompay
	get -2SG/ERG	ABS	hand.hoe

'You get the hand hoe.'

The bare verb stem in (86) corresponds with the active transitive forms '*a'da'en*' ('*ala+**-en*) 'to get'; the ergative NP is coreferential with the addressee and is an Agent.

(87)	nemnem	moy	songbat
	nemnem	mo	songbat
	think	2SG/ERG-ABS	answer

"You think of the answer."

The bare verb stem in (87) corresponds with the active transitive forms *nemnemnen* (*nemnen*+*-en*) 'to think'; the ergative NP is a Location (Experiencer).

In these examples, the absolute NP in a single-argument clause and the ergative NP in a transitive clause are coreferential with the addressee, demonstrating that coreference in the positive imperative operates on a nominative pattern of control.

### 8.5.2. Negative Imperative

The negative imperative follows the same addressee coreference pattern as the positive imperative; however, in the negative imperative, the argument that is coreferential with the addressee is always absent. (88) and (89) are single-argument clauses.

(88) 'enog    i    chanag  
don't    ABS worry

'Don't worry.'

The bare verb stem in (88) corresponds to the active intransitive form *'onchang* (*'on-+chanag*) 'to worry'; the argument coreferencing the addressee, the absolute NP, is absent; the semantic role of the absent absolute NP is Experiencer.

(89) 'engog    i    dinis  
don't    ABS clean

'Don't clean.'

The bare stem in (89) corresponds to the active intransitive form *mandinis* (*man-+dinis*) 'to clean.' The absent absolute NP is coreferential with the addressee and is an Agent.

Now consider transitive negative imperatives. In (90) and (91), the argument coreferencing the addressee, the ergative NP, is absent. The absent ergative NP is an Agent in (90) and an Experiencer in (91).

(90) 'enog    i    kinibot                    i    manok  
'enog    i    kibot-iy-                    i    manok  
don't    ABS steal -ACT/PFT    ABS    chicken

'Don't steal the chicken.'

(91) 'enog    i    sini'neng                    i    songbat  
'enog    i    si'neng-iy-                    i    songbat  
don't    ABS look -ACT/PFT    ABS    answer

'Don't look at the answer.'

(88)-(91) show that deletion of the coreferential addressee in the negative imperative follows a nominative pattern of control.

#### 8.5.3. First-Person Imperative

The first-person imperative has two constructions: one for single-argument verbs and another for transitive verbs. Single-argument verbs are encoded in a single-argument clause, and the absolute first person dual pronoun *kiya* 'we' is always coreferential with the speaker and the addressee.<sup>28</sup> In (92), the semantic role of *kiya* 'we' is Agent; in (93), it is Patient. Note that *mepejas* 'to stay behind' in (93) is an intransitive stative form, not a passive form.

BRAINARD

‘Let’s walk.’ [Literally: ‘We will walk.’]

(93) mepejas	kiya
me -payas	kiya
STAT/IMPFT-stay, behind	1DL/ABS

'Let's stay behind.'

In contrast to single-argument verbs, transitive verbs are encoded in a passive clause, and the deleted ergative NP of the corresponding transitive clause is coreferential with the speaker and addressee. In (94), the deleted ergative NP is an Agent; in (95), it is an Experiencer.

(94)	mesked	'ira
	me -seked	'ira
	PASS/IMPFT-wait	3PL/ABS

'Let's wait for them.' [Literally: 'They will be waited for.']

(95)	mesi'neng	i	dibche
	me -si'neng	i	dibcho
	PASS/IMPFT-look	ABS	book

'Let's look at the book.' [Literally: 'The book will be looked at.']

Following passivization, the demoted ergative NP is no longer a required argument of the verb; consequently, the first-person imperative is irrelevant for the question of grammatical relations, since by definition a grammatical relation must be a required argument of the verb. It is worth noting, however, that only the deleted ergative NP can be coreferential with the addressee and the speaker in this construction; thus, the coreferential pattern of the first-person imperative does not contradict the nominative coreference pattern displayed by the positive and the negative imperatives. For the remainder of the study, coreference in imperatives will refer only to the positive imperative and the negative imperative.

To summarize, addressee coreference in imperatives operates on a nominative pattern of control: The absolute argument of a single-argument clause and the ergative argument of a transitive clause are coreferential with the addressee. Thus, the absolute argument and the ergative argument satisfy the syntactic control criterion for grammatical relations. These arguments satisfy the coding criterion in that arguments that are coreferential with the addressee of imperatives are always encoded as the absolute NP in a single-argument clause and the ergative NP in a transitive clause; they also satisfy the exclusion criterion in that only the absolute argument of a single-argument clause and only the ergative argument of a transitive clause are coreferential with the addressee in imperatives; and they satisfy the semantic role criterion in that as the control for addressee coreference in imperatives, the arguments can encode different semantic roles. Thus, coreference in imperatives verifies that the absolute NP of a

single-argument clause and the ergative NP of a transitive clause are grammatical relations.<sup>29</sup> Since syntactic control follows a nominative pattern, this supports the claim that the the ergative NP is a subject.

### 8.6. Coreference in Reflexives

Reflexives are constructions in which two arguments of a single clause are coreferential, normally the Agent and the Patient. One of the arguments, usually the Patient, will be less distinctly coded than the other. Depending on the language, the less distinctly coded argument can be a pronoun or a null argument or an invariant noun, such as *body*. The more distinctly coded argument can be said to control coreference.

Karao has two reflexive constructions: one for verbs that are inherently reflexive and another for verbs that are not. Verbs that are inherently reflexive are encoded in a single-argument clause. Only the Agent surfaces; the coreferential Patient is a null argument, as shown in (96).

(96)	'yan'emes	'i	nga'nga
	'yan	'-emes	'i
	ACT/AG/PFT-bathe	ABS	child

'The child bathed (himself).'

Verbs that are not inherently reflexive are encoded in a transitive clause, and the ergative NP and the absolute NP are coreferential. The absolute NP is always represented by the invariant noun '*angel* 'body'; a possessor pronoun on '*angel*' is coreferential with the ergative NP and agrees with it in person and number, as in (97).

(97)	'ingked	na	nga'ngiy	'angel to
	'eked-iy-	na	nga'ng-a-i	angel to
	cut -ACT/PFT	ERG	child -ABS	body 3SG/GEN

'The child cut himself.'

[Literally: 'The child cut his body.]

In (97), the ergative NP is an Agent; in (98), it is an Experiencer, demonstrating that as the control for coreference in reflexives, the ergative NP can encode different semantic roles.

(98)	sin'i'neng	na	bi'iy	'angel tod
	si'neng-iy-	na	bi'i	'angel to
	look -ACT/PFT	ERG	'-i	-cha
			woman-ABS	body 3SG/GEN-OBL
	'ispaho			
	'ispaho			
	mirror			

'The woman looked at herself in the mirror.'

To summarize, coreference in reflexives has a nominative pattern of syntactic control: The absolute argument of a single-argument clause and the ergative argument of a transitive clause are the more distinctly coded arguments of the two coreferential arguments of a clause that refer to a participant that is performing a reflexive action. As the syntactic control for coreference in reflexives, the absolute NP of the single-argument clause and the ergative NP of a transitive clause satisfy the syntactic control criterion for grammatical relations. The arguments also satisfy the coding criterion in that the syntactic control of coreference in a single-argument reflexive is always encoded as an absolute NP while the syntactic control in a transitive reflexive is always encoded as an ergative NP. The arguments satisfy the exclusion criterion in that only the absolute argument of a single-argument clause and only the ergative argument of a transitive clause control coreference in reflexives. The arguments satisfy the semantic role criterion in that as the syntactic control of coreference in reflexives, they can encode different semantic roles. Thus, coreference in reflexives offers additional evidence that the absolute argument of a single-argument clause and the ergative argument of a transitive clause are grammatical relations. Since syntactic control in reflexives follows a nominative pattern, this supports the claim that the ergative NP is a subject.

### 8.7. Summary of Coreferential Deletion Processes

Six coreferential deletion processes in Karao have been examined: 1) equi-NP deletion, 2) relativization, 3) clefting, 4) zero anaphora in chained clauses, 5) coreference in imperatives, and 6) coreference in reflexives. These processes and their patterns of syntactic control are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4: Coreferential deletion processes in Karao

Process	Syntactic Control Pattern	
	NOM	ERG
Equi-NP Deletion		X
Relativization 1		X
Relativization 2	X	X
Clefting		X
Zero Anaphora in Chained Clauses	X	X
Coreference in Imperatives		X
Coreference in Reflexives		X

Table 4 shows that two coreferential processes follow an ergative pattern exclusively: relativization 1 and clefting. For these processes, the absolute argument of a single-argument clause or a transitive clause plays a central role in the operation of the process. Three processes follow a nominative pattern exclusively: equi-NP deletion, coreference in imperatives, and coreference in reflexives. For these processes, the absolute NP of a single-argument clause and the ergative NP of a transitive clause play a central role in the process. Two processes, relativization 2 and zero anaphora in chained clauses, can follow either an ergative or a nominative pattern of control. The fact that the ergative pattern is obligatory for relativization 1 and clefting and the nominative pattern is obligatory for equi-NP deletion and coreference in imperatives and reflexives provides indisputable evidence that Karao has a mixed pattern of syntactic control.

Coreferential deletion processes also offer evidence for grammatical relations. As the only required argument of a single-argument clause, the absolute NP is assumed to be a grammatical relation. This is verified in that the absolute NP in a single-argument clause meets the four criteria for grammatical relations. It satisfies the syntactic control criterion in that in a single-argument clause, the absolute NP controls all the coreferential deletion processes in Table 4; it satisfies the coding criterion in that the argument that controls these processes in a single-argument clause is always encoded as an absolute NP; it satisfies the exclusion criterion in that in a single-argument clause, only the absolute NP controls these processes; and it satisfies the semantic role criterion in that as the syntactic control in a single-argument clause for these processes, the absolute NP can encode different semantic roles.

The ergative NP of a transitive clause also satisfies the criteria for grammatical relations. It satisfies the syntactic control criterion in that it controls equi-NP deletion, relativization 2, zero anaphora in chained clauses, and coreference in imperatives and reflexives; it satisfies the coding criterion in that in a transitive clause, the argument that exclusively controls equi-NP deletion, and coreference in imperatives and reflexives is always encoded as an ergative NP; it satisfies the exclusion criterion in that in a transitive clause, only the ergative NP controls these three processes; and it satisfies the semantic role criterion in that as the syntactic control for all five processes, the ergative NP can encode different semantic roles.

From these findings, we conclude that the absolute NP in a single-argument clause, and the ergative NP and the absolute NP in a transitive clause are grammatical relations. Since the ergative NP exclusively controls equi-NP deletion, a process that is controlled by the subject in many languages, we conclude that the ergative NP is a subject. This complements findings from relation-bearing processes which establish that the transitive absolute NP is an object. We are now ready to consider the entire body of evidence for grammatical relations and patterns of syntactic control in Karao.

## 9. SUMMARY OF ALL CODING PROPERTIES AND SYNTACTIC PROCESSES IN KARAO

We began this study with the suggestion that in order to decide whether or not the focused NP is the subject in Philippine languages, we needed to consider the broader issue of grammatical relations and patterns of syntactic control. We defined grammatical relations in terms of four general criteria: 1) unique coding, 2) syntactic control, 3) exclusion, and 4) multiple semantic roles. For Karao, we specified that an argument is a grammatical relation if: it is uniquely identified by at least one coding property, it controls at least one syntactic process to the exclusion of all other arguments, and as a syntactic control, it encodes different semantic roles. We proposed that the required argument of a single-argument clause would be a grammatical relation by default since it is the only required argument in the clause. We further proposed that if the two arguments of a transitive clause proved to be grammatical relations, then the ergative NP would be identified as a subject, since it is usually the more agentive and more topical argument; the absolute NP, on the other hand, would be identified as an object, since it is usually the less agentive and less topical argument. Patterns of syntactic control would reveal how syntactic control is distributed between the subject, the ergative NP, and the object, the absolute NP, in Karao and establish whether either argument controls a significant majority of the syntactic processes in the language. We, then, investigated a range of coding properties and syntactic processes in order to identify grammatical relations and patterns of syntactic control in Karao. The results of the investigation are summarized in the tables below. Table 5 lists coding properties in Karao.

**Table 5:** Summary of coding properties in Karao

Coding Property	Morphological Pattern	
	NOM	ERG
Case Marking		X
Verb Cross-Referencing	X	

Karao has two coding properties: case marking and verb cross-referencing. Both coding properties follow an ergative morphological pattern exclusively. Coding properties, then, offer evidence for grammatical relations by demonstrating that the two required arguments of a transitive clause are uniquely coded in the surface structure: The more agentive argument is encoded as the *na*-marked ergative NP and the less agentive argument as the *i*-marked absolute NP.

Relation-changing processes in Karao provide evidence for grammatical relations by demonstrating that an argument functions as the control for a syntactic process. These processes also provide evidence that in a transitive clause, the ergative NP is a subject and the absolute NP an object. The results of relation-changing processes are summarized in Table 6.

**Table 6:** Summary of relation-changing processes in Karao

Process	Syntactic	Control
	ERG-NP	ABS-NP
Promotion to Direct Object		X
Passivization		X
Antipassivization		X
Raising	X	X

Karao has four relation-changing processes: promotion to direct object, passivization, antipassivization, and raising. The investigation shows that the first three processes are controlled exclusively by the absolute NP in a transitive clause. Since these processes are controlled by an object in many languages, this is direct evidence that the transitive absolute NP in Karao is an object. Raising is controlled by both the

ergative NP and the absolute NP; however, the ergative NP outranks the absolute NP in eligibility for raising. Since subjects outrank objects in eligibility for raising in many languages, this is evidence that the ergative NP is a subject.

Coreferential deletion processes establish patterns of syntactic control and offer additional evidence for grammatical relations. Findings for coreferential deletion processes are summarized in Table 7.

**Table 7:** Summary of coreferential deletion processes in Karao

Process	Syntactic Control Pattern	
	NOM	ERG
Equi-NP Deletion	X	
Relativization 1		X
Relativization 2	X	X
Clefting		X
Zero Anaphora in Chained Clauses	X	X
Coreference in Imperatives	X	
Coreference in Reflexives	X	

Karao has six coreferential deletion processes: 1) equi-NP deletion, 2) relativization, 3) clefting, 4) zero anaphora in chained clauses, 5) coreference in imperatives, and 6) coreference in reflexives. Equi-NP deletion and coreference in imperatives and reflexives follow a nominative pattern exclusively; relativization 1 and clefting follow an ergative pattern exclusively. Relativization 2 and zero anaphora in chained clauses can follow either a nominative or an ergative pattern of syntactic control. Since three processes follow a nominative pattern exclusively and two processes follow an ergative pattern exclusively, this establishes that Karao has a mixed pattern of syntactic control.

Coreferential deletion processes also provide evidence that the absolute NP of a single-argument clause and the ergative NP and the absolute NP of a transitive clause meet all the criteria for grammatical relations. Furthermore, since the ergative NP is the

exclusive control for equi-NP deletion in a transitive clause, and since equi-NP deletion is almost universally controlled by a subject (i.e. the more agentive argument of a transitive clause), this is direct support for the claim that the ergative NP is a subject. This complements evidence from relation-changing processes that the transitive absolute NP is an object. Finally, all coreferential deletion processes provide evidence that the absolute NP of a single-argument clause is a grammatical relation; however, since this argument does not control any syntactic process that is not also controlled by the ergative NP or the absolute NP of a transitive clause, I have proposed that Karao has only two grammatical relations: a subject and an object.<sup>30</sup>

To sum up, coding properties and syntactic processes show that the absolute NP of a single-argument clause, and the ergative NP and the absolute NP of a transitive clause are uniquely coded arguments, each of which functions as the exclusive control for at least one syntactic process, thus satisfying the coding, exclusion, and syntactic control criteria for grammatical relations. We have also shown that as a syntactic control, each of these arguments can encode different semantic roles, thus satisfying the semantic role criterion. These findings verify our claim that the two required arguments in a transitive clause are grammatical relations: The ergative NP is a subject, and the absolute NP an object.

Our investigation, then, shows that Karao, a morphologically ergative language, has two grammatical relations: a subject and an object, which is the focused NP in a transitive clause. It also shows that Karao has a mixed pattern of syntactic control in that control of syntactic processes is more or less evenly distributed between the subject and the object of the transitive clause.

## 10. CONCLUSION FOR THE FOCUSED NP IN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

In this study, we have taken up Kroeger's proposal that the *ang*-NP in Tagalog, and by extension the focused NP in Philippine languages, is best analyzed as a subject, and have asked, should we accept this claim? We noted that Kroeger's proposal rests upon the assumptions that a subject is a syntactic notion that has only syntactic properties, and that the subject must be the required argument which controls a significant majority of the syntactic processes in a language.<sup>31</sup> These assumptions lead Kroeger to the conclusion that of the two required arguments in a prototypical transitive clause — an Agent and a Patient, the Patient, i.e. the focused NP, is the subject. This conclusion, however, conflicts with a common cross-linguistic pattern in which in a prototypical transitive clause, the Agent is usually the subject. We proposed that the focused NP might be better understood if it were investigated within the broader context of grammatical relations and patterns of syntactic control. We then presented evidence for grammatical relations and patterns of syntactic control in Karao.

Comparing the analysis of the *i*-NP in Karao with Kroeger's analysis of the *ang*-NP in Tagalog, it becomes clear that the 'subject' analysis of the focused NP has certain disadvantages. The first disadvantage is that it goes against the cross-linguistic tendency for Agent, syntactic control, and the most topical argument to all be encoded in

the same NP in a prototypical transitive clause. This disadvantage leads to a second, more serious one.

This second disadvantage is that the 'subject' analysis results in incorrect descriptions of common syntactic processes, such as passivization and antipassivization. As a central part of his analysis, Kroeger (1993b:9) proposes that the syntactic labels for the two required arguments in a prototypical transitive clause be reversed for Tagalog: The Patient, which is the focused NP, would be the subject, and the Agent the object. This proposal, however, overlooks the point that syntactic processes, such as promotion to direct object, passivization, and antipassivization, by convention are defined in terms of what happens to the subject (Agent) and the object (Patient) in a prototypical transitive clause. If the focused NP (Patient) of a transitive clause is called the 'subject', then oblique arguments that are promoted to the position normally held by the focused NP (Patient) are promoted to subject, not direct object; the object, rather than the subject, is demoted in passivization; and the subject, rather than the object, is demoted in antipassivization. In other words, the wrong syntactic argument is promoted or demoted in each of these processes. On the other hand, if we look at the semantic roles in a prototypical transitive clause, we see that in actuality the right semantic roles are undergoing promotion and demotion: Oblique arguments are promoted to the syntactic position normally held by the Patient; the Agent is demoted in passivization; and the Patient is demoted in antipassivization. Switching the labels 'subject' and 'object' obscures the fact that Philippine languages have syntactic processes that are similar to those found in other languages. As a general principle, we would prefer an analysis that allows us to describe syntactic processes using linguistic terms as they are commonly employed in standard definitions for these processes since this enables us to identify genuine linguistic differences between languages, not simply those that are a by-product of a particular analysis.

A third disadvantage of the 'subject' analysis is that syntactic processes that are controlled by the subject (Agent) in a prototypical transitive clause, such as raising, equi-NP deletion, and coreference in imperatives and reflexives, have to be accounted for in some other way. Thus, we find Kroeger dismissing raising controlled by the subject (Agent) as not 'true' raising because of the way in which the raised argument is coded in the complement clause. Equi-NP deletion is dismissed with the argument that Agents (or 'Actors' in Kroeger's terminology) are preferred targets for deletion because they are coreferential with the 'controllee'; thus, equi-NP deletion is governed by a semantic notion of control, rather than by a grammatical relation, namely subject. Coreference in imperatives is also dismissed on the basis of the 'control' argument. Coreference in reflexives is dismissed with the argument that coreference is controlled by 'logical' subjects, not grammatical subjects. These arguments give the impression, rightly or wrongly, that empirical data are being rejected because they do not support the favored hypothesis rather than because they fail to meet criteria for grammatical relations; however, without an explicit definition of grammatical relations, which Kroeger does not provide, we have no way of evaluating these competing analyses.

These are the disadvantages of the 'subject' analysis; what are its advantages? The primary advantages would seem to be that 1) one can claim that Tagalog, and again by extension Philippine languages in general, have a subject, and 2) one can maintain the assumptions that the subject has only syntactic properties and that it controls a significant majority of the syntactic processes in a language.

In contrast to the 'subject' analysis, the investigation of grammatical relations and patterns of syntactic control in Karao suggests another analysis for the focused NP: In a transitive clause, the focused NP is an object. The major attraction of the 'object' analysis is that it avoids all of the disadvantages just given for the 'subject' analysis. The first advantage, then, is that if the Agent of a prototypical clause is identified as the subject, then Agent, syntactic control, and the most topical argument are all encoded in the same NP, following the cross-linguistic tendency for these properties to converge on a single NP.

The second advantage of the 'object' analysis is that syntactic processes in Philippine languages, such as promotion to direct object, passivization, and antipassivization, can be described using linguistic terms as they are employed in standard definitions for these processes. Thus, in promotion to direct object, obliques are promoted to direct object, the position normally held by a Patient in a prototypical transitive clause; the subject (Agent) is demoted in passivization; and the object (Patient) is demoted in antipassivization.

A third advantage of the 'object' analysis is that syntactic processes which are usually controlled by the subject (Agent), such as raising, equi-NP deletion, and coreference in imperatives and reflexives, fit naturally into the analysis. In the 'object' analysis, the Agent of a prototypical transitive clause in Karao exclusively controls equi-NP deletion and coreference in reflexives and imperatives and outranks the Patient in eligibility for raising precisely because it is a subject. Issues of control automatically fall out of the 'object' analysis because the subject is normally the most agentive argument of the clause, and thus the argument that exerts the greatest degree of control in a clause.

Having noted what we gain by adopting the 'object' analysis, what do we lose? What we lose is the assumption that subject must be the argument that controls a significant majority of the syntactic processes in a language. While subject (i.e. the most agentive argument in a transitive clause) controls a significant majority of syntactic processes in many languages, it has always been an empirical question whether or not it controls a significant majority in all languages. The investigation of syntactic control in Karao clearly demonstrates that neither the subject (Agent) nor the object (Patient) controls a significant majority of the syntactic processes in a prototypical transitive clause.

What then is our conclusion for the focused NP in Philippine languages? If the system which organizes clause structure in Philippine languages does indeed function much the same way from language to language, as is generally assumed (notwithstanding certain language-specific differences in detail), then on the basis of the analysis presented for the focused NP in Karao, i.e. the absolute 'i-NP, we predict that in a transitive clause, the focused NP will be an object in Philippine languages in general.

## ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	absolutive
ACT	active
AG	Agent
BENEF	Beneficiary
CONT	continuous
DIR	directional
ERG	ergative
EXP	Experiencer
EXT	existential
GEN	genitive
IMPER	imperative
IMPF	imperfective
INSTR	Instrument
LK	linker
LOC	Location
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
non-AG	non-Agent
OBL	oblique
PASS	passive
PAT	Patient
PFT	perfective
R	reduplicated segment(s)
RECIP	Recipient
STAT	stative
VAP	'Verb Agent Patient' word order
1SG	first person singular
2SG	second person singular
3SG	third person singular
1DL	first person dual
2PL	second person plural
3PL	third person plural

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>In his longer treatment of this issue, Kroeger (1993b:19,20) acknowledges McKaughan's (1973) contribution.

<sup>2</sup>Karao is a Southern Cordilleran language of the Northern Philippines. This study is based on data gathered in 1988-1990 and 1994-1995, while the author was living in the village of Karao, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The data include elicited sentences and paradigms, a 3,000-entry dictionary, and 150 pages of natural text. The author would like to thank all the people of Karao who helped with the collection of the data.

The following is the standard Karao orthography. The consonants are: *b* [b], *ch* [c], *d* [d], *f* [p], *g* [g<sup>w</sup>], *gw* [g<sup>w</sup>], *h* [x], *j* [j], *k* [k], and [k], *l* [l], *m* [m], *n* [n], *ng*[N], *p* [p], *r* [r], *s* [s], *t* [t], *th* [Q], *w* [w], *y* [y]. The vowels are: *i* [i] or [e], *o* [u] or [o], *a* [a], and *e* [ɛ]. Glottal stop is a phoneme and is represented by a single quotation mark, as in *pa'dok* [pa dok] 'stream' and *bay'ong* [bay oN] 'market basket'. Intervocalic consonants following e [ɛ] are always geminates.

<sup>3</sup>A 'prototypical transitive clause' is defined as a clause that encodes a semantically transitive verb, such as *break* or *cut*, and that has two required arguments: an Agent and a Patient. The 'dominant syntactic control' is defined as the required argument that controls a significant majority of the syntactic processes in a language. (This is a more neutral definition for what would be called subject in languages such as English which have a nominative pattern of syntactic control.) The 'most topical argument' is understood to represent the perspective from which an event is viewed, and is often mentioned more frequently in subsequent clauses than any other argument in its clause based on topic continuity counts proposed by Cooreman (1982, 1985, 1987).

<sup>4</sup>Karao has complex phonological alternations which result in extensive allomorphy. (See Brainard (1994a) for details.) Most case markers have at least two surface forms, the selection of which is determined by phonological rules. One allomorph usually follows a consonant-final word, e.g. *i* or *cha* (although this form can also follow a vowel-final word); the other allomorph always follows a vowel-final word, e.g. *-y* or *-d*. The element *na* has several homophonous forms some of which alternate with *-n* and some of which do not. Each homophonous form which has a consistent and different function is treated as a separate morpheme; for example, one form is an ergative marker; another an oblique marker; and still another a genitive marker.

<sup>5</sup>It is important to note that verb affixes and semantic roles do not have a one-to-one correspondence in Karao; consequently, it cannot be assumed that when the same affix occurs on two different verbs, it identifies the same semantic role for the absolute NP.

<sup>6</sup>Verbs are usually marked for perfective or imperfective aspect. Perfective aspect represents an event as a whole and is usually associated with completed events; imperfective aspect represents the internal structure of an event and is usually associated with events that have not been completed.

<sup>7</sup>Since Karao has complex phonological alternations, the underlying form of each morpheme is given in the second line of an example. For convenience, examples are often given in the imperfective aspect since verb forms in this aspect do not have infixes as do many perfective forms; case marking is not affected by changes of aspect. Also, the absolute and the ergative NPs are usually definite; however, NPs preceded by the oblique markers *na* and *cha* (or their allomorphs) may be definite or indefinite, depending on the context. To avoid multiple English translations, one representative translation is given for each example.

<sup>8</sup>In this discussion, a single-argument clause is any clause that has only one syntactically required argument, e.g. an active intransitive clause, a stative clause, a detransitivized antipassive clause, or a passive clause.

<sup>9</sup>The antipassive construction has traditionally been called the 'actor-focus,' or 'actor-topic,' construction. It should be noted that the traditional 'actor-focus' construction encodes two clause types: the antipassive construction in which the verb is semantically transitive, and an active intransitive clause in which the verb is semantically intransitive. In this study, a clause is an antipassive construction only if the verb is semantically transitive (and the clause meets the other criteria for an antipassive construction).

<sup>10</sup>The syntactic control and exclusion criteria are borrowed from Anderson's (1976) discussion of subject in ergative languages.

<sup>11</sup>The term 'syntactic control' is adopted here as a convenience to refer to the required argument that plays a crucial role in the operation of a syntactic process. The syntactic control can be the trigger of a process, e.g. the object in passivization, or the target, e.g. the object in antipassivization, or both a trigger and a target, e.g. the subject in equi-NP deletion.

<sup>12</sup>An exception to this statement is equi-NP deletion, a coreferential deletion process which has a near-universal tendency to be controlled by the subject.

<sup>13</sup>Word order also functions as a coding property and distinguishes between the required argument and oblique arguments in a single-argument clause and between the ergative NP and the absolute NP in a transitive clause; however, since all NPs occur on the same side of the verb in intransitive and transitive clauses, word order is irrelevant for establishing a nominative or an ergative coding pattern.

<sup>14</sup>The verb '*t'kan* 'to give' is an irregular verb. In (9), it occurs as a bare stem, and as such it always occurs with an absolute NP that is a Patient.

<sup>15</sup>One might argue that the absolute NP of the passive clause is a subject. Notice, however, that the absolute NP does not change its case marking following passivization in (17)-(19) and (21). Notice also that the change in word order in (21) is due not to a change in the relation of the absolute NP to the verb, but of the ergative NP. Consequently, there is no morphosyntactic evidence that the absolute NP changes its relation to the verb following passivization.

<sup>16</sup>In his longer treatment of this issue, Kroeger (1993b:47, 48) provides more direct evidence that the *ng*-NP in Tagalog (the counterpart of the *na*-NP in (22) and (23)) is a required argument (or 'term' in Kroeger's terminology). My own investigation of *na*-NPs in Karao shows that in many syntactic processes, they behave uniquely in that they often do not pattern like oblique *cha*-NPs nor like ergative or absolute NPs. For the processes discussed in this paper, *na*-NPs do not pattern like the ergative or the absolute NP and so are analyzed as oblique arguments. Since required arguments (i.e. subject and object) do not necessarily behave the same way, there is no particular reason to assume that all oblique arguments behave the same way either.

<sup>17</sup>To date I have not found any examples of raising-to-subject in Karao.

<sup>18</sup>The perfective affix *-iy-* (and its allomorphs *-i-* and *-in-*) does not have a semantic role morpheme; however, when it attaches to a semantically transitive verb, the absolute NP is always a Patient.

<sup>19</sup>*Taha* is a suppletive form and is the equivalent of *ko* (1SG/ERG) + *ka* (2SG/ABS).

<sup>20</sup>All coreferential deletion processes except coreference in imperatives and reflexives involve a sequence of clauses in which an argument in clause 1 is coreferential with another in clause 2 and the coreferential argument in clause 2 is deleted. Clause 1 is an independent clause; clause 2 can be an independent or dependent clause, depending on the process.

<sup>21</sup>This is an operational definition of mixed pattern of syntactic control. Normally in a mixed pattern of syntactic control, we would expect control of coreferential deletion processes to be more or less evenly distributed between the subject and the object of a transitive clause, so that not just one, but several processes would have an exclusively nominative pattern of control while several others would have an exclusively ergative pattern of control.

<sup>22</sup>The verb *piyan* 'to want' is analyzed as having two required arguments: Agent and Patient. For those who doubt this analysis, another complement-taking verb is offered: *paras* 'to try.' In the following example, the ergative NP of *paras* is an Agent.

'iparas		kon		'onkwan	
'i	-paras	ko	-'a	'on	-kowan
ACT/PAT/IMPFT-try		1SG/ERG-LK		ACT/PAT/IMPFT-go/come	
cha	kantina				
cha	kantina				
OBL	store				

'I will try to go to the store.'

<sup>23</sup>For the remainder of the discussion, I will ignore possessors as the head of a relative clause. Strictly speaking, possessors do not bear a relation to the verb; rather, they bear a relation to another noun. Consequently, they cannot be a grammatical relation since by definition a grammatical relation is an argument that bears a relation to a verb. Furthermore, I suggest that a possessor can be the head of a relative clause in Karao only because it has a relation to the absolute noun; it is the absolute NP that is central to relativization, not the possessor.

<sup>24</sup>The difference between Relative Clause 1 and 2 probably has its motivation in the discourse function of existential clauses: The preferred way to introduce an important participant in a narrative is to present the participant in an existential clause upon first mention. By allowing the ergative NP to be the head of a transitive relative clause, two key participants can be introduced simultaneously, with the more topical argument encoded in its usual ergative position. Although the difference between Relative Clause 1 and 2 may be motivated by discourse function, I have analyzed them as two separate constructions because they differ syntactically: 1) the main clause of each relative clause type takes a different predicate, and 2) each clause type allows different arguments to be the head noun; in particular, the ergative NP cannot be the head of Relative Clause 1.

<sup>25</sup>In order for the Agent 'oleg 'snake' in (77) to be the head of a cleft construction, the verb has to change to its antipassive form so that the Agent is the absolute NP, as in:

'oleg	'i	'engalat	na	ng <sup>a</sup> nga
'oleg	'i	'eN -kalat	na	ng <sup>a</sup> nga
snake	ABS	ACT/AG/PFT-bite	OBL	child

'The snake is what bit the child.'

<sup>26</sup>In Karao, only an absolute NP with a third person singular referent can be encoded as a zero anaphor; first and second person referents of the absolute NP and all ergative NPs must be encoded as a pronoun or a full NP.

<sup>27</sup>Although zero anaphora in chained clauses can follow either an ergative or a nominative pattern of coreference, the ergative pattern appears to be favored in narrative text. The number of available narrative texts is quite limited, and so only 10 pairs of independent clauses displaying zero anaphora were identified. Of these pairs, the non-Agent (i.e. absolute NP) in clause 1 was the antecedent of the zero anaphor in clause 2 in 100% of the occurrences (10 out of 10); in other words, coreference followed an ergative pattern in every occurrence. In keeping with the ergative coreference pattern, the anaphoric absolute NP in clause 2 was encoded as a null argument (as opposed to a definite full NP or a pronoun) in the majority of the clauses (58% - 10 out of 17). A full discussion of this issue is found in Brainard (1994).

<sup>28</sup>The absolute pronoun *kiya* 'first person dual' is often used in place of the absolute pronoun *kiyacha* 'first person plural.'

<sup>29</sup>There has been considerable discussion about what exactly coreference in imperatives (and reflexives) tests. One suggestion is that it is a test for subject; another suggestion is that it is a test for agentivity (Anderson 1979); still another suggestion is that it is a test for control, or volition (Kroeger 1993a, 1993b). A full discussion of this issue is beyond the scope of this paper; however, the criteria for grammatical relations presented here show that the control for coreference in imperatives and reflexives is a grammatical relation, specifically a subject. (The same holds true for coreference in reflexives as we will see shortly.)

<sup>30</sup>Since the absolute NP of a single-argument clause does not pattern exclusively with the subject or the object of a transitive clause, I have refrained from giving it either label.

<sup>31</sup>Kroeger makes explicit reference to the first assumption (1993a:1); the second assumption is inferred from his line of argumentation.

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## COMMUNICATIVE WAY OF SYNTAX

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Syntax needs to be accounted for from the viewpoint of efficiency in communication. In this respect we make the point that V-initial syntax has a communicative advantage over the non-V-initial ones due to its hearer-oriented nature which is essential in efficiency.

Given this, attempts can be expected to be made in the non-V-initial cases to process V at the earliest stage in order to pursue efficiency.

Light is shed on such attempts in English and Japanese, with the V-initial syntax like that of Tagalog being kept in mind for its efficiency.

### 1. EFFICIENCY IN COMMUNICATION

Essential to our discussion about efficiency in communicative terms is the distinction made between the convenience of the hearer and that of the speaker.

Between the two, priority is given to the former, and attempts can be expected to be made in line with this priority (see 2).

For the discussion to be made in the rest of 1, see Ikari's studies on verb-initial/verb-final syntax (1990, 1992) and efficiency in syntactic terms (1993, 1994).

#### 1.1. Convenience in communication

In discussing the communicative process, we may assume the convenience of (i) the hearer/reader (hereafter simply hearer) and (ii) the speaker/writer (hereafter simply speaker).

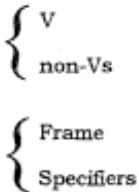
Convenience for the hearer has to do with "predictability"; convenience for the speaker has to do with "accessibility." "Predictability" refers to the extent to which the hearer may predict the sequence following the part processed initially. "Accessibility" refers to the extent to which a sentential element is ready to emerge in the speaker's mind.

Given "predictability" and "accessibility," their relationship with syntax is essential. As a matter of fact, as will be seen below, the former pertains to V-initial syntax, and the latter to V-final syntax.

## 1.2. Hearer's convenience

With regard to the hearer's convenience, the point is that the message to be transmitted is unknown to him. This means that in processing a message, he will be left in tension when the part processed initially gives no clues to the sequence following it.

In this way, essential to the hearer's convenience is the predictability of the sequence following the initial part. What, then, is the syntax fitting this predictability? For this, see the distinctions made in Ikari (1993, 1994). That is, a message consists of V (verb) and non-Vs (non-verbs) in syntactic terms, and Frame and Specifiers in semantic terms:



V serves as Frame, and non-Vs as Specifiers.

The predictability pertains to Frame, that is, V, as is shown in Ikari's studies (1990, 1992). For instance see V: *eat*. With this given, those cooccurring with it are easy to guess. In fact the range of the ones that eat something is more or less restricted, and the one that is eaten is restricted more or less to the class "food."

By contrast, with non-Vs, e.g. *Bob, cheese*, given, V is never easy to guess. With *Bob*, who may do assorted things, in fact, V is never easy to guess.

In this way V, but not a non-V, in initial position enables the hearer to carry out the guesswork without difficulty.

That is, in the syntax conforming to the hearer's convenience, V occurs sentence-initially.

## 1.3. Speaker's convenience

With regard to the speaker's convenience, by contrast, the point is that the message to be transmitted is known to him. Hence it has nothing to do with the predictability discussed above. It has instead to do with accessibility in terms of V and non-Vs.

That is, on the one hand, being abstract in nature, V has difficulty emerging in the speaker's mind. On the other hand, being concrete in nature, non-Vs are ready to come to mind. As a result, in the syntax conforming to the speaker's convenience, non-Vs appear earlier than V. That is, V occurs sentence-finally. (See Ikari 1993, 1994.)

## Remarks:

While V-initial syntax conforms to the hearer's convenience and V-final syntax conforms to the speaker's, V-medial syntax conforms partly to the hearer's and partly to the speaker's convenience; on this, see Ikari 1993, 1994.

## 1.4. Effects: Positive/Negative

While conferring positive effects on the hearer, the hearer's convenience (V-initial) confers negative effects on the speaker. On the other hand, while conferring positive effects on the speaker, the speaker's convenience (V-final) confers negative effects on the hearer.

In discussing efficiency in communicative terms, therefore, account must be taken of these negative effects along with the positive ones. That is, the effect is the sum of Positive and Negative in each case.

As will be seen below, the sum is positive in the case of the hearer's convenience and negative in the case of the speaker's convenience. This means that the former has a communicative advantage over the latter. That is, priority is given to the former over the latter from the view of communicative efficiency.

We may, account for the positive sum in the case of the hearer's convenience in the following way. That is, on the one hand, the positive effects on the hearer are great, seeing that the V-initial relaxes him immediately. On the other hand, arising from the lack of conformity to accessibility, the negative effects on the speaker are not great, seeing that the message is in any case known to him. The sum is thus positive.

We may on the other hand account for the negative sum in the case of the speaker's convenience in the following way. That is, on the one hand, arising from conformity to accessibility, the positive effects on the speaker are in any case not great, seeing that the message is known to him. On the other hand, the negative effects on the hearer are great, seeing that the V-final is of little, if any, help in prediction. The sum is thus negative.

In this way priority is given to the hearer's convenience over the speaker's.

This priority is once and for all reinforced by the difference in number, i.e.

Majority:      Hearer (Often more than one)

vs.

Minority:      Speaker (No more than one)

That is, there is often more than one hearer; see the cases where there are more than two participants: while one is speaking, the others hear him. By contrast, there is no more than one speaker at any one time; if two participants happen to begin to speak at the same time, one would stop speaking so as to assume the role of hearer; otherwise communication would not go on.

The reinforcement is considerable in view of the great communicative advantage the majority has over the minority.

Given such reinforced priority, the problem would be the cases conforming to the speaker's rather than the hearer's convenience, i.e., V-final syntax and, to a lesser extent, V-medial syntax.

The priority is expected to elicit V-initial-like sentences (i.e., those conforming to the hearer's convenience) in the cases concerned. Light is shed on such sentences in Japanese (V-final) and in English (V-medial) in 2 below.

From the viewpoint of efficiency, more attention needs to be paid to the importance of such sentences.

## 2. TOWARD EFFICIENCY

Light is shed on the above-mentioned V-initial-like sentences in Japanese (V-final) and English (V-medial).

For descriptive purposes, light is first shed on the case of English, which is provided with excellent devices yielding V-initial-like sentences, and then on the case of Japanese, which has no such devices and therefore has greater difficulties in yielding V-initial-like sentences.

### 2.1. English

The delay in processing V is not always serious in English (V-medial) where, in fact, V is often processed at the earliest stage.

This, however, does not mean that not much care needs to be taken with the earliest possible processing of V. On the contrary, its importance is clearly reflected in syntax, as is illustrated by the attempts (a)-(d) made below to yield sentences enabling the hearer to process V at the earliest stage.

#### (a) Omission

Omission of the preverbal sequence in informal situations may occur. The omission in effect gives rise to V-initial or V-quasi-initial sentences such as (1)-(2) (on the examples, see McCarthy & Carter 1994:137):

- (1) Want me to shoot him?  
([Do you] want me to shoot him?)
- (2) Perfectly easy to shoot him.  
([It's] perfectly easy to shoot him.)

The omission is accounted for in terms of the hearer's propensity in informal situations. That is, on the one hand, being relaxed and without tension, he is reluctant to make efforts in taking in the message addressed to him. On the other hand, being primarily meaning-oriented, he is not sensitive to syntactic conformity.

In this way, overriding syntactic conformity, sentences like (1)-(2) occur in informal situations which may relax the hearer immediately.

(b) Inversion

Overriding syntactic conformity, V-initial or V-quasi-initial sentences such as (1)-(2) can occur in informal situations. Meanwhile, elsewhere, without overriding syntactic conformity, there may occur V-initial/V-quasi-initial or practically V-initial/V-quasi-initial sentences.

First let's see the case of inversion as it is illustrated by (3):

(3) *Important is the cultural background.*  
Relevant to this study are their observations.

The verb *is important* consists of the 'grammatical' part *is* having to do with syntactic conformity and the 'lexical' part *important* having to do with predictability. The lexical part *important* is sentence-initial, while the grammatical part *is* occurs second in line with V-medial syntax. In this way we may have a structure-preserving V-initial sentence.

In the case of *are relevant*, the lexical part *relevant* is sentence-initial, being followed by the closely connected phrase *to this study*. With *relevant to this study* as a whole being processed as the initial sequence, the grammatical part *are* is as a result processed as the second sequence, conforming to V-medial syntax.

There arise similar sentences in the passive like (4):

(4) *Connected with this is the following fact.*  
Added to this are the cultural remarks.

The lexical parts *connected/added* are sentence-initial, being followed by the closely connected phrases *with this/to this*. With *connected with this/added to this* as a whole being processed as the initial sequence, the grammatical parts *is/are* are as a result processed as the second sequence, conforming to V-medial syntax.

(Meanwhile those sentences like the following are V-quasi-initial:

*Equally important is the cultural background.*

where the adverb *equally* occurs sentence-initially.)

## (c) Shift

Secondly let's see the case of Shift.

Serious delay in processing V is caused in English by the long preverbal sequence (the long subject noun phrase). But we have an elegant solution when use may be made of Shift.

With Shift being applied, in effect, the resultant preverbal sequence is very short in the case with the proforms i.e. *it* (cataphoric) or *there* (place holder), and also short enough in the case without them: a noun phrase which is more or less short, like the sentence-initial noun phrase in *The rumor prevailed that ...* (resulting from the shift of the *that*-clause in the appositive construction *the rumor that...*) or like the sentence-initial noun phrase in *The changes are taking place which ...* (from the shift of the relative clause *which ... in the changes which ...*)

In this way we have

It V ...  
There V ...  
NP V ...

where V is processed at the earliest stage in the case of the proforms and at a relatively early stage in the case of NP.

That is, while preserving the V-medial structure, Shift yields V-quasi-initial sentences (in the case of the proforms) or V-early-occurring sentences (in the case of the head noun phrases).

Given its applicability and effectiveness, Shift is indeed an excellent device, aside from the problem of indecision having to do with *it*-cataphoric (Shift)/*it*-anaphoric.

## (d) 'Verbalization'

Thirdly let's see another excellent device which has never been noticed as such. It is referred to as 'Verbalization' here, in view of the manner it yields practically V-initial sentences, as discussed below.

Verbalization is illustrated by (5):

## (5) Use is made of such cues.

Mention is made of these cases.

A distinction is made between the two.

Efforts are made on their behalf.

Processing the sentence-initial nouns in (5) (the ones referred to as verbal nouns in Rutherford 1987: 49-50), the hearer easily retrieves the passive counterparts of (6) familiar to him:

(6) make use of ...  
 make mention of ...  
 make a distinction between ...  
 make efforts

That is, processing the sentence-initial *use*, etc., he may predict (7), with the predictable sequences being in italics:

(7) *Use is made of ...*  
*Mention is made of ...*  
*A distinction is made between ...*  
*Efforts are made ...*

Given this, we make the point: (7) sequences are equivalent to the V-initial (8), where V is in passive or active (this is irrelevant to our discussion).

(8) Is-used ...  
 Is-mentioned ...  
 Is-distinguished ...  
 Effort ...

where as for the last example, lacking the verb 'to effort', *use is made of* an expected verbal form.

In this way, processing the sentence-initial nouns (verbal nouns) *use*, etc. of (5), while retrieving the passive counterparts of (6), the hearer may predict the sequences (7), which are equivalent to the V-initial (8). That is, (5) (Verbalization) sequences are equivalent to V-initial sentences.

While thus being an excellent device, Verbalization is all the more important when account is taken of its applicability to be extended.

Some further examples are in (9):

(9) Care is taken with such examples.  
 Account is taken of the cultural background.  
 Attention is paid to his insight.  
 Doubt is cast on their adaptability.

Processing the sentence-initial nouns (verbal nouns) *care*, etc. of (9), the hearer may predict the sequences equivalent to the V-initial the same way as (5)-(8) above.

## 2.2. Japanese

In the case of Japanese (V-final), the delay in processing V is serious, as is discussed in Ikari's studies (1990, 1992).

Careful attention therefore needs to be paid to the attempts (a)-(c) made below to mitigate the difficulties.

### (a) Omission and Inversion

For the serious delay in processing V, two devices are discussed in Ikari's studies (1990, 1992).

One is the omission of proforms. This serves to reduce the length of the preverbal sequence, mitigating the difficulties.

The other is the inversion which shifts V to the sentence-initial position. Giving rise to V-initial sentences, it is indeed an excellent device, but the problem is that it is inapplicable in formal situations (on this inapplicability, however, see 3.3. below).

As for these devices, see Ikari's studies above. No discussion will be made about them here.

### (b) Verbal-noun construction

Light is shed on the construction with a verbal noun. The verbal noun in Japanese is the one serving as the base of the verb taking the form of (10):

(10) vn-suru

vn: base  
 suru: When employed independently as a verb, it means 'do.'  
 When suffixed to vn, it corresponds to 'make,' 'take,' etc. in English in the *make*, *take*, etc. and verbal noun expressions discussed in 2.1. (d) above.

Given this, let's see (11) and (12) below. They are alike in meaning ((11)-(12)). There is nothing particular with the V-final (11) which takes a complement (...to 'that ...'). On the other hand (12) is the verbal-noun construction.

(11) ... to V  
 that  
 'e V that ...'

V takes the form of (10).

'e represents the one in pronominal form — omitted in Japanese (as for the omission, see (a) above).

(12) vn de wa ...  
           according to  
           'According to vn, ...'  
           vn is the base of V of (11).  
           (de wa 'according to' becomes *dyaa* in informal situations.)

Processing the sentence-initial *vn de wa* 'according to vn' of the verbal-noun construction (12), the hearer predicts V of the V-final counterpart (11), as is illustrated by (13)~(14) below:

(13) ... to kettei-suru.  
           that decide (lit. decision-make)  
           's decides that ...'

(14) kettei de wa ...  
           decision according to  
           'According to the decision, ...'

That is, processing the sentence-initial *kontakte de wa* 'according to the decision' of (14), the hearer predicts V of (13), i.e. *kontakte-suru* 'decide' (lit. 'decision-make').

In this way the verbal-noun construction (14) is equivalent to a V-initial sentence.

Where the omission (see *s* above) is inapplicable, the genitive occurs before *vn*, as is illustrated by (15)~(16) below. In this case the prediction of V is somewhat delayed due to this genitive.

(15) iinkai wa ... to kettei-suru.  
           committee topic that decide  
           'The committee decides that ...'

(16) iinkai no kettei de wa ...  
           committee gen. decision according to  
           'According to the committee's decision, ...'

The problem with the verbal-noun construction is that it is inapplicable elsewhere other than in the case with a complement. On this inapplicability, however, see 3.2. below.

#### (c) Nominalization

Light is shed on another device, i.e., the nominalization for special semantic prominence (17):

(17) V no wa \_\_\_\_ da.  
           onetopic is  
           V no: a. 'the one that *s* V'  
                   or  
                   b. 'the one that V *s*'  
           The one in the slot (\_\_\_\_) is in focus.  
           That is,

- a. The one that  $\emptyset$  V is \_\_\_\_\_
- or
- b. The one that V  $\emptyset$  is \_\_\_\_\_

(As for  $\emptyset$ , see (11) above.)

The nominalization (17) is illustrated by (18). What matters is: it is V (to be nominalized by *no* 'one') that is sentence-initial, (18) thus being practically V-initial.

(18) Katta no wa kore da.  
 bought one topic this is  
 'The one that  $\emptyset$  bought is this'  
 (' $\emptyset$  bought this')  
 katta no wa Bob da.  
 bought one topic B. is  
 'The one that bought  $\emptyset$  is Bob'  
 ('Bob bought  $\emptyset$ ')

The semantic prominence above may be reduced, and we may occasionally have the meaning similar to

' $\emptyset$  bought this'  
 'Bob bought  $\emptyset$ '

(In the case of the following, V is quasi-initial:

sokode katta no wa kore da.  
 there bought one topic this is  
 'The one that  $\emptyset$  bought there is this'  
 (' $\emptyset$  bought this there')  
 sokode katta no wa Bob da.  
 there bought one topic B. is  
 'The one that bought  $\emptyset$  there is Bob'  
 ('Bob bought  $\emptyset$  there')]

As regards the nominalization, therefore, the problem is the generalization of those with reduced semantic prominence (see 3.2. below).

### 3. WAY AHEAD

We have observed the attempts made in the non-V-initial syntax to take a V-initial way. Attention needs to be paid to such attempts in view of the priority given to an efficient way of communication.

This is all the truer in the V-final case as in Japanese, which must undergo serious inefficiency. In effect, while at first being felt to be clumsy, further attempts need to be made to mitigate this inefficiency.

### 3.1. One step

There arise no serious problems in informal situations where the hearer, being meaning-oriented, is not sensitive to syntactic conformity; some solutions in any case come out.

On the other hand, there often arise serious problems in formal situations where care needs to be taken with syntactic conformity.

A case like English is nonetheless not serious since ready use can be made of structure-preserving devices which enable the hearer to process V at the earliest stage; Shift and Verbalization (see 2.1. (c)-(d)) are good examples.

With Verbalization, mention is made here of its extended applicability owing to adjectival modification. See (19) below, with modification, *vis-à-vis* (5), without:

- (5) Use is made of such cues.  
Mention is made of these cases.  
A distinction is made between the two.  
Efforts are made on their behalf.
- (6) Good use is made of such cues.  
Brief mention is made of these cases.  
A sharp distinction is made between the two.  
More efforts are made on their behalf.

Verbalization is thus all the more applicable. Connected with this is the manner of negation, as illustrated by (20) (the negative counterparts of (5)):

- (20) No use is made of such cues.  
No mention is made of these cases.  
No distinction is made between the two.  
No efforts are made on their behalf.

The manner of negation as illustrated above is the best possible one, seeing that the sentence-initial negative *no* enables the hearer to immediately judge whether it is affirmative or negative. (On the manner of negation in terms of communicative efficiency, see Ikari 1992, 1994.)

At the same time Verbalization provides us with 'prefabs' with which to facilitate sentence processing; on 'perhaps,' see Bolander 1989, Yorio 1989.

Verbalization thus proves able to play a more important role.

On the other hand, with no such excellent devices available, the problem is serious indeed in Japanese. In this difficulty, one must seek a solution consciously.

In this respect those seen in 2.2. (b)-(c) draw attention. As for the former (verbal-noun construction), the problem is the application beyond the case with a complement. As for the latter (nominalization), the problem is the generalization of the case with reduced semantic prominence.

Their solution calls for another step, as will be seen in 3.2. below.

### 3.2. Another step

In relation to the verbal-noun construction, mention is made of a construction with a verbal noun in initial position whose applicability indeed draws attention.

Let's see (21)-(22) below. They are alike in meaning ((21)-(22)). There is nothing particular with the V-final (21) whose V takes the form of (10), i.e., *vn-suru*. On the other hand, *vn* in initial position in (22) is the base of V in (21). (22) is not so much a full-fledged sentence as a semi-sentence.

(21) ... V  
'e V ...

(22) vn, ...

(21) and (22) are illustrated by (23) and (24), respectively ((23)-(24)):

(23) ketuatu no henka ni tyuui-suru.  
blood pressure gen. change dat. pay attention  
'e pays attention to the change of blood pressure'  
V = tyuui-suru 'pay attention'  
(lit. 'attention-make')  
vn = tyuui 'attention'

(24) tyuui, ketuatu no henka.  
attention blood pressure gen. change  
'Attention: the change of blood pressure'  
(The dative marker *ni* is omitted; the omission will have to do with (24)'s semi-sentential nature.)

Processing the initial verbal noun *tyuui* 'attention' of the semi-sentence (24), the hearer predicts V of the V-final (23), i.e., *tyuui-suru* 'pay attention' (lit. 'attention-make'). In this way (24) is equivalent to a V-initial sentence.

As a matter of fact, the semi-sentence construction concerned and Verbalization in English (2.1. (d)) are alike in their V-initial-likeness, in effect putting the semi-sentence (24) above and the Verbalization (25) below side by side:

(25) Attention is paid to the change of blood pressure.  
(Cf. (9))

Processing the initial verbal noun *tyuui* 'attention' in (24)/attention in (25), the hearer practically processes V (*tyuui-suru* 'pay attention'/*is-attended-to*; on the latter, see (8)).

Given its applicability and, in addition, its consciousness, the semi-sentence construction is promising. It may play a major role.

As regards nominalization, the hearer may become so neutral in terms of semantic prominence as to predict V of a sentence without semantic prominence as often as V of a sentence with semantic prominence when he processes the sentence-initial sequence:

V no wa ...  
onetopic  
(See (17))

This manner of processing is viable only if V-initial-oriented efforts are made.

### 3.3. Remarks

While mention is made of the inapplicability of Inversion in Japanese in formal communication in Ikari's studies (1990, 1992, 1993, 1994), one may nonetheless observe the cases where it applies in formal written communication. That is, see (26)-(27):

(26) a. ... o nozoku.  
acc. exclude  
'*o* excludes ...'

b. nozoku, ...  
exclude

(27) a. ... o hukumu.  
acc. include  
'*o* includes ...'

b. hukumu, ...  
include  
In the *b*-versions, the accusative  
marker *o* is omitted. (See Ikari 1992.)

In (26)-(27), the *b*-versions are those resulting from Inversion. They occur in informal/formal written communication, but not in the spoken mode.

In expressing the equivalent of the English clause *excluding...* (~ *except...*) in written communication, the advantage of (26b) over (26a) has been well-known. Likewise in expressing the equivalent of the English clause *including...* in written communication, the advantage of (27b) over (27a) has been well-known.

Though still being uncommon, such V-initial sentences may gain so much ground as to serve to generalize Inversion in formal written communication.

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## CASE MARKER OR SYNTACTIC CATEGORY MARKER: THE GRAMMATICALIZATION OF *G* IN NORTHERN SUBAANEN

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

The segment *G* in Northern Subaanen is a proclitic that attaches to all nominals.<sup>1</sup> This fact in itself is not unique since many Philippine languages have proclitics that attach to nominals (in which case the clitics typically function as case markers).<sup>2</sup> Northern Subaanen, however, appears to have two layers of nominal marking. One layer distinguishes the arguments of a clause, a function assumed by the case markers *su* (ABS), *ns* (ERG) and *ss* (OBL).<sup>3</sup> The second layer of nominal marking distinguishes nominals from all other syntactic categories, a function assumed by the segment *G*. In other words, *G* appears to be a syntactic category marker, i.e. a 'nominal marker' in the literal sense. In order to verify this claim, evidence is offered to establish that *G* marks nominals and only nominals and that it is a phonologically independent morpheme. Once the function of *G* is identified, a hypothesis is made about the origin of *G* and the pathway by which it has acquired its present function.

### 2. PHONOLOGICAL ALTERNATIONS INVOLVING *G*

The segment *G* undergoes significant phonological alternations when it attaches to a word. Before [b] and [w], *G* becomes [g]; before [p], [t], or [s], it becomes [k]. Before [k], [d], [g], or [n], *G* is deleted.<sup>4</sup> Before [m] and [n], *G* becomes [ŋ]; before [l] and [y], it becomes [d]; before [?] it becomes [g] and [?] is deleted. (Vowels adjacent to a [k], [k], and [ŋ] are pharyngealized.) These alternations are shown in Table 1.<sup>5</sup>

Table 1: Phonological Alternations Involving G

G	+	pilit	→	[kpilit]	'lizard'
		tuburj	→	[ktuburj]	'rat'
		kandij	→	[kandij]	'goat'
		bulak	→	[gbulak]	'flower'
		dupi?	→	[dupi?]	'rain'
		ginaa	→	[ginaa]	'feeling' [lit. 'breath']
		mulu?	→	[jmulu?]	'face'
		nati	→	[jnati]	'young carabao'
		jis	→	[jis]	'teeth'
		sanduk	→	[ksanduk]	'ladle'
		lulud	→	[dlulud]	'knee'
		walu	→	[gwalu]	'eight'
		yugu	→	[dyugu]	'yoke'
		?ina?	→	[gina?]	'mother'
		?apuy	→	[gapuy]	'fire'
		?ulu	→	[gulul]	'head'
		?aw	→	[gataw]	'person'

A full analysis of the phonological system of Northern Subaanan is beyond the scope of this study, and so only the phonological facts pertinent to this discussion are presented here. In Northern Subaanan, only nouns have consonant clusters within a syllable. These clusters occur only word-initially and the first segment in each cluster is always a phonological variation of G, as shown in Table 1. These facts suggest that G is a separate morpheme and not part of the noun root.

### 3. CONSTRUCTIONS MARKED BY *G*

The segment *G* attaches as a clitic to nominals (and their constituents) and only nominals (and their constituents). These nominals include simple nouns, noun phrases, and nominalized clauses, as shown below.

Citation form of nominal

(1)

<i>gbata<sup>7</sup></i> <i>G=bata<sup>7</sup></i> =child	<i>dlibun</i> <i>G=libun</i> =woman	<i>gnigu</i> <i>G=nigu</i> =winnowing basket	<i>ksanduk</i> <i>G=sanduk</i> =ladle
'child'	'woman'	'winnowing basket'	'ladle'

Modifying NP

(2)

<i>su</i> su ABS	<i>ijmilitut</i> <i>G=m<sub>2</sub><sup>7</sup>ilitut</i> =ADJ=small	<i>na</i> na LK	<i>gbata<sup>7</sup></i> <i>G=bata<sup>7</sup></i> =child
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'the small child'

Genitive NP

(3)

<i>su</i> su ABS	<i>gb<sub>2</sub>dt<sup>7</sup></i> <i>G=b<sub>2</sub>dt<sup>7</sup></i> =cat	<i>na</i> na GEN	<i>gbata<sup>7</sup></i> <i>G=bata<sup>7</sup></i> =child
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'the cat of the child'

NP is basic verbal clause

(4)

<i>pinatay</i> <i>patay=-in-</i> kill	<i>na</i> <i>na</i> =R	<i>gb<sub>2</sub>dt<sup>7</sup></i> <i>G=b<sub>2</sub>dt<sup>7</sup></i> =cat	<i>su</i> <i>su</i> ABS	<i>ktubut</i> <i>G=tubut</i> =rat
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'The cat killed the rat.'

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### Relative clause

(5)

<i>mi<sup>2</sup>ita<sup>7</sup></i>	<i>u</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>ktubu<sup>1</sup></i>
<i>mi-<sup>2</sup>ita<sup>7</sup></i>	<i>u</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>G=tubu<sup>1</sup></i>
R = see	1SG/ERG	ABS	=rat
<i>na</i>	<i>kpinatay</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>gb<sup>2</sup>dt<sup>1</sup></i>
<i>na</i>	<i>G=patay=-in-</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>G=b<sup>2</sup>dt<sup>1</sup></i>
LK	=kill =R	ERG	=cat

'I saw the rat that the cat killed.'

### Cleft construction

(6)

<i>su</i>	<i>ktubu<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>giin</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>kpinatay</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>gb<sup>2</sup>dt<sup>1</sup></i>
<i>su</i>	<i>G=tubu<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>giin</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>G=patay=-in-</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>G=b<sup>2</sup>dt<sup>1</sup></i>
TOP	=rat	3SG/ABS	ABS	=kill =R	ERG	=cat

'The rat is what the cat killed.'

### Complement clause

(7)

<i>mi<sup>2</sup>onla<sup>1</sup>ju</i>		<i>di</i>	<i>kpa<sup>2</sup>kpatay</i>
<i>miG-<sup>2</sup>onla<sup>1</sup>ju=u</i>		<i>di</i>	<i>G=paG-<sup>2</sup>patay</i>
AG/R=watch=1SG/ABS		OBL	=NMR=kill
<i>na</i>	<i>gb<sup>2</sup>dt<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>di</i>	<i>ktubu<sup>1</sup></i>
<i>na</i>	<i>G=b<sup>2</sup>dt<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>di</i>	<i>G=b<sup>2</sup>dt<sup>1</sup></i>
ERG	=cat	CAT	ABS

'I watched the cat kill the rat.'

### WH-question

(8)

<i>landun</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>kpinatay</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>gb<sup>2</sup>dt<sup>1</sup></i>
<i>landun</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>G=patay=-in-</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>G=b<sup>2</sup>dt<sup>1</sup></i>
INTERR	PART	=kill =R	ERG	=cat

'What did the cat kill?'

#### 4. THE FUNCTION OF *G*

Two hypotheses may be proposed for the function of *G*: a case marker hypothesis and a syntactic category marker hypothesis.

##### 4.1. Case Marker Hypothesis

In the case marker hypothesis, *G* is analyzed as the final segment of the case markers *suG*, *nsG*, and *ssG*. Several arguments support this hypothesis. First, case markers are proclitics, and so a form like *sugbata* 'child' is a single phonological word. Following the addition of the case marker to a noun, the resulting phonological word syllabifies as shown in (9)-(11).

- (9) [sug.ba.ta<sup>?</sup>] 'child'
- (10) [suk.tu.bu<sup>?</sup>] 'rat'
- (11) [su<sup>?</sup>.na.ti] 'young carabao'

Syllabification patterns suggest that the form *sug bata* would be the preferred word division; thus, *G* could be analyzed as the final segment of all case markers.

Second, while many Philippine languages have case markers, none have been reported to have a morpheme which obligatorily occurs on all nominals, marking them simply as nominals. This cross-linguistic pattern would suggest that *G* is a segment of the case markers, rather than a separate morpheme with a unique function of its own.

Third, if the case marker hypothesis accounts for all the data, then this hypothesis would be preferred on the basis of simplicity of analysis. If *G* is the final segment of the case markers, then Northern Subaanen has only one layer of nominal marking, namely case markers, and this would be simpler than positing two layers of nominal marking, i.e. case markers plus a syntactic category marker.

##### 4.2. Syntactic Category Marker Hypothesis

In the syntactic category marker hypothesis, *G* is analyzed as a grammatically independent morpheme that obligatorily attaches to the initial position of all nominals, thereby differentiating nominals from all other syntactic categories. Crucial to this hypothesis is evidence that *G* is phonologically independent from case markers which also attach to nominals. Citation forms of noun roots provide one kind of evidence that *G* is a phonologically independent morpheme. When spoken in isolation, all noun roots obligatorily occur with *G*, as in:

- (12) [gbalay] 'house'
- [ŋnati] 'young carabao'
- [ksusu] 'cone-shaped shell'
- [dlesu<sup>?</sup>] 'mortar'
- [gitay] 'father'

One could argue, however, that *G* in citation forms of nouns is a phonologically reduced form of an obligatory case marker and so more evidence is needed.

Citation forms of case markers offer further evidence that *G* is a phonologically independent morpheme. In isolation, case markers are pronounced without a final [g], as [su], [nə], and [sə]. Furthermore, when [sug], [nag], and [səg] are spoken in isolation, Northern Subaanan speakers reject them as ungrammatical forms.

Short forms of nominalized constructions are another kind of evidence for the phonological independence of *G*. In the full form of a cleft construction, the head NP is linked to the nominalized clause by *giin*, the third person singular absolute pronoun, followed by the case marker *su* and *G*. *Su* and *G* attach as proclitics to the verb of the nominalized clause, as in (13).

(13)

su	<i>ktubuŋ</i>	<i>giin</i>	su	<i>kpinatay</i>	nə	<i>gbədiŋ</i>
su	<i>G=tubuŋ</i>	<i>giin</i>	su	<i>G=pataŋ=ín-</i>	nə	<i>G=bədiŋ</i>
TOP	=rat	3SG/ABS	ABS	=kill =R	ERG	=cat

'The rat is what the cat killed.'

In the short form of a cleft construction, the final /n/ of *giin* and the case marker *su* are deleted, while *G* is retained, as shown in (14).

(14)

su	<i>ktubuŋ</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>kpinatay</i>	nə	<i>gbədiŋ</i>
su	<i>G=tubuŋ</i>	<i>giin</i>	<i>G=pataŋ=ín-</i>	nə	<i>G=bədiŋ</i>
TOP	=rat	3SG/ABS	=kill =R	ERG	=cat

'The rat is what the cat killed.'

WH-questions provide even more conclusive evidence for the phonological independence of *G*. In a WH-question, an interrogative is followed by a nominalized clause to which *G* attaches as a proclitic, as in (15). Here *su*, *nə*, and *sə* never precede the nominalized clause. Thus, WH-questions provide indisputable evidence that *G* is phonologically independent from *su*, *nə*, and *sə*, verifying the claim that *G* is a separate morpheme.

(15)

<i>landun</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>kpinatay</i>	nə	<i>gbədiŋ</i>
<i>landun</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>G=pataŋ=ín-</i>	nə	<i>G=bədiŋ</i>
INTERR	PART	=kill =R	ERG	=cat

'What did the cat kill?'

Taken together, the evidence presented for the syntactic category marker hypothesis establishes that *G* is a phonologically independent morpheme which attaches obligatorily to all nominals and only nominals. The conclusion, then, is that *G* marks the syntactic category of 'nominal'.

## 5. THE GRAMMATICALIZATION OF *G*

Having verified that *G* is a syntactic category marker, we are interested in its origin. Assuming that *G* is a lexical or grammatical morpheme that has undergone grammaticalization, we need a motivation for the process and a pathway by which it might have achieved its current form and function (Givón 1971, Traugott and Heine 1991, and Heine, Claudi, and Hunnemeyer 1991).

### 5.1. Motivation

Looking at the synchronic facts, one obvious motivation for the grammaticalization of *G* would be the complex phonological alternations it undergoes when it attaches to the initial position of a noun root. The data presented in section 1 indicate that many of these alternations involve the sharing of one or more phonological features between *G* and the initial segment of the root, resulting in relatively tight phonological integration; consequently, it would not be surprising to find *G* becoming permanently attached to the following noun.

### 5.2. Sources and Pathways

Having proposed a possible motivation for the grammaticalization process, the next question is, what was the source for *G* and the pathway by which it became a syntactic category marker? One hypothesis is that *G* was originally the final segment of the case markers *su*, *ns*, *ss*, which split off from the case markers to become permanently attached to the noun. Once *G* became phonologically independent from the case markers, it developed a new function, namely distinguishing nominals from all other syntactic categories. This pathway is illustrated in (15).

(15) [sug] [bata<sup>?</sup>] 'child'  
 [sugbata<sup>?</sup>]  
 [suGbata<sup>?</sup>]  
 [su] [Gbata<sup>?</sup>]

A second hypothesis is that *G* is a fragment of an earlier case marker. Case markers in Northern Subaanen are proclitics; consequently, they would be a likely source for any other proclitic found on nominals. Since the vowel of *ns* and *ss* in the present case marking system is /ə/, it is not unreasonable to suppose that *G* might have had the form *əG* (or possibly *Gə*) at an earlier diachronic stage. Since mid central vowels often get deleted over time, the loss of *ə* would have left *G* stranded with the nominal to which it attached. Following the loss of *G* as a case marker, a new form might have

been pressed into service to complete the case marker paradigm. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the absolute marker *su* is the only case marker with a canonical vowel, suggesting that it may be a relatively new form. This, in turn, suggests that the source for *G* may have been an earlier absolute case marker. This pathway is illustrated in (16).

(16) [əg] [bata<sup>?</sup>] 'child'  
 [əgbata<sup>?</sup>]  
 [əGbata<sup>?</sup>]  
 [Gbata<sup>?</sup>]  
 [su] [Gbata<sup>?</sup>]  
 [suGbata<sup>?</sup>]

If the source for *G* was a case marker, then *G* has undergone the semantic bleaching that is typical of the grammaticalization process. As a case marker, the source for *G* would have identified the form that it marked as a nominal and differentiated it from other nominals in the clause. As a syntactic category marker, *G* now only identifies the form that it marks as a nominal.

#### ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ABS	absolute
ADJ	adjectivizer
AG	Agent
CAT	cataphoric
ERG	ergative
GEN	genitive
INTERR	interrogative
LK	linker
NMR	nominalizer
OBL	oblique
PART	particle
R	realis
TOP	topic
1SG	first person singular
3SG	third person singular

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Northern Subaanen is a member of the Subanon subgroup of the Southern Philippine languages. It is most closely related to Manobo. There are approximately 20,000 speakers of Northern Subaanen. The data on which this study is based were gathered between 1991 and 1995 while the author was living in Bulawan, Katipunan, Zamboanga del Norte, Mindanao while interacting with Northern Subaanen speakers in Dipolog City, Sergio Osmeña, Roxas, Manukan, Polanco, and Pinan, under the auspices of the Translators Association of the Philippines, Inc.

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Examples in this paper are written phonemically. The consonants are: /b/ [b] and [β]; /k/ [k], [k̚], and [k̚]; /d/ [d] and [t̚]; /g/ [g] and [g̚]; /l/ [l]; /m/ [m]; /n/ [n]; /ŋ/ [ŋ] and [ŋ̚]; /p/ [p]; /s/ [s]; /t/ [t]; /w/ [w]; and /y/ [y]. Glottal stop is a phoneme and is represented in all occurrences by the symbol /ʔ/. The vowels are /a/ [a] and [a̚], /i/ [i] and [i̚], /u/ [u] and [u̚], and /ə/ [ə] and [ə̚]. Vowel length is contrastive and is represented as /V/ [V] and /VV/ [VV].

<sup>2</sup>Although nominal proclitics function as case markers in many Philippine languages, distinguishing between the more agentive and the less agentive arguments of a transitive clause, they do not function as such in all Philippine languages. In some Philippine languages, nominal proclitics distinguish only between required arguments and oblique arguments. In others, they appear to function as determiners, indicating whether an argument is definite or indefinite.

<sup>3</sup>Northern Subaanen is a morphologically ergative language. It should be noted that the form *na* also functions as a linker. See examples (2) and (5).

<sup>4</sup>The segment [k] occurs in initial and intervocalic word positions. The exact phonetic quality of this segment has not yet been determined. To a nonnative speaker, it sounds much like a glottal stop, and Northern Subaanen speakers refer to it as the 'silent k'; however, Northern Subaanen speakers insist that the second intervocalic consonant in [dlo.bu.ʔan] 'dumping pit' (from the verb [labuʔ] 'fall') and [dlo.bu.kan] 'place where *dlobuk* bamboo grows' (from [dlobuk] 'soft type of bamboo') are different sounds. From this phonetic quality evidence, we conclude that [k] is an allophone of /k/ (rather than [ʔ]).

<sup>5</sup>The underlying forms in the first column of Table 1 are unattested forms since Northern Subaanen nouns never occur without *G* attached to the root. These underlying forms are reconstructed from the distribution pattern of allophones in words that are not nouns (and so do not obligatorily take *G*).

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## THE COGNITIVE/ACADEMIC LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY IN FILIPINO OF HONOR STUDENTS AT TWO SELECTED SECONDARY SCHOOLS

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

The task of education is primarily concerned with the printed form (Sibayan 1988). In education and in the intellectualization of a language, the written form of the language is primary. And true enough, it is the written form that is mainly used in school.

Gonzalez (1988) defines intellectualization as the building of registers in the language for the different intellectual disciplines or fields of specialization. This building process is expected to make available the knowledge of the world through the (Filipino) language. Filipino linguists have employed a two-pronged approach to the intellectualization of Filipino. The first is the bottom-up approach where Filipino is taught in gradual stages—first in grade one, then in grade two, and up the educational ladder. The second is the top-down approach where the difficult task of intellectualizing is done first in graduate schools, then in undergraduate institutions, high schools, and finally grade schools.

Sibayan (1988) claims that the intellectualization of Filipino is far from being achieved if, for example, the Filipino level of proficiency of our students in grade school, high school, and college has not been fully investigated. These are some baseline data that still need to be gathered.

#### 1.1. Background of the Study

As an attempt to contribute to answering this need, a study looking into the extent to which Filipino grade school students are capable of carrying out complex cognitive operations through the Filipino language was conducted in 1993. It also looked into the extent to which the Filipino language facilitated these students' general cognitive and academic progress and identified the threshold level of cognitive academic Filipino language competence which grade school students have attained. In this pioneering investigation, the researcher covered a sample of 400 grade schools in the City of Manila and three outlying towns of Metro Manila (Montañano 1993).

The study found that Filipino students included in the sample were strongest at the application stage. Application is the third in the lower levels of intellectual ability (Bloom 1956) and is one of the skills at the surface level of language proficiency (Cummins 1984). In other words, our grade school students have reached the highest stage in basic interpersonal communication skills in the use of the Filipino language, and application is the threshold level attained by these students in their complex cognitive functioning. However, due to the delimitations of the 1993 study, it failed to point out the year level at which Filipino students would have reached the other cognitive skills as thresholds.

## 1.2. Framework of the Study

The conceptual framework of the present study uses the threshold hypothesis (Cummins 1984) and the levels of cognitive processing (Bloom 1956) as adapted in the 1993 investigation. The threshold hypothesis proposes that there may be threshold levels of linguistic competence which bilingual children must attain in their first and second languages. The hypothesis further states that both must be attained in order to avoid cognitive disadvantages among bilinguals and to allow the potentially beneficial aspects of becoming bilingual to influence cognitive functioning. The different levels of cognition state the subdivisions from the simples to the most complex. These levels are knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. The figure below shows the framework of the language and cognitive processing resulting in two thresholds—conversational proficiency and cognitive/academic proficiency. In 1988, Cummins labeled conversational proficiency as BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills) and cognitive/academic proficiency as CALP (Cognitive/Academic Language Proficiency).

(Higher order cognitive skills)		Evaluation	C
		Synthesis	A
		Analysis	L
			P
(Lower order cognitive skills)	Application		B
	Comprehension		I
	Knowledge		C
			S

Figure 1: Levels of Language Proficiency

BICS has been labeled as the surface level of language proficiency while CALP as the deeper level. In other words, two thresholds are hypothesized: one below which cognitive growth would suffer without further linguistic development, and one above which cognitive growth would be enhanced.

### **1.3. Statement of the Problem**

This present study aims to find the year level where analysis, synthesis, and evaluation are attained. It also attempts to answer the following:

- 1.3.1. At what year level are analysis, synthesis, and evaluation highest?
- 1.3.2. In which higher cognitive skills are the students strongest?

### **1.4. Scope and Delimination**

The same test instrument developed, validated, and refined in 1991 and written up in 1993 was used in this present project. Only the honor sections of the first year, second year, and the third year of two schools at the high socio-economic status category were included in the present study.

### **1.5. Significance of the Study**

The present study being an off-shoot of the 1993 study will add to the corpus of data on the intellectualization of Filipino. Through this study, the year level at which the higher cognitive skills of analysis, synthesis, and evaluation are attained will be identified. A norm for high-socio economic status students will thus be set.

## **2. METHODOLOGY**

### **2.1. Selection of Subjects**

Students belonging to the high ability groupings in both De La Salle-Zobel and La Salle Green Hills were the subjects in this study. The students—first year, second year, and third year—all belonged to the honor section. The age range for first year fell at 13-14, second year 14-15, and the third year 15-16 years. Five students from De La Salle-Zobel (one first year, one second year, and three third year) and one from La Salle Green Hills enrolled in a special class in Filipino for foreigners were requested not to take the test.

All three sections from La Salle Green Hills were made up of boys while those from DLS-Zobel were co-ed.

### **2.2. The Test Instrument**

The instrument in this project is called the CALP (Cognitive/Academic Language Proficiency) threshold level test. Its purpose is to assess the Filipino language ability of selected students in two La Salle high schools in Metro Manila. Furthermore, this test serves to furnish data on the functional proficiency in Filipino of this sample.

### 2.3. Procedures

A letter of request to conduct research in the two La Salle schools was sent to the director and the principal, respectively, of De La Salle-Zobel and La Salle Green Hills. A meeting with the officers of the said schools was arranged and shortly after a schedule was given for the administration of the test.

La Salle Green Hills was scheduled on a Tuesday while De La Salle-Zobel was on a Thursday in the first week of August 1994.

### 2.4. Statistical Treatment

Each part of the test was separately scored for every student. Then, a mean was taken for each part of the test for all the students included in the study. The result are presented in tabular form.

## 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The instrument used was meant to test the functional use of Filipino language and not the students' subject language proficiency. The means (in per cent) of the students for each cognitive process are given in the following figure. (For complete results that include the other cognitive skills, please refer to Appendix A.)

Table 1: Means of the higher-order cognitive skills

	Frosh	Sophomore	Junior
Part 4 (Ana)	66%	76%	73%
5 (Syn)	54%	62%	76%
6 (Eval)	51%	70%	73%

The three higher order cognitive skills were attained at year level 3 (third year) in this ordering—synthesis first, followed by analysis, and then by evaluation. This means that our third year high school students in the honor section can manipulate the Filipino language in decontextualized academic situations. There was no need for these students to be dependent upon meaningful paralinguistic cues or to negotiate meaning through meaningful feedback. Their language skills in Filipino rely primarily on linguistic cues in the test.

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The results show that students have mastered the Filipino language beyond pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar. They have more than sufficient mastery of the less easily measurable aspects of language such as semantics and functional meaning. Their ability to manipulate the language relies heavily on linguistic cues; thus, their successful interpretation of the message in the communication, in this case the test, depends heavily on their own knowledge of the Filipino language itself. Their performance in the test is a manifestation that their ability to use the Filipino language has gone beyond paralinguistic and situational cues. In the test, the students were forced to be active cognitively because of the absence of automatized or formulaic communicative tools. Thus, the third year students' whole communication act, as manifested in the test, showed their high level of proficiency in Filipino.

It was at the third year level that synthesis was attained at 76%. Synthesis was ranked the lowest for the second year and second to the lowest for the first year. Hence, this present study supports the findings of the 1993 study which showed that synthesis was the most difficult cognitive skills for our Filipino students.

Of the three higher order cognitive skills, synthesis obtained the lowest scores, at 64% mean (see Table 2 below).

Table 2: Combined means of higher-order cognitive skills

Part	4	(Ana)	71.66%
	5	(Syn)	64.00%
	6	(Eval)	64.66%

Synthesis is a cognitive process of working with communicative elements and parts and then combining them to form a new whole. Generally, it is a skill that involves a recombination of parts of previous experience/s with new material, reconstructed into a new and more or less well integrated whole. Although third year honor students have reached this higher and complex level of thinking in the Filipino language, meaning they can easily combine elements such as sentences or paragraphs in such a way as to form a whole new pattern or structure not clearly there before, this cognitive skills needs attention from classroom teachers.

The 1993 study also showed a low mean for synthesis, at 35.53%; in fact, it was the lowest among the six cognitive skills for the grade schools students. Nonetheless, the present results show that the high school students are better in synthesis than their grade school counterparts. This is the category in the cognitive domain which most clearly provides for creative behavior on the part of the students. However, as Bloom (1956) has emphasized, this is not completely free creative expression since, generally, students are expected to work within the limits set by particular problems, materials, or some theoretical and methodological framework in their given course of studies.

Among the three higher order cognitive skills, the honor students are highest in analysis, with a mean of 71.66%. This skill, according to Bloom, is "an aid to fuller comprehension" (p.144). The subjects in this study showed a degree of mental processing that goes beyond the breaking down of materials into parts. They can readily identify or classify the elements of communication. They can move to a higher level which requires an ability to make explicit the relationships among parts by detecting these same parts and how they connect and interact. In academic situations, analysis is involved in analyzing the printed word in the form of essays, poems, speeches, editorials, and others. Finally, the students' ability to analyze involves the recognition of the way communication is organized, arranged, and structured in the Filipino language.

Evaluation among the higher order cognitive skills ranked second at 64.66% in this study. In the 1993 study, evaluation was highest. This means that Filipino students from the 6th year in grade school to the 3rd year in high school seemed to be more adept at evaluative skills. These students are proficient in the use of criteria for making judgments about the value of ideas, solutions, methods, materials, as well as standards for appraising the extent to which given particulars in the test situation are either accurate, effective, economical, or satisfying. It should be remembered, however, that evaluation is part of our daily undertakings. For instance, we cannot refrain from evaluating or judging anything that comes within our purview. We judge things as they relate to us. Hence, the complexity of evaluation entails the involvement of not necessarily complex behavior in the thinking process.

The present results validate of those of 1993 which reported that our students are proficient in comprehension (see Table 3 below)

Table 3: Means of the cognitive skills

	Frosh	Sophomore	Junior
Part 1	59%	67%	72%
2	61%	68%	79%
3	72%	77%	77%
4	66%	76%	73%
5	54%	62%	76%
6	51%	70%	73%

This means that they can translate a message into other terms or other forms. They can reorder ideas into a new configuration or they can make estimates or predictions based on an understanding of the trends, tendencies, or conditions described in a communication. Our students are also proficient in the making of inferences with respect to implications and consequences, based on any described condition.

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Another validating result for the earlier findings (1993) is that our students are equally high in the process of abstraction. Given an appropriate situation in Filipino where no mode of solution has been specified, all students at the three levels responded proficiently.

The mean of the first year honor students in application is their highest at 72%. But there is a very noticeable and consistent drop in mean percentage as they move to higher order cognitive skills, as shown in Table 3. Similarly, the means of the second year honor students gradually drop as one skill after another gets more complex. This trend means that these students are still dependent on quantifiable cues in terms of manipulating Filipino in academic situations. It confirms once again Bloom's (1956) assertion that comprehension is the largest general class of intellectual abilities and skills emphasized in schools and—in my opinion—to the detriment of the two other cognitive skills, analysis and synthesis. The results also imply that the Filipino language for the first year students is simply confined to surface fluency (everyday communicative contexts) at this stage in their academic life. This fluency still has to be translated into cognitive/academic use.

In spite all these, however, it can also be observed (see Table 3) that there is a considerable increase in mean scores as the year level advance. First year to second year recorded a high 57% while second year to third year recorded a 33% increase. The increase implies that the Filipino language at this point in time is being used by the honor students in their cognitive process.

## 5. SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This present study attempted to answer the following questions: (1) At what year level are analysis, synthesis, and evaluation highest? (2) In which higher cognitive skill are the students strongest? The same test instrument developed, validated, and refined in 1991 and written up in 1993 was used in this present research. Only the honor section of the first year, second year, and third year of two schools in the high socio-economic status category were included in the present study.

The results of the present study indicate that the higher cognitive skills in Filipino are reached at third year in affluent secondary schools. Synthesis is highest for third year, followed by analysis, and evaluation. Second year students' highest scores are in analysis, followed by evaluation, then by synthesis. On other hand, first year students are highest in analysis, followed by synthesis, and then by evaluation. The findings also confirm the earlier claim (1993) that synthesis is the most complex of all the higher order cognitive skills.

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Vygotsky (1962) in Cummins and Swain (1986) suggest that the development of children's ability to control their own cognitive processes is contingent upon their mastery of language. Thus, it can be said that high school students included in this study are proficient in their cognitive/academic language use of Filipino. They have the mastery of their mother tongue although in differing degrees of proficiency. Educational programs for the intellectualization of Filipino in the schools covered by the study must have fostered high levels of proficiency in Filipino.

Although these two studies (1993 and the present one) have helped identify levels of the cognitive/academic language proficiency in Filipino of our students and in its own way contributed to the on-going research on language development in the Philippines, further study should include those students in other situations—public, private and low, medium, high socio-economic schools—in order to establish a norm.

A parallel study could be launched for the English language. Results (from both English and Filipino) can be the basis for a comparative study. Another area of study could be a refinement of descriptors for the level of proficiency under each cognitive skill in the use of the Filipino language. This will help in specifying degrees of functional proficiency in the language manipulation of Filipino in academic contexts.

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## THE COGNITIVE/ACADEMIC LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY IN FILIPINO

## APPENDIX A

Means of the higher-order cognitive skills

	Fresh		Sophomore		Junior	
	DLS-Z	LSGH	DLS-Z	LSGH	DLS-Z	LSGH
Part 1	61	57	71	57	75	68
2	62	59	64	56	71	87
3	71	73	80	62	68	85
4	66	65	66	90	64	81
5	58	49	57	53	72	79
6	68	33	70	70	75	70

## ISINAI: RECONSTRUCTIONS AND RELATIONS

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

Isinai is spoken in a number of communities along the Magat River in Nueva Vizcaya, principally in the towns of Bambang, Dupax and Aritao.<sup>1</sup> The earliest records of this area, often referred to as "Ituy," indicate that the ethnic and linguistic distinctiveness of the Isinai was well established at the coming of the Spaniards. Missionary work of varying degrees of intensity succeeded in the Christianizing of the people of this area by 1738 (Keesing 1962:285). From the earliest recorded history until the present, Isinai speakers were in contact with other ethnic groups including the Ifugaw, Kallahan, Ilongot, Gaddang, and Ibanag, and, most recently, Iloko and Tagalog. Of these, the Ifugaw are the closest linguistic relatives of the Isinai, both belonging to the Central Cordilleran (CC) group of languages (Reid 1974). Kallahan and Ilongot are more remotely related to Isinai; both are Southern Cordilleran (SC) languages. SC and CC being coordinate descendants of one ancestral tongue, Proto South-Central Cordilleran (PSCC).<sup>2</sup> Gaddang and Ibanag are Northern Cordilleran languages and less closely related to the others. Figure 1 presents a sketch of these relationships, based on the findings of Reid (1989), and the map of Nueva Vizcaya in Figure 2 shows the location of Isinai and its neighbors.

### 2. LINGUISTIC AFFILIATION

Within CC, Isinai represents a first order of divergence, having separated from the rest of the CC speakers at a minimum of one thousand years ago and a likelihood of two thousand years ago. Figure 3 shows the internal relationships of this subfamily.

Phonologically, Isinai shares with (at least some dialects of) all CC languages except Itneg and Balangaw the weakening of PCC \*l in many environments to its ultimate disappearance. It also shares with Kalinga and Ifugaw the rule whereby, in most environments, PCC \*i became /o/.<sup>3</sup>

Lexicostatistics does not provide much insight into the history of the language. Predictably, Isinai is lexically closest to Ifugaw, with which it has been contiguous, at least until recently. And equally unsurprising is its lexical distance from Itneg, the farthest CC community from the Magat Valley. Interestingly, however, Isinai is as similar, in lexicostatistical count only, to Kalinga as it is to Bontok and Kankanaey. Its relationship to Balangaw is intermediate between the Itneg and the latter figures.<sup>4</sup>

Innovations which Isinai shares with other CC languages, on the other hand, do provide some evidence of a closer relationship to the Nuclear Cordilleran languages than with Kalinga-Itneg. In fact, there are no lexical innovations shared exclusively with Itneg, and only three shared exclusively with Kalinga. These are reflexes of PCC \*lukuy 'to accompany,' \*ŋutu 'tooth,' and \*sukba 'short, low.' Table 1 shows the PCC items shared exclusively by Isinai and at least two of the three branches of Nuclear Cordilleran. Those items shared by Isinai and Bontok-Kankanaey are listed in Table 2, and those shared by Isinai and Ifugaw appear in Table 3. There are no items, in the available data, which are exclusively shared by Balangaw and Isinai.<sup>5</sup>

### 3. INTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS

Internally Isinai shows some dialect diversity. Each of the three communities uses some terms not shared by the others. On a standard 100-item lexicostatistical list, IsiB and IsiD show the closest relationship (95%), while IsiA and IsiD show the farthest (89%). In terms of shared innovations, IsiB and IsiD participate in 70% of the lexical and 90% of the shared semantic innovations, whereas IsiA shares only 58% of lexical and 70% of semantic innovations with both IsiB and IsiD. This would argue for more intense or intimate contact between Bambang and Dupax than there was (or is) between Aritao and either of the other two.

There is very little evidence of morphological variation among the three communities. The pronominal system reconstructed by Reid (1979) for the long nominative forms in CC is:

1s.	*siyakin, *sakin	1p.	*dakami, *dikami
2s.	*si?ika, *sik?a	2p.	*dakayu, *dikayu
1+2s.	*da?ita, *dita, *data	1+2p.	*dataku, *ditaku
3s.	*siya	3p.	*da?ida, *dida

These are reflected in Isinal as:

	IsiA	IsiB	IsiD
1s.	sa?on/so?on	ta?on	sa?on
2s.	si?a	si?a	si?a
1+2s.	dita	dita	dita <sup>6</sup>
3s.	siya	siya	siya
1p.	di?ami	da?mi	da?mi
2p.	da?yu	da?yu	da?yu
1+2p.	dita?u	dita?u	dita?u
3p.	dira	dira	dira

As is evident, these minor differences again set IsiA apart from the other two dialects.

On the basis of phonology, IsiB differs from the other two communities in two major respects. First, IsiB has experienced changes in the voiceless alveolars such that \*s is reflected as /t/ everywhere except when followed by the high front vowel /i/. And \*t is reflected as /s/ when followed by /i/. This latter rule occurs nowhere else in CC languages; it occurs in Ilongot and two dialects of Kalanguya among the SC languages; and it is common in the Northern Cordilleran languages, such as the nearby Ibanag and Gaddang. Secondly, the voiced stops /b d g/ in IsiA and IsiD have developed the variants /v r x/ in most postvocalic positions. IsiB has the variants /v r k/, but only in certain intervalic environments.

#### 4. INNOVATIONS

Items which are peculiar to Isinal are found at the lexical, semantic, and morphological/phonological levels.

#### 4.1. Lexical Innovations

An item is considered a lexical innovation if there is no readily apparent ancestral item from which it can be derived. Those which are shared by all three Isinali-speaking communities provide the surest evidence of having the longest history within the language, although borrowing from one community to another is always a possibility. Such items include the following, which are listed in their likely pre-Isinali form for ease of comparison with other languages:

*?a(n)tinik	IsiA    titti:no?, IsiB    ?ansisino?, IsiD    ?ati?tino? 'dragonfly'
*?amiy	IsiA, IsiB, IsiD    ?amoy 'to go home'
*(k)u[iw]a	IsiA, IsiB    ?uwa, IsiD    ?uwwa 'elder sibling' <sup>7</sup>
*(k)ud[iu]tik	IsiA, IsiD    ?uritti?, IsiB    ?uruti?, ?urusi? 'few'
*bilas	IsiA, IsiD    mabbes, IsiB    mabbet 'good' <sup>8</sup>
*b[ai]lsan	IsiA, IsiB, IsiD    besan, IsiB    betan 'today'
*biyip ~ bulip	IsiA, IsiB, IsiD    biyoppa, IsiA, IsiB    biyop, IsiD vioppa 'sky'
*butta	IsiA, IsiD    butta 'outside,' IsiB    button, IsiD buttanar 'east'
*dagit	IsiA    dexit, IsiB    daket, IsiD    daxet 'bad' <sup>9</sup>
*dattu	IsiA, IsiB, IsiD    dattu, IsiB    datut 'where?'
*ganu	IsiA    ma?a?gano, IsiB    makano, IsiD    maxano 'easy'
*kaldik	IsiA, IsiB    kerre?, IsiB    kere?, IsiD    kare? 'armpit'
*kai[kai]	IsiA, IsiB, IsiD    kai[kai] 'penis'
*limik	IsiA, IsiB, IsiD    lom?an 'all'
*lakil	IsiA, IsiB, IsiD    le?e 'taro'

*m[ai]kliŋ ~ m[ai]kliŋ	IsiA, IsiB, IsiD me?oŋ 'to sit' <sup>10</sup>
*magali:la	IsiA, IsiD maxali:la, IsiB makali:la 'banana'
*pitu(l)	IsiA, IsiB pituwan, IsiD pittuwan 'to live, dwell'
*tipit	IsiA, IsiB, IsiD topet 'narrow'
*tagpiyaw	IsiA, IsiD taxpiyaw, IsiB tagpiyaw 'light (weight)'
*tiklaŋ	IsiA, IsiD ti?laŋ, IsiB si?laŋ 'skinny' <sup>11</sup>

Those lexical innovations which are shared by two of the three Isinai-speaking communities include:

*?andi?iy	IsiA ?andiye, IsiD ?ande 'how?'
*?udiya	IsiB ?udiyam, IsiD ?uriyam 'don't,' IsiB ?udiya 'not (negator of non-past verbs)'
*bakbak	IsiB, IsiD ba?ba? 'word, language,' IsiD ba?ba? 'to say'
*buduy	IsiA mambuburoy, IsiB mambuburuy 'to tell a lie'
*bugu(l)	IsiA, IsiD buxu: 'pubic hair'
*dagik	IsiB, IsiD daki? 'raft' <sup>12</sup>
*dakwaw	IsiB mara?da?waw, IsiD mara?da?waw 'to tell a lie'
*daijilut	IsiB, IsiD maraijilut 'smooth'
*diklaw	IsiB, IsiD di?law 'lightning'
*kaldaw	IsiA, IsiD maije:raw 'to steal' <sup>13</sup>
*kalijkiŋ	IsiA kalijkiŋ, IsiB kaledjkeŋ 'ankle' <sup>14</sup>
*kigib	IsiB maŋgob, IsiD na?gov 'to burn'
*(k)intiulg	IsiA ?intox, IsiB ?intog 'torch' <sup>15</sup>
*lamnuwan	IsiB, IsiD lamnuwan 'bamboo' <sup>16</sup>

*[ai]nip	IsiB ʔeyano:pan, IsiD ʔenopan 'west' <sup>17</sup>
*limik	IsiA, IsiB lomo? 'grass'
*lipatu	IsiB lipatu, IsiD lippato 'soft' <sup>18</sup>
*maŋjaw	IsiA, IsiB maŋjaw 'cat'
*pamintu?an	IsiA paminto?an, IsiD pamintu?an 'wrist'
*pulla	IsiA, IsiB pulla 'seed for planting' <sup>19</sup>
*p[ai]lut	IsiA piyut, IsiB peyut 'mud'
*sabayat	IsiB sabayat, tavayat, IsiD sava:yat 'answer' <sup>20</sup>
*saliisyiy	IsiA, IsiD saloysoy 'comb' <sup>21</sup>
*tadim	IsiB, IsiD tarom 'sweet potato'
*t[ai]lpa	IsiA, IsiD te:pon, IsiD mane:pa 'to smell, sniff'
*talpaw	IsiA ʔate:paw, IsiB te:paw 'shallow'
*tay	IsiB, IsiD tay 'yet, still'
*waʔid	IsiA wayir, IsiD wayyir 'to lose' <sup>22</sup>

Lexical items which are unique to one community include:

*ʔalikaga	IsiD ʔalikaxa 'anger'
*ʔamila[st]	IsiB ʔamilat 'to swallow'
*ʔaytu	IsiB ʔaytu 'whatchamacallit'
*ʔigbu	IsiB ʔikbu 'vagina'
*ʔugpu	IsiB ʔugpu 'dust'
*bitlaj	IsiD botloj 'to defecate' <sup>23</sup>
*bitlaj	IsiD botloj 'grass'

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*bilig	IsiB beleg 'ankle'
*budbud	IsiD bubbur 'to rub'
*dalimdim	IsiD deyomdom 'to fear' <sup>24</sup>
*[dst]a[st]mik	IsiB manatmo? 'to learn' <sup>25</sup>
*diki[st]	IsiB mad?ot 'forest'
*dikdik	IsiD di?di? 'to defecate'
*(k)ib[st]aw	IsiB maijibtaw 'to say'
*(k)[ai]lwas	IsiD ?e:was 'path'
*kapug[st]aj	IsiB ?apugtaj 'sibling'
*kinim	IsiD ?o?nom 'to hit (with the fist)'
*(k)itlum	IsiB ?otlum 'raincloud'
*kila	IsiD ?i?ilan, maij?ila 'to delouse'
*kugas	IsiA maxa?u?gasan 'poor'
*lamu[k?]lig	IsiB lamu?og 'hill' <sup>26</sup>
*mangali:law	IsiA mangale:law 'butterfly'
*matuti:na	IsiD matuti:na 'shooting star'
*minunu[ly]u	IsiB minunuyu 'smooth'
*ja:ni	IsiD ja:ni 'buttocks'
*pakpus	IsiD pa?pus 'to fall' <sup>27</sup>
*pilgi[st]	IsiB pilgot 'to flow'
*pinigpig	IsiD pinexpex 'rice wine'
*[st]a[k?]apil	IsiB ta?apil 'path'
*sapi:lan	IsiD sapt:lan 'fish'

*sik̚jɪt	IsiD si?si?jɪt 'to cry, weep'
*sikuŋ	IsiA si?uŋ 'ladle'
*[st]imi[st]	IsiB simit 'to burn'
*si:si	IsiA mani:si 'to split' <sup>28</sup>
*tadag	IsiD tadax 'frog' <sup>29</sup>
*ta[k?]aw	IsiD ta?aw 'mouth'
*talajtagad	IsiB teyalakar 'river' <sup>30</sup>
*talikdik	IsiB tayo?to? 'stream'
*tiktik	IsiA te:te? 'vagina'
*tikuŋ	IsiB ti?uŋ 'ladle' <sup>31</sup>
*tugmu(l)	IsiA tuxtuxmu 'echo'
*tuldu	IsiA tuldu 'fish' <sup>32</sup>

#### 4.2. Semantic Shift

Items are considered innovative if their meanings are significantly different from those ascribed to the forms which are likely ancestral. Included here are those words which have apparent cognates in other languages but for which an ancestral meaning is not yet proposed. Those items which occur in all three Isinai-speaking communities include the following:

*?ap?ap	'to hide' cf. PC *?ap?ap 'to cover with something' IsiA, IsiB, IsiD ?ap?ap 'to hide'
*?apipit	'sheath (for bolo)' cf. KnkN ?apipit 'to shell, to strip off with the hand' IsiA, IsiB, IsiD ?apipit 'sheath (for bolo)'
*bilwa	'to split' cf. PCC *bilwa 'half of something' IsiA, IsiD bewon, IsiB, IsiD be:wā 'to split'
*dama	'old (obj.), long (time)' cf. PC *dama [+ time] IsiA, IsiB, IsiD damdama 'old (obj.),' IsiA, IsiB damdama 'long (time)'

*di?iy	'there is (positive existential)' cf. PCC(R) *di?iy 'that (distant)' IsiA, IsiB, IsiD diyoy 'there is, there are'
*duliw	'betel leaf' cf. PPh *dulaw 'yellow' IsiA, IsiB, IsiD duwew 'betel leaf'
*lidud	'to swell' cf. DgtC lidud 'to have a bloated belly because of gas in the intestines' IsiA, IsiD lumdur, IsiB lumdud 'to swell'
*mimmiy	'later' cf. KnkN miymiy 'slow, sluggish, lazy' IsiA, IsiB, IsiD mase:rot 'pretty'
*plyik	'land, soil' cf. PCC *plyik 'mud' IsiA, IsiB, IsiD phyo? 'land, soil'
*siy?aj	'sun' cf. PCC *siy?aj 'dawn, sunrise; to bask in the sun' IsiA, IsiD soy?aj, IsiB toy?aj 'sun'
*saldit	'pretty' cf. PC *saldet 'clever, diligent' IsiA, IsiB, IsiD mase:rot 'pretty'
*tablak	'soil, mud, dust' cf. PCC *tablak 'carabao wallow' IsiA tavve? 'dust,' IsiB tabbe? 'land, soil,' IsiD tavve? 'mud'
*tayab	'wing' cf. PC *tayab 'to fly' IsiA, IsiB tayab, IsiD tayav 'wing'

Several items showing semantic shift occur in two of the three Isinai-speaking communities:

*?amta	'friend' cf. PSCC *?amta 'to know' IsiB, IsiD ?am?amta 'friend'
*?yu:na	'old (person)' cf. PPh(C) *-?una 'first' IsiB, IsiD ?yu:na 'old (person)'
*bu?uk	'feather' cf. PAn(Dy) *buhuk 'hair' IsiA, IsiB bu:? 'feather'

*kuyapin	'butterfly' cf. Bon <i>koyap</i> 'to remove something from water, using cupped hands or a dipper in a sweeping motion'
	IsiB <i>?uyapyapon</i> , IsiD <i>kukkuya:pon</i> 'butterfly' <sup>33</sup>
*pagpag	'to hit (with an object)' cf. PPh(Z) *paGpaG 'to shake,' KnkN <i>pagpag</i> 'to hurt by knocking something against the thing hurt, to knock out (teeth).' Ifg <i>pagpag</i> 'to beat off something that lies on a surface'
	IsiB <i>pagpag</i> , IsiD <i>paxpax</i> 'to hit (with an object)'
*pitik	'sand' cf. PPh(Z) *pitik 'mud'
	IsiA, IsiD <i>pito?</i> 'sand'
*saŋgup	'soup' cf. Bon <i>saŋgop</i> 'to drink down, to quaff'
	IsiB <i>saŋgup</i> 'soup'

Those items showing semantic innovations which occur in only one of the communities include:

*?agud	'paddle (of boat)' cf. PC *?agud 'to scrape, abrade'
	IsiA <i>pan?ahur</i> 'paddle'
*?amoi	'slave' cf. PC *?ameiŋ 'reduced to poverty'
	IsiD <i>?inamoiŋ</i> 'slave'
*?ay?ay	'slow' cf. Ilk <i>?ay?ay</i> 'pitiful, sad,' KnkN <i>ma?ay?ayan</i> 'indolent, slothful'
	IsiD <i>ma?ay?ayan</i> 'slow'
*ba:ba	'lip' cf. PAn(Dy) *baqbaq 'mouth'
	IsiA <i>barwa</i> 'lip'
*banu[st]	'slow' cf. Ilk <i>banus</i> 'refractory, unmanageable (of animals)'
	IsiB <i>banut</i> 'slow'
*bigis	'ant' cf. PSCC *bigis 'worm'
	IsiB <i>bikit</i> 'ant'
*dakdak	'slave' cf. PC *dakdak 'to set a trap for'
	IsiD <i>?ara?da</i> 'slave'
*dilas	'to swallow' cf. KnkN <i>dil?as</i> 'to taste'
	IsiD <i>dilas</i> 'to swallow'

*gitib	'straight' cf. Ifg gotob 'orderly (of rice bundles)' IsiB gotob 'straight'
*gasgas	'to slice' cf. PPh *gasgas 'to wear by rubbing' IsiB manja?gat 'to slice'
*gulid	'anus' cf. Isg xorid 'coccyx' IsiD gulir 'anus'
*kidim	'forehead' cf. PCC *kidim 'eyebrow' IsiA ?orom 'forehead'
*kanik	'ant' cf. Isg kannit 'to bite,' Itawis kannit 'bedbug' IsiD kane? 'ant'
*liga?u	'to winnow' cf. PCC *liga?u 'winnowing basket' IsiD lihawu 'to winnow'
*pagiy	'garlic' cf. Ifg pagpagayan 'betel nuts, beans, peas' IsiB manpakoy 'garlic'
*panal	'carabao wallow' cf. PC *panaR 'shore' IsiD pane: 'carabao wallow'
*pukil	'calf (of leg)' cf. PNCC *pukil 'shoulder,' DgtC pukil 'thigh' IsiD po?e: 'calf (of leg)'
*s[iu]plai	'swidden' cf. PPh *suplai 'sprout, shoot' IsiD sopperi 'swidden'
*tamil	'lip' cf. PSCC *tamil 'cheek' IsiD tamil 'lip'
*tayab	'feather' cf. Plsi *tayab 'wing' IsiD tayav 'feather'
*tayaw	'wing' cf. PCC *tayaw 'to fly' IsiA tayaw 'wing'
*wilwil	'throat' cf. PCC *wilwil 'molars' IsiD we:we 'throat'

## 4.2. Morphological/Phonological Change

Items are considered innovative if they exhibit some morphological and/or phonological variation from the ancestral terms other than those changes which are predicted by regular rule. Those which occur in all three communities include:

*aptiyik	'short' cf. PCC *aptikiy 'short'
	IsiA, IsiD ?aptiyo?, IsiB ?attiyo? 'short' <sup>34</sup>
*balujbuŋ	'bamboo water container' cf. PPh *buŋbuŋ 'bamboo water container'
	IsiA biyurjbui, IsiB beyoŋboŋ, IsiB, IsiD beyomboŋ 'bamboo water container'
*dalaŋtijy	'bridge' cf. PC *raŋtay 'bridge'
	IsiA, IsiB, IsiD deyaŋtay 'bridge' <sup>35</sup>
*simu:sum	'fragrant' cf. PC *say[au]musum 'fragrant'
	IsiA, IsiD simu:sum, IsiB simu:tum 'fragrant'
*takdug	'to fall' cf. PMC(R) *tek[nd]ag 'to fall'
	IsiA, IsiD ta?dux, IsiB ta?dug 'to fall'

The data contain no items demonstrating morphological/phonological change shared by two of the communities. Those appearing in only one research site include:

*?andukkil	'long (object)' cf. PPh(Z) *[h]a-ndu, PSCC *?andukkiy 'long'
	IsiA ?andu?ol 'long (object)'
*?uwag	'wide' cf. PPh *hawag 'wide'
	IsiA ?uwax 'wide'
*bagbag	'word, language' cf. Pli *bakbak 'word, language'
	IsiA baxbax 'word, language'
*dakulay	'old (person)' cf. PC *dakel 'ancestor'
	IsiD da?u:way 'old (person)'
*dalak	'land, soil' cf. PC *daRat 'sand'
	IsiA deya? 'land, soil'
*lakbisad	'outside' cf. PPh(Z) *baliska[d] 'to turn inside out'
	IsiB la?bitar, la?bitad 'outside' <sup>36</sup>

*lipitu	'soft' cf. Pisi *lipatu 'soft' IsiA lipitu 'soft'
*lupag	'saliva, to spit' cf. PC *lugpa 'to spit' IsiA lupax 'to spit, saliva'
*mantaytayam	'bird' cf. PC *tayab 'to fly,' Ilk tumatayab 'bird' IsiA mantaytayam 'bird'
*pilat	'scar' cf. PPh *pilat 'scar' IsiA peyat 'scar'
*sikin	'I' cf. PCC(R) *sakin 'I' IsiA so?on 'I'
*sintug	'to hit (with the fist)' cf. PNPh *sintuk 'to hit, box' IsiD sintux 'to hit (with the fist)'
*tu[tu]	'mouth' cf. PAn(B) *[C]uk[C]uk 'mouth' IsiB tututup 'mouth'

## 5. CONCLUSION

The linguistic evidence demonstrates that Isinai has a long history of independent development, separate from its CC relatives. It does not contribute much, however, to our knowledge of the prehistory of the Isinai-speaking people in terms of the migratory route that brought them to this area. It is possible, though unlikely, that they diverged from the other CC-speaking peoples while still on the western side of Luzon and took a path south of the Cordillera Central, through the Balete Pass, to their present locale. Were this the case, we would expect some linguistic evidence as a residue of contact with the SC languages. As it is, there are very few innovations, as shown in Table 4, which are exclusively shared by Isinai and SC languages.

More likely is a route southward along the Cagayan River to where the Magat empties into it. This is the direction which Keesing (1962:335) suggests for the peopling of Kalinga, that is, a southerly migration along the Cagayan and then upward along the Chico River. Since it is generally accepted that the Itneg-, Bontok- and Kankanaey-speaking peoples entered the Cordillera Central from the western coast, and given the close linguistic relationship among Bontok/Kankanaey, Balangaw, and Ifugaw, we would have to posit a very early distribution of CC-speaking peoples from the Ilocos coast to the northern shores of Luzon prior to this later dispersal. This is not an impossibility, although there is no evidence to substantiate this position. Any remnant CC-speaking populations in Ilocos Norte or northern Cagayan would have been absorbed easily into the expanding Iloko-speaking population, and continued movement on the part of the ancestors of the Kalinga and Isinai would have been motivated by the entrenched position of Northern Cordilleran-speaking peoples in the Cagayan Valley. Nevertheless,

evidence of prolonged contact between Isinal and Kalinga is very thin, especially when compared with the evidence for a longer period of contact with speakers of Nuclear Cordilleran languages (even discounting later borrowings from Ifugaw).

A third possible migration route is that which passes through the Cordillera Central, north of the Ibaloy-speaking area, through the portions now occupied by speakers of Kankanaey, Bontok, and Ifugaw. We cannot know what forces may have motivated a people, so long ago, to penetrate the agriculturally unattractive mountains and to persist in an eastward direction until the central valleys were reached. We do have evidence that similar population movements occurred under pressure from the military and religious efforts of the Spaniards in the centuries after contact. It is also known that the Ifugaw had expanded into the Magat Valley and that they retreated back into the Cordillera Central in the eighteenth century. This central route, then, presents the possibility of a more or less continuous contact with speakers of Nuclear Central Cordilleran languages until recent centuries. It will take the combined efforts of archaeologists and physical anthropologists, as well as those of historians and linguists, to sort through the evidence for the prehistory of the Isinal speakers.

ISINAI: RECONSTRUCTIONS AND RELATIONS

**Abbreviations**

Blw	Balangaw	Knk	Kankanaey
Bon	Bontok	KnkN	Northern Kankanaey
CC	Central Cordilleran	KnkS	Southern Kankanaey
DgtC	Casiguran Dumagat	PA	Proto-Austronesian
Ibl	Ibaloy	PC	Proto-Cordilleran
Ifg	Ifugaw	PCC	Proto-Central Cordilleran
Ilk	Iloko	PHn	Proto-Hesperonesian
Isg	Isnag	PMC	Proto-Meso Cordilleran
Isi	Isinai	PNCC	Proto-North Central Cordilleran
IsiA	Isinai of Aritao	Png	Pangasinan
IsiB	Isinai of Bambang	PNPh	Proto-Northern Philippine
IsiA	Isinai of Dupax	PPh	Proto-Philippine
Itg	Itneg	PSCC	Proto-South Central Cordilleran
Kar	Karaw	SC	Southern Cordilleran
Kla	Kalinga		

PCC		
* <i>ʔaʔi:w</i>	'shadow'	Bon, Blw, Ifg
* <i>ʔapis</i>	'to fight'	KnkN, Ifg
* <i>ʔiba</i>	'sibling'	Bon, KnkN, Ifg
* <i>dipag</i>	'to lie on the back'	Bon, KnkN, Ifg
* <i>dika</i>	'dirty'	Bon, Ifg
* <i>kipit</i>	'wet'	Bon, Blw, Ifg
* <i>kugut</i>	'to sew'	Bon, Blw, Ifg
* <i>kupkup</i>	'skin'	Bon, KnkN, KnkS, Ifg
* <i>ligab</i>	'to burn'	KnkN, KnkS, Ifg
* <i>lamān</i>	'deer'	KnkS, Blw
* <i>(l)ind[iu]N</i>	'G-string'	Bon, Ifg
* <i>mu</i>	'if'	Bon, KnkN, KnkS, Ifg
* <i>puknas</i>	'to wipe'	KnkN, Blw, Ifg
* <i>putu</i>	'belly'	Bon, KnkN, Blw, Ifg
* <i>s[ai]ʔid</i>	'to wait'	Bon, KnkN, KnkS, Blw, Ifg
* <i>tikin</i>	'different'	Bon, KnkN, KnkS, Blw, Ifg
* <i>tuyu</i>	'regret'	Bon, KnkN, Ifg

Table 1. Innovations Exclusively Shared by Isinai and Nuclear Central  
Cordilleran Languages

## ISINAI: RECONSTRUCTIONS AND RELATIONS

## PCC

* <i>agis</i>	'to slice'	Bon
* <i>aklag</i>	'clothes'	Bon
* <i>alintayuk</i>	'summit'	KnkN
* <i>aptikiy</i>	'short'	KnkS
* <i>ud(d)u</i>	'summit'	Bon
* <i>gabgab</i>	'to rub'	KnkN
* <i>galasugas</i>	'rough'	Bon, KnkN, KnkS
* <i>gamayugiy</i>	'finger'	Bon, KnkN
* <i>guwab</i>	'below, low'	Bon, KnkN, KnkS
* <i>l[ai]miw</i>	'to swim'	KnkN
* <i>liwa</i>	'long (time)'	Bon
* <i>pikut</i>	'to turn, bend'	Bon, KnkN
* <i>sana</i>	'that (near)'	Bon, KnkN, KnkS
* <i>tuglik</i>	'to stab, stick in'	KnkN

Table 2. Innovations Exclusively Shared by Isinai and Bontok-Kankanaey

PCC		PCC	
* <i>lalatiy</i>	'liver'	* <i>sidil</i>	'strong'
* <i>?an</i>	'what?'	* <i>sagifit</i>	'wild pig'
* <i>ipwat</i>	'to bring, carry'	* <i>sanit</i>	'exchange'
* <i>igwas</i>	'to wash (object)'	* <i>tayaban</i>	'meteor'
* <i>datig</i>	'flood'	* <i>tilak</i>	'to lose'
* <i>gandiw</i>	'rat'	* <i>waw(w)an</i>	'right (side)'
* <i>kapya</i>	'to make, do'		

Table 3. Innovations Exclusively Shared by Isinai and Ifugaw

## PSCC

*?agil	'soul, spirit'	Ibl
*dayus	'flood'	Ibl
*gilata	'ant'	Png
*kapiya	'to weave (mat)'	Kar
*kitiw	'bamboo water container'	Ibl

Table 4. Innovations Exclusively Shared by Isinai and SC Languages

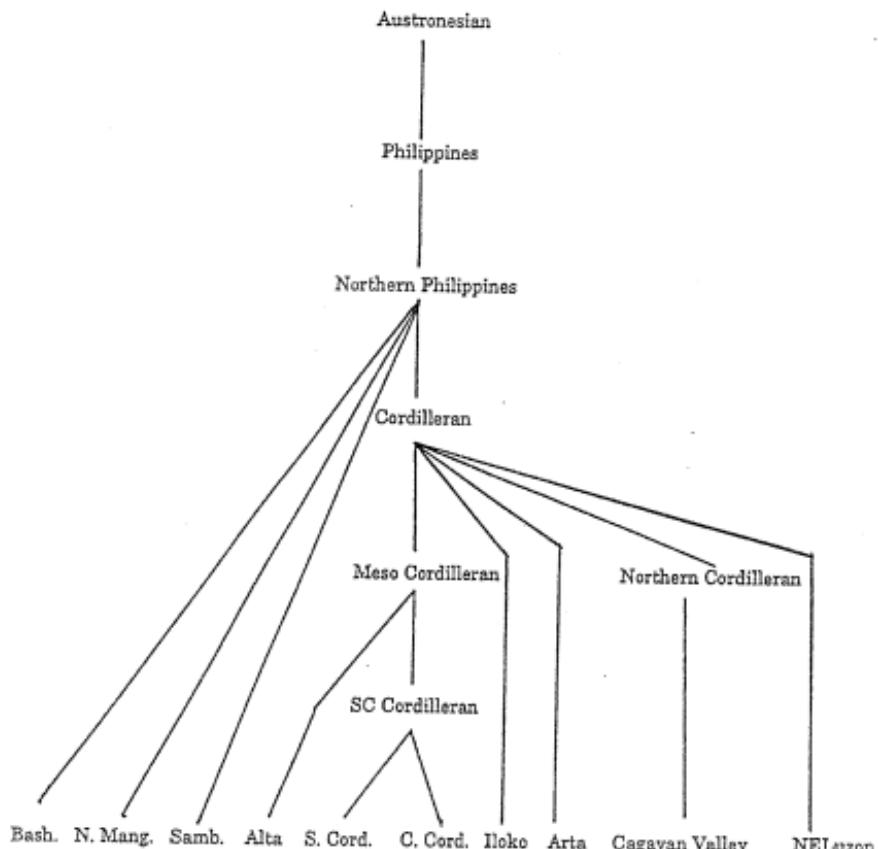


Figure 1. External Relationships of the Central Cordilleran Languages

Bash.	Bashic
C. Cord.	Central Cordilleran
NELuzon	Northeastern Luzon
N. Mang.	Northern Mangyan
Samb.	Sambalic
SC	South-Central
S. Cord.	Southern Cordilleran

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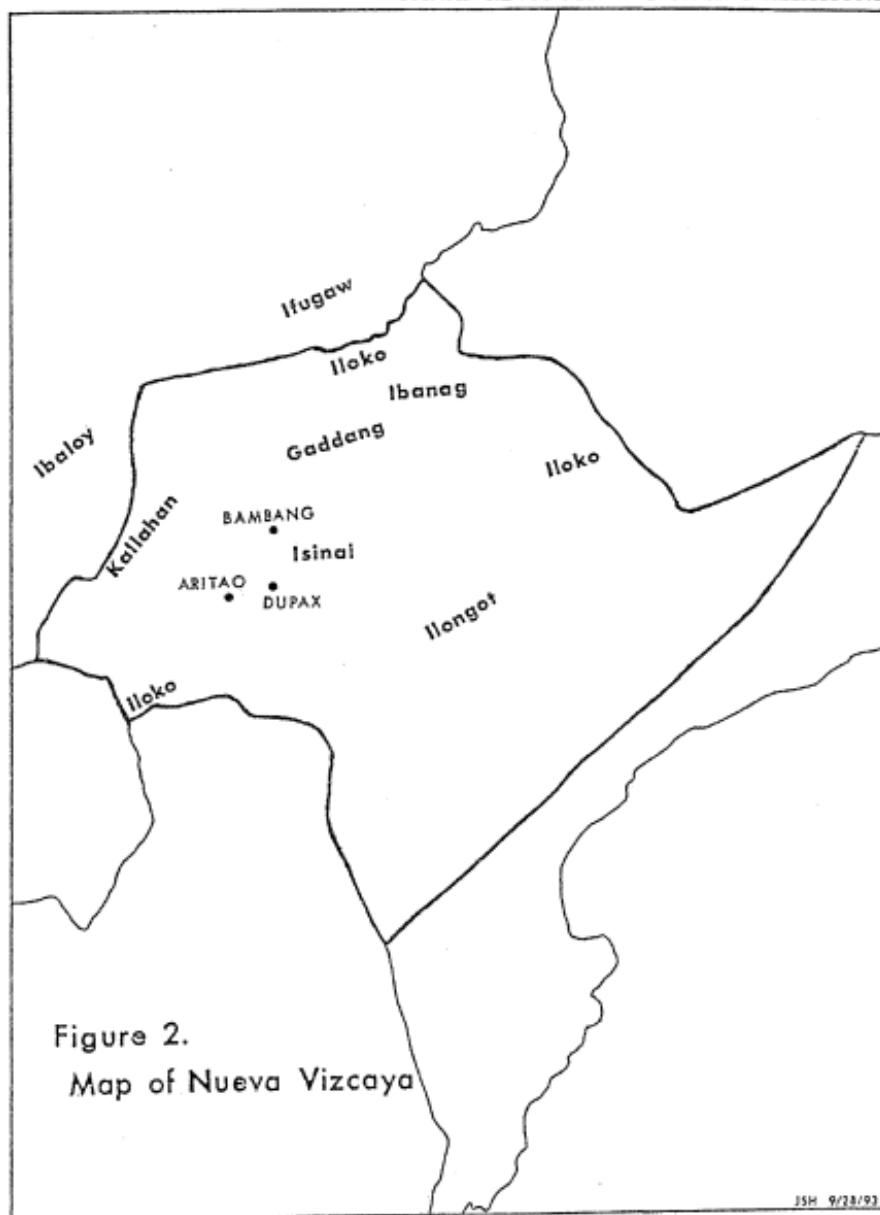


Figure 2.

Map of Nueva Vizcaya

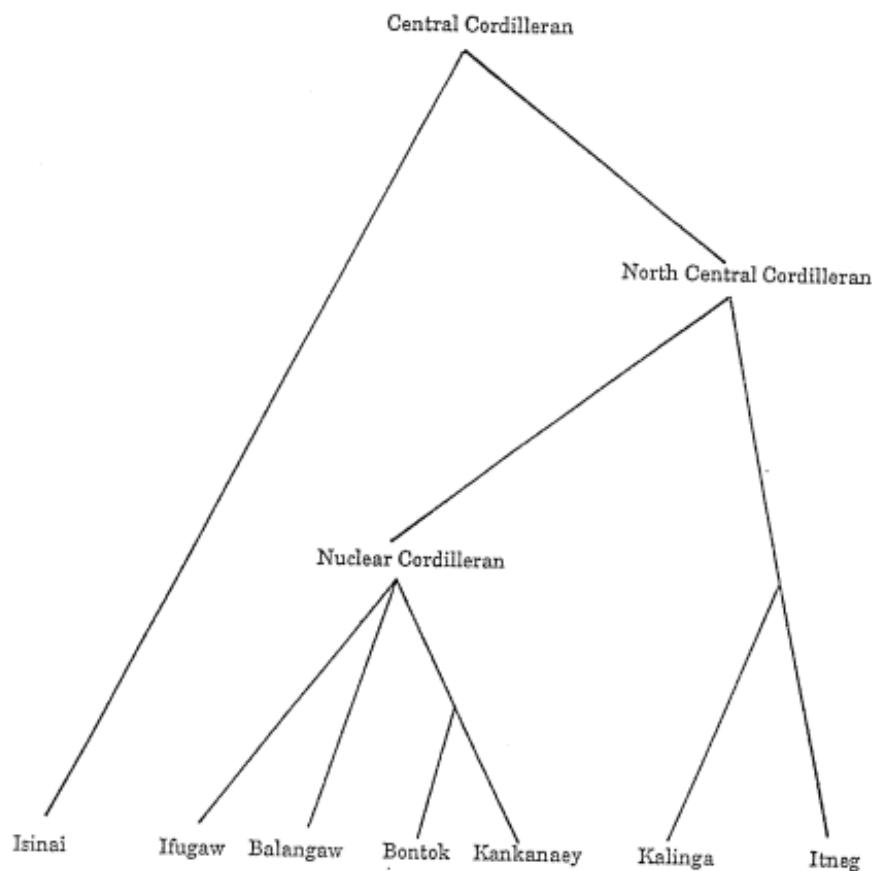


Figure 3. Internal relations of the Central Cordilleran subgroup  
(Reid 1974:512)

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Isinai language data were collected in the field in 1964 and 1989; some items are also taken from McFarland (1977). Data from other languages are from Headland and Headland (1974), Himes (1988), Lambrecht (1978), Panganiban (1973), Reid (1971, 1976), Scott (1957), and Vanoverbergh (1933, 1956, 1972). I would like to thank Lawrence A. Reid and Charlotte Webb for their comments on an early version of this paper and Janet S. Hamann for rendering the map.

<sup>2</sup>Reconstructions at the levels of PAn and PPh are those of Blust (B), Charles (C), Dempwolff (D), Dyen (Dy), and Zorc (Z), as they appear in Wurm and Wilson (1975), or they are mine (unmarked). Those at the level of PNPh or below are reconstructions by Reid (R) or Himes (unmarked). Items which have an ambiguous phoneme are reconstructed with the alternatives in brackets; e.g., \*s[ai]ʔid is reflected as saʔid and s[ai]ʔid. Those with an optional phoneme have that segment in parentheses; e.g., ?otlum could derive either from \*kitlum or \*ʔitlum, and the reconstructed form is proposed as \*[k]itlum.

<sup>3</sup>See Himes (1990) for the sound changes which Isinai has undergone.

<sup>4</sup>These assessments are based on a very rough count of cognates using a standard 100-item list, the results of which are:

	Itneg	Kalinga	Bontok	Kankanaey	Balangaw	Ifugaw
Isinai	.46	.66	.67	.65	.58	.71

<sup>5</sup>For items shared by Isinai and any other combination of CC languages, and therefore assignable to PCC, see Reid (1974) and Himes (1989, 1993).

<sup>6</sup>IsiA and IsiD also use the form duwata, which occurs sporadically in northern Luzon; cf. Bon (Sadanga, Tocucan), KnkS (Buguias, Kibungan) dowata, Ifg (Kambulo), Itg (Lacub, San Quentin), Kla (Pinukpuk, Mangalt) duwa:ta; Ibl (Trinidad) ſuwa:hita; Sambal (Botolan) luwa:ta 'we (dual, inclusive)'.

<sup>7</sup>But cf. Proto-Malaitan \*ula 'sibling'; perhaps this is a reflex of an item assignable to Phn.

<sup>8</sup>But cf. KnkN bilas 'pounded white,' Ifg bolah 'white...binla whiteness,' is understood in the sense of "beauty."

<sup>9</sup>This may be a modified loan; cf. Iik dakes 'bad.'

<sup>10</sup>The root in this item could be \*kiliŋ or \*likiliŋ.

<sup>11</sup>It has borrowed this term from Isi as *si?laj*; were it inherited, the Ilt form would be *sikya*.

<sup>12</sup>Because of phonetic [k], the IsiD form is likely to have been borrowed from IsiB. Cf. DgtC *dahik* 'to launch or beach a boat; to drag a boat across land.' The Dgt C form, although irregular in itself since it has unexpected /a/ after a voiced stop, makes it appear that there was an ancestral form \**dajik*.

<sup>13</sup>But cf. Isg *kalbaw* 'to steal, to take surreptitiously (foodstuffs); mostly said of animals.'

<sup>14</sup>Cf. Tag *kalijikjan* 'little finger, little toe.'

<sup>15</sup>But cf. Bon *kintop* 'a ceremonial load of firewood for a wedding ceremony.'

<sup>16</sup>Cf. KnkN *lamno* 'to scald (i.e., to remove feathers, hair).'

<sup>17</sup>Cf. Ilt *yinap* 'west.'

<sup>18</sup>Cf. Ifg *lipatu* 'facility of doing something, of accomplishing a given work.'

<sup>19</sup>But cf. Proto-Polynesian \**pulapula* 'seed, seedling;' perhaps this item should be assigned to PMP.

<sup>20</sup>Cf. KnkN *sabayat* 'to frighten.'

<sup>21</sup>Cf. Ifg *halehe* 'small and thin end of the branch of a tree.' The Isi form is unusual because of the phonetic [l]; if there had been a PCC form \**saliysi*, the expected Isi reflex would be \**seyoysoy*. Reid (1993) suggests that this must be a borrowing from an SC or CC reflex of \**sa* Reysey; if so, and given Ilk *sagaysay*, the form \**saRaysay* 'comb' is assignable to PC.

<sup>22</sup>Possibly a blend of PAn(D) \**vada* 'and PCC(R) \**na?id* 'there is none.'

<sup>23</sup>But cf. Isg *ba?laj* 'to wade, ford a stream.' It is possibly parallel to the Ilk *?umigid* 'to defecate,' a secondary meaning of *?umigid* 'to come, etc. near, close to the shore, the bank, the side, etc.'

<sup>24</sup>Cf. Ilk *daremdem* 'to perceive indistinctly, to see confusedly.'

<sup>25</sup>Cf. KnkN *gasmik* and PNCC \**simik* 'to think.'

<sup>26</sup>But cf. Gaddang *mukag* 'mountain.'

<sup>27</sup>The root in this item is likely to be \**kipus*.

<sup>28</sup>Cf. Hiligaynon *sisi* 'to cut grass close to the ground.'

<sup>29</sup>But cf. Ibl (Bokod) *karag* 'frog.'

<sup>30</sup>Most probably a polymorphemic construction from PCC \**talantag* 'shore' and Plsi \*-ad 'definite postclitic' (Reid 1993).

<sup>31</sup>Cf. Ifg *tikuŋ* 'inward curves of mountain slopes.' This item, together with *IsiA si?*uŋ], is problematic. If they were to derive from a PCC form such as \**tikuŋ* 'concave,' we would expect *IsiA ti?*uŋ] and *IsiB si?*uŋ], the opposite of what actually occurs.

<sup>32</sup>This form is highly irregular. If it were derived from something at the PCC level or higher, the expected reflex would be *tiru*.

<sup>33</sup>The presence of phonetic k in *IsiD* is unusual.

<sup>34</sup>With regressive assimilation of the labial stop in *IsiB*.

<sup>35</sup>This item has diffused into Ilóngot as *dalaŋtoy*; the expected Ilt form, were it inherited from PSCC, would be *diyansi*.

<sup>36</sup>It is possible that the form is a lexically innovative one from something like \**lakbiŋst* with the Plsi definite postclitic \*-ad; cf. Plsi \**buttan* and \**buttanar* 'east.'

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## PROBLEMS OF PREPARING A FILIPINO-JAPANESE DICTIONARY

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Preparing a dictionary always involves the problem of applying our nice neat (hopefully) theories of language to the messy realities of living languages. As we are now in the process of preparing a Filipino-English-Japanese dictionary, we have encountered a number of such problems. Some of these difficulties are common to all lexicographers; some are specific to the languages in question. In particular we have had to deal with three major types of questions, namely:

- (1) What is Filipino?
- (2) What is a word in Filipino?
- (3) How do we translate Filipino sentences into Japanese?

### 1. DEFINING FILIPINO

Over the course of Philippine history and through a number of Constitutions Tagalog has been renamed as Pilipino and then Filipino. Until now the three terms refer to one and the same language. In this paper we use the term Tagalog in the past and present sense to refer to the existing language. The term Filipino is used in the future sense as a language yet to be defined or developed and potentially distinct from Tagalog.

In a 1993 paper McFarland proposed that 'Filipino' be provisionally defined as the shared linguistic competence of the educated speakers of Tagalog as a first or second language.

According to census data about 25% of the population claim to speak Tagalog as their first language; another 25% claim to speak Tagalog as a second language.

Of this second group—the second-language speakers of Tagalog—we can probably make the following assumptions.

(1) They are predominantly lowland, urban Filipinos with at least a high-school education.

(2) They are predominantly members of the eight or nine largest linguistic groups other than Tagalog.

If we restrict our attention to speakers of Tagalog with at least a high-school education (that is, excluding 'uneducated' Tagalogs), then probably more than half of 'educated' speakers of Tagalog speak it as a second language. Thus he proposed that 'Filipino' be defined primarily in terms of the shared competence of the speakers of Tagalog as a second language.

This shared competence would include the core vocabulary and grammatical structures of Tagalog, represented by (1) the 2000-5000 most frequent words as tabulated in McFarland 1989, and (2) a stock of less frequent words—primarily names of objects—considered necessary for normal communication.

The shared competence would also include a number of words shared by several or all of the other major languages, but not by Tagalog. This is the result of phonological change (see Chart 3), or lexical replacement (Chart 4) in Tagalog. Since these words are synonyms of existing Tagalog words, their inclusion in 'Filipino' would have little linguistic significance. However, the recognition of these words as legitimate 'Filipino' synonyms of the Tagalog words could increase the political acceptability of 'Filipino' as being something other than Tagalog by another name. It would also contribute to the goal of 'enrichment' from languages other than Tagalog.

'Filipino' as defined here includes a large number of words borrowed from non-Philippine languages, primarily Spanish and English. These words need to be discussed carefully, in view of the degree of linguistic schizophrenia in certain academic circles.

First, the list of high-frequency words in written Tagalog contains a large number of Tagalog words of borrowed origin, mostly from Spanish (Chart 1) and English (Chart 2). We emphasize that these are Tagalog words, in many cases widely divergent from the foreign originals in spelling, pronunciation, and/or meaning.

Furthermore most of these words enjoy widespread use in other major languages. Thus replacement of these words by 'original' or invented Tagalog words would tend to decrease rather than increase the comprehensibility of Filipino. (Unfortunately we have little comparative evidence on this point, as the spread of foreign words in Philippine languages has received little attention from academics.)

In the area of 'necessary vocabulary' the use of Spanish and English words is even more dramatic. Terms used in Tagalog and other languages in such fields as education, business, law, sports, fast foods, and even household objects are predominantly of foreign origin. There is no linguistic reason not to include these words in Filipino. (We are not opposed to the coinage of new words; it occurs in every linguistic community. However if coinage is done, not for the purpose of improving communication, but in order to purge the language of foreign words, or in pursuit of 'intellectualization,' it seems unjustified and counterproductive.)

The use of English words presents special problems for several reasons.

(1) We are still in the period of active borrowing. (The period of Spanish borrowing can be considered to be past.) English words appear in various circumstances. Some are firmly established in Tagalog. Some are in the process of becoming established. Some are borrowed and used by some individuals or groups but not by the general population. Some are used only in the process of 'code-switching.' Thus it is frequently difficult to determine the precise status of individual words. Even the 'made in the Philippines' English words are a problem: some are used only in Philippine English, others have been carried over into Tagalog.

(2) Our target groups are not only bilingual in Tagalog and another major language, but are also fluent to some degree in English. Thus their shared linguistic competence also includes the core vocabulary and grammar of English. Of course this situation facilitates the borrowing of English words. However it is unreasonable to include this English core in 'Filipino.'

(3) Many English words as currently used are identical in form and meaning to their use in English. Thus there 'seems to be' no need to include them in a dictionary, at least in a Filipino-English dictionary.

Recently we have compiled a new million-word corpus from 50 of the mini-novels now enjoying great popularity in Manila and other parts of the country. Compared to the original corpus, the new corpus is more homogeneous, more modern (mostly published since 1990), and apparently more representative of 'Filipino' as the lingua franca of Manila.

For our dictionary we will include:

(1) approximately the top 5000 words in a frequency count of the new corpus;

(2) any additional words in the top 2000 words of the original corpus (other words in the top 5000 may be included but labeled 'Tagalog');

(3) additional 'necessary' words (based on surveys using picture dictionaries and the like)—bringing the total to about 10,000 words.

Beyond this level additional vocabulary will be determined over the course of time as the language is used in various fields and acquires words from various other languages or through coinage. In particular, at this time, low-frequency Tagalog words would not be viewed as being automatically 'Filipino.'

In handling bilingualism and code-switching (also widespread in the new corpus) we assume that English and Tagalog grammatical structures are mutually exclusive and cannot be mixed. Thus any given sentence or phrase will have either English or Tagalog structure, but not both. (An English-structure phrase and a Tagalog-structure phrase can be combined in a code-switching sentence.) Any English words appearing in the context of Tagalog grammar are considered candidates for Filipino. In an English environment the words are considered English and not Filipino.

English words are to be included in our dictionary even if the forms and meanings are identical in both languages. Ours is a Filipino-English-Japanese dictionary: Japanese users are not expected to be familiar with the English terms. Even Filipino and English users would not necessarily be aware that the same word is used in both languages.

## 2. ESTABLISHING LEXICAL ENTRIES

The second problem has to do with the arrangement and ordering of the words, made more difficult by the multiple use of affixes and their irregularity. In Philippine lexicography there have been basically two approaches to this problem. One approach is to group together all forms that share the same rootword (alphabetized according to the rootword). Panganiban's *Tesauro* and Father English's *Dictionary* illustrate this approach.

The use of rootwords has a number of problems. To name just a few: (1) the apparent 'rootword' may not exist independently in the language (e.g. **kasalukúyan** 'present'). (2) The 'rootword' may be difficult to determine (e.g. **sigarilyo** 'cigarette' in **manigarilyo** 'to smoke'). (3) The derived form may be widely divergent in meaning from the 'rootword' (e.g. **paraan** 'method' from **daan** 'road'). (4) The word base may itself contain one or more affixes in addition to the rootword (e.g. **kumáusap/kausápin** 'converse with'; base **kausap**; rootword **usap**); does the form belong under **usap** or **kausap**?

A final objection we have to the use of rootwords is that there seems to be something 'colonial' or 'anthropological' about it. We don't pay much attention to rootwords in dictionaries of Western languages (except for etymological purposes), even in German with its multitude of prefixes. It seems to be only the 'Third World' languages that get the rootword treatment.

Another approach is to disregard rootwords and list all forms separately, with the exception of those which are considered predictable, such as the tense forms of verbs. This is the approach found in Vicassan's *Dictionary* and the Linangan ng mga Wika sa Pilipinas' monolingual *Diksyunario*.

While we generally favor this approach as being more in line with a modern concept of a dictionary and definitely easier to use, there are nonetheless some problems. The biggest problem is that the dictionaries mentioned do not deal with focus alternations or the relationships among different 'focus forms of the same verb.'

Considering all the 'forms' which occurred with frequency in the corpus, we can divide them into (1) predictable, (2) semi-predictable, and (3) idiomatic forms.

(1) Predictable forms. The most predictable part of Tagalog morphology concerns the inflection of verbs for 'tense' or 'aspect.' (The system is closer to 'aspect' than to 'tense.' We use 'tense' and its related terms because they are more familiar to our students and other users.) All verbs have four tense (aspect) forms: basic form, past

(perfective), present (imperfective), and future (contemplated). Given the basic affix of a verb, these four forms are predictable.

For example if the basic affix begins with **ma-**, the basic and future forms have the **ma-** form of that affix. In the past and present forms, the **ma-** of the affix is replaced by **na-**. The present and future forms also contain reduplication (R), or doubling of the first consonant and first vowel of the base. Thus:

	ma-Verbs	<b>túlog</b> 'sleep'
Basic	<b>ma-</b> + BASE	<b>matúlog</b>
Past	<b>na-</b> + BASE	<b>natúlog</b>
Present	<b>na-</b> + R + BASE	<b>natutúlog</b>
Future	<b>ma-</b> + R + BASE	<b>matutúlog</b>

In most other verbs the past and present forms contain the infix **-in-**; the present and future forms have reduplication:

	-an Verbs	<b>túlong</b> 'help'
Basic	BASE + <b>-an</b>	<b>tulúngan</b>
Past	<b>-in-</b> + BASE + <b>-an</b>	<b>tinulúngan</b>
Present	<b>-in-</b> + R + BASE + <b>-an</b>	<b>tinutulúngan</b>
Future	R + BASE + <b>-an</b>	<b>tutulúngan</b>

For these and all other verbs the structural and semantic relationships among the various forms are highly predictable. Thus it is unnecessary to list and define all tense forms in a dictionary. It is the accepted practice in Philippine lexicography to list and define only the basic forms of verbs.

Similarly the inflection of **ma-** adjectives is highly predictable:

Basic form:	<b>ma-</b> + BASE	<b>maláyô</b> 'far'
Plural:	<b>ma-</b> + R + BASE	<b>malaláyô</b>
Intensive:	<b>ma-</b> + BASE + linker + <b>ma-</b> + BASE	<b>maláyung-maláyô</b> 'very far'
	<b>napaka-</b> + BASE	<b>napakaláyô</b> 'very far'
Superlative	<b>pinaka-</b> + <b>ma-</b> + BASE	<b>pinakamaláyô</b> 'farthest'
etc.		

Again it is necessary to list only the basic form of **ma-** adjectives.

(2) Semi-predictable forms. There are a relatively large number of productive affixes or morphological processes in Tagalog. That is, these affixes or processes can be applied to existing words to produce forms with predictable meanings, even if the speaker has no prior experience of the resultant forms. That's the good news. The bad news is that in every case there are existing forms or words containing the same affixes which have acquired the status of idioms, and frequently have a meaning independent of or at variance with the predicted meaning.

As a general rule the **-um-** infix of most **-um-** verbs can be replaced by a **maka-** prefix to create an aptative form. (Other verbs undergo corresponding conversions.) For example:

<b>bumili</b>	'buy'
<b>makabili</b>	'can buy'

There is also an important class of verbs which contain **maka-**, not in the aptative meaning, but as the basic form of the verb:

<b>makakita</b>	'see'
<b>makaalam</b>	'know, learn'

The prefix **pa-** can be added to many bases to form causative or 'indirect-action' verbs:

<b>mag-áral</b>	'study'
<b>magpaáral</b>	'cause to study (pay for studies)'

There are also **pa-** verbs which carry no such causative meaning:

<b>magpasíya</b>	'decide'
<b>magpasálamat</b>	'thank'

In general the primary affixes of verbs are not predictable. While some semantic motivation is discernible in the classification of verbs it is more straightforward to learn which verbs take **-um-** (**lumukso** 'jump'), **ma-** (**mahtúlog** 'fall'), **mag-/in** (**magdala/dalhin** 'carry'), **-um-/i-** (**gumúhit/igúhit** 'draw'), etc. However if the primary one or two affixes of a verb are known, then the remaining focus forms (benefactive, instrumental, etc.)—if they exist—tend to be predictable in form and meaning. They are nonetheless less predictable than the adaptive or causative forms, and again they use affixes which also have other functions.

In our dictionary we will include separate entries for the productive affixes together with examples of their application. We will also include entries for the resultant forms (whether predictable or idiomatic) if they occurred with high frequency in our corpus. This introduces a degree of redundancy which might be repugnant to some linguists. But we believe a degree of redundancy is very helpful to students and general users of the dictionary.

(3) Idiomatic forms. Clearly we want to list all idioms as separate lexical entries. Our problem here chiefly concerns the different focus forms of verbs and whether to consider them different forms of the same word or as distinct idioms. McFarland 1992 argued that in many cases they should be grouped as a single word. The argument is based on mandatory alternation of focus forms in information questions, relative clauses, and existential sentences. For example:

Actor Focus: **Tumúlong siya sa Nánay.** 'She helped Mother.'  
 Director Focus: **Tinulúngan niya ang Nánay.** 'She helped Mother.'

While these two sentences are essentially synonymous and interchangeable, the related information questions are not. If you want to ask who was helping, you have to choose the actor focus form:

**Síno ang tumúlong sa Nánay.** 'Who helped Mother?'  
 \*síno ang tinulúngan ang Nánay

If you want to ask who was helped, you have to choose the direction-focus form:

**Síno ang tinulúngan niya?** 'Who did she help?'  
 \*síno ang tumúlong siya

Similarly with relative clauses and existential sentences:

**ang bátag tumúlong sa Nánay** 'the child who helped Mother'  
 \*ang bátag tinulúngan ang Nánay

**ang babáeng tinulúngan niya** 'the woman she helped'  
 \*ang babáeng tumúlong siya

Furthermore there is a single gerund form which is unfocused and 'shared' by all of the focused forms:

**ang pagtúlong niya sa Nánay** 'her helping (of) Mother'

This is a strong argument for grouping as a single word **tumúlong** and **tinulúngan** and similar sets. However, when we come to the actual pragmatic task of forming sets and creating entries, we encounter a number of major obstacles.

First, if the forms are combined in a single entry, where should the entry be placed (alphabetized)? In the case of (**túlong**, **tumúlong**, **tinulúngan**) the difference is not great. With sets such as (**bigay**, **magbigay**, **ibigay** 'give') the distance between possible entry positions is huge. The most logical course seems to be to choose the base or root, but this leads to the problems discussed earlier.

Whereas the mandatory alternation discussed above is very strong, alternation in free or independent clauses is frequently restricted or involves a shift of meaning. There is the now familiar (we hope) problem of definite objects. If the 'underlying' object complement is definite, then object focus must be chosen.

**Naghatid siya ng bisita sa istasyon.** 'He escorted a guest to the station.'

But

**Inihatid niya si Amanda sa istasyon.** 'He escorted Amanda to the station.'

\*naghatid siya kay Amanda sa istasyon

Information questions, etc., the alternation applies.

**Sino ang naghatid kay Amanda sa istasyon?** 'Who escorted Amanda to the station?'

There are some focus forms which occur only in relativized environments, such as locative focus.

**ang pinagtatrabahuhan niya** 'the place where he works'

\*pinagtatrabahuhan niya ang bangko ('bank')

Direction verbs of motion tend to have two different meanings. To express simple motion, the actor-focus form is used, with a place as the direction complement.

**Pumunta siya sa Baguio.** 'He went to Baguio.'

\*pinuntahan niya ang Baguio

If the direction complement is a person or personified entity, then movement for some purpose (e.g. to ask for help) is indicated. In this case both actor-focus and direction-focus can be used.

**Pumunta siya sa Ninong.** 'He went to his godfather (for help).'

**Pinuntahan niya ang Ninong.** ('id')

This difference is reflected in information questions:

**Saan siya pumunta?** 'Where did he go?'

**Sino ang pinuntahan niya?** 'Who did he go to (for help)?'

In relative clauses and existential sentences the mandatory alternation applies:

**Wala siyang pinuntahan.** 'He didn't go anywhere.' OR  
'He didn't go to anyone (for help).'

There are frequently secondary meanings which tend to be expressed by only one focus form, or alternatively the actor-focus form is shared by two or more non-actor focus forms.

**magbigay, ibigay** 'give'

..., **pagbigyan** 'consent, give in'

**sumūlat/sulātin** 'write (e.g. a book)'  
**sumūlat/īsūlat** 'write down (e.g. your name)'  
**sumūlat/sulātan** 'write a letter to'

In some cases there are competing forms for the same meaning and focus.

**pumunta/magpunta** '(AF) go to' (DF **puntahan**)  
**humiram/manghiram** '(AF) borrow' (OF **hiramin**)

Some transitive verbs almost always have a 'definite object,' with the result that the actor-focus form has such a low frequency that its form is hard to determine (for native speakers as well as for linguists) or may not even exist.

Because of these kinds of problem and those discussed earlier we have decided to abandon the root as headword. Instead, the basic (tense) forms of verbs will have separate entries with extensive cross-referencing to indicate the focus alternations.

Thus our dictionary will contain entries for the basic (tense) forms of verbs and basic forms of adjectives as well as all other idioms (identified as Filipino by the standards stated earlier). There will also be entries for the productive affixes and processes and for the semi-predictable forms with high frequency in the corpus.

### 3. TRANSLATION

The third set of problems involves the translation into Japanese. The problem relates not so much to word-for-word translation, which is fairly straightforward except for some Filipino words which do not have equivalents in Japanese and vice versa.

Translation problems can be divided into (1) those generated by the Filipino side, and (2) those generated by the Japanese side.

(1) Problems generated by the Filipino side. These tend to be problems, regardless of the language to be translated into, and come primarily from the absence of a one-on-one fit between the two languages in many cases.

For example, in general Philippine languages do not have a gender distinction. In particular there are a number of cases of words carrying a gender distinction in many other languages, including Japanese and English, but not in Tagalog.

Filipino	English	Japanese
<b>asáwa</b>	husband/wife	otto/tsuma
<b>kapatid</b>	brother/sister	kyoudai/shimai
<b>pamangkin</b>	nephew/niece	oi/mei
<b>siya</b>	he/she	kare/kanojo

Like most Austronesian languages Tagalog has two first person plural pronouns, distinguished by whether or not the addressee is included in the reference

Filipino	English	Japanese
<b>táyo</b>	we (you and I)	watashitachi
<b>kami</b>	we (I and someone else)	watashitachi

The system of temporal reference in verbs, which is something like tense and something like aspect, differs both from the complicated tense/aspect systems of European languages and the simpler tense system of Japanese. For example the present tense (imperfective aspect) can refer to ongoing in the past, present, or future:

**naghíhintay** 'is, was, or will be waiting'

Similarly in the future tense (contemplated aspect):

**uuwi** 'is going to, or was about to go home'

In a few cases Tagalog and Japanese are closer to each other than either is to English. For example, where English deictic pronouns have a two-way distinction, both Tagalog and Japanese make a three-way distinction:

Tagalog	Japanese	English
<b>ito</b>	kore	this (near speaker)
<b>iyán</b>	sore	that (near addressee)
<b>iyón</b>	are	that (near neither)

Both Tagalog and Japanese (and Chinese) use the same words to express existence and possession (although Japanese distinguishes animate from inanimate subjects):

**May libro ako.** Watashi ni hon ga arimasu. 'I have a book.'

**May libro sa mésa.** Teeburu no ue ni hon ga arimasu. 'There is a book on the table.'

On the whole, these Filipino-generated problems are manageable; translation into English tends to be straightforward. The Japanese-generated problems are much more troublesome.

(2) Problems generated by the Japanese side. Japanese society remains today an extremely hierarchical society. Every interaction between people is governed by considerations of superiority, equality, or inferiority of one participant in relation to the other. This comparison is based on a complicated calculation involving age, sex, position, and various other factors. And this hierarchical arrangement is reflected in the language. The degree of formality or casualness of the situation also affects the choice of words.

Japanese has a number of personal pronouns, the use of which depends on formality, sex, and/or the relationship of the interlocutors.

<u>Singular</u>	First	Second
Very Formal	watakushi	otakusama, sochirasama
Formal	watashi	anata
Informal	boku(M)/atashi (F)	kimi
Very Informal	ore(M)	omae(M)/anta
<u>Plural</u>	First	Second
Very Formal	watakushidomo	—
Formal	watakushitachi/ watashitachi	anatagata
Informal	bokutachi(M)/ atashitachi(F)	kimitachi, anatatachi
Very Informal	oretachi(M)	omaetachi(M), antatachi omaera(M), antara

In many cases, a title or a name must be used instead of a pronoun. The complexity of this calculus undoubtedly contributes to the large number of subjectless sentences in Japanese, as there is a tendency to avoid the use of pronouns altogether.

There are two ways to express politeness or respect in the Japanese language. One is 'sonkeigo' (honorific polite expression) which is used to elevate the addressee, for example a person who is older and higher in social status. The other one is 'kenjougo' (humble polite expression) which is used to lower the speaker himself/herself or his/her in-group members. These two ways of expressing polite style are expressed in the form of verbs and adjectives. (Both of these words are adverbial particles indicating respect for the addressee. The latter is more formal.) But in Tagalog there is no distinction between honorific polite expression and humble polite expression.

In Japanese the viewpoint or the perceived direction of an action also affects the choice of expressions. In particular, giving/receiving verbs require consideration of the viewpoint.

yaru (speaker gives to someone)  
 yaru (giver's social status is higher)  
 ageru (giver is equal)  
 sashiageru (giver is lower)

kureru (someone gives to speaker)  
 kureru (giver's social status is lower)  
 kureru (giver is equal)  
 kudasaru (giver is higher)

morau (speaker receives from someone)  
 morau (receiver's social status is higher)  
 morau (receiver is equal)  
 itadaku (receiver is lower)

- a. **Binigyan ko ng kamera is Ben.** 'I gave Ben a camera.'  
Watashi wa Ben ni kamera o **ageta**. (giver's viewpoint)
- b. **Binigyan niya ako ng kamera.** 'He gave me a camera.'  
Kare wa watashi ni kamera o **kureta**. (giver's viewpoint)  
Watashi wa kare ni kamera o **moratta**. (receiver's viewpoint)
- c. **Binigyan ako ni Direktor ng kamera.** 'The Director gave me a camera.'  
Kachou wa watashi ni kamera o **kudasatta**. (giver's viewpoint)  
Watashi wa kachou ni kamera o **itadaita**. (receiver's viewpoint)

For these and other reasons, virtually every sentence in Japanese carries information about the relative status, formality, viewpoint, etc. In many cases it is nearly impossible to find a truly 'neutral' translation of a Filipino sample sentence, taken out of context. Individual words, on the other hand, tend to be more neutral in translation. However, many words are impossible to define properly without example sentences. We are striving to provide neutral translations for both individual words and example sentences.

These are a few of the problems we are facing. Problems are what make it all interesting. If it were easy, anyone could do it. You wouldn't need linguists.

## CHART 1. WORDS OF SPANISH ORIGIN

Word	Gloss	Word	Gloss
abogádo	lawyer	bintáná	window
aksidente	accident	birhen	virgin
aláhas	jewelry	bisita	visitor
alas-	o'clock	bisyó	vice
alkalde	mayor	biyáhe	trip, travel
almusal	breakfast	Biyernes	Friday
altar	altar	bóla	ball
Ameríka	America	bomba	bomb, pornography
Amerikáno	American	bóses	voice
andar	move, operate	bóte	bottle
anghel	angel	bráso	arm
artista	artist, actor	bulsa	pocket
asikáso	take care of	dasal	prayer
asúkal	sugar	de—(lata)	of (canned)
asul	blue	demonyo	devil
Asya	Asia	deretso	straight, direct
awto	automobile	disisyon	decision
báka	cow	diyaryo	newspaper
bakasyon	vacation	diyees	ten
bále	equal	Diyos	God
bandila	flag	doble	double
bangko	bank	doktor	doctor
banyo	bathroom	Don	Sir
bangko	bench	Donya	Dam
baril	gun	dos	two
baryo	barrio	dóse	twelve
báso	water glass	dráma	drama
basta	sufficient	edad	age
basúra	trash	editoryal	editorial
beinte	twenty	edukasyon	education
benta	sell	entabládo	stage
berde	green	eropláno	airplane
béses	time(s)	eskuwéla	school, pupil
bikhima	victim	eskuwélahan	school

Word	Gloss	Word	Gloss
Espanya	Spain	kompanya	company
estudyante	student	kondisyon	condition
gána	appetite	koryente	electricity
gasta	expend	kostumer	customer
gastos	expense	kotse	automobile
gerilya	guerrilla	krus	cross
gobiyerno	government	kumáre	comadre
grúpo	group	kumbento	convent
gusto	want, like	kumpáre	compadre
guwápo	handsome	kumpisal	confession
guwardiya	guard	kumustá	how are (you)
Hapon	Japan	kusiná	kitchen
Hapones	Japanese	kutsára	spoon
hardin	garden	kuwarta	money
heneral	general	kuwarto	room
higante	giant	kuwattro	four
husto	sufficient	kuwenta	account
idéya	idea	kuwento	story
ihá	daughter	laba	wash clothes
imbita	invite	látá	(tin) can
impiyerno	hell	libre	free
importante	important	libro	book
imposible	impossible	linggo	week, Sunday
insulto	insult	listáhan	list
interes	interest	lóko	crazy, fool around
intindi	understand	lóla	grandmother
Ingles	English	lólo	grandfather
istasyon	station	lugar	place
kabáyo	horse	Lunes	Monday
kahon	box	madre	nun
kalsáda	street	maestro	teacher
kalye	street	máquina	machine
káma	bed	Máma	Mama
kandidáto	candidate	maného	drive (car)
kandilá	candle	máno	kiss hand
kanta	song	mas	more
kanto	corner	maski	even if
kapec	coffee	masyádo	too
kapitan	captain	Máyo	May
karéra	career, race	medya	30
karne	meat	medyo	somewhat
kasal	wedding	meryenda	afternoon coffee
káso	case	mésa	table

Word	Gloss	Word	Gloss
milyon	million	pasyente	patient
minúto	minute	pelíkula	movie
mísá	mass	péro	but
mísimo	same, -self	personal	personal
modélo	model, modern	peryódiko	newspaper
múna	first	pésos	peso
mundo	word	Pilipína	Philippine woman
natural	natural	Pilipínas	Philippines
negosyo	business	Pilipíno	Filipino
nerbiyos	nervous	pinta	paint
ni	(not) even	piráso	piece
nínong	godfather	pirma	sign
nóbela	novel	pirmi	always
nobyá	fiancee	piso	peso
Nobyembre	November	pista	fiesta
nobyó	fiance	pláno	plan
o	or	plása	plaza
Oktubre	October	ormal	formal
opísina	office	possible	possible
opisyal	official	presidente	president
óras	hour	presyo	price
ospital	hospital	príncipe	prince
otel	hotel	príto	fry
otso	eight	probinsiya	province
paborito	favorite	probléma	problem
pader	wall	propesor	professor
padre	priest	publiko	public
pamílya	family	pulis	police
pantalon	trousers	pulitika	politics
Pápa	Fapa	pulubí	beggar
papel	paper	punta	go to
papéles	document	pusla	bet
paraiso	paradise	puwéde	can
páre	compadre	puwersa	force
paréha	partner	puwesto	post, assignment
parého	same	radyo	radio
páris	pair	rebolusyon	revolution
parte	part	regalo	gift
pasa	pass	reklámo	complaint
pasahéro	passenger	relasyon	relation
pasensiya	patience, forgive	relo	clock
Pasko	Christmas	restawran	restaurant
pasyal	stroll, go visiting	retráto	photograph

Word	Gloss	Word	Gloss
reyna	queen	úna	first
rósas	rose	úso	in fashion
Sabado	Saturday		
sábi	say		
sals	six		
sála	living room		
sálas	living room		
santo	saint		
sapátos	shoe		
sara	close		
sárado	closed		
sarhento	sergeant		
sélos	jealous		
serýoso	serious		
sigarilyo	cigarette		
sige	okay		
sigurádo	sure		
sigúro	maybe		
silya	chair		
simple	simple		
síre	movie		
sinko	five		
singkuwenta	fifty		
siyempre	of course		
sobra	excessive		
sópa	sofa		
sundálo	soldier		
suweldo	salary		
suwerte	luck		
tabla	even		
tása	cup		
telebisyon	television		
teléfono	telephone		
tenyente	liutenant		
tinda	sell		
tindáhan	store		
tindéra	sales girl		
tiya	aunt		
tiyo	uncle		
trabáho	work, job		
tres	three		
tsismis	gossip		
tsuper	driver		
tutal	total, after all		

## CHART 2. WORDS OF ENGLISH ORIGIN

apartment	miss
attorney	mister
baby	Mommy
bag	Mother
bar	nars
basketbol	okey
beer	order
birthday	party
boss	rekord
boy	report
bus	room
business	school
class	sir
club	sorry
college	States
Daddy	taksi
date	tiket
dyip	tin-edyer
haiskul	titser
isyu	trak
lider	TV
ma'am	weyter
magasin	
mísis	

CHART 3. WORDS WHICH ARE PHONOLOGICALLY DISTINCT FROM TAGALOG

CHIBUANO	HILIGAYNON	SAMAR-ABISTE	BIKOL	MARANAO	KAPAMPANDAN	PANGASINAN	ILOKANO	TAGALOG	ENGLISH
adlaw	adlaw	adlaw	adlaw	adlaw	agew	adlaw	adlaw	adlaw	day, sun
aslaw	aslaw	aslaw	aslaw	aslaw		aslaw	aslaw	aslaw	sour
babay	babay	babay	babay	wababy	baile	babay	babay	babay	house
bilun	bilun	bilun	bilun			bilun	bilun	bilun	provisions
bilan	bilan	bilan	bilan	olan	bilana	bolan	bolan	bolan	moon, month
bilig	bilig	bilig	bilig	olig	bilig	bilig	bilig	bilig	bunch (bananas)
dágum	dágum	dágum	dágum	rogous		dágum	dágum	kadkyon	needle
dékñ	dékñ	dékñ	dékñ					laki	big
délm	délm	délm	délm	balan	délm	délm	délm	délm	rod, path
dengding	dengding	dengding	dengding		dengding	dengding	dengding	dengding	warm by fire
délm	délm	délm	délm	délm	délm	délm	délm	délm	two
dungung	dungung	dungung	dungung	dungung	dengel	dungung	dungung	dungung	heat
habol	habol	habol	habol	abd	abel	abel	abel	abel	weave cloth
hilas	hilas	hilas	hilas					ilas	snake
bigññ	bigññ	bigññ	bigññ					bigññ	tie down
huyup	huyup	huyup	huyup					himp	blow
					impis	impis	impis	impis	thin
katul	katul	katul	katul	katul	gatul	gatul	gatul	katul	itch
langkñ	langkñ	langkñ	langkñ		yangkñ	langkñ	langkñ	yangkñ	jackfruit
namuk	namuk	namuk	namuk	namuk		namuk	namuk	namuk	mosquito
napulñ	napulñ	napulñ	napulñ	sapolô	apulñ	samplo	sangapulñ	sampit	ten
püling	püling	püling	püling	püling	püling	samplo	sangapulñ	püling	dirt in eye
sabog	sabog	sabog	sabog					sabog	floor
talinga	talinga	talinga	talinga	tangila	talinga	talinga	talinga	talinga	ear
tulu	tulu	tulu	tulu	tele		tele	tele	tele	tree
uli	uli	uli	uli	poff	ofi			uli	go house
duod	duod	duod	duod	oled	ulad			duod	worm
uluan	uluan/uluan	uluan	uluan	oluan	ubuan			uluan	pillow

CHART 4. WORDS DISTINCT FROM THE TAGALOG FORM

CEBUANO	ILLIGAYNON	SAMAR-LEYTE	BIKOL	MARANAO	KAPAMPANGAN	PANGASINAN	ILOKANO	TAGALOG	ENGLISH
ahiga	ahiga	ahiga	ahiga	maga		ahiga	ahiga	halikat	shoulder
abut	abut	abut	abut					dating	arrive
ahibanghang	ahibanghang	ahibanghang	ahibanghang	ahibanghang				paripero	butterfly
aping	aping					aping		pinggi	cheek
aso	aso	aso	aso					disk	smoke
atap	atap	atap	atap	atap	atap	atap	atap	bubong	roof
balas	balas				balas			bulagin	sand
baa	baa	bem	badiu	baco				papong	turtle
baat		baisul	baisul					sisi	regret
bugaw	bugaw	bugaw	bugaw				bigaw	taboy	drive away
bulak	bulak	bulak	bulak					belakak	flower
bugay	bugay	bugay	bugay					gool	puddle
bilang	bilang	bilang	bilang	bilang	balang	bulung	bulung	sibong	cocklight
busay	busay	busay	busay	busay				elbon	leaf
buta	buta	buta	buta	bota				talon	waterfall
bilyu	bilyu	bilyu	bilyu					belag	blind
dian	dian	dian	dian			dien	dien	ikmo	betel leaf
digan	digan	digan	digan					timu	old
dilunglog	dilunglog	dilunglog	dilunglog			dakal	dakal	takbo	run
dilungw	dilungw	dilungw	dilungw					dami	many
								kuleg	thunder
								tibig	water
dilungw	dilungw	dilungw	dilungw	mugaw		duman	duman	draykil	span
dughan	dughan	dughan	dughan		diya	dfa	dien	dugd	blood
dilum	dilum	dilum	dilum		dilum	dilum	dilum	diblib	chest
gabua				gabon				bilang	locust
gamut	gamut	gamut	gamut	gamut		lamut	lamut	ilap	cloud
gipas	gipas	gipas	gipas			rapas	rapas	ugat	root
gatus	gatus	gatus	gatus	gatus		lasses	lasses	bilisk	cotton
gisi	gisi	gisi	gisi					doas	hundred
giseuk	giseuk	giseuk	giseuk		poek			pinit	tear
gilyud	gilyud	gilyud	gilyud	goyod			guyur	tadyeng	rib
hadlik	hadlik	hadlik	hadlik					hila	poll
halang		hirang	hirang					tikot	scar
hubog	hubog	hubog	hubog					anghang	spicy
hulat	hulat	hulat	hulat					magd	swell
kamang	kamang	kamang	kamang					histay	wait
hamut	hamut	hamut	hamut	hamut				givung	crawl
				hamut				bango	fragrant

CEBUANO	HILIGAYNON	SAMAR-LEYTE	BIKOL	MARANAO	KAPAMPANGAN	PANGASINAN	ILOKANO	TAGALOG	ENGLISH
ikug	ikug	ikug	ikug	ikug	iki	ikul		hunot	tail
isug	isug	isug	isug					tipang	brave
isturya	kaliby	isurya	isturya		isturya	isturya	isturya	kwento	story
kaliby	kaliby	kaliby	kaliby					apoy	fire
kanan	kanan	kanan	kanan					kanney	head
kaput/kuput	kapet	kaput	kaput	kapet			kipet	hawak	hold
kasili		kasili	kasili					igat	ed
kilun	kilun	kilun	kilun	koden	kilun			palayok	cooking pot
kusug	kusug	kusug	kusug					bikod	fence
lakaw		lakaw	lakaw	lakaw				lakas	strong
liwas	liwas	liwas	liwas					likad	walk
linug	linug	linug	linug	linog	linug	linug		katuwat	body
				lingaw	lingaw	lingaw		lindol	carapax
lubut		lubut	lubut					limot	forget
lumus	lumus	lumus	lumus					tumbong	anus
lutaw	lutaw	lutaw	lutaw		lipa	lipa	ripo	linod	down
luya	luya	luya	luya					mokha	face
masinā	masinā	masinā	masinā					litang	float
nowung	nowung	nowung	nowung		masinā		masina	hihi	weak
ufwang	ufwang		ufwang					ngingā	betel chew
ngibil		ngibil	ngibil					mukha	face
pia	pia	pia	pia					payat	slender
pamihaw	pamihaw	pamihaw	pamihaw					lifā	lip
pangimad	pangimad	pangimad	pangimad					hihi	thigh
putus	putus	putus	putus					slamsal	breakfast
saka	saka	saka	saka		sakdu		sakdu	olap	cloud
ságū	ságū	ságū	ságū					halon	wimp
sandang	sundang	sundang	sundang					akyon	climb
tibang				tibang				igib	fetch water
tumbal	tumbal	tumbal	tumbal					titos	send on errand
tuu	tuu	tuu	tuu					gilok	bole
ugtu/udtu	ugtu/udtu	ugtu	ugtu	ugto	ugtu	ugtu	utes	tibung	help
usud	usud	usud	usud					gumot	medicine
wala	wala	wala	wala	wala				hoto	bone
								kiwu	right hand
								tanghili	noon
								kimot	blanket
								lamun	flesh
								kaliwā	left hand

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The publication of Franz Seidenschwarz's **Plant World of the Philippines** in early 1995 is a happy occasion for local plant lovers. Heralded as the first Visayan plant dictionary in book announcement flyers and over the Internet, the work is a compilation of some 2,300 Visayan plant names comprising native as well as introduced entities.

The bulk of the dictionary is neatly laid out in double-column pages listing Visayan plant names interspersed with black and white photographs provided by the author and by David Bicknell. Plant name entries are of two types: bold face for "principal Visayan names" and normal type for "synonymous plant names". In both cases, Latin species and family names are attached while under main entries, pertinent information on plant morphology, economic use, and other Visayan names are added. Likewise, information on Philippine common names, Tagalog, English, Spanish, and German equivalents are included. The latter sections of the dictionary are essentially cross references from the main text, i.e., Latin, Tagalog, and English plant names and their Visayan counterparts. For Philippine plant names, the compilers allude to a number of published sources without providing any bibliographic information.

The compilers' choice of "principal" vs. "synonymous" Visayan plant names is at best arbitrary. Some could be misleading and go against popular usage; this is the case in the common chico tree (*Manilkara sapota* (L.) van Royen, but listed herein as *M. achras* (Mill.) Fosberg). It is listed under "tsikas" as a principal name while relegating the more traditional "tsiko" under synonymy. Another example is the widespread cocoa tree (*Theobroma cacao* L.) which is listed as "tsokolate" instead of its more popular name "kakaw." A source of an anti-leukemia drug, the Madagascar periwinkle (*Catharanthus roseus* (L.) G. Don) is equally well known throughout the Visayas as "tsitsirika" and "komintang," yet the latter is listed as the principal name over the former.

There are potential problems arising from the selection of plants included in this work. Some obviously foreign elements, i.e., non-Visayan in origin and climatically incompatible for introduction and cultivation, have been included. These include the "manggustan" (*Garcinia mangostana* L.) and the "durian" (*Durio zibethinus* Murray), which are elements of the distinct Mindanao floristic region and have never been introduced successfully to the Visayas. Another example considered more bizarre is the cultivated wheat (*Triticum vulgare* Vill.), which definitely has an extra-Philippine distribution.

Three Visayan algal names are included in the dictionary: "guso," "lato," and "lumo." "Guso" forms the basis of the multi-million peso seaweed industry of the Philippines. Listed as *Eucheuma spinosum* (L.) J. Agardh, the species is now correctly known as *Eucheuma denticulatum* (Burman f.) Collins & Hervey following international botanical rules of nomenclatural priority. Another species going under the Visayan name "guso" and listed in this work under review is *Eucheuma cotonii* (sic) Weber-van Bosse. After careful chemical characterization, it is now recognized under a different genus as *Kappaphycus cotonii* (Weber-van Bosse) Doty. The compilers have erred in saying that in addition to the economically important phycocolloid, carrageenan, "guso" also yields agar, a totally different class of algal polysaccharides.

"Lato" is another popular Visayan seaweed used as human food. Although the Visayan name comprises numerous members of the genus *Caulerpa* with globose ramuli including *Caulerpa racemosa* (Forsak.) J. Agardh, the most desirable commercial variety and the one depicted in Fig. 211 is the cultivated *C. lentillifera* J. Agardh from Mactan Island. This oversight is not unexpected as all previous modern accounts by Europeans have committed the same error, and it is likely that the information found in the dictionary was obtained there.

Two taxa of distantly related algae (term used *sensu lato*) are listed under the Visayan name "lumot"—the blue-green *Nostoc* cf. *commune* and the green seaweed *Enteromorpha intestinalis* (L.) Link. However, in contemporary usage, "lumot" is an all-encompassing layman's term applied to the generic macroscopic seaweed as well as to various microscopic ones that form green, slimy surfaces on moist kitchen sinks and bathroom tiles, the term often extending into non-algal elements such as tiny mosses. In addition, *E. intestinalis* is listed under the principal name "bitukang manok," which is decidedly a Tagalog name.

Seaweed ethnobotanical knowledge among the Visayans is substantial though not as extensive as that encountered in Iloko culture. Some of those which may be added to the dictionary include "lusay," which refers to various species of the brown seaweed *Sargassum*; "samo," which includes various kinds of seagrasses, e.g. *Thalassia hemprichii* (Ehrenb.) Aschers, *Enhalus acoroides* (L.f.) Royle, among others; "ambaang" or *Codium geppiornum* O.C. Schmidt, which is gathered from the wild and eaten as salad among coastal inhabitants of northeastern Cebu; "eaba-eaba" or *Caulerpa peltata* var. *macrodisca* Decaisne, utilized in Aklan as food; and "lukay-lukay" or *Caulerpa sertularioides* (Gmelin) Howe, which Visayans avoid due to its peppery, stinging taste brought about by its toxic bioactive component, caulerpicin.

Other minor points on format and layout deserve some comments. A cross reference between text and photographs should have been included considering that only a small fraction of plants are illustrated. Oftentimes, the photographic plates are placed far away from their corresponding descriptions. Though not crucially important, magnification scales for the illustrations should have been provided. Photos used vary in quality. In Fig. 56 showing the "balayong," there is a curious inset taken from the mural found in the Magellan's Cross kiosk in Cebu City depicting the erection of the symbol of Christianity by the Portuguese explorer in 1521. The compilers have failed to note an important historical fact that the cross was made of "balayong," a tree species once common in the Cebu hinterlands. Interestingly, "balatong" (Fig. 55) and "batakan" (Fig. 71) are depicted as finished products ready for the market instead of as actual plants.

There are a few unconventional styles in the text that would need rectification in subsequent editions. The use of two, synonymous plant family names in cases where two alternatives are acceptable is a source of confusion as opposed to employing one standardized form. A further complication arises when two traditional subfamilies of the Fabaceae (Caesalpinoideae and Mimosoideae) are elevated to familial ranks, as is seen in

this work. Subspecific names, i.e., varietal and subspecies names, are not in italics for no apparent reason. Headers indicating the alphabetical range of each page, so indispensable in a work like a dictionary, are lacking.

The compilers dedicate their work to the Cebuano people whom they exhorted as guardians of Visayan plants. Clearly, the message of this statement hints at a gap in the clear understanding of the ethnolinguistic groupings within the Visayas. Evidence of this is the inclusion of dictionary entries marked P. Bis. and S.L. Bis. without any comment. The former stands for Panay Bisaya or Hiligaynon, the principal language spoken in the political region of Western Visayas, while the latter denotes Samar-Leyte Bisaya or Waray-waray, the major tongue in Samar and eastern Leyte.

Despite some shortcomings in the work, the compilers are to be congratulated for their pioneering contribution to Visayan ethnobotany and linguistics. Their task is particularly commendable since the project was supported by personal funds of the principal compiler. The initiative and efforts of these workers are certainly worthy of emulation.

YAMASHITA, MICHIKO. 1992. *Kakilingan Sambal Texts with Grammatical Analysis*. Cecilio Lopez Archives of the Philippine Languages and the Philippine Linguistic Circle, Publication 8, edited by Ernesto Constantino. Quezon City: University of the Philippines. Pp. iii, 149.

Reviewed by GLENN MACHLAN  
*Summer Institute of Linguistics*

Kakilingan Sambal is a dialect of Sambal spoken on the western slope of Mt. Pinatubo. Michiko Yamashita has collected texts of 180 stories told to her by Aytas from Kakilingan. Twenty-one of these texts with their English translations are included in the present volume. The author presents a grammatical analysis of Kakilingan Sambal based on these texts and has also provided an extensive vocabulary list derived from the stories, with Tagalog and English equivalents. The resulting thesis has been published as an issue of *The Archive*, which is "designed for the publication of preliminary reports and data-oriented papers." Although the title is *Kakilingan Sambal Texts with Grammatical Analysis*, the focus of the report seems to be on the grammatical analysis rather than on the texts.

Yamashita supplies the reader with a good, well-organized, and accessible description of the Kakilingan Sambal language, along with a nice taste of the culture through the inclusion of the texts. The phonology is described very well, with many important observations that give the reader an accurate picture of the sound system. The way the data is presented makes for a clear understanding of the structure of this Sambal dialect, as careful distinctions are made between different word classes and sentence types. Also, the organization of the chapter on 'verbalizing affixes' makes it easy to see the way verbs behave. When the reader comes to the texts, he or she finds them well-chosen, both on a linguistic and a cultural basis, and a genuine delight to read. A strength of this paper is that the description and analysis of the language are based on the texts, the language as it is actually used, rather than on elicited sentences.

In spite of the excellence of the language description, as an analysis of the language, even as a preliminary analysis, this thesis at times could have provided the reader with more. First, as a preliminary report, it could have asked more questions of the data and suggested more possible explanations. For example, can [c] be considered a phoneme on the basis of one word that distinguishes it from [t], especially when there is no voiced counterpart? Would more data provide a stronger case for [c] being a phoneme? Or is [c] a phoneme on the wane, retained solely by the locational marker? This report would be an excellent place to ask this type of question, even if answers would have to wait for more research.

The report could also have paid more attention to all that was happening in a sentence (or clause—Yamashita classifies both as sentences). For example, predicate markers are introduced as a word class, when the 'predicates' they mark are actually nominalized verbs and therefore essentially nouns in an equative sentence, rather than predicates in a definite or indefinite sentence. In Yamashita's analysis there are predicate markers with the same forms as the subject markers. This results in confusion since there is a subject and a predicate, and the predicate is actually a verb in nominalized form. It seems better to recognize that those markers alert us to the presence of a noun that is in focus. In sentences with two nouns in focus (Yamashita's definite sentences), one noun identifies the other, providing two names for the same thing.

Sometimes what is needed are more definitions of the terms. An example are the terms compound sentences and complex sentences. Compound sentences are two sentences joined by a coordinating conjunction, while in a complex sentence one sentence is embedded in another; however, what constitutes an embedded sentence? If 'Hatoy bato ay kamana, kaya tinomag-ay ya bato' ('That stone was an evil spirit, therefore the stone rose') is a compound sentence with 'kaya' ('therefore') as the coordinating conjunction, why isn't 'Agya naka-ihip nin nag-ahawa bana to angkadeng-ey ya' ('He didn't think of marrying because he is ashamed') also a compound sentence with 'bana ta' ('because') as a coordinating conjunction? Instead, Yamashita views 'bana ta' as a subordinating conjunction. Other terms that need to be defined are 'verbalizing affixes.' Do these affixes make the root a verb, or are they affixes used to modify the verb? Additional definition of terms would help the reader and perhaps the analysis.

Finally, the report would profit from more clarity in certain instances, although overall clarity is one of its strengths, especially in regard to examples and texts. A better interlinear line-up would make the examples easier to follow. Also, in some examples the form being illustrated is highlighted, whereas in other examples it is not and so the point of the discussion is lost. Interlinear texts for the stories would be ideal, though perhaps unwieldy for a preliminary report. At any event, notes would help to clarify cultural information and the flow of the story where the English gloss, while perhaps accurate, is somewhat awkward. There are some jumps in logic in the English translation, but which are no doubt perfectly understood by the Kakilingan Sambal speaker.

These issues, however, do not detract from the excellent foundation for understanding the grammar of Kakilingan Sambal that has been laid in this volume. Because it is presented in a very organized, usually clear, manner the author's arguments can be followed and the reader can gain a good grasp of the Kakilingan Sambal language, even if he or she does not always agree with the analysis.

McKAUGHAN, HOWARD P., comp. 1995. *Stories from the Darangen*. Manila: De La Salle University Press. Pp. 194.

McKAUGHAN, HOWARD P., comp. 1995. *Maranao Stories*. Manila: De La Salle University Press. Pp. 142.

Reviewed by CONNIE J. MARAAN  
De La Salle University

The De La Salle University Press recently ventured into yet another area of scholarly study—ethnic literature—when it published *Stories from the Darangen* and *Maranao Stories*, both compiled by Howard P. McKaughan, Emeritus Professor of Linguistics at the University of Hawaii. Each was completed as part of a story condensation project supported by a grant from the Fulbright Scholarship Board from 1992 to 1993, while McKaughan conducted lectures on linguistics at DLSU and at Bukidnon State University.

*Stories from the Darangen* comprises 20 episodes from the Maranao epic the *Darangen*. The epic, which McKaughan explains is a narrative that predates Muslim times and continues to be chanted on special occasions, concerns the adventures of famous heroes who possessed both human and supernatural qualities. The stories are set in Bembaran, and tell of how its founder beautified the land and became witness to the growth of its people. The heroes of the epic include Bantogen, his cousin Madali, and his sons Sayana' and Lomna'.

The volume is well annotated, as each episode is presented with both the original Maranao title and its English translation; preliminary comments citing the original source of the text, the names of researchers and translators involved in its preparation, and changes that have been incorporated for the collection; and a description of characters and places that are to be introduced in each episode. Illustrations likewise supplement several episodes.

The second volume, *Maranao Stories*, is a collection of 16 Maranao stories which are traditional oral narratives told for their moral and cultural value. According to McKaughan, the stories often teach "that good will eventually triumph over evil, that poverty can be overcome, that human relations are very important, that greed and envy have their own rewards, and that one's word, or a vow, should only be given carefully, for it must be kept" (ix). The stories are also described as exhibiting great depth in their characters.

Unlike the *Stories from the Darangen*, however, this volume was compiled by McKaughan with the intention of having translations of materials from the Philippines for use in advanced English language classes. He points out that instructional materials

usually come from English language speaking countries (America and England). Perhaps based on his own experience, he contends that "familiar material is better than 'foreign' material, whatever the purposes of the classroom" (v).

Of course, the narratives will not be completely "familiar" to all Filipino readers. Presumably those who will recognize the texts most easily are advanced students and English teachers who are themselves Maranao or reside in the vicinity of Bukidnon. As McKaughan states in his preface, the stories will be of interest to the general reader; inasmuch as material concerning the culture of Philippine ethnic minorities is not highly accessible, it is likely that the texts—whether read for literary or linguistic purposes—will also be of interest to the reader who is Filipino.

It is also interesting to note that while McKaughan emphasizes the importance of using indigenous narratives in the advanced English language classroom, he continued to use foreign examples in the appendix on Controlled Paraphrasing. After reading about the "Adventures of Mangandiri and Mangawarna," "The Curse on Bandiyar Masir," and "How Baego a Raga Outwitted the Sultan," it is surprising to find McKaughan reverting to examples such as "John came home" or "Bill had left his office" when similar sentences of such simple structures could easily have been culled from the Maranao narratives themselves. The use of foreign names in his initial explanations may be considered unnecessary, especially since he eventually uses one of the texts ("The Wisdom of Aunt Kabaya'an) in his later examples of controlled paraphrasing.

Nevertheless, this text will undoubtedly be a contribution to the advanced English language classroom. The inclusion of a glossary in both *Maranao Stories* and *Stories from the Darangen* will further prove to be useful to both teachers and students of the Maranao narrative. It is recommended, however, that information concerning *Maranao Stories'* Controlled Paraphrasing appendix or the text's possible syntactic uses be placed on the book cover. This would make the contents clear not only to the general reader, but also to the ESL student who otherwise might not consider reading the book.

Further suggestions for both volumes might be made regarding the integration of a more extensive introduction on Maranao culture and beliefs (similar to Vilma May Fuentes and Edito de la Cruz's *A Treasury of Mandaya and Mansaka Folk Literature*, published by New Day in 1980); a list of suggested readings that would supplement the texts; and a more efficient book design (blank pages should be avoided as much as possible, and a more balanced distribution of illustration—there are short stories that have two illustrations and long stories that have none—should be incorporated). It might also be appropriate for the notes on the pronunciation of Maranao names, cited in the Preface to *Stories from the Darangen*, to be placed in an appendix with the glossary, for easy reference.

Both volumes are a welcome addition to existing studies on ethnic literature, especially in light of the recent CHED directive requiring the teaching of Filipino literature at the tertiary level. Future collections on Maranao folktales, which McKaughan mentions are presently being prepared for publication, will certainly give the literary and/or linguistic student something to look forward to.

PINEDA, PONCIANO B. P. 1993. *Diksyunaryong Panghanapbuhay*. Republic of the Philippines: Detail Printing, Inc. #5 Adams St. Filinvest East, Marcos Highway, Antipolo, Rizal. Pp. 508.

Reviewed by EDUARDO T. DEVEZA  
*De La Salle University*

*Diksyunaryong Panghanapbuhay* is a collection of terminology being used for the improvement, progress, and uplift of Filipino livelihood with the use of modern technology. According to Ponciano B.P. Pineda, *Punong Komisyoner* and OIC *Direktor General* of the *Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino*, this compilation was undertaken for the productive dissemination of the Filipino language. Pineda's Office initiated this project with the view of meeting the contemporary need of teachers, heads of schools, researchers, writers, translators, students at the three levels of instruction, and persons engaged in the different occupations covered by this dictionary.

Alphabetically compiled terms are in English with corresponding equivalents in Filipino. According to Pineda, the compilers did not include the terms whose nearest equivalent in Filipino has not yet been deciphered. With reference to these terms, the English terms with no change in spelling can be used temporarily. As far as the technological terms are concerned, the user has the discretion to use the equivalent terms in this compilation or the original terms themselves. Illustrations with their corresponding appellations are placed near the end of the book — immediately before the Bibliography.

The seven divisions of the dictionary, with my English translations, are as follows:

- I. Agrikultura at Kaugnay na mga Larangan  
(Agriculture and Cognate Fields of Endeavor)
- II. Edukasyong Bokasyonal/Industriyal Edukasyon Pangkasanayan  
(Vocational Education/Industrial Practical Education)
- III. Edukasyong Pangkalakal at Pangnegosyo  
(Commercial and Business Education)
- IV. Mga Katawagan sa Industriyang Pantahanan  
(Terms for Home Industries)

## DEVEZA

- V. Mga Katawagan sa Panginisda  
(Terms for Fishing)
- VI. Ilustrasyon ng mga Iba't ibang Larangan  
(Illustrations for Different Fields of Endeavor)
- VII. Talasanggunian  
(Bibliography)

Of the seven divisions, only divisions II, III, and IV have subdivisions. They are as follows, with my corresponding translations:

- II. 1 Paghahanda at Pagtitinda ng Pagkain  
(Preparation and Selling of Food)
- II. 2 Pagtetela  
(Sale of Dry Goods)
- II. 3 Kosmetolohiya  
(Cosmetology)
- II. 4 Seramiks  
(Ceramics)
- II. 5 Gawaang Kahoy  
(Lumber Industry)
- II. 6 Kasanayang Mekanikal at Metal  
(Mechanical and Metal Works)
- II. 7 Paghilibtag/Pag-imprenata  
(Publishing/Printing)
- II. 8 Kalakalan sa Transportasyon  
(Transportation Business)
- II. 9 Pantanggapan  
(Office Work)
- II. 10 Drafting  
(Drafting)
- III. 1 Elektrisiti  
(Electricity)
- III. 2 Elektroniks  
(Electronics)

- III. 3 Awtomatib  
(Automotive)
- III. 4 Repridyereyson at Eyrkondisyuning  
(RAC)(Refrigeration and Airconditioning)
- III. 5 Welding  
(Welding)
- III. 6 Gawaing Pangmakina  
(Machine Works)
- IV. 1 Gawaing Katad-Kwero  
(Leather Works)
- IV. 2 Gawaing Bao-Kabibe  
(Coconut Shell Works)
- IV. 3 Gawaing Himaymay  
(Weaving)
- IV. 4 Paghahabi  
(Sewing)
- IV. 5 Gawaing-Kawayan  
(Bamboo Works)
- IV. 6 Gawaing Disenyo  
(Design Industry)
- IV. 7 Gawaing-Buli  
(Polishing Works)
- IV. 8 Laminasyon sa Kapis at Kahoy  
(Shell and Wood Lamination)
- IV. 9 Paggawa ng Laruan at Bulakdak  
(Toy and Flower Design)

According to Webster's New World Dictionary, "a dictionary is a book of alphabetically listed words in a language, with definitions, etymologies, pronunciations, and other information, or a book of alphabetically listed words in a language with their equivalents in another language." From the point of view of alphabetical arrangement, the reader will notice that the seven divisions of the dictionary approximate the English alphabetical order, despite its being a Filipino dictionary. The key words in the Chapters are: I. Agrikultura, II. Bokasyonal, III. Pangkalakal, IV. Pantahanan, V. Panginisda, VI. Larangan, and VII. Talasanggunian. From the point of view of the Filipino alphabet, Chapters IV and V, which start with *Katuwagan*, should be ahead of Chapters II and III, which begin with *Edukasyong*.

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As far as the subdivisions of the big divisions are concerned, the reader can observe that the Filipino alphabetical order was not strictly followed. Properly arranged, the subdivisions of Chapter II should be as follows:

- II. 8 Kalakalan
- II. 6 Kasanayang Mekanikal at Metal
- II. 3 Kosmetolohiya
- II. 10 Drafting
- II. 5 Gawaing Kahoy
- II. 1 Paghahanda
- II. 7 Paglilimbag
- II. 2 Pagtetela
- II. 9 Pantanggapan
- II. 4 Seramiks

The proper alphabetical arrangement of the subdivisions of Chapter III should be as follows:

- III. 3 Awtomotib
- III. 1 Elektrisiti
- III. 2 Elektroniks
- III. 6 Gawaing Pangmakin
- III. 4 Repridyereysyon
- III. 5 Welding

The appropriate alphabetical arrangement of the subdivisions of Chapter IV should be as follows:

- IV. 2 Gawaing Bao-Kabibe
- IV. 7 Gawaing-Buli
- IV. 1 Gawaing Katad-Kwero
- IV. 5 Gawaing-Kawayan
- IV. 6 Gawaing Disenyo
- IV. 3 Gawaing Himaymay
- IV. 8 Laminasyon
- IV. 9 Paggawa
- IV. 4 Paghahabi

With reference to the alphabetically compiled terms in English under each occupation, the reader is presumed to know their proper pronunciation, for no diacritical marks were supplied by the compilers. Nevertheless, as far as certain Filipino terms are concerned, it is suggested that some accents be included—especially the grave accent and the end-glossal stress marks.

It is to be noted that the compilers admitted that their compilation is neither complete nor permanent and that any constructive observation or suggestion will be warmly received and valued by the *Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino (KWF)*.

Perhaps it is the immediate concern of the compilers to provide a Handbook for persons engaged in the different occupations covered by this dictionary so that they can communicate more effectively in Filipino—thus accomplishing a dual purpose of language dissemination and effective business interaction.

According to *Longman Guide to English Usage*, "usage is the way in which words and phrases are actually used in accepted practice, as distinct from what abstract theory might predict" (p. 742). Turning the pages of the dictionary at random, the reader may discover some translations that may differ from what he/she hears in actual situations, e.g. friction disk (*diskong pangagat*), salvage (*giliid ng hibla*), mash (*masa*), joint (*sugpong*), tinning (*kotting*), weld zone (*bahagi ng deposituhan*), copyright (*klapirayt*), and several other terms. Nevertheless, the majority of the translations are meaning-based translations (Larson 1984: 1). Thus if this dictionary is widely disseminated, there is a great possibility that the terms embodied here can be popularly used in oral and written communication among those engaged in the occupations covered in the dictionary.

On the whole, it is my evaluation that the compilers from the *Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino* (SWF), despite some controversial translations, should be commended for their meticulous preparation of this dictionary, which can be a valuable contribution to the expansion of the use of Filipino in agricultural and industrial domains. According to Bro. Andrew Gonzalez, FSC, in his article, "An Assessment of the Bilingual Policy," "Finally, at this stage our history, we do need a national language, if nothing else, as a symbol of national identity and linguistic unity. But this symbol should unite, not divide. If it divides, it is self-defeating. And those who insist so much on it that they turn off are *de facto* dividing the nation and should be placed under control and not make their minority views dominate over others. In the meantime, let us develop the national language without sacrificing what new economic advantages we have now in knowing English. This is still the overwhelming majority view at present, no matter what the vocal minority demands."

The compilers of *Diksyunaryong Panhanapbuhay* should be doubly commended for undertaking this project as a "symbol of national identity and linguistic unity."

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LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF THE PHILIPPINES  
1995-1996

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

August 26, 1995

Dr. Mely Padilla

Polytechnic University of the Philippines

Topic: 'The Bachelor of Arts Major in English Curriculum of Tertiary Schools in the NCR: Its Responsiveness to the Needs of Business, Government and Education'

September 30, 1995

Dr. Dakila Espiritu

University of Santo Tomas

Topic: 'An Application of the Schema Theory in the Development and Evaluation of Reading Materials to Improve Comprehension of College Freshmen'

2. Research and Publications

2.1. Volume 26 Numbers 1 and 2 (June and December 1995) issue of the PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS is now off the press and has been distributed.

2.2. *Alay sa Wika, Essays in honor of Fe T. Otanes on her 67th Birthday* was launched during the Annual Convention of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines held on May 11, 1996.

2.3. *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences Volume II (Linguistics)*, a joint publication of the PSSC and LSP, was also launched during the LSP Annual Convention.

3. The Annual Lecture of the Bonifacio P. Sibayan Distinguished Professorial Chair in Applied Linguistics was held on February 1, 1996 at the Ariston Estrada Seminar Room of De La Salle University. The holder for this year was Dr. Teodoro Llamzon of the Language Education Department, College of Education, De La Salle University. His paper was TESL Targets in 1996.'

4. The Andrew Gonzalez, FSC Distinguished Professorial Chair in Linguistics and Language Education was formally established on Thursday, February 29, 1996 at the Waldo Perfecto Seminar Room of De La Salle University at 4 p.m.

The first holder of the Chair was Dr. Bonifacio P. Sibayan, President Emeritus of the Philippine Normal University and the Linguistic Society of the Philippines. The paper he gave was 'To be Globally Competitive with Intellectual Filipino (and English).'

The Distinguished Professorial Chair was established with donations from Brother Andrew's friends to honor him on his 56th birthday.

5. The Linguistic Society of the Philippines, in cooperation with the Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS), Language Education Department of the College of Education, De La Salle University, the British Council and the United States Information Service, with the sponsorship of the Fund for Assistance to Private Education (FAPE), held summer workshops for language teachers and supervisors on 'Study Skills and Academic Paper Writing in Language Teaching' and 'Introduction to Language Studies.'

Prof. Charles C. Mann of the University of Surrey conducted the seminar-workshop on 'Study Skills and Academic Paper Writing in Language Teaching,' which was held on April 15-16, 1996 at the Ariston Estrada Seminar Room of De La Salle University. His services were made possible by the British Council.

The seminar-workshop on 'Introduction to Language Studies' was conducted by Dr. Peter Lowenberg of San Jose State University and Prof. Dorothy Pucay, Fulbright Grantee 1995-1996. It was held on April 29 to May 10. The services of Dr. Lowenberg were made possible through the auspices of the United States Information Service.

6. The 1996 Annual Convention of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines was held on May 11, 1996 at the Waldo Perfecto Seminar Room. The theme for this year's convention was 'Uses of Linguistics in the Philippines.' Dr. Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista, the incoming president of the Society, gave the welcome remarks and also read the keynote speech of Brother Andrew Gonzalez, FSC, who was out of the country at that time. Paper presentors were Dr. Araceli Hidalgo, Dr. Bonifacio P. Sibayan and Dr. Cesar Hidalgo. The paper presentations were followed by an open forum. After the business meeting, two LSP publications were launched: the *Alay sa Wika: Essay in honor of Dr. Fe T. Otanes on her 67th birthday* and the PSSC-LSP joint publication, the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences Volume II (Linguistics)*.

7. The new set of officers for 1996-1997 are:

PRESIDENT:	Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista
VICE-PRESIDENT:	Edilberta C. Bala
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