

# ACQUIRING PILIPINO AS A FIRST LANGUAGE

## ACQUIRING PILIPINO AS A FIRST LANGUAGE

TWO CASE STUDIES

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MANILA LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF THE PHILIPPINES 1984 T O

POPONG and ROCELLE

for many moments of joyful insight

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#### FOREWORD

The data for this study on two children acquiring Tagalog-based Pilipino as a first language were gathered from December 1970 to September 1974.

I used these data as well as my field notes as the bases for lectures and class discussions in a graduate class I taught to a group of students enrolled in the Ph.D. consortium program of the Ateneo de Manila University and Philippine Normal College during the second semester of 1974-1975. A preliminary draft of this report was written during this period.

Much research in child language acquisition has been undertaken and published outside the Philippines since March 1975 when my graduate class was concluded. Theoretical paradigms have changed; in the process, methodology has progressed and focus has shifted from form to function in social context.

In the Philippines, however, little has been done in this field of investigation. When I began my data gathering, only one MA dissertation on children of school age had been completed (Lopez 1974). Since then, I have directed two dissertations: Galang 1977, on the acquisition of focus in Tagalog by children from three years on; Valladolid 1982 on the communicative behavior of an infant during the first twelve months of life. Segalowitz and Galang (1976) completed an experimental study on focus-preference among children from three years on. Dewan (1978) completed a small study on the language development of a child from 32 to 36 months.

I have taken the occasion of a sabbatical to update and totally revise my report, with a view to adding to the small store of studies in this fascinating area of language investigation. The data gathered for the two case studies, now stored in the Linguistics Office (De La Salle University, Manila), are the first and thus far the only longitudinal studies on the acquisition of Tagalog-based Pilipino in the Philippines. Reporting my findings would be valuable to students of child language acquisition by reporting on the learning of a first language not yet reported (see Ferguson and Slobin 1973), for cross-linguistic comparison. I would likewise hope that my presentation would stimulate other scholars in the Philippines to react to and correct my conclusions and above all to undertake continuing research in this field.

I wish to thank my colleagues and students in the Philippines who have encouraged me to complete this project after reading my preliminary and unedited initial report. In particular, I would like to express my appreciation to the graduate students of the Consortium who listened to my preliminary exposition, made their suggestions, and through

their own analyses, enriched this work (Teresita Rafael, Paulina Santos, Alfonso Santiago). Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista collated the data gathered over four years and transcribed the tapes to render them usable; Anita Celucia typed the data; Arlene Matociños edited my initial manuscript for a second preliminary draft. I would also like to express my thanks to Angelita F. Alim for typing this final manuscript and seeing it to press.

May 1982 Rome, Italy Andrew Gonzalez, FSC

## 1. INTRODUCTION

- 1.1. The Data
- 1.2. Methodology
- 1.3. Limitations
- 1.4. Models Used
- 1.5. Plan of the Study

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. The Data

The data are based on two longitudinal case studies of the language development of my nephew (ARG), who was born on August 29, 1969 and from whom speech samples had been gathered as early as December 1970 (when he was 15-1/2 months old) up to the end of August 1973 when he was 48 months old) and my niece (RRG), who was born on March 21, 1971, and from whom speech samples had been obtained systematically beginning in August 1971 (when she was five months old) up to September 1, 1974 (when she was forty-two months old).

Each Sunday, I would spend half an hour with each one, using a tape-recorder, with attempts, often unsuccessful, of eliciting speech data. More fruitful were the Sunday noonmeals, when the children interacted with older children (brothers or cousins) and adults (parents, relatives, nursemaids). I would note on a notebook I carried with me or on loose sheets of paper the spontaneous utterances during these periods (the Sunday noon meal and the evening meal on Sundays and other times when I was home visiting; during these latter times, however, fewer young interlocutors were present), sensitive to emerging patterns and focusing on new features observable during the period and adding contextual notes when necessary to interpret the utterances. No attempt was made to do systematic frequency counts. The utterances were eventually logged into another notebook. These notebooks, together with the utterances of the recording, were transcribed in a broad phonetic notation and constitute the sources of the data for analysis.

The children came from affluent parents, had a yaya (nursemaid) with them most of the time, and divided their time between their parents' home and their paternal grandmother's home (which was three blocks away). They had access to radio and television, watched cartoons in English and live programs in Pilipino on TV, and began nursery school (in English) on a sporadic basis at age 3. There was much adultchild interaction with the parents, other adults in both houses (relatives and household help) and child-child interaction among themselves (there was another sibling, a male, born on January 2, 1967). Both households used Kapampangan and Tagalog-based Pilipino and a little English, with Kapampangan dominant among the adults. However, ARG's yaya was Visayan (Samar-Leyte) and spoke to him in a Visayanaccented Pilipino while RRG's yayas were Kapampangan and spoke to her in a Kapampangan-accented Pilipino. The children understand Kapampangan but do not speak it. From the beginning, because the households were located in a Pilipinospeaking community, the children were spoken to in Pilipino. The sociolinguistic rules of language choice in households of the type in which the children lived need separate study and should yield interesting notes on one aspect of de-ethnicization in an urban setting.

The spontaneous utterances were taped during the half-hour sessions; in addition, transcriptions of spontaneous utterances during meals outside of the taping sessions were made by the investigator on a selective basis, that is, I transcribed utterances which exhibited new features and were not repetitions of utterances previously said or tokens of structures already analyzed as attained.

#### 1.2. Methodology

The principal method used was therefore the method of observation under natural conditions, for a minimum of one half hour per week, over 37-1/2 months for ARG and 37 months for RRG. Efforts were made each week to elicit utterances with a tape recorder but the samples from these elicitation sessions were few.

As the two children developed, to elicit aspectual forms of the verb and subject-marking in the verb, structured questions, picture-cues and dolls were used, but with the lack of concentration among three-year olds, the quality of the data left much to be desired, with no firm conclusions possible. Because of the failure to elicit interesting data from ARG in a testing situation, I did not attempt anything similar with RRG at the same age.

Analysis was carried on week-to-week with revisions incorporated into the analysis as new data were elicited. At the end of twenty-four and thirty-six months, a summative analysis was carried out, inferring the features of the grammar at those points in time.

#### 1.3. Limitations

The study is limited by the manner of data gathering, the lack of frequency counts, the periodic basis of the data (once a week) and the focus of attention paid on the emergence of forms of the language (sounds, morphs, phrases, clauses, sentences), only incidental attention being paid to parent-child, adult-child, child-child interaction in a communication situation (see Snow 1972).

It has been observed frequently that children often learn formulae before they learn meaning. The study is sensitive to such a possibility and when recording utterances attempted to make notations on utterances which based on the context truly communicated a message and not merely repeated a formula.

In the chapter on the meaning system (semantics), attempts will be made to infer functions and lexical meanings, with the limitations such inference presents in any field research of this type.

Were I to begin this task over again, I would be more sensitive to Halliday's (1974) concept of sociosemiotics and of the child's 'learning how to mean' and focus my attention on the speech acts being performed, the functions of utterances (their illocutionary force), and the propositional content of the utterances as well as the social variables in the communication situation, and then to attempt the analysis of the emergence of forms within such a frame of reference. Undoubtedly, such a procedure would yield more insights than the strictly formal analysis that this study presents in its sections on phonology and syntax, but the data were gathered and the analysis performed during a period when one paradigm was dominant.

Moreover, as Oksaar (1978) observes, the child often knows more language than he lets on, and often, such new features of his developing competence are seen by adults only by accident, in unstructured situations and unguarded moments. During particularly active stages of competence development, once a week observations might not be frequent enough to capture new features of the grammar (Oksaar, personal communication). The fact that data were gathered only weekly all throughout the period of development is therefore another basic limitation of the investigation.

The fact that a boy and a girl were studied was an advantage to give the researcher possible clues on sex as a variable in child language acquisition. However, this investigation deals with two case studies, of one boy and one girl, in a Philippine setting (Metro Manila) in a relatively affluent and therefore culturally stimulating setting. That there were differences in features of development between the boy and the girl will be quite obvious, but no generalization other than a recognition of individual differences in children and a sex difference in language maturation between two children of the same family and more or less of the same environment will be made.

Moreover, although the report will show the points in time (years and months) when a particular feature or structure was acquired, the purpose is to indicate relative rather than absolute chronology (following Jakobson 1968). There is no evidence anywhere to indicate a precise point for every child when a feature or structure is attained — individual differences rule. But there is evidence of ordering of one feature relative to another; this sequencing is indicated in the data analyses.

Note too that the data are purely of produced utterances. The child understands more than he can speak. Most likely, he can speak and does speak certain utterances before he actually speaks them in the investigator's presence. Hence, pointing to specific times as times of attainment is indicative at best.

Brown (1973) in his studies of child language speaks of 'criterion of acquisition' and defines this criterion in terms of a 90% occurrence within a well-defined period of observation Instead of such criterion of acquisition, I use an entry point, in other words, the occurrence of a specific phonological segment, structure, word during a stated period or at a specific month, conscious however that such an entry point does not mean mastery and does not preclude regression to a earlier form or nonoccurrence in the future. Again, this is a basic limitation of the study.

#### 1.4. Models Used

In describing the emerging sound system, feature analysis is used and a broad phonetic transcription utilized for recording utterances. However, an item-and-arrangement model, rather than a process model, is used. The phones were inventoried as they arose and systematic substitutions for phones not yet in the inventory of the child noted. Describing these phenomena in terms of systematic substitutions rather than in terms of process rules seemed to capture the reality better than if I posited elaborate rules.

The substitutions occurred because of the absence of the substituends in the child's inventory. Feature analysis proved valuable in explaining why the substitutes occurred. I have likewise avoided using the term phoneme to shy away from the American Structuralist model with which this term is associated; my data did not permit my pinpointing periods when contrasting pairs were perceived by the children.

In describing the syntax, it soon became evident, once the child reached the two-word stage, that some version of the predicate calculus (with predicates and arguments as the primitives) was the best way of capturing the children's grammar. Closest to this logical model are semantically-based ones (see Gonzalez 1981) with special suitability to the structure of the Philippine languages. While adapting concepts (especially verb-noun relations) from these models, however, this study uses basically a traditional taxonomic model. In spirit, it is close to the diarist work of Leopold (1939) and Guillaume (1927) in attempting an overview of the learning of Pilipino by two children. I am aware of the theoretical problems which arise and have chosen to skirt these problems so as to present a survey of the structures and their order of acquisition, leaving it to future studies to fill in details, refine the ordering, and

to use the findings to deal with theoretical issues. To accomplish this end, a modest one because of the initial nature of this investigation, I have used tables for extensive listings.

As the child acquired units more or less at the level of the word or free form, it soon became necessary to use some notion of transposition (or linear operation) independent of meaning to deal with the data.

In describing the development of the meaning system, the most difficult of all because of the near-impossibility of direct questioning of the child, the basic inventory of functions was adapted from traditional grammar and features of lexical analysis using semantic features posited in dealing with lexical items from a specific semantic field (kinship, color, numbers).

#### 1.5. Plan of the Study

The study itself describes the emergence of the sound system (Section 2), the syntax and morphology (Section 3), and the meaning system (Section 4). It concludes with a summary of findings and some theoretical considerations on child language and child language acquisition in the final section (Section 5).

#### 2. THE SOUND SYSTEM

- 2.1. Distinctive Features
- 2.2. The Development of the Sound System in ARG's Idiolect
  - 2.2.1. Stage 1 (up to 1.6)
  - 2.2.2. Stage 2 (1.7 2.0)
  - 2.2.3. Stage 3 (2.1 2.6)
  - 2.2.4. Stage 4 (2.7 3.0)
  - 2.2.5. Stage 5 (3.1 3.6)
  - 2.2.6. Later stages (3.7 )
- 2.3. The Development of Sound System in RRG's Idiolect
  - 2.3.1. Stage 1 ( .8 1.0)
  - 2.3.2. Stage 2 (1.1 1.6)
  - 2.3.3. Stage 3 (1.7 2.0)
  - 2.3.4. Stage 4 (2.1 2.6)
  - 2.3.5. Stage 5 (2.7 3.6)
- 2.4. Summary and General Observations

#### 2. THE SOUND SYSTEM

#### 2.1. Distinctive Features

To describe the emerging sound system of the subjects, I shall do so in terms of distinctive features, using Chomsky and Halle's (1968) categories as popularized by Schane (1973) and applied to Tagalog-based Pilipino by Chan-Yap (1974), since feature analysis captures aspects of the emerging system better than mere segmental analysis, as the subsequent descriptions will demonstrate. I shall also take as a working hypothesis that feature occurrence can be thought of in terms of presence or absence, a strictly classificatory binary distinction, and based on the theory of markedness, consider complexification of the sound system as explainable by means of added markings.

For the analysis of Tagalog-based Pilipino, I would like to posit the following features:

#### MAJOR ARTICULATORY CLASS FEATURES

<u>Syllabic</u> The feature denotes the role the segment plays in the structure of a syllable. Vowels and syllabic nasals and liquids are /+syllabic/; Pilipino has no syllabic nasals or liquids.

Sonorant The feature denotes the resonant quality of a sound. Vowels, nasals, liquids and semi-vowels are /+sonorant/.

Consonantal The feature denotes the occurrence of a narrowed constriction in the oral cavity. Stops, fricatives, affricates, liquids, nasals are /+consonantal/.

Semi-vowels are /-consonantal/; because they involve no narrowed constriction in the oral cavity, so called laryngeal glides ( h and q) are likewise /-consonantal/.

#### MANNER OF ARTICULATION FEATURES

The feature denotes a manner of articulation whereby a sound does not begin with total occlusion. Fricatives are /+continuant/ while stops and affricatives are /-continuant/. h is a continuant whereas q (the glottal stop) is not.

Strident

The feature denotes the specific sound quality of outgoing air hitting the teeth or the uvula.  $\underline{s}$ ,  $\underline{\check{s}}$  are  $\underline{/+}$ striden $\underline{t//}$ , so are affricates  $\underline{t}$ ,  $\underline{\check{c}}$  and  $\underline{\check{j}}$  after release of their respective occlusions.

Nasal

The feature denotes the quality of sound made with the mouth occluded but the velum down to permit the passage of air through the nose.  $\underline{m}$ ,  $\underline{n}$ ,  $\underline{n}$  are /+nasal/-.

Lateral

The feature denotes the quality of sound made when there is partial occlusion and when the passage of air is allowed to go through the sides of the tongue. 1 is /+latera17.

PLACE OF ARTICULATION FEATURES

The feature denotes that the constriction is at the extreme forward region of the oral cavity.

This feature is used to differentiate /-continuants/.

p/b, t/d, č/j, m, n, s, l, r are /+anterior/ while

k/g are /-anterior/

Coronal

The feature denotes that the articulator is the blade of the tongue. This feature is likewise used to differentiate  $\sqrt{-}$ continuants $\sqrt{-}$ . t/d, c/j, 1, r are  $\sqrt{+}$ corona1.

BODY OF TONGUE FEATURES (for vocalic differentiation)

High Low The feature denotes the height of the body of the tongue in the process of articulation.  $\underline{a}$  is /+low/,  $\underline{i}$  and  $\underline{u}$  are /+high/,  $\underline{e}$  and  $\underline{o}$  are /-high/.

Back

The feature denotes the regression of the body of the tongue in the process of articulation.  $\underline{i}$ ,  $\underline{e}$ ,  $\underline{a}$  are  $\sqrt{-back/}$ ,  $\underline{u}$  and  $\underline{o}$  are  $\sqrt{+back/}$ ,

#### SUBSIDIARY FEATURES

Voiced

The feature denotes the vibration of the glottis as air passes through it from the lungs.  $\underline{p}$ ,  $\underline{t}$ ,  $\underline{k}$ ,  $\underline{q}$ ,  $\underline{c}$ ,  $\underline{s}$ ,  $\underline{s}$ ,  $\underline{h}$ , are  $\underline{/-}$ voice $\underline{d}/$  while  $\underline{b}$ ,  $\underline{d}$ ,  $\underline{g}$ ,

 $\underline{\underline{i}}$ ,  $\underline{\underline{m}}$ ,  $\underline{\underline{n}}$ ,  $\underline{\underline{n}}$ ,  $\underline{\underline{w}}$ ,  $\underline{\underline{y}}$ ,  $\underline{\underline{r}}$ ,  $\underline{\underline{1}}$ ,  $\underline{\underline{i}}$ ,  $\underline{\underline{e}}$ ,  $\underline{\underline{a}}$ ,  $\underline{\underline{o}}$ ,  $\underline{\underline{u}}$  are  $\underline{\underline{/+voiced/}}$ .

Round

The feature denotes lip-rounding in the process of articulation.  $\underline{u}$  and  $\underline{o}$  are  $\underline{/+}$ roun $\underline{d}/$ ,  $\underline{i}$ ,  $\underline{e}$ ,  $\underline{a}$  $\underline{/-}$ roun $\underline{d}/$ .

To describe the relatively simple sound system of Pilipino, the above features suffice, with the addition of only one more feature which should be considered as a manner of articulation feature:

Flap

The feature denotes the direction of the blade of the tongue at its point of articulation with the teeth or hard palate (released downwards) as well as the spread of the tongue blade against the point of articulation. r in Pilipino is a flap (the blade of the tongue, against the upper teeth, is released downwards), not a tap (the blade of the tongue moves up to the upper teeth).

In addition, to describe some sounds in the intermediate sound systems of the children, the following features should be included:

Delayed Release The feature denotes a manner of articulation whereby the opening or release of an occlusion is delayed. Affricates are /+delayed release/ while stops are not.

Groove

The feature denotes a body of tongue shaping to bring about a groove in the middle of the tongue; its opposite term is /slit/. \*\section is /\frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{2} = \

In the intermediate system, there are four kinds of  $\underline{r}$ :  $\underline{r}$ , which is a flap;  $\underline{\tilde{r}}$ , which is trilled;  $\underline{J}$ , which is [+continuant], [+anterior], [+retroflex], and  $\underline{R}$  which is [+continuant], [-anterior], [-retroflex], [-strident], [-trill].  $\underline{R}$  is similar in timbre to the uvular  $\underline{r}$  of French without the trill. We thus need the following additional features:

Trill

The feature denotes a manner of articulation whereby the blade of the tongue repeatedly taps against the back of the upper teeth.

Retroflex

The feature denotes the bending back or retroflexing of the body of the tongue (without the blade touching the back of the upper teeth) bringing about a special resonance in the mouth cavity. The body of the tongue in the process has to be raised  $\sqrt{+\text{high}/}$ . American <u>r</u> is a retroflex <u>r</u>.

The following grid (Table 2.1) shows the inventory of sounds of Pilipino with their respective features. If a feature is irrelevant to a segment, the square in the matrix is left blank. All features, where relevant, are marked even if redundant. Vowels, consonants and semi-vowels (the major articulatory classes) are presented in one grid.

Accent (phonetic) is indicated by , which however in the language of the children examined, was not distinctive. Extra stress (loudness) is marked by . Where relevant, phonetic length is indicated by : . Rising and falling intonation are indicated by ? and respectively.

Phonological processes (glide insertion and assimilation) are described informally, since a more formal notation for these simple processes does not seem to be necessary at these stages.

2.2. The Development of the Sound System in ARG's . Idiolect

2.2.1. Stage 1 (up to 1.6)

I have divided the period of phonological acquisition rather arbitrarily into stages of six month intervals, beginning with the completion of 1.6 (one year and six months and therefore eighteen), half a month after I first had occasion to observe ARG after being out of the country for three years. At this stage (1.6), ARG had the following system: (see Table 2.2).

In characterizing the system, I have tried to use as few features as possible to distinguish the segments. Under the working hypothesis on markedness which I use here, g or the glottal stop has the fewest features. For the vowels, since there are three tongue heights necessary to distinguish i from e, I use two features [+high] and [+low] for tongue height but only one feature for the front-back dimension [+back] (see Figure 2.1).

	P	Ь	t	d	k	g	P	•	0	8	š	h	£8	č	3	m	n	ŋ
MAJOR ARTICULATORY CLASS FEATURES																		
Syllabic	<u> </u>	<u> </u>		_					-	-	_		_	_	-		_	
Sonorant	-	-		_	-	-	-	_	-	-		_	_	_		+	+	+
Consonantal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MANNER OF ARTICULATION FEA	TURES																	
Continuant	+-	-	-	<del>  -</del>	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Delayed Release	+-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	+	+	+		ļ	
Strident	+				<u> </u>			-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+			
Nasal	<del> -</del>	-	-	-	-	<u> </u>	-				-				_	+	. +	+
Lateral			-	-			<u></u>						-	-		·	-	
Flap Trill			-	-			p. 4						-		-		-	
PLACE OF ARTICULATION FEAT	URE																	
Anterior	+	+	+	+	-	-		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	-
BLADE OF TONGUE FEATURE					_	_	7		•				+	+	+	_	+	_
Retroflex					-													
BODY OF TONGUE FEATURES									_	_	+		_	+ 1	+		:	
Groove	+		+	-				_	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+
High	+		-	+	+	+		-		-	-		-	-	<u> </u>			-
Low	+ +		-							-	-							
Back	+		-	-	+	+				-	-			-	-		-	+.
SUBSIDIARY FEATURES			J.					+	_									
oiced	-	+	_	+	-	+	.	-	-	-	_	-	-	-	+	+	+	+

TABLE 2.1 Phonetic Segments to be Described and their Distinctive Features

	1	r	ř	ı	R	w	Y	i	I	е	a	•	0	u
Syllabic			•	-	_		_	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sonorant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Consonantal	·+	+	+	+	+	_	-			· _	_		-	-
Continuant	-		-	+	+									
Delayed Release														
Strident				-	-									
Nasal									`					
Lateral	+	_		_	-									
Flap Trill	-	+	- +	-	-									·
Anterior	+	+	+	+	-									,
Coronal	+	+	+	-	_				, i					
Retroflex				+	_		,							
Groove				,										
High	+	. +	+	+	+	+	+	+	<b>–</b> .	_	-	-	-	+
Low	_	-	_	_	-	-	•	_	-	_	+	-	_	-
Back		_	_	-	+	+	-	_	_	_	-	_	+	+
Round						+		-	-	_	-	_	+	+
Voiced	+	+	, + ¹	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Table 2.1 (Continued)

Phonetic Segments to be Described and their Distinctive Features

	I P	b	t	d	k	g	P	m	n	0	1	W	Y	1	I	e	a	9	0	u
Syllabic		-	_	_	_	-		_	_		-	-		+	+	+ '	.+	+	+	+
Sonorant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Consonantal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				-	-		-	-	-
Continuant											+									
Delayed Release																		<u> </u>		
Strident											-									
Nasal	-	_	_	-	_	- /		+	+	+							,			
Lateral						-														
Flap Trill		·																		
Anterior	+	+	+	+	-	_		+	+	_	+									
Coronal	-		+	+		_			+		_									1
Retroflex											+									
Groove								1				,								
High			+	+5	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-		. +
Low			_	-	-	-			_	-		-	_	_	-	-	.+	_	_	-
Back				_	+	+			_	+	_	+	_		-			_	+	+
Round									·			+	_					_	+	+
Voiced	-	+	-	+	_	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+;	+

Table 2.2

ARG's Sound System at Stage 1 (1.6)

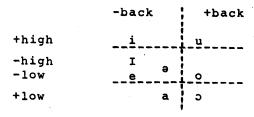


Figure 2.1

At this stage, ARG had the five-vowel system of Pilipino. He used two other vocalics, <u>I</u>, <u>mIninná</u> 'Monina (a girl's name)' and <u>a</u>, <u>mamáq</u> for adult <u>mámaq</u> 'a man'. Since these appear only once, I take these occurrences as random variations and not systemic.

What is interesting at this stage is the frequent variation between <u>i</u> and <u>e</u> and of <u>u</u> and <u>o</u>, the two segments differing in only the feature [+high], perhaps an indication of the as yet imperfect acquisition of this contrast. Thus we have such variations as

bé:da ~ bi:da 'Beda (name of father)'

beybi ~ bibi 'Baby'

éndi ~ énde ~ índe for adult kéndi 'candy'

pátut ~ pátot for adult sapátos 'shoe' báyu ~ báyo for adult kabáyo 'horse'

ayun ~ ayon for adult ayon 'that'

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$ In the transcription above,  $\underline{q}$  is problematic, not for child language but for Tagalog phonology in general. In Adult Tagalog, q is functional (meaning-changing) in final position, predictable in medial position (it is inserted between vocalics) and in initial position (it automatically occurs at the beginning of formatives when no other consonantal segment occurs). There are instances in the children's data when medial h was Ø (zero) but not substituted for by the glottal stop. Moreover, in initial position, for those segments that were not yet in the children's inventory,  $\emptyset$  (zero) rather than q glottal stop occurred. To obviate the difficulty of having to deal with the predictable glottal stop of Adult Tagalog and for fear of missing the valuable observations of child language where Ø (zero) rather than glottal stop occurs, and to avoid having to pinpoint the time when the child learns the glottal stop insertion rule (I cannot do so), I have taken the expedient of transcribing Adult Tagalog with the glottal stop only in final position (following the position of Llamzon 1968 against Schachter and Otanes 1972). The latter solution, while attractive in highlighting the

Because o and e are not really native Tagalog but a result of borrowing from Spanish phones which have been incorporated into the Pilipino vowel system, the occurrences of contrast between these two pairs are rare. Even adults have these two pairs in free variation in most occurrences.

Much more interesting are the consonantal segments. The child already had stops and nasals, but not continuants, least of all, fricatives [+strident]. Even with the stops, there seemed to be problems with the placement of the features [+voiced] and [+anterior] with certain bundles. Thus, the child varied búkid 'field' with búgid, pátut for Adult sapátos 'shoe' with batut, digdig 'horse (baby talk)' with dikdik; he said danda for adult magandá 'beautiful', pakpák ~ patpát for Adult pakpák 'chicken wing', agin ~ gagin for sagin 'banana', showing problems with the feature [+anterior] and [+coronal]. Occurring only once but illustrative of the problem of placing the required features with their respective bundles was matá ~ batá for adult matá 'eye'.

For segments not yet in the inventory of the child, the substitutes were approximations of the target, usually sharing features in common except for critical feature(s) as yet unattained. Thus:

Adult's Child's Segment Substitute Segment

Example

[+continuant] [-continuant] ditot for Adult Jesus

[+anterior] [+anterior] túteg for Adult súseg 'key'

[+delayed [-delayed release] dín bóy for Adult jínjín bóy release] 'Gene-Gene Boy (nickname for Eugene)'

[ +strident]

[ +anterior] [+anterior]

canonical form of Tagalog (CVCVC), seems to me to lead to an untenable position of phonological nominalism. Hence, Adult Tagalog transcriptions will have q only in final position. In the child's version, where final q is missing, this means that final q did not occur. Where a segment had not yet been attained and was not in the child's speech, I use Ø (zero).

In the citations, I give the child's utterance and the adult's version. Where I give no adult version, this means that the child's version is the same as the adult's.

Adult's Segment	Child's Substitute Segment	Example
r [+flap] [+anterior] [-continuant]	d [-flap] [+anterior] [-continuant]	dído for Adult reló 'watch'
	g [-flap] [-anterior] [-continuant]	gågen for Adult gåreng (name of woman)'
h [+continuant]	· ø	káoy for Adult káhoy 'wood'
l [+lateral] [+anterior] [+voiced]	t [-lateral] [+anterior] [-voiced]	bóta for Adult bóla 'ball'
	d [-lateral] [+anterior] [+voiced]	dápit for Adult lápis 'pencil'
l [+sonorant] [+anterior] [+lateral]	y [+sonorant] [+anterior]	yúya for Adult lóla 'grandmother'

There was only one instance of \_ for Tagalog r in final position, bap6\_\_ 'boat'. I mention it because in the next period, \_ was more frequent and showed the strategy of approximating the target that the child used. \_ is a retroflexed continuant (like American r) and differs from Tagalog r which/ is a [+flap] and [-continuant] — both are, however, [+sonorant], [+voiced], [+anterior]. There were two instances in the data when d and n were [+retroflex] (cacumenal), beda 'father's name' and ninon 'godfather', which were probably attempts by the child to practice the [+retroflex] feature, a preliminary step to [+flap]. I have not included d and n in the inventory.

On the canonical forms of his lexicon, the child had problems with three-syllable forms unless these included reduplicated syllables. Even with reduplications, however, the child used varied forms which manifested perhaps memory overloading:

- táto ~ etáto ~ atáto ~ ditáto ~ eytáto ~ entáto ~ etátiyo for Adult retráto 'picture'
- pátut ~ pátot ~ bátot ~ ipátut ~ abátut for Adult sapátos 'shoe'
- bấyu ~ ebấbu ~ abấyu ~ abấ:yo ~ yebấyu ~ iabấyu for Adult kabấyo 'horse'

Even for reduplicated forms, the variations showed instability: tigidig ~ tigidigdig ~ digdig ~ didi ~ dikdik for Adult tigidig 'horse (baby talk)'

For two-syllable words, either the formative was reduced to one syllable (the accented one) as in may for kamay 'hand', tay for hintay 'wait' or the problematic segment was omitted:

\_ambig for lambig 'demonstration of affection'

\_awo for tao 'man'

\_oda for šoda 'name of a girl'

\_umbá for tumbá 'fall'

úngo for čóngo 'monkey'

úde for rúdi 'Rudy'

ámat for salámat 'thanks'

Consonant clusters (CC) in initial portion were simplified: tén for trén 'train', but medial consonant clusters (-CC-), because forming syllable boundaries (-C/C-) seemed to present no problems:

ándo 'Andrew', pánti 'panty', úmba for tumbá 'fall', itdáq for isdáq 'fish', although because of [1], itlóg 'egg' presented problems: idód ~ édot ~ íko.

Diphthongs occurred: <u>béybi</u> 'baby', <u>bóy</u> 'boy', <u>éypeyn</u> 'airplane'.

Accent was present but was largely imitative of adult models without being distinctive. It seemed to float:

tútan ~ tután for 'Susan', ayún ~ áyon for Adult ayún 'that',
búndok for Adult bundók 'mountain'.

The place of accent (resulting in syllable prominence) was undoubtedly crucial in determining which syllables were retained when a formative was reduced. Note that in the examples given previously, the accented syllable was always retained, even when its initial consonant was  $\emptyset$ . In two

syllable formatives which were accented on the second syllable, the initial syllable would be dropped (may for kamay 'hand).

Length, although phonetically present, did not seem to be tied up as yet to accent (the two are related in Pilipino, length being a condition for accent; see Gonzalez 1981) and again seemed to be random: kū:k 'Coke', mi:nā 'Mīna (name of a girl)' bīda: 'Beda (name of father)', bo:tīt, the child's word for malift 'small', bī:t 'Bits, name of a person'.

Gemination occurred either as a result of substitution (buttan for buksan 'open'; gutto for gusto 'want) or randomly:

meninná ~ minína 'Monina (name of a girl)'
tittá for títa 'auntie'
bittó for bítoq 'Bito, name of a man'
mámmi ~ mámi 'Mommy'
páppoq for pápoq 'God (baby talk)'

In only one instance was there gemination as a result of syllable loss.

ammin for salamin 'mirror'

As early as this stage, the child exhibited phonological processes (see Moskowitz 1973 for a discussion of phonological rule acquisition in child language) which have traditionally been described as 'phonologically natural'. There is one example of glide insertion in initial position (yebāyu for kabāyu 'horse') and many examples of glide insertion in medial position, the final realization of the glide being conditioned by assimilation:

Child				Adult	
bówa	<	bóga	<	bőla	'ball
gűway	<	gű Øay	• <	gúlay	'vegetable'
táwo	<	tá Øo	<	tão	'man'
áwoy	<	<b>á</b> øoy	<	káhoy	'wood'
buwók	<	bu Ø6k	<	buhők	'hair'

In the case of wowa and yuya for 'grandmother', one of the usual substitutes for  $\underline{1}$ ,  $\underline{y}$ , underwent assimilation to the first vowel and became  $\underline{w}$ .

One case of metathesis is worth noting: bóla 'ball' became bówa or bóda; the latter occasionally became dábu and by a later distant assimilatory process, bábu.

Intonation, the carry-over from the earlier prelinguistic system (Valladolid 1981), is used for basic
functions of pointing/remarking/commenting and refusing ()
and for requesting (): uwf † 'Shall we go home?'
asking information (): digdf bayo † Adult, tumftigidfg ba ang
kabayo † 'Is the horse galloping?
calling (†): dide † 'Rudy!'

# 2.2.2. Stage 2 (1.7 - 2.)

By the end of the second year, ARG had the system described in Table 2.3.

There was no change in the vocalic system except that I no longer occurred, but a occurred eight (8) times in the data, usually as a variant of a (banban banban banban bang, damét clothes, babaq babaq to go down) and twice as a variant of o (akat akot from Adult takot fear and maninina monina Monina (a girl's name).

To account for the new consonantal segments acquired, I would add the features [+continuant] to account for h and [+delayed release] and [+strident] to account for affricates cand j. There was clearly still no sibilant s since when asked to mimic s, the child would say i:: ~ yi::, at least capturing its [+anterior] and [+continuant] features.

What is evident is the verbosity or output of the child during this period and the amount of verbal play exhibited, seemingly a result of verbal skill-stimulation and resulting in a lot of syllable C(C)V(C) repetition (usually triplets) and practice:

a... a... a
abín...abín...ibín
abú...bó...abó
agáq...gáq...gáq
pyá...pyá...pyá
tátan...patatéŋ...batatén

'(no meaning)'
'(no meaning)'
Adult takbo 'to run'

'(no meaning)'

'(no meaning)'

Adult patatán 'making a display of himself' (said of a child, Kapampangan)

batatán...batán...atatán...
tátan

butén...butatán

batan...bamba...bamba

bauau

mininúk - mininók - manók

bowow'

'chicken'

,	P	b	t	a	k.	g	P	h	č	Ť	m	n	ָמ	٠ ٦٠	w	. Y	1	6	a	Э	0	u
Syllabic	-		-		-	_		_	-	-	_	-	-	-	-		+	+	+	+	+	+
Sonorant	_	_				_	-	_	ن	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Consonantal	+	+	+	+	+	+.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	_	-	-	-	-	-
Continuant			-	-	_	-		+	-	_				+								
Delayed Release	_	_			_		_		+	+		`										
Strident								+	+	+			<u>.</u>	-			·					
Nasal	-	_	_	_	-	,-	<u> </u>				+	+	+									
Anterior	+	+	+	+	_	_			+	+	+	+	-	+								
Coronal	_		+	+	<u>-</u> ·				+	+	_	+	_	_								
Retroflex														+								
High			+	+	+	+			+	+		+	+	+	+	+	. +	_	-			+
Low				_					_	_				_	-				+	_	_	
Back	·		-		+	+			-	_		_	+	_	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
Round															+	-	-	_		· <b>_</b>	+	+
Voiced		+	_	+		+			_	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.+

Table 2.3.

ARG's Sound System at Stage 2 (1.7-2.0)

6bik...úbi...óbi...úbik
dádádápit

Adult tübig 'water'
Adult läpis 'pencil'

There was still an uncertainty about which segment to use and hence pairs of variant forms, usually differing in only one feature, occurred:

baník ~ baníg tíntón ~ tíktok bíbi ~ wíwi katí ~ taté ~ tatí

Adult banig 'mat'
Adult tiktók 'tick-tock'
Adult bibi 'duck'
Adult kati 'itch'

Or there were substitutes which varied from the adult model's segments only in one feature:

tabáyu dúmba damót for Adult kabayo 'horse' for Adult tumba 'to fall' for Adult gamot 'medicine'

Clearly attained were the affricates in various positions:

jîntaq

for Adult kučintaq 'a kind of rice cake'

inján ~ indyán

'Indian'

čampúy

'Chinese dried fruit'

óyenč

for Adult oreynj 'orange'

h was attained in both initial and medial positions:

h**íyam** ~ hiJam tahốg for Adult hiram 'to borrow'
'Chinese soya bean dessert'

 $\underline{J}$  for Pilipino  $\underline{r}$  was found also in medial position:

alak.

for Adult alak 'wine' for Adult pera 'money'

and even in a cluster CC:

tuák

'truck'

Problematic was 1, which occurred as a [+sonorant], [+anterior], [+coronal] bundle, as a tap (like d) or as segment with lateral timber but articulated so quickly as to put the [+lateral] feature in question. This 1-like segment occurred

in all positions but only in isolated cases and in variation with the more usual substitutes for  $\underline{1}$ ,  $\underline{y}$ ,  $\underline{n}$ ,  $\underline{d}$ . Because of its uncertain and unstable character, I have not included this segment and its critical feature [+lateral] in the table and in the inventory at this stage. At the next stage, the acquisition of  $\underline{1}$  takes on a more important role.

Substitutions continued: y for s, yút for sút 'shoot', t for s, bátkit for 'basket'. The child seemed to have no problem with C+glide clusters:

kya...ápo

'Quiapo, a district in

Manila'

kwénto

'story'

pyá

'verbal play'

By this time, too, there were no longer any problems with three-syllable words, although there were still occurrences of the Initial consonant missing:

ámana

for Adult tama na 'Enough!'

apátut

for Adult sapátos 'shoe'

adídu

for Adult nahilo 'got dizzy'

átunut

for Adult 'astronaut'

The canonical form of Pilipino, (C)CV(C)CVC, seemed to exert pressure to ensure that slots were properly filled, even though by substitutes. If the initial consonant had not been mastered, then a reduplicated -C- was used for #C:

niknik for dinig 'hear'

This applied to -CC- clusters also:

iqdaq ( < itdaq)

for isdaq 'fish'

kőygeyt

for kolgeyt 'Colgate tooth-

paste'

baykón

for balkon 'balcony'

ityők

for itlog 'egg'

taybigan ~ tabigan

for kaybigan 'friend'

Moreover, previously missing vowels are filled in by substitutes or even intruded:

ikiyát ~ aki:yát

for akyat 'to go up'

Sometimes, there was an addition of a consonantal segment not in the original

uwáq

for Adult bola 'ball'

Accent was still floating (non-distinctive) and differed occasionally from the adult's: ine for Adult hineq 'to ask for' Length was random most of the time, sometimes correlated with accent, sometimes not: aki:n for Adult akin 'mine' or ga:go for Adult gago 'stupid'. But several times, length took the place of a missing segment or syllable: do:yan for Adult duryan 'durian' or ga:w for Adult galaw 'to move' or wa: ~ waq for walaq 'none'.

At this stage, the child could use both yes-no questions and content (WH-) questions, both said with a rising intonation in Pilipino:

nú yấn for Adult anó yấn tor↓ 'What's that'

tổ mố for Adult gustổ mố to you want /some/?'

Commands were said with  $\checkmark$  intonation as well as whyquestions (among adults, such questions are said with either rising or falling intonation):

ditín itó √ for Adult alisín itó √ 'Remove this' bákit tayádo √ for Adult bákit sarádo √ 'Why /<u>i</u>s it/ closed?'

Also noteworthy at this stage was the frequent use of a sentence marker at the end of statements to indicate the tag 'you see'; it was said with falling intonation ( ) as in adult speech:

dánda tyá €↓ for Adult magandá siyá €↓ 'She's pretty, you see'

The phonological processes earlier described occurred as in the earlier period (gemination now much rarer [tummba for tumba 'to fall', papped for papel'paper'], assimilation, segmental (non-syllabic) metathesis [abwa ~ buwa ~ bua for bowa 'ball', abyan for bayan 'town'], haplology and vowel lengthening [wa: ~ waq for walaq 'nothing']).

The child's learning curve should be noted. Even when he had already acquired a feature, it did not necessarily mean that he was able to use this feature consistently in the right bundle to constitute the adult segment. Position was crucial—some positions seem to be easier to attain than others (final, then medial for 1; final, then initial or medial for 1; initial or medial for h, c, j). Even when a segment had been acquired, there was a period of instability of the segment, resulting in consonantal ablauting; for example, the stops, attained very easily, nevertheless showed instability in voicing

túmba ~ dúmba for Adult tumbá 'to fall' baník ~ baníg baníg 'mat' abdeq

hapdeq 'burning sensation as iodine on a wound'

pankáq ~ bankáq

baŋkấq 'boat'

and place of articulation

túmot ~ dúmot for Adult kúmot 'sheet'
digyán bigyán 'to give'
dambá gagambá 'spider'.

Moreover, just because a segment had been acquired in a position did not mean there would be no regression to an earlier stage when there was substitution or loss of the segment. These were regressions to earlier substitutes of r (y ayay for Adult aray 'Ouch', w pewa for Adult pera 'money', d dadyo for Adult radyo 'radio') and l (y, iya for Adult hila 'to pull', Ø iaw for Adult ilaw 'light', d ditin for Adult alisin 'to remove', n papin for Adult papel 'paper'). J had a variant dy dyip 'jeep', and h was erratic, often still substituted for by Ø.

For polysyllabic lexical items (the limit seemed to be four syllables), the strategy (see Ervin-Tripp 1973) was to keep the syllables intact, but either to drop the initial consonantal segment (a:bā:yíq for Adult nabáliq 'broken (of a rod)' (if not yet in the inventory or still unstable) or to substitute a duplicate of it found in the succeeding syllable (babát for labás 'outside' máman for haláman 'plant') or even to take the final syllable and to reduplicate it (kákag ~ káykay for sakáy 'to ride').

I would characterize the period as one of 'consolidation' and 'integration', with attempts to imitate more exactly and carefully, a conservative thrust resulting in more care to imitate correctly or if unable to do so, to shorten (by deletions): bi ~ bai for baril 'gun', bau for bahoq 'stink', at for ahas 'snake', bok ~ buk for buhok 'hair', bay for bahay 'house', tin for bitin 'to suspend', or to substitute with something he was sure of (hence substitution itim 'black' for ays krim 'ice cream', ninan 'godmother' for senyan 'Senyan, a girl's name'.). The child often produced one four-syllable word which was remarkably consistent in its substitutions and its preservation of the CVCVCCVCV pattern:

Adult motorsiklo 'motorcycle' child botondik o.

2.2.3. Stage 3 (2.1 - 2.6)

At the end of 2.6, the system of ARG looked like this:

	P	b	t	đ	k	g	P	ф	θ	s	š	h	<sub>t</sub> s	č	ť	m	n	ŋ	ر	r	w	У	i	е	a	a	0	u
Syllabic	Ŀ	-	-	-	-	-	_	-	_	_	-	-	-	_	_	Ŀ	_	_	_	_	_	_	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sonorant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	. <b>-</b>		-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Consonantal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Continuant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-				+	-								
Delayed Release	-	-	-	-	-	-	-						+	+	+													
Strident								-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+				-									
Nasal	-	· <b>-</b>	-	-	-	-					·	-				+	+	+										
Lateral																												
Flap Trill																			-	+					-		·	·
Anterior	+	+	+	+	-	-		+	+	+.	+		÷	+	+	+	+	-	+	+								
Coronal	-	-	+	+	-	-			+				+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+								
Retroflex																			+	-								
Groove								-	-	-	+		-	+	+													
High			+	+	+	+			+				+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	_	-	-	·-	+
Low			-	-	-	-			-				-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Back			-	-	+	+			-				-	-	-		-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+.
Round								+	-												+	-	-	-	-	<b>-</b> ·	+	+.
Voiced	-	+	-	+	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	- ,	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	. +	+

Table 2.4

The most interesting developments at this stage were the stable acquisition of h in initial (hindeq 'no!') and medial position (bahay 'house'), although sometimes [-strident] and therefore a glottal glide (non-fricative), and the approximations of s and r and the confusion of r substitutes with 1.

In initial position, the approximations of s showed the child's attempts to hit the target by the bundles having many features in common. Thus:

twin-tswin-owin-swin(rare) for 'swing (a toy)'

Undoubtedly,  $\phi$  [+continuant, +anterior, +round] was influenced by bilabial w; both  $\phi$  and  $\theta$  are [-strident] but [+continuant] and like s, [+anterior]. The [+strident] feature was occasionally captured, especially in medial position:

pitan\_pican\_pisan\_pisyan\_pisian(rarely) 'Pisiyang, name of a woman'

The [+groove] feature of  $\underline{\mathbf{s}}$  was confused with [-groove]  $\underline{\mathbf{s}}$ .

In final position, while one had a rare tapos 'then..., afterwards', one still came across pampunat pampunats for pampunas 'something used for wiping'. The presence of i conditioned s or c as in pancit for pansit 'Chinese noodles'. And when s occurred more than once in the lexical form, it seemed that the memory load could handle only one faicative at a time so that the child had tuced for sused 'key'.

For  $\underline{r}$ , the child had mastered  $\underline{J}$  of  $\underline{St*ge}$  2.0 but was now attempting Pilipino  $\underline{r}$ , which is [+flap] and [-continuant] so that we have variants such as

ektőn~ektől~ektőld~ektőr 'Hector (a name)'.

The third variant captured the [-continuant] feature of  $\underline{r}$  but did so by adding  $\underline{d}$  to  $\underline{J}$ , until occasionally [+flap]  $\underline{r}$  was finally attained. However, the most common  $\underline{r}$  was still  $\underline{J}$  in all positions and especially in clusters:

Jóbot for 'robot'
péJa péra 'money'
tédiJbé 'Teddy Bear'
bJádeJd 'Brother'
béJtdey 'birthday'

Still a problem was 1, with its earlier substitutes  $\underline{d}$  (with occasional  $\underline{t}$ ),  $\underline{y}$ ,  $\underline{n}$ , but now confused with  $\underline{r}$  as  $\underline{J}$  and  $\underline{J}\underline{d}$ :

migéu ' for Adult migél 'Miguel (name of a beer)'

papéd for Adult papél 'paper' balkon for Adult balkon 'balcony'

since Pilipino  $\underline{r}$  and  $\underline{l}$  share all features in common except [+flap] for  $\underline{r}$  and [+lateral] for  $\underline{l}$ .

Moreover, the presence of more than one  $\underline{J}$  made saying the word difficult, necessitating an easier substitute:

kaltéyo for Adult kartéro 'postman' kalnabáy for Adult karnabál 'carnival'

although a few days later, he could say

kaJnabáJ for Adult karnabál 'carnival'

The child was also mastering  $\underline{w}$  in initial position and used it extensively as either an intrusive initial  $\underline{w}$  (wikot for ikot'to go round') or as substitute for other consonantal segments (watok for pasok 'to enter', waan for daan 'way' and wagoq for tagoq 'to hide').

The child added two tags to his repertoire, a tag with for 'look' and another one with for 'emphasis':

magandá ó , 'It is beautiful, look'
wáq mó wánan tó á for Adult huwág món iwánan itó há for 'Don't leave this, do you hear?'

He also learned confirmatory questions with 1:

anó yán...bató for Adult anó iyán → bató 'What's that...a stone?'

mayamigan akó
'Shall I get cold?' in answer to an adult
warning: malálamigan ka j 'You'll
get cold'

as well as expressing puzzlement over a question ( ) he could not understand:

2.2.4. Stage 4 (2.7 - 3.0)

There were no significant changes in the child's system during this stage. While the features necessary for producing <a href="hh, s,">hh, s,</a> and r had been acquired, the substitutes for these segments continued to alternate with the targeted segments.

For s, in addition to the others already cited in the preceding section, h occurred (hwimin 'swimming'), capturing the [+continuant] feature of s and something of its [+strident] quality but not its place of articulation. The voiced counterpart of another substitute c occasionally occurred as in pija for pisian 'Pisiyang (a name)'. For r, another substitute in addition to id was it (biid 'beer', beint 'bear'). h continued to alternate with Ø (zero), but there was an overcorrected hahat for ahas 'snake'.

The affricates seemed to receive special attention during this period and were used extensively as substitutes:

čúgaJ for Adult šyúgar 'sugar' ačaká for Adult at saká 'and also'

The affricates likewise occurred as a result of a process of palatalization which resulted not only in the movement of the tongue farther back from the upper front teeth (in Pilipino) but also the change in feature of the fricative from [-groove] (slit) to [+groove], a phonologically expectable process in the presence of [+high, -back]:

siraq	'broken'	became	číya
kásiya	'fitting'	became	kášya~káčya
médyas	'sock'	became	méjat
sőljer	'soldier'	became	jőjer ( <b>¿</b> tőjer)
rádyo	'radio'	became	yájo

The stable condition for <u>l</u> had not yet been attained -the substitutes for it continued, with the occasional attainment
of an <u>l</u>-like segment, the [+lateral] quality of which was not
clear. The most common substitutes were still <u>l</u> in final
position (migel 'Miguel') and y in initial and medial position
(yamók for <u>lamók</u> 'mosquito', puyá for pulá 'red'). These were
obtained in elicitation sessions asking the child to repeat
these words after me.

An interesting exchange which took place at this time (2.8) was the following, which exemplifies not only the substitutes for 1 but the often cited phenomenon in the literature of the child being able to make judgments on the phonetic accuracy of adults while blissfully failing to have the same accuracy in his own speech:

Adult Child

eynjel 'angel' eynjen

eynjen' '/is it really eynjerd (correcting himself)

Adult

évnierd !

Sabihin mo /eynjel/ 'Say /eynjel/'

Child

hindeq 'No!'

éynjerd ·

Length was used as either accompanying accent in an open syllable (ha:mon 'challenge') or as a substitute for a missing syllable (haplology) (pa: for paa 'foot'). In a few cases, the child used epenthesis for clusters: kalemen for klemen 'Clemen' and taten for tren 'train'.

The child used (rising intonation) for different kinds of questions and a request (a consolidation of previous uses of with no new uses):

Information Questions anó bá itó↑ 'What's this?'

tíno itó† 'Who's this?'

Confirmatory Questions itó↑ 'This one?'

pink?' Is this pink?'

Yes-No Questions ikaw itô 'You? Is it this one?'

payého kayó † 'Do you have the same thing?'

Requests pationan 'Please let me look at it'

By this period, the child also exhibited use of the nasal assimilation process in prefixing, a productive phonological process for verbs: naninipa 'kicking' from nan-sisipag 'kicking (many times)'.

#### 2.2.4. Stage 5 (3.1 - 3.6)

In this table (Table 2.5), I have omitted the transitional segments and in effect characterize the adult system of Tagalog-based Pilipino, including segments originally borrowed from Spanish and English but now integrated into the system.

—At the end of this stage, ARG had attained the complete sound system with the clear and stable acquisition of the feature [+lateral] and therefore of  $\underline{1}$ .

By 3.4., 1 was clear, initially in medial position (pu:18 'red') but subsequently thereafter in all positions (161a grand-mother', puto1 'to cut') and even clusters (b10 'blue').

Initially during this period,  $\underline{r}$  varied between  $\underline{J}$  and  $\underline{r}$  but soon thereafter stabilized to  $\underline{r}$ , so much so that under elicitation, for emphasis, the child would trill his  $\underline{r}$  to  $\underline{r}$  (hektor for

	l p	ь	t	d	k	g	q	s	h	č	ľž	m	n	ח	1	r	w	У	i	e e	a	0	u
Syllabic	1-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	_	-	+	+	+	+	+
Sonorant	1-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Consonantal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Continuant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+,	-	-												
Delayed Eelease	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			+	+												
Strident								+	+	+	+												
Nasal	-	-	-		-	-						+	+	+									
Lateral															+	-							
Flap															-	+							
Anterior	+	+	+	+	-	-		+		+	+	+	+	-	+	+							,
Coronal			+	+	-	-				+	+		+	_	+	+							
Retroflex																							
Groove								-		+	+												
High			+	+	+	+				+	+		+.	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
Low			-	-	-	-				-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-,	-
Back			-	-	+	+				-	-		-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Round																	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Voiced	-	+	-	+	-	+		- 1	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Table 2.5

ARG's Sound System at Stage 5 (3.1 - 3.6)

Adult hektor, 'Hector (a name)').

However, with the mastery of  $\underline{r}$  and  $\underline{1}$ , there was confusion in their actual use, so that there were alternations.

péra ~ péla for péra 'money'
púro ~ púlo for púro 'pure'
cučála ~ cučára for cučára 'spoon'

There were also problems with lexical items where both  $\underline{r}$  and  $\underline{1}$  occurred:

ribró for líbro 'book'
ráraróq for naglálaróq 'playing'

 $-\underline{s}$  was still a problem,  $\underline{t}$  regularly substituting, until 3.5, when it stabilized.

Length was random (biló:g for bilóg 'round') except for accented open syllables with which it always correlated, and on one occasion, an epenthetic of was added to a cluster: kolémen for klémen 'Clemen, a name'.

During this period, a minimal pair for accent occurred in the data hapon 'Japanese' and hapon 'afternoon'; these words were uttered on two-separate occasions, however. Since the accent continued to float for the same word, I am not sure if at this time accent had really become contrastive.

## 2.2.5. Later Stages (3.6 - )

I continued to observe ARG intermittently until he was 5.0., but by the previous stage described, phonological development, for practical purposes, had been completed.

At 3.7, there were still problems with lexical items having r and 1 in the sequence (nagráraróq for naglálaróq 'playing', gróseli for gróseri 'grocery', rabandéra for labandéra 'wash-woman', bakórod for bakólod 'Bacolod (name of a city)' and substitutions (very infrequently) between stops (mórtabéla for mortadéla 'Mortadella', cancágo 'Santiago') but by the end of 3.12 (or 4.0), substitutions were rare. There was an occasional rarúan for larúan 'toy', lapses with r (méyun méjun for méron 'There is') and as late as 4.9., bakóror ~ bakólod for 'Bacolod'.

There is a rule in Pilipino (d becomes r intervocalically, ma+dámi > marámi 'many') but I was not able to obtain evidence that the child processed the d > r shift as opposed to merely storing marámi and similar items as surface forms. At 3.7., I asked him to repeat \*dádatín 'will come' and I asked him to choose which was 'prettier' -- dádatín or dáratín, and he said dáratín, which showed at least the correct preference, but of

course, no conclusion can be drawn on this skimpy detail as evidence. When asked about a similar choice at 4.3, he exhibited uncertainty. At 4.4, he once more showed correct preference for naririnig 'hearing' (<\*na+di+dinig) over nadidinig, but at 4.5, he continued to alternate between apunido (Adult apun iroq 'Old Man Iroq [Pedro]'). and at 4.6 said an rame 'how many' instead of an dami. Based on these examples, it would seem that at this later stage, application of the rule was variable, perhaps itself a mirror of the variability of this rule even for adults (see Labov 1971:209-10 for a discussion of variability in child language).

Intonation ( or ) was mastered from the beginning of language, it seems, but I have no evidence that accent had become distinctive by the end of the observation period (although more or less, the child's lexical forms conformed to adult accentuation).

Phonologically natural processes of assimilation, glide insertion, metathesis, epenthesis, haplology and compensatory vowel lengthening, and gemination appeared early. By 4.8 it was clear that the nasal assimilation rule in prefixing had become complete in its details (mananalo 'will win' from \*man-ta-talo, mamamaríl 'will shoot' from man-tba+baríl).

In terms of order of acquisition, for ARG, the sequence seems to have been: Stops, Nasals, Vowels, Semivowels (together) Affricates; Fricatives and Flap; Lateral, with provision made, however, for regressions and competing segments (as substitutes or transitional segments).

2.3. The development of the sound system in RRG's Idiolect

### 2.3.1. Stage 1 (.8 - 1.0)

I began systematic observation of ARG's female sibling, born on 21 March 1971, as early as five months, when she was cooing and could respond to smiles and gestures and even execute commands (dapáq 'Lie on your stomach!'), although it was not clear at this stage what kind of comprehension obtained in obeying such a command; one suspects that the act of lying on her stomach was both instinctive and perhaps the result of a conditioned reflex stimulated by a human voice; the response might have been aided by gestures and non-linguistic stimuli.

By eight months, however, while gurgling and babbling, she began uttering non-sense syllables as well as naming people. At the stage when she was able to stand on her toes (not walk), at 8 months, she would protrude her lips in response to adult stimuli nun babig '(Make a face by imitating the) snout of [a] pig! (Kapampangan)'.

Based on the vocables uttered, in many cases, names of people (including calls to her mother and father and her nursemald), one can see the beginnings of the following sound system (up to 1.0 or 12 months):

	P	b	t	d	m	n	W	y	1	e	a	1.0
syllabic	_	-	•	-	•	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Consonantal	+	+	+	+	. +	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nasal	-	-	-	-	+	+						
Coronal	-	-	+	.+.	-	+						
High			+	+		+	+	+	+	-	-	-
Low			-	-		-	-	-	-	-	+	-
Back			-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	+
Round							+	-	-	-	-	+
Voiced	-	+	_	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+

Table 2.6. RRG's Sound System at Stage 1 (.8 - 1.0)

At eight months, the child was using all segments except e\_(which occurred at 12 months). It would seem that all features were acquired at one time [syllabic, consonantal, nasal, coronal, high, back, round, voiced]. Perhaps the frequency of observation was insufficient or not 'delicate' enough to observe the emergence of these features in a more detailed order, but I had the impression that [+anterior] stops, nasals, vowels (and semivowels) were acquired simultaneously. The feature [+low], needed to

distinguish  $\underline{i}$  from  $\underline{e}$ , came at 12 months;  $\underline{e}$  occurred only once in the data during this period. Perhaps at this stage  $\underline{i}$  and  $\underline{e}$  were variants.

At this time, there was an isolated occurrence of  $\phi$  ( $\phi$ :y $\hat{a}$  for Adult t $\hat{a}$ lya 'Talia'), a [+continuant], which I have not included in the inventory since it seems to have been a random occurrence; [+continuant] was attained much later (2.1 - 2.6).

Most of the words were reduplication ( $C\tilde{V}C\tilde{V}$ ) and where they were not, then usually the initial C was omitted:

i:ya 'Talia (a name)' áti 'Nati (a name)'.

Length occurred in <u>i:ya</u> 'Talia (a name)' but accent (higher pitch) occurred in <u>ati</u> 'Nati (a name)' and on both syllables in reduplications (mama, papa, toto).

### 2.3.2. Stage 2 (1.1 - 1.6)

At the end of 18 months (1.6) the child had added the back stops and the glottal stop to her repertoire (hence, the feature [+anterior] as well as u as described in Table 2.7).

RRG continued to babble, echo what she had heard, kiss, gurgle, make clicks, and grunt. Many of her expressions were meaningless, but there were spontaneous naming, greeting, asking -- hence, real communication attempts and language utterances.

With regard to the vowels, several times the child used a less than fully rounded o for toto (a name), perhaps indicating an uncertainty at least at times regarding the feature [+round]. Diphthongs began to appear by 1.4, so that what was formerly nani became nany 'mom (used for the nursemaid)'

. By 1.6, she could make all three stops without difficulty in the same word (patok for pasok 'to enter'), although in certain instances, in babbling, perhaps under the influence of surrounding, i, k was fronted (tikitiki) and d almost fricativized (intervocalically between i: tigiogioig).

After q had been acquired, it was used with great clarity, itself an indication of the mastery of the canonical form of Pilipino ((C)VCV(C)):

pấpốq 'image or statue'

tútấq 'small dog (?)'

pấpấq 'food (baby talk)'

púpúg for Adult umpốg 'to hit one's head against something'

	b	р	t	đ	k	g	P	m	n	w	У	i	е	a	0	u
Syllabic	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+ '
• .		•														
Consonantal	. +	+	+	+	+	+	+	+ .	+	1	-		-	-	-	-
																·
Nasal	-	-	-	-	-	-		+	+							
											-					
			,													٠,
Anterior	+.	+	+	+	-	-		+	+							
Coronal	-	-	+	+	-	-		-	+							
1,																
													,			
High			+	+	+:	+			+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
Low	, %		•	<b>-</b> .	-	-			_	-	-	_	-	+	-	-
Back			-	-	+	+			-	+	-	-	-		+	+
Round										+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Voiced	-	+	-	+	- 1	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Table 2.7

RRG's Sound System at Stage 2 (1.1 - 1.6)

While there was initially some difficulty in uttering three-syllable words (abuté for mabúti 'good'), soon she could say butiké 'lizard' without difficulty. Even #Cy seemed to be no problem in word play (nyanyanyananá).

In fact, a remarkable characteristic of this period was the amount of babbling and word play evident -- spontaneously as if in response to some verbal stimulus, perhaps an attempt to practice and master the sound combinations. There were remarkable examples of syllable-expansion with different types of accentuation and vowel ablauting as well as consonant gemination (the numbers in parentheses indicate numbers of syllables):

•			
wíwíwí	(3)	pitité	(3)
yéyéyé	(3)	peteté	(3)
yáyáyá	(3)	mimimimi	(4)
pápápá	(3)	mimimimamá	(5)
pípípí	(3)	nnimmmé	(2)
tataté	(3)	tuttuttá	(4)
tatatégé	(4)	bátűták	(3)
mamamám	(3)	bátútík	(3)
mamamamám	(4)	tíkítíkí	(4)
pitití	(3)	títótítótí	င် (6)
	g <u>/d</u> sometimes li hít <sup>h</sup> ík <sup>h</sup> <u>/h</u> aspir		
tíkítíkítí	kítík /k frontin	<u>g</u> / (7)	
tikitikiti	kitiká ∠k fronti	ng/ (8)	
<b>៦ នី ៦ ជី ៦ ជី ៦ ជី ៦ ជី</b>	សៃជ៍ (6)		

Even at this early stage, substitutes for difficult segments begin to appear:

```
wawá for lóla 'Grandmother' ato for aso 'dog' patat for pasas 'raisin'
```

An accentual pattern which appeared at this time in two syllable words (with or without consonantal gemination) was an initially long and high syllable (indicated by ') followed by a second syllable uttered with special force (indicated by '):

```
bá:bá for adult babáq 'to go down'
tó:tóq 'Toto (a name)'
dá:ddde 'Daddy'
```

No special intonation mark appeared other than unmarked and universal \( \), although the child began to

Request mamam ... Asking for a drink 'drink'

mano ... Asking to kiss a hand 'hand'
(usually a sign of goodbye,
although she asked for the
hand even when not bidding
goodbye)

Greet babay ... (With hand waving for saying
goodbye: the child made
this gesture everytime she
left the room)

(More expressive were the child's non-verbal gestures: putting on an ugly face when <u>bulok</u> 'stinky' was uttered; clapping when happy; using her forefinger when reproving (imitative of adults); opening and closing of her hands under adult stimulation in English; giving a flying kiss under adult instigation; shouts of delight; stamping feet when angry or impatient; waving goodbye when leaving the room; reaching out for something that she wanted.<sup>2</sup>

## 2.3.3. Stage 3 (1.7 - 2.)

a had a less low variant a (baboy for baboy 'pig') and o had a less rounded and lower o (ompon for ompon 'Ompong (a name)') which I have not included because of their infrequent and random occurrence. I have not made room for them in the system as I consider them to be imperfect attainments of the target sounds in specific occurrences.

Remarkable at this stage was the acquisition of <u>l</u> at 1.9, in initial and medial position, seemingly without the many unsuccessful and approximative attempts of her elder male sibling at the same age. From 1.7 to 1.9, these were the usual substitutes: yūya~yāyo~tūtā~tūda~dōda for <u>l</u>ōla.'Grandmother'. By 1.9, when <u>l</u> had been attained, there was now a use of <u>l</u> for some occurrences of <u>r</u>: alāy~alūy for Adult arāy~arūy 'Ouch!'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>The child continued to acquire new gestures at this stage — the imitation of swatting a fly and helping her grandmother walk. But most significant was the gesture of using her protruded lips to point to someone or something (with the head turned toward the direction of the object or person being pointed to). This is an interesting gesture in Philippine body language which cultural anthropologists have observed and which in the case of the child seemed to have been acquired quite early.

	р	þ	t	d	k	g	q	m	n	J	1	١	w	У	1	e	a	0	u
Syllabic	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	- ∢	-	- `	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
Sonorant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	÷	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Consonantal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	<del>.</del>	-	-		-	-
										1									,
Nagal	-	-	-	-	-	· <b>-</b>		+	+	+						·			
Lateral											+	-							
		·																	
Anterior	+	+	+	+	-	-	:	+	+	-	+	+.							
Coronal			+	+	-	-			+	-	· +	-							
Retroflex											-	+							
High			+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+ .	+	+	+	-		-	+
Low			-	-	-	-			-	-	-	·-	-	-	-		+	-	-
Back			-	-	+	+	. ,		-	+	, <b>-</b>	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Round			•										+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Voiced	-	. +	-	+	-	+		+	· +	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Table 2.8

r continued to be problematic, with two occurrences of I (péla for Adult péra 'money'), Id (piyáld 'Pilar (a name)'), yt (piyáyt 'Pilar (a name)'), y (gáyin for gáren 'Gareng' (a name)'), and n (kánga for kargá 'to carry').

For  $\underline{s}$ ,  $\underline{t}$  was used consistently as a substitute, with no variants:  $\underline{putaq}$  for  $\underline{pusaq}$  'cat'.

 $\frac{h}{g}$  was y in  $\frac{bayo}{g}$  for  $\frac{bahoq}{g}$  'stink',  $\emptyset$  (zero) in others ( $\frac{iga}{g}$  for  $\frac{higaq}{g}$  'to lie down').

Also attained but needing no new feature was  $\underline{\eta}$  to complete the nasal sub-system.

Inspite of the seeming stability of the vowels and the three sets of stops during the first stage, there was much consonantal and vocalic ablauting among these sounds which resulted in some variant forms:

opon~5pon~é:pon for Adult !Ompong (a name)' milon~bilon for Adult milon 'melon' méjeq~péjeg for Adult pahineq 'Please give me (some)' for Adult gago 'stupid' d**á**go~gágo ápat~átat for Adult akyat 'to climb' téka for Adult tena 'ear' atóti for Adult kotse 'car (with unexplained initial vowel) for Adult klawn 'clown' táwn

Note that all variant segments have features in common; there were problems with the features [+anterior]  $(\underline{d}_{\sim}g, \underline{1}_{\sim}k)$ , [+nasal]  $(\underline{m}_{\sim}b, \underline{\eta}_{\sim}k)$ , and [+voiced]  $(\underline{m}_{\sim}p)$  instead of  $\underline{m}_{\sim}b$ ).

In forming segmental sequences to approximate the canonical form, the child used different strategies. Consonant clusters presented a problem at this stage. The most common strategy was to simplify the cluster: bade for brader 'Brother', adi for andi 'Andy (a name)', pelo for pllyo 'naughty', dyayo for dyaryo 'newspaper', butan for buksan 'to open' (something)', betdey for bertdey 'birthday', butit for bwisit 'making oneself a nuisance'. An alternate strategy was to maintain the cluster but to substitute other related (by features) segments: pankan for pakwan 'watermelon' in addition to pakan; note the effort to deal with -w- (by a nasal) and the metathesis (with assimilation) yielding -nk- to substitute for -kw-. The effort to maintain a segment as a substitute (instead of deleting it) is interesting in the variants for her rendering of isdaq 'fish: idaq-ida-itda-dida.

The last variant was also an example of another strategy for difficult initial consonants (the substitute was a reduplication of the medial segment): papit for lapis 'pencil'. The other option was to omit the segment completely: ulat for sulat 'to write'.

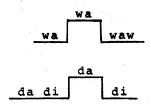
A final segment could be omitted: balun 'balloon' was realized as bado-bayo but also by baloq, the final q being an unusual substitute for -n, perhaps an effort to ensure a final segment as a way of approximating the CVCVC pattern.

Other interesting processes were: assimilation in balan, another variant of balun 'balloon'; syllabic metathesis in yayo 4 yoya 101a 'Grandmother' and piti for tibi 'TV'; haplology in mamik from malamig 'cold'; in butt from bwisit 'making oneself a nuisance', there is an interesting example of [-syllabic] becoming [+syllabic] and the loss of i.

The child began using some three-syllable words at this stage including a general aspest marker (a-) prefixed to the verbs.

In general, RRG had no problems with polysyllabic words (two to three syllables) and did not reduce her sequences by omitting initial unaccented syllables, although as was already mentioned, initial consonants was either substituted for by other segments or deleted.

Accent was floating (manga-manga for Adult manga 'mango' pito-pito for Adult piso 'peso'). An interesting development was observed at this stage, however, with regard to accent. The child played with sequences of nonsense syllables wherein the sequence had a definite pitch pattern:



Was this some form of phonetic practice in preparation for distinctive accent?

Another interesting development at this stage was the clear drop in voice after accented syllables:

for Adult suseq 'key' (but in the child's meaning system at this stage, a pen)

yū for Adult lola 'Grandmother'

ya

Later, for two-syllable forms, an interesting pattern was practiced for a few days: an initial first syllable said at an extra high pitch, lengthened, said aloud, followed by a low second-syllable with special stress or force (and therefore even more loudness):

where " transcribes strong stress or force.

undoubtedly, this practice manifested some awareness of pitch and stress differences (and phonetic length), a sorting out process preparatory to the acquisition of the accentual system of Pilipino.

Rising intonation was applied to new functions:

Calling

yúya for Adult lóla 'Grandmother'

títo for Adult lóla 'Grandmother'

'Uncle'

ay: ná 'Ay, Nanay (title for nursemaid)'

Content Questions

anú tổ \ for Adult anó itó \ 'What's this?'
anú yấn \ for Adult anó iyán \ 'What's that?'
natấ:n~atấn \ for Adult násaán \ 'Where'

Confirmatory Questions
and yan itdaq for Adult and iyan isdaq for Adult and iyan isdaq 'What's that? (A) fish?'

Even at this later stage, the child continued to babble and play with syllables, including real words: ayókoyókoyóko 'I don't want to'. What was interesting was that until 1.7 (early in the month) the child did not seem to have  $-\underline{\eta}$ — in her inventory (although she had acquired all the features necessary for it); all of a sudden, during 1.7, she began playing with  $\underline{\eta}$  as if fascinated by this new bundle of features and began to practice it:

dnfgigiunfginfginfndg dg dgniganiganiganfg

## 2.3.4. Stage 4 (2.1 - 2.6)

This period may be considered the high point of RRG's phonological development since it was at the end of this stage when for practical purposes, she had completed the inventory of her sound system (twelve months ahead of her brother).

	P	b	t	d	k	g	P	s	š	h	Č	ž	m	n	ŋ	1	R	r	w	У	i	e	8.	0	u
Syllabic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
Sonorant	T -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Consonantal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
Continuant	-		-		-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-					+	-							
Delayed Release	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				+	+													
Strident					,			+	+	+	+	+					-								
Nasal	_	-	-	_	-	-							+	+	+										
Lateral																+	-	-							
Flap																-	-	+							
Anterior	+	+	+	+	-	-		+	+		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	ļ						
Coronal			+	+		-		+	+		+	+		+	-	+	-	+							
Groove								-	+		+	+													
High			+	+	+	+					+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
Low			-	_	-	-		L			-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
Back			-	-	+	+					-	-		-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Round																			+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Voiced	-	+	-	+	-	+		<b>T</b> -	Ţ-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Table 2.9

RRG's Sound System at Stage 4 (2.1. - 2.6)

/a had a low frequency [-low] variant a which seemed to randomly vary with it; similarly, o had a less rounded and lower o which occurred many times. Since these occurred randomly and were variants of a and o, I have not included them in the inventory of vocalic segments.

/c and j were attained before s, which appeared almost suddenly in medial (púsaq 'cat') and initial (sábo) 'cockfight') position at 2.1, but in final position the substitute t was still used (bútsa:t for bútas 'hole'; the confusion of [+continuant] in medial position and perhaps metathesis of ts with t are worth noting). By 2.4, however, final s had been attained (pásas 'raisin') although with an occasional s, the [+groove] feature being attained with the affricates.

When <u>s</u> preceded a front vowel, it was realized as  $\underline{s}$ , a groove fricative (as in sya for Adult siya 'he/she').

Medial <u>h</u> was attained by 2.1 (<u>báhay</u> 'house'), but in initial position it was not attained till 2.6 (<u>híndeg</u> 'no'). What was interesting was that a [+continuant] of some sort (without friction) was attained early, varying with  $\emptyset$  (zero) (<u>ámon</u>hámon 'challenge').

Final  $\underline{1}$ , not yet attained at the end of the last stage, was acquired by 2.4 ( $\underline{putol}$  'to cut').

<u>r</u> was even more interesting. During the earlier stage (2.), a retroflex sonorant  $\underline{J}$  had been attained (with varying substitutes). The girl abandoned  $\underline{J}$  for  $\underline{R}$ , [-anterior, +sonorant, +continuant, -strident], similar to the French uvular  $\underline{r}$  -- a sonorant articulated in the area of the velum with the body of the tongue [+high]. This occurred in all three positions ( $\underline{R\acute{e}d}$  'red',  $\underline{p\acute{e}Ra}$  'money',  $\underline{mot\acute{o}R}$  'motor') with other substitutes of  $\underline{r}$  ( $\underline{d}$ ,  $\underline{y}$ ,  $\underline{1}$ ) but by 2.6,  $\underline{R}$  had become [+flap]  $\underline{r}$  at least in medial position ( $\underline{lardan}$  'toy').

No new developments in accentuation were noticed.

The 1 intonation was used for yes-no questions:

bigyan totoq for Adult bibigyan ba si totoq?
'Will Toto be given [it]?'

Even at this late stage when for practical purposes the child had attained her full system, she occasionally babbled or played with syllabic sequences like this one:

From her case at this stage, three useful observations may be made: The child can acquire all features for a segment but be able to use the segment only for certain positions (1 in initial and medial, then final); even when the segment has been

acquired, it may occur for certain sequences, then not occur for others, IN THE SAME POSITION (hindeq 'no' but amon 'challenge' in the same elicitation session); a child, on being questioned, may not give the targeted sound but spontaneously use this sound in the same session (this is what happened with  $\underline{r}$ : upon questioning, the substitutes for  $\underline{r}$  were  $\#\underline{R}$ ,  $-\underline{R}$ -,  $-\underline{R}\#$ ; spontaneously, she used  $[+flap]\ \underline{r}$  at least for initial and medial positions).

2.3.5. Later stages (2.6 - 3.6)

I was able to get irregular recordings of RRG up to age 3.6.

Except for <u>r</u> which varied with <u>R</u> and very rarely with <u>Rd</u>, the latter more frequent, the other problematic segments  $\underline{s}$ ,  $\underline{h}$ ,  $\underline{l}$  were soon mastered after 2.7, the infrequency of their variants being considered an index of mastery.

Word play stopped completely by 2.6.

There was an interesting example of 'overcorrection' regarding h: hahat for ahas 'snake'. As late as 3.6, RRG had problems with words like naglalarog 'playing' although by this time she had mastered both  $\underline{r}$  and  $\underline{l}$  individually.

At 3.5, there was evidence of the masal assimilation rule in prefixing (mambubukás 'will open' from maN + bu + bukás). With regard to the <u>d</u>  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{r}{V}$ -V rule, she alternated at 3.5 between

an dámi dámi ~ an rámi rámi 'how very many'

although when I asked her which was prettier, she gave me the correct preference

an dámi dámi.

Spontaneously, she used medial -r- in

marámi («ma+dámi+ŋ) maŋa bulaklák 'many flowers'

but there is not enough evidence that she had actually acquired the rule by this period.

With regard to intonation, the child learned the demonstrative function using  $\underline{\bullet}\downarrow$ , the explanatory function using  $\underline{\bullet}\downarrow$ , and the hortatory function using  $\underline{h}\underline{\bullet}\uparrow$  by the end of this period:

mếy ganổn ở 'He has something like this (showing something), look'
tabấ kấ ế 'You're fat, you see'
sĩge hấ 'Let's proceed, you hear'

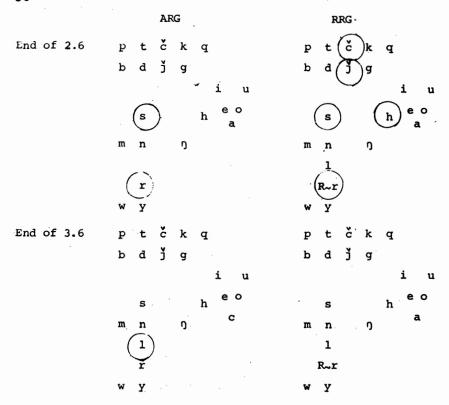
Content questions used both and , as they do in adult language, depending on one's pragmatic intentions vis-à-vis the interlocutors (when one wants to ingratiate oneself with an interlocutor and when one is requesting for help, in this case, of an informative kind, one can use?):

ásan nangálin yón for Adult násaán nangálin iyón fuhere did that come from?'
anún kaláse itó↓
for Adult anón kláse itó↓
'What kind is this?'

## 2.4. Summary and general observations

The following table summarizes the order of acquisition and progression for the two children; the blank squares indicate lacunae and the circles around segments indicate new acquisitions beyond the first stage:

End of 1.0	ARG	RRG
		p t
		b d i
		e o
		m n a
		w y
End of 1.6	p t k q	p t k q
	i u	$\underbrace{}_{i}\underbrace{}_{u}$
	bdg eo	p d d e o
	a	a
	m n j	m n 🗌
	J	
	w y	w y
End of 2.0	p t(8)k q	p t 🗌 k q
	b d j g i u	bd 🔲 g i u
	o e o	e o
	$\begin{pmatrix} h \end{pmatrix} a$	a
	m n n	m
	J.	(4)
	w y	w y



One can observe that in both cases stops preceded continuants, front stops (and nasals) preceded back stops (and nasals), affricates preceded fricatives. The last observation on affricates and fricatives seems to belie the expectation that since affricates are more marked than fricatives, the latter should come first; clearly the children used affricates as transitional segments to acquire fricatives. Liquids <u>r</u> and <u>l</u> were problematic.

One can say that the girl acquired her system faster than the boy (by twelve months) although by 2.6, both had acquired the basic system, with the boy having problems with  $\underline{l}$  and  $\underline{s}$  until he was 3.6; on the other hand, the girl continued to use the variant for  $\underline{r} - \underline{R}$  — until she was 3.6. What the girl did not show was the difficulty the boy showed (attested to by numerous variants, all approximations) with  $\underline{l}$  and with  $\underline{s}$ . The girl acquired  $\underline{l}$  with hardly any difficulty at 2.0 while the boy had problems with  $\underline{l}$  until 3.6. Similarly, the girl had few problems with  $\underline{s}$ , with only one variant and none of the various substitutes used by the boy; both had mastered  $\underline{s}$  by 2.6.

On the basis of two case studies, one cannot make a generalization regarding sex as a variable other than to state that the acquisition of phonology is subject to individual differences.

On the other hand, from these two case studies, one can make these observations:

- 1) Children learn features and bundles of features as segments and must store both in some ways (see Fromkin 1971).
- 2) Substitutions for sounds not yet acquired or in the process of acquisition are subject to regularities conditioned by commonalities in sets of features and differences in one or more features; these substitutions can be numerous; one can speak of transitional segments before acquisition of the final segment.
- 3) In acquiring the sound system of their first language, there is a time lag between the acquisition of feature(s) and the automatic use of this feature in all bundles or segments; the child can have all the features necessary to articulate a segment but not necessarily use these features for a specific segment.
- 4) Even when a segment has been acquired, position is a factor to consider; some segments are learned more easily in certain positions; segments do not show acquisition in all positions simultaneously.
- 5) There is a time lag between the acquisition of a segment and the use of this segment at all times; hence, substitutes continue to co-exist with the new segment, even in the same position. When difficult segments present themselves in the same sequence, the child's coping strategy is to high his target for only one, leaving the others to the more usual substitutes. (Later studies should clarify at what stage a segment has been stabilized, using some kind of frequency criterion expressed in a percentage.)
- Phonological processes such as assimilation, gemination (by assimilation or to fill in a missing slot), glide insertion, segmental and syllabic metathesis, haplology, epenthesis appear early in child language; such early appearance may be used as an argument in favor of the 'naturalness' of these processes and their universality; phonological rules specific to one language seem to be acquired later.
- 7) Early in child language acquisition, the canonical form of morphemes exerts pressure to articulate sequences according to this form, using substitutes if necessary. One can probably make a case for an order of acquisition in child language with regard to syllable structure (using Pilipino as an example):

CV(C)

C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> (reduplication) (C)V(C)V(C)

(C) (S) V(C) (S) V(C) where S = semivowel  $\begin{bmatrix} -consonant \\ -syllabi \end{bmatrix}$ 

- 8) Accent (with different physical realizations) seems to 'float' and is probably not distinctive during this period (up to 3.6). Accent realized as higher pitch 'floats'; length is the result of haplology, openness of the syllable (CV:), expressiveness, and its coincidence with pitch accent and/or stress; stress (force) seems to be the result of imitation and linguistic play as well as a means of expressiveness.
- 9) In repeating utterances of adults and in making his own utterances at the monolexemic stage and later, the child usually truncates these utterances by omitting segments or syllables but always makes sure that the remainder contains the accented syllable; undoubtedly, the prominence of these syllables (a result of accent) is a factor to ensure that the most crucial syllable needed to communicate the message of the utterance is articulated. In agglutinated forms with affixes the ability of the child to extract the roots is uncanny. This ability demands further investigation since accent alone will be insufficient to account for the extraction of a two-syllable root or the accented portion of the root (if only onesyllable is extracted), since agglutinated forms can have more than one accent.
- (0) Intonation ( ↑, ↓, perhaps → ) are part of the pre-linguistic system; their use in language seems to be a matter of learning where to use these contours for various functions.
- 11) Babbling (meaningless repetition of syllables or syllabics, with variation on segmental length and pitch or stress) seems to be an opportunity for practicing segments of the system the child is acquiring; it may be used more or less extensively by an individual child and may continue to be exhibited as late as the final stage of acquisition of the sound system (it stopped at the end of 2.6 for the children).

#### 3. THE GRAMMATICAL SYSTEM

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## THE GRAMMATICAL SYSTEM

#### 3.1. Preliminaries

The data were gathered over 32-1/2 months (December 1970 to August 1973) for ARG and over 37 months (August 1971 to September 1974) for RRG.

As with the chapter on phonology, this chapter on the developing grammatical systems uses a broad phonetic transcription.

Instead of reporting the system in six-month intervals, however, I have chosen to use a different way of discussing my findings as a result of trying out various modes of presentation. In many aspects of the grammar, especially in the sub-systems, significant acquisitions were evident almost every month. Even at the risk of fragmenting the system, I have chosen to deal with various dimensions of the grammar in terms of sub-systems, using tables with one-month intervals as the most convenient way of showing the development paths of various sub-systems. should be emphasized that the time points are merely indicative rather than exact, for the child 'knows' more than he lets on. In unquarded moments and spontaneous utterances, rather than in artificial elicitation and testing situations which were tried and found to be not too revealing, the child showed remarkable acquisitions which were probably already within his competence even before he uttered them in my presence, because of the limitations of frequency of my data-gathering. What I noticed, however, and that which gives me confidence in the soundness of my indicative acquisition points, was that when a new structure was exhibited, it seemed that the child unconsciously exhibited this new structure repeatedly -- perhaps as a way of practicing it; on that day and a few days later, I noticed that the child would use the structure intermittently. Usually, if a child uses a structure for the first time only once, one can say that the structure is memorized as a prefabricated routine and is merely echoed, but when he begins using the structure correctly in context several times in the course of one day, then one is reassured that the structure has indeed been acquired. I have had to rely on such informal 'entry points' for indicating acquisition rather than definite criteria of attainment based on percentages of occurrence in obligatory contexts over a set body of data (see, for example, Brown 1973:259-69) since my selective mode of data gathering did not permit such careful counting. wise revealing are mistakes which can be surmised as attempts of the child to integrate the new structure into his system; in these attempts to integrate the new structure, there is a period of seeming confusion when the child seems to fail to distinguish one new substructure from an already existing one and as a result, incorrectly uses both. Examples of these will be given in subsequent sections.

Rather than attempt to outline the grammatical system at various intervals, I propose to discuss the sub-systems growth over time to demonstrate the developmental paths taken,

and in the course of seeing such developments, to attempt to characterize the development of grammar in a holistic way by way of summary.

Initially, I used a form of transformational generative grammar (Chomsky 1957) in an unpublished analysis, but I soon found the model inadequate to capture the reality emerging, especially in the development of the sub-systems which had to take semantic features into account for an adequate description. Actually, for clarity of presentation and insight into the ontogenetic growth of language, I found none of the existing models really adequate and flexible enough to accommodate the data without artificially confining myself to one system and worse, getting entangled in theoretical disputes concerning grammar. Since the purpose of the study is to capture the reality of the process of development rather than to test a model or a theory, I decided to maintain flexibility by using traditional terminology and staying as close to surface structure as possible.

Perhaps the model I am closest to in this description is string grammar (Longacre 1968), itself based on Harris (1963), using traditional parts of speech categories. In dealing with the basic propositional arrays, however, I use the insights of Fillmore (1968) and Chafe (1970). For the sub-systems, where useful, I use syntactic-semantic feature analysis (Katz and Postal 1964). My transformations are limited to linear operations as well as agreement/concord phenomena which can be described as a process of copying of features and incorporation into complex symbols finding realization in the affixes of Tagalog-based Pilipino. While I establish points of theoretical contact with existing models, I would like to maintain flexibility by describing surface structure phenomena in traditional categories because I feel in working with the mass of data that this is the most efficient and insightful way of showing the development paths.

In using traditional categories and in describing the children's emerging grammars, I assume some 'rudimentary' (Brown 1973:203) awareness of categories on the part of the child in describing the structures, since it is only with this working assumption that I have been able to account for the continuity of the structures from stage to stage. Simply put, the development of grammar in the child approximates the adult's grammar, beginning with the most basic relations between verb-like and noun-like categories and approximating the adult's grammar by a series of elaborations, in Tagalog-based Pilipino, principally through affixes and unattached functors. I also assume the types of cognitive prerequisites for the development of grammar Slobin (1978) describes.

- 3.2. ARG's developing grammatical system
- 3.2.1. Propositions (Verbs and Nouns)

At the beginning stage of language, the child called others, named things, asked for things and objects and even information, using both words and gestures. At this time, many utterances were probably echoic, responses to the verbal stimuli of adults around him. I would like to bypass this stage in this section and confine myself to the structure of propositions in the demonstrative (as opposed to the expressive and conative) function of language. Table 3.1 summarizes the process of what I would characterize as 'propositional elaboration'.

Following Chafe (1970), I place under V all events (actions and processes) and states (including traditional adjectives and predicate nouns). If one accepts this notion, then the child produced during his eighteenth month (1.6) in his monolexemic utterances such predicate-like constructions as

v

one-place predicates, began to appear:

ambín Adult malambín 'affectionate in sound'
bátaq 'child'
tápun 'throw'
ípit Adult naípit 'to be stuck'

which were V state (adjective), V state (predicate-noun), V action and V process respectively; while there was a predominance of monolexemic utterances, dilexemic utterances, consisting of

igấq...bếybi Adult humígaq an bếybi 'the child lay down' V N

In discussing nominals in the propositions, one has to determine their semantic roles (Fillmore's deep structure cases or Chafe's N roles) vis-à-vis the verb.

(These roles or deep structure cases will be taken up again in a later section (3.2.13.1) on subject choice and subject marking in the verb, resulting in agreement between predicate and subject.)

The child will later have to store his verbs into a lexicon with case arrays as the types of nominal roles that these verbs can occur with (see Ramos 1973) and in effect have a linguistic dictionary of verbs with a complete classification (see McFarland 1976).

PERIOD	F O R M
1.6	v, nv~vn
1.7	
1.8	
1.9	N V N
1.10	
1.11	VNN
1.12 = 2.0	ADV V V
2.1	
2.2	
2.3	VNN~NNV VN[V] (relative clause)
2.4	VNNN
2.5	V V (when,) VN[VN] (complementation)
2.6	
2.7	VVN (, when) VN[V] (noun clause)
2.8	V NN[V] (relative clause) V[VNN] (sentential modification)
2.9	
2.10	V V (when)
2.11	VN VN (purposive) VN[N N N] (coordinate subjects)
2.12 = 3.0	
3.1	
3.2	
3.3.	
3.4	
3.5	V V (if, them) V N(V) (nominalization)
4.1	V V (even if)

Table 3.1

ARG's propositional elaboration

It should be noted that within six months (1.6 - 2.0) the basic roles (agent, patient/object, goal, associate, and location) were being used, with the rest of the roles learned from 2.3 - 2.5.

Table 3.2 shows the first use of these roles in the data. The order of V and N seemed to vary:

ombáq...báyeq Adult natumbá an babáe 'The woman fell V N down'

báyo...umbá Adult an kabayo ay natumbá 'The horse fell'

including predicate nouns:

iyan bataq Adult: bataq iyan 'That is a child' N V (predicate noun)

By 1.9, two-place predicates were being used:

batit iwan dito Adult: iwanan mo dito an batit 'Leave N V N the pencil here' where batit is the child's idiolectal word for 'pencil'

Although this is a command rather than a statement, I include it here since it is the only example at this period of a two-place predicate. Similarly, at 1.11, the child uttered another sentence with a two-place predicate which was a question rather than a statement:

púnat díto ayón Adult: púpunásan ba díto niyón V N N V 'Will that thing [far away] be used to wipe this place?'

By 1.12, the child was comfortable with two place predicates of differing orders:

jíp bánka á:ko Adult: bábangaín ko an jíp 'The jeep [toy] will be bumped by me [riding a toy car]'

and began using constructions with two predicates although still telegraphically:

pánu takáy tíyaq Adult: Papaáno táyon sásakáy kun síra ADV V V [an jíp] 'How shall we ride [it] if [the jeep] is out of order?'

At 2.3, the child used different ordering of two-place predicates:

1.6	agent	igáqbéybi 'The child lay down'
	patient	ómbaqbáyeq 'The woman fell'
	object	fbunayûn 'Behold, yonder is the bird'
1.9	location	batit iwan dito 'Leave the pencil here'
1.12	agent (with patient)	jíp bánka á:ko 'I bump jeep'
	goal and associate	tátáma akổ ta datán 'I'm going [with you] to La Salle'
2.3	(negative) beneficiary	iwanan ako ni kuya dude 'I was left by Kuya Rudi'
	standard	kagáya ni kúya 'Like Kuya
	product	dyódyówin akó karáyo 'I am going to draw a horse'
-	experiences	akô nagáyit 'I got angry'
2.4	cause	pabayan mo ako 'You let me [do this]'
2.5	time	itan araw 'one day'
3.7	product (result)	súsulátan námin yun panálan mo 'Your name will be written by us'

Table 3.2

ARG's use of noun roles

dún táyo bígan Adult: magkaibígan táyo doón 'Let us N N V play there' where the child uses bígan táyo dún to mean 'play [as friends]' v

At this time, too, (2.3) the child uttered his first sentence with a relative clause:

ti tótoq...mayikót...ti tóto na mayikót 'Toto, [he is] restless (moving one)...Toto [who is] restless'

where the linker  $\underline{na}$  is used for embedding the state V (adjective) to modify an N.

By 2.4, he began using three-place predicates (the optimal number of arguments for simple propositions in Pilipino):

kúnin nátin ta taát yuŋ íbon Adult: kúnin nátin sa itaás V N N N iyóŋ íbon 'Let us take the bird from upstairs'

From 2.5 on, the use of utterances with more than one predicate developed rapidly:

(2.5) pagdádatín ko nagjíp akó Adult: pagdatín ko magjíjíp akó V

'When I arrive, I shall play (ride) with my jeep'

(It should be noted that the child, keeping [-actual] or potential aspect in mind, uses the reduplicated pagdadatin (for [-actual]) and is more consistent than the adult in his language!)

(2.5) káya ko ma<u>y</u>ígo ak<u>ó</u> V V /V N/ (complementation)

Adult: akála ko malílígo akó

'It was thought by me that I would take a bath'

The above represents an example of complementation with [mayigo ako] 'I shall take a bath' as an embedded complement; note, however, that the aspect marker (reduplication) is missing.

(2.7) akó na an magáwak V V V

Adult: akó na aŋ magháháwak

'The one who will nold [it] [should be] I'

where the equational sentence has a topicalized predicate noun  $\frac{ak\delta}{a}$  and the subject noun phrase marked by  $\frac{a\eta}{a}$  has an embedded

magháháwak akó 'I shall hold [it]'. Again, the child's embedding does not have the aspect marker (reduplication) but it has the determiner an to mark it as a noun clause for an equational sentence.

Also attained at 2.7 is the complex sentence marked by nun 'when':

umiiyak nun tumakay ta kabayo
V N

Adult: umíyak siyá noón sumakáy siyá sa kabáyo 'He was crying when he got on the horse'

where the child's sentence had no overt agent realized by a noun phrase or pronoun.

The following new developments showed up at

(2.8) pápayúin nátin yun máman pánet V N N V

Adult: pápalúin nátin iyón máman pánet
'The man who is ugly shall be beaten by us'

where the relative clause yún máman pánet has the linker -n to link the embedded [pánet an máman] to the matrix clause pápalúin nátin yun máman,

(2.8) mabúti wayá akón tintuyón V V N N

Adult: mabúti waláq akón si.nturón

'It's [a] good [thing] that I don't have a belt'

where the entire clause wayá akón tintuyón 'I have no belt' functions as the accompanying N to the state V mabúti 'It is good ...'.

At 2.10, the child used the complex sentence with nun when but in a different order:

nu nayigoq ako innibutan V N V

Adult: noố n naligo ako inubusan ba ako nan túbig 'When I took a bath, was I left w inout water?'

where the accompanying arguments as N's for the second V were not made explicit by the child.

At 2.11, purposive complex sentences and sentences with compound subjects were used:

tána tináyi ko payá hindí yáyákad V N v

Adult: sáná tináli ko pará hindí lálákad an [kalabáw]
'Would that [it] had been tied by me so that [the carabao] would not have walked [away]'

where <u>sana</u> is the subjunctive marker (to be discussed in a subsequent section) and where the purposive marker <u>para</u> (from Spanish <u>para</u>) 'so that' is used to connect the two main clauses.

nakayagáy diyán ti tóto at taká ti monina at taká v N N N N yun atáwa ni títo méyo

Adult: nakalagáy diyán si tótog at saká si monina at saká iyón asáwa ni títo mélo

'[On that photo] is found there Totoq and Monina and the wife of Tito Melo'

where diyan is a locative deictic pronoun and the rest of the nouns coordinate subjects.

The next two important innovations in propositional elaboration take place much later, at 3.5, when conditional sentences and nominalizations begin:

kun hindí nakatalábat makákatúlat táyo

if V N

Adult: kuŋ hindí nakasalábat [aŋ upúan], makákasúlat táyo [sa lamésa]

'If [the chair] is not in the way, [then], we can write [on the table]'

Papanon buksan (i) to ... papano pagbukas how V N how Nominal

Adult: paánon buksán itó 1 ... paáno an pagbukás f

'How is this opened? ... How is its being-opened?'

where pagbukás 'act of opening' is a nominalized form derived from buksán [it6].

At 4.1, an even-if clause is used:

naglúto akó maskí maliít akó 'I cooked even if I was small'

where maski is from Spanish mas que.

Prescinding from the affixes, which begin to appear in verb roots as early as 1.7 (to be described in a subsequent section) but which do not occur in all utterances even when they have already begun to appear, the pattern of propositional elaboration (even only with roots initially) is relatively straightforward: V, VN, then VNN, VNNN, even VN[NNN]. However, as soon as concatenation (and, therefore, sequencing) occurs, we must provide options for the ordering of elements from the beginning and some device for making different kinds of order possible. Propositions with more than one predicate (or V) appear as early as 2.0 but do not begin to appear quite frequently until 2.5. Examples of multi-predicate sentences of various kinds of a coordinate or subordinate [embedding] type resulting in relativization, nominalization, noun-clauses, complementation can be multiplied from 2.5 on.

Connectors for compound and complex sentences appear early and seem to be learned as simple vocabulary items. Table 3.3 lists their order of appearance. It includes traditional conjunctions and sentential adverbs (some of which are used as sequence markers in discourse). Note that sentential adverbs, a case for the verbal nature of which can be made, appear (2.3) shortly after two-predicate propositions (2.0).

### 3.2.2. Adjectives

Quality words as bare roots without affixes appeared early (1.6) as state V's. What is of interest here are the adjectival affixes, used in derivations, the appearances of which are summarized by Table 3.4.

There was no occurrence of superlative in the data.

# 3.2.3. Adverbs of time, manner and frequency

Location words, realized as pronominal deictics or as deictic noun phrases, are considered in this study as one possible N accompanying V. One special locative adverb hangan doon 'until there' presents problems of classification; perhaps hanga 'until' should be considered a state V of extension. In surface structure, however, it functions like a relator or preposition, like para 'for' from Spanish para.

However, timewords, which usually occurred at the beginning or at the end of sentences, are classified separately; so are the manner and frequency adverbs. Table 3.5 summarizes their time and order of appearance.

PERIOD	CONNECTORS, SENTENTIAL ADVERBS, AND SEQUENCE MARKERS
1,11	tápot Adult: pagkatápos 'afterwards'
2.3	tayagá Adult: talagá 'truly'
2.4	at taká Adult: at saká 'and also' baká 'it might/could be'
2.5	pag Adult: pagká 'when,' (potential aspect)
2.6	di 'literally, no; thus'
2.9	ačaká (variant of at saká) 'and also' katí Adult: kasí 'because'
2.10	nun Adult: noon 'when,' (completed aspect)
2.11	pagkatápot Adult: pagkatápos 'afterwards' kamuntík na 'it almost happened that' payá Adult: pará 'so that' tána Adult: sána 'would (subjective)'
3.2	pagká 'when' (potential aspect)
3.5	kuŋ 'if, (then)'
4.1	maskí 'even if,'
4.2	sigūro (from Spanish segūro) 'perhaps'

Table 3.3

ARG's connectors for sentences, sentential adverbs and sequence markers

PERIOD	AFFIXES (AND MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES) AND FUNCTOR	S   GLOSSES	EXAMPLES
2.1	ma-	'plenitivizer'	mainit 'hot'
2.3.	naka <sub>1</sub> -	'positionalizer'	nakabitin 'hanging' kagáya 'like'
2.5	ma Adult: mas	'more'	ma malaki Adult: mas malaké 'like'
2.6	pāya Adult: pāraŋ	'like'	páya tánkit Adult: páran sánkis 'like Sunkist'
2.8	púyo Adult: púro (from Spanis puro)	h 'pure or totally'	púyo+n batő 'all /made/ of stone'
2.9	naka <sub>2</sub> -	'habilitivizer'	nakatôdi 'wearing a helmet (child's word for helmet is tôdi)'
	naka <sub>3</sub> -	'utilizer'	nakabisikléta 'using (riding) a bicycle'
2.11	ADJECTIVE ROOT <sup>2</sup> ADJECTIVE ROOT+9 ADJECTIVE ROOT	'intensifier'	tabátabá Adult: matabán matabá 'very fat' kásya+n kásya (e.g. shoes) 'well-fitting?
2.11			bágay na bágay 'very suitable'
3.7	mag- (with a number)	'in a state of be	ing' mag-is& 'alone, only one'

In describing some morphological units of Pilipino in the chapter on grammar and the chapter on lexicon, I use Latinate labels of my own creation, terms such as 'plenitivizer', 'positionalizer', 'similaritivizer', habilitivizer', 'utilizer', etc. The meanings of these terms will become clear from the glosses. These terms are needed in dealing with the Philippine languages and hence need no justification. I used them initially in describing Kapamangan, another Pilipino language (Gonzalez 1981), earlier.

Table 3.4

ARG's adjectival affixes, morphological process, and functors

PERIOD	TIME	MANNER	FREQUENCY
1.12=2.0		uyêq Adult: uliq 'again, once more' papâno 'question word	
		for manner: how?'	·
2.1	mamyấq Adult: mấmayấq 'later'	dayf Adult: dalfq 'quickly'	* .
2.2	kanina 'a while ago'		
2.3	búkat Adult: búkas 'tomorrow'		
2.4		•	
2.5	itán ájaw Adult: isán áraw 'one day'		
2.7	'a long time ago' kagabí Adult meaning: 'last night'		
	noon 'yesterday' Adult meaning: 'then'		
2.9	Ŋayon 'today'		
2.10			mintan Adult: minsan 'once'
2.11			
1.0			
. 1			
. 2			
. 3		masyấdo+n Adj 'too	
. 4			āraw+āraw 'daily'
.5			
. 6			
.10	kahapon 'yesterday'		
. 2		ulit (a variant of uliq) 'once more'	

No significant observation can be made about adverbs of time, manner and frequency other than to state that they appear after the basic propositional possibilities have been completed (at 2.0) and that for adverbs of time the meaning of the child is not necessarily that of the adult, that time words for distant time seem to come before timewords for closer time (perhaps dictated by need since proximate time -- e.g. nayon -- is not necessary to be marked explicitly), and that frequency seems last to be explicitly marked.

There are morphological processes of reduplication for adjective and verb roots which are included in the pertinent sections on adjective and verb affixes. However, semantically these derivational processes result in adverbial modifications of meaning (in the final summary section on ARG's grammatical development, these processes are listed as adverb morphological processes);

- (2.11) ADJECTIVE ROOT<sup>2</sup> 'intensifier (sometimes pejorative)' tabá+tabá 'very fat'
- (2.11) ADJECTIVE ROOT+linker+ADJECTIVE ROOT
  'intensifier' kasya+n kasya 'fitting
  very well'
- (3.3) pa+VERB ROOT<sup>2</sup> 'intermittentivizer' pa+lakad+lakad 'walking intermittently'
- (3.4) VERB ROOT<sup>2</sup> 'repetitiyizer (sometimes with pejorative connotation)' sunod+sunod 'keep on following'
- (3.4) NOUN ROOT<sup>2</sup> (timeword) '\_\_ly' áraw-áraw 'daily'
- (3.9) VERB ROOT na+linker VERB ROOT 'continuativizer' tigudug nan tigudug 'keeps on galloping'

### 3.2.4. Clitics

Post-verbal clitics play a very important role in Pilipino grammar -- as explicit question markers and as markers of various kinds (reference markers, interlocutory modifiers, mood, etc.). It is not enough that the child knows a particular clitic, subtle in its meanings, but also where to put it in the verb phrase, especially when other pronominal markers co-occur in the verb phrase and when negativization takes place. These varied linear ordering rules will be discussed in a separate section. Here, the clitics are merely listed in their order of appearance and in unmarked sentences always occur after the initial verb (patáy na 'already dead'); when more than one clitic occurs, a sequence based on category and syllable length must be followed: (táma na dáw 'according to X, [it is] already enough'; mélon pa palá ti tóto é, Adult, mayroón pa palá si tóto é 'So Toto still has some more [of these]'):

PERIOD	CLITICS	GLOSS
1.10	na	'already'
1.11	pa	'still'
1.12 = 2.0*	ŋaq	'indeed'
***	daw	'so I have been told (quotative)'
2.1	din ~ rin	'also'
2.3	namán	'I beg to disagree' (This is difficult to translate; the gloss is an approximation.)
2.4	yátaq	'it seems'
	ba	'(question-marker)'
2.5	múna	'first (in sequence)'
2.7	payá Adult: palá	'so!'
3.2	na lấn, naq <sub>2</sub>	only', '(request marker)'
3.4	pa lán	'just now' (used with immediately completed aspect)
4.2	kayá Adult: kayáq	'I wonder'

<sup>\*</sup>This period marks the beginning of using more than one clitic attached to the verb phrase.

Table 3.6

ARG's clitic

Certain clitics go with certain verbal aspects. Hence, na, which usually goes with [+completed] aspect (1.7) appears early (1.10), and pa lan appears with [+completed, +recent] aspect (3.4). However, ba, the question marker, and naq, a request marker, come long after questions and requests appear; they are not needed, however, as intonation alone can be used to signal questioning and requesting.

The child began using more than one clitic (na daw) as early as 1.12.

## 3.2.5. Negatives, existential and modals

The following table (3.7) shows the order of acquisition of different types of negatives in Pilipino:

PERIOD	1	N E G A T	I V E S
1.6	indíq	Adult: hindiq-hindeq	'I refuse to (I'm not going)'
1.7	ná:	Adult: walaq	'There is none'
1.9	á:yaw	Adult: ấyaw	'I don't want any/I don't want to
1.10	hindé	Adult: hindiq	'No! I disagree'
	hindéq	Adult: hindiq	'Don't! I don't want you to'
2.1	hindiq		'not (that's not the one)'
2.2	indf	Adult: hindiq	'not (with a verb)'
2.4	uwag	Adult: huwag	'don't (prohibitive)'
	<del></del>		

Table 3.7

## ARG's negatives

I shall assume aquisition of the negative eyen if the phonological form is not perfect or has variants. Walaq starts out as na:, changes to wa:, eventually wala(q). a:yaw has variants: a:y and ayaw; ayaw ko can be realized as yoko, a:yaw, ayoko. Hindiq can be indiq, hinde, hindi, inde.

The order for ARG is

hindiq 'no, I refuse to \_\_\_\_'
walaq 'there is none/no one'
ayaw 'I do not want to/I do not want any/I refuse'
huwag 'don't'

This is true if one is to go by mere forms alone; however, the formative hindig carries multiple meanings in the beginning (refusal, prohibitive, propositional negation) and becomes specialized gradually as (1) ayaw 'I refuse, I don't want to \_\_\_\_\_, I don't want anything'; (2) huwag 'don't'; (3) and hindeg 'not', the negative marker for all verbs and sentences. The prohibitive was acquired last.

If one were to consider the negatives as verbs in their own right, as the generative semanticists do, then the emergence of negative verbs occurring with a main verb takes place at 2.2, more or less the same time as the acquisition of sentential adverbs (2.3).

The negative existential walfq preceded the existential mflun (Adult mayroon) 'there is'.

There is a small set of modals (called by Schachter and Otanes 1972 preverbs) which behave syntactically like the negatives and hence have been included in this section:

- (2.3) dấpat 'should' dấto dấpat lagấy

  Adult: dấto dấpat ilagấy 'it should be placed here'
- (2.9) kailan 'need' kayanan basahan

  Adult: kailanan basahan ito 'it is necessary that this be moistened'
- (3.4) pwéde 'can' pwéde baŋ mabuktán yán↑

  Adult: pwéde baŋ mábuksán iyán↑ 'Can that be opened?'
- 3.2.6. Greetings and expletives, questions, requests and comments

Greetings and expletives are learned as lexical items and present no problem. Table 3.8 lists:

PERIOD	GREETINGS AND EXPLETIVES	GLOSSES
1.6	ayấy Adult: arấy	'ouch!'
1.7	f:ya	'Giddyap (used for urging a horse to run)'
1.10	bábay	'goodbye'
2.2	66	'yes'
2.4	ấy nakú	'my gosh!'
2.6	tigena Adult: sige na	'go ahead!'
2.11	abá	'so (surprised)'
3.7	halá	'see now what you've done! (a threat of punishment)'

Table 3.8

ARG's greetings and expletives

More interesting because much more useful are the different types of questions acquired:

PERIOD	TYPE	FORM
1.6	asking for information: yes-no?	NV ↑
1.10	asking for information: what?	VN (V=predicate pro-form/questionword)
	where?	VN ↑
1.11	asking for information: yes-no?	vnn↑ vn↑
1.12	asking for information: why?	ADV V
	asking for confirmation of information already known	VN ↑
2.4	asking for information: who?	vn↓ .
	what?	VN[V]↓ (Noun Clause)
	how?	VN↓ (V=predicate pro-form/ questionword)
	where?	N <sup>↑</sup> , NV <sup>↑</sup> (N <sub>1</sub> = location proform/questionword)
	asking for information	VClN↑ (Cl=question clitic)
	asking for repetition of what has been said: details?	n↑ v↑
	asking for confirmation of what is already known: tag?	Vn→ TAG↑
2.6	asking for information: whose?	VM, VNN (V=predicate pro- form/question word
	asking for confirmation of information already known: negative query	Neg Cl <sup>↑</sup> V Cl→ Neg Cl <sup>↑</sup>
3.2	asking for information: why? (using a negative query)	ADV Neg NV↓
3.3	asking for confirmation of information contrary to expectation: negative query	Neg C1 V
3.6	asking for information: what? (using a conditional statement)	V Noun clause [VN conditional VN]↑
	asking for confirmation of information already known, negative query with emphasis	VNN Neg Cl↑ Tag↓

ARG's questions

Even before the child acquired the question clitic <u>ba</u> (2.5) he began using questions as early as 1.6, using rising final intonation as his means of signaling a query:

tigidigdig digdig umba ^

Adult: natumbá ba an kabáyo 
'Did the horse fall?'

By 1.10, the child had learned question words 'what?' and 'where?', which in Pilipino are interrogative lexical items unspecified for content (see Chafe 1970) occupying the slot for a predicate noun:

Síno iyán? V N 'Who is that?'

Si Pédro iyán.

'That is Pedro'

V 1

Ná saán an bátaq?

'Where is the child?'

Ná sa báhay an bátag. 'The child is in the house'

Even in adult language, these content questions are said with a rising final intonation.

The child's questions were in reduced form, however:

nú yán † V N

nātan...bātit 🕈

Adult: anó iyán <sup>†</sup>

násaán aŋ lápis 🎙

'What is that?' 'Where is the pencil?'

By 1.1, the child was ready for more yes-no questions, expanded beyond those of 1.6 or in a different order:

punat dito ayont

Adult: Púpunásan ba díto iyon

'Will that one be wiped here?'

dáwa takáy <sup>†</sup> N V

Adult: Marámi ba aŋ isásakáy 🏲

'Will there be many [bricks] loaded [on the truck]?'

where the child uses dawa 'literally, two' for 'many'.

'Why?' is signaled by bakit (1.12) and is attached to an entire clause; the reason given begins with dahil sa 'because of', its response correlative. A case can be made for considering bakit/dahil sa as state verbs (predicate nouns) in their own right, but to bypass this theoretical question, I label bakit as an adverb:

bákit tayádo√ ADV V

Adult: bākit sarādo j

'Why /is it that it is closed?'

where the falling rather than the rising final intonation is used (the rising intonation may likewise be used).

As early as 1.12, the child already asked confirmation questions, in this case, to ask the adult interlocutor if he had the name of the object right:

póybo yán ninon r

Adult: polbo ba iyan ninon 'Is that powder, Godfather?'

By 2.4, the child had most of WH- questionwords in his repertoire:

tino ito↓ V N

Adult: sino itó↓

'Who is this?'

anun nanyayi t V Noun Clause

Adult: anó aŋ naŋyári 🛊

'What  $\overline{/is}$  it  $\overline{/}$  that which happened?'

sấn ka gấyin t V N V

Adult: saấn ka gắlin 🕇

'Where have you been from?'

papáno tíyaq↓ V N

Adult: paano ban nasiraq. \footage 'How \sum was it / broken?'

It should be noted that the child used both and intonation for some of these questions, as do adults, although the more common intonation for short questions of this kind in adult language is . When asking about what happened, an equational sentence in Pilipino is needed, What is it that which happened? where that which happened needs to be preceded by the nominative marker and. In rapid speech, and + and is said as anon-anon.

Also attained at this time (2.4) was the question clitic ba, used for the first time in:

mayami ba yan T

Adult: marámi ba iyán Î

'Is that /pile/ many in quantity?'

Not all questions in the future would use the question clitic, but its increasing use was evident after this time.

Another interesting development at this time was the use of a lot of echoic questions, questions asking for repetition of details of what had just been said, almost as if the child was practicing. He would repeat entire statements with a rising intonation or phrases from earlier statements, in effect breaking them up into individual units of information for repetition:

Adult: baká ka mádapáq ↓

'You might stumble'

Child: báka ko mádapáq 1

'I might stumble?'

Adult: kumákain nan damó iyón kabáyo l

'The horse is eating grass'

Child: an kabayo?! 1

'The horse?'

kumákáen 🔨

'It's eating?'

nan damó f

'grass?'

A tag had also been acquired at this time, no f (from and), meaning 'isn't it true?':

payéo táyo no payáo l

Adult: parého táyo → anó ↑ parého↓

'We're the same, aren't we? We're the same'

where  $\underline{no}^{\uparrow}$  is a tag question for confirming information already known by the speaker.

By 2.6., 'whose' was used regularly:

kanînu yan î

Adult: kanino iyan

'Whose [is] that?'

where kanino functions as a predicate noun.

kanino+n payon yan ^

Adult: kanino+n payon iyan

'Whose umbrella [is] that?'

using the nasal linker  $-\eta$  to connect possessor with the thing possessed.

Negative questions in Pilipino, also acquired at this time, may be questions asking for confirmation of information already known:

df ba meyon pa df bat Neg Cl V Cl Neg Cl

Adult: hindí bat méyroon pa hindí bat

'[Is it] not? There is more. Is it not?'

where the negative query, repeated for emphasis, is placed before and after the information (already known) which the speaker is seeking confirmation for.

Another query, this time really seeking for new information, emerged at 3.3:

bakit hindî mo ginagamîtin p ADV Neg N V

Adult: bakit hindî mo ba ginagamit \\
'Why [is it] you don't use [it]?'

(the child used ginagamitin instead of adult ginagamit; this will be discussed subsequently). At 3.4 and for several months thereafter, the child used a bat instead of bakit; a bat is related to

Kapampangan (another Philippine language) <u>6</u> bat and is a result of language mixture. The sentence presupposes an expectation on the part of the child for the interlocutor to use the object; since the interlocutor was not using it, the child asked Why.

A variant of the negative query for confirmation was the integration of hind1 ba with the main clause (3.3) to ask for confirmation of information which one expected:

hindí ba umáandár hindí ba hindí ba

'[Is]n't [it] working [the motor]? [Is]n't [it]?'

where one expected the motor to work and one is surprised that it does not.

Further questions using conditional statements and negative queries with emphasis appeared at 3.6:

ano+n gagawin mo pag malaki ka na the 'What [is it] that you will do when you are already big?'

pāran lāsa+n kölget yān dī ba anó,
'That tastes like Colgate, is it not? don't you agree with me?'

where  $\underline{\text{df ba}}^{\uparrow}$  is the negative tag (<u>hindf ba</u>?) asking for confirmation of information already known and  $\underline{\text{ano}} \downarrow$  is a tag for emphasis.

Another question-word <u>alin</u> 'which' was used (3.7) not as a question but as an indirect question -- <u>kun alin</u> ... '[he asked] which...' and has not been included in the table.

Turning now to requests of various sorts (or commands) asking for objects or some action, I noticed that such requests were manifested quite early (1.6) in monolexemic utterances using the rising final intonation:

uwf 'let's go home'
batet ~ butet 'hand me that pencil'

Two months later, ARG began commanding, using yerb roots:

tốtog akấy d Adult: tốtog sumakấy ka díto d 'Toto, ride [here]' Since the child found it easier to learn verb roots and their suffixes earlier than prefixes and infixes (in that order) --- undoubtedly, the place of the accent was a conditioning factor in retaining certain syllables -- the child began making commands using verbs with suffixes (which in Adult Pilipino serve as markers for subject choice) as early as 1.9. One suspects that initially these suffixes were learned as unseparated parts of the verb:

ditin...ito

Adult: alis+in mo ito

'Remove this (literally, This is to be removed by you)'

buttán

Adult: buksan mo ito

'Open this (literally, this is to be opened by you)

However, the child also used unaffixed roots:

Iwaw... patay
W V

Adult: patayin mo an ilaw

'Turn off the light (literally, the light is to be killed by you)'

Since the aspect used for commanding is the same as the unmarked form of the verb (with its subject-marking and derivational affixes), the learning of commands and requests presented no major problems. The function of asking/commanding appeared at the same time as the beginning of speech, using that the main marker for requests and the ast the marker for commands. The proposition itself began with roots, acquired affixes as the child learned the affixes of the system (see separate section) without having to learn a separate marker or affix for the imperative mood. The -um-infix which goes with the unmarked imperative (with agent or subject) was acquired at 2.2. At 2.3, the child used the clitic na for invitations:

kain na tayo V Cl N

Adult: kumain na tayo

'Let us (already) eat'

but the child did not exhibit  $\underline{n}a$  as a clitic marker for 'please' at this early stage (2.0). For his requests, he initially preferred to use only  $\dagger$ , which even among adults is used as an expression of ingratiation when making a request, but by 3.2

and 3.4, he used the request marker:

tionan oa natent

Adult: tiệnán ga nátin†

'May you and I look at it?'

patayin mo ja aj ilawf

'Will you please turn off the light? (literally, The light is to be killed by you, please)'

Traditional exclamatory sentences in Pilipino, which in general have the function of commenting (on something remarkable), are marked by an, the nominative determiner; this construction made its appearance in the data at 2.2:

an dami iyon o↓

Adult: an dámi niyon, ó

'What a large number those are -- look!'

Later (2.11), this form of expressing comments was elaborated:

an báho nan jíp↓

'What a stinky thing the jeep is!'

an tabá tabá ko↓

'How very fat I am!'

# 3.2.7. Other conversation markers

This section will deal with certain tags which the child used extensively in conversation as ways of calling the attention of the interlocutor. Also included in this section, because related to dimensions concerning the interlocutor, are the respect markers the child used.

Within a period of three months, the child had acquired these three conversational tags:

. 2.2. an damí iyón 8 l

Adult: an dami niyon→ b↓

'How many there are of those -- look!'

2.3. áwak akó ta kabáyo é↓.

Adult: humáwak akó sa kabáyo é ↓

'I held on to the horse -- you see!'

2.4. uwág mó wánan tó á t

Adult: huwág mo+) iwánan ito há†

'Don't leave this -- you hear?'

where  $\delta_{\psi}$ ,  $\dot{\epsilon}_{\psi}$ , and  $\dot{a}^{\uparrow}$  are used for demonstrating, explaining and mild warning (hortatory function), respectively.

More significant than these tags, which are really lexical forms attached to the ends of regular sentences, were the markers of respect. Pilipino speakers (at least those raised in traditional families) use respect markers poq and hoq as clitics in the verb phrase when addressing their seniors or elders (the first expressing a higher degree of respect than the second). In addition to clitics, they use pluralization of 'you' -- from ikaw to kayo -- to indicate respect; perhaps the highest manifestation of respect is to address a person in the third person plural sila 'they'.

The child used respect markers earlier under prompting and hence such expressions can be considered as echoic more than spontaneous productions. However, at 2.4, he began using these markers without prompting. Table 3.10 gives representative examples of these respect markers. By 3.3, the child was able to use hog and pog. It was not clear from the context that the distinction in degree of respect was clearcut; the sample from 3.10 seems to indicate free variation. Actually, even adults freely interchange hog and pog, especially with strangers, preferring the less respectful hog and reserving pog only for seniors and for dignitaries.

#### 3.2.8. Pronouns

In Pilipino, pronouns occur in three (surface) cases, the nominative, genitive, and oblique (or dative); number is singular, dual, and plural. Table 3.11 summarizes the order of appearance in the data of these pronouns and their three cases.

The data did not include occurrences of <u>atin</u> '(oblique) to us (inclusive)', <u>kanilá</u> '(oblique) to them', and <u>inyó</u> '(oblique) to you (plural)'. There was an occurrence of <u>kitá</u> (you and I) (1.12), but here <u>kitá</u> was a realization of <u>pípisikán ko+ikáw</u> nitó 'You are to be sprinkled with this [liquid which I am squeezing out of this] by me' where (genitive) <u>ko</u> + (nominative ikáw undergo an obligatory change to <u>kitá</u>. <u>kitá</u> '(nominative) you and I' as a dual nominative is rare and is not used except by elderly people; hence, it is not surprising that the child did not use it.

The first two occurrences of the oblique case clearly signal possession; the oblique case, however, signals more than possession and follows well-defined rules following subject choice and [+definite ] feature in the noun phrase.

Period	Examples of Respect Markers
2.4	úgat póq Adult: húgas póq 'I'm washing, Elder'
	napatáy na póq 'It [the pig] has already been slaughtered, Elder'
*	indí pa póq Adult: hindí pa póq 'Not yet, Elder'
	wáyaq póq Adult: walá pa póq 'None, Elder'
2.5	(Answering questions of an elder)
	[ saán si tótoq <sup>†</sup> 'Where is Totoq?'] ta bấy póq Adult: sa báhay póq 'At home, Elder'
	[ saán si émen † 'Where is Emen?'] wayá poq Adult: walá poq 'She isn't here, Elder'
	wayấqta bấay pốq Adult: walấ poq sa bahay 'She isn't here[she's] at home, Elder'
·	ayóko na póq 'I don't want ańymore, Elder'
2.7	tátáma póq† Adult: sásáma póq† 'May I come along, Elder'
2.8	doón ta báhay póq námen Adult: doón sa báhay póq námin 'There at our house, Elder'
3.3	itó an patalúbon ninyó nínon 'This is your (plural) present from Adult: itó an pasalúbon my trip, Godfather' ninyó nínon
	walá pa tilá Adult: walá pa silá 'She (plural) is not here yet'
	ākin na hó itó yúŋ nakabálot yuŋ pē a 'Could I have this, Elder, Adult: ákin na hó itó iyóŋ nakabálot the one that's wrapped, iyoŋ péra the money ?'
3.10	(Playing store) pagtindí ho ~ po Adult: pasindí hoq ~ poq 'Elder, may I have a light?'

Table 3.10

ARG's use of respect markers

PERIOD	NOMINATIVE	GENITIVE	CBLIQUE
before			ákin 'to me (possessive)'
1.9	akó 'I'	mo 'your'	
1.10	táyo 'you (plural) and I = we (inclusive)'	ko 'my'	
1.12	kitá (ko-ikáw) 'by me-you'		
	ikáw 'you'		ta iyó 'to you (possessive)'
2.1	tamí(kamí) 'we(exclusive)'	nátin 'our (inclusive)' nyó(ninyó) 'you(plural)'	
2.3	kamī ni X 'X and I' ka 'You'	námin 'our (exclusive)' nyá(niyá) 'his'	ta kaniyá (sa kaniyá) 'to him'
2.4	kamí dayawá ni tótoq 'The two of us, Toto and I'		
2.5.	tiyá (siyá) 'he'		
2.6			ta yố (sa iyố) 'to you'
2.7	kayó 'you(plural)'		
2.12			ta ámen (sa ámin) 'to us(exclusive)
3.1			
3.3	tilá (silá) 'they'		
3.4		nila 'their'	

Table 3.11
ARG's pronouns

The occurrences of the oblique case reflect these other meanings.

The order of acquisition of the pronouns reflects a movement from I-you and I-you-he and you and I (plural)-we (exclusive)-you(plural)-they; plurals are acquired after singulars; there seems to be no discernible order with regard to the acquisition of case except for the early acquisition of oblique case to express possession.

At 1.10, the child had problems distinguishing  $\underline{mo}$  'your' from ko 'my' and would answer a question such as

Gustó mo bá nang 'Do you want some ?

with

gustó mo 'you like'

instead of

gustő ko 'I like'

but the distinction soon made itself evident.

Similarly, at 2.3, the child had problems distinguishing  $\underline{\text{nátin}}$  'our (inclusive)' from  $\underline{\text{námin}}$  'our (exclusive)' and for a while used both interchangeably.

#### 3.2.9. Deictics

Deictics were acquired quite early and were used initially as pronouns, subsequently also as determiners with noun roots. Like pronouns, deictics occur in three surface cases (nominative, genitive, oblique or dative); semantic dimensions which are important are [tnear speaker] and [tnear hearer]. In addition to the three case-marked forms, deictics in Pilipino also occur with gan- 'like (this, that, yonder)' and with nan- 'location (here, there, yonder)'. Table 3.12 summarizes the child's deictics and their order of appearance.

The variants should be noted (<u>iyán~yán</u>, <u>iyón~iyún~yún</u>, <u>duún~doón</u>, <u>ganón~ganún</u>, <u>nándon~nándun~ándon</u>).

The nominative forms are itô, iyán, and iyôn 'this, that, yonder'; when pointing to something by itself, one can also say éto (\*a+itô), ayán (\*a+iyán), and ayón (\*a+iyón) 'behold this, that, yonder'.

In adult Pilipino -- among older speakers -- one also has another deictic <u>iré</u> 'this one (close to me but not to you)' with its forms <u>niré</u> (genitive), <u>diré</u> (oblique), <u>ganiré</u> (like), and \*nandire > náre 'here close to me', but these forms are not in the active vocabulary of most young speakers of Pilipino.

PERIOD	NOMINATIVE	GENITIVE	OBLIQUE	SIMILARITIVE ('like') GAN-	PRO-LOCATIVE NAN-
1,6	yán (iyán) 'that' ayún~yổn (ayốn) 'yonder'		díto 'here'		
1.7	iyốn~yún (iyốn) 'yonder'				
1.9	itó 'this'				
1.10			doón 'yonder'	ganyán 'like that'	
1.11	ayán 'behold, that'				
1.12			diyan 'there'		
2.1				ganón~danón~ganún 'like yonder'	
2.3		níto (nitó) 'this'			nándon (nándoón) 'over yonder place'
2.4		nyán (niyán) 'that'			
2.7					nánjan (nándiyán) 'over there'
2.8	éto 'behold, this'				nándíto 'over here'
2.9		noón (derivative niyón) 'that yon			
3.6				ganitó 'like this'	
3.9					

Table 3.12

ARG's deictics

3.

It seems that the dimensions [+hear speaker] and [+hear hearer] to distinguish ito [+hear speaker, -hear hearer], iyan [-hear speaker, +hear hearer], and iyon [-hear speaker, -hear hearer] were present as early as 1.6 since all three forms appeared (though not in the same surface case forms) at that time. However, it is not clear if in the beginning, iyan and iyon were really distinguished; the child seemed to use them in free variation for the same referent, sometimes one right after the other (1.6). Pointing to something, the child said (at 1.7)

yán...yún

At 1.8, pointing afar, he said yan (he should have said (i)yon)

Only at 1.12 and at 2.1, on two occasions, he did make a very clear distinction between ito and iyon although as late as 2.8, there were still instances when he was uncertain about ito and iyon-yon. However, at 2.3, he showed mastery by pointing to me certain objects to show the distinction between dito, diyan, and duun.

Beginning at 2.1, the child used the deictics not only as pronouns but as determiners with noun roots

yun batit 'yonder pencil'

as well as for emphatic noun prhase (2.9)

itūŋ číkyet koŋ ito 'this Chicklet (chewing gum) of mine this'

and at 3.3 and 3.7

yun bata na iyon 'yonder child there'
yon susin yon 'that key there'

3.2.10. Case-marked determiners of nouns

Nouns in Pilipino are case-marked in their surface structures with determiners and for nominative common/proper nouns, nan/ni for genitive common/proper nouns, and sa/kay for oblique (dative) common/proper nouns. In addition, nouns are marked plural by mana after the determiner. Table 3.13 summarizes the order of acquisition of the determiners in the child's language.

Here again the order of acquisition was unusual, as it was the highly marked oblique case which was acquired first in its function of possession. Probably because the nominative was tied in with subject choice and the genitive a consequence of prior subject choice, the nominative markers and genitive markers more or less came together, the ones for the proper nouns coming before the ones for the common nouns.

PERIOD	PLURAL MARKEL	NOMINATIVE	GENITIVE	OBLIQUE
1.12 = 2.0				ta (sa ) (possession ) kay~key (possession )
2.1		ti (si)		ta (sa) (goal) ta (sa) (location) ta (sa) (beneficiary)
2.2	таџа			
2.3		–ე (aŋ)	ni -ŋ (naŋ)	,
2.4		aŋ	nan	
3.7				pará (sa) (beneficiary)
				`
				·

Table 3.13

ARG's Determiners

Highly marked, for benefactive sentences, is para sa (from Spanish para) which occurred at 3.7.

Overt plural marking of nouns took place at 2.2 with the productive use of maga.

Since both <u>an</u> and <u>nan</u>, as a result of elision, may be attached to a preceding final vowel (and thus to appear to be linkers)

iban kabayo - kabayo iba

Adult: ibá an kabayó ~ an kabayó ibá

The horse is different

yayagyan kon tabon

Adult: lálagyan ko nan sabón

'/Something/ is to be applied with soap by me'

I had to make sure that  $a_1$  and  $na_1$  occurred as distinct. This happened a month later (2.4) when the child said

ándon an mámi

Adult: nandoón an mami

'Mommy /is/ yonder'

uminī ako nan jîp†

Adult: huminî ako nan jîpt

'Did I ask for a jeep?'

(The early use (2.2) of the nominative  $\underline{a\eta}$  for comments  $\underline{a\eta}$  dâmi how many [there are]! has already been mentioned in connection with comment sentences; this is a different use of the nominative  $\underline{a\eta}$  from the type of structure being discussed.)

The noun phrase may be expanded not only by determiners or deictics (emphatic or not) but also by adjectives or embedded clauses which are similar to relativization in English without the  $\underline{\text{wh-}}$  words, however. What happens in Pilipino is that the embedded clause is attached by the nasal linker  $\underline{\text{na}}_{\sim}-\underline{0}$  to a N:

- (2.3) ti totóq...mayikót...ti tóto na mayikót

  Adult: si tótoq...malikót...si tótoŋ malikót

  'Toto is restless/(moving about)/...Toto /who is/
  restless'
- (2.8) gágayáin nátin yun máma+n pánet
  'The man /who is/ ugly will be imitated by us'
- At 2.11, he could use a more elaborate embedding giving rise to a fuller relative clause.

nun gabí na nagtúlat na (a)kó

Adult: nuŋ gabí na nagsúsulát na akó

'That night when I was already writing...'

where the embedded clause eventually relativized with linker  $\underline{na}$  was 'I was already writing that night'.

# 3.2.1. Noun morphology

The morphology of the Pilipino noun is relatively simple --- the processes consist of derivations of roots into nouns, using affixes. Table 3.14 summarizes the emergence of these forms, which appeared relatively late, towards the fourth (2.11 - 3.5) year of life.

#### 3.2.12. Verb morphology

The most interesting as well as the most difficult subsystem of Pilipino grammar is its verb system, especially the agglutinated affixes which overtly signal derivations, inflections, and subject choice and number. With de Guzman (1978), I propose to simplify considerations by separating derivational markers (mag-, -um-, and other affixes signaling verb modifications of meaning such as accidental, reciprocal, participative, abilitative) from inflectional markers (for aspect: actual, completed, recently completed) as well as markers for subject choice (any of the accompanying N's playing roles [vis-à-vis the verb] and, for agent subjects [for action V's] and patient subjects [for state V's, specifically adjectives], plural markers reflected in the verb).

The emergence of these affixes is reflected in Table 3.15 and some insights into the child's way of coping with these subsystems simultaneously are given at the end of this section.

Under derivational affixes, I classify all markers which make a root a verb (ma- in adjective as in maint 'hot') or subclassify an inherent action root into either mag- or -um- (e.g. miyak 'to cry', adult umiyak) (I call these verbalizers of various types) or which add a new meaning to the existing verb (accidentive, causative, reciprocative, abilitative, inchoative, participative, intermittentive, repetitive [sometimes with a pejorative connotation]).

The child learned  $\underline{ma}$ - (realized as  $\underline{ma}$  or  $\underline{a}$ :) quite early (1.7) in

a:bá:yiq

Adult: mabaliq 'to be broken in two (for elongated objects)'

PERIOD	FORM	EXAMPLE
2.3	-an 'location marker'	mákináhan 'a place where machines are found'
2.6	-in 'complement marker i- 'location marker	inumin 'something for drinking = liquid' itaas 'place above = upstairs'
2.11	kaan 'abstract noun marker'	nagbáboy tyáta kababúyan niyá Adult: nagbáboy siyása kababúyan niyá 'He made a pig of himselfhis pigness'
3.3	-an 'instrument marker' pa- 'instrument marker'	hawakan 'instrument for holding = handle'  pasalubon 'something used for meeting = a gift one gives on arriving'
3.4	mag- 'reciprocal marker' paan 'location marker' mag-CV <sup>2</sup> 'agent marker' .NOUN <sup>2</sup> (time now) 'ly'	magkaibígan 'reciprocal friend = friends' págupítan 'a place where one gets a haircut = barber shop' magnanákaw 'one who robs = robber' áraw+áraw 'daily'
3.5	paN- 'instrument marker'  pag- 'abstract noun marker  for nominalizing verb  roots'	paŋtódi yán 'That [one] is for use as helmet' papáno buksán (i)tópapáno pagbukás 'How does one open this how is the way of opening?'

Table 3.14

ARG's noun morphology

PERIOD	DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES	PLURAL SUBJECT APFIXES	ASPECTUAL AFFIXES	SUBJECT CHOICE	COMBINATION OF 2 OR HORE APPIXES
1.7	.ma- 'verbalizer'		a:- (na-) [+completed]	g 'agent subject marker'	
1.9	m- (-um-) 'verbalizer'				
1.12 =	ma:- accidentivi-		m>n- [+completed]	i- 'patient/object	
2.0	zer' pa- 'causativizer'		$ncv^2 - [+actual]$ $cv^2 - [-actual =$	subject marker'	
2.1			potential]	marker'	
2.2	-um- 'verbalizer' (m)a(g)- 'verbalizer'			-in 'object subject marker'	naan (2) CV <sup>2</sup> -an (3) CV <sup>2</sup> -in (3) ma-CV <sup>2</sup> - (3)
2.3				-in 'goal subject marker' -an 'location subject marker' -in 'beneficiary subject marker'	paan (2)
2.4					C-um-VCV- (2) maan (2)
2.5	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		C-in-VCV- [+actual]		pa-CV2an (3)
2.6	ag-,,an (magan) 'recipro- cativizer' magum- 'verbalizer'		-in-[+completed]		i-cv2- (2) ma-cv2
2.7	naka- 'abilitivi- zer' ma- 'abilitiviger'				nain (2)
2.8	ma abilitavages			pag- (ipag-) 'instrument subject marker'	-inan (2) p-in-a- (2))
2.9	root na+n root 'continuativizer'				
2.10	CONCINGACIVIZED			pag-(ipag) 'instrument subject marker'	p-in-ag- (2) p-in-a-CV <sup>2</sup> an (4)
2.11	mapa- 'acciden- tivizer'	CV <sup>2</sup> 'plural subject marker of adjective root'		amplect marker	na-CV <sup>2</sup> an (3) p-in-a-pa- (2)
2.12	naka- 'causativi-				
		l .			
3.3	makipag- 'participativizer' pa ROOT2 'intermit- tentivizer'				pain (2) CV <sup>2</sup> in (2)
	zer' makipag- 'participativizer' pa ROOT <sup>2</sup> 'intermit- tentivizer' magin- 'inchoativi- zer' ROOT <sup>2</sup> 'repetitivi- zer'		kaCV <sup>2</sup> -[+recently completed] with clitics pa lan		
3.3	zer' makipag- 'participativizer' pa ROOT2 'intermit- tentivizer' magin- 'inchoativi- zer' ROOT2 'repetitivi-		completed]		mag (pa) <sup>2</sup> (3) na (ma) <sup>2</sup> (p>m) (2)
3.3	zer' makipag- 'participativizer' pa ROOT <sup>2</sup> 'intermit- tentivizer' magin- 'inchoativi- zer' ROOT <sup>2</sup> 'repetitivi- zer' (pejorative) magan 'reciprocativi- zer'		completed]	-an 'product '	mag (pa) 2 (3) na (ma) 2 (p>m) (2) p-in-apaan (3)  magpa- (2) mag-CV <sup>2</sup> (2)
3.4	zer' makipag- 'participativizer' pa ROOT <sup>2</sup> 'intermit- tentivizer' magin- 'inchoativi- zer' ROOT <sup>2</sup> 'repetitivi- zer' (pejorative) magan 'reciprocativi- zer'		completed]	-an 'product ' subject marker' an 'beneficiary subject marker' pagan 'location	mag (pa) 2 (3) na (ma) 2 (p>m) (2) p-in-apaan (3)  magpa- (2) mag-CV <sup>2</sup> (2)
3.4	zer' makipag- 'participativizer' pa ROOT <sup>2</sup> 'intermit- tentivizer' magin- 'inchoativi- zer' ROOT <sup>2</sup> 'repetitivi- zer' (pejorative) magan 'reciprocativi- zer'		completed] with clitics pa lan	-an 'product ' subject marker' an 'beneficiary subject marker' panan	mag (pa) 2 (3) na (ma) 2 (p>m) (2) p-in-apaan (3)  magpa- (2) mag-CV <sup>2</sup> (2)

but sometimes m- was not said; this was also true of mag-which was sometimes said as ag-, or ma-, although -um- forms were acquired earlier than nag- forms. At 2.6, not having mastered cooccurrence rules in the lexicon, the child hesitated between mag- and -um-, using both for the same root (tumáe-nagtáe 'to defecate' interchangeably). In adult Pilipino, mag- occurs with certain roots, -um- with certain others, although in some roots, using one or the other prefix changes the meaning of the verb; in a few roots, the two are in free variation. Causative affixes were attained at 2.3 (pa-) and 2.12 (naka-), which requires [+actual] aspect. At 2.6, the child began using man-, another verbalizer in the same subset as mag- and -um-, and restricted in distribution to a few roots. The child used manganón 'to do it that way (demonstrating)'. At 3., he began using root reduplication as a way of signaling intermittent or repetitive action.

Mirroring plurality of subject choice in the verb by reduplication of the first syllable of the root in adjectives

magagandá '<u>/</u>they are 7 pretty'

was used at 2.11 but for event verbs using mag-, -si- was not used until 4.5,

nagsiinom kami ni kuyan 'We, Kuyang and I, drank ' [something]'

This plural marking, which is redundant, occurred long after plural noun-marking signaled by mana was attained (2.2).

Aspect acquisition followed this order: completed or perfective at 1.7 (a:bá:yiq, Adult: nabáliq 'broken in two [of an elongated object]'); actual or progressive at 1.12 (natátákut 'is [being] afraid'); actual or potential at 2.1 (yáyákad, Adult lálákad 'will walk'); and recently completed at 3.4 (kaáalít pa lán, Adult kaáalís pa lán 'has just now left').

Since the imperative in Pilipino is unmarked for aspect, only the verb root with or without derivational or subject affixes is used -- it was attained at the same time as action words were attained (earlier than 1.6) and underwent morphological elaboration as affixes were acquired.

The child, like the adult, used the m; n consonantal ablaut to signal [+completed] aspect for derived forms beginning with m-, the infix -in- for -um- verbs with the suffix -in, tinawag called from tunawag [agent subject] and tawagin [object role choice for subject]). For [+actual] or progressive aspect, in addition to m; n change, there is a reduplication of the first syllable of the root; in the case of -in suffixed roots, an infix -in- is used (tinatawag from tawagin to call [an object role noun chosen as subject] but tumatawag from tumawag to call [agent subject]). Prefixes for [+actual] progressive aspect

were learned by 1.12 and infixes at 2.5. The most highly marked aspect [+actual, +completed, +recent] was attained late (3.4), which is understandable, considering its markedness and its infrequent use; by the time it was attained, the child had learned to reduplicate verb roots (2.11) and to use two clitics (1.12) with his verbs.

In Pilipino aspect marking, every child is faced with the dilemma of conceptual simplicity or complexity on the one hand (content side of language) and morphological simplicity or complexity on the other hand (expression side of language). Assuming that reference to present reality is conceptually easier than reference to absent reality (the displaced feature of human communication) and that more affixes spell more complexity in form, one may then ask: which should be attained first -- a conceptually easy function expressed by a morphologically complex form, or a conceptually difficult function expressed by a morphologically simple form?

The child began using a conceptually complex concept (actual and completed [+perfective] but non-present reality) expressed by a simple form: a:  $\sim$  na- [+completed]. When it came to expressing two forms of actual (on-going or progressive) aspect, m > n ablauting AND reduplication or -in- infixing AND reduplication, the former took precedence over the latter by five months (presumably prefixing is easier than infixing).

Soon after attaining  $\underline{m} > \underline{n}$  ablauting and reduplication, without infixing, he used simple reduplication for [-actual] or potential aspect -- morphologically simple but conceptually difficult since referring to something not even begun [-actual]; and therefore [-completed].

In learning aspect, two parameters seemed to be operative, concept and morpheme complexity. Conceptually, [+actual] took priority over [-actual] (or potential), [+completed] over [-completed]. Morphologically, prefixing took priority over reduplicating and infixing, in that order. Where the choice became less clear-cut were actual aspects with simple or complex morphology, here the morphologically simple forms were learned first, provided they had aspectual parameters in common. Infixed forms with [+actual] and [-completed] or progressive aspect were learned after [-actual] aspect (which used only simple reduplication) had been mastered. Last to be attained was the highly marked form for recently completed, complex both conceptually and morphologically.

Probably another parameter to consider is frequency. The [+completed] aspect is the most frequently used in adult speech and hence more salient for the child; the use of the [+actual] and [-completed] or progressive aspect is less frequent; and the [+completed,+recent] very rare. Such frequency is reflected in the order of acquisition, except for [-actual] or potential,

where there was insufficient data as to frequency.

Moving on now to the affixes which signal subject choice (realized in the noun phrase by the nominative case-marked noun  $\frac{d^n}{\sin}$ ), I must preface my discussion by saying that  $\frac{-in^-}{\sin}$  and  $\frac{-in^-}{\sin}$  wherever the adults used these suffixes, although at 2.9, he was not sure of whether to insert  $\frac{in^-}{\sin}$  or  $\frac{in^-}{\sin}$  with basing to wet:

hindí na batáq yun tódi ko

Adult: hindí na basáq yun hélmet ko

'My helmet is no longer wet'

but

kayanan batahan

Adult: kailájan baságan

'It is necessary to wet it .

The other point to consider is that different deep structure cases are signaled by the same affix and that different verbs take different subsets of affixes; this explains the appearance of the same affix for different subject choices and the occurrence of the different affixes for the same subject choice. (Because of the polysemy in these subject choice affixes, I did not indicate glosses for them in the general summary of ARG's development.) Eventually, the child will need to store data on the classification of verbs based on their cooccurring noun possibilities, subjectivalization for these nouns, and governance rules on which affixes occur with which roots; all of this information will eventually have to be stored in the child's lexicon. Finally, it should be noted that in rapid speech among adults, i- is often deleted; this explains why the child used pan- and pag- for adult ipan- and ipag- in his utterances.

With the above observations in mind, one can say that the order of acquisition of the subject marking affixes is:

Ø (for agent)

**i** -

-an

-in

(i)pan

(i)pag

In general,  $\underline{i}$  is used for the subject choice of patient/object,

-an for goal/location/beneficiary, -in for object/patient/goal/beneficiary, (i)pan and (i)pan for instrument/beneficiary. What is probably significant, because of frequency, is the primacy of agent and patient/object over instrument, with goal and location coming in between.

The rightmost column of Table 2.14 lists the combinations in terms of number of morphs attached to the root and gives an indication of the strategy used by the child. Note that beginning at 2.1, the child began to use combinations of two morphs. Prior to that, he used one morph in this order:

prefixes

reduplications of the roots (a kind of pref xing)
suffixes

infixes

when the child began using two morphs (2.2), he began using combinations of

prefix and suffix reduplication and suffix prefix and reduplication reduplication and infix infix and suffix prefix and infix

- At 2.5, he was ready for three morphs with these combinations:

  prefix reduplication suffix
- At 2.10, with four morphs, he had this combination:

  prefix infix reduplication suffix

And at 3.11, likewise with four morphs, two of them belonging to a discontinuous morpheme, the combination was:

discontinuous affixa infix reduplication discontinuous affixb

(the discontinuous morpheme is <u>pag-...-an</u>, a subject marker for location subject)

One thinks of a juggler increasing the number of balls he is juggling from 1 to 4 (in one case, the last two being part of a discontinuous unit) and able to cope with increases only one at a time even with practice and development.

Changing the metaphor, one can think of a person stringing beads together, initially of two kinds, C and V, and then complicating the pattern by using different types of C's and V's. Going

from left to right of each sequence, the front positions and those immediately following seem to be the easiest, especially if one merely repeats a pattern already there

One can add to the end but most difficult of all is inserting something between an already established pair.

with the complexification of the sequences, having to cope with longer strings, the child finds inserting  $C_1V_1$  between existing C and V difficult; and so the last string type to be mastered in twofold combinations added to a basic string are those involving inserts once more.

Finally, with more combinations, the same problem arises. With combinations of 3 affixes with no insert, there is no difficulty. With combinations of 4, an insert is needed once more.

And most difficult of all -- used only when the child was already 3.4 -- is a combination using not only an infix but also a discontinuous sequence, the first part attached to the beginning, with an insert, and the second part attached to the end.

Finally, in this section, I would like to list the following 'wrong' combinations used by the child. These combinations are even more revealing of his strategies of coping.

	CHILD	ADULT	
3.3	gin <b>ágamít</b> in	ginág <b>ámi</b> t	'using (something)'
3.4	kumákáin	kin <b>áká</b> in	'eating (something)'
	kitáhan	mákita	'to see (something)'
	naglílígoq	nalílígoq	'taking a bath'
	alitán	alisīn	'to remove (something)'
	tarádo	isarā	'to close (something)'
	tinawágan	tináwag	'called (someone)'
	tinútulátan	sinúsúlat	'writing (something)'
	naggágawáq	gumágawáq	'making (something)'
	kákaínin	kákáin	'to eat (something)'
	kinúkúnin	kinúkúha	'to get (something)'
3.5	pápalít	Palitán	'to change (something)'
	magsak <b>á</b> y ~ sumakáy	sumak <b>á</b> y	'to ride'
	Pagpalit	ipāgpalīt	'to change (something) for (something else)'

	CHILD	ROULI	
3.6	รน์ธนไล์tan	isúsúlat	'to write (something)'
3.10 p	pagtindí	rasindiq	'to light (a cigarette)'
3.12 I	vinúvunásan	pinupunas	'to wipe (something)'

note that these errors' almost all took place between 3.3 and 3.5 and manifest the child's attempts to use a complicated system consisting of several sub-systems, after having acquired these sub-systems more or less as distinct ones. The 'mistakes' arise because of the combinations more than because of individual elements.

In some cases, there was instant self-correction or self-editing:

kumákáin ba itó > kinákáin ba itó
'Does this eat?' 'Is this being eaten = edible?'

alitán > alitín Adult: alisín
'It is to be removed'

Cases of such self-editing are indicative of the child's competence; the lapses are due to performance.

But in the following examples, the child is more correct than the adult, being consistent in his application of rules; for reasons not evident, the adult has introduced irregularities or exceptions into the grammar which the child has not yet learned:

<b>A</b> .	• В
naglilígoq	ginágamítin
naggágawáq	tinatawágan
magsakáy	tinútulátan
	kakaínin
	kinúkúnin
	súsulátan
•	pinúpunásan

Those in column A show the child using <u>nag</u>-consistently as a verbalizer with agent subject. Adults rather arbitrarily choose <u>ma</u>-instead of <u>mag</u>-for the first verb <u>ligoq</u>, <u>-um</u>-for the second verb <u>gawaq</u> and for the third verb <u>sakay</u>. The child actually also used <u>sumakay</u> 'to ride' but he alternated it with <u>magsakay</u> which has been given a specialized meaning in Adult Pilipino 'to load something on a vehicle'.

In the forms in column B, what the child consistently used was an over marker, a suffix, for subject choice: <u>-in or -an</u>.

The adult, when there is already an infix <u>-in-</u> in the forms <u>gināgāmit</u> and <u>kinūkūha</u>, deletes the suffix <u>-in</u>, quite arbitrarily, perhaps to avoid repetition of <u>-in</u> in the same lexical item; the child as yet does not know this rule. In <u>kinūkūnin</u>, by analogy to the unmarked form <u>kūnin</u> 'to get something', used in commands, the suffix <u>-in</u> is consistent. The adult chooses to keep the aspect marker <u>-in-</u> but deletes <u>-nin</u> from his \*kuhānin > kūha.

In tinawagan, tinutulatan, susulatan, pinupunasan, the marker -an is supposed to mark 'goal subject' or 'product subject':

tinawágan ko na Adult: tináwag ko na

'Someone is already called by me'

and ban tinútulatan mo Adult: and ba an isinúsúlat mo That which is being written by you is what?'

súsulátan námin yun panálan mo

Adult: isűsűlat námin yun panálan mo

'Your name will be written by us'

pinúpunásan ko itó Adult: pinúpúnas ko itó

'This is being wiped by me'

Regularly, <u>-an</u> does mark these subjects with certain verb roots, but for <u>sulat</u>, the subject marker for 'product' is <u>i</u>. However, rather arbitrarily, adults delete <u>-an</u> in <u>pinupunasan</u> although retain it in the command <u>punasan mo ito</u>. One suspects that <u>-in-precludes -an</u> in this case. In <u>tinawagan</u>, the same sentence may be used, but means '[someone] is already called BY TELEPHONE by me'. Obviously, the child has not yet learned this specialized idiom!

In kitáhan (for mákíta), tarádo (for isará), pápalít (for palitán), the child had trouble with derivational affixes and in one case, a lexical item (sará from sarádo 'to close' from 'closed', both from Spanish).

In <u>ipagpālit</u>, adults in this specific sentence cannot elide or delete i- because of the context

ipagpalít mo si Magdaléna diyán

'Magdalen [a statue] is to be replaced there [by some other statue]

Using only pagpalit makes no sense in this context although in other contexts <u>i-</u> can be deleted. Again, since the child was exposed more frequently to <u>pag-</u> rather than <u>ipag-</u> in rapid speech, he used <u>pag-</u> rather than <u>ipag-</u>.

In the sentences

kaninon kakainin yon

Adult: síno an kákáin niyón

'Who  $\sqrt{is}$  it the one by whom that yonder  $\sqrt{food}$  will be eaten?'

The child confused kanino (which does not call for an equational sentence using a noun clause) with sino (which does), which in turn wrought havoc on his verb combination.

In pagtindé in adult pasindíq 'May I have a light?', the child confused verbalizer pag- with causative pa-, two distinct types of derivational affixes.

To me, what the different combinations of 'errors' show is a learner in the process of mastering a complex system as a whole, having almost mastered sub-systems of the system, and mastering details of the sub-systems (without still knowing all the exceptions and special usages, including idioms). After all, he has several more years to learn details of the system, its exceptions and the special notes he has to attach to the individual items of his lexicon. This is the task for the period following mastery of the basic system of verbal communication....

## 3.2.13. Linear operations

3.2.13.1. Agreement between predicate and subject

In this section, I shall discuss only some main types of linear operations. These emerged as the most salient processes resulting in reordering in ARG's developing grammar: subject choice (and its consequences: nominative case-marking for the noun and subject marking in the verb resulting in predicate-subject agreement or concord); interposing movements of clitics and pronouns between initial verb and second verb in negative, existential, modal structures; integration of the phrase (for purposes of topicalization or focus) and subsequent interposing movements; copying of deictics and other formatives for emphasis. All types are meaning-preserving in the sense of not changing the message of the basic proposition, subject choice, topicalization and emphasis add meaning but do not change or detract from the meaning of the basic proposition.

In choosing a subject in Pilipino, the following steps have to be taken: (1) Choice of one N accompanying V which is marked [+definite] as subject (2) Marking of the subject N as nominative, realized by determiners and (3) Marking of an accompanying [+definite] N as oblique, realized by determiners sa/kay, (4) Marking of an accompanying [+definite] N neither subject nor oblique as [+genitive], realized by nan/ni, based

on the role of the D. (5) Marking of subject noun as a feature of the verb root, realized by various affixes (1-, pag-, ipag-, -in, -an). The end result is concord or agreement between the predicate and the subject.

In ARG's developing grammar, overt subject marking in the verb started at 1.12 and nominative case marking of personal pronouns and deictic pronouns began as early as 1.9 and 1.6 respectively, although nominative noun determiners <u>si</u> and <u>an</u> appeared later (2.1 and 1.3 respectively), meaning that step (1) and (2) above took place independently of (5). One suspects that the verb forms were initially learned as wholes, the explicit concord relations realized only later.

Table 3.15 indicates the emergence of different kinds of concord of various nominative case-nouns (with specific roles) accompanying  $V_{\bullet}$ 

The agreements are relatively straightforward, again with  $\emptyset$ ,  $\underline{i}$ ,  $-\underline{in}$ ,  $-\underline{an}$  taking priority and  $\underline{pan}$ ,  $\underline{pag}$ ,  $\underline{pan}$ ... $-\underline{an}$  coming later, and with the object, goal (and beneficiary) taking priority in time over agent, which seems to confirm the contention (Ceña 1978) that patient/object subjects are more common in Pilipino than agent subjects.

It should be noted that everything was not smooth for ARG with regard to subjectivalization. Mistakes were made spontaneously, and under structured elicitation carried out with pictures and dolls at 3.4 and 3.5, he was confused, especially when there were three N's accompanying V.

Some of the examples are interesting:

(2.4) x bigyán mo akó itó

Adult: bigyán mo akó nitó

'I am to be given by you this'

where two pronouns akó 'I' and itó 'this' are both nominative; the child had attained genitive nitó at 2.3 but apparently had trouble with keeping his surface cases correct when three N's accompanied V. The difficulty lay in marking one N nominative, two other N's genitive. The child, as in the above example, made both nominative in the following example:

(2.8) x tumakáy kamí an kabáyo

Adult: sumakáy kamí nan kabáyo

'We rode a horse'

where both kami and an kabayo are nominative.

The same problem of differentiating or of marking one subject, the next one genitive, occurred in

PERIOD	TYPE OF AGREEMENT	EXAMPLE
	AFFIX N role	·
2.2	i- object	itápon ko na itó Adult: itátápon ko na itó 'This is going to be thrown away by me'
2.3	-in goal	ti toto uylin (with fronting of subject) Adult: si totoq hullhin 'Toto - catch [him]'
	-an (negative beneficiary)	iwanan ako ni kuya dudi Adult: iniwanan ako ni kuya rudi 'I was left behind by Kuya Rudy'
	Ø agent	káin na <u>táyo</u> díto Adult: kumáin na táyo díto 'Let us now eat here'
2.4	Ø object	nakíta yun kabáyo Adult: nakíta iyon kabáyo 'The horse was seen [by someone]
	-an beneficiary	pabayan mo ako Adult: pabayan mo ako 'I am to be allowed by you [to do something]'
2.5	-in patient	pápatayín ko yun yangám ta kúalto ko Adult: pápatayín ko iyón langám sa kuárto ko 'The ant in the room is to be killed by me'
2.6	-an experiencer	nainít <u>an akó</u> diyan ta baykón Adult: náinítan akó diyán sa balkón 'I felt warm there in the balcony'
2.8	pan- instrument	pampatáy nan yamók itó é Adult: pampatáy nan lamók itó é 'This is [used] for killing mosquitoes — you see'
2.10	pag- instrument	pinagpúnat ko Adult: pinagpúnas ko [itó] '[This] was used by me to wipe [it] with'
3.11	i- beneficiary	ibilí mo akó nan iskúter 'I am to be bought by you a scooter'
3.12	panan location	pinaŋlúlutúan nyá yuŋ kusínaq Adult: pinaŋlúlutúan niyá iyóŋ kusínaq 'The kitchen is being used by him to cook in'
4.4	-an location	tinátaían nilá an inumín nilá 'Their drinking water is the place where they defecate'

Table 3.16

(2.10) x kamuká an kabáyon itó iyún kabáyo ko

Adult: kamukhá nan kabáyon ito iyon kabáyo ko

'Yonder horse of mine is like this horse here'

Sometimes, however, it was a failure to mark the verb with the right affix -- Step 5 -- rather than Step 4, which caused the 'error':

(2.12) x ako binigáy akó nan tiyópaw

Adult: ako binigyán akó nan siyópaw

'As for me, I was given [a] siopao (Chinese dumpling)'

The problems were multiplied when the predicate was a three-place predicate, since it meant marking the non-nominative N's with either sa/kay or nan/ni:

(3.2) binīgay yuŋ lalāke ta babāe yuŋ librō...na...an ~ binibigāy ta babāe ta ribrō yuŋ babāe

Adult: biníbigáy noón laláke sa babáe iyón libró
'Yonder book is being given by the man to the woman'

At this stage (3.2), it seemed that Steps 1 and 2 (choice of subject and its nominative marking) had not been mastered; neither had Step 5, the assigning of the subject markers (at least of most of them) to the verb, been fully mastered. Problematic was the assignment of determiners as genitive and/or oblique to the other non-subject N's. In such a case, the child put all N's in the nominative case, since he was unable to cope with so many rules at once and in their proper sequence.

## 3.2.13.2. Interposing and clitic ordering

Schachter and Otanes (1972) label negatives, existential, negative existential, modals as pre-verbs; an alternative view is to consider them adverbs predicated of verbs in main or embedded clauses. In any case, such forms occupy the first or most permanent position in the Pilipino sentence, then attract by interposition all clitics to immediately follow them <a href="mailto:before">before</a> the main verb. Moreover, whenever more than one clitic occurs after the verb or predicate noun (including pronouns), ordering rules of the clitics apply.

The linear operation involves interposition of the clitics and subject pronoun immediately following a V between the Negative and the V. Moreover, within the verb phrase itself, there is an ordering of clitics, pronouns, and clitics vis-à-vis pronouns:

nakitá mo na palá siyá '(I see that) he has already pronoun Cl<sub>1</sub> Cl<sub>2</sub> pronoun been seen by you'

PERIOD	T Y P E	EXAMPLE
2.4	Neg Pronoun V	ındî akó takáy é į Adult: hindî akó nakásakáy é į 'I was not able to ride you see'
	Adv Pronoun V	bak <b>á kó madapáq<sup>†</sup> Adult: baká akó madapáq<sup>†</sup> 'It might be because I shall fall on my face?'</b>
2'5	Prohibitive Pronoun V N	wág mo wánan tó á Adult: huwág mon iwánan itó há 'Don't you leave this, you hear?'
	V Pronoun Question Clitic N ordering	guttổ mố bấ yuŋ ấykím Adult: gustổ mổ bấ iyốŋ ấys krím 🕈 'Do you want yonder ice cream?'
	Neg Cl <sub>1</sub> Cl <sub>2</sub> ordering	ayőko ná pôq 'I do not want anymore, Elder'
2.6	Neg Cl Pronoun V'	indí na akó natútúyuq é↓ Adult: hindí na akó natútúlog é↓ 'I'm not sleeping anymore you see'
2.11	Adv Pronoun V	taán ko iyáyagáy
3.2	Neg Pronoun Prounoun V ordering	áyaw nyá (a)kóŋ papatúken Adult: áyaw niyá akó+ŋ papasúkin 'He does not want me to enter'
3.4	Prohibitive Pronoun Clitic Pronoun V ordering	huwág mo na (a)kó+ŋ painjektiyunán Adult: huwág mo na akó+ŋ painiksyonán 'Don't let me be injected anymore'

Table 3.17

ARG's interposing and clitic ordering operations

The genitive pronoun immediately follows the verb, the clitics next, and the nominative pronoun last. Among clitics, one-syllable clitics come before two-syllable ones, and when both clitics are one-syllable or two-syllables, there are statable rules of ordering. When interposed, the whole sequence is transferred to the position immediately following the pre-verb and then to bind the entire verb phrase together, the nasal linker is used under certain statable conditions. The child seemed to learn all these rather complex context-sensitive rules during the period stated, beginning to use more than one clitic as early as 1.12, as already stated.

That this was not easy, however, was manifested by many 'errors' beginning at 2.5 and continuing even up to 4.10. It seems that this is another sub-system where learning beyond the first three years continues. Some of the 'mistakes' made were as follows:

# Interposing where it is not required

3.3. x hindí ba akó nahúlog diyán†

Adult: hindí ba nahúlog akó diyán†

'Isn't it a fact that I fell there?'

3.4. x ayaw ta (a)kin bigay yun bag

Adult: ayaw ibigay sa akin iyon bag

'He does not want to give me the bag'

# Not interposing where it is required

2.5. x 'wayaq... ta baay poq

Adult: walá poq sa báhay

 $'/\overline{\text{It}}/$  is not, Elder, in the house'

4.2. x siguró kayá hindí sumagót táyo

Adult: siguro kayá hindí táyo sumagót

'Perhaps that is the reason why we did not answer'

4.3. x nándun sa ámin pa itó

Adult: nándun pa sa ámin itó

'This was still yonder there at our place'

4.5 x saán pumuntá ka√

Adult: saán ka pumuntá 🗸

'Where did you go?'

Pilipino has an alternate form for nominative ikáw 'you', ka, which is a one-syllable formative used immediately after the verb. The choice of alternative form is necessary and the child acquired it as early as 2.3. When to use it and in what sequence in the verb phrase was a problem -- he kept using the correct (and more consistent) ikáw and because it was two-syllables, put it last (again, correctly) against the seemingly whimsical and capriciously irregular use of ka by adults:

3.3 x hindî ba ikáw matútúlog nínon

Adult: hindí ka ba matútúlog nínon h'Aren't you going to sleep, Godfather?'

3.4 x hindí na ikáw magígin nínon pagká nagín dádi ká

Adult: hindí ka na magígin nínon pagká nagín dádi ká 
'You will no longer become a godfather when you have become a father?'

3.4 x papatúkin na dáw ikáw

Adult: papasúkin ka na dáw

'According to  $\sqrt{\text{someone}/}$  , you are now to be allowed to enter'

4.2 x tápos na ikáw 1 ~ hindí pa ikáw tápos 1

Adult: tapós ka ná \* ~ hindí ka pa tapós \*

'Are you finished?' 'Aren't you finished yet?'

4.10 x dalí lan ikáw

Adult: dalí ka lán

'Hurry, if you don't mind (literally, Hurry you only)'

Note that the use of ikaw for ka persisted up to 4.10, when the child was almost five. In the case of problems with interposition, it seems the problem was one of being unsure of when to apply the linear operation and when not; in transformational generative grammar terms, a problem with structural analysis. In the former case, it was the child's regularity against the adult's irregularity on a small change of lexical item (and consequent reordering). Undoubtedly, there are areas for further learning in the years beyond 5.

#### 3.2.13.3. Nasal linker insertion

Another operation that is a consequence of interposing (and processes such as relativization) is the obligatory use of the nasal linker na  $\sim$  -0.

In Gonzalez (1971), I made a case for the nasal linker (na--) in Tagalog to be introduced as a result of certain syntactic processes, principally to maintain the structural unity of the phrase (the verb phrase with its complements, the noun phrase with its structure of modification including the equivalent of relativization in English). The obligatory use of the nasal linker is thus subject to statable rules resulting in phonological cohesion at the phrase level; in the case of the verb phrase, this unity can extend to the entire predicate.

What was fascinating about ARG was the early appearance of this nasal linker in the right places. Undoubtedly, the initial use of the nasal linker was echoic (as an integral portion of a prefabricated routine which was learned by rote memory as a sequence), but by 2.3, its occurrence seemed to be rule-governed as its use took place deviating from the adult model (see tí tóto na mayikót in Table 3.17).

Table 3.18 summarizes the entry points for the nasal ligature (including earlier occurrences where it seemed echoic) for various types of structures.

I have multiplied the structures to give an idea of the complexity involved in choosing when to use and when not to use the nasal linker. As late as 2.4, in fact, ARG referred to bataq mayiit 'a small child' without the linker; a month later, the use of the linker began consistently. The linker is needed to connect deictics and other determiners with the noun, the main verb with other verbs or their noun complements. Even more complicated is the placement of the linker after clitics and in the case of the negatives and the existential, the interposing of the subject N between negative existential and main verb, with the linker attached to the subject pronoun. That the child was able to master these context-sensitive rules from about 2.6 to 4.0 is to me extraordinary.

## 3.2.13.4. Preposing (Topicalization)

Another linear operation is the transfer of phrases to the beginning of a sentence as a way of highlighting the phrase. In Pilipino, it is the beginning rather than the end of the sentence, which receives prominence. I shall call this process topicalization. Examples of this process are given in Table 3.19.

## 3.2.13.5. Emphasis

Finally, in addition to subjectivalizing (by the nominative marker and by agreement with the verb), topicalizing (by fronting), the child could emphasize deictics, nouns, noun phrases, and verbs by selective repetition or copying, usually in predicate position (and therefore also requiring topicalization).

In the 2.6 example, the child used both ito 'this' and iyon 'yonder' to refer to the same object; there are other examples of this inconsistency, either a performance lapse on the part of the child or a failure to distinguish at this stage between the two deictics in terms of proximity and distance.

PERIOD	STRUCTURE	EXAMPLE
1.12	V(negative) + n N yun+n N	wayá+n úyo Adult: walá+n úlo 'no head' (echoic?) yun itá Adult: iyón+n isá 'yonder one' (echoic?)
2.3	Adj + na N	túnay na raráke Adult: túnay na láláke 'a real man' (clearly echoic, from a TV advertisement)
	N + na + Adj	ti tôto na mayikôt Adult: si tôton malikôt 'Toto who is giddy (restless)' (clearly non-echoic)
2.5	Pronoun + 1 Number	tấyo+) dayawá Adult: tấyo+) dalawấ 'we two'
2.6.	V(Predicate N) + n N	kanino+n payon 'whose umbrella?'
2.8	N+0~na[V] (relativization) Adj + 0 Adj (intensified)	yun māma+n pānet 'yonder person who is ugly' ibon na pīnk 'bird [which is] pink' magandā+n magandā 'very pretty'
2.9	Deictic+1 N Possessive Pronoun+1 + Deictic	it6+n číkyet ko+n it6 'this Chicklet of mine this'
	V Pronoun+9 V(Complementation)	guttó ko+) tátakáy díto Adult: gustó ko+) sumakáy díto 'I like riding here'
2.11	Existential Neg Pronoun+9 N	waya kami+) dyip Adult: wala kami+) dyip 'we have no jeep'
2.12=3	Neg (Prohibitive) Pronoun +ŋ V	huwag ka+n magayaw Adult: huwag ka+n magalaw 'Don't be so mobile = Don't move so much that you're displacing furniture'
3.2	Existential Neg Cl+n N	wayá namán+ŋ táo díto Adult: walá namán+ŋ táo díto 'There is, contrary to what you think, no one here'
	V N +0 V (Complementation)	guttő ni áte tálya+ŋ kumáin akó Adult: gustő ni áte tálya+ŋ kumáin akó 'It is wanted by Ate Talia that I eat'
3.3	Adj Pronoun+n N	madámi ka+n péla Adult: marámi ka+n péra 'You have a lot of money'
3.4	Existential Neg C1 Pronoun+) N	walá na tiyá+ŋ nánay Adult: walá na siyá+ŋ nánay 'He has no more mother'
3.4	N+na~0[V] where V is a predicate noun in a relativized structure	lalülalühan na jõjer yõn Adult: larülarüan na sõljer iyön 'Yonder is a toy [which is a] toy-soldier'
3.7	Deictic + Number+9 N	yun+ŋ isā+ŋ tāo Adult: iyōn+ŋ isā+ŋ tāo 'that one person'
3.12=4.0	Existential V + 9 V (relativization)	meyrőn+n naglúlakád Adult: mayroón+n naglálakád 'There is [someone who] is walking'

Table 3.18

ARG's use of the masal linker

PERIOD	TYPE	EXAMPLE
2.1	Topicalizing the subject	tíbit bayín ko., Adult: an tíbi bábarilín ko 'As for the TV, I shall shoot [it]'
	Topicalizing a location	díto yáyagáy ko Adult: díto ko ilálagáy 'Here [it] shall be placed by me'
2.3	Topicalizing a location (with interposition)	bigán tấyo dún ~ dún táyo bígan Adult: maglaró tấyo doón ~ doón tấyo maglaróq 'Let us play there ~ There let us play'
	Topicalizing the subject (with nominative marking)	ito mayaké Adult: ito malaké 'As for this, it is big'
2.9	Topicalizing the subject noun phrase	yun kabáyo ko tumáe Adult : iyón kabáyo ko tumáe 'As for yonder horse of mine, [it] defecated'
3.2	Topicalizing a location phrase	ta bágyo itútuót ko yán Adult: sa bágyo ko iyán isúsuót 'As for Baguio, it is there I shall wear that'
	Topicalizing a location phrase (and interposing a subject)	ta báhay siyá pumuntá Adult: sa báhay siyá pumuntá 'As for the house, it is to it that he went'

Table 3.19

ARG's topicalizations

PERIOD	TYPE	EXAMPLE
2.3	Verb emphasis	nagáyit akó nagáyit Adult: nagálit akó nagálit 'I got angry angry'
2.4	Deictic emphasis and contrast	itổn magandá yốn pấnit yốn Adult: itổ an magandá iyốn pấnit iyốn This is the pretty one.
2.6	Noun phrase emphasis	ibíbigáy ko tó ta iyő yun túteq Adult: ibíbigáy ko itő sa iyőiyón sűseq 'This will be given by me to you yonder key'
2.7	Subject emphasis	ito maganda ito 'This one, this is beautiful'
2.9	Deictic emphasis	itổn cikyet kon itổ 'This Chicklet (chewing gum) of mine, this

Table 3.20

ARG's emphatic structures

### 3.2.14. Overview of ARG's grammatical development

Table 3.21 summarizes the development of the subsystem by means of an array which permits a simultaneous view of the subsystems at each point in time (by month) and across time (1.6 to 4.0 and beyond for certain items).

After looking at the data, I feel that the best subsystem on which to anchor the main stages of development is that of the proposition, for syntax is crucial to the entire grammatical system.

I can detect three main stages in this area. A preliminary stage, not included in the array, is the stage of naming. Subsequently, roughly from 1.6 to 1.11, is the stage of propositional formation. One can describe the period from 1.12 or 2.0 to 2.9 as the stage of propositional elaboration largely because of affixation. From roughly 3.10 to 3.12 or 4.0 is the stage of propositional use for non-formal logical processes.

None of these stages, except for the stage of naming, exists in pure form, however. One stage melds into the other; one can characterize each stage only because of the salience of certain developments. Moreover, these developments do not happen in isolation. Various subsystems are developing in tandem, some by themselves, others (for example, the subsystem of plural marking) by integration with and across other subsystems.

At the stage of propositional formation, one sees not only an expansion of the proposition by the addition of arguments (N's) (and their semantic roles) but likewise the beginnings of the verb affixal system and some clitics (elaborations of modality). At the same time, the child begins to exhibit not only statements but other speech functions such as commanding, requesting, asking for information (through yes-no questions). In line with the elaboration of N, pronouns and deictics likewise begin to emerge.

At the stage of propositional elaboration, the most salient characteristic is the emergence of affixes and clitics, especially affixes for verbs and adjectives; time, manner and frequency adverbs begin to appear. Linear operations (all five types) emerge during the first few months of this period; so do content or WH-questions. However, the proposition itself begins to undergo further elaboration through negatives and existentials (in effect adding a verb to the main verb) as well as the use of more than one main V for coordinate and subordinate propositions and the use of connectors and other discourse markers (clitics and sequence markers and sentential adverbs).

The fourth stage inferrable from this array which I have characterized as propositional use begins the linking of propositions for some non-formal logical processes, especially of Eurpose, condition, reservation, pretension. At the same time, the rest of the affixes are learned, adverbs of intensification

PERIOD	PROPOSIT. ONS	N ROLES	ADVERBS	CLITICS	NEGATIVES EXISTENTIAL MODALS		QUESTIONS	REQUESTS COMMANDS COMMENTS TAGS
1.6	V, NV-VN	agent patient object			hindiq 'I refuse to'		yes-no	request
1.7					waláq 'there is none'			
1.8				·				command
1.9	NVN	location			áyaw 'I don't want to' mayroδη 'there is'			
1,10				'already'	hindiq 'no' (disagree- ment)		what, where	
1.11	VNN ·			'still'	hindiq 'dom't (I dom't want you to)'	"afterwards'		
1.12 = 2.0	NINV ADV VV	associate agent, goal	'once more'	'indeed' ': o I have been told'			why confirm- ative	
2.1			'later' 'quickly'	'also'	hindiq 'not (propositional negative)'			
2,2			'a while ago'					comment, tag 'you see'

Table 3.21

PERIOD	LINEAR OPERATIONS*	PRONOUNS	DETICTICS AND DETERMINERS	AFFIXES AND MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES					
			4	VERB	ADJECTIVE	ADVERB	NOUN		
1.6		'to me'	'(nom)that', '(obl)here'	ma-'verbalizer' [+completed]aspect			-an 'location marker'		
1.7		'I' 'you'	'(nom)yonder'	Ø subject marker					
1.8									
1.9				-um- 'verbalizer'					
1.10		'we (incl.)',	'(obl)yonder' 'like that'						
1.11		•							
1.12=		'by me-you' 'you' 'to you'	'(obl)there' sa/kay 'oblique determiner for common/ proper noun'	ma: 'accidentivizer' [+actual]aspect, i-subject marker					
2.1	Preposing (topicaliza- tion)	'we(excl.)' 'our(incl.)' 'your(plu)'	'like yonder' si 'nominative determiner for proper noun' mana 'plural marker'	pa- 'causativizer' [+actual]aspect -an subject marker	ma- 'plenitiv- izer'				
2.2	Agreement between predicate and subject			mag-'verbalizer' - <u>in</u> subject marker					

\*Only main types are listed in order of first appearance

Table 3.21

FERIOD	PROPOSITIONS	N ROLES		CLITICS	NEGATIVES EXISTENTIAL MODALS	CONNECTORS SYNTACTICAL ADVERBS SEQUENCE MARKERS	QUESTIONS	REQUESTS COMMANDS COMMENTS TAGS
2.3	VNNNNV VN[V] (relative clause)	(negative) beneficiary, standard, product, experiencer, instrument	'tomorrow'	'I <b>beg</b> to disagree'	dápat 'should'	'truly'		invitation tag
2.4	VNNN	cause		'first (in sequence)' 'it seems', question marker, respect marker poq	huwag 'don't (prohibitive)'	'and also', 'it might/ could be'	who, how, repetition tag	tag 'you hear'
2.5	VV (when) VN[VN] (complementation)	time	'one day'			'when (potential)		
2.6							whose, negative confirmation	
2.7	VVN VN[V] (noun clause)	·	'a long time ago (Adult: last night)' 'yesterday (Adult: then)'					
2.8	VNN[V] relative clause) V[VNN] (sentertial modification)							

Table 3.21
Overview of grammatical development of ARG

PERIOD	LINEAR OPERATIONS*	PRONOUNS	DEICTICS AND DETERMINERS		AFFIXES A		
	0.2		,	VERB	ADJECTIVE	ADVERB	NOUN
2.3	Nasal linker insertion, Emphasis	'you(short form)' bur (excl.)' 'his', 'to	'(gen)this'. 'over yonder place' an 'sub- ject determiner		naka-'position- alizer' ka- 'similari- tivizer'		
		rim'	for common noun' ni 'genitive determiner for proper noun'				
2.4	Interposing and clitic ordering		'(gen)that' nan 'genitive determiner for common noun'				
2.5		',he'			ma 'more (com- parative)'		
2.6				magan 'recipro- cativizer'	p <b>aya</b> 'like'		i- 'location marker' -in 'complement marker'
2.7		'you(pl)'	over there'	maka:- 'abilitativ- izer' ma- 'abilitativizer'			
2.8			'over here.'	ipan- subject marker marker'	púyo 'total		

first appearance

Table 3.21 Overview of grammatical development of ARG

PERIOD	PROPOSITIONS	N ROLES	ADVERBS	CLITICS	1	CONNECTORS SYNTACTICAL ADVERBS SEQUENCE MARKERS	QUBSTIONS !	REQUESTS COMMANDS COMMENTS TAGS
2.9			'today'		kailájan 'need to'	'becäuse'		
2.10	VV(when)		'once'			'when (completed)'		
2.11	VN VN (purpos- ive) VN[NNN] (coordinate subjects)					'it almost happened that' 'so that' 'would (sub- junctive)' 'ifthen'		
2.12= 3.0								
3.1					·			
3.2				'only'			negative why	request with clitic
3.3			'too'	respect marker hoq			negative con- firmation (contrary to expectation)	
3.4			'daily'	'just how'	pwéde 'can'			
3.5	VV(if,then) VN(V) (nominal-ization)					'if-then'		
3.6						let us pretend	conditional what, negativ confirmation with emphasis	

Table 3.21
Overview of grammatical development of ARG

DESTAR	LINEAR OPERATIONS*	PRONOUNS	CLITICS AND DETERMINERS		AFFIXES AND		
				VERB	ADJECTIVE.	ADVERB	NOUN
2.9			(gen)yonder'		naka <sub>2</sub> - 'habili- tivizer		
2.10	·			ipag- 'subject marker'			
2.11	·			mapa- 'accidentivi- zer' 'plural subject marker of adjective root'		ROOT <sup>2</sup> adjective intensifier 'very'	kaan 'abstract marker'
2.1 <b>2</b> = . 3.0		'to us (excl) (excl.)'	•	naka-'causativizer'			
. 3.1			,	·			
3 <b>.2</b>							
3.3		'they'		makirag- 'participa- tivizer'		paROOT <sup>2</sup> (verb) intermit- tentivizer	pa- 'instru- ment marker' -an 'instru- ment marker
3.4		'their'		magin- 'inchoativi- zer' [+completed, +recent] aspect		ROOT <sup>2</sup> (verb) 'repetitivizer'	mag-CV <sup>2</sup> 'agent marker' mag-'recip- rocal marker' paan 'loca- tion marker'
3.5							paN- 'instru- ment marker' pag- 'nominal- izer'
3.4			'likė this'	man- 'verbalizer'			

<sup>\* &#</sup>x27;'' main types are listed in order

Table 3.21

f first am earance

PBRIOD	PRCPOSITIONS	N FOLES	ADVERBS	CLITICS	NEGATIVES EXISTENTIAL MCDALS	CONNECTORS SYNTACTICAL ADVERES SEQUENCE MARKERS	QUESTIONS	REQUESTS COMMANDS CCMMENTS TAGS
3.7								
3.8								
3.9								
3.10			'yesterday'					
3.11								
3.12 4.0				,				
. 4.1	VV(even if)					'even if'		
4.2				'I wonder'		'perhaps'		
4.3		,					•	
4.4								
4.5								

Table 3.21

Overview of grammatical development of ARG

PERIOD	LINEAR OPERATIONS*	PRONOUNS	CLITICS AND DETERMINERS		AFFIXES AN MORPHOLOGICAL		·
				VERB	ADJECTIVE	ADVERB	NOUN
3.7			pará sa 'bene- factive deter- miner for common noun'		'in a state of being 'mag- (with a number)		
3.8			·		·		
3.9					¥.a		
3.10							
3.11	-			·		,	
3.12 <b>-</b> 4.0							
4 .1							
4.2	•						
413							
4.4							
4.5				-si- 'plural marker for agent subject'			

\*Only main ty, es are listed in order of first appearance

Table 3.21

Overview of grammatical development of ARG

mastered, and other modals introduced. The noun affixes during this period see particular development.

Undoubtedly, learning is continued beyond these years, to complete the paradigms of the other sub-systems, to expand the uses of the propositional combinations for higher thought processes, and to extend the repertoire of linear operations with their constraints.

One can look across the array and see how certain features are spread within the subsystems. The clearest case is plurality, which appears first in the pronoun system, moves into the determiner system, and finds its way into the verbal system of states (traditional adjectives) and later into the verbal system of actions and processes (traditional verbs) in mirroring the plural subject.

Ways of negating (refusal, negative existential, propositional negation, prohibition) are acquired across the two stages (stages of propositional formation and elaboration).

## 3.3. RRG's developing grammatical system

I was able to obtain systematic data on RRG's utterances from .6 to 3.6. One-word or monolexemic utterances, interspersed among meaningless sounds and sequences and verbal play, began at .9, usually echoic utterances or repetitions of adult modeling. What was remarkable was that these initial utterances were naming activities -- the child would give the name of an object or person present, independently of the calls which I expected to come first. Real calls, with \(^1\), began at 1.7. Some of the names were wrong -- from 1.2 to 1.4, RRG called her older brother Toto (another older male sibling's name) who was really Popong (ARG, the subject of the first case study), undoubtedly an error of association.

The girl grew up in an environment almost the same as her older brother (she was born 21 March 1971 while her older brother was born 29 August 1969, or nineteen months later) except that she had a Kapampangan-speaking yaya (nursemaid) whereas her brother had a Bisayan (Samar-Leyte)-speaking yaya; both yayas spoke to the children in a vernacular-accented Pilipino. Since the girl was the fourth and last child in the family and the only girl (preceded by three boys), she received more attention from the adults than the third boy. As far as I can gather, these were the only differences: sex (female), Kapampangan-s, eaking yaya, and sibling order (last of four).

## 3.3.1. Propositions (Verbs and Nouns)

The elaboration of RRG's propositions is summarized by Table 3.22.

PERIOD	FORM	
1.2	v	
1.8	V N	
1.10	n v nvn	
2.1	VNN	
2.8	vnnn v n[vn]	<pre>VNN[VN] (complementation) N[V] (relativization)</pre>
2.9		ADV[VNN] (sentential modification)
2. 11		V V (whenever,)
	and the second s	
3.4	·	VN VNN (when,)

## Table 3.22

# RRG's propositional elaboration

It will be noted that RRG's development of the proposition is relatively straightforward, even neat. She did not have the linear ordering flexibility that ARG exhibited, although she started with VN at 1.8 and had some NV and NVN sentences at 1.10.

Monolexemic utterances (1.2) were either action words baba 'going down'

## or predicate nouns

wiwi '(pointing to a) puddle of water'

At 1.8, she began dilexemic utterances awiwi (a)ko 'I am going to urinate'

The basic roles (agent, patient, object, experiencer) were exhibited early although beneficiary seemed rather late in appearing. The inventory does not include agentive beneficiary (the receiver of a causative action), source and instrument. Although the child did not use a noun-phrase to indicate time she did manifest adverbs of time as early as 2.4; because the words were classified as adverbs and because there was no example of a noun-phrase with determiner used to indicate time, I have not included time in the inventory.

The deep structure cases (in Fillmore's sense) or noun roles vis-à-vis the verb and their use are summarized by Table 3.23:

PERIOD	ROLE	EXAMPLE
1.8	agent experiencer object	awíwí (a)kó 'I'm going to urinate' ayóko díto 'I don't want [to be] here' gágo ikáw 'You are dumb'
1.10	patient	títo ádipápamánok 'Uncle Andy is eating [a] chicken'
2.3	location	úlat akó díto 'I am writing here' lágay pékpek 'I am putting this [a pencil] on my vulva'
2.5	negative beneficiary	tágo na akó úde 'I am hiding from Rudy'
2.8	product	táma mo akó tábi niyá 'I am to be taken aløng by you, says he'
	standard associate	kamuká ni toto '(Something) looks like Toto' sáman mo akó 'I am to be accompanied by you'

Table 3.23

## RRG's noun roles

She also hegan (1.8) using ayóko 'I do not want' but most likely considered this as one word rather than a contraction of ayaw akó and hence I have considered her

ayɔ̃ko dfto 'I do not want /to be/ here'

#### as a two-word V N utterance.

Her sentences at this stage were clearly ego-centered (much more than her brother's although she had third person

references (1.9):

mamam...tito '(pointing to uncle) Uncle is drinking!

and second-person references (1.10):

gágo ikáw 'You are dumb'

At 1.10, she was using a NV and NVN word order:

títo páraq 'Uncle [is] eating'

títo ádi...pápa...mánok 'Uncle Andy [is] eating [a] ...
N V N chicken'

The NVN construction is a perfect Agent Verk Object sentence, but she had other NVN sentences with different roles for the N (1.11):

tíbi ípe akó 'I want to watch TV (literally, TV N V N like I)'

where <u>fpe</u> is not an adult word for 'see' (It could be a borrowing from Kapampangan albé (<\*labáy) 'to watch [TV or a movie]').

At 2.1, she used initial V construction and continued to do so subsequently, unless she topicalized an N by placing it in the beginning (to be discussed in a separate section):

gúto kố úde 'I want /the/ tape-recorder'
V N V

Adult: gustó ko nan téyp rekórder

(The topicalized version of this sentence, also uttered this month, was

úde...gutó ko '[The] tape recorder...I want [it]'

Adult: téyp rekórder gustó ke

with the pause after initial N).

At 2.8, she used a complement structure, the quotative:

tâma mo ako tâbi niyâ

Adult: isama mo ako sabi niya

'I am  $\sqrt{\text{to be}}$  taken along by you, he says'

A more elaborate quoted complement is (2.8):

nakíta nun mámi walán pánti yun báta ó↓ Adult: nakíta noón mámi na walán pánti iyon báta ó↓

'It was seen by yonder mother that yonder child had no panties -- look'

She also used at this time

marami+n mutaq 'much dirt /in the eyes/ or dirt which is much'

which if one will accept the hypothesis that adjectives modifying N's are traceable to relative clauses, should then be considered an example of relativization.

Also at 2.8 was the first VNNN construction:

akyát mo akó doón

Adult: iakyát mo akó doón

'I am to be taken up by you yonder'

At 2.9 the sentential adverb is used:

baká mahúlog ka ADV V N

'You might fall'

Two kinds of complex sentences were exhibited:

(2.11) pag gutom ako dedede ako

Adult: pag gutóm ako dumédéde akó

'Whenever I am hungry, I /take milk from my bottle by/ sucking'

(3.4) pag áalís na yán é áalís ko ná an isá

Adult: pag ináalís na yán áalisín ko ná an isá

'When that is being removed, this one /object/will then be removed by me'

While the progression is neat and orderly, it should be observed that at 3.5, the girl had not exhibited instances of nominalization, conditional and purposive clauses.

Because of the relatively slow development of compound and complex sentences, the girl's connectors were relatively few and did not appear till 2.7.

## 3.3.2. Adjectives

The girl's affix for adjectives, <u>ma</u>, appeared early but in a reduced form (<u>a</u>-); since this was an isolated case, it could be that its use was echoic. It appears as full <u>ma</u>- at 1.9. She attained the affix for similarity but not for comparatives. Table 3.25 summarizes the schedule of adjectives, affixes and root reduplication.

PEPIOD	CONNECTORS, SENTENTIAL	ADVERBS, AND SEQUENCE MARKERS
2.7	tápot Adult: pagkatápos	'afterwards'
2.8	at čaká	'and also'
	kasi	'because'
	pagkatápos	'afterwards'
2.9	baká	'it could/might be'
2.11	pag	'whenever'
3.1	sána	'would (subjunctive)'
3.4	pag	'when'
	nuŋ	'when (with [+completed] aspect)'

Table 3.24

RRG's connectors for sentences, sentential adverbs, and sequence markers

PERIOD.	AFFIXES	GLOSSES	EXAMPLES
1.2	a-	'plenitivizer'	abuté Adult: mabúti 'good'
1.9	na-	'plenitivizer'	mainit 'hot'
2.8	R@OT+9 ROOT ka-	'intensifier' 'similaritivizer'	punó+) punóq 'very full' kamuká Adult: kamukháq 'having a similar face'
2.11	naka-	'positionalizer'	nakahig <b>á</b> Adult: nakahig <b>áq</b> 'in a lying position'
3.5	ADJECTIVE ROOT <sup>2</sup>	'intensifier'	lakí lakí 'very big'

Table 3.25

RRG's adjective affixes and root reduplication

## 3.3.3. Adverbs of time, manner and frequency

The following table (3.26) summarizes the adverbs of time, manner and frequency of RRG:

PERIOD	TIME	MANNER AND FREQUENCY
2.4	agabí Adult: kagabí 'last night'	
2.7	mámayá Adult: mámayáq 'later'	
2.11		biglá biglá Adult: biglá+ŋ bigláq 'suddenly' ADVERB ROOT <sup>2</sup> 'intensifier 'veryly'
3.1	búkat Adult: bukás 'tomorrow' kanína 'a while ago'	palági(q) 'all the time'

## Table 3.26

# RRG's time, manner, and frequency adverbs

	The morphological proverbs were the following on on adjectives):					
2.11	ADVERB ROOT <sup>2</sup>	'intensifier	(very	ly)'	biglá biglá 'very suddenly'	
2.8	ADJECTIVE ROOT+linker ADJECTIVE ROOT	'intensifier	(very	)'	punón punóq 'very full'	
3 <b>.5</b> ;	ADJECTIVE ROOT <sup>2</sup>	'intensifier	(very		lakí lakí 'very big'	

3.2.4. Clitics

The girl's clitics are summarized by Table 3.27:

PERIOD	CLITICS	CLOSS
1.9	na	'already'
1.10	lan	'only'
2.1	m <b>ún</b> a	'first (in sequence)'
2.3	pa	'still'
2.4*	ba	question marker
2.7	den Adult: din	'also'
2.8	daw palá	'so I have been told (quotative)'
2.11	nam <b>á</b> n	'I beg to disagree'

<sup>\*</sup>This period marks the beginning of using more than one clitic attached to the verb phrase.

Table 3.27

RRG's clitics

The girl began using more than one clitic after the verb at 2.4 in the question

méyon pa bá

Adult: mayroon pa bat

'Is there more?'

which is a sentence used in advertisements and may have been echoic. If the girl used more than one monosyllabic particle after the verb, it was usually with a clitic pronoun (ko, mo, ka) and not with another (adverbial) clitic. Hence, even after 2.4, she usually used only one clitic at a time.

### 3.2.5. Negatives

The table (3.28) summarizing the acquisition of negatives is as follows:

COLNIA	NEGATIVES
1.7	áyoko Adult: ayóko 'I disapprove (general refusal or dislike)'
1.8	ayaw ko 'I don't want this stop it'
1.10	walá Adult: waláq 'not having any (e.g. shoe)'
1.11	indeq Adult: hindiq 'No, I disagree'
2.11	huwág 'Don't (prohibitive)'
2.2	indé Adult: hindíq 'not (propositional negative)'

Table 3.28

RRG's negatives

huwág

The prohibitive was last, but unlike the boy, who began using <u>ayaw</u> at 1.9 as his third negative, RRG used <u>ayaw</u> first as a general expression for disapproval, of a accompanied with dramatic gestures (stamping of her feet) and a lot of repetition, even babbling of the last two syllables. Like her initial VN sentence at 1.8, the expression is egocentric. It is not clear to me if <u>indeg</u> at any time was used as a cover negative for <u>ayaw</u> at least temporarily. It seems that it was since the adults used to tease her about her favorite driver Boy by saying <u>Bóy-Bán Boy</u> 'Boy-Pig' to which she would strongly object by saying <u>ayoko bóy-bá-boy</u>; later, she would object by saying <u>indeg</u> 'no!'. In any case, the two negatives were differentiated in context other than this instance. <u>ayaw</u> was used for expressing refusal or dislike, <u>indeg</u> for disagreeing, contradicting, correcting and as a sentential negative for clauses.

The use of <u>indé</u> not in isolation but as a negative negating a verb or a predicate began at 2.2, the same month that ARG began a similar use. Later uses of  $\frac{\acute{a}yaw}{a}$ ,  $\frac{wal\acute{a}q}{b}$ ,  $\frac{\acute{a}yaw}{a}$ , with other verb clauses began after 2.5.

The first recorded use of the existential occurred at 2.4 in an imitated advertisement:

méyon pa bá<sup>†</sup>
Adult: mayroon pa bá<sup>†</sup>
'Is there more?'

The child did not show any modals during the period of observation.  $% \left( 1\right) =\left( 1\right) \left( 1\right) +\left( 1\right) \left( 1\right) \left( 1\right) +\left( 1\right) \left( 1$ 

3.2.6. Greetings and expletives, questions, requests and comments  $\ensuremath{\mathsf{A}}$ 

PERIOD	GREETINGS AND EXPLETIVES	GLOSSES
1.6	bábáy (with hand gesture)	'Goodbye'
1.8	wá mán pó Adult: walán anumán póq	'You're welcome = not at all' (formulaic)
1.9	<b>téka</b> Adult: hint <b>á</b> y.ka	'Wait'
1.10	dalí lan Adult: sandalí lan	'Just a moment'
1.1	aláy Adult: aráy	'Ouch!'
1.11	alá Adult: halá	'See what you've done (a threat of punishment)'
	alúy Adult: arúy	'Ouch!' (a variant)
2.3	ayká Adult: haliká	'Come here'
2.8	guđn <b>á</b> yt	'Goodnight'
2.10	síge há	'Go ahead, you hear?'

Table 3.29

RRG's greetings and expletives

Questions of various types and their forms are summarized in Table 3.30.

PERIOD	TYFE	FORM
1.11	asking for confirmation of information already known	N V •
	asking for information: what?	V N (V=predicate pro-form/question word
1.12	asking for information: where?	V
	asking for confirmation of information already known	tu tuv
2.1	asking for information: where?	v n f
2.3	asking for information: who?	v <b>n</b> ♠
2.4	asking for information: yes - no?	v c1 c1 <b>↑</b>
2.5	asking for confirmation of information already given: tag?	VN → TAG ↑
2.6	asking for repetition of request already made	VNN 🕇
2.8	repeating a detail of a question: what?	и 🕇
	asking for information: who?	V N[VN] (noun clause)↓
2.10	asking for confirmation of information contrary to expectation: regative query	NEG C1 VN↑
	asking for information: why?	ADV VN
	asking for information: from where?	N VN

Table 3.30

## RRG's questions

Contrary to my expectation, based on data on the boy, considering the ease with which yes-no questions may be asked with the use of †, I noticed that the first question (1.11) was one asking for confirmation of information already known; the form, however, was that of a simple yes-no question by using

dóŋdoŋ↑ ... walá↑

Adult: si Dondon wala ba siya 'Dondong... /he/ isn't here?'

Content questions what (1.11) and where (a.12) followed: and (i)to $^{\uparrow}$  (asking about a statue of a child)

Adult: anó itó 'What's this?'

natá:n ~ atán \*

Adult: násaán †

'Where?'

A variation of a confirmatory question was asked at 1.12:

anú yán itdá

Adult: anó iyán tisdáqt

'What's that? (a) fish?'

A more elaborate where question followed (2.1) as well as who (2.3) and yes-no (2.4) questions:

átan túteg 1

Adult: násaán aŋ súsiq 🕈

'Where  $\overline{/is}$  the key?'

ínu yán 🕈

Adult: síno iyán f

'Who  $\sqrt{is}$  that?'

At 2.4, the question clitic  $\underline{\text{ba}}$  appeared and yes-no questions asked with the adult structure:

méyon pa bá †

Adult: meyroón pa bá 🕈

'Is there still more?'

Another question element, the tag, appeared at 2.5, which was again a confirmatory question:

akó yún nó (referring to a photograph)

Adult: akó iyón anó

'Yonder is I, isn't it?'

Confirmatory questions of an echoic type were used with various modifications at 2.5 and 2.8:

kúnin mo yón f

Adult: kűkűnin mo ba iyón 🕈

'Will yonder /object/ be taken by you?'

itó√ bóte †

Adult: itó bá bóte itó t

'\_Is it/ this \_one/? It's a bottle?'

At this same time also (2.8), RRG started using an eqational sentence for who (and presumably other content questions) using a relative clause as subject:

sinon asúlat dito↓

Adult: síno a∩ nagsúlat díto↓

'Who <u>/is/</u> the <u>/one who/</u> wrote here?'

Negative queries (asking for confirmation of information contrary to expectation) appeared at 2.10 using <a href="https://doi.org/10.1001/journal.

Why questions appeared at 2.10 also, using <u>bat</u>, an abbreviated form of <u>bákit</u>; at 3.1, she was using <u>6bat</u>, a related Kapampangan form, but began using <u>bákit</u> regularly from 3.5 on:

(2.10) bất méy kúnot↓

Adult: bákit ba máy kusốt↓

'Why is  $\sqrt{it}$  that there is a crease  $\sqrt{in}$  the sheet  $\sqrt{?}$ 

The <u>sim</u> correspondence is unusual and might just have been a performance error on the part of the child.

At 2.10 too, she would make more elaborate where questions:
ásan nangálin yón↓

Adult: násaán naŋgáliŋ iyón↓

'From where did yonder /object/ come?'

where I analyze  $\underline{\underline{asan}}$  'where' as a question-word standing for a locative N.

Requests (and commands) began very early as monolexemic utterances (without  $\uparrow$ , however) from 1.2 until 1.12, when she began using  $\uparrow$  regularly for requests:

- 1.2 mámámám '(asking for) food'
- 1.12 mámám ' (requesting for) food'

Commands were peremptory ( $\downarrow$ ) and sometimes, at 1.5, reinforced by stamping of feet.

Since requests and commands follow the same structure as indicative sentences /with no aspect marking/, they do not demand separate treatment in terms of their formal aspects. The child did not exhibit tokens of  $\underline{na}$ , the clitic for requests, during the period under observation.

Comments using an appeared at 2.7:

an dámi

'How many  $\sqrt{t}$ here are  $\overline{/}$ '

with later elaborations at 2.8 and 2.10:

(2.8) an gandá an bílog nan pápu

Adult: an gandá nan aureóla nan sánto

'How pretty /is/ the /metal/ halo of the /saint's/ statue!'

where <u>bilog</u> 'round' is the child's word for the metal halo around the heads of statues and <u>papú</u> is the child's word for 'saint's statue'. It should be noted that the adult form is genitive, while the child used the nominative <u>an</u> for 'halo'.

(2.10) an panit nan súlat mo é↓
'How ugly /is/ your writing! -- you see!

where now the correct genitive form nan was used.

### 3.3.7. Other conversation markers

The child acquired the conversation tags during the third year, with frequent use at 2.8:

(2.2) títo ándi† íya ó↓

Adult: títo ándi† híla ó

'Uncle Andy, I'm pulling /this/ -- look'

(2.6) bábása ko lán é↓ (in answer to 'What are you doing?')

Adult: binábása ko lán é l

 $'\overline{\underline{It}}$  is being read by me only -- you see'

(2.8) bábalík mámayá á Ť

Adult: bábalík ka mámayág há†

'You will come back later -- you hear?'

Two months later, at 2.10, RRG started using ha instead of a.

Surprisingly, there was no evidence, other than an echoic utterance at 1.8 (wá mán pổ, Adult walán anumán pổq 'Not at all = you're welcome, Elder'), of her having acquired the respect markers during the period of observation.

#### 3.8.8. Pronouns

RRG's pronouns began with the first person (.7) but surprisingly, at 3.6, she still was not using nilá '(genitive) they' and most of the oblique forms: kaniyá 'he', ámin 'we (exclusive)', átin 'we (inclusive)', inyó 'you (plural)', kanilá 'they'. Perhaps the data were not rich enough to mirror the acquisition of these forms; however, even if they were already acquired, their infrequent use (indicated by non-appearance in

the data) is puzzling. The following table (3.31) summarizes the appearance of the pronouns:

PERIOD	NOMINATIVE	GENITIVE	OBLIQUE
1.7		ko 'my' (attached to nouns, possessive)	
1.8	(a)kố 'I'	ko 'by me' (with verb)	
1.10	ikáw 'you'		
1.11	ka~ikáw 'you'		ákin 'to me (possessive)'
2.2		mo 'you'	
2.3			yố Adult: iyố 'to you'
2.6	šya Adult: siyá 'he'		
2.7	t <b>áy</b> o 'we (inclusive)'		
2.8	kamí 'we (exclusive)' kámi ni 'X and I' silá 'they'	námin 'our (excl.)'  nátin 'our (inclusive)'  niyó Adult: ninyó 'you (plural)'	
		niyá 'his'	
2.11	kitá (ko+ikáw) 'by me + you'	•	
3.5	kayo 'you (plural)'		

## Table 3.30

## RRG's pronouns

In Pilipino, nominative 'you' after a verb or adjective is <u>ka</u>; in citation form and when topicalized and fronted, nominative 'you' is <u>ikaw</u>. Although as early as 1.11, RRG used both

lukúlukú ka ~ lukúlukú ikáw 'You are crazy'

she soon used <u>ikáw</u> exclusively (a non-adult use for constructions of this type) and continued using this

(2.5) dalá ikáw dún

Adult: idalá mo doón

'Yonder is where  $\sqrt{it/}$  is to be taken by you'

where the form and case are 'wrong'.

(2.8) tabá ikáw é↓

Adult: matabá ka é 1

'You are fat -- you see'

where ka should have been used.

Rule-wise, she was correct but the adult uses the alternate form <u>ka</u>, quite needlessly! I found no further examples of nominative 'you' in the data after 2.8 and hence am unable to say when <u>ka</u> began to be used regularly. What is interesting is the early use of <u>ka</u> and then its non-use in favor of a single form ikaw for both forms of nominative 'you'.

At 2.11, she used <u>kitá</u>, which is a portmanteau of <u>ko+ikáw</u> in a regular verb construction:

bíbigyán kitá nan bábolgám 
'You are to be given by me /some/ bubblegum'

However, kita is also a nominative form for dual 'you and I' -- she did not exhibit use of this form in this second meaning.

At 2.8, she could use kami ni \_\_\_\_\_ 'X and I', an expanded form of 'we' in the nominative. At 3.4, she was still using nominative even when the genitive was called for, an indication perhaps of her unstable mastery of genitive forms and interposing:

aŋ d**á**mi+ŋ rósas kamí

Adult: an dámi námi+n rósas

'How many roses are had by us'

3.3.9. Deictics

RRG's schedule of deictic acquisition is summarized in Table 3.32.

The table shows that the forms for [+near speaker] were acquired first and that the full set of nominative, oblique, and nan pro-locative forms were all attained. However, for the genitive, only nún (adult noón < \*niyón) appeared; nitó and niyán had no tokens, and for the gan- forms, ganitó was missing.

PERIOD	NOMINATIVE	GENITIVE	OBLIQUE	SIMILARITIVE ('like)' GAN	PRO-LOCATIVE NAN
1.8			díto 'here'		
1.9	itó 'this'				
1.10	ayún 'behold yonder'		dyán 'there'		
1.12	yán Adult iyán 'that'	):			
2.2	yốn Adult: iyốn 'yonder'		dón Adult: doón 'yonder'		
2.3					nándiyan 'over there'
2.5				ganyān 'like that'	
2.7	éto 'behold this'				ándito Adult: nándito 'over here
2.8	ayan 'behold that'	nún Adult: noón 'yonder'			nándun Adult: nándoón 'over yonder'
2.9					
2.10				ganón 'like yonder'	

Table 3.32

RRG's deictics

One suspects that the items acquired are the most frequently used in adult language and needed for basic communication in child language and hence quickly attained. The oblique and nanforms are especially needed for speaking about location.

There seemed to be little difficulty distinguishing  $\underline{iyan}$  from  $\underline{iyan}$ , which are not doublets, although at 2.3, there was an instance of incongruence in

ánjan cóngo dún

Adult: nándoón an čóngo doón or nándiyán an čóngo diyán
'The monkey /present yonder/ was yonder' or
'The monkey /present there/ was there'

where anjan 'over there' does not agree with dun 'yonder'.

At 2.8, mastery of <a href="itó-iyán">itó-iyán</a> was evident in the contrast: hindéq pánit yón itó magandá
'No, yonder is ugly. This one, /it's/ pretty'

These deictics, first used as pronouns, can also be used as determiners in noun phrases, which RRG began using at 2.2 and 2.3:

2.2 yon ibun

Adult: iyon+n ibon

'yonder bird'

2.3 yun mami ko

Adult: iyon+n mami ko

'yonder mother of mine'

It should be noted, however, that at this stages the obligatory linker  $-\eta$  ~ na in these contexts had not yet been acquired.

3.3.10. Case-marked determiners of nouns

The emergence of case-marked determiners for nouns is summarized in Table 3.33.

			4.1	
FERIOD	PLURAL MARKER	NOMINATIVE	GENITIVE	OBLIQUE
1.9		ti (si) an	ni	
2.2			naŋ	ta(sa) (location) (direction) (possession)
2.3		i~ti (si)		
2.5				páRa (pára sa) (beneficiary)
2.7		si~ti		key (possession)
2.8				sa (goal)
3.5	maŋa			

## Table 3.33

## RRG's case-marked determiners

The determiners are almost all attained within the space of three months except for the oblique form for proper nouns (key or Adult kay). Probably because of language interference from Kapampangan, she was uncertain which to use -- Kapampangan  $\underline{i}$  or Pilipino  $\underline{si}$  (2.3); this stabilized at 2.7.

The form for beneficiary (or in this case, purposive) para (from Spanish para) was used at 2.5 but without the oblique determiner sa:

páRA gamút iyán 7

Adult: pára sa gamút ba iyán 🕇

'Is that for medicine?'

The plural marker for nouns used in conjunction with determiners in all cases, mana, was not attained till 3.5.

At 2.8, she started using relativization in connection with case-marked nouns:

sínon asúlat díto

Adult: sino an nagsúlat dito

'Who is the person /who/ wrote here?'

### 3.3.10. Noun morphology

RRG's noun morphology (derivational affixes added to roots) was rather impoverished. She used only two affixes and rather late:

- (3.4) maN-CV<sup>2</sup> 'agent marker' mambubukas 'opener'
- (3.6) ka- 'associated marker' kakláse 'associate in class = classmate'

Her other nouns were simple roots.

## 3.3.11.Verb morphology

RRG's derivational affixes consisted of the main verbalizers ( $\underline{\text{ma}}$ - at 1.10,  $\underline{\text{maN}}$ - at 2.5,  $\underline{\text{-um-}}$  at 2.8,  $\underline{\text{(m)ag-}}$  at 2.8) and the special affixes for modifying events,  $\underline{\text{maka:-}}$  and  $\underline{\text{ma}}$ -, both 'abilitativizer', and  $\underline{\text{ma:-}}$  'causativizer' All were prefixes, with no discontinuous morphemes.

For the pluralizing affix  $(CV^2)$  or reduplication of the first syllable of the root) for adjectives with plural patients, acquisition took place at 2.10.

The most interesting section of the verb morphology, in terms of manifesting the child's strategies in coping, was the aspectual system. Initially, at 1.8, the child had a common form for [-actual] or potential and [+completed] -- the prefix aundoubtedly based on adult  $\underline{na}$ —for [+completed] and  $\underline{ma}$  (g)—plus  $\underline{cv}^2$  for [-actual] or potential:

awiwi 'I'm going to urinate'

Adult: magwiwiwi akó

'I'm going to urinate'

abatá akó

Adult: nabaság akó

'I got wet'

All through 1.9, the child used <u>a</u>- as an affix for both aspects [+completed] and [-actual] for all roots. At 1.10, she seemed to have focused on the reduplication and produced a correct form but different meaning from the adult's:

mayiyiqo akó (she was actually taking a bath)

Adult: nalílígog akó

'I am taking a bath'

What is interesting here is that the child actually had the meaning of [+actual] or progressive and signaled it by the reduplication;

PERIOD	DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES	PLURAL, SUBJECT AFFIXES	ASPECTUAL AFFIXES	SUBJECT CHOICE AFFIXES	COMBINATIONS OF 2 or MORE AFFIXES
1.8			a-[-actual]	ø 'patient subject marker'	
1.9			a-[+completed]	g 'agent subject marker'	
1.10	ma- 'verbalizer'		Cv2 [+actual]		ma-CV <sup>2</sup> - (2)
1.11				-an 'object subject marker'	
2.3			CV2 [-actual]		
2.5	maN-'verbalizer'		m>n [+actual] acv <sup>2</sup> [+actual]		$na? - (1)$ $a - CV^2 - (2)$
2.6				-in 'object subject marker'	ain (2)
2.8	ROOT <sup>2</sup> 'repeti- tivizer'		na-[+completed]	-in 'patient subject marker'	aan (2)
İ	-um- 'verbalizer'		Ø [+completed] with -um-	-an 'beneficiary subject marker'	
	ma~mag 'verb- alizer'		-in-[+completed]	-an 'associate subject marker '	
	maka- 'abilita- tivizer'		m > ncv <sup>2</sup> [+actual]	-an 'goal subject marker'	na-cv <sup>2</sup> (2)
			CV <sup>2</sup> [+actual] with -um-	<pre>% 'beneficiary subject marker'</pre>	C-um-VCV (2) CV <sup>2</sup> in (2)
2.9	pa- 'causativiz <b>e</b> r'			Ø(i−) 'object subject marker	mapa- (2) pain (2)
2.10		CV <sup>2</sup> 'plural subject marker of		g(i-) 'object subject marker'	p-in-a- (2) nag-cv <sup>2</sup> - (2)
		adjective root'		i- 'beneficiary subject marker	$cv^2an \qquad (2)$
2.11	mà- 'accidentivizer'		C-in-VCV- [+actual]		maan (2) C-in-VCV- (2)
3.1	ma- 'abilitatívizer'			Ø 'experiencer subject marker'	i-cv <sup>2</sup> - (2) nacv <sup>2</sup> an (3)
3.4					ni CV <sup>2</sup> - (2)

Table 3.34

RRG's verb affixes

she also had the adult prefix but was unable to take care of another requirement, m > n shift or consonantal ablauting.

- By 2.3, she had differentiated [+completed] from [-actual] and although she kept using <u>a</u>- for [+completed], now reserved reduplication (CV<sup>2</sup>) of the root for [-actual]:
  - (2.3) <u>áa</u>kyát akó 'I'm going to climb'
  - (2.4) <u>a</u>lígo
    Adult: nalígoq akó
    'I took a bath'

In fact, quite consistently, a month later (2.4) she 'overused' the potential in an embedded clause (whereas Adult Pilipino would use the unmarked [for aspect] form):

guttó ko íinóm

Adult: gustő ko+ŋ uminóm
'I want to drink'

By 2.5, she could comply with <u>one</u> but not with <u>both</u> requirements of the [+actual] or progressive:

 $\underline{m}$  >  $\underline{n}$  shift nandadoq Adult: naglalaroq

'he is playing'

reduplication atútúlog Adult natútúlog

'he is sleeping'

Thus, at this stage, an advance had been made in at least differentiating [+actual] from [+completed] aspect:

	ACTUAL		COMPLETED
1.8	a-		a-
2.5	a CV <sup>2</sup> or m 7	n	a-

However, at 2.6 a period of confusion between [+actual] and [-actual] in their forms appears:

ACTUAL -ACTUAL

CV<sup>2</sup> gágawá CV<sup>2</sup> bábása

Adult: ginágawáq

She sorted things out at 2.8, which for her was the period of dramatic growth in verb morphology, not only in the aspect

system but the affixes for subject choice:

natiya na

Adult: nasíra na

'It is already broken'

where the clitic na 'already' reinforces the completed aspect.

pumútol

'He cut'

where  $\frac{-um}{}$  is a derivational affix, one of the verbalizers and where the [+completed] aspect has no overt affix ( $\underline{\emptyset}$ ); in fact, for  $\frac{-um}{}$  verbs, this affixless (for aspect) form is also used for [-actual], as in the imperative.

Another [+completed] aspect uses the infix (the prefix had already been mastered) -in-:

sinábi

'It was said (by him)'

The  $\underline{m} > \underline{n}$  shift for [+completed] aspect is also used:

nagháway

Adult: naggáway

'They quarreled'

For the [+actual] or progressive aspect, different forms have likewise been mastered at 2.8:

nalílígog

'He is taking a bath'

with  $\underline{m} > \underline{n}$  shift and reduplication atátampú ~ natátampóq

Adult: nagtátampóq

'He is showing resentment'

where, however, ma-is still substituted for mag-.

tumátáe

umíiyák

'He is defecating' He is crying'

where the infix -um- occurs with  $CV^2$  (reduplication).

The child was also using  $\underline{\text{maCV}^2}$ , this time for [-actual] or potential aspect:

matútúlog

'He will sleep'

A month later, with the acquisition of pa- 'causativizer', the child used magpapa- combination for [+actual] or potential, thus fully mastering mag- forms and no longer substituting ma-for them.

The sorting out was completed by 2.9.

The [+completed, +recent] aspect was not manifested during the period of data gathering (till 3.6).

With regard to the subject choice affixes, RRG was using correctly case-marked nouns with the verb even if the verb itself did not have any overt marking ( $\emptyset$  for agent subject) as early as 1.8. At 2.11, she would use butan (Adult buksan) by itself, with suffix -an for patient subject but without any accompanying N.

The first occurrence of the subject choice affix with a nominative marked N was at 2.3:

patán an ílaw

Adult: patayín mo an ílaw

'The light is to be killed (extinguished) (by you)'

where -an is for patient subject choice.

Following were <u>-in</u> object and patient subject choice, <u>-an</u> again for beneficiary, object and goal subject choice. It is difficult to say when she acquired <u>i</u>- as a subject choice marker since in adult rapid speech <u>i</u>- is often deleted. There were instances of verb forms which in slow speech should have had <u>i</u>-as early as 2.8 (as beneficiary and object subject markers), but the first observable <u>i</u>- occurred at 2.10 as a beneficiary subject marker. g (as in adult speech) as an experiencer subject marker occurred at 3.1. The order of affixes for subject choice was thus <u>-an</u>, <u>-in</u>, and <u>i</u>-. The marker for instrument <u>ipag</u>- and <u>ipag</u>-did not occur, nor did the discontinuous morph for location <u>pag-..-an</u>.

The girl began using combinations of two affixes as early as 1.10 (all prefixes) but not until she was 2.6 did she give combinations of two with prefix and suffix; as late as 2.8, most of her affixes consisted of only one and only during the active period of 2.8 were two-affix combinations frequently used -- prefixes (including reduplication), prefix and infix, and prefix/infix with suffix or prefix and infix, but never more than two at a time. There was only one instance of three affixes, nagiginawan being cold but its use in the sentence was wrong as only nagiginaw was called for. Thus it would seem that the period from 2.8 to 3.6 was a period of consolidation and stabilization with the child keeping an upper limit of two affixes and conserving her processing energies to take care of multiple combinations of no more than two affixes. One can hypothesis an order of

ONE AFFIX

prefix

reduplication

suffix

TWO AFFIXES

prefix and reduplication
prefix and suffix
prefix and infix
reduplication and suffix
infix and reduplication

THREE AFFIXES

prefix reduplication suffix

It was also during the period from 3.1 - 3.4 that 'mistakes' appeared in abundance, indicating the child's attempts to integrate the subsystems and to manage them simultaneously.

At 2.10, when asked if she urinated in the bathroom, she replied

hindí tátáe akő

'No, I shall defecate'

when she should have used the completed aspect tumáe (she had begun using infixes only at 2.8 or two months before). Or in answer to a question Anó ang gágawín mo friwnst will you do?' (2.6), she said:

bábása ko lán é

'I'm just going to read -- you see'

but she should have used <u>bábasáhin</u>. However, it seems that at this stage, she could not use more than one affix at a time.

At 3.1, she said:

hindí ko násabíhin kanína

Adult: hindí ko násábi kanína

'I was unable to mention it a while ago'

where the suffix <u>-in</u> was not required in adult language. Since what was said (it) was the subject of the sentence (a product), the suffix <u>-in</u>. should have been used, to be consistent. Hence, in this instance, once more, the child was more consistent than the adult. Similarly,

hindí ka nagígináwan Adult: hindí ka bá nagígináw f'
'Don't you feel cold?'

where  $\underline{-an}$  was used (presumably an experiencer subject marker for  $\underline{ka}$ ) but where no suffix is used in adult language. There is an adult form

nagináwan ka

but its meaning has been specialized to 'You caught a chill'

whereas if one is merely feeling cold, one says:
 nagfginaw ka
'You are feeling cold'.

Other examples of 'errors' in verb morphology may be cited quickly, illustrating the child's attempts to be consistent or her confusion of markers:

(3.1) tumátákot ka
Adult: natátákot ka
'You are afraid'

(3.2) sinásabíhin

Adult: sinásábi

'It is being said'

sinásarádo ko itó

Adult: sinásará ko itó

'This is being closed by me'

where the child uses <u>sarádo</u> 'closed' as her root -- quite consistently -- but where the adult uses <u>sará</u> 'to close', from Spanish <u>cerrar</u>. With Pilipino roots, one uses the same form for adjective and verb; the child was therefore again more consistent.

(3.4) kinúnin na ni ompon

Adult: kinúha na ni ómpoŋ

'It was already taken by Ompong'

kinúnin niyá yuŋ gitára niyá

Adult: kinúha niyá yuŋ gitára niyá
'His guitar was taken by him'

where again the child was more consistent (-in- for [+completed]

aspect, -in for object subject choice) than the adult who applies haplology and deletes the suffix to avoid repetition.

# 3.3.12. Linear operations

As in the description of the first subject developing his grammar, the following grammatical operations involving linear movements will be discussed: subject choice (and its consequences, subject marking in the verb and resulting agreement between predicate and subject); interposing operations as a result of placing clitics and pronouns between pre-verb (negatives, existentials) and verb; the uses of the nasal linker in various contexts; topicalization by preposing or fronting; emphasis by copying.

## 3.3.12.1. Agreeement between predicate and subject

Subject choice resulting in overt marking of the verb and agreement between predicate and subject occurred formally at 2.3, although a case can be made that as early as 1.8 and 1.9, with the case marking of the pronoun in the nominative, there was already overt agreement, though the marker in the affix was  $\underline{\phi}$  (as in adult language). Table 3.35 summarizes the emergence of agreement types.

The agreement examples follow certain subcategorization of verbs in Pilipino -- certain subcategories of verbs take certain overt subject markers according to their class. What RRG had not attained by 3.6 were instrument subject marked verbs and location subject marked verbs. Her sentences though using two affix combinations were correct, although as was already shown, some of the combinations were irregular by adult standards. She made hardly any mistakes in subjectivalization although at 2.8 she did say

háwak aŋ púlis

The policeman is holding  $\overline{\underline{\text{lit}}}$ 

when she should have said

hawak nan pulis
The policeman is holding  $\sqrt{it/j}$ 

3.3.12.2. Interposing and clitic ordering

Table 3.6 exemplifies tokens of interposing and ordering of clitics according to their first appearance or entry points.

At 2.3, the child knew ordering of clitics vis-à-vis pronouns after the verb; more interesting, however, was knowledge of the rule whereby a monosyllabic pronoun is interposed between the verb and the clitic.

PERIOD	TYPE	OF AGREEMENT	EXAMPLE
1.8	ø	patient	abatá <u>akó</u> Adult: nabasáq akó 'I got wet'
1.9	ø	agent	apápa <u>akó</u> Adult: magpápápaq akó 'I'm going to eat = I want to eat'
2.3	-an	patient	patán an flaw Adult: patayín mo an flaw 'The light is to be killed (extinguished) by you'
2.6	-in	Object	kúnin mo yón ↑ Adult: kúkúnin mo ba iyón ↑ 'Is yonder [object to be taken by you?'
2.8	-in	patient	patayin natin an ilaw 'The light is to be extinguished by us = let us extinguish the light'
	-an	associate	sáman mo akó Adult: samáhan mo akó 'I am to be accompanied by you'
	-an	object	apalitán an bág mo Adult: nápalitán an bág mo 'Your bag was changed accidentally'
	(i-)	beneficiary	gawá mo akó 'I am to be made for [something] by you = make [something] for me'
2.10	i-	beneficiary	ibabá mo akó 'I am to be taken down by you = take me down'
	-an	goal	gustó mo susulátan kitá (ko+ikáw) diyán 'Do you want me to
			write on you on that place [your hand]?'
3.1	Ø	experiencer	nagúgútom akó 'I am hungry'

Table 3.35
RRG's verb-subject agreement sequence

PERIOD	TYPE	EXAMPLE
2.3	V Cl Pronoun V Pronoun Cl	walá pa akó 'I still don't have [any]'  pót ko ná Adult: natápos ko ná ( natápos na kó [an] 'By me [it]  has already been finished'
2.4	V Cl Question Clitic	méyon pa bá  Adult: mayroón pa bá  'Is there still more?'
2.8	Neg Pronoun V	hindí akó makayakyát Adult: hindí akó makáakyát 'I cannot climb'
2.10	V Pronoun Pronoun	bigyấn mo akố 'I am to be given by you'
2.11	Prohibitive Pronoun Pronoum + linker V	huwág mo akó+g sakalín sabí ko na é la lam not to be strangled by you, it was already said by me, you see = Don't strangle me, I already told you'
3.0	Negative Pronoun Pronoun VN	hindí mo akó bíbigyán nan papél i I am not going to be given by you [some] paper? = Aren't you going to give me any paper?'

Table 3.36

RRG's interposing and clitic ordering operations

She could also (2.4) order two clitics in succession after the verb.

At 2.8 she could place the pronoun between the negative and the main verb although she still said in this same month:

hindí sásáma kamí

Adult: hindí kamí sásáma

'We are not going /with you/'

where in effect the interposing movement did not apply.

Two pronouns (one nominative, the other genitive) have to order correctly after the verb, the order partially a function of the number of syllables of the pronoun; this order was exhibited at 2.10.

By 2.11 and 3.0, she was interposing two pronouns between negative or prohibitive and the main verb, with or without the linker (to be discussed subsequently) although the stability of the interposing movement was not yet certain, for we find the following examples where she did not apply the movement operation:

2.9 baká mahúlog ka

Adult: baká ka mahúlog

'It might be that you will fall'

3.4 hindî naman nakatali ako

Adult: hindí namán akó nakatálig

'I beg to disagree: I am not tied up'

an dámi+n Rosas kamí

Adult: an dámi námi+n rósas

'How many roses are had by us'

where the child's construction had the pronoun in the nominative (rather than the genitive) and where the interposing mevement had not been applied.

3.5 bákit matabá ikáw

Adult: bákit ka matabáq 1

'Why /is it that you are fat?'

where nominative ikaw should be nominative ka and interposed between bakit 'why' and the verb.

Although RRG could perform the interposing movement operation, she did not know as yet all the different contexts where it applied and hence failed to apply it where it should have applied.

# 3.3.12.3. Nasal linker insertion

Tied up with linear operations is the obligatory use of the nasal linker  $(\underline{na} \sim -\underline{\eta})$  in various contexts. By the end of the period under observation, she could apply the linker in the following contexts (Table 3.37):

PERIOD	STRUCTURE	EXAMPLE
2.6	Deictic + ŋ N	yún+ŋ báka Adult: iyóŋ báka 'yonder cow'
2.8	Adjective +n Adjective (intensifier)	punó+ŋ punó+ŋ pépsi Adult: punóŋ puno naŋ pépsi 'full of Pepsi-Cola'
	Existential Clitic + n N	méRun pa+ŋ báŋka Adult: mayroón paŋ baŋkáq 'There [are] still some boats'
	Existential + 0 N	méyRun+ŋ palaká dún ^ Adult: mayroóŋ palaká doón ^ 'There are frogs there?'
	Adjective + n N	maRámi+ŋ mútaq Adult: marámiŋ mútaq 'plenty of dirt in the eyes'
2.10	Existential Pronoun+9 N	méywún akó+n napúlot ól Adult: mayroón akón napúlot ó↓ 'There's something I happened to pick up — see'
3.0	Adverb + V	palági+η nagágasgás iyóη tíbi námin 'Always our TV is getting scratched'

Table 3.37

RRG's use of the masal linker

It is not enough to learn to add the linker but more important to add it in the right context. The child at 2.6 learned to use the linker with the deictic before a noun. It was evident, however, that she had not learned to use the linker in other contexts:

(2.7)x walá ka papél<sup>†</sup>
Adult: walá ka+ŋ papél<sup>†</sup>
'You have no paper?'

(2.7)x meRun papél A Adult: mayroon+n papél A 'Is there paper?' The rule for the above contexts was mastered at 2.8 and 2.10.

There are many more contexts in which the nasal linker is obligatory, but for RRG, only seven contexts thus far had been included in her rule for adding the nasal linker.

# 3.3.12.4. Preposing (topicalization)

Topicalization by fronting or placing the element(s) to be highlighted at the beginning of the sentence began at 2.1 with RRG (Table 3.38):

PERIOD	TYPE	EXAMPLE
2.1	Topicalizing the subject	údegutó kó Adult: aŋ téyp rekórder gustó ko 'As for the tape recorder [it] is wanted by me'
2.2	Topicalizing the subject noun phrase (with deictic)	yon pilya ompon Adult: iyon pilyo si ompon 'As for the naughty one it's Ompong'
2.8	Topicalizing the subject noun phrase (with determiner)	ti toto may baltik Adult: si toto may baltik 'As for Toto, he has a skin allergy'
	Topicalizing the subject noun phrase in questions	yun bátag natátampól yun báta ba natátampól yun bátag natátampó ba Adult: iyón bátag nagtátampó ba 'As for yonder child, is she showing resentment?'
2.11	Topicalizing the subject noun phrase (with determiner) in a VNN construction	an awto napalit ni doktor hwiko!  Adult: an awto pinalitan ba ni doktor hwiko! 'As for the car, was it exchanged by Dr. Juico?'

## Table 3.38

# RRG's topicalizations

Actually, all the examples in Table 3.38 are really only one type -- fronting the subject for highlighting. This began early (2.1) and underwent development only through the addition of determiners or deictics but consisted essentially of subject movement. Movement of nonsubject nouns or noun phrases (e.g. location) and resulting interposing movements had not been attained during the period of observation.

#### 3.3.12.5. Emphasis

Emphasis by repetition or a copying operation is exemplified in Table 3.39:

PERIOD	TYPE	EXAMPLE
2.3	Noun emphasis	ilawpatán an ilaw Adult: ilaw patayin mo an ilaw 'The light is to be extinguished by you'
2.7	Subject pronoun emphasis Subject noun phrase	akó den súsúlat akó Adult: akó din súsúlat akó 'I also, I shall write' yun bág mo natíya na yón Adult: iyón
	emphasis	bag mo nasira na iyon 'Yonder bag of yours, yonder bag is already broken'
2.8	Verb emphasis	bábalík daw bábalík ('He's) coming back, (he) says, (he's) coming back'
3.5	Subject pronoun emphasis in VNNN structures	kamí mérun kamín isláyd sa iskwéla námin Adult: kamí mayroón kamín isláyd sa iskwéla námin 'We, we have a slide in our school'

#### Table 3.39

## RRG's emphatic structures

The lexical items copied are the noun of the subject noun phrase, a subject pronoun, or the entire noun phrase on the one hand and the verb on the other.

## 3.3.13. Overview of RRG's grammatical development

Table 3.40 summarizes the developments of the subsystems by means of an array similar to Table 2.20, at each point in time (by month) and across time (1.2 to 3.6).

A stage of naming (not included in the array) precedes the stage of propositional formation, which seems short (1.8 - 2.1), however, and consisted of only two (2) arguments. During this period, the noun roles likewise emerge, so do some early clitics, different types of questions, requests and commands (the speech acts) as well as the beginnings of the pronoun and deictic/determiner subsystems.

PERIOD	PROPOSITIONS	N ROLES	ADVERBS	CLITICS	NEGATIVES EXISTENTIAL MODALS	CONNECTORS SYNTACTICAL ADVERBS SEQUENCE MARKERS	QUESTIONS	REQUESTS COMMANDS COMMENTS TAGS
1.2	v							requests, commands
1.3								
1.4								
1.5								
1.6								
1.7					'I disapprove'			
1.8	VN	agent, experiencer, object			'I don't want thisstop it			
1.9				'already'				
1.10	NV, NVN	patient		'only'	'there is none			
1.11					'I disagree'		confirmation, what	
1.12=							where	
2.1	V NN			'first(in sequence)'	'don't (pro- hibitive)'			

PERIOD	LINEAR OPERATIONS*	PRONOUNS	PRONOUNS DEICTICS AND DETERMINERS	<b>1</b> м	AFFIXES AND MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES				
				VERB	ADJECTIVE	ADVERB	NOUN		
1.2					a-'plenitivizer'				
1.3									
1.4									
1.5									
1.6									
1.7		'my'							
1.8		'1'	'(obl)here'	[+completed] aspect [-actual] aspect øsubject marker		·			
1.9			'(nom)this', an/si 'nom determiner for common proper noun' ni 'gen determiner for proper noun'		ma- 'plenitivi- zer'				
1.10		'you'	'(obl)there'	ma-'verbalizer' [+actual] aspect					
1.11		'you(short form)' 'to me'		- <u>an</u> subject marker					
1.12=			'(nom)that'						
2.1	Preposing (topicalization)								

\*Only main types are listed in order of

first appearance

Table 3.40
Overview of the grammatical development of RRG

PERIOD	PROPOSITIONS	N ROLES	ADVERBS	CLITICS	NEGATIVES EXISTENTIAL MODALS	CONNECTORS SYNTACTICAL ADVERBS SEQUENCE MARKERS	QUESTIONS	REQUESTS COMMANDS COMMENTS TAGS
2.2					'not (pro- positional negative)'			tag 'look'
2.3		location, goal		'still'			who	
2.4			'last night'	'question marker'	'there is'		yes-no	
2.5		negative beneficiary						tag
2.6							repetition	tag 'you see'
2.7			'later'	'also'		'afterwards'		comment
2.8	VNNN, [VNN]VN (complementation); VN[VN] (complementation); N[V] (relativization)	associate, product, standard		'so!' 'so I have been told (quo- tative)'		'and also' 'because'	repetition of detail	tag 'you hear'
2.9	ADV[VNN] (sentential modification)					'it could/ might be'		

Table 3.40
Overview of the grammatical development of RRG

PERIOD	LINEAR OPERATIONS *	PRONOUNS	DEICTICS AND DETERMINERS	AFFIXES AND MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES				
			`	VERB	ADJECTIVE	ADVERB	NOUN	
2.2		'Your'	sa 'obl deter- miner for common noun' nan 'gen determiner for proper noun' '(nom)yonder', '(obl)yonder'					
2.3	Interposing and clitic ordering Agreement between predicate and ambject Emphasis	'to you'	'over there',					
2.4		·						
2.5			'like that', para sa 'be- neficiary determiner for common noun'	man- 'verbalizer'				
2.6	Nasal linker insertion	he'		-in subject marker				
2.8		we (excl.)', 'our(excl.)'. 'X and I', 'they' 'our	'(gen)yonder' 'over yonder'	-um- 'verbalizer', mamag- 'verbalizer' maka:-'abilitativ- izer'	ka- 'similaritivi- zer'	ROOT <sup>2</sup> (verb) 'repetitivizer		
. 10		(incl.)', 'your (pl)', 'his'						
2.9	· .			pa- 'causativizer'				

<sup>\*</sup> nly main types are listed in order of first appearance.

Table 3.40

PERIOD	PROPOSITIONS	N ROLES	ADVERBS	CLITICS	NEGATIVES EXISTENTIAL MODALS	CONNECTORS SYNTACTICAL ADVERBS SEQUENCE MARKERS	QUESTIONS	REQUESTS COMMANDS COMMENTS TAGS
2.10				-			why, where, negative query	···
2.11	VV (whenever,		'suddenly'	'I beg to disagree'		'whenever'		
2.12=				*				
3.1			'all the time' 'tomorrow' 'a while ago'			'would (subjunctive)'		
3.2								
3.3								
3.4	VN VNN (when,)					'when' 'when (with [+completed] aspect)'		
3.5								
3.6								

Table 3.40

PERIOD	LINEAR OPERATIONS *	PRONOUNS	DEICTICS AND DETERMINERS		AFFIXES AND MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES				
				VERB	ADJECTIVE	ADVERB	NOUN		
2.10			'like yonder'	CV <sup>2</sup> 'plural subject marker of adjective root', i-subject marker					
2.11		'by me + you'		ma: 'accidentivizer'	naka- 'position- alizer'	ROOT-9 ROOT 'adjective intensifier very'			
2.12= 3.0									
3.1				ma-'abilitativizer'		* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *			
3.2									
3.3									
3.4							man-CV <sup>2</sup> 'agent marker'		
3.5		'you(plural)	mana 'plural marker'						
3.6							ka- 'associate marker'		

Only main types are listed in order of first appearance

Table 3.40

Overview of the grammatical development of RRG

The most interesting stage of all, from 2.2 to 3.4, is the period of propositional elaboration, which can be divided into two phases. The first phase reaches a climax at 2.8, when the learning of the different affixes reaches a peak. During this first phase, most of the clitics, the aspects, and the rest of the pronouns and deictics/determiners are acquired. The period from 2.1 - 2.5, especially 2.3, seems to be the peak period of acquisition for the linear operations. The second phase consists of the acquisition of embedded structures (relativization, complementation, sentential modification).

The final stage is less interesting and clear-cut. Only coordinate structures connected by 'when/whenever' are manifested and much later (3.4 - 3.6), some noun affixes are acquired quite late; those were the need for noun affixes is obviously less urgent than for verb affixes, since the noun roots are more than sufficient for carrying on basic communication. Strictly speaking, unlike ARG, RRG had no real stage of propositional use, at least not during the period of observation.

## 3.4. Summary and general observations

In general, unlike the acquisition of the sound system, where the girl was ahead of the boy by a year in terms of acquiring the inventory of basic sounds of Pilipino, the boy seemed ahead of the girl in competence in the grammatical system at the end of 3.6.

Unlike the sound system, which is a relatively 'closed system' consisting of a finite inventory of features, segmentals, and suprasegmentals and some phonological rules, the grammar is a much more complex system consisting of many interlocking subsystems. In no way can one really say that the children at 3.6 had attained the complete grammar of Pilipino. If one were to think of grammar in terms of categories and features, as well as rules for concatenating and combining these elements and manipulating certain strings (again by clearly defined context-sensitive rules), then at most one can say is that both had acquired basic categories and features and enough rules for concatenating categories, combining features and manipulating strings to carry on the functions of language necessary for survival at that age -- the boy more so than the girl.

One must think of acquisition as additive (in terms of categories, features, rules) and perhaps integrative (perhaps in the individual's search for more parsimonious rules) but as yet not completed at the end of 36 months. Perhaps it would be better to speak not in terms of categorical statements but in terms of scales or clines with individuals situated along a scale of more or less (in the case of the girl definitely less in comparison with the boy at the same age).

One must not be deceived by appearances. Because the girl spoke so clearly and confidently and fluently, having little or almost no trouble with certain subsets of sounds except for  $\underline{r}$  and  $\underline{l}$  in combination, and because the boy had problems with sibilants and  $\underline{r}$  and  $\underline{l}$  for so long a period, even beyond 3.6, one got the impression that the girl was far superior to the boy in all aspects of the language -- not just the sound system but also the grammar.

On closer examination, however, one soon came to the conclusion that the girl's grammar was impoverished -- almost a restricted code in an idiolectal (not sociological) sense, having fewer functors and operations to communicate with, but using these combinations sufficiently to serve her needs.

A systematic comparison of the acquisition of the grammatical subsystems by the boy and the girl follows:

- (1) On the acquisition of various types of propositions, RRG tended to acquire these types two to four (2 4) months later, had a more rigid VNNN ordering, and had not attained the following structures by 3.6: purposive, conditional, nominalization. With regard to accompanying nouns and their roles vis-à-vis the verbs, she did not exhibit examples of N as instrument and cause. For connecting structures of sentences, she used only three (3) connectors compared to ARG's seven (7) and began connecting propositions eight months after her brother.
- (2) RRG's adjectival affixes were only three (3) compared to ARG's nine (9) and except for  $\underline{na}$  (which she attained two months ahead), were usually attained 5 to 8 months later. She did not attain the comparative use of adjectives during the period of observation.
- (3) RRG's adverbs were manifested later (except for kagabí 'last night' which she began using at 2.4 compared to ARG at 2.7); the subjunctive sana was attained two months later (ARG: 2.11; RRG: 3.1). Their adverb repertoires were likewise different: 9:4 time adverbs in favor of ARG; 3:1 manner adverbs in favor of ARG; 6:2 sentential adverbs, again in ARG's favor.
- (4) RRG used 9 clitics against ARG's 13 clitics; moreover, the boy started using more than one clitic at 1.12 (the girl at 2.4) and much more frequently than the girl.
- (5) The order of negatives acquisition was as follows: ARG: hindíq (1.6) 'no, (later) not'; waláq (1.7) 'none'; áyaw (1.9) 'I don't want to'; huwág (2.4) 'don't'; RRG: áyaw (1.7) 'I don't want to'; waláq (1.10) 'none'; hindíq (1.11) 'I disagree, (later) not'; huwág (12.1) 'don't'. The áyaw 'I don't want to' of the girl reinforces the impression of ego-centered speech in the acquisition of basic propositions.

- (6) RRG had more greetings and expletives (8) than ARG (6) but acquired most of her question types later (1-10 months) especially 'yes-no?', 'where?', and 'why?'. Moreover, RRG had not yet manifested use of paano 'how?' and kanino 'whose?' by 3.6.
- (7) RRG had not learned to use the rules for the language of respect in Pilipino at 3.6, whereas her brother had learned practically all the rules by that age.
- (8) Both RRG and ARG did not exhibit all the types of pronouns in all their cases by 3.6, since neither one used nila (genitive) they', atin '(oblique) we (inclusive)', inyo'(oblique) you (plural)', kanila'(oblique) they'. RRG had two more pronoun forms missing from her inventory, kaniya'(oblique) he' and amin (oblique) we (exclusive)'. In general, both showed nominative forms attained before genitive, with oblique last.
- (9) The deictics showed a slightly different order of acquisition -- with the oblique forms (for location) acquired ahead even of nominative forms, and the genitive forms (perhaps because of their low functional load) attained last -- and not all by both. Because forms with nan- are used frequently with the oblique forms, these were all attained early (third year), with neither one showing use of ganito 'like this'. The boy showed confusion between iyan 'that' and iyon 'yonder', which the girl did not.
- (10) On the order of noun determiner acquisition, ARG showed a different order from RRG: ARG sa/kay, ang/si, nan/ni; RRG ang/si, nan/ni, sa/kay. RRG attained the plural mana late (3.5 to ARG's 2.2) but showed early acquisition of para (2.5 to ARG's 3.7).
- (11) RRG's derivational affixes for nouns were only 2 compared to ARG's 6.
- (12) The verb morphology showed dramatic differences. RRG had 9 derivational affixes, ARG 14. The girl did not show productive use of mag-...-an 'reciprocativizer', naka- 'causativizer', makipag- 'participativizer'. paROOT<sup>2</sup> 'intermittentivizer', magin 'inchoativizer'. Among the aspects, by 3.6, the girl had not acquired [+completed, +recent] whereas the boy had this by 3.4. Among subject choice affixes in the verb, the girl did not attain ipan-ipag- 'instrument subject marker' and pag-..-an (3.11) 'location subject marker'. The boy was using affixal combinations of 3 by 2.5 and of 4 by 2.10, whereas the girl stayed with really only 2 (with only one example, and a wrong use, of 3). The girl showed a dramatic month of new acquisitions of verb morphology at 2.8, whereas the boy's mastery of the verb was steadily built up all throughout his third year of life.
- (13) On subject-choice, ARG showed no clear superiority over RRG, although RRG's manifestations of these operations were later,

and because she had not attained certain affixes, was less rich in its variety than ARG's.

(14) RRG had more mistakes in the non-application of interposing linear operations and had mastered only 6 contexts (in comparison with ARG's 2). Similarly, RRG used the nasal linker in only seven (7) contexts whereas ARG was using it in fourteen (14) and earlier (1.2 to RRG's 2.6). ARG topicalized not only nominative noun/phrases but also oblique noun phrases; RRG topicalized only nominative noun phrases. Finally, on indicating emphasis, both ARG and RRG did so by copying and fronting operations; in addition, ARG used deictic copying and postposing, also for emphasis.

In setting down some general observations on the acquisition of the grammatical system of Pilipino based on the two case studies, one can say the following: (1) The learning of grammar consists of learning not only a mega-system or main system but likewise of many subsystems simultaneously. A dimension of the process of acquisition is the orchestration of these subsystems in harmony with the larger system and in being able to operate the rules of the subsystem at the same time. One does not learn a subsystem in strict sequence to another subsystem but in tandem. And part of the process of acquisition is success in manipulating one subsystem (and not necessarily a related system, which one may already have mastered by itself) in integration with another subsystem. For example, one can learn subject choice and manifest this by the proper choice of determiners but not go beyond this to the next required step, marking the verb with the proper affix for subject choice, resulting in predicate-subject agreement. The agreement can come subsequently, when the child's brain can handle all three steps (subject choice, determiner marking, subject choice marking in the verb) together, resulting in the desired agreement. An alternate strategy used by the child was to mark the verb with the proper affix but not to mark the accompanying nouns with determiners. One suspects too that initially, all markers are echoic -- learned by means of rote memory through repetition -- with the (unconscious or tacit) analysis and rule observance(s) coming only later. The child will keep using rote memory as a crutch, by itself or in combination with partial analysis, until he is ready to do a complete analysis and to apply all the rules necessary for a structure.

(2) To speak of basic competence by age 3 or thereafter is probably inexact. Rather, individual children have their own schedules of learning, each schedule being both additive and most likely integrative (rule reformulation for economy) and continuing beyond the first thirty-six months of life. Structures for later acquisition are clearly more context-rich and context-restricted (see C. Chomsky's data for English; Galang 1982 for subjectivalization in Pilipino among children beyond three years). I expect that rules for the following are learned during the period after thirty-six months extended even to the school years: manipulation of different subject choices for discourse purposes,

comparative and superlative forms of adjectives (and their propositional structures), more complicated embeddings (multiargumental propositions resulting in nominalization, neun clauses, relativization), other preverbs or modals (necessity, obligation, etc.), more clitics and clitic combinations, derivations of nouns and verbs and restrictions on agglutination, subcategorization of verbs according to their N accompaniments (Fillmore's case arrays') and the types of subjectivalization (as well as their affixal realizations) that subcategories permit, other linear operations and their context restrictions (for example, when to place and when not to place the nasal linker). Hence, we need not only longitudinal research on language acquisition beyond thirty-six months but also some descriptions of strategies used by older children in coping with their language learning problems and the differences, if any, from the strategies used in the first years of life.

- (3) Within subsystems, certain items seem to be learned later than others. -si- as a plural subject marker of mag- verbs, [+completed, +recent] aspect, the prohibitive huwag, the oblique forms of pronouns, the genitive forms of deictics, the instrument and location subject choice markers for verbs -- all these seem to be learned later. The critical reasons for time of learning, however, are not clear: intrinsic complexity (e.g. the multiple agglutination of verbs), high frequency or functional load (e.g. the oblique forms and nan- forms of deictics); low frequency or functional load (e.g. the genitive form of deictics and oblique forms of pronouns, since in a pinch, the child can fall back on the nominative forms and make himself understood; rare inclusion of instrument in narrating an event and therefore the nonnecessity of having to use the instrument as subject; the relative rarity of [+completed, +recent] aspect needing to be mentioned); redundancy (the marking of the plural subject in mag- verbs and in ma- adjectives). Undoubtedly, too, we must look into the type and frequency of social interaction between the adult and child and the kind of adult language the child is exposed to and the functional load of certain forms in adult language as another factor to consider in attempting to explain order of acquisition (see Snow 1972).
- (4) As a strategy of coping with a complicated subsystem or a convergence of several subsystems involving agglutination (e.g. verb-morphology), the child seems to prefer to deal with affixes in this order: suffix, prefix (including reduplication of the first syllables of the root), infix. When ready to deal with more than one affix, the child prefers to deal initially with two prefixes, then a prefix and a suffix, and only later, a combination with an infix. Clearly, infixes are a learning problem of the form of language.
- (5) Complexity, and, presumably, the resulting difficulty of learning, can be either conceptual and/or formal. There is not enough data to tell us conclusively which provides more difficulty and therefore necessitates later acquisition. First of all

other than counting features, which can be arbitrary depending on which feature one considers marked or unmarked, we have no full-proof operational tests for conceptual difficulty (except the negation tests that cognitionists have developed) and hence cannot categorically state, for example, which aspect is conceptually more difficult: potential [-actual], perfective [+actual, +completed], progressive [+actual, -completed] (distinctions which I have treated in terms of two features [+actual], [+completed]). Where a structure is both conceptually and formally complex, the issue is clear-cut; however, we have no means of answering now which is more difficult and therefore later attained: a conceptually simple but complicated form OR a conceptually complicated but simple form? One cannot answer this in isolation since context (including plausibility of the example) can decide the priority of either one over the other.

(6) Already cited in the literature and merely confirmed here is the child's over-regularization (manifested in Pilipino in the use of nominative ikaw instead of ka 'you' in certain contexts) of forms -- revelatory of the child's attainment of a rule and his consistency in applying such a rule. The insight to be gleaned from this phenomenon is that the child must not only learn a rule but learn its context(s) (when to use it) and its exceptions (when not to use it). Moreover, language growth consists of learning not only rules (which for want of context restrictions can be over-generalized) but also sensitivization to the contexts of such rules. 'Low-level' rules, with no semantic import but merely formal consequences (e.g. the change from ikaw to ka and its placement immediately after the verb), and perhaps redundantly marked forms, are learned later since they do not hinder communication even when they are not used. Part of language growth in later years is the learning of such 'cultivated' rules which while resulting in 'correctness' do not necessarily result in better communication.

#### 4. THE LEXICON

- 4.1. Preliminaries
- 4.2. ARG's developing lexicon
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#### 4. THE LEXICAL SYSTEM

#### 4.1. Preliminaries

For purposes of this chapter, which will attempt to trace the development of the lexical system of both subjects, the period of observation will use the end of 3.6 as the upper limit of both (ARG, from 15.5 to 42 months; RRG, from 6 to 42 months) since I have data for both only up to this period (intermittent and less systematic observations on ARG were made until 5.1 but not for RRG). Moreover, the data records are fewer for RRG than for ARG because by the last six months of the period of systematic observation of RRG, only new grammatical data were being recorded; at the time, I had no intention to do a lexical inventory. the lexical inventory for RRG will not be as rich as for ARG because, as was already stated in the preceding chapter, RRG's language was not as rich as ARG's and because the utterances recorded were not as numerous. While systematic data were gathered almost weekly in structured sessions for both, I would also record utterances of ARG outside the structured sessions, in more natural situations, e.g. during meals. My contacts with RRG were not as extensive as with ARG after her third year and hence the data are not as rich during the last six months. This difference should be kept in mind in evaluating the account on RRG, especially during the last six months of observation.

Although I had earlier intended to infer the development of the semantic system of both subjects, I have had to confine myself to a more modest objective, the development of the subjects' lexicons. The reasons which prompted the change of orientation are as follows: It soon became evident from the child's behavior and the contexts of situation that the child's world was quite different from the adult's world and that attempting to speak of his semantic 'system' was overambitious and premature. over, to speak of a semantic system presupposes that one can make a clear separation between syntax and semantics, a position I am presently unwilling to accept. Actually, as the preceding chapter on grammatical development has shown, it is impossible to speak of syntax without also discussing semantics. To speak of a semantic system in this chapter would mean having to needlessly repeat much of the analysis done earlier on propositions, noun roles, verbs, and grammatical subsystems...

It seems to me more useful then to focus on what is most accessible and empirically easier to validate, namely, to describe the growth of vocabulary of the subjects and to infer from the vocables uttered something about the emerging meanings signified by these vocables.

For each subject, the growth of vocabulary will be looked at using two approaches. The children's development was divided, as with the chapter on the sound system, into stages of six months and the new types of formatives recorded for each stage. With such a cumulative inventory, I was able to quantify vocabulary growth

and give an indication of the number of formatives in the active (not recognition) vocabulary of the subjects during the first three and a half years of life. Included in this section will be the subjects' idiolectal lexicons, products of their own creation. The second approach takes subsets of vocabulary items within a certain field (kinship, quantity and number, color) and traces the changes of meaning in the child's world inferrable from these subsets. Both approaches should yield insights into the development of vocabulary among children.

In recording lexical growth for the subjects, the following conventions have been followed: (1) Entries have been recorded as they were uttered by the children, in broad phonetic transcription, and exhibit the reductions and systematic substitutions described in the chapter on the development of the sound system. (2) Because of the instability of the sound system in the early stages of acquisition, variations in the phonetic realizations of many formatives are to be expected; variants are recorded using ~ (3) The adult form is indicated in parentheses ( ) with an English gloss. If there is no entry between parentheses, this means that the child's form is the same as that of the adult's. (4) As the children developed their sound systems, the phonetic realizations of their forms approximated those of adults more and more. Variant forms at later stages are recorded, but if they are entries subsequent to the first, they are transcribed between brackets [ ] and are not counted a second time. (5) Samples of babbling and word play and utterances whose signification was not clear have not been included in the inventories. (6) Only utterances produced (not recognized) have been included. (7) Echoic utterances (repetitions as a result of outside stimuli, purposive or not on the part of adults) and formulaic utterances (the exact meanings of which may not yet be clear to the children) have been included, since it was impossible to infer consistently whether or not the children knew the meanings of what they were uttering or whether or not their meanings were the same as those of adults. In the glosses, meanings are adult meanings unless indicated otherwise. (8) Loanwords and formulae (e.g. greetings) from English and Spanish have been included, as they are part of Pilipino, but sentence-length utterances from songs and advertisements have not been included. (9) Expletives have been included. (10) Names of people, places and products, including different names for the same person, and titles have been included as constituting part of the lexical inventory of a language, especially a first language. (11) Only roots for content words (verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs) have been included. Functors as members of closed sets (pronouns, deictics, determiners, pro-locatives, similaritives, clitics, negatives, modals, tags) have been included in all case realizations (nominative, genitive, oblique [for pronouns, deictics, and determiners]). (13) Affixes (prefixes, infixes, suffixes) as well as morphological processes (m to n shift for aspect marking, reduplications to signal different meanings) are counted once; in cases where there are clear hemonyms (e.g. na- 'verbalizer' and ma: 'accidentivizer'), they are counted as more than one. (14) Derivational processes without

overt phonetic differences (e.g. a root used as a noun and a verb with no overt affix or even accentual shift -- neither subject at 3.6 used accent as a derivational marker) have not been counted, as it would have been impossible to count Ø consistently. wiwi was used both as a noun 'urine' and as a verb 'to urinate' The root was counted only once, as a verb. (15) If the nominal or verbal nature of a root was not clear, its categorization in the inventory was based on its initial use, as either a verb or a noun. For example, it was not clear to me whether papaq 'food/ to eat (baby talk)' was an intrinsic verb or a noun. In such a case, I classified it based on the child's initial use of it as a noun or as a verb. (16) An item such as úwan (larúan from laróq) 'to play' + -an 'instrument marker') was obviously learned as a composite. When the child finally learned laroq, it was not counted as a noun item. (17) Unless an affix is productive by being used in combination with other roots, it is not counted separately but as part of unitary items (roots and affixes and synthetic sequences no longer decomposable synchronically). For example, kaibigan 'friend' was counted as one unit; etymologically, it can be broken down into fbig 'to love' and ka-..-an2, a concrete nominalizer different from ka-...-an, an abstract nominalizer. Since the former is no longer in productive use, I did not include it and I counted the composite as one lexical entry. (18) Adverbs were counted as unitary items since there were no productive processes for adverbs except intensification (which was counted separately). (19) Idiolectal lexical items for which I am not sure of the meanings have not been included.

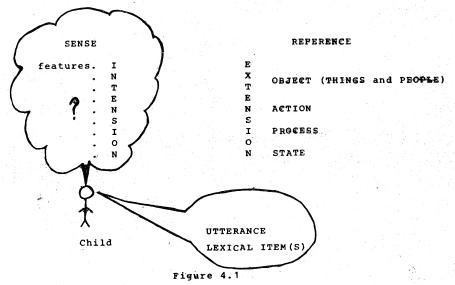
The inventories, consisting of roots, free functors, and bound morphs (affixes) are listed without indication of the productivity. Thus, when one states that a child has so many items in his lexicon at the end of a certain six-month period, such a number would be a gross understatement since it does not expressly compute the combinatorial possibilities of the roots and affixes. Undoubtedly, part of the process of lexical development in later years will be learning the constraints of these combinatorial possibilities.

Approximation of adult vocabulary (symbolizations and meanings) pertains to conventional language. On his own, and independently of adults, the child can create his private or idiolectal lexicon -- his own words for his own meanings -- and hang on to elements of this private language for some years. In the case of documented twins' secret language, it would seem that two interlocutors are enough to conventionalize signals for a language community of two to create a world of their own!

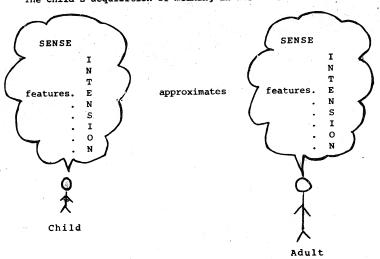
In accounting for the growth of meaning inferrable from lexical subsets within a semantic field, I have used a simple model since a more elaborate one would be difficult to verify, given the paucity of evidence and the difficulty of any kind of formal elicitation and/or testing because of the child's limited memory, attention span, and unstable mastery of the myriad subsystems of the language. As a matter of fact, with ARG, the

least satisfactory sessions were those where I attempted structured elicitation. Confusion was evident by the third question. In fact, ARG actually complained, Natátákot akổ sa iyổ 'I am afraid of you', after some unsuccessful testing of his mastery of meaning of a small subset of lexical items. Most revealing were nonthreatening spontaneous uses of the language where the child was unaware that anyone was noticing his language or his knowledge of language and the world. By the time I began systematic observation of RRG's utterances, attempts at testing were no longer made.

Hence, I have confined myself to a straightforward and even perhaps simplistic view of the growth of meaning as the one most suitable to and justified by the data on hand:



The child's acquisition of meaning in his content lexicon



EXPANDED WORLD OF REFERENCES AND EXPENSIONS

Figure 4.2

The above model, to be assumed as a working model in accounting for the subsets to be discussed for each child, applies to contentives (content words: roots of verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs) rather than to functors. In the chapter on the development of the grammatical system, a version of feature analysis was used to discuss propositions and the closed subsets of functors. Both the categories of the proposition and the functors lend themselves to at least a weak form of the innateness hypothesis in the minds of some. Whether or not one accepts even a weak version of the innateness hypothesis, the rapidity of acquiring rather abstract categories and features in the main grammatical classes and functors is something one must account for. For the contentives, however, one is on defensible ground in demanding empirical foundations.

The child is situated in a world of referents which are tangible: persons, objects, places, events (actions and processes) and qualities (states). Adults give names to these referents. With adult stimuli (purposive when an adult consciously tries to teach the child a word or nonpurposive when an adult speaks in the presence of a child without any conscious attempt to teach him language), the child associates word (vocable) or phonic sequence with referent. It takes time for the association to be fixed (for example, there was a time when RRG was calling one of her siblings the wrong name). As long as one accepts the reality of concepts and mental constructs as the cognitionists do, one will also hypothesize that in the brain of the child, not only mental and acoustic images of the referent are associated but also features of the referent giving intensional meaning to the phonic name. In this area, the child's intensional meanings are not always those of an adult; in fact, based on the data, the child has meanings or sets of features attached to utterances which focus on dimensions of reality which do not quite coincide with the adult's (see Brown 1973:5 on the problem of 'isolating the defining properties of referents'). The evidence for this is indirect -- subsequent comments or questions made by the child manifest different expectations and presuppositions (and therefore different intensional meanings), for example, in subsets of lexicon having to do with action, time, kinship. differences are also noted when the child uses certain lexical items to refer to objects for which the adult does not normally use the same word -- hence, their extensional meanings are different.

In the beginning stages, for abstract subsets (such as numbers and quantity words) and for subsets for gradient distinctions (such as colors), one surmises that the child's utterances are purely echoic -- a knowledge of phonic sequences with no sense and no reference. Even when sense is gradually acquired, the sense is not quite the same as the adult's in terms of delicacy of distinctions -- the child seems to start with global distinctions, then gradually makes these distinctions more subtle.

Lexical growth then is not only an expansion of the inventory

of phonic sequences but also more importantly a growing approximation of intensional meaning (by means of feature specifications and combinations) to that of the adult's; the result is also a closer approximation of extensional meanings to those that of the adult's. In simple terms, the child learns to apply the same word or name to the same extension or set of objects that the adult does. What is interesting is that the child (like any learner of a new language) often knows the signifiant or signal or symbolization -- a word -- before he knows the full semantic specification of the significer meaning, only later completes the matrix of specifications attachable to a particular phonic sequence.

## 4.2. ARG's developing lexicon

## 4.2.1. Stages in vocabulary growth

Tables 1.A to 1.E (Appendix) summarize the stages of vocabulary growth for ARG (the entries are listed in alphabetic order using the Tagalog alphabet); vocabulary items used by adults to talk to children are annotated as (baby talk) by adults; special vocabulary items created by the child are annotated as (idiolectal); glosses are adult glosses; the forms of certain items show variants within one period and across periods. If an items is repeated in a subsequent period in a variant form, it is enclosed in brackets and is not counted a second time.

From the tables, keeping in mind that there were intrinsic problems regarding an exact count and taking the numbers as indicative rather than being exact figures and claiming no more than what can be claimed from a case study, the following observations may be made with regard to the growth of the lexicon in the child (ARG):

As Table 4.1 suggests, there was a cumulation of lexical items as the child developed, with the vocabulary items trebling at the end of 2.0 (compared to that at the end of 1.6). The two peak periods were those ending at 2.0 and 2.6, then a slower growth during the periods ending at 3.0 and 3.6 but still greater than the period ending at 1.6. At the end of forty-two months (3.6), the child showed a productive lexicon of over one thousand items consisting of approximately 899 free contentive forms (roots) and 53 bound forms (affixes) or morphological processes and 111 free functors. The combinatorial possiblities can not be computed, but even with co-occurrence restrictions, the possibilities of combinations are legion, giving the child a repertoire that is formidable indeed. During each period, nouns (including names and titles) outnumber verbs (action, processes, states [adjectives]) (an average ratio of 1.6:1). Stages from 1.7 - 2.0 and from 2.1 -2.6 seemed to be the period for acquiring verbal affixes, and the period 2.1 - 2.6 the time for acquiring a large number of other The periods 1.7 - 2.0 affixes and morphological processes (21/53). and 2.1 - 2.6 were the periods for the rapid acquisition of functors

	1.6	2.0	2.6	3.0	3.6
1. Free Forms					
1.1 Contentives					
Nouns, Names, Titles	79	128	127	98	95
Verbs, Adjectives	43	78	96	٠59	54
Adverbs (whole words)	0	5	8	6	1
Numbers	0	20	0	1	1
1.2 Functors					
Pronouns	1	8	8	1	2
Deictics, Pro-Locatives, Similariti	ves 4	5	6	2	. 1
Determiners	0	3	4	0	0
Clitics	0	8	2	2	3
Linker	0	1	1	0	0
Negatives, Modals, Existential	1	4	3	1 :	0
Greetings, Expletives, Tags	1	8	9	6	1
Connectors, Sentential Adverbs, Sequence Markers	0	2	5	4	4
2. Bound Forms			1		
Noun Affixes	0	0	4	. 2	8
Verb Affixes	0	7	/ 10	7	2
Adjective Affixes (incl. morphological processes)	1	0	6	0	0
Adverbial Affixes (incl. morphological processes)	0	0	1	3	2
TOTAL	130	277	290	192	174
CUMULATIVE TOTAL		407	697	889	1063

Table 4.1

Summary of ARG's lexical growth

(members of closed.sets), 39/111 (for the period ending at 2.0) and 38/111 (for the period ending at 2.6).

The domains of the lexical items are expectedly similar to those of Leopold (1939): names, persons, animals, food, realia (in the house), color, quantity, numbers, relations, activities (mostly at home), body parts and body functions.

The development of vocabulary may be profitably depicted by the following bar graph (Figure 4.3):

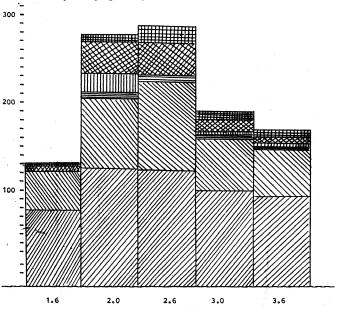


Figure 4.3
Development of ARG's Lexicon

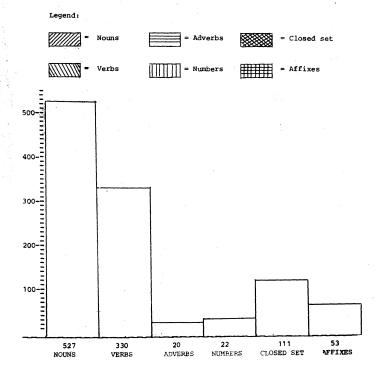


Figure 4.4
ARG's cumulated lexicon at 3.6

#### 4.2.2. Idielectal lexicon

An interesting feature of ARC's lexical development was his invention of certain lexical items which had their own phonological sequences and private meanings apart from the language of the community that he was joining.

These items, which were not part of adult baby talk, were his own creations. In these sentences, it was not he who had to conform to the adult's code but the adult who had to conform to his code to communicate with him.

Every society has an inventory of lexical items which fall under the general rubric of 'baby talk', not child's talk but adult's talk to babies. For the most part, such talk consists of a repertoire of lexical items (rather than grammar), syllable-repetitive in character, mostly for physical necessities and body functions. It is adult-created and taught to the child. In Pilipino, such baby-talk, included in the inventory, consisted of the following:

```
'to suck, by extension, a feeding bottle'
déde
pápag
          'to eat, by extension, food'
mémė
          'to sleep'
wſwi
          'to urinate, by extension, urine'
úц
          'to defecate, by extension, feces'
pápo
          'God, religious statue'
máma)
          'mother'
mamii
pápa)
          'father'
dadi
1610
          'grandfather'
161a
          'grandmether'
          (from Spanish) 'uncle'
tito
          (from Spanish) 'auntie'
tita
tigidig 'horse'
          'male genitals'
téktek
pékpek
          'female genitals'
tíktók
          'clock'
```

While learning the above, ARG went beyond baby-talk to ARG-talk of his own creation. Table 4.2 lists the items of such 'idiolectal talk' in the inventory:

PERIOD	LEXICAL ENTRY	GLOSS	
1.6-2.6	bútit ~ bátit, (eventually) bátit	'pen, pencil, ball-point pen, any elongated object, (gradually) pen'	
1.11	pájat ~ bújat ~ bájat	'to put on one's socks(?), to go out(?)'	
2.3	tatyábe ~ tayábeq ~ yábeq ~ dabí ~ dábi natayábeq	noun (?) verb (process) (?)	
2.3	mákinawáq ~ mákinawó:n ~ makinaó:n (cf. mákináhan) pyót ~ tyót ~ pyót <sup>h</sup> tíbiyen ~ atitíbiyen	'a place where machines are kept, adult mākināhan (?)'  (?)  'associated with tindāhan (store)'	
2.4	tékyén wámbat pítert ~ píttert nakaandéto	(?) (?) (?) 'wearing something (of Santa Claus )'	
2.4-2.9	čéukeud mémot ~ čekeu :-	'toy moonship, a vehicle'	
2.7	čánaná	'plastic guitar'	
2.9-3.9	tódi nakatódi	'helmet' 'wearing a helmet'	
2.11-3.9	napiyót ~ napítot	'to be crushed or flattened, to disappear as a result of being flattened'	
3.4	paŋót (cf. páŋit)	'ugly'	
3.5	madágos	'having something cut (?)'	

# Table 4.2 ARG's idiolectal lexicon

The difficulty in describing the child's idiolectal lexicon was that the context or even direct questioning (when the child was old enough) often failed to yield an unequivocal meaning.

<u>bátit</u> ~ <u>bútit</u> ~ <u>bútit</u>, eventually just <u>bátit</u>, was relatively easy; initially at 1.6, ARG used it when asking for a pen (including a ball-point pen) or when pointing to a pencil, although during the same month, he also learned <u>ápit</u> (adult <u>lápis</u>, from Spanish)

for pencil. Although he used apiq for 'pencil', he continued using batit ~ batiq also for pencil, and at 1.8, also learned  $\underline{bogpin} \sim \underline{bupen}$  'ball pen'. I got the impression, based on his behavior, that at 1.10, he used batit for any elongated object, for pens, pencils, ball-point pens, and even an elongated plastic rod (until he was corrected and called this object patik 'plastic') Eventually, after this period, it seems that the use of the terms became specialized: boypen ~ bupen ~ boypin for ball-point pen, apit for pencil, and batit ~ butit for pen or pencil. The last instance of batit ~ butit occurred at 2.6. Even at 2.1, he referred to a gelatin box as boypen, perhaps because the box resembled the same kind of box from which ball-point pens are sold. The association between lexical item and object is fixed, but what is not certain is which dimension of the object is critical for the use of the lexical item. It could very well be that this critical focus shifts during the period of acquisition until it stabilizes into a semi-permanent dimension. The point is that batit seemed to be a cover term for pencils (including apit) and pens, a superordinate, side-by-side with the more specific boypen (Figure 4.5).

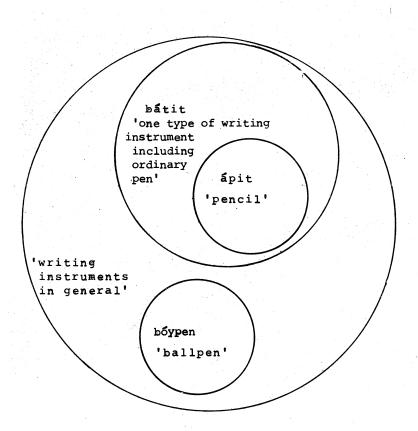


Figure 4.5

However, the period of complete separation between (d) apit 'pencil' and batit ~ butit 'pen' never did occur. The latter was dropped before it became exclusively used to refer to 'pens' (and not 'pencils').

Long-lasting in this idiolectal lexicon, that is, before it became dormant, were tódi, 'a helmet', of the kind one associates with racing car drivers, which the child distinguished not only from other kinds of headgear (kupyá [3.4] 'cap', tumbelélo [3.4] 'wide-brimmed hat', but even a soldier's helmet, hámet ~ hémet \* hémet [2.9]) and piyót ~ pitot 'to be flattened' (said of a music disc, a cart collapsing). As late as 3.9, when a ball-point penpoint receded (when not in use), the child described it as napipiyót, when means then 'to disappear from view because flattened (in this case, receded)'.

The 'life-cycle' of the other items was very short.

wambat, tekyen, pitert ~ pittert were said in succession when confused about my question on color. For pajat, tayabeq, pyot (unless this was the same word in mind as in napiyot), tibiyen, the context did not make clear the possible meanings except that when asked

Anó an [tíbiyen]? Ha? 'What's [tíbiyen]?'
the child said:

...ta tindahan...ta tindahan. 'At the store'

meaning that it might have been something bought or done in a store, since the previous question was:

Anó an ginágawá mo nayón? 'What are you doing now' to which he answered:

yốn yốn yốn tibiyen 'Yonder...yonder yonder ?

For makinawo:n, I suspect the child was searching for the locative -an, makinahan 'a place where machines are repaired or stored' since he accepted my suggestion of this word. pagot, applied to a witch, is definitely linked to pagit 'ugly; madagos is probably linked to adult madusig ~ marusig (Kapampangan) meaning 'dirty' or matagos 'sharp (said of a nose), since a witch has a sharp nose. I asked him what this meant (said of his sister), he said:

Ganón an madanos...ganón...nakapútol

Walág...walá (a)kon sinábe.

'He who is madanos is like that (yonder)...like that (yonder)...wearing something cut.

Nothing ... I said nothing!

I interpret this as probably having used the wrong word -- it seems he wanted to take the word back.

<u>čánaná</u> 'plastic guitar' was associated with the words of a song sung to the tune of a guitar (something he probably saw on TV), and <u>čélkeld</u> for a toy moonship was an original creation which he used again five months later (2.0) as <u>čékel</u>, again for some kind of space vehicle. At 2.4 he described Santa Claus (in a department store) as <u>nakaandéto</u> 'wearing something' but what exactly in Santa Claus' costume was associated with <u>andéto</u> was not clear.

# 4.2.3. Private meanings for public words

Likewise interesting, because more subtle, were the child's use of deceptively familiar words but with his own meanings associated with these words. Table 4.3 lists these words.

What the list on Table 4.3 dramatizes is that the child's construction of reality is not that of an adult. While communication seems to be taking place, what the child's words extend to may not be the same as those of an adult; a dimension or feature being focused on by a child may not be the same as that being focused on by an adult. Given these often subtle differences in meaning, manifested only through close and systematic observation, it is a wonder that communication does take place at all. Undoubtedly, contextual clues, the redundancy of language, and sameness of objects/persons referred to (though sometimes not the critical features in focus) make up for this difference in mental worlds. The growing likeness between the adult's and child's mental worlds undoubtedly takes place over a long period and constitutes the process of acculturation and education into the society.

Quite clearly, the child had problems distinguishing pairs of motion verbs having opposite directions (<a href="mailto:babaq-akiyat">babaq-akiyat</a> 'to come down-to go up', <a href="mailto:buksan-isara">buksan-isara</a> 'to open-to close') and related pairs of elimination verbs such as <a href="mailto:magwiwi-tumae">magwiwi-tumae</a> 'to urinate-to defecate'. The confusion was short-lived in the case of the physical elimination verbs, three months with regard to motion verbs (up-down) but persisted up to 3.4 for the open-close verb pair.

More often, the child focused on one aspect of an activity or situation differently from an adult; thus in a toy car whose door could not be opened (it was painted on its metal surface), the child thought of it as 'being locked', a transference of meaning from cause (a key locks a door) to a state (of being closed and of not being open-able). The same transference seems to take place when pakpakin is used by the child not only to remove feathers but the wings themselves or to refer to 'eyes' as talamin (salamin) 'eyeglasses', not differentiating between the two. The process of itching kati is transferred to the action of scratching, a not unreasonable leap. Pampunat is transferred from an instrument for wiping to surface to be wiped. Similarly, smelling his hands (wet with saliva), he used, amúy punpún ('smell of Popong' transferring his smell to saliva smell.

PERIOD	LEXICAL ITEM	ARG's inferred gloss	Adult gloss
1.7-1.10	bốmba	'any form of baring of the male or female torso'	'bomb; scenes in local movies with some form of nudity'
1.10	etáto (retráto)	'any likeness on any surface including photograph, picture, or likeness in a mirror'	'picture, photograph'
1.6-1.9	babáq ,	'to move up OR down (e.g. to be lifted onto a bed)'	'to come down'
	akiyát	'to go down'	'to go up'
1.10	itaás	'to lift onto something'	taas is used as an adjective; when a verb, it means 'to make something high/tall'
1.10-2.3	bigan (kaibigan)	'to go to the side (verb)'	'friend (noum)'
2.6	bigan (kaibigan)	'to play with someone (verb)'	`
1.11	kuyôg (kulôg)	'to make the earth quake'	'to make the noise of thunder'
1.8-1.11	buttán (buksán)	'to close (e.g. a pen with a cap)(?) or to open/close something(?)'	'to open'
1.11,	dikit ~ dikét	'to be sandwiched between (e.g. two pillows)	'to stick on, to attach to'
3.4	dikit	'to be stuck in a hole (e.g. pencil), to stretch tight (e.g. crumpled paper)'	
1.12-2.1	batúbo~baytúbo ~ báhaykúbo (báhay kúbo)	'house'	small hut made of nipa'
1.12	papoq (baby talk)	church building, religious statues of all kinds'	God, religious statue representing God'
1.12	búwan (buwán)	'any round light'	'moon'
	wayá (walá na)	'It is crossed out'	There is no more'
2.3	napwét	'to fall on one's bottom'	only pwet 'back side' exists]
	wimin (swimin)	'to float (e.g. pencil in tea)'	'to swim'
	pēla	'money, bank (?)'	'money'
	púngan	'Popong-like (in smell)'	'nickname for Popong'
2.3	patiyát (pasiyás, Kapampangan)	'hard object (e.g. turron, a sweet)'	'instrument used to harden (solidify) a liquid'
	pampúnat (pampúnas)	' a surface to be wiped'	an instrument for wiping'
2.4	nakatúteg (nakasúseg)	'cannot be opened'	'locked'
2.6	mag-wiwi	'to perform any elimination'	'to urinate'
	magtáe (tumáe)	'to urinate(?)'	'to defecate'
2.7	báwat (báwas)	'to wipe water away using a sponge'	'to reduce'
2.11	payigúan (paligúan)	'to clean, wash (of a jeep)'	'to give a bath te'
3.2	katí	'to scratch'	'to itch'
	pakpakin	'to remove a bird's wings'	'to remove feathers from a bird'
3.3	lumápis	'to make the noise of a scratch- ing pencil'	(The verb form does not exist.)
3.4	birhen	'any statue, male or female, of any size'	'Virgin Mary's statue'
	bflog	'halo of a saint'	'round figure'
	sará	'to open(?) or to open/close a door'	'to close'
	talamén .	'eyes'	'eye-glasses'
	kamāy	'feet of an animal; fingers'	'hand'
	ib <b>é</b> ybi	"to treat (me) like a baby'	(The verb form does not exist.)
3.6	aginárdo	'coin-purse'	'Christmas gift'

Obviously, ARG's idea of aginardo (aginaldo) 'Christmas gift' is different from an adult's -- it is more concrete, specific, and particular, the coin-purse he received at Christmas was an aginardo (aginaldo); he was under the impression that the general term was a specific one for a particular object. A narrowing of focus seemed to obtain, too, with pasivat (pasivas, Kapampangan) now used to name a form of hard candy (turron), instead of referring to any hardener.

On the other hand, he could be just as free in extending the meaning of a word to new uses based on rather subtle perceived similarities: dikit 'to stick on, to attach to' was used to describe himself sandwiched or stuck between two pillows, to describe a pencil which he could not pull out because it was stuck in a hole, and by further extension, to flattening out a piece of crumpled paper (to the point where its surface touched the surface of the table, 'sticking' to it); buwan for adult 'moon' was not just for the moon but for any round light; bilog was not just a geometric circle but any roundish object including the halo around a religious statue's head; wimin (swimin) was not just for a human being floating on water but any object floating on liquid; birhen was not just for the Virgin's statue but any religious statue, female or male, adult or child; kamáy 'adult hand' was used for the feet of animals and for the fingers. ARG extended etato (retrato) not only to a picture or a photograph but also to a likeness in a mirror, for after all, in the child's mind, what is critical is 'likeness' and not the surface on which the likeness is found; bawat (bawas) was extended not only to reducing the amount from a container but to reducing water on a surface by wiping it with a sponge. One can give a bath not only to a child but to a jeep to keep it from stinking, thus, paliguan. pela (pera) was extended not only to money but to banks (or was it merely associational, of part to whole?).

It would seem that the child learned the possibilities of derivation quite early (though not their adult constraints, often arbitrary), so that the child made <u>bigan</u> (<u>kaibigan</u>) 'friend', a noun, into a verb -- initially, to move together to the side to make way for someone passing through, subsequently to go aside from a crowd and play with someone; <u>pwét</u> 'backside' became a verb, <u>mapwét</u>, when one falls on one's bottom; <u>lumápis</u> was made into a verb from <u>lápis</u> 'pencil' and was used to refer to the noise of a scratching pencil; <u>béybi</u> was made into a beneficiary verb <u>ibéybi</u> 'to treat someone with care'. Not listed on the table was the use of <u>dí-lamán</u> for <u>walán</u> <u>lamán</u> 'no content' to refer to an empty container, here a case of selectional restriction different from an adult's.

In a few cases, the child used a totally wrong word, kulóg for 'earthquake' instead of ayón; báhay kúbo for 'house' instead of a 'nipa hut', thus making it quite obvious that the word-compound was not analyzed into its components but was treated as one, since kúbo means 'nipa hut'.

Most interesting on this list was bompa '(literally) a bomb, (figuratively) forms of nudity on the screen' which the child undoubtedly picked up from Pilipino movies on TV and the descriptions of adults. For ARG, however, the word extended to the act of urinating, a woman dancing, two dancers on TV with bare midriffs, a man in swimming trunks, a girl dressed in a bikini, act of removing his own clothes (when he felt warm), a statue of the Infant Jesus dressed in a loin cloth on the arm of Saint Anthony, his state of complete nudity (holding his penis) before taking a bath, a picture of a black woman lying in bed (was a part of the torso exposed?). For example, when asked, 'alin an bomba?' ('Which one is the bomba?'), he pointed to a woman in a bikini and a man in swimming trunks (1.10). What all these had in common, it seems to me, was not total or partial nudity (as in the adult meaning) but any kind of baring of a part of the body (usually the torso) that would usually be covered. Even more remarkable was the association of bomba (literally, 'bomb'), to putok 'the noise of a gunshot or cannon', which the child also associated with the pictures earlier described. I can only surmise that he associated both bomba 'bomb' and putok 'noise of a shot' but probably did not know their literal meaning and applied (extended) both to his meaning, 'baring a part of the torso' -- his own primary meaning having no relation to the adult's primary literal meaning and having only a partial relation to the adult's figurative meaning.

The child's <u>idiolectal</u> meanings using <u>dialectal</u> forms must then be studied carefully to make sure both interlocutors share at least common meanings and have points of reference in common, if not the full extension, at least part of the extension. Otherwise, child and adult will be speaking of two different realities using the same symbolizations or signs (signifiants)

#### 4.2.4. Three semantic fields

To further analyze the growth of meaning in the lexicon, this section will focus on three semantic fields and their development across time to see if they can yield insights into the development of meaning: kinship, quantity and number, and colors. In dealing with these subsets, I assume the validity of using semantic features (see E. Clark 1973) for the analysis of meaning.

#### 4.2.4.1. Kinship

In considering lexical items having to do with kinship, I distinguish between names (proper or common nouns) and relational titles.

Quite early in his life, the child could recognize individuals and name them. In fact, at 1.6, ARG could identify his brother, cousins, uncle and aunt in a family photo and to name each one.

What was initially puzzling to me was the identification of real people with printed pictures (not photographs) and the designation of the latter by the names of actual people in the household. Initially, I was under the impression that all male pictures were <u>dadi</u> and all female pictures were <u>mami</u>. This was not so:

not so:		•
NAMES AND TITLES	APPLICATIONS	CRITICAL FEATURE(S) FOR USE OTHER THAN FOR REAL PERSON
bí:da~bé:da~béda~béda~ bída~bída:~kóya béda (kúya is a title for 'elder brothe: and is probably formulaic in this case, an echo of others who called his father this title)	(1.6) magazine picture of a man c' (1.6) his father (1.12) new toy (male doll)	[+male ] [+adult] [+resemblance to Beda]
piyáy áti piyá áti piyáy (atí is a title for 'elder sister' and is probably formulaic in this case, an echo of others who called his mother this title )	<pre>(1.7) his mother (2.7) his mother (2.8) his mother</pre>	[+male ] [+adult] [+resemblance to Pilar]
óda ( <b>šó</b> da)	(1.6) magazine picture	[-male ]
	of a teen-age girl (1.6) his female cousin	<pre>[+young] [+resemblance to Shoda]</pre>
dúdi~kúyaŋ údi `	<ul> <li>(1.7) driver at home</li> <li>(1.7) magazine picture of a man</li> <li>(1.12) magazine picture of a man playing golf with a woman</li> </ul>	<pre>[+male ] [+adult] [+resemblance to Rudy]</pre>
tútan (súsan)	<ul> <li>(2.3) his nursemaid</li> <li>(2.3) magazine picture of a woman</li> <li>(2.3) magazine picture of a woman on TV screen</li> </ul>	[-male ] [+adult] [+resemblance to Susan]
émen (klémen)	<ul><li>(1.6) his sister</li><li>(2.4) magazine picture</li><li>of a small girl</li></ul>	<pre>[-male ] [+small] [+resemblance to his     sister]</pre>
yóyo ándoq (1610 ándoq)	(1.10) newspaper picture of President Roxas	<pre>[+male ] [+adult] [+old ] [+resemblance to Grand-     uncle Fernando]</pre>

Table 4.4

The evidence indicates that recognition and naming of real people (in person or in photos) came early and in pictures, sex difference (most likely from dress) and relative age (most likely from facial features) also came very early. However, the linkage of pictures of males and females, young and old, in magazines, newspapers, cartoons and on TV, with people in the household and family circle seems to be due to some perceived feature common to the real people and the picture. Since both dudi and beda are [+male] and of the same age, identification of one with one picture and of the other with other pictures can be due only to perceived likeness between actual person and picture -- what this dimension of likeness was is not clear. One incident stands clear, however, perhaps indicative of the way the associations were made. The child said mami on seeing a magazine with a picture of a woman lying in bed, with white sheets (an advertisement). few days earlier, his mother had been sick in bed. In his egocentric world, the picture in the magazine reminded him of his mother sick in bed.

Early in life too the child gets used to naming people by more than one name, seemingly without difficulty: dádi and béda for his father, mami and piyay for his mother, tutan and nanay for his nursemaid. By 2.7, when looking at magazines, the child was less ready to identify magazine pictures with people whom he knew and he asked 'Tino ba ito?' ('Who's this?') although a month later (2.8), he again identified cartoons with his mother and father.

While the child early in life used kinship terms, his application of these terms to actual persons (their extension) did not always conform to that of the adult's and the internal meanings (intension) attached to these terms took time to approximate those of adults. Table 4.5 lists some of these terms, their extensional and inferred intensional meanings. I have added markey 'man' at the end of the list to provide a contrast to the kinship terms and to infer the modus operandi on the part of the child when applying these terms:

KINSHIP TERMS

EXTENSIONAL MEANINGS

INTENSIONAL MEANINGS

dá:di~dáde (dádi) 'father'

(1.6) magazine picture of a cowboy

+male [+adult]

(1.6) his father

+close

(1.7) magazine picture of a man

[ +having children]

- (2.6) his father (uses name of father)
- (2.6) character in a story he was telling
- (2.8) his father (uses name)
- (2.8) male figure in a cartoon

mámi\_mámmi\_máma\_ámi (mámi) 'mother'

(1.6) his mother

(1.6) magazine picture of a woman

-male | +adult | +close

(1.7) magazine picture of a woman

[ +having children ]

Table 4.5

ARG's kinship terms

KINSHIP TERMS	EXTENSIONAL MEANINGS	INTENSIONAL MEANINGS
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	(1.8) magazine picture of a woman; later called báyi 'woman'	
	(2.6) his mother (uses name)	
	(1.9) magazine pictures of a woman lying sick in bed	
	(1.7) statue of a woman	
	(2.8) figure of a woman in a cartoon	
yốyo (1610) 'grandfather'	(1.8) picture of Quaker in a Quaker oats can	<pre>[+male ] [+adult] [+old ]</pre>
yбya (161a)	(1.11) his grandmother	[-male ]
'grandmother'	(father's side)	[+adult]
	<pre>(3.2) his grandmother   (uses name)</pre>	[+old ]
kúyaŋ~kóyaŋ~kóya (kúya)	(1.6) his oldest brother	[+male ]
'elder brother'	(1.7) eldest brother	[+taller than ARG]
	<pre>(1.7) magazine picture of a teen-age boy</pre>	<pre>[±adult] [+close]</pre>
	(1.8) magazine picture of a young man	
	(2.1) his father	
	(2.1) his eldest brother	
	(2.3) the driver	•
	(2.3) his eldest brother	
ấti 'elder sister'	used with mother's name	<pre>[-male ] [+adult] (probably learned as a formula with the name of his</pre>
	en e	mother)
títo 'uncle'	(1.6) his uncle	[+male] [+adult] [+close] [+having children] [-living in the same
		house]
tita 'aunt'	(1.6) his uncle's wife; his aunt	<pre>[-male ] [+adult] [+close] [+having children] [-living in the same    house]</pre>

Table 4.5

ARG's kinship terms

KINSHIP TERMS	EXTENSIONAL MEANINGS	INTENSIONAL MEANING
ninoງ 'godfather'	(1.6) his godfather (an uncle) (1.10) newspaper picture of an Indonesian	<pre>[-male ] [+adult] [+close] [-having children] [-living in the same house ]</pre>
kapatíd 'brother, sister'	<ul> <li>(2.6) elder brother (next to him)</li> <li>(2.6) younger sister</li> <li>(2.6) his nursemaid</li> <li>(2.8) his siblings (uses names) and himself (not his nursemaid)</li> <li>(3.2) his male cousin</li> </ul>	<pre>[tmale ] [tolder] [+close]</pre>
atáwa (asáwa) 'spouse'	<pre>(2.11) aunt: wife of his     uncle (Melo) (2.11) female cousin     (daughter of     above) (3.11) woman in a couple's     picture</pre>	<pre>[-male ] [+old or older] [+habitually member of    a pair, male-female]</pre>
mag-asáwa (couple)	(4.2) picture of a pair kissing each other	<pre>[±male ] [+adults] [+affectionate]</pre>
nấnay	<ul><li>(1.7) his nursemaid (yaya)</li><li>(1.7) magazine picture of a woman</li><li>(1.9) magazine picture of a woman in white</li></ul>	<pre>[-male ] [+adult] [+close] [+caretaker]</pre>
mámaq	<ul> <li>(1.6) real man walking on a street</li> <li>(1.6) magazine picture of a circus clown</li> <li>(1.7) magazine picture of a man</li> </ul>	<pre>[+male ] [+adult] [+unknown to me]</pre>

Table 4.5

# ARG's Kinship Terms

The intensional meanings are merely inferred and are hypothesized to accumulate over time; as in the case of atawa (asawa) 'spouse' and mag-asawa 'couple' on Table 4.5, there is obviously a development.

In the extensional meanings, when I write 'uses name', I mean that under direct questioning, ARG explicitly stated the name of the person as his \_\_\_\_\_ (kinship term).

I suspect that in the case of the terms for elder sibling <a href="kuya">kuya</a> and <a href="ati">ati</a>, the child knew them as mere titles or names without their meaning, or the meaning would consist at most of gender (±male) and relative size (+taller than me) or (±adult), applying them not only to his siblings but also to his parents and thus showing no concept of sequence of birth.

The only terms for which I have clues, as a result of direct questioning, are the following: (1) <u>dádi</u> as contrasted with <u>nínon</u> since the child asked at 3.4:

nagígin dádi...nagígin nínon...

'becoming daddy, becoming godfather'

hindí na ikáw magígin nínon pagká nagín dádi ka<sup>†</sup>

'You won't be becoming (a) godfather if you have become (a) daddy?

which would seem to indicate that ARG associated having children with <u>dádi</u> and having no children with <u>nínoj</u>. One suspects that at this time, the child had no idea of where children came from and conceived of a feature such as [+having children] in overt terms such as living in the same house and having children call someone <u>dádi</u> or <u>mámi</u>. (2) <u>atáwa</u> (<u>asáwa</u>) 'spouse'. Again under questioning, he was asked who his Auntie Leonie was, and he replied, 'Atawa ni Títo Méyo' ('spouse of Uncle Meló') but in the same month, some days later, when he was asked who the spouse of his uncle was, he replied <u>Mónina</u>, his cousin and his uncle's daughter. A year later (3.11), seeing the picture of a couple, he pointed to the woman and said, 'Asawa nitó itó é' ('This one is the spouse of this one, you see') and when asked why, he replied 'matandág kasi...' ('because she is old') with no idea of partnership. At 2.11, the second feature was [+old].

At 4.2, he used mag-asawa 'couple' spontaneously in reference to a picture of a couple kissing and when queried, 'Bakit nagkfkis sila?' ('Why are they kissing?'), he replied: 'Kasi, sila mag-asawa' ('because they are married [a couple]'). At this point, the feature [+affectionate] had been added to the intensional meaning of mag-asawa, this feature being made overt in the act of kissing.

kapatid at 2.6, under querying, was correctly applied to his siblings (he included himself at 2.8) but it seemed any idea of generational commonality had not yet come up but only [+close], since he considered his nursemaid as also kapatid and at 3.2, his first cousin.

Where a kinship term is applied to a picture, then the same manner of association (as with names in Table 4.3) took place -- the child saw some physical resemblance between the person to whom he usually attached the kinship term (e.g. nino) 'godfather') and the picture (in this case, a newspaper picture of an Indonesian diplomat) perhaps because he saw common features between the two (in this case, a round face and eyeglasses).

Based on the evidence in this section, one is led to state that kinship in the adult's socially constructed world is quite different from the child's -- one suspects that an approximation to the adult's concepts takes place only when the child learns about biological generation. The features critical for the child's subset of kinship terms at this stage of his life seemed to be such easily perceivable physical features or aspects as gender (male or female, from conventional dress), age (from size and physiognomy), physical proximity (living in the same house?), having children who call an older male person dade, and affection (demonstrated by kissing).

# 4.2.4.2. Quantity and number

As early as 1.10, the semantic feature [+plural] occurs in the child's grammar in tayo 'we(incl)' and subsequently in the child's pronoun system; the same feature occurs as a determiner accompaniment in the plural mana (at 2.2) and the plural subject marker reflected in the adjective, realized as a reduplication of the first syllable of the root (2.11), as ma-ga-ganda 'beautiful'. One must also infer an awareness of 'two-ness' when the child began using (at 2.4), kami dayawa 'we(excl.) two - he and I' and tayon dawa 'we (incl) two = you and I'.

At 2.5, there were instances when he spontaneously used <u>dayawá</u> (<u>dalawá</u>) 'two' for two objects.

The series of number words themselves are learned as a rote formula as early as 1.7, initially in their English forms (sociolinguistic surveys in the Philippines show that Filipinos count and do mental arithmetic in English rather than their native languages; see Olonan 1979 and Dumaran 1980) and soon after in their Pilipino forms. However, the abstract numerical content of these number words took a long time to grasp when a situation called for a formal act of counting objects, an operation that involved what Scholastic philosophers have called the 'second degree of abstraction'

When asked 'how many?' ilán?, ARG at 1.10 would automatically say dawá (dalawá) 'two', most likely by strict association with the question word ilán since the same answer was given no matter how many objects were to be counted. At 2.5, he changed his response to tatyó (tatló) 'three', no matter how many objects there were. At 2.5, he changed his strategy by counting, itá, dayawá, tatyó ('one, two, three') instead! He continued this mode of responding to ilán as late as 4.5, although after counting to three at that time, he would also say marámi 'a lot'. The critical word seems to have been ilán, for when asked ka+ilán 'when' at 2.8, he also responded with tatyó (tatló) 'three'.

He switched to a different strategy when confronted with a counting task at 2.10 by matching what he saw with his fingers -- two fingers for two objects, three fingers for three objects, and so forth, a strategy he had corrected by 2.11; he could count up to four fingers by 3.2 (without words). At 3.3, he could identify

and use the right expressions up to three (1, 2, 3) when asked to say how many objects were before him. As late as 4.5, he verbally identified quantity only up to three; beyond these was maramí 'many'.

In the domain of coinage, he could use dyst (dyis) 'ten centavo coin' and tinko (sinko) 'five centavo coin' as early as 1.7 and kwénta (sinkwénta) 'fifty centavo coin' by 1.11. By 1.11 also, he could identify these coins by themselves but when faced with two or more coin sizes to choose from, he was confused.

One can conclude from the preceding account that a semantic feature for plurality (more than one) was acquired early in the grammar; concretely, in connection with other people, the child probably attained the concept of 'two' and 'two and more' quite early, in connection with the pronoun system. However, the abstract operation of counting objects of different kinds with the same set of number words seemed to have been difficult for the child -- in the case of ARG, an intermediate step was to match reality with his fingers, and then to use the right linguistic expression or number word, and even as late as the fifth year of life, real (and not merely rote) counting seemed to be limited to 'one, two, three and many'. In the case of coinage, one suspects that it was a problem of perceptual distinction (and memory) with regard to geometric shape coupled with the language problem of naming and distinguishing names which created the learning difficulties.

### 4.2.4.3. Colors

As early as 1.12, ARG was using item (itim) 'black' and putig 'white' in connection with a teasing expression for his nursemaid or yaya; when he was not happy with her, he would call her nanay item 'black-nanny', perhaps an expression he combined as a result of what he heard: his nanny was dark in complexion (itim) and in Philippine culture darkness in a woman's complexion is more associated with lack of beauty than beauty. Undoubtedly, the amusement of the household on hearing his new collocation reinforced him. Later, when others would call his nursemaid this title, he would object and would say, 'Hinde. Nanay puteq' ('No. White nanny'). It is not clear, however, whether at this early age, he was really aware that he was using color terms and not merely expressions of irritation and favor. This situation of calling his nanny Nanay Puteq continued till 2.2. At 2.8, he mistakenly described a dull white surface as pink 'pink', again evidence that at certain stages, he knew only signals without their corresponding concepts.

At 2.3, he was playing with a pentel pen and remarked 'Mey kúyay (May kúlay)' ('It has color'), the first explicit use of kúlay. While kúlay may have been learned as a term for the surface appearance (specially tint) of objects, the specific colors in use in the culture were learned only gradually.

Later at 2.9, when not sure, he would ask 'Anón kúyay itó?' ('What color is this?').

Part of the learning difficulty in Philippine society is that Filipinos at present use expressions from English, Spanish and Tagalog interchangeably or supplementarily, making the learning task more burdensome for the child:

ENGLISH	SPANISH	TAGALOG
black	A STATE OF THE STA	itím
white		putíq
red	. ·	p <b>ulá</b>
blue	azúl	
yellow		dil <b>áw</b>
green	verde	
orange		
purple		bugháw
brown		

Table 4.6
Color words used in Pilipino

Another difficulty arose with the child's behavior during elicitation sessions. There were instances when the child spontaneously and correctly identified the color of an object, but when formally asked, he would hesitate and make mistakes, especially when he had to distinguish the colors of objects placed side by side. Undoubtedly, this hesitation was not a perceptual problem but a linguistic one, finding the right word for the distinctions perceived.

Then, too, the task was one of giving labels to a gradient reality, as opposed to a categorical one calling for a yes or no answer; the novelty of giving a response according to a scale and not merely the presence or absence of a category might have caused further difficulties.

Based on many and frequent elicitation sessions asking for the colors of surrounding objects, the sequence was as follows (the color is recorded in the month when correct identification was made):

1.2.	itím	'black(?)' in connection with a verbal collocation 'white(?)'
2.4	putíq	'white' (appled to objects)
	by <b>áwn</b> (br <b>áwn</b> )	'brown(?)' (at 2.4, contrasted with <pre>putiq</pre> 'white')
2.5	gyin (grin)	'green'
2.6	y <b>é</b> yo (yélo)	'yellow' (applied to a gold-painted object)
2.10	diyáw (dílaw)	·
3.2	puyá (pulá)	'red'
	byú (blú)	'blue'
3.3	kapé	'coffee-with-milk brown'
	br <b>á</b> wn	'brown' (applied to pants)
3.5	itím	'black'

Table 4.7
ARG's Sequence of Color Acquisition

I have listed itím and putíq twice since I am not sure if the color concepts were really present at 1.2; the long hiatus between the first use of the words in connection with a collocation and this actual ascription to real objects (16 months) leads me to suspect that actual learning of colors took place during the period from 2.4 to 3.5, and even at 3.5 the distinctions were still tenuous with many regressions to using the wrong terms. It is my impression based on informal observations of ARG after 3.6 that a stable distinction of colors took place at 4.4, when seeing some strawberries, he could say of them, 'Mapulán mapul´' ('Very red').

I have also listed the same color when used correctly for the first time in any of the three languages (sources for names of colors in Pilipino).

My suspicion is that unlike the physicist, and in line with the folk science of the Philippines, the initial distinction for the child is [tcolored] and his beginning concept of color was this white or puted for 'no color' and byawn (brawn) for 'some dark color He did not use itim after 1.2 (nanay itim 'black nanny') until 3.5 and even as late as 3.6, he was still confusing brawn 'brown' with itim 'black'. I am led to suspect that in effect, the reason he kept misusing itim 'black' was that he considered black and brown more or less the same (in shoes and in leather bags) under the cover term byawn meaning for him 'dark-colored'.

In answering queries about colors, the child used the following strategies: (1) when he did not know the name of the color, he gave the name of the object; (2) he compared the color to something else, as when he described something as kūlay kapé 'coffee-with-milk-colored'; (3) he would start uttering nonsense words or name other things. Often, spontanously, he would name the right color,

but when queried directly, would be confused and give wrong answers. Moreover, correct responses at one time did not necessarily mean correct responses in the future; there were regressions and confusion, the distinctions probably stabilized only at 4.4 as stated earlier.

If one were to consider byawn as the equivalent of black, then the order of acquisition would be: white, black, green, yellow, red, blue, brown -- which as would be expected gives priority to the primary colors, red, blue and yellow/green, assuming that one accepts the view of some light and color specialists that green is a primary color together with red, blue, and yellow. Brown, as distinguished from black at 3.3, is last since it is neither primary nor secondary but a combination of both.

# 4.3. RRG's developing lexicon

### 4.3.1. Stages in vocabulary growth

Tables 2.A to 2.F (in the Appendices) summarize the stages of vocabulary growth for RRG. It should be pointed out that the number of entries for the last stage (3.1-3.6) are few not because of the girl's paucity of vocabulary but the limited data available for this stage. The earlier design was to trace the development of grammar and not lexicon; hence, recording was selective for grammatical innovations. Moreover, since my most interesting data from ARG was outside the formal elicitation sessions, my data for RRG for this period was impoverished since because of changed circumstances I could not collect as much data from the girl outside of the weekly elicitation sessions.

From the summary of the tables (Table 4.8), the following observations may be made with regard to the growth of the lexicon of RRG.

As Table 4.8 indicates there is a progressive cumulation of items, with the period ending at 3.0 as the peak period, when 202 new items were added to the inventory, the other peak periods being the period ending at 2.0 and at 2.6. The differences between the period ending at 1.6 on the one hand and the period ending at 2.0 on the other hand were dramatic. The relatively few items during the period ending at 3.6 are a function of the data gathering limitations rather than a realistic picture although if one can use the boy's development as a point of comparison, one suspects that the peak was reached during the period ending at 3.0 and that the growth of vocabulary during the periods following would be less rapid than the preceding three periods.

At the end of forty-two months (3.6), RRG had a productive lexicon of 593 items or less than 600, consisting of approximately 464 roots and 36 affixes or morphological processes and 93 functors from closed sets. The initial lexicon (period ending at 1.6) consisted exclusively of names. During each period, nouns (including names and titles) outnumbered verbs (actions,

STAGE

	SIAGE					
	1.0	1.6	2.0	2,6	3.0	3,.6
1. Free Forms						
1.1. Contentives						
Nouns, Names, Titles	6	22	68	71	80	14
Verbs, Adjectives	0	5	50	44	59	13
Adverbs (whole words)	0	0	4	1	3	3
Numbers	0	0	5	5	11	0
1.2 Functors					•	
Pronouns	a ·	0	5	5	9	1
Deictis, Pro-Locatives, Similaritives	0	. 0	5	7	5	0
Determiners	0	0 1	3	5	1	1
Clitics	0	0	1	4	4	0
Linker	Q	0	0	1	0	0
Negatives, Modals, Existential	0	0	3	2	3	0
Greetings, Expletives, Tags	0	2	10	7	4	0
Connectors, Sentential Adverbs, Sequence Markers	0	0	0	G	4	1
2. Bound Forms						
Noun Affixes	0	0	o	3	0	1
Verb Affixes	0	0	5	5	13	1
Adjective Affixes (incl. morphological processes)	0	0	1	0	3	1
Adverbial Affixes (incl. morphological processes)	0	0	. 0	0	3	1
TOTAL	6	29	160	160	202	36
CUMULATIVE TOTAL		35	195	355	557	593

Table 4.8

Summary of RRG's lexical growth

processes, states, adjectives) (an average ratio of 1.5:1). The peak period for acquiring affixes was the period ending at 3.0 (19/36 affixes) and the peak periods for acquiring functors or members of closed sets were the period ending at 2.6 (31/93) and the period ending at 3.0 (30/93).

The content of RRG's vocabulary, as is to be expected, was limited to the domains of persons (in the household), animals, objects in the house, food and drink, body parts, body functions, and activities around the house.

The development of vocabulary may be profitably depicted by the following bar graphs (Figures 4.5 and 4.6):

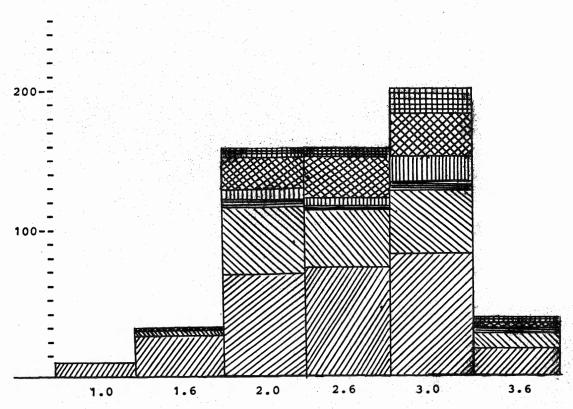


Figure 4.5
Development of RRG's lexicon

Legend:

= Nouns

= Adverbs

= Closed set

= Verbs

= Affixes

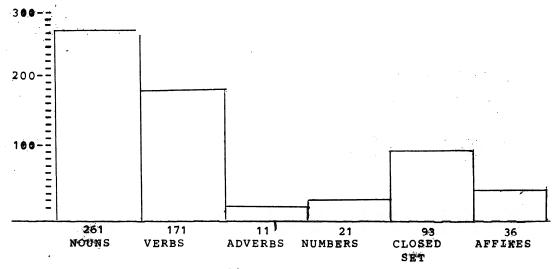


Figure 4.6
RRG's cumulated lexicon at 3.6

#### 4.3.2. Idiolectal lexicon

RRG was not particularly creative in vocabulary. During the period of observation, she created only two items of her own, each one short-lived.

While toti was used initially to refer to a clock (probably from tick-tock), she began using toti to refer to a pen at 1.7 and toti at 1.9 (probably related to susing tkey'). She did this several times during the next two months and even made the item into a verb (by a covert derivational process) by saying (at 1.9)

tốtí akố 'I want to write'

Later in the same month, she used <u>atúti</u> for a pen, but thereafter dropped this item from her active vocabulary. She soon began using the adult words for writing and writing instruments. Hence, the life-span of this item was about three months (1.7, 1.8, 1.9).

Once (at 2.2) she used badi to mean 'book', an idiolectal form.

There were no other occurrences of idiolectal words in the data. Since I was especially sensitive to such non-adult items and since no more occurred in my formal as well as informal interactions with the child, I am reasonably confident that no others occurred.

# 4.3.3. Private meanings for public words

Table 4.9 lists the items in RRG's vocabulary the meanings of which were clearly different from the adult's:

PERIOD	LEXICAL ITEM	RRG's inferred gloss	Adult gloss
.2-1.3	papu ~ papu (papu)		'religious image, usually a statue'
.6	bábáy (with hand gesture) (bábay)	'Goodbye (only in the sense of leaving a room)'	'Good-bye'
1.6	mano (with gesture of kissing the hand of the interlocutor)	'random greeting when the child wanted the adult's attention'	'an initial greet- ing of respect for an elder'
1.6	pútag (púsag)	'cat, lion'	'cat'
1.8-2.9	wſwi	'body elimination; to urinate and/or to defecate'	'to urinate'
1.8	bábá (babág)	'to move up or down'	to come down
1.8	búmbá (bőmba)	'to remove one's clothes'	used as a noun: a movie scene with some nudity
1.8	abát (labás)	'to remove one's shoes (perhaps, to bring one's foot out of a shoe?)'	'to go out'
1.9	abí (tabí)	'to lie down beside'	'used as a noun: side'
1.10	pápaq	'to eat or drink (e.g. coffee)'	'to eat'
1.11	but- (buks-, bukás)	'to open or close (e.g. zipper)'	'to open'
1.5	pinčipe	'prince or princess'	'prince'
1.8	matandá (matandáq)	'what one looks like after a hair- cut; perhaps the child associates the appearance of being old with having short hair'	
1.9	näyt kláb	? 'perhaps a house, room, or dell house'	'nightclub'

RRG's world of meanings, while having points of contact with the adult's, was a different one, as can be seen from the examples in Table 4.9.

For lexical items such as papu (any picture) contrasted with the adult's baby talk for the divinity and religious images (mostly statues in the family shrine), one suspects that with these statues there were sometimes framed religious pictures. From these pictures, she generalized that any picture (not photograph), religious or not, was a papu. bumba, in adult language a noun form for nudity on the screen, is derived as a verb to mean a more general removing of one's clothes. abat for labas (Adult 'to go out') is generalized to any kind of 'going out', including taking off one's shoes and therefore having the feet 'go out'. abi (tabi 'side') was also generalized as a verb for lying down beside her, a context in which an adult would not usually use such a word.

In the case of words accompanied by hand gestures, <u>bábáy</u> 'Goodbye' and <u>máno</u> '(Please give me your) hand', the words had not acquired their full social meaning (leavetaking and usually greeting respectively) and were used outside their usual contexts for going out of a room and for establishing bodily contact with an adult.

I would characterize her semantic purport for pútag (púsag 'cat'), matandá (matandág 'old') and náytkláb ('nightclub') as having a different extension from the adult's because her focus on a specific aspect was different: probably, 'whiskers' for 'cat' to explain why she extended the term to a lion; 'short hair' for 'old' perhaps because her image of old men was one associated with short hair; the semantic feature in focus for náytkláb ko 'my nightclub (room?, doll-house)' was not clear -- would it be lights?

She had problems with verbs of motion or activities in contrast; her strategy was usually to use one word for each pair; then as she learned the second of the pair, she would contrast them. wiwi 'to urinate' was used for both types of elimination; not until 2.10 did she explicitly distinguish between wiwi and tae 'to defecate' in the data. papag 'to eat' was used at 1.10 to mean 'to drink (coffee)'; bukas ('to open') was used at 1.11 for opening and closing a zipper bag. Seemingly most difficult for her to master was baba (Adult babaq) 'to come down' from atat (Adult akyat) 'to go up', which she did not explicitly distinguish till 1.9. However, at 2.2, when climbing all over me, she said baba ako, although she later corrected herself by saying akyat ako. At 2.3, she used baba to mean 'to go up'. Clearly, the contrast was not yet a stable one at this time.

What these examples show is a mind slowly and sometimes differentially constructing her own meanings based on her own inferences or surmises about adult meanings and only gradually succeeding in fitting them to the adult's structure of meanings.

# 4.3.4. Three semantic fields

Three semantic fields -- kinship, quantity and number, and colors -- will be discussed in this section, although the data for these fields are quite limited.

# 4.3.4.1. Kinship

RRG's use of proper names and titles are summarized in Table 4.10.

NAMES AND TITLES		CRITICAL FEATURE(S) FOR USE OTHER THAN FOR REAL PERSON
bída (béda)	(1.7) her father	
pidáRd_piyáyt (pilár)	(1.8) her mother	
tótó (tótoq)	(1.2)-(1.6) her elder brother with a different name (1.6) picture of a small boy	[+male ] [+small] [+resemblance to sibling she called Tors ]
patéd dindin (kapatid jinjin)	(2.3) her oldest brother	
patéd tótó (kapatíd tótoq)	(2.3) her next oldest brother	
p <b>ópo</b> ၅ (p <b>ó</b> po၅)	(1.6) her brother immediately older than she	
títa ópi (títa ófi)	(2.5) her mother's sister- in-law	
títa rót (títa róws)	(2.5) her mother's sister	
	Table 4.10	

As late as 1.6, RRG called one of her older brothers (ARC) toto whose nickname was popon, probably a simple case of wrong labeling or association; at 1.6, she saw a picture and also called it toto, probably noting some kind of resemblance between the sibling toto and the picture.

RRG's use of proper names

By 1.6, however, she could easily identify photographs with their proper names.

Curious was the fact that although she would name her mother and father correctly -- bida (1.7) 'Beda' and pidaRd ~ piyayt (1.8) 'Pilar' -- she used mamiko' 'my \_\_\_\_' for both mother and father and as late as 2.1 called a male picture in a magazine mami (see Table 4.10). At 2.3, she began distinguishing in pictures her mami(q) from dadiq ~ dadiq. Also at this time, she called a drawing (not of her mother) mami.

She used <u>loro</u> (<u>lolo</u>) for a great uncle (a common practice in the Philippines), referred to her <u>lola</u> (2.7) 'grandmother' and <u>pated dindin</u> and <u>pated toto</u> (<u>kapatid jinjin</u>, <u>kapatid toto</u>) 'Brother Gene-Gene, Brother Toto' but did not call her other brother Popon by the same title. She also referred to her aunts tita opi and tita rot ('Aunt Ophie, Aunt Rose').

When telling two stories at 2.8, she used mámi as a common noun, but in another story (Red Riding Hood) she personalized the characters by using proper nouns and making the characters her 161a, mámi, dádi. A month earlier, at 2.7, when asked the names of her parents and her nursemaid, she used the common nouns with proper noun determiner, tí mámi, tí dádi, tí nánay, seemingly oblivous of their proper names. However, she could give no answer when asked who her brothers (kapatíd) were.

Table 4.11 summarizes the kinship terms, their extensional and inferred intensional meanings.

The intensional meanings are surmised; obviously, any features based on biological generation are acquired only later. One thinks of tangible features such as 'closeness', 'living in the same house', 'continuing care and concern', 'having children who call them "mommy" or "daddy"', children living in the same house (perhaps even sharing the same bedroom) and other concrete ways of characterizing kinship rather than adult features except for sex [imale] based on clothes and appearance (obviously not associated at once with mami since RRG used the same term for mother and father intially), age [+old], physical size [+taller than me] or [+adult]. Being [+taller than me] has to be distinguished from being [+adult] to distinguish the oldest sibling (not quite an adult) from the father.

What is interesting is that the child uses māmi and dadī and nānay as proper nouns (names of her mother, father and nursemaid) but also as common nouns (early in life, she use māmiko 'my to distinguish her mother from someone else's mami in a story), although her egocentric world makes her identify characters in her stories with her own mother and father and grandmother. The use of the term māmi to refer to a picture occurred only once, with the association of māmi with the drawing of a woman probably explainable by some physical feature she noticed common to her mother and the drawing. This would also explain why at 1.6 she called a picture of a boy toto, her older brother's name. This same month, she pointed to me and an oil painting which resembled me (a deceased older brother) and said tito, thinking that the oil painting was my picture.

When queried

anổ an panálan nan dádi mo? 'What is the name of your father?' anổ an panálan nan mámi mo? 'What is the name of your mother?'

her answers were ti dấdi· 'Daddy' ti mấmi 'Mommy'

KINSHIP TERMS	EXTENSIONAL MEANINGS	INTENSIONAL MEANINGS
títo 'uncle'	(1.6) her uncle	<pre>[+male ] [+adult] [+close] [-living in the same house] [-daddy]</pre>
<sub>m</sub> ámikó 'my møther'	<ul> <li>(1.7) her mother</li> <li>(1.7) her father</li> <li>(2.3) her mother</li> <li>(2.3) drawing of a woman</li> <li>(2.7) her mother</li> <li>(2.8) mother of a child in a story</li> <li>(2.8) her mother as a character in a story</li> </ul>	<pre>[+male ] [+adult] [+close] [+living in the same house]</pre>
dádin a dádiq 'father'	<ul><li>(2.3) her father</li><li>(2.7) her father</li><li>(2.8) her father as a character in a story</li></ul>	<pre>[+male ] [+adult] [+close] [+living in the same house]</pre>
patéd (kapatíd) 'brother'	(2.3) her oldest brether (2.3) her next older brother	<pre>[+male ] [+taller than RRG] [+close] [+living in the same house]</pre>
títa 'aunt'	(2.5) her aunt (2.5) another aunt	<pre>[-male ] [+adult] [+close to mother and father] [-living in the same house]</pre>
lóla 'grandmother'	(2.7) her grandmother (2.8) her grandmother as a character in a story	<pre>[-male] [+adult] [+old] [+close [-living in to same house]</pre>
nánay 'nursemaid'	(2.8) nursemaid in a story (2.10) her nursemaid	[-male ] [+adult] [+close] [+caretaker]
lóRo (lólo) 'grand- father' or 'great- uncle'	(2.0) her greatuncle	<pre>[+male] [+adult] [+old] [+frequent visitor to house]</pre>

Table 4.11

ARG's kinship terms

meaning that she considered  $\frac{d\hat{a}di}{d\hat{a}}$  and  $\frac{m\hat{a}mi}{d\hat{a}}$  as proper nouns (names and titles) with the proper noun determiner ti (si).

# 4.3.4.2. Quantity and number

The semantic feature [+plural] was acquired as early as 2.7 in connection with tayo '(nom)we(incl)' and kami '(nom)we(excl)'; the use of the reduplicated root for the adjective was used with a plural subject at 2.10; and the overt plural marker used with the determiner, mana, occurred at 3.5. Indeed, one suspects that the concept 'two' must have been present in expressions such as kami ni 'We, and I' (the dual) (2.8) and in kitá (2.11) '(gen) I + (nom) you'. In fact, at 2.8, when telling a story, I asked her:

Anó an nanyári sa parúparó at saká bulaklák?
'What happened to the butterfly and the flower?'

to which she replied,

yun dalawá... nahúlog...

'The two... fell...'

which surely gave evidence of acquisition of the concept of 'two'. Also at 2.8, marami 'many' was used as an adjective.

However, when asked to state the number of objects, no matter how many, as late as 2.11, she would say <u>dalawá</u>. At 2.10, she adopted the alternative response or strategy of counting from 2 to 5!

One must thus state that as late as 3.6, her concepts of quantity were limited to 'plural' and 'many' and of number as limited to 'two'.

#### 4.3.4.3. Colors

Table 4.12 summarizes RRG's use of color words:

1.12	(a) pulá (pulá)	applied to her tongue moist from eating candy	'red'
2.5	Réd~yéd (réd)	red object	'red'
2.6	kóloRkólod náyth	dark-colored rope	'colored night=dark'
2.7	blű	different objects with different colors	'blue'
2.10	béde (bérde)	no referent present	'green'
2.10	pulá	an orange object	'red'
2.10	blű	a blue object	'blue'
2.10	<b>b</b> 1น์	a non-blue object	'blue'
2.6	fink	pink-colored dress	'pink'

Table 4.12

One surmises that <u>pulá</u> was not really 'red' for RRG but probably any dark-colored object [kőloR náyth] 'colored "night"' since at 2.10, on being queried, all objects were <u>blú</u>. There is not enough evidence to surmise whether she really recognized <u>fink</u> 'pink'; my suspicion is that she was merely repeating the name of the color based on how the adults described her party dress.

Based on rather limited evidence, I would guess that the concept of 'colored' was acquired at 1.12, but that as late as 2.11, there was no evidence that she had mastered color distinctions except for 'dark' (pulá or Réd/yéd or blú) or more aptly kóloR/d náyth 'colored "night"! -- the names of the colors were only phonological sequences without distinct referents; the distinct realities to which these color terms could be attached would have had to be acquired later.

### 4.4. Summary and general observations

In terms of lexical development, ARG's productive vocabulary at 3.6 was almost double that of RRG (1041 to 593 items). It almost all kinds of lexical categories (nouns, verbs, adverbs, affixes) except for the functors and numbers, ARG's items were more or less double those of RRG; for functors, ARG had 111 to RRG's 93; in numbers, ARG had 22 to RRG's 21. The peaks of vocabulary acquisition for ARG were the periods ending at 2.0 and 2.6, whereas RRG's peak came later, in only one period, the period ending at 3.0. Both ARG and RRG had more ore less the same proportion of nouns to verbs, approximately 1.6/1.5. Table 4.13 summarizes the differences:

	ARG	RRG
Nouns	527	261
1.5:1 Verbs	330	171
Adverbs	20	11
Numbers	22	21
Closed sets	111	93
Affixes	53	36
TOTAL	1041	593
	2 :	: 1
Peaks of Vocabulary Acquisition	1.7 - 2.0	2.7 - 3.0
	2.1 - 2.6	

Table 4.13
Summary of ARG's and RRG's inventory at 3.6

The semantic fields for the contentives were drawn mostly from the same domains: persons (household members), food, objects, animals, body parts, activities (body functions and movements

around the house).

Both showed quite early the ability to use the same root (with no overt affix) in various form classes or parts of speech (noun-verb-adjective), hence, derivational processes.

RRG's acquisition of vocabulary, like her acquisition of grammar, was slower than ARG's, although her acquisition of phonology was more rapid and not subject to the same kind of variation in forms as ARG's.

At 3.6, RRG was behind ARG in semantic fields of kinship, quantity and number, and color. In kinship terms, ARG had a larger inventory and some beginning notions of 'spouse', 'couple', 'elder sibling', 'paternity + being a daddy vs. being a Brother (member of a celibate religious group)'. In quantity and number ARG had notions of number up to 3, RRG only up to 2. ARG could count up to 4 with his fingers. RRG had not yet gotten to this stage and merely repeated number words by rote. Neither did RRG show as much inventiveness in her private vocabulary as ARG. In colors, RRG had not gone beyond [±dark] whereas ARG by 3.6 was able to distinguish all the primary and some secondary colors. Both used as their strategy for naming colors, when not knowing the name, the use of comparisons - kūlay kapē for RRG, koloR/d nāyth for RRG.

In looking over the two cases on the acquisition of vocabulary one may make the following general observations:

- (1) The adult's world is not the child's world. It takes more than 42 months, probably many years, for the child to acquire society's social construction of reality and its culture, mirrored by the adult lexicon. Undoubtedly, there are points of contact between adult and child vocabulary; otherwise, there would be no communication. The child may use the same terms, but these terms may not have the same set of extensional meanings as the adult's terms. The problems are multiplied when intensional meanings are being considered, for the critical features for the child are for the most part -- at least initially -- not those for the adult.
- (2) In trying to infer the child's intensional meanings, focus is decisive. Based on indirect questioning and observation of context as well as the child's 'mistaken' usage, one soon arrives at the conclusion that what is critical for the child may be a feature totally outside of the adult's expectations. This awareness will explain why the child's extensional meanings are different -- why a lion's picture is called pútag (púsag 'cat'), for example -- because the child sees resemblances the adult is not conscious of. Here one can also glean an insight into the child's reasoning processes -- the boy asked me why I used after-shave lotion (pabagó 'perfume') -- 'Mabáho ba an balbás mo?' ('Is it the case your beard stinks?').

- (3) The child initially encounters learning problems with bidirectional motion verbs or in general with contrasting pairs. His strategy is initially to use one term as a cover term -- the same lexical item for the contrasting items -- then to contrast them gradually. The learning curve usually entails a period of confusion, where the child even after having made the distinction, continues to misuse the pair; then a period of stabilization follows, when the acquisition of the contrast becomes fixed.
- (4) Kinship terminology acquisition, with the adult-modeled intensional meanings, must be a process necessitating several years with the content of many terms undergoing addition and revision as the child learns more about biological generation not only for his generation but across generations, at least those before and eventually after him. Undoubtedly, this learning will be conditioned by the type of family the child is in —— nuclear or extended (the latter more likely in the Philippines) and the age at which the eldest sibling marries. For example, in ARG and RRG's family of four children, there was a large gap (seven years) between the first child and the second one. Now that the eldest sibling is married, has a child of his own, and continues to live with the family, the learning of terms referring to 'nephews', 'nieces', 'in-laws', 'grandparent' has undoubtedly been accelerated for the younger children.
- (5) Colors, although initially difficult to distinguish, are soon learned by 3.6 or soon after that; for the Filipino child, one suspects that the initial distinction is [tdark] rather than the critical features of color as explained in physics textbooks.
- (6) Number seems to be quite difficult for children up to 3.6 The concepts of 'plurality' and 'many' are acquired during the third year of life, but real counting and abstracting of the quantity of subsets through numbers seem to be quite difficult. One strategy used (by ARG) was an intermediate step of matching the number of what was seen with his fingers and then vocalizing the expression. (Undoubtedly, arithmetic operations as described by Piaget [1955] come much later.)
- (7) Based on the later academic performance of ARG and RRG, I suspect that general intelligence is a major factor in the rate of acquisition of vocabulary (and probably grammar). Subsequent schooling has shown ARG to be a better student than RRG. Perhaps this better performance in academic work demanding verbal and quantitative skills was already foreshadowed by the rate of acquisition of vocabulary and grammar, but not of phonology, since the girl was one year ahead of the boy in completing her inventory of basic sounds and in the general fluency, clarity, and standardization of her phonetic sequences. Phonetic facility and mastery of phonology seem to be independent of grammar and vocabulary. In any case, the inventory of a child's lexicon at 3.6 has a wide range, with a predominance of nouns over verbs. At 3.6, certain affixes, of great productivity, may have not been learned yet, although the most frequent and functional ones were already

mastered, making construction of complex sentences possible. One suspects that vocabulary growth (in its various aspects: new lexical items, new extensions, new intensional meanings, collocational constraints and possibilities, derivational possibilities) is a life-long process, peaking at various periods of life (certainly in adolescence and in early manhood) and probably changing in character in later life as one masters certain specializations.

# 5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

- 5.1. General Summary
- 5.2. Insights into the nature of language
- 5.3. Research problems and possibilities

#### 5.1. General summary

This study -- a longitudinal study using for the most part careful observation of two children under natural conditions -- traced the development of Tagalog-based Pilipino, until 1973 the national language of the Philippines, in the speech of two siblings living in Quezon City, Metro Manila from a culturally and economie cally advantaged family.

Over at least three and a half years for each sibling, a boy and a girl, tapes and phonetic transcriptions for sessions of at least one half hour each were made weekly of the speech of the children (in many cases supplemented by random observations outside the planned sessions). The data were transcribed on notebooks and were then analyzed to trace the ontogenetic development of the sound system, grammar, and lexicon of the language for each child.

Although the households were trilingual (Pilipino, Kapampangan, and English) and the yayas (nursemaids) Bisayan (Samar-Leyte) for the boy and Kapampangan for the girl, the children developed as monolinguals in Pilipino with a passive understanding of Kapampangan and an early exposure to English, the latter formally learned when each one began nursery school a year after the respective periods of observation. The only effect of the presence of the other languages was in lexical borrowings from Kapampangan and from English (English loans are plentiful in Adult Pilipino) and in some variant pronunciations of [i ~ e] by the boy, an effect of his yaya's Bisayan-accented Pilipino.

In analyzing the data and choosing a model as the frame of reference for analysis, I tried to be flexible and not to tie myself down to a specific model so as to 'et the data speak for themselves.

A broad phonetic transcription was used for transcribing the emerging sound system with articulatory feature analysis carried out where useful to explain regularities of patterning and systematic substitutions for phonetic segments not yet acquired. Phonological processes, discussed in process models, were likewise described when they occurred.

In analyzing the development of grammar, categories in traditional grammar were used, enriched by insights from case grammar, a semantically-based model, and the notion of singulary linear transformations which were however meaning-preserving.

The study of lexical development used simple type-counting over predetermined periods, and traditional concepts of extension and intension, sense and reference, in the study of meaning, focusing on fields such as kinship, quantity and number, and colors.

Specific findings on each aspect of structure and differences between the patterns of development as well as on the strategies used by each child have been summarized at the end of each major chapter (chapters 2, 3 and 4) and need not be repeated here.

### 5.2. Insights into the nature of language

Useful at this point will be a few notes one can glean on the nature of human language and its development in individuals as a result of these longitudinal studies and analyses.

The evidence is overwhelming that the subsystems of language, although integrated in speech, must be distinguished and must be posited as undergoing their own trajectories or paths. While the child cannot of course speak without segments, his grammar and lexicon develop even with an imperfectly acquired sound system. The forms of language may be imperfect in their phonological realizations but quite advanced in their grammatical structure. The lexicon accumulates not only additional items but as the phonology develops individual items slowly shape themselves into more acceptable adult forms; in the meantime, the meanings of such phonological sequences or symbolizations are themselves enriched with additional semantic features and extensions. All three subsystems undergo development simultaneously with the expression-side of language developed independently of the content side of language.

Systematic substitutions of segments not yet acquired by other segments which share certain phonetic features of the targeted segment are evidence of the psychological reality of phonological features. The data show the simultaneous appearance of vocalic, semi-vocalic, and among the consonantal segments, of oral stops and of nasals. Affricates may be used as transitional segments before continuants and fricatives. Liquids are learned last and always seem to present problems among themselves. Contrasts between rising and falling intonation seem to appear simultaneously with speech; contrasts in pitch, length and loudness appear quite early but do not seem to acquire distinctive functions till later (beyond 3.6). Phonological processes of assimilation, metathesis (segmental and syllabic), epenthesis, syncope, and apheresis appear quite early, the canonical form of formatives asserts itself quite early, too.

The development of grammar must take into account both syntax and semantics from the very beginning, with noun-like and verb-like categories quite basic after the naming stage (about 1-1.6), even as early as the one-word stage and certainly by the two-word stage. More basic than the structure of the proposition are the functions of language, which functions are present with the beginning of speech but are realized progressively as simple one-word and two-, three-word utterances until they become more and more adult-like. Propositional content is realized as concatenations of bare roots initially, in varying orders. In an agglutinating language such as Pilipino, affixes are progressively attained, usually prefixes, suffixes, and infixes (in that order), and moving from one, two, and three or more affixes, with combinations containing an infix attained Function or illocutionary force is expressed through intonation (attained with the onset of speech), and in Pilipino, through postverbal clitics which make their appearance by the end of the second year.

With the emergence of bi-predicative structures, logical operations of purpose and condition can be performed by the child using natural language by the end of the third year of life.

Functors (deictics, determiners, connectors, clitics, pronouns) are attained after base roots forming propositions have emerged. Among the pronouns, no fixed order other than the primacy of 'I' (egotistic speech) may be posited, and singulars before plurals. Among determiner and deictic case-markers, the only generalization justified by the data is that the genitive is attained after the nominative and oblique. One suspects that with these closed sets, functional load and frequency of use by adults play a key factor in order and rapidity of attainment.

The clearly-defined linear operations of preposing and interposing and postposing of clitics (according to grammatical and phonological criteria) without semantic purport or motivation makes the concept of meaning-preserving singulary transformations a viable one, with the theoretical implications that such an assertion carries.

For acquisition beyond 3.6 are further rules not found in the data, rules of selectional restriction, subcategorization (and presupposed derivational constraints), and morphological processes realized by accentual shift.

The investigation into the development of the lexicon shows that at 3.6, a child can have a range of 600 to 1000 entries (bound and free forms), with the combinatorial possibilities of such sets probably impossible to compute since we do not know enough to pinpoint the periods of acquisition of the constraints on such combinatorial possibilities. On the basis of the data, one can make a case for peak periods of acquisition of lexicon and the predominance in numbers of nouns over verbs (a mirror of the adult lexicon). While the child may acquire the expression side of the lexicon, the content side is more problematic and presents difficulties for our attempts to arrive at a clear picture of the process of development. What the child's vocabulary and usage clearly show is that it is only gradually, many years after the forty-second month of life, that the content side of his language begins to approximate the adult's. Lexical growth is certainly more complex than phonological growth (although both use features, the lexicon probably not exclusively) and perhaps more complicated than grammatical growth (since syntax uses a limited set of categories and rules), since the growth of the linguistic dictionary involves the following dimensions: new roots (a life-long activity), further extensions to acquired vocables, additional semantic features to existing 'semantic bundles', an enrichment of intensional meaning, and new clusters of 'semantic bundles' associated with vocables (homonymy) and convergences of two 'semantic bundles' towards near identity (synonymy). While the children very early showed facility in derivational processes (deriving a noun from a verb and vice versa), the adult constraints to such derivations and to combinatorial possibilities in general must be the work of succeeding years; to be included during these years are the learning of collocations and idioms of the language and the constraints on the uses of such combinations.

### 5.3. Research problems and possibilities

Mentioned more than once in this report have been the limitations of data gathering. On the one hand, for periods of peak learning, there was the limitation of the frequency of datagathering. On the other hand, there were the limitations of structured periods of observation and difficulties with attempts at elicitation and an indirect form of testing. Partially because of the personality of the investigator and perhaps the strain of the situation, these periods were often the poorest in yielding useful data. The spontaneous utterances of the children in a natural setting, interacting with their peers or with adults, often yielded more insightful data. Yet for discovering what the child really knows as opposed to what he manifests, some form of structured elicitation and 'testing' would have been desirable -- especially for the inference of meaning and the discovery of the child's emerging world-view.

A longitudinal study which would obviate or surpass the limitations of the mode of data-gathering used in this study would then be quite useful in correcting or confirming some of the claims made here and in supplementing the lacunae evident in certain aspects of structure.

It is obvious from the data that the child learns a structure or a feature or a distinction only gradually -- there are periods when he exhibits such learning, other periods when he regresses to a former stage of seeming not to know a structure or feature, periods when confusion sets in before a distinction is truly mastered. An operational definition of acquisition or mastery learning is thus desirable, then the point of acquisition quantified by a frequency count and a percentage as the criterion of learning, since variation is a fact of human language and more so a feature of the developing grammar of a language learner. Obviously, the data would have to be much richer than what I was able to gather to enable the investigator to do frequency counts.

Since function is as important, if not more important, than form, recording interactions between child and child and child and parent would yield far more revealing data than this study uncovered.

Already mention has been made of aspects of the parts of language which are acquired in the fourth year of life and which demand their own description and analysis. In phonology, we need investigations into the acquisition of accent as distinct and of phonemic distinctions (assuming an American Structuralist Model of phonology); language-specific phonological or morphophonemic rules (e.g. the dor rule between vowels). In grammar, we need

studies into the learning of rules on selectional restrictions, subcategorization rules, derivational constraints and morpholological rules (e.g. using accent); details of rules on nominalization, complementation, relativization; discourse rules on subjectivalization, topicalization and emphasis. In the lexicon, we need detailed studies on the growth of meaning in other semantic fields and the learning of collocations and idioms and combinatorial constraints in vocabulary.

Finally, since most Filipino children grow up with more than one language, we need longitudinal studies on the learning of more than one language in the home and the interaction between these two languages and the eventual distinctions made by the child between these languages.

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### APPENDICES

Tables 1.A to E

ARG's inventories of vocabulary sample

Tables 2.A to F

RRG's inventories of vocabulary sample

For each stage, lexical entries are listed under the following headings:

#### 1. FREE FORMS

- 1.1. CONTENTIVES
  - 1.1.1. NOUNS
  - 1.1.2. NAMES AND TITLES
  - 1.1.3. VERBS
  - 1.1.4. ADJECTIVES
  - 1.1.5. ADVERBS (including questionwords)
  - 1.1.6. NUMBERS

#### 1.2. FUNCTORS

- 1.2.1. PRONOUNS
- 1.2.2. DEICTICS, PRO-LOCATIVES, SIMILARITIVES
- 1.2.3. DETERMINERS
- 1.2.4. CLITICS
- 1.2.5. LINKER
- 1.2.6. NEGATIVES, EXISTENTIAL, MODALS
- 1.2.7. GREETINGS, EXPLETIVES, TAGS
- 1.2.8. CONNECTORS, SENTENTIAL ADVERBS, SEQUENCE MARKERS

#### 2. BOUND FORMS

- 2.1. NOUN AFFIXES
  - 2.2. VERB AFFIXES
  - 2.3. ADJECTIVE AFFIXES
    - 2.4. ABVERB AFFIXES

The entries under each list are ordered alphabetically using the Pilipino alphabet: a b k d e g h i l m n n o p r s t u w y. Fer consistency from one period to another, I use the adult form in parentheses () on the left column as the basis for alphabetizing the form. If there is no adult form (the child's

idiolectal entries), then the child's form is used as the basis for alphabetic ordering.

Alphabetization is used for ordering within each category. The numeration of each category is based on the numeration above. Hence, if at one stage, no representatives of one particular category were manifested, then this category and its number are skipped. This explains why for each list (per stage) not all the categories are listed; this also explains why some numbers are skipped in the headings.

Table 1.A

# ARG's inventory of vocabulary sample at 1.6

# 1. FREE FORMS

# 1.1. CONTENTIVES

# 1.1.1. NOUNS

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(áso)	áto(t)	'dog'
(babáe)	báyeq	'woman'
	báboy	'pig'
	báka	'cow'
(bapór)	bápo J	'boat'
(bấtaq)	báta(q) ~ matá	'child'
(beybi)	beybi(:) ~ bibi	'baby'
(bóla)	bốta ~ bốwa ~ đấbu ~ ấbo ~ bấbu ~ ốda	'ball'
(būkid)	būgid	'field'
(buhók)	bűot ~ buwók	'hair'
(búndok)	búndok	'mountain'
(butikéq)	etigéq " utikéq	'house lizard'
(kab <b>á</b> yo)	(a)báyu ~ abá:yo ~ ebá:yu ~ abá:yu ~ báyo ~ ebáyu ~ yebáyu ~ abáyo ~ ibáyo ~	
	ibáyu	'horse'
(k <b>á</b> hoy)	<b>á</b> oy ∼ <b>á</b> woy	'wood'
(kaib'igan)	bigan	'friend'
(kalabáw)	ában ~ ab <b>á</b> ~ kaabáw	'carabao'
(kam <b>á</b> y)	(a)máy	'hand'
(kanyon)	kån	'cannon'
(kéndi)	éndi 🗸 énde 🗸 Índe	'candy'
(kók)	kű:k	'Coke'
٧.	kópi	'coffee'
(čóngo)	úngo ~ óngo	'monkey'
(dagāq)	agāq	'mouse, rat'
(díndon)	tíŋtốŋ ~ díŋdốŋ	'clock (baby talk)'

```
érpleyn)
              é p eyn ~ éyp eyn
                                                'airplane'
(gúlay)
             gűway
                                                'vegetables'
(hípon)
              ípon
                                                'shrimp'
              íbon
                                                'bird'
(isdáq)
              itdag
                                                'fish'
              idód ~ Íko ~ édot
(itlóg)
                                                'egg'
(1ólo)
             γύγυ ~ νόνο
                                                'grandfather'
                                                'pencil'
(lápis)
              ápit ~ dápit
             batet ~ butet
                                                'pencil (idiolectal)'
              dodo ~ dúdo
(lóro)
                                                'parrot'
              áyon ~ áyun
                                                'lion'
(láyon)
             mamaq ~ mamaq ~ mama
                                                'male person'
              nég .
(manéq)
                                                'peanuts'
              óto
                                                'car, auto'
(pakpák)
              pakapák ~ pátpát ~ pápak
                                                'feather, wing'
                                                'panty'
              pánti
              pápoq ~ páppoq
                                                'God for adults
(pápoq)
                                                (baby talk);
                                                religious statue
                                                (for child)'
(púsaq)
              pútaq
                                                'cat'
              dído
(reló)
                                                'watch'
(retráto)
              (e)táto ~ (d)áto ~ eytáto ~
              entáto ~ etátiyo ~ atáto
                                                'picture'
(sagin)
              ágin ~ gágin
                                                'banana'
(salamín)
                                                'mirror'
              ámmin
(sapátos)
              (a) patot ~ (a) patut ~ abatut ~
              bátot ~ ipátot
                                                'shoe(s)'
(sítaw)
                                                'string beans'
              ítaw
                                                'key'
(súsiq)
              tútiq
(táo )
              áwo
                                                'man'
(trén)
              tén
                                                'train'
(tigidía)
              dídí ~ díkdík ~ dígdíg ~
              digdí ~ dikdí ~ dík ~ díkdíg ~
              digidig ~ tigidig
                                                'horse (baby talk
(tốyoq)
              tóyu ~ tóyoq
                                                'soy sauce'
```

# 1.1.2. NAMES AND TITLES

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(ändru)	ándo	'Andrew'
(b <b>éda)</b>	bída:a ~ bída ~ béda ~ béda ~ bé:da ~ bi:da	'Beda'
(bitoq)	bittó ~ bi:t ~ bítoq	'Bito'
(kláwdet)	áwdit	'Claudette'
(kūya)	kūya ~ kōya	'Elder Brother'
(kúya jínjin jín-jin bóy)	kuya dindin ~ dinboy	'Older Brother Gene-Gene, Gene-Gene Boy'
(d <b>ád</b> i)	dá:di	'Baddy'
(gáreŋ)	gáge	'Garing'
( <b>jí</b> sus)	ditot	'Jesus'
(161a)	dúda ~ wówa ~ nóna	'Grandmother'
(mámi)	māmi - māmmi	'Memmy'
(mélo)	méo	'Melo'
(mina)	mig	'Mina'
(monina)	míni ~ minína ~ minínna ~ mIninná ~ minná	'Monina'
	nánay	'Nanny'
(nóra) ,	6da	'Nora'
(n <b>á</b> ti)	áti	'Naty'
(ninog)	ninő:ŋ ~ níneŋ ~ níneŋ	'Godfather'
	pîpo _	'Pipo'
(rūdi)	dúdi ~ dúde ~ úde	'Rudy'
(Šóda)	<b>6</b> da	'Shoda'
(súsan)	tútan ~ tután	'Susan'
	títa	'Auntie'
	títo	'Uncle'
(tốtoq)	đổqđoq	'Toto'
(yấya)	y <b>áyá</b>	'nursemaid'

# 1.1.3. VERBS

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	<b>GLOSS</b>
(akiyat)	kiyát ~ aki:yát ~ akiyát ~ ikiyát ~ ikyát ~ kyát ~	
	tikyát	'to go up'
	áway	'to quarrel'
(bukās+an> buksān)	but	'to open'
(klós)	klőt	'to clese'
(déde)	dídiq	'to suck'
(dapáq)	dấpaq	'to fall on one's face'
(gustő)	guttó	'to like'
(higáq)	ig <b>á</b> q	'to lie down'
(hilo)	d <b>íd</b> u	'to get dizzy'
(hintay)	táy	'to wait'
	<pre>fpit</pre>	'to be pressed between, to be squeezed t
(iyák)	íyak ~ iyák	'to cry'
	mémeq	'to sleep (baby talk)'
(Spen)	ópin	'to open'
•	pápaq	'to eat (baby talk)'
(putók)	p <b>űt</b> ok	'to fire a shot'
(sakáy)	takáy ~ akáy	'te ride on'
(sāma)	áma	'to tag along'
(tápon)	tápun	'to throw away'
(tumbá)	umbá ~ ombáq ~ dúmba	'to fall down'
(uwíq)	uwí	'to go home'

# 1.1.4. ADJECTIVES

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(ma+ bigất)	bī:gat	'heavy'
(ma+ katí)	katé	'itchy'
(dóbol+ dóbol)	dőbodóbo	'double-double (in betting)'
(ma+ galáw)	g <b>á:w</b>	'restless, not keeping still, moving things around'
(ma+ ganda)	dánda	'beautiful'
(itím)	itém	'black'
(ma+ lamíg)	amik	'cold'
(ma+ lambin)	ambí ĵ	'affectionate (in tone of voice)'
(ma+ ligáya)	digáya	'happy'
(ma+ liít)	diít	'small'
(ma+ liit)	bo:tít	'small'
(ma+ li+ namnám)	námnám ~ nám	'tasty'
(from Kapampangan man <b>ya</b> man)	myāman	'delicious'
(pagód)	págu	tred'
(pīlyo)	píyo	'naughty'
(ma+ rami)	mámi	'many'
(ma+ saráp)	tíyap 🕳 táyap	'tasty'
(sarádo)	tayádo	'closed, locked'
(ma+ taás)	taát	'tall'
(támaq)	táma	'correct'
	táma	'enough'
(ma+ una)	űna	'first'

# 1.2. FUNCTORS

### 1.2.1. PRONOUNS

ákin

'(oblique)' I'

#### 1.2.2. DEICTICS

ADULT FORM CHILD'S FORM GLOSS

(ayón) áyon ~ ayún ~ yón ~ yún '(nominative) behold that far away'

díto '(oblique) this = here'

(iyán) yán ~ iyán '(nominative) that'

(iyón) yón ~ yún '(nominative) that (far away)'

#### 1.2.6. NEGATIVES

(hindíq) indíq ~ índiq 'no (general negative expression)'

### 1.2.7. GREETINGS AND FORMULAE

(salámat) ámat 'thank you'

### 2. BOUND FORMS

### 2.3. ADJECTIVE AFFIXES

ma'plenitivizer (only
one instance; regular
use at stage 3)'

Table 1.B

# ARG's inventory of vocabulary sample at 2.6

### 1. FREE FORMS

### 1.1. CONTENTIVES

# 1.1.1. NOUNS

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(áhas)	<b>áa</b> t	'snake'
(álak)	áwak ~ a ak ~ áyak	'wine'
(ánimal)	ánimat 🏎 ánimap ~ ánima?	'animal'
(apúy)	apóy	'fire'
(asin)	<b>át</b> en	'salt'
(astronot)	atunut ~ tunut ~ dunut	'astronaut'
(atis)	åtet	'custard apple'
(áys krím)	áytim ~ Ítim	'ice cream'
[ (babái	b <b>ấ</b> yi ]	'woman'
(bábey)	babuy]	'pig'
(báka)	b <b>á:</b> ka	'cow'
(bahay)	baay ~ bay	'house'
(balkon)	bakon ~ baykon	<pre>'outdoor sitting area'</pre>
(baníg)	baník	'mat'
(b <b>ລິ</b> ງbaŋ).	bếnhấn ~ bínhín ~ bấnhan ~ bếnhan	'sound of gunshot'
(bankáq)	pankaq ~ bankaq	'boat'
(b <b>á</b> rko)	bāwko	'boat'
(baríl)	bayến ~ bayếŋ ~ bĩ ~ bái ~ bayí <u>?</u> * ~ bayíŋ	'gun'
(b <b>á</b> sket)	bátkit ~ bákit ~ báket	'basket'
(báyan)	ábyan ~ bayán	'tewn'
[(beybi)	bfbi ~ wiwi]	'baby'
(béybi dák)	bībi tāk	'small duck toy, baby duck'
	bíbi	'duck'

<sup>? 1-</sup>like but not clear

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(bir)	bén	'beer'
(biskwít)	űykit	'biscuit'
(bisikléta)	déta	'bicycle'
[(bốla)	búa ~ bwa ~ búwa ~ ábwa ~ buwá ~ uwáq]	'ball'
(bốte)	būte	'bottle'
(búda)	būdak	'Buddha (figurine)'
[ (buhók)	bók ~ búk]	'hair'
(búlak)	bűwak	'cotton'
(bulsá)	búta ~ boytá ~ bu?tá	'pocket'
(bundók)	bunduk]	'mountain
(búŋa	buŋba ~ buŋa	'fruit'
(bús) (buwán)	bút búwan	'bus' 'moon'
[ (kabáyo)	tabáyu ~ a:báyu]	'horse'
[(kaibīgan)	abigan ~ aybigan ~ tabigan ~ taybigan ~ ta(y)bigan]	'friend'
[(kalabáw)	kábaw]	'carabao'
[ (kamáy)	amáy ]	'hand'
(kapé)	apé	'coffee'
[(kéndi)	kénde ~ ténde ~ téndi ~ déndi]	'candy'
(késo)	této	'cheese'
	[kők]	'Coke'
(kólgeyt)	kúgit ~ kóygeyt	'toothpaste, from Colgate'
(kópi)	tőpi	'coffee'
(krópek)	<b>ópik</b>	'shrimp cracker'
(kúbo)	tűbo	'hut'
(kučintáq)	jintaq	'small rice cake'
(kulóg)	kűyog	'earthquake (Adult thunder)' .
(kúmot)	túmot ~ tómot	'blanket'
(kwénto)	kwinto ~ kwénto	'story'
(čampúy)	čámpuy ~ čampúy ~ čamóy ~ támpoy	'Chinese dried fruit'
(číklet)	tîket ~ tikét ~ tîkyet	chewing gum, Chicklet brand'
[ (໕໐ິກ໘໐)	tốngo]	'monkey'

<sup>?</sup> sound not clear

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
	dágat	'sea'
[(dagāq)	ágag]	'mouse, rat'
(damít)	damít ~ ámit ~ dəmét	'clothes'
[(digidig)	tigdíg "dídig "dígidíg " tígídíg "dídik "dígidig " dígideg ]	horse (baby
(dury <b>á</b> n)	dóyan	'durian (fruit)'
(dyís)	jít ∼ dít	'small coin (ten centavos)'
(erkondísyo	n) diton	'air-conditioner'
(gagambá)	dámba	'spider'
(gamót)	dámot	'medicine'
(gawgáw)	gáwgaw	'cornstarch'
	gólp	'golf'
	góma	'rubber tire'
(gu16ŋ)	guwóŋ	'wheel'
(haláman)	máman	'plant'
(hấŋin)	agin	'air, wind'
(jip)	dyíp ~ jíp	'jeep'
	[ibon ]	'hird'
(ilaw)	íwaw ~ í <u>?</u> aw ~ íyaw	'light'
(ilog)	<b>1</b> yok	'river.'
(ilóŋ)	iyűŋ	'nose'
(indyan)	indyan ~ injan	'Indian'
[(isdāq)	idaq ~ igdaq]	'fish'
	Ítik	'duck (another variety)'
[(itlóg)	iy6k ]	'egg'
(lamók)	amók	'mosquito'
(lápis)	dápet ~ tápit ]	'pencil'
	[bátiq ~ abátet ~ bátet ~ bátit ]	<pre>'pencil/pen  (idiolectal)'</pre>
(larúan	duan ~ duwan ~ uwan	'toy'
(lấta)	áta	'can'
[(láyon)	dáyon ]	'lion'
[(1610)	γόγο 🕳 γάγο ]	'grandfather'
	májik	'magic'
	[manéq]	'peanut'

<sup>?</sup> sound not clear

GLOSS

	•	
(manók)	mánuk ~ manúk ~ manók	'chicken'
(motorsíklo)	botóndíko	'motorcycle'
(órens)	byinč ~ ben ~ byenč	'orange'
(ospitál)	pitán	'hospital'
	paá	'foot'
[(pakpák)	pákpák ]	'feather, wing'
(papél)	papí <u>?</u> ~ papén ~ pápin ~ ápapí <u>?</u> ~ páppen ~ papé <u>?</u>	'paper'
[ (pápoq)	papóq ~ pápo ]	'religious statue'
(páyoŋ)	páu	'umbrella'
(péra)	péwa ~ péla ~ píya	'money'
(pinat)	minat	'peanut'
(pintóq)	pintoq	'door'
(pinya)	míya	'pineapple'
(plástik)	pátik	'plastic'
(prinses)	(p)intet	'princess'
(pólbo)	póybo	'powder'
(rádyo)	dádyo	'radio'
[(relő)	dédo 🗸 yéyo 🗸 wéwo ]	'watch'
[(retráto)	detáto ]	'picture'
(rosáryo)	dáyo	'rosary beads'
(rósas)	bótat ~ ótat	'rose'
(sabón)	tabón	'soap'
(sakíť)	kít	'sickness'
[(sấgiŋ)	ágin ]	'banana'
[(salamin)	dámin ~ namín ]	'mirror'
(salawál)	awa <u>?</u>	'pants'
(santól)	tánto	'a kind of fruit'
[(sapátos)	pátuk ]	'shoe'
(sapsáp)	táptáp	'a kind of fish'
(sársi)	tấti	'root beer, Sarsi brand'
(síŋko) ·	tiŋkố ~ Íŋko ~ dÍŋko	'small coin (five centavos)
(sinkwénta)		<pre>'a large coin  (fifty centavos)'</pre>
? sound not	clear	

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
•		
(sísiw)	títiw	'chick'
(sl <b>á</b> yd)	d <b>á</b> ydt ~ táyt	'slide'
(sukl <b>á</b> y)	űkay	'comb'
(sumbréro)	dédo	'hat'
(súnog)	tűnog	'fire'
(súseq)	tűteq ]	'key'
(táksi)	táki	'taxi'
	táe	'feces'
	tahốq	'bean curd pudding
(táleq)	t <b>á</b> ye	'rope'
(téktek)	tíkték	'male genital orga (baby talk)'
(tíbi)	tibe	TV
(tiktók)	tintón	'sound of clock'
	tiyán	'stomach'
(trák)	tJák 🕶 ták	'truck'
(traktóra)	tówa	'tractor'
(túbig)	<pre>6big * 6bik ~ úbik ~ úbi ~ úti ~ 6bi ~ úbig ~ t6bik ~ túbig</pre>	'water'
(ជsok)	útok	'smoke'
(utốt)	ótot	'fart'
	ជ៍ជ៍	'feces (baby talk)'
(wálet)	wáyit	'wallet'
(wits)	wít	'witch'
(yélo)	íyo	'ice'

# 1.1.2. NAMES AND TITLES

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
[(ándru)	andu ]	'Andrew'
(áte)	hấteq	'Elder Sister'
[(kláwdet)	áwdet ]	'Claudette'
[(kúya+ŋ) ]	kúyan ~ kóyan ]	'Elder Brother'
(kyápo)	kayápo	'Quiapo, a place'
(dốnal đấk)	dóydák	'Donald Duck'
(éli)	édi	'Eli'
(émen)	mémeg	'Emen'
[(gárin)	gāyiŋ ]	'Garing'
[(jinjin)	gíngín ~ díndín ~ jínjin ~ dínjin ~ jénjén	'Gene-Gene'
[ (jínjinbóy	jínbóy ~ dínbóy ~ dínbúy	'Gene-Gene Boy'
[(161a	úda ~ dóda ~ ú:da ~ dúda ~ yóya ~ yúya ~ <u>?o?</u> a ]	'Grandmother'
(lólo ándo)	yóyo ándog	'Grandfather Fernando'
(magú)	madű	'Magoo'
[ (mámi)	náni ~ mámi]	'Mommy'
(marin)	mayin	'Maring'
[ (monina)	mən:niná ~ mənina]	'Mon'al'
(néryo)	néyo	'Nerio'
(pinókyo)	kyókyó	'Pinnochio'
(P <b>်ဥာ</b> ၀၅)	<b>ღ</b> ნე <b>ღ</b> ნე	'Popong'
(rốbin)	dőbin	'Robin'
(sényaŋ)	nînag	'Senyang'
(tálya)	tấya~ y <b>ấ</b> ya	'Talia'
(títo ektór)	títo ektón	'Uncle Hector'
[(tótoq)	tốto ]	'Toto'

<sup>?</sup> sound not clear

# 1.1.3. VERBS

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(abót)	<b>&amp;</b> bot	'to reach for'
(alís-)	(d) it- ~ adit- ~ a?it- ~ tit- ~ bit-	'to remove, take away'
	itin-itin (probably from Kapampangan <u>abitan</u> but confused with either <u>alis-in</u> or <u>bitin</u> bitin 'things hanging	'to pull down'
	<pre>down used as a decoration in fiestas'; the child clearly used it as a verb meaning to pull down')</pre>	
(amóy)	âmoy	'to smell'
(áyos)	áyot	'to fix, arrange'
(babáq)	babáq ~ bábaq ~ pápaq ~ bəbáq	'to come down'
(bangáq)	báŋka	'to collide against'
(big <b>á</b> y)	big <b>ấy ~</b> bigy- ~ digy-	'to give'
(bíhis)	biất	'to dress'
(bilí)	bíyi	'to buy, sell'
(bitín)	tín ~ bitén	'to hang'
[(bukás)	butat ⊷ butt-]	'to open'
(bugbóg)	bukbók - bukbúk - pukpúk	'to bruise, to sock'
(kagát)	kấgat ~ ga:gất	'to bite'
(kāin)	áin ~ táin ~ taén	'to eat'
(karéra)	(ka)yéya	'to race'
(kargá)	káŋga	'to carry'
(kúha)	kúaq ~ túaq ~ kúa	'to take'
(kulilíŋ)	kuyiyin	'to ring'
(dikít)	dikét	'to stick'
	[déde ~ díde]	'to suck'
[(digidíg)	dídik ]	'to ride a horse'
(din <b>í</b> g)	niník	'to hear'
(drówiŋ)	ówin	'to draw'
(gísiŋ)	títin	'to wake up'
(gupít)	űpit ~ dűpit	'to cut hair'
(gustó)	(gu) tổ	'to like'
(halí- as i halíka)	n 1-	'come'

<sup>?</sup> sound not clear

'to ride'

'to go along'

'to return'

'to dance'

'to break'

(sáma)

(sốliq)

(sayáw)

(sirag)

tákay ]

tóyeg

tayáw

táma ~ dáma ]

?iyaq ~ tiyaq

<sup>?</sup> sound not clear

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(súgat)	úgat	'to wound'
(súlat)	úwat	'to write'
(šyút)	yút	' to shoot'
(takbó)	bố ~ ábo ~ abú ~ tabố	'to run'
(takíp)	takik	'to cover'
(tákot)	ákot ~ ákut ~ tákut ~ takót	'to be afraid'
	tágoq	'to hide'
(tapós)	tapôt	'to finish'
(tayóq)	ayóq ~ táyoq	'to stand up'
(tiŋn- as in tiŋnān)	n-	'to look at'
(túlog)	tűyok	'to sleep'
[(tumbá)	tómba " dúmba " túmba " dúmbá " tummbá ]	'to fall down'
(úlit)	úwit	'to repeat'
(ump6g)	umpók	'to hit one's head against something'
[(uwiq)	uwéq ]	'to go home'
1.1 .4. ADJ	ECTIVES	
(ma+bahoq)	bấu ~ bấuq	'stinky'
(na+báliq)	bā:yiq	broken in pieces,
		usually two, of an elongated object!
(ma+baŋó)	bấŋo	'fragrant'
(bómba)	bốmba ~ búmba	having a section
		of the body which
		is usually covered exposed; idiolectal
(bulók)	рйок	'giving off a bad smell because of decay'
(ma+búti)	bűti	'good'
(gágo)	gå:go ~ gáwo	'stupid'
(ma+gandá)	anda ~ dénda	'beautiful'

```
ADULT FORM
                     CHILD'S FORM
                                                   GLOSS
(ma+hapdíq) abdéq
                                                'burning, e.g.
                                                iodine on a
                                                wound '
(ma+init)
              (n) init
                                                'hot'
(ma+lakí)
              áki
                                                'big, large'
(pájit)
              pagít
                                                'ugly; used
                                                by ARG of a
                                                man'
                                                'boastful'
(ma+yábaŋ)
              yában
        ADVERBS (including questionwords)
                                                'what'
(anó)
              (a)nú
              bákit
                                                'why'
              nátan
                                                'where'
(násaán)
                                                'how'
              pánu
(paáno)
              uyé ~ uyíq
                                                'again'
(ulíq)
1.1.6. NUMBERS
              ánim
                                                'six'
(ápat)
              ápat ~ (a) pát
                                                'four'
              dáwa ~ dá:wa ~ da:wá
                                                'two!
(dalawá)
(éyt)
              ét
                                                'eight'
                                                'one'
(isá)
              itá
(limá)
              (d) imá
                                                'five'
                                                'nine'
              náyn
                                                'five'
              páyb
              pitó
                                               'seven'
(por)
              pó ~ fóŋ
                                                'four'
(sampóq)
              tampó(q)
                                                'ten'
              tíbin.
(sében)
                                                'seven'
(síks)
              tít
                                                'six'
(siyám)
              (t)iyám
                                                'nine'
(tatló)
              tató ~ tatyó
                                                'three'
(tén)
              tín
                                                'ten'
              tí
(trí)
                                                'three'
(tú)
              tδ
                                                'two'
(waló)
              wawó ~ wayó
                                                'eight'
```

wán

'one'

ADULT FORM

CHILD'S FORM

GLOSS

### 1.2. FUNCTORS

### 1.2.1. PRONOUNS

[(ákin) áken ~ ákin ~ kín ] '(oblique) I' á:ko ~ kú ~ akó ~ áto ~ ató '(nominative) I' (akó) '(nominative) kayó you plural' kitá '(genitive) I (ko + ikaw)+ (nominative) you' '(qenitive) I' ko '(nominative) ikáw you' '(oblique) you' iyó '(genitive) you' mo ~ mu '(nominative) we táyo (inclusive)

### 1.2.2. DEICTICS, PRO-LOCATIVES, SIMILARITIVES

'behold ayán (nominative) that' diyan ~ jan '(oblique) that = (diyán) there' dión ~ duún '(oblique) that (duon) (far) = yonder' (nominative) itó this' '(nominative) (iyón) iyón ~ yón ] that (far)' 'like that' ganyán

### 1.2.3. DETERMINERS

(kay)	key	'oblique proper'
(sa)	ta	'oblique common'
(si)	ti	'nominative proper'

ADULT FORM CHILD'S FORM

LOSS

### 1.2.4. CLITICS

daw din múna . na namán

ŋa

рa pòq 'according to X'

'also' 'first'

'already'

'it's not what

you think

'indeed' 'still'

'(respect marker)'

#### 1.2.5. LINKER

**-**ŋ

### 1.2.6. NEGATIVES, EXISTENTIAL, MODALS

áyaw ~ áyaw 'I don't want (híndiq) indéq - índi - indí - hínde 'not' (mayroon) méyun ~ miyon ~ mon 'there is' there is (waláq) na " wa: " waq " waya (q) " none' wa?á

### 1.2.7. GREETINGS, EXPLETIVES, TAGS

#### GREETINGS

(bábáy) babay Bye-Bye' (gudapternun) gút aptéynun 'Good afternoon' (helő) ayó 'hello' [(salamat) amat ~ namat] 'thank you' (sige) tige 'go ahead' (ténkyu) 'thank you' ténkyo

### EXPLETIVES

'ouch' (aráy) ayay

<sup>?</sup> sound not clear

ADULT FORM CHILD'S FORM

GLOSS

TAGS

é 6 'you see!'

'look!'

1.2.8. CONNECTORS, SENTENTIAL ADVERBS, SEQUENCE MARKERS

(kasí) katé ~ táte ~ taté

'because'

(pagkatápos) táput

'afterwards'.

DERIVATIONAL MARKERS

ma-

'(verbalizer)'

(-um-) mu'(verbalizer)'

ASPECT MARKER

m > n

'[completed]'

 $m > n + cv^2$ 

'[actual]'

SUBJECT CHOICE MARKERS

-an

i-

-in

### Table 1.C

# ARG's inventory of vocabulary sample at 2.6

### 1. FREE FORMS

# 1.1. CONTENTIVES

### 1.1.1. NOUNS

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
	adóbo	'a kind of dish'
(agin <b>á</b> ldo)	agináldo	'gift'
(áraw)	áJaw	'day'
•	atáy	'liver'
	áwaq	'pity'
[ (babái)	babáe ]	'woman'
•	báhay]	'house'
(balah <b>i</b> boq)	bayaíbo ~ baíbo	'body hair'
(balát)	bayát	'skin'
(balbás)	baybat	'beard'
[	[barkőn]	'balcony'
(barbéro)	baubéyo	'barber'
(b <b>á</b> rbekyu	bábékyu	'barbecue'
[(baríl	báwin " báyen "báwen]	'gun'
(bároq)	bayoq	'dress, skirt'
(bāon)	baon ~ baun	'packed lunch'
	bató	'stone'
(bertdey)	bétdey ~ bétde	'birthday'
	bígbóy	'Big Boy (name of a large hamburger)'
[(bisikléta)	babikéta 🕳 bitikyéta]	'bicycle'
	bwonko	'Bronco (a type of jeep)'
[(bốla)	búya ]	'ball'
(bulaklák)	budadá "buyakyák "budakdák	'flower'
(bulilit)	buyiyit	'a very short boy'
	buntót	'tail'

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(bútas)	bútaq - bútat	'hole'
	[kabáyo]	'horse'
[(kaibígan)	beybigan - kaibigan ]	'friend'
[(kalabáw)	kayabaw ]	'carabao'
(kalsáda)	kaJtáda	'sidewalk'
(kámel)	kámen	'camel'
(kalésa)	kayéta	'horse-drawn vehicle'
	kantá	'song'
(kấŋgaru)	kángayu ~ kandayú	'kangaroo'
(karetéla)	kaJtéya	'another kind of a horse-drawn vehicle'
(karetón)	kitón	'cart'
(karnabál)	Ladanuak ~ kaunahau	<pre>'carnival (amusement park)'</pre>
(kartéro)	kartéyo ~ kartéo	'mailman'
(kéyk)	kék	'cake'
	kók ]	'coke'
•	kốče	'car'
(kortína)	koytina ~ ko?tina	'curtain'
(kúlay)	kűyay	'color'
(kulugóq)	kuyugóq	'wart'
(kwárto)	kwájto	'room'
(čéris)	čéyit	'cherries'
(čókoleyt)	kuyéyt	'chocolate'
	čubíbo	'merry-go-round'
	damó	'grass'
(del mónte)	deJ mónte	'Del Monte (brand name)'
(éynjel)	ínjen	'angel'
(g <b>á</b> tas kondensáda)	g <b>áta</b> t kundentáda	'condensed milk'
(gitára)	gitấya	'guitar'
(gróseri)	góteri	'grocery store'
(gulón)	guyốŋ	'wheel'
(j̃iráp)	díyap " jíyap " jíyabu " jáb	'giraffe'
(hélikopter)	káper 🏲 yikáter ဳ kapitín	'helicopter'

<sup>?</sup> sound not clear

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(hipon)	ípon 🐷 ípun	'shrimp'
[(ilốŋ)	ayón ]	'nose'
(lábiq)	y <b>á</b> beq	'lip'
(laláke)	raráke	'man'
(lamésa)	dabéta	'table'
(lansónes)	(an)tónet	'a kind of fruit'
(laŋgám)	yangám	'ant'
[(lápis	yáppet "yáppit "yápit ]	'pencil'
(lốlipap)	yốyipap	'lollipop'
(lúhaq)	yuhá	'tear'
	mákina	'machine'
(mårket)	málket " máyet	'market'
•	matá	'eye'
(motór)	notój	'motor'
[ (motorsíklo	) tontíko ]	'motorcycle'
(mukháq)	mukáq	'face'
(munyéka)	mayéka	'doll'
	pa <b>á</b>	'foot'
(padér)	padéy	'wall'
	panjáma 🕳 pajáma	'pajamas'
(páloq)	páyo	'stick for hitting someone with'
(paŋálan) '	panáyan	'name'
(pansít)	pánčit	'a noodle dish'
(pantalón)	pantayón	'pants'
	papá	'father'
(papél)	[ buèqaq	'paper'
(pastílyas)	patiyat	'a kind of sweet'
•	páyon	'umbrella'
(pera)	péya "péla "péra	'money'
	(pí) čapáy	'pizza pie'
(pigsaq)	pitáq	'boil'
(pulís)	puyít	'police'
[(púsaq)	púttaq]	'cat'

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(pusốd)	putód	'navel'
	pwét	'backside'
(ráket šíp)	yákit číp	'rocket ship'
(regálo)	yigáyo	'gift'
[(relő)	Jéyo 🚜 reyő ]	'watch'
(róbot)	yőbot ~ Jóbot ~ róbot	'robot'
	[sakit]	'sickness'
(sagó)	tágo	'tapioca'
(sandwits)	tánwit	'sandwich'
(sấŋkist)	tấŋkit « tấŋhi » tấŋkit ~ tyấŋkit	'Sunkist orange'
(saráp)	tayáp	'taste'
(sigarīlyo)	tigayiyo	'cigarette'
(sigók)	tigók	'hiccup'
(s <b>í</b> lber béll	) tíbel béy	'Silver Bell (a brand for ice cream)'
(sirena)	tiréna	'siren'
(stróler)	tyóyey 🗻 tyóyer	'stroller'
(šúgar) [(súsiq	súgal "súkal túcěq ]	'sugar' 'key'
[(swiŋ)	φwin ~ twin ~ θwin ~ swin ]	'swing'
[(t <b>á</b> ksi)	tấkti]	'taxi'
(t <b>á</b> liq)	<b>tá</b> ye	'rope'
(téktek)	tíktík " tékték	'male genitals'
(tédi bér)	tédi bén 🕳 tédi béJ	'Teddy Bear'
(télepon)	téyepon	'telephone'
(téyp rekórd	er) téb lekçidend	'tape recorder'
(tul <b>á</b> y)	tuyấy	'bridge'
(ulán)	uyan	'rain'
(yúnimárt)	yűnimárt	'Uni-Mart (supermarket)'

ADULT FORM CHILD'S FORM

GLOSS

# 1.1.2. NAMES AND TITLES

	béntot	'Bentot (a nickname for an actor)'		
(béybi)	bégi	'Baby (a name)'		
(bílma)	biyma	'Vilma'		
(bírjin méri)	) bîjin dêdi	'Virgin Mary'		
(bråder)	praggerq	'Brother'		
(brútus)	bűtűt	'Brutus'		
(klémen)	émen	'Clemen'		
(kúya román)	kóya yomán	'Elder Roman'		
(de la mánya	) dê manyá	'De La Mania'		
(édgar)	édgaud	'Edgar'		
[(éli)	éyi]	'Ely'		
(lasál)	datán	'La Salle'		
[(161a)	16ya]	'Grandmother'		
(lóla gála)	y <b>ốya</b> g <b>ấya</b>	'Grandmother Gala'		
(lóla jenét)	y <b>óya jenét</b>	'Grandmother Jeannette'		
(lunéta)	yuyéta	'Luneta (a park)'		
(martín)	mautín'	'Martin'		
(mísis páŋan)	mītit pāŋan	'Mrs. Pangan'		
(nård)	uęl(g) ~ ugl ~ uęl	'Leonard'		
(nardo)	náld " náyo " nárdo	'Leonard'		
(pekeríŋ)	pekeJin ~ tekeJin	'Pekering (a nickname for an uncle)'		
(pilar)	piyáy	'Pilar'		
(píliks)	pfyik	'Felix'		
[(popon)	pumpon ]	'Popong'		
(rāman)	yáman	'Rahman'		
(san migél)	tấn migếu	'San Miguel (brand name for a beer)'		

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(sānta kláw	rs) tánta kyáwt	'Santa Claus'
	títa bóna	'Auntie Bona'
	[tīta mīna]	'Auntie Mina'
(títa lyóni	.) títa óni	'Auntie Leonie'
(títo ektór	ektőjd "ektőd "ektőj ektőjd "ektór	'Uncle Hector'
(títo gonsá	ilo) títo gont <b>á</b> yo	'Uncle Gonzalo'
(tyá písia	)) píčan ~ tya písan	'Aunt Pisiang'
1.1.3. VEF	RBS	
(akālaq)	kấya	'to be under the impression'
(áčiŋ)	ačíŋ	to sneeze'
(bagsāk)	bakták	'to fall down (of objects)'
(balík)	bayik	'to return'
(baligtád)	bayikt <b>á</b> k	to turn up- side down'
·	baŋgấq	'to collide against (of vehicles)'
(bayāq)	bayá	'to allow, permit'
	bigay	'to give'
(bilan)	biyaŋ	'to count'
[ (bilf)	biyî ]	'to buy, sell'
(buwál)	buwáj	'to cause to fall down (of a tree)'
	kīta	'to see'
[(kúha)	kúa ]	'to take'
(kurðt)	kuyút	to pinch (skin)
(daấn)	dán 🕳 waá:	'to pass by'
(dal <b>á</b> )	dayá	'to carry'
(dasál)	datáu	'to pray'

'to arrive'

datín

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
	pātoŋ	'to put (some- thing) on top of another'
(pílay)	piyay	'to sprain (something)'
	piyốt	'to be flattened (idiolectal)'
(prāktis)	pyäktit	'to practice'
	puntā	'to go (towards)'
(pútol)	pūtol	'to cut'
(sábi)	tábi	'to say'
	saksák	'to stab'
(sægásaq)	tagáta	'to run over (of a car)'
(simbá)	timbá	'to attend church services'
(sind1)	tindé	'to light (a fire)'
(swimin)	wīmiŋ	'to swim'
[(tagoq)	wágo]	'to hide'
(támaq)	táma	'to be hit'
	tấwag	'to call'
	tindá	'to sell'
(túlog)	tűnog	'to sleep'
٠	tuw <b>á</b> d	'to fall'
	túyat	'to write'
(ជbos)	ubűt	'to consume, Finish!
· ·	umpőg	'to hit one's head against something'
	wſwi	'to urinate (baby talk)'
(y <b>ā</b> ri)	yáyi	'to happen'

ADULT FORM CHILD'S FORM GLOSS

# 1.1.4. ADJECTIVES

[(ma+bahoq)	bau]	'stinky!
(ma+baít )	ba ét	'good'
(ma+bago)	baŋổ	'fragrant'
(bráwn)	by <b>áw</b> n	'brown'
(busőg)	butóg	'stuffed (from eating)'
(kabilāq)	kabiyaq	'other (side)'
(ma+dum1)	dum1	'dirty'
[ (g <b>ấ</b> go)	gágu]	'stupid'
(galīt)	gấyit	'angry'
(ma+ganda)	gandá "dánda]	'beautiful'
	gấya	'alike'
(ma+gul6)	guyố	tiresome, bothersome
(ma+hfrap)	fyap	'difficult'
	ibā	'different'
(ma+lak1)	yaké	'big'
[(ma+lamfg)	yameg . yamig]	'cold'
(ma+láyoq)	đấyoq	'far'
(ma+likót)	yikốt	'restless, moving things around'
[(ma+liit)	yiết]	'small'
(ma+lingít)	yinget	'tiny'
(maliq)	mayéq	'wrong'
	munt1	'small'
	pāgit	'ugly'
(pāra+ŋ)	páya 🕳 píya	'like a
(parého)	payéo	'same, equal'
(pat1)	pāti	including!
(pula)	puyá	'red'
(putiq)	putéq	"white"
(pa yấtot)	piyatot . payatot	<pre>'thin (a teasing word)'</pre>

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
で (ma+rámi)	ýámi	'many'
(ma+runog)	yűnog	'learned'
(ma+rup6k)	yop6d	'easily broken'
(salbähe)	sabāe	'naughty'
(sigurādo)	tigurāto	'certain'
(ma+taấs)	taất	'tall'
(ma+tab&q)	tabáq	'fat'
(ma+tandáq)	tandáq	'old'
	tűnay	'real'
	бла	'first'
(y <b>é</b> 10)	yếyu	'yellow'
1.1.5. ADVI	ERBS (including questionwords)	
(būkas)	bűkkat "bűkat	'tomorrow'
	kanina	'earlier'
(dalīq)	dayî	'quickly'
(mãmayáq)	mamayaq 🕳 mamyaq	'later'
QUESTION WO	RDS	
.(bākit)	båket	'why'
(kaníno) [(násaán )	kaninu sán + tátaán ]	whose'
(paáno ')	papáno	how
(síno)	tino	'who'
1.1.6. NUM	BERS	,
[(apat)	tấpat ]	'four'
[(dalawā)	dayawá ]	'two'
[(limá)	y <b>i</b> ma ]	five
	[náyn ]	'nine'
	[por ]	'four'
[ (sében)	tebbén ]	'seven'
[(sīks)	tîk ]	'six'

238 ADULT FORM CHILD'S FORM GLOSS (tat18) tayő] 'three' [tén] 'ten' [(tr1) tví ] 'three' 1.2. FUNCTORS 1.2.1. PRONOUNS ka '(nominative)you' (short form) ' (kamí) tamí 'we (exclusive)' (oblique) he' kaniya namin '(genitive) we (exclusive)' (genitive) we nấtin (inclusive) ' niyá ~ nyá '(genitive) he' (ninyo) nyb (genitive) you' plural . '(nominative) he' (siya) tiyá 1.2.2. DEICTICS, PRO-LOCATIVES, SIMILARITIVES DEICTICS éto 1b ld this (nominative) níto (nito) '(genitive) this' '(genitive) that' (niyan) nyan

### SIMILARITIVES

(ganoon) ganún " ganón " danón 'like that yonder'

#### LOCATIVES

(nandíto) andito 'here'

(nándobn) andun - ando 'there, yonder' ADULT FORM

CHILD'S FORM

GLOSS

1	. 2	3	DETERMINERS	í

aŋ

'nominative marker

(common nouns)

naŋ

'genitive marker (common nouns)'

mana

'plural marker

(with

determiner) '

ni

'genitive marker (proper nouns)'

1.2.4. CLITICS

ba'

'question marker'

yataq

'it seems'

1.2.5. LINKER

na

1.2.6. NEGATIVES, EXISTENTIAL, MODALS

dapat

'must'

(huwág) uwág

'don't'

[ (máy ~ mé ]

'existentializer'

mayroon

pwéde

'can'

[ (waláq)

wáyaq ~ wayáq]

'there is none'

1.2.7. GREETINGS, EXPLETIVES, TAGS

GREETINGS

(béri gud)

b**éyi** gúd

(hapi

ápibéqdéy

bértdey)

-Frankani

máno póq

very good'

'happy birthda

birthday'

'Your hand, Elder, (for me to kiss)'

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ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
EXPLETIVES		
	áy nakú	'My golly'
	inay	'My mother'
(nakú)	náku	'Golly'
	<b>ő</b> o	'Yes'
TAGS	•	
	há ~ á	'you hear'
	nó	'isn't it'
1.2.8. CONNECTORS	ECTORS, SENTENTIAL ADVERBS	, SEQUENCE MARKERS
(at sakā)	at tak <b>á</b>	'and'
	pagká	'whenever'
·	pag	'when, whenever'
(pagkatāpos)	tápot ~ tápos	'afterwards'
(talagá)	tayagā	'really'
2. BOUND FO	RMS	
2.1. NOUN A	FFIXES	
	-an	'locativizer (a place where)
	ka-	'associativizer (someone with whom one does something with or undergoes something with)'
	i-	'locativizer (a place where)'
•	-in	<pre>'complementivizer (something for, e.g. liquid for drinking)'</pre>
2.2. VERB A	FFIXES	
ASPECTS		
	cv <sup>2</sup>	'-actual (potential)'
	-in-	'completed'
	-in-CV <sup>2</sup>	'actual'
		,

ADULT FORM

CHILD'S FORM

GLOSS

SUBJECT MARKERS

pan-

'instrumental

subject marker'

DERIVATIONAL MARKERS

(m)a(g)-

ma-

ma:-

man-

naka:-

pa-

[-um-]

2.3. ADJECTIVE AFFIXES

ka-

naka<sub>1</sub>-

naka2-

ka-NOUN ROOT<sup>2</sup>

(palá-...-in) payá-...-in

(mas)

'verbalizer'

'abilitativizer'

'accidentivizer'

'verbalizer'

'causativizer'

'causativizer'

'verbalizer'

'associativizer (associated with

someone)'

'habilitivizer (wearing some-

thing)'

'positionalizer (in a certain

position)'

'causativizer

(causing a certain

emotional reaction)'

'given to (doing

something) '

'comparative marker'

2.4. ADVERB AFFIXES

na-

'locativizer (in a certain

place)'

### Table 1.D

# ARG's inventory of vocabulary sample at 3.0

# 1. FREE FORMS

# 1.1. CONTENTIVES

# 1.1.1. NOUNS

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(áhas)	hấhat	'snake'
	ánhel	'angel'
(aráro)	ayáyo	'plough'
[(áraw)	áyaw]	'day'
(asāwa)	atáwa	"spouse'
[ (áso)	ašó ~ ató]	'dog'
(asúkar)	atűkaj	'sugar'
(bábol gám)	magludlad	bubble gum'
(bárko)	bālk⊙	ship'
(batútaq)	batúta	'night stick'
	bigóte	moustache!
[(bir	[ Prīd	'beer'
[(bisikléta)	bisikyéta]	'bicycle'
(bomba)	búmba ~ bumbá	'pump'
	bűko	'young coconut'
(buhók)	buhúk]	'hair'
[ (៦ជ័ន)	bús - búš - búč]	'bus'
	kahon	box'
	[kamáy]	'hand'
(karáyom)	kayayom	'needl <b>e'</b>
[(karnibal)	karnibal]	'carnival (amusement park)'
(kopra)	kúpya	'copra'
(kučára)	kučáya	'spoon'
(kuryente)	koyénte	'electric current'
	čánaná	'(plastic) guitar (idiolectal)'

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
Гил и	dáhon	'leaf'
[ (dagāq)	dagā]	'mouse, rat'
(diyős)	diyőt	'god'
(doktőr)	butőr	'doctor'
	dugóq	'blood'
(durāq)	duyā	'spittle'
[(éropláno)	éyopyáno]	'airplane'
[(éyn <b>j</b> el)	éynjen - éynjen - éynjerd]	'angel'
	gána	'appetite'
(gasulina)	gutayina 🕳 gatuyina	'gasoline'
(granáda)	gyanāda	'grenade'
(halaman)	ayaman 🕳 alaman	'plant'
	hagdan	'stairs'
	hāmon	'challenge'
	hấtiq	'half'
(hélmet)	hémet - hámet - héJmet	'helmet'
	híkaq	'asthma'
	[hfpon]	'shrimp'
(hiyaq)	iya	'shame'
[(ílaw)	íyaw]	'light'
(ipis)	fpit	'cockroach'
[(isd <b>á</b> q)	ittåq ~ itdå]	'fish'
[(islayd)	tyấyd]	'slide (garden toy)'
(istasyon)	tatyón	'station'
	16k	'lock'
(lamán)	yaman	'contents'
[(lấyon)	yáyon]	'lion'
(lémon)	yémon	'lemon'
(litson)	yičun	'barbecued pig
(makinflya)	manikiya 🕳 mantikiya	'typewriter'
(mansánas)	mantānat	'apple'
(marin boy)	mayin boy	Marine Boy (a brand name)

(médyas)	méjat	'socks'
	motór	'motor'
[(motorsíklo	) mótontígyo ~ motoutíkyo ~ motoutígyo]	'motorcycle'
(orenj)	őyen <b>ÿ</b>	'orange'
(ospitál)	otpitán	'hospital'
(palaspás)	payatpát	'palm branch (used for religious ceremony)'
	pánčin bág	'punching bag'
(páwis)	páwit	'sweat'
	pinpón	'ping-pong'
(pláka)	pyáka	'record'
•	purgá	'purgative'
[(paá)	pá:]	'foot'
[(rádyo)	yájo]	'radio'
(rambután)	yambután	'a kind of fruit'
(retráto)	litáto ~ litráto ~ tyáto]	'picture'
[(salamin)	támin ~ tayamín ~ taJamín]	'mirror'
(sári sári stór)	táyi táyi istőrt	'variety store'
(šérbet)	šéjbet	'sherbet'
(sílya)	tīya	'chair'
(síne)	tíni	'movie'
(sinturón)	tintuyón	'belt'
(sốpas)	sopát	'soup'
(sukl <b>á</b> y)	tukyáy	'comb'
[(šúgar)	čúgaı]	'sugar'
[(súgat)	túgat]	'wound'
(sundálo)	tundáyo	'soldier'
(súŋay)	túnay	'horn(s)'
[(sumbréro)	tumbyéyo 🕳 tumbréro]	'hat'
(súrot)	tűyot	'bedbug'
	šútin	'shooting'

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(syбpaw)	tiyopaw	'dumpling'
[(téktek)	tekték]	'male genitals'
[(tédi bér)	tídi béJnt]	Teddy Bear
[(tigid <b>1</b> g)	tidfg]	<pre>horse (baby talk) '</pre>
(trấpik)	tipik	'traffic'
	tődi	helmet (idiolectal)
(túbig)	túbeg	'water'
(tuláy)	tuyay	'bridge'
	tunóg	sound!
	tűtag	baby dog,
(ជំ1០)	űyo	head!
	wíč	'witch'
	yaman	'wealth'
1.1.2. NAME	S AND TITLES	
(álkasétser)	glkatéltel	'Alka- Seltzer'
(antipólo)	antipóyo	'Antipolo (a place)'
[(ấti pilấr)	áti piyāu]	'Elder Pilar'
(awgústo	awgűtto	'Augusto'
(bagyo)	bấgyu	'Baguio (a city)'
[(bråder)	byådeJ(t)]	'Brother'
(byérnes sánto)	běuni tánto	'Good Friday'
[(klémen)	kyémen.]	'Clemen'
(kleméntsiya	) kyeméntsya "kyeméntya kleménsa	'Clemencia'
(kráyst da kín)	kr <b>ấy da kí</b> ŋ	'Christ the King'
(kúya bốy)	kőya bőy	'Elder Boy (a man's name)'
	dādi	'Daddy'

GLOSS

holding!

dottora " doktou pernandet \*Doctora (doktór (a) pernándes) Fernandez<sup>1</sup> [(donal dak) donay dak] 'Donald Duck' (hwán tamád) hwán táma:d 'Juan Tamad' čarin . čayin (čarín) 'Charing' Jatáj 🕳 latál (lasál) 'La Salle' (lóla baldés) lóla bándet 'Grandmother Valdes! yíta 'Lisa' (lísa) [(lɔ̃la písiaŋ) yöya píja] 'Grandmother Pisiang! malkot 'Marcos' (márkos) 'Monina' [monina] (pápon pápun dayéna 'Religious daléna) Statue Magdalen! (pilipíno) piyipino 'Filipino' pinokyo 'Pinnochio' (popoy) púpuy 'Popoy' (rómi) бmі Romy (sấnta tánta kyáwt 'Santa Claus' kláws) gyande ·(siyéra 'Sierra Grande' gránde) tagaytáy 'Tagaytay (a city)' (tito pépe) tito pipi 'Uncle Pepe' 1.1.3. VERBS (alágaq) ayága 'to take care of' 'to study ấ ja 1 (áyos) áyot 'to fix, arrange' (bása) bataq 'to read' (basáq) batá (q) 'to make wet' (báwas) báwat 'to reduce' (bil1) biyé ] 'to buy, sell' (bítiw) bitaw) to let go of what one is

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ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(bukās)	bukt bukāt	'to open'
	kabít	'to join'
(kámot)	yámot	'to scratch'
	buwát (Kapampangan)	'to lift'
(kalkál)	kayk <b>á</b> y	to rummage through!
	[kargá]	'to carry'
(kulóŋ)	kuyűŋ	'to lock up
(dulás)	duyát	'to slip'
	galáw	to disarrange (things)'
[ (hábol)	hábol 🕳 háboy]	'to run after'
	hiŋấ	'to breathe'
(hiníq)	hiŋî - hiŋé	'to request, ask for'
	[háwak]	'to hold'
(holdap)	hốydap	'to hold up'
(l <b>á</b> kad)	yákad ~ yakát	to walk!
(lamon)	yāmon	to gobble down (food)
(lipád)	yipād	'to fly'
(lundag)	ayundag	'to jump'
(lútoq)	yūto	'to cook'
(mārčiŋ)	máučig	to march
	pahiná	'to rest'
(panuúd)	panuúy	'to see (a movie)'
(pasoq)	p <b>á</b> toq	'to get scorched'
[(pasok)	patok]	'to enter'
(pfgil)	pigíy	'to stop some- one from'
(pis <b>ā</b> q)	pitat	'to flatten'
	putők	<pre>'to make the noise of shooting (of a gun)'</pre>
(sagāsaq)	tagáta " gatága]	'to run over (of a car)'

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(sáli)	tấyi	'to join'
(sará)	tayā	'to close'
(sipaq)	típa	'to kick'
[(sīraq	číya]	'to break'
[(swimin)	hwimin ~ čwimin ~ twimin]	'to swim'
	[takb6]	'to run'
	tagáq	to cut with a large knife'
(tanóŋ)	tanún	to ask (a question)
	táwa	'to laugh'
(tayoq)	tayú ~ tayóq	'to stand'
(tuđốg)	tűdug ~ tudőg ~ tudúg ~ tűdeg	'to make the noise of running hoofs (of a horse)'
	tugtóg	'to play (e.g. piano)'
(úbos)	űbot	'to consume, finish'
(upoq)	upő	'to sit down'
1.1.4. ADJE	CTIVES	
(alérjik)	ayéJjik	'allergic'
	bagay	'suitable (of clothes)'
(bawal)	báway	'forbidden'
(ma+bigất)	bigat	'heavy'
(bísi)	bīti	'busy'
(buntís)	buntît ~ bûntit	'pregnant'
(kalbó)	kaybő	'bald'
(kásya)	kásya ~ káša ~ káčya	'fitting, of the right size (of clothes)'
(kolord)	kovojd	'colored'
(naka+dip <b>ā)</b>	dipå	'with arms outstretched'
[(galīt)	gấyet]	'angry'
(ma+haŋhāŋ)	haŋhấŋ	'peppery'

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ADULT FORM
                 CHILD'S FORM
                                                GLOSS
[(ma+láyoq) yayoq]
                                             'far'
                                             'tasty'
(ma+linamnam) yinamnam
             [mabaho]
                                             'stinky'
                                             'delicious'
             manyaman (Kapampangan)
(námber wár) námber wán
                                             'Number One -
                                             best!
[(páŋit)
                                             'ugly'
             panet]
(páran)
             páyan
                                             'like'
[(parého)
             payého]
                                             'alike'
             pink
                                             'pink'
             púyo
                                             'pure'
(púro)
(sarádo)
             sayádo
                                             'closed'
[ (ma+taás)
            taát ~ taás]
                                             'tall'
1.1.5. ADVERBS (including questionwords)
ADVERBS
                                             'last night'
             kagabi
                                             up to
             hanga
             yagin - yadin - yadin
                                             'always'
(lágiŋ)
                                             'once'
(minsan)
             mintan
             noon
                                             'then, at that
                                             time'
QUESTION WORDS
 (násaán )
             nátaán ~ átan
                                             'where'
             [paáno]
                                             'how'
1.1.6. NUMBERS
             méton (Kapampangan)
                                             'one'
```

ADULT FORM

CHILD'S FORM

GLOSS

1.2. FUNCTORS

1.2.1. PRONOUNS

siyá

'(nominative) he'

1.2.2. DEICTICS, PRO-LOCATIVES, SIMILARITIVES

DEICTICS

niyán

(genitive) that

PRO-LOCATIVES

[nandito]

'here'

(nandiyan) nanjan

'there'

1.2.4. CLITICS

(palá)

payá

'so'

pa lán

'just now'

1.2.6. NEGATIVES, EXISTENTIAL, MODALS

NEGATIVES, EXISTENTIAL

[huwag]

don't

(prohibitive)'

[(meyroon) meyyon]

'there is'

MODALS

(kailanan) kayanan

'needs'

1.2.7. GREETINGS, EXPLETIVES, TAGS

(heló)

ayów 🕶 héyow

'Hello'

gúd Íbnin

'Good Evening'

EXPLETIVES

abá

Gosh'

brú:mm

'noise of a

motorcar '

(hí:ya:) híya: • iyáq

'word for prodding

a horse'

ŋeq

'whine of a horse'

ADULT FORM

CHILD'S FORM

GLOSS

TAGS

[an6] / 'isn't it'

1.2.8. CONNECTORS, SENTENTIAL ADVERBS, SEQUENCE MARKERS CONNECTORS

at saká ~ áčaka] (at saká)

'and' 'if'

kuŋ .

'when, whenever'

nun

'whenever,

pagká payá

'in order to'

2. BOUND FORMS

(pará)

2.1. NOUN AFFIXES

 $ma - cv^2$ 

'occupationalizer (one engaged

in )'

ka-...-an

'abstractivizer ( ness), e.g. kalukuhan (mad-

ness)'

2.2. VERB AFFIXES

DERIVATIONAL MARKERS

(m)-ag-...-an

'reciprocal

marker'

maka:-

'abilitivizer'

mápa-

'accidentivizer'

naka-

'causativizer'

ASPECT MARKERS

ka+cv2

'recently

completed'

PLURAL SUBJECT MARKERS

CV<sup>2</sup> (adjective root)

'plural subject

marker'

SUBJECT MARKERS

pag-

'instrument subject marker'

GLOSS

### 2.4. ADVERB AFFIXES

ADJECTIVE ROOT<sup>2</sup>

'intensifier (sometimes pejorative)'

ADJECTIVE (ma+Root) +linker

ADJECTIVE (ma+Root)

'intensifier (very) '

VERB ROOT na+linker VERB

ROOT

'continuativizer'

Table 1.E

ARG's inventory of sample vocabulary at 3.6

### 1. FREE FORMS

### 1.1. CONTENTIVES

## 1.1.1. NOUNS

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
	[agināldo]	'gift'
[(áhas)	áhat ]	'sn <b>a</b> ke'
	anák	'child'
(al <b>a</b> mbre	ayambe	'wire'
	[ararð]	'plough'
(asin)	atén	'salt'
[(asúkar)	atúkal ~ atúka」]	'sugar'
	bấg	†bag †
	baháq	'flood'
[(balbás)	balbát 🙀 balbáš 🍒 balbáð]	'beard'
[(balahiboq	) balahibo 🕳 balibo]	body hair
	[ balűn]	'balloon'
	bándeyď	'bandage'
	bányo	'bathroom'
[ (bar11)	baríl 🕳 bayíy]	'gun'
	[beybi]	'baby'
(béysbol)	b <b>éytbo</b> l ~ béytbol	'baseball'
(bigås)	bigāt	'husked rice'
	birhen	statue of Virgin Mary
	[bőla]	ball
	bombéro	fireman
	bulúgan	'male pig'
(bombilya)	bumbīlya	bulb'
	bunot	coconut husk

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(kamātis)	kamātit	'tomato'
	kambāl	'twins'
(kambin)	kambéŋ	'goat'
[(karnabál)	kaunabád 🕳 karnabál]	carnival (amusement park)
(karősa)	karóča	<pre>'carriage (for statues of saints)'</pre>
	kóboy	'cowboy'
[(kőlgeyt)	kólget]	'Colgate (toothpaste)'
[(kučára)	kučála ~ kučáJa]	'spoon'
(kúlay)	kűyay	'color'
(kupyáq)	kupyá	'cap'
[(kwárto)	kwáuto(:) 👡 kwátro]	'room'
(ďískárl)	ďiskéud	cheese curl
	dấk	'duck'
	drågon	'dragon'
(dugóq)	dugő	'blood'
(dyaryo)	្វី <b>៩</b> រប្ត	newspaper'
	ebubőt	*teen-age woman (s]ang)
(érport)	éykort " éyrkort " é:rkő:rt	'airport'
	éruplanu (Kapampangan)	'airplane'
	exprés télegrám	<pre>express telegram</pre>
(géra)	g <b>é ja</b>	'war'
	guntin	'scissors'
	[haláman]	'plant'
	hāpon	'afternoon'
(háriq)	háreq	'king'
	higánte	'giant'
[(fbon)	hibon]	'bird'
	[flaw]	'light'

'nose'

'egg'

[ilốŋ]

iklóg ~ itlóg]

[(itlốg)

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(lagnāt)	lagnát	fever
[(laláki)	wáwáke]	man
(1ấta)	1atta:	'tin can'
	lása	'taste'
(libró)	lebró 🚜 ribró 🚜 ríbro 🚜 ríbru	'book'
	lípstík	'lipstick'
	méli gő láwn	'merry-go- round'
(mísa)	mīta	'Mass'
[ (motór)	motóld]	'motor'
	[motorsiklo]	'motorcycle'
(multó)	muytő	'ghost'
(nipin)	ipin	'tooth'
(påkoq)	páku	'nail'
	pagon	'turtle'
	[palakaq]	'frog'
	[papél]	'paper'
[(påreq)	pale]	'priest'
	pāsas	'raisin'
	pintôq	'door'
	pinya	'pineapple'
	pláto	'plate'
(pulis)	pulit	'police'
(pūri)	irgd	'praise'
(pusít)	putit	'squid'
[(rádyo)	rajy6]	'radio'
[regālo	regaro]	'gift'
[(re16)	lêlo ]	'watch'
(sabon)	tábon]	'soap'
(salābat)	talábat	'something standing in the way'
(salakót)	talakőt	hat made of palm leaf!
(sānsribāl)	tantribal	'Sans Rival (a kind of pastry)

ADULT FORM CHILD'S FORM GLOSS (šáwer) Šawel shower! 'grease' (sébo) tébo šel 'shell' 'asthma' tigatig (sigásig) (Kapampangan) envelope' (sobre) tóbáe (sốlier) jőjer 'soldier' (sumbréro) fhat! tumbelélo] (stkag) čúka " súka 'vinegar' [stinog] fire' tabako 'cigar' \*ear\* tega 'bread' tinape (Kapampangan) tyan ~ can 'belly' (tiyan) (trén) tén 'train' (torftot) turótot 'toy trumpet' [610] 'head' (walis) walét 'broom' 'yellow light' yélo láyt 1.1.2. NAMES AND TITLES andyuw ~ andru 'Andrew' (andru) (awgústo agúto gontálet ~ gontáyet 'Augusto Gonzalez' gonsales) 'Brother' bråder 'Kowloon (house), (káwlun) káwyun a restaurant' (Klemen) kalémen ~ klímen] 'Clemen' 'Elder Bits' (kúya bíts) koya bíč 'Davy Crockett' (deybi króket) deybi kyőket (érpalin) éspalin 'Herpalin (a kind of medicine) ' [(jísus) fitet] \*Jesus\* [hektor] 'Hector'

(lingó)

dingo

Sunday!

ADULT FORM CHILD'S FORM GLOSS lőla etkudéro 'Grandmother (161a Escudero! eskudéro) Los Baños (los bányos) yót bányo 'Mama' mama [magdaléna] 'Magdalen' (mág husé) man uté 'Mr. Jose' 'Maria of (mariyan mariyan takilin Makiling (a makíliŋ legendary character)' (máršal ló) mártiyal lő 'Martial Law' (pantranko) tránko - tánko 'Pantranco (a bus company) ' 'Compadre Bits' (pare bits) paye bit 'Christmas' (paskő) patko 'Rocelle' rotél ~ rosél (rosel) [rūdi] 'Rudy' támi 'Sammy' (sami) 'Saint Joseph' (san hosé) tan huse देर ह वर 'COD (name of (sí ó dí) a store) ' 'Sinbad the (sinbad di tîmbad di téyou Sailor! sévlor) 'Cinderella' (sînderéla) tindeyéya tatad 'Tatad (the name of an assemblyman) 'Uni-Mart' [yūnimast] 1.1.3. VERBS to turn on (andår) andal . andal

#### (of a motor)' 'to wrap' balot to break (of (básag) b**áta** g qlass)' 'to read' (bása) bata ] 'to lift' buhat 'to pour' bűhus 'to play with one's butintin genitals (of men) '

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
	[kűha]	to take!
	[kuloŋ]	'to lock up, put in a cage'
	[dala]	'to carry'
	dil¶g	'to water (plants)'
[(dinig)	dilīg]	'to listen, hear'
	[dinfg]	to hear
	gupit	'to cut (hair)'
	hilāmus	'to wash one's face'
	húkay	'to dig'
	iskéytin	'to skate'
[(lar6q)	laJú 🕳 rarő 🕳 rároq]	'to play'
	lipād	to fly
(lusốt)	Jutőt	'to overtake (of a car)'
	magkarofn	<pre>'to come to a state of possessing something'*</pre>
	mahál	'to love'
	nákaw	'to steal'
	[pahiJám]	'to lend'
	pindűt	'to press (e.g. of a light switch)'
•	pukp6k	'to hit (with a hammer)'
	pútot (Kapampangan)	'to cut'
(sábog)	tábug 🕳 sábog	'to scatter'
	saksāk	'to stab'
(sagót)	tagűt	'to answer'
	salúbon	'to meet on the way'

<sup>\*</sup> Etymologically, this is probably analyzed as mag+ka+(may)doon but in contemporary Pilipino (and certainly in the child's language), the pair is fossilized and not productive, and therefore it is considered as one unit.

ADULT FORM	CHILD S FORM	GLOSS
[ [(sindf)	tindî ]	'to light (a fire)'
[ (siraq)	sīla(q) ~ tīra ]	'to break'
(podůa)	tűbog	to put into one's mouth'
	sundbq	to pick up
(sunod)	tunôd	'to follow'
(suốt )	tuốt	'to wear (clothes)'
(tahiq)	tahé	'to sey'
	tanām (Kapampangan)	'to plant'
(tapák)	tapak	'to step on'
	tulfy	'to enter (a house)'
1.1.4. ADJE	CTIVES	
(ma+ága)	ága	'early'
(asúl)	atúl .	'blue'
	bágo	'new'
(ma+bantot)	bantot	smelly (of decaying matter)
(bérde)	belde	'green'
(bilóg)	bilőg " birőg " bilő:g	'round'
[(brāwn)	bláwn 🗻 beráwn]	'brown'
	bughấw	blue
	by <b>&amp;</b> k	'black'
	byű	<sup>†</sup> blue <sup>†</sup>
(ma+katí)	kati	'itchy'
(ma+dáŋos)	dấŋos	'smudgy'
(ma+dáyaq)	daya	'cheating'
(ma+galín)	galín	'adept'
[(ma+lakí	lak <b>i</b> ]	'big'
(ma+lift)	liít	'small'
(16ko)	lukő	'crazy'
er.	marimlá (Kapampangan)	'cold'
[(oréynj)	oreynj → oleynj]	'orange'

ADULT FORM CHILD'S FORM GLOSS (ma+panhé) paghe having a urinelike odor! ugly (of a pagot witch) (idiolectal)' patatan (Kapampangan) 'showy' (ma+rum1) rumí 'dirty' (sawaq) sáwa tired of (of food) ' (ma+samáq) tama 'bad' wayt 'white' 1.1.5. ADVERBS (including questionwords) ADVERBS melon - meyron - meron ] [(mayrofn) 'there is' QUESTION WORDS [bakit . maqet] 'why' ébat (Kapampangan and Pilipino) 'why' 1.1.6. NUMBERS [fayv] 'five' [(samp6q) sampo] 'ten' 'sixteen' (sīkstin) tiktin 1.2. FUNCTORS 1.2.1. PRONOUNS (genitive) they níla [niny8] '(genitive) you' plural! '(nominative) they' (sila) tila DEICTICS, PRO-LOCATIVES, SIMILARITIVES 1.2.2. DEICTICS

nalí:to ~ nándito]

'here'

[(nándíto)

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F	ADULT I	FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
s	SIMILA	RITIVE		
			ganitő	'like this'
1	1.2.4.	CLII	ics	
			ho	'respect marker'
			ŋa <sub>2</sub>	'request marker'
			na lán	'only'
-1	1.2.7.	GREE	TINGS, EXPLETIVES, TAGS	3
E	EXPLET	IVES		
			halá	look what
_	- , , , ,		<b>*</b>	you've done'
L	(sige)	)	číge]	'go ahead'
1	1.2.8.	CONN	ECTORS, SENTENTIAL ADVE	ERBS, SEQUENCE MARKERS
			áraw-áraw	'daily'
[	(at sa	aká)	ačaká]	'and'
			[bűkas]	'tomorrow'
			kuŋyári	'let us pretend that'
[	(kamu	ntík)	muntik]	'almost'
			masyado	'too'
			pag-	<pre>'when (with potential aspect)'</pre>
			[pará]	'in order'
			[dlit]	'again'
2	2. BO	UND FO	PRMS	
:	<b>2.1.</b> 1	NOUN A	FFIXES	
			NOUN ROOT <sup>2</sup> (time)	'ly'
			NOUN ROOT <sup>2</sup> +an	'noun marker for miniature object used for play or make- believe' e.g. bahay-bahayan 'playhouse'

CHILD'S FORM

GLOSS

mag-cv<sup>2</sup>

'occupational noun marker', e.g. magnanakáw (thief)

mag- NOUN ROOT

'reciprocal noun

marker'

pag-

'nominalizer
marker', e.g.
pagbukas
(opening)

pa-...-an

'locative noun
marker', e.g.
págupítan (a
place where hair
is cut, barbershop)

pa-

'instrumental
marker', e.g.
pasalúbon (present
to someone on one's
return)

-an

'instrumental marker', e.g. hawakan (handle)

2.2. VERB AFFIXES DERIVATION MARKERS

makipag-

[mag-...-an]

magin-

'participativizer'

'reciprocativizer'

'inchoativizer'

2.4. ADVERB AFFIXES

ADVERB INTENSIFIERS

VERB ROOT 2

'to keep on \_\_\_ing (pejorative)' e.g. sunód-sunód (to keep following even if one

even if one should not)

'intermittentivizer'

pa-ROOT<sup>2</sup>

### Table 2.A

## RRG's inventory of vocabulary sample at 1.0

- 1. FREE FORMS
- 1.1. CONTENTIVES
- 1.1.2. NAMES AND TITLES

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS	
(mSma)	ukina	'Mama'	
(nanay)	nana	'nursemaid'	
(nāti)	äti	'Nati'	
(pápa)	pápa	'Papa'	
(tälya)	• yá	'Talia'	
(tőto)	tóto	'Toto'	

### Table 2.B

## RRG's inventory of vocabulary sample at 1.6

### 1. FREE FORMS

### 1.1. CONTENTIVES

### 1.1.1. NOUNS

(hosé)

(161a) [ (máma) uté

wáwa

		•
ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
( <b>á</b> so)	áto	'dog'
(b <b>a</b> bi, Kapampangan)	bábí "bábi	'pig'
(beybi)	bébi 🕶 bébe	'baby'
(butikéq)	tiké "bútiké "kéq	'house lizard'
(mámam)	māmāmām ಒ māmām	'drink (baby talk)'
(p <b>á</b> lakpákan)	papa	'clapping'
(papaq)	pápáq	'food (baby talk)'
(papoq)	pápu 😞 pápoq	'God, religious statues; (child) any picture or statue'
(pāsas)	pátat	'raisin'
(pūsaq)	pútaq 🕳 táq	'cat'
(tigidig)	tűgudúg ~ təgidé	'horse (baby talk)'
(tútaq)	tűta	'puppy'
	wſwi	'urine; (child) puddle of water'
1.1.2. NAME	ES AND TITLES	
(klémen)	kểmến	Clemen
(dadi)	dádi "dá:ddé	'Daddy'
	_	

'Jose'

'Mama' (cf. <u>mámi</u>)

'Grandmother'.

ADULT FORM CHILD'S FORM GLÒSS mámi Mommy ' [(nanay) náni "áni "na:ní "nání" " 'Nursemaid' nání " náně " nánné" " nánáy ~ nánay ] [(nāti) á:te ] 'Nati' [(papa) papa ~ papa] 'Papa' (popog) popó 'Popong' úti ~ túde · Rudy ! (rúdi) (súsan) tuttuttá 'Susan' títo 'uncle' (tốtog) tốtố ~ tətə ~ tata] 'Toto' 1.1.3. VERBS baba" 'to go down' (babáq) máno to extend one's hand (to be kissed as a sign of respect) ' (mémeq) mémé 'to sleep' (umpog) púpúq 'to hit one's head against something! 1.1.4. ADJECTIVES (ma+būti) būte ~ abuté 'good' 1.2.7. GREETINGS, EXPLETIVES, TAGS (bábáy) babay 'goodbye' tigidigidig ~ tigidigidig 'noise of

horse running

Table 2.C

## RRG s inventory of vocabulary sample at 2.0

## 1. FREE FORMS

## 1.1. CONTENTIVES

## 1.1.1. NOUNS

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
	aligíq	'crab roe'
(baboy)	báboy 🕶 báboy	'pig'
(balun)	bádo w báyo w balán w bálog	'balloon'
	bấtaq	'child'
	bőla	ball'
(bolpen)	bópín	'ballpoint pen'
	bulaklák	'flower'
[(butikiq)	butiki]	'house lizard'
(kambal)	abal	'twins'
(kamíyas)	biyat	'a kind of fruit'
(kapé)	kapí ~ ápe	'coffee'
(kendi)	dédi 🕳 déde 🕳 éndi	'candy'
(kláwn)	táwn	'clow'
(kốtse)	atőti	'car'
	čongo	monkey'
(dag <b>is,</b> Kapampangan)	dagit . digit	'mouse, rat
[(digidig)	dīgīdīg]	'horse (baby talk)'
(dinugüan)	nuguan	'blood soup'
(dyáryo)	dyấyo	'newspaper'
(érpléyn)	épleyn	'airplane'
[(isdấq)	dída "idáq "idá "itdá]	'fish'
(gātas)	tátát	'milk'
(lansones)	ātótīt	'lanzones (a kind of fruit)

ADULI FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(lapis)	p <b>á</b> pit	'pencil'
(lĺpstík)	ípit	lip-stick
	mámaq	man !
(man6k)	mánok	'chicken'
(maŋgấ)	mánga 🎺 mangá	'mango'
(milón)	bilőn	'melon'
(pakw <b>á</b> n)	pakán "pánkán	watermelon •
	[papo]	'God, religious statue'
(pera)	p <b>éla "</b> peRa	'money'
(pintóq)	pīto ~ mintō	door!
(píso)	pfto	'one-peso coin'
[(ptsaq)	pūta ]	'cat'
(relő)	ilő	'watch'
(retráto)	dádo	'photograph'
(sabáw)	abáw	'soup'
(salamīn)	mámin 🕳 ámin	'mirror, eyeglasses'
(sapátos)	pátut "bátut » tapátot	shoe(s)'
(síŋko)	Ígko	'five-centavo coin'
(sűnog)	tűnog	'fire'
(stsiq)	túti " atúti " túťí	'key; (child) pen'
(súman)	űman	'rice dessert'
(téŋa)	téka	'ear'
(tíbi)	pīti ".tībi " īpe	TV T
(télepon)	pípon "pipón	'telephone'
	tékték ~ tíktok	<pre>'clock (baby talk)'</pre>
	tóti <sub>¶</sub>	'clock (idio- lectal)'
	tőtí <sub>2</sub>	'pen, any long object(?) (idio- lectal) '
[(tútaq)	túta]	'puppy'

GLOSS

GLOSS

1.1.2.	NAMES	AND	TITLES
--------	-------	-----	--------

(béda)	bída "bidá "dída	'Beda'
	bốy bấboy	'Piggy Boy'
(bråder)	bade "padé	'Brother'
(brūtus)	bűtut	'Brutus (name of a dog in a cartoon)'
[(klémen)	émen 🕳 ámen]	'Clemen'
	kűya	'Elder Brother'
(kúya tótoq)	kóya " kűya tőtoq	'Elder Brother Toto'
[ (dádi)	dádí "dádi "dá:dí ]	'Daddy'
(dodon)	dóndőn	'Dodong'
(gấriŋ)	gấyiŋ	'Garing'
(goryan)	δγαη " άγαη " σάγαη	'Goriang'
[(151a)	lốla "lổda "lốla "lấ?a " yúya "yổya "dốda "lấ[a]	Grandmother'
(m <b>á</b> mi+ko, interpreted as one word)	mámikő	'my mother; (child) mother or father'
(ninon)	nínő 🕶 nínog	'Godfather'
(pápay)	pápay "papáy	'Popeye'
(pigigerl)	pétőte ~ pítíti ~ pítíté	'Piggy Girl'
(pilár)	pidard "piyayt "pidayt	'Pilar'
	pípo	'Pippo'
(დნდიე)	δροη ω έροη ω έ:ροη ω δπρεη ω ρόηρδη ω ρόροη ω υηρόη	'Popong'
(putiq)	pűti	'white; (child) horse, presumably white'
(súsan)	tűtá " tűdá " tűtá"	'Susan'
(tấya)	táta	'Talia'
(títa)	títatítág " títa	'Auntie'
	tîtay	'Titay'
[(títo)	t1:t8 ~ dfto]	'Uncle'
(títo ándi)	títo ádi " títo ándi	Uncle Andy
(tốtoy)	tútoy	'Totoy'

GLOSS

1.1.3. VERB			VERBS
-------------	--	--	-------

(akyất)	atát ~ ápat ~ akyát	to go up'
(alis ka, interpreted as one lexical term)	Íka	'you leave'
(babaq)	bába ~ ába ~ babáq]	to go down'
	baŋgấq	'to collide against'
(basáq)	batá	'to wet'
(buklất, Kapampangan)	bulat	'to open'
(bukās)	but-	to open
(karg <b>á</b> )	nanga 🕳 únga 🕳 kanga	'to carry'
	đapāq	to lie down on one's stomach, to fall on one's face'
	digfdigf	<pre>'to trot (of a horse) (baby talk)'</pre>
(gīsiŋ)	gſtiŋ	'to awaken'
(gustó)	tő	'to like'
(higáq)	igá	to lie down
(hfla)	i:yá	'to pull'
(hintấy)	intấy	'to wait'
(Ipit)	îpit ~ ápat ~ îpet ~ pîpet	to be caught in between!
	iyak	'to cry'
(labás)	abất	to go out; (child) to remove shoes
(lar6q)	yấyo	'to play'
(lipad)	pipad	'to fly'
(ligoq)	igő " dígo "yígo	to take a bath!
(palit)	palét ~ balét	'to change'

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(pa+hiŋéq)	pể ~ pếneq ~ mểneq ~ paynêq (interpreted as one lexical term)	'give me (a request)'
(pásoq)	pātó	to be scorched!
(pások)	pátok "pátuk	'to enter'
(pū̃nas)	múnat	'to wipe'
(sābi)	abí	'to say'
(sū́lat)	ūlat	'to write'
(sāma)	táma 🗻 má ъ máma	'to take along'
	tabí	'to put oneself beside; (child) to lie down beside'
	tűlog	'to sleep'
(upốq)	apó 🕳 úpoq 🕳 pó	'to sit down'
(uwíq)	นพโ	to go home!
1.1.4. ADJ	ECTIVES	
(ma+bahoq)	bấyo "bẩo "bấhoq	'stinky'
(baligtad)	bigtád	inside out, upside down'
(ma+ba ඉරි)	b <b>ấ</b> go	'fragrant'
	búlok	'rotten'
(bomba)	búmbá	'naked'
(bwisit)	būtit	'irritating'
(gágo)	gágo 🕳 dágo	'stupid'
(gaiit)	ālit	'angry'
(ma+fnit)	fnit'	'hot'
(ma+lamíg)	mík	'cold'
	lukนีในห้ดี (interpreted as one lexical unit)	'crazy'
(pagit)	månet "månit "pånet	'ugly'
	pilya	'naughty'

'naughty'

'red'

(pilyo)

pélo

рúlа

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(sarádo)	ado	'closed'
(sayaŋ)	ấyaŋ	inot to be wasted!
(táma)	må	'enough'
1.1.5. ADV	ERBS (including questionwords)	•
ADVERBS		
(bandá)	bánda	'around (of a location)'
QUESTIONWOR	os	
(and)	ánu	'what'
(násaán)	natá:n 🕳 atán	where !
	sino	who
1.1.6. NUM	BERS	
(p <b>á</b> yb)	payb 😽 phayb	'five'
(sében)	ében	'seyen'
(trī)	trī	threet
(tú)	tú " tổ	'two
	wấn	'one'
1.2. FUNCTO	DRS	
1.2.1. PRO	nouns	
(ákin)	akîn	'(oblique) I'
	ka	'(nominative) you' (short form)'
	ko	(genitive) I'
	kő ~ akő	'(nominative) I'
	ikāw	(nominative) you

teasing expression used after Indyan Bána, American

'See what you've

Indian)'

done'

ADULT FORM CHILD'S FORM GLOSS DEICTICS, PRO-LOCATIVES, SIMILARITIVES 1.2.2. '(nominative) behold' (ayón) ayún that yonder' díto '(oblique) this = here' '(oblique) that = diyan ~ dyan here' itó '(nominative) this yán '(nominative) that' (iyấn) yonder' 1.2.3. DETERMINERS 'nominative aŋ marker (common noun) ' 'genitive ni marker (proper noun)' 'nominative si marker (proper noun) ' 1.2.4. CLITICS 'already' na 1.2.6. NEGATIVES, EXISTENTIAL, MODALS ayáw 'to refuse! 'no, not' indéq ~ endéq walá ~ lá 'there is not' 1.2.7. GREETINGS, EXPLETIVES, TAGS aláy 'Ouch' (arấy) 'Ouch' (arúy) alúy kákanákaná '(onotamopoeic

alá

(halá)

ADULT FORM

CHILD'S FORM

GLOSS

(h**á**pi bértdey)

ápi bétdey ~ bádey

'Happy Birthday'

(hintáy+ka, téka

'wait'

interpreted

as one

lexical entry)

(híýa) a

'giddiyap'

(rédi,

gégég**ó** 

'Ready . . . . go'

qo)

(sandalí dalí lan

'Just a moment'

lan, interpreted as one lexical entry)

(walán wá mán po

anuman poq)

'Not at all, Elder (reply to a thank-you expression)'

### 2. BOUND FORMS

### 2.2. VERB AFFIXES

DERIVATIONAL MARKERS

ma-

'verbalizer'

ASPECT MARKERS

 $cv^2$ 

'actual'\*

a-

'-actual'\*

a2-

'completed'\*

SUBJECT MARKERS

-an

### 2.3. ADJECTIVE AFFIXES

ma-

'plenitivizer'

<sup>\*</sup>These are special forms (not adult forms) of RRG; see section on verb morphology.

Table 2.D

## RRG's inventory of vocabulary sample at 2.6

# 1. FREE FORMS

## 1.1. CONTENTIVES

### 1.1.1. NOUNS

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
	[ <b>å</b> so]	'dog'
	báka	'cow'
(báhay)	kabay "bahay	'house'
	[balún]	'balloon'
(bároq)	bádoq 🚜 bádo	dress
(bfleyj)	bileyd	'village'
(buh&k)	búhok	'hair'
	bundők	'hill, mountain'
(būtas)	bútat 🍝 bútas	hole
(kabáyo)	abáyo	'horse'
(ka+ibigan, interpreted one lexical entry)		'friend'
	kamay	'hand'
(kambíŋ)	kámbin	'goat'
	kamóte	'sweet potato
(kapatíd)	páted	'sibling'
[(kapé)	kapí]	'coffee'
	[kéndi]	candy!
	[kốtse]	'car'
(kučón)	kúčon	cushion, mattress!
(činélas)	lélat	'slipper(s)'
(dőr)	₫₫R	'door'
(drówiŋ)	бwiŋ	'drawing'
	élepan	'elephant'

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(gamőt)	gámot	'medicine'
	jíp	'jeep'
(hámon)	amon "hamon "a:mon	'challenge'
(hấtiq)	<b>á</b> tiq	'half'
(ibon)	íbu "bűn "műn	'bird'
(flaw)	iyaw 🔪 ilaw	'light'
(isd <b>á</b> q)	ittä	'fish'
(lapis)	lápit "yápit	'pencil'
	láyon	'lion'
(libró)	libó	'book!
	bấđi	'book (idiolectal)'
(liig)	leég	'neck'
(manikaq)	manika	'doll'
	má <b>j</b> ik	'magic'
(médy <b>a</b> s)	bédyas	'socks'
(motor)	motól " motóR	'motor'
	palak <b>á</b> q	'frog'
(panyoq)	panyo	'handker- chief'
(papél)	papë <u>?</u> ~ papël	'paper'
(pareq)	páRe	'priest'
(parot)	pålot	'parrot'
[(pásas)	pásad ゐ pásas]	'raisin'
(pékpek)	pékpék	<pre>'female genitals (baby talk)'</pre>
(péper)	pépey "pépi	'pepper'
[(péra)	péda]	'money'
(principe)	pinsipe	'prince'
	[ptsaq]	'cat'
(rádyo)	ajo " yajo " yadyo " Radyo	'radio'
[(rel6)	lélo " rélo " dédo " léRo]	'watch'
(réyna)	déyna	'queen'
[(sabāw)	sábaw]	'soup'
? sound no	t clear	

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(sabon)	abon	'soap*
	sábon	'cockfight'
(s <b>á</b> giŋ)	ágin	banana'
(sant61)	antol	'a kind of fruit'
	[sapátos]	'shoes'
(stikaq)	űkaq	'vinegar'
[(susiq)	tūteq]	'key'
(swimin pul)	) wimin pul	'swimming pool'
(táliq)	tåleq	'rope'
	téla	'cloth'
(trấk)	ták	'truck'
(téyp rekörder)	úde " óde " ó:de	'tape recorder'
(tűbig)	úbi 🕶 úbe 🕶 túbig	'water'
(y <b>č</b> lo)	1610	'ice'
	MES AND TITLES i) bếrjin bếli "bếdi "	*Virgin
,	bē?i ~ méli	Mary
[(d <b>á</b> di)	dádiq]	'Daddy'
[(émen)	émin]	'Emen'
[(garin)	dádi]	'Garing'
(gonsāles)	gunsāles	'Gonzalez'
(j̃ínjin)	dindin	'Gene-Gene'
	jísus	'Jesus'
[(161a)	151a]	'Grandmother'
(1610)	16Ro	'Grandfather, Granduncle'
(māmi)	mamiq	'Mommy'
	mélo	'Melo'
(pampánga)	pāmpāŋga	'Pampanga (a province)'
(pilipíno)	pipíno ~ píno	'Filipino'

<sup>\*?</sup> sound not clear

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(၉၀်၉၀၅)	popon	'Popong'
(rūdi)	aŭai	'Rudy'
(santó domíngo)	tan - san dumingo domingo	'Santo Domingo'
•	títa ópi	'Auntie Ophie'
	títo pépe	'Uncle Pepe'
(títa rős)	tīta rōt	Auntie Rose'
1.1.3. VERE	os.	
(alis)	alít	'to remove, leave'
(amby)	ámoy	'to smell'
	bagin	'to move from tree to tree using branches (like Tarzan)'
	bása	'to read'
(bigấy)	bigy-	to give!
(bil1)	bī:	'to buy'
[ (buks- buk <b>á</b> s	buks-]	'to open'
[(kargấ)	kángá ]	'to carry (a load)'
(kíta)	tá	'to see'
(kū́ha)	kūa 🏎 kun-	'to take'
	dalā	'to bring'
	gāmit	'to use'
(gawaq)	gấwa	'to do, make'
[(gust6)	gutő 🕳 guttő 🕳 guső 🕳 gustó]	to like!
[(híla)	<pre>fya]</pre>	'to pull'
(hūlog)	бlog	'to fall'
	in6m	to drink!
	<b>1</b> wan	'to leave behind'
(lagấy)	lágay	to place!

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
	122152	'to fall
	laglåg	(of fruit)
	lámon	'to gobble down, to eat like an animal'
(landy)	lánuy	'to swim'
	lapit	'to draw near'
(lar6q)	jajóq w yayóq w dáRoq w áRoq w rároq w raróq w lároq	'to play'
(linis)	linit	'to clean'
	lipad	'to fly'
(lubốg)	űbog	'to sink'
	påloq	'to beat (with a stick)'
	patáy	'to die, kill'
	pülot	'to pick up'
(pútol)	pūto? ~ pūtol	to cut
(saksák)	táksak	'to stab'
(sampá)	ấpa	'to climb on top of'
(simbá)	ímba 🕶 simbá	'to worship'
(swimin)	símin 🗻 swímin	'to swim'
(tágoq)	tágu	'to hide'
	taŋgấl	'to remove (an object) from a portion where it is already attached)'
(tấwag)	awāg	'to call'
(tiŋn-an, tiŋin)	tiŋn- ~ a-	'to look at'
[ (uwéq)	wéweq ]	'to go home'
1.1.4. ADJE	CCTIVES	•
[(ma+báhoq)	bấu]	'stinky'
(ma+baŋō)	baŋó	'fragrant'
(kolord)	kődoRd	'colored'
(ma+lambót	lambót	'soft'
[(lukulukරි)	lukuluko, interpreted as one lexical entry	'crazy'

<sup>\*?</sup> sound not clear

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(pagőd)	págud ~ págod	'tired'
(paŋhí)	pághi	'smelling of urine'
	pógi	'handsome (slang)'
(réd)	Red ~ yểd	'red'
(ma+rúnoŋ)	núnuŋ ~ Rúnoŋ	'learned'
(ma+saráp)	saráp	'delicious'
1.1.5. ADVE	RBS (including questionwords)	
(kagabí, interpreted as one word)	agabí	'last night'
QUESTIONWORD	s	
[ (nasaấn)	ấtan]	'where'
[(sino)	ſnu ]	'who'
1.1.6. NUMB	ERS	
	náyn	'nine'
[ (p <b>á</b> yb)	p <b>á</b> y ~ páyt]	'five'
(piptin)	piptin	'fifteen'
•	pitő	'seven'
(portin)	pótín	'fourteen'
[(sében)	sében ~ ebén]	'seven'
	tén	'ten'
1.2. FUNCTO	DRS	
1.2.1. PRON	IOUNS	
(akổ)	ákog	'(nominative) I'
	kayó	'(nominative) you (plural)'
	iyó ~ yó	'(oblique) you'
	mi	'(genitive) you'
(siyā)	šá	'(nominative) he'

ADULT FORM

CHILD'S FORM

GLOSS

1.2.2. DEICTICS, PRO-LOCATIVES, SIMILARITIVES

DEICTICS

(diyan) jan '(oblique) that =

there'

(duổn) dún ~ dúhon ~ dón ~ duún ~

duhun ~ du:n ~ duon

'(oblique) that = yonder = there

yonder'

iyan

'(nominative) that'

(iyon) yon ~ yun

'(nominative) that

yonder'

PRO-LOCATIVES

(nándíto) ándito

nandiyan ~ anjan

'here'
'there'

.

SIMILARITIVES

(nandiyan)

ganyán

'like that'

1.2.3. DETERMINERS

(si) i

'nominative marker (proper

noun)'

maŋa

'plural marker'

naŋ

'genitive marker' (common noun)'

(pará) pá:re ~ paRá ~ pála ~ pá:ra

'benefactive marker (for)'

(sa) ta ~ a

'oblique marker (common noun)'

1.2.4. CLITICS

ba

'question marker'

laŋ

'only'

múna

'first'

рa

'still'

1.2.5. LINKER

**-** 0

ADULT FORM CHILD'S FORM GLOSS 1.2.6. NEGATIVES, EXISTENTIAL AND MODALS hindé ~ indéq] (hindig) 'no, not' (huwág) uwag ~ huwag ~ wag 'don't' méRon ~ mé ~ méyon ~ mélon (mayrocn) 'there is' (walaq) waláq ~ alá ] 'there is not' . 1.2.7. GREETINGS, EXPLETIVES AND TAGS 'How are you?' (kumustá) kumutá é 'You see' ayká ~ alká ~ líka ~ haliká 'you come (haliká, interpreted here' as one lexical entry) [(hápi hấp bếtdey ~ bếyt đếy] 'Happy bértdey) Birthday' mabúhay 'Long Live' пб 'isn't it?' б 'Look' (ốo) 66 'yes' 2. BOUND FORMS 2.1. NOUN AFFIXES 'locativizer -an, (a place where)' 'instrumentalizer -an<sub>2</sub> (a thing with which to)' 'instrumentalizer pa-(something for making <u>a</u> thing\_ to be /quality/)' 2.2. VERB AFFIXES DERIVATIONAL MARKERS 'verbalizer' maN-ASPECT MARKERS 'actual'\*  $cv^2$ '-actual' acv<sup>2</sup> 'actual'\*

one does not know

## Table 2.E

# RRG's inventory of vocabulary sample at 3.0

#### 1. FREE FORMS

# 1.1. CONTENTIVES

#### 1.1.1. NOUNS

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(animál)	animáls	'animal(s)'
	ápikses	'affixes (echoic, heard from investigator)'
(ástrunot)	átunot	'astronaut'
	áwto	'auto'
	áys krím	'ice cream'
	b <b>á</b> g	'bag'
	bábol gám	'bubble gum'
	balbás	'beard'
	balé (Kapampangan)	'house'
	baltík	'a kind of skin allergy'
(baŋkấq)	bấŋka	'boat
	bató	'stone, pebble'
	batútaq	'night stick'
(bőlpen)	bówpen]	'ball-point pen'
	bóte .	'bottle'
	búlsa	'pocket'
(kláse)	ka.láse	'class'
(kwénto	kénto	'story'
	kláwn	'clown'
	koróna	'crown'
	kučaríta	'teaspoon'
	kučílyo	'knife'
	kűlay	'color
(kulót)	kúnot	'curly (of hair)'
	kwấn	'something (a cover term when

•	ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
		[činélas]	'slipper(s)'
		damít	'thing to wear'
	(gåsa)	gáša	'gauze'
	[(gấtas)	gấtat]	'milk'
	[(,,,	hagdán	'staircase'
	(haláman)	aláman	'plant'
	(hapunésa)	apunésa	'Japanese woman'
	, , ,	lamán	content(s)
	•	[lápis]	'pencil'
	(mal <b>í</b> q)	malí	'mistake'
	•	matá	'eye'
	4	máyk	'mike (micro- phone)'
	[(motor)	motód ~ motóRd]	'motor'
	(motorsíklo)	motodsíglo	'motorcycle'
	(mukhá)	muká	'face'
	(multó)	mutó	'ghost'
		mútaq	'dirt in the eye'
		náyt kláb	'night club'
		ŋálan	'name'
		paá	'foot'
		pajáma	'pajama(s)'
		pánti	'panty'
		parúparó	'butterfly'
	[(pásas)	pásats]	'raisin'
		pépsi	'Pepsi-Cola'
	(périswíl)	péRitwil	'Ferris Wheel'
		pésant	'peasant dress (long dress)'
		píla	'queue'
		pláka	'record disc'
		pláto	'plate'
		póno	'phonograph'
	(priņsēsa)	prinsésa ~ pwinsésa ~ pyinsésa	'princess'
		pulís	'policeman'
	[(rádyo)	Rájo]	'radio'

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(róbot)	Rőbot	'robot'
[(salamin)	salamén]	'mirror, eyeglasses'
(salsíčas)	čačítčat	'sausage'
(sapátos)	sapátot ~ sapátots]	'shoe(s)'
(reg <b>á</b> lo)	dig <b>á</b> lo	'gift'
(siŋsíŋ)	tiŋtéŋ	'ring'
	sīris	'series'
	tão	'man'
	tutubé	'dragonfly'
	wíč	'witch'
	[yélo]	'ice'
1.1.2. NAME	ES AND TITLES	
	aráyat	'Arayat (name of a town)'
(áte gáren)	áte gágen	'Elder Sister Gareng'
(áte sór)	áte sól	'Elder Sister Sor'
[(bråder)	båder]	'Brother'
(kápteyn márbel)	kəptéyn máybel	'Captain Marvel'
(kortina)	kotina	'Cortina (name of a car)'
	kubão	'Cubao'
	dárna	'Darna'
	dóktor hwíko	'Dr. Juico'
	dőlpi	'Dolphy'
	dów ré mí	'Do-Re-Mi (name of a song)'
:	jisus kráyst	'Jesus Christ'
	jójo	'Jojo'
(hektőr)	hektóR	'Hector'
	itályan bílej	'Italian Village (name of a restaurant)'
	[161a]	'Grandmother'

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(maynflaq)	manilaq	'Manila'
	márkos	'Marcos'
(monina)	munina	'Monina'
	pančíto	'Panchito'
	pénčan	'Menchang'
(réd ráydin húd)	Réd Ráydin húd	'Red Riding Hood'
	san páblo	'San Pablo'
1.1.3. VERB	s	
	alám	'to know'
(áway)	háway	'to quarrel'
	balík	'to return'
(bálot)	bálut	'to wrap'
	[bilf]	'to buy'
(bītaw)	bitáw	'to lay on the floor what one is holding, to give up'
(káin)	káen	'to eat'
	kís	'to kiss'
	[k1ta]	'to see'
	daán	'to pass by for someone'
	das <b>á</b> l	'to pray'
	déde	'to such'
	dinfg	'to hear'
	gálin	'to come from
(háwak)	háwak ~ áwak	'to hold'
	hilámos	'to wash one's face'
	[húlog]	'to fall'
	ſkot	'to go round, to circle'
	[labás]	'to go out'
	lundåg	'to jump'
	panood	'to watch (a movie)'

	·	
ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
	púlot	'to pick up'
	[pūnas]	'to wipe'
	puntá	'to go out'
(s <b>á</b> bi)	tábi	'to say'
	sakál	'to squeeze
•		someone's neck'
	sáli	'to join (a game)'
	sará	'to turn off
-		(of light), literally, to
		close'
	sayaw	'to dance'
(sindé)	tindé	'to turn on (an
,		electric
		appliance), to light'
(siraq)	tíya	'to break'
(súbok)	súbuk	'to try'
	[súlat]	'to write'
	sunod	'to follow'
	suốt	'to wear'
(t <b>á</b> boy)	tábuy	'to drive away'
(tampбq)	tampú ~ tampóq	'to show
		resentment'
	tápak	'to step on'
	tápon	'to throw away'
	táwa	'to laugh'
	táe	'to defecate'
	tugtóg	'to play (a tune)'
		· · · · · ·
1.1.4. ADJ	ECTIVES	
(bérde)	béde	'green'
(bilóg)	b <b>íl</b> ug	'round'
	ь1 й	'blue'
(bráwn)	byáwn	'brown'
	byútipul	'beautiful'
	kāya .	'able to'

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(ma+daldál)	daldál	'gossipy'
(ma+gandá)	gandá	'pretty'
	gấya	'like'
	gutóm	'hungry'
	isá	'single'
	itím	'black'
(parého)	palí	'same, equal'
(punóq)	punó	'full'
(putíq)	putéq	'white'
(ma+rámi)	dámi ~ Rámi	'many'
(ma+sakít)	sakít	'painful'
	sapák	'excellent (slang)'
(with <u>ka-</u> )	taấs	'tall'
(ma+tabáq)	tabá	'fat'
(ma+tandáq)	tandá	'old'
	tapós	'finished'
1.1.5. ADVE	RBS (including questionwords)	
ADVERBS		
(bigl <b>á</b> q)	bigl <b>á</b>	'suddenly'
[(kagab1)	kagabé]	'last night'
		•
(mamayaq)	mámaya	'later'
(māmayaq) QUESTIONWORD		'later'
		'later'
QUESTIONWORD	S	
QUESTIONWORD (bakit)	s bát ásan]	'why'
QUESTIONWORD (bakit) [(násaán)	s bát ásan]	'why'
QUESTIONWORD (bakit) [(násaán) 1.1.6. NUMB	S bất ấsan] ERS	'why'
QUESTIONWORD (bakit) [(nāsaān) 1.1.6. NUMB (ānim)	S bất ấsan] ERS aním	'why' 'where'
QUESTIONWORD (bakit) [(nāsaān) 1.1.6. NUMB (ānim)	S bát ásan] ERS aním apát	'why' 'where' 'six' 'four' 'two'
QUESTIONWORD (bakit) [(nāsaān)  1.1.6. NUMB (ānim) (āpat)	bất ásan] ERS aním apát dalawá	'why' 'where'  'six' 'four' 'two' 'one' 'five'
QUESTIONWORD (bakit) [(nāsaān)  1.1.6. NUMB (ānim) (āpat)	bát ásan]  ERS aním apát dalawá itá	'why' 'where'  'six' 'four' 'two' 'one' 'five' 'seven'
QUESTIONWORD (bakit) [(nāsaān)  1.1.6. NUMB (ānim) (āpat)	bát ásan]  ERS aním apát dalawá itá limá	'why' 'where'  'six' 'four' 'two' 'one' 'five'

ADULT FORM CHILD'S FORM GLOSS (siyám) 'nine' tiyám tatló 'three' [tri] 'three' waló 'eight' 1.2. FUNCTORS 1.2.1. PRONOUNS (kamí) kamé ' (nominative) we (exclusive) ' (ko+ikaw) kitá '(genitive) I + (nominative) you' námin '(genitive) we (exclusive) nátin ' (genitive) he (inclusive)' ' (genitive) he' niyá (niny6) ' genitive) you' niyố (plural) ' silá '(nominative) they' '(nominative) he' (siya) tiyá '(nominative) we táyo (inclusive) DEICTICS, PRO-LOCATIVES, SIMILARITIVES 1.2.2. DEICTICS 'behold (nominative) ayán that' 'behold (nominative) éto this' that yender (\*niun > nún+) (linker) \*nuun > ) (used for time)' PRO-LOCATIVES nándun ~ ánduon 'there yonder' (nánduón) SIMILARITIVES 'like that ganon yonder' 1.2.3. DETERMINERS

(kay)

key

oblique marker

(proper noun) '

ADULT FORM

CHILD'S FORM

GLOSS

ma- ~ mag-

pa-ROOT 2

-um-

maka:-

'verbalizer'

'causativizer'

'intermittentivizer (pejorative)'

'verbalizer'

'abilitativizer'

ASPECT MARKERS

-in-

C-in-VCV

m > n

 $m \rightarrow n + cv^2$ 

 $ma(g) > na(g) + cv^2$ 

 $CV^2$  (with -um-)

'completed'

'actual'

'completed

'actual'

'actual'

'actual'

SUBJECT MARKERS

i-

2.3. ADJECTIVE AFFIXES

ka-

naka-

cv<sup>2</sup>

'associativizer'

'positionalizer'

'plural subject

marker in the adjective'

2.4. ADVERB AFFIXES

ka- (Kapampangan)

ADVERB ROOT 2

ADJECTIVE ROOT + linker ADJECTIVE ROOT

'how (adjective),

very'

'intensifier (very ly)'

'intensifier

(very)'

#### Table 2.F

#### ARG's inventory of vocabulary sample at 3.6

1.	FREE	FORMS
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#### 1.1. CONTENTIVES

#### 1.1.1. NOUNS

ADULT FORM	CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
(béntiladór)	talidoR	'electric fan'
	kāma	'bed'
	k <b>é</b> yk	'cake'
	éyr kondíšon	'air-conditioner'
	gitára	'guitar'
	iskwéla	'school'
	píča	'pizza'
	rósas	'rose'
(sals <b>íča</b> s)	čačítčat	'sausage'
	นึ่งส	'worm'

#### 1.1.2. NAMES AND TITLES

(mindőro)	mindóRo	'Mindoro'
	mís baldés	'Miss Valdes'
	mís de la rósa	'Miss De La Rosa'

## 1.1.3. VERBS

	<b>á</b> but	'to reach'
	g <b>asgás</b>	'to scratch'
(gupít)	gupét	'to cut (hair)'
	higí	'to ask'
	lulún	'to swallow'
	panaginip	'to dream'
	pindút	'to press (of a light switch)'
	sarádo	'to close'

ADULT FOR	RM CHILD'S FORM	GLOSS
	tákot	'to become afraid'
	túluŋ	'to help'
1.1.4. P	ADJECTIVES	
(ma+gináw	v) ginaw	'cold'
(ma+lakí)	lakí	'big'
(pink)	figk	'pink'
1.1.5. A	ADVERBS (icnluding, question	words)
	kanina	'earlier'
[ (mámayáq)	mamayaq	'later']
(p <b>alág</b> iq)	pal <b>á</b> gi	'always'
(uliq)	ulí	'again'
QUESTIONW	ORDS	
(bákit)	őbat ∼ bákit	'why']
	[saấn	'where' ]
1.2. FUN	NCTORS	
1.2.1. F	PRONOUNS	
	kayő	'(nominative) you (plural)'
1.2.3.	DETERMINERS	
	maŋa	'plural marker'
1.2.8.	CONNECTORS, SENTENTIAL ADVE	RBS, SEQUENCE MARKERS
	sána	'would (subjunctive)'

ADULT FORM CHILD'S FORM

GLOSS

2. BOUND FORMS

2.1. NOUN AFFIXES

ka-

'associativizer'

2.2. VERB AFFIXES

maka:-

'abilitativizer'