

Lexical Categories in Tagalog

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1. Introduction

As has been recognized in previous studies (Gil 1992; Shkarban 1992; Himmelmann 1991; Schachter and Otnes 1972; Cappell 1964; Bloomfield 1917), the various parts of speech or word classes traditionally identified in Tagalog are not readily differentiated in terms of their distribution. It has been often described that any position in which a Noun occurs may be virtually replaced by a Verb. Thus, there have been some suggestions that Tagalog may have only full words and particles. This view has been recently articulated and more specifically proposed by Gil (1992:1136) claiming that "Tagalog possesses but a single open syntactic category", that of full words only. As a consequence, neither are there phrasal projections of differing types to speak of. This implies that Tagalog, on the basis of syntactic criteria, completely abandons word classes such as Verb (V), Noun (N), or Adjective (A), be they labelled syntactic or lexical categories.

Granted, for the moment, that Gil is basically correct in his account (see also Himmelmann 1991) of supposedly "different word classes" occurring in identical syntactic positions, what this view disregards in setting up word categories are the semantic and morphological dimensions of these classes. In Tagalog, ample evidence can be shown that classes of words differ in their morphological characteristics as well as in their lexical derivational possibilities. If such lexical categories indeed exist, then the question to ask is why these distinctions appear to be irrelevant on the syntactic level or what value can be derived from keeping these categories.

This paper will argue for the viability of maintaining at least the three major open classes of words V, N and A. Firstly, support will be drawn from their differing semantic and morphological characteristics. Then, some of the more productive lexical derivational possibilities for each category will be presented, showing that one category derives into another category and, correspondingly, each derivation carries a specifiable meaning. Finally, an attempt will be made to explain why the syntax of Tagalog allows these three major categories to share the same significant syntactic positions, and further to show that there are identical structures but whose functions differ; these cases require an identification of specific categories.

2. Open classes of V, N and A

In Croft's (1991:53ff) cross-linguistic characterization of the major syntactic categories, the semantic classes Action, Object and Property correlate not only with the syntactic categories V, N and A, respectively, but also, correspondingly, to the pragmatic (or syntactic) functions Predication, Reference, and Modification. It may be mentioned, however, that in Tagalog the words in the three semantic categories do not exhibit the difference in morphological markedness with respect to their occurrence in their prototypical and non-prototypical functions that Croft appeals to, i.e. of the three categories, for instance, V is the least marked in the Predicate function, and so forth.

A review of the morphological features typical of each class will reveal its distinctiveness. It is, of course, undeniable that there will always be words that will present problems for classification; nevertheless, the general prototypical features are sufficient enough to warrant the distinctions.

2.1 Morphological characteristics

Below are some morphological characteristics of the proposed V(action), N(object) and A(property) categories and some of the more productive lexical derivational processes operating on each of these classes. Basically, Tagalog employs affixation, various types of reduplication, stress change or a combination of these in its morphology.¹

2.1.1 Verbs

From the literature, an action or event root V is described as being typically inflected for voice and aspect; N and A are not. If an N or an A manifests these features, and it also appears independently without them, then the inflected forms belong to the category derived V. The voice affixes generally indicate which of the cooccurring participant roles is selected as the grammatical subject (marked by the particle *ang*) of the verb. For action and process verbs, the affixes are *-in*, *-an*, *i-*, *-um-*, and *m-* (before *pag-* and *pang-* stems) and with psychological verbs, the forms are distinguished by the affixes *ma-*, *ma-* *-an*, *maka-* and *ika-*.² In this manner, each V form is said to agree with its grammatical subject. This type of agreement does not obtain when a basic N or A is used in the predicate function. In addition to its voice-marked infinitive form and three aspectual forms - completed, incompleted and contemplated -, a V manifests a fourth aspect, labelled recently completed. This form carries no voice affix and consequently, unlike the other aspectual forms, it does not select an overt grammatical subject. Below are a few examples of V sets of contrastive forms:

Infinitive	Completed	Incompleted	Contemplated	Recently completed ³
(1) bumili 'to buy'	bumili	bumibili	bibili	kabibili
(2) magbayo 'to pound'	nagbayo	nagbabayo	magbabayo	ka(pag)babayo
(3) matulog 'to sleep'	natulog	natutulog	matutulog	katutulog

Another characteristic that volitional and process Vs, but not N nor A, exhibit is a fully reduplicated form conjoined by the particle *nang* to mean a type of reiteration or repetition of what the V denotes. Alternatively, their V roots may be fully reduplicated,

¹ One other process is compounding, but this will not be discussed here in view of time and space limitations. See De Guzman 1991 for an exposition on Tagalog compounding.

² For a fuller discussion of these affixes, see De Guzman 1978.

³ Different from the three basic aspect forms, the recently completed aspect does not require an overt grammatical subject. Compare the following:

- (a) kabibili lang ng mestra ng kotse
bought just teacher car 'The teacher has just bought a car.'
- (b) bumili **ang** mestra ng kotse
bought,AV Subj.mkr. 'The teacher bought a car.'
- (c) binili ng mestra **ang** kotse
bought,OV Subj. mkr. 'The car was bought by the teacher/The teacher bought the car.'

with the same particle in between, and each form takes its cooccurring agent as the subject. For example:

- (4) bumili nang bumili / bili nang bili **ang** bata **ng**⁴ saging
bought conj bought/ buy conj buy child banana
'The child kept buying/always buys (some) bananas.'

- (5) *mestra nang mestra ang nanay niya
teacher conj teacher mother her

- (6) *maganda/payat nang maganda/payat ang bata
pretty/thin conj pretty/thin child

Thirdly, a V may also reflect the plurality of its grammatical subject by taking certain affixes such as the following, some with concomitant partial reduplication and stress modification⁵:

- (7) kain 'eat': kumain, A(ctive)V(oice) > **magsikain/mangagsikain**, AV, pl.

kainin, O(bjective)V(oice) > **pagkakain'in**, OV, pl.

kainan, L(ocative)V(oice) > **pagkakain'an**, LV, pl.

- (8) tapon 'throw away': itapon, OV > **ipagtatap'on**, OV, pl.

magtapon, AV > **magsipagtapon/mangagsipagtapon**, AV, pl.

tapunan, LV > **pagtatapun'an**, LV, pl.

Another form that V may appear in is what has been associated with the meaning 'intensive'. A variety of ways of forming them show particular affixes, forms of reduplication and stress shift as exemplified below:

- (9)a. **magka'in** ~ **magkaka'in** 'to keep eating s.t.' (< kumain 'to eat')

b. **magbibil'i** 'to shop' (< bumil'i 'to buy');

magbabay'o 'to keep pounding s.t.' (< magbay'o 'to pound s.t.');

magtutul'og 'to sleep continually' (< matulog 'to sleep')

c. **mag-umiy'ak** 'to bawl' (< umiy'ak 'to cry')

In contrast, there are also corresponding moderative forms, meaning 'action done perfunctorily or with less effort', expressed by full reduplication of the root and stress shift. For example:

- (10)a. **kuma'in-ka'in** 'eat a little' (< kumain 'to eat')

b. **mag-ay'os-ay'os** 'tidy up a little bit' (< mag-ayos 'to tidy up')

c. **lin'is-linis'in** 'clean up s.t. a little' (< linisin 'to clean s.t. up')

All these processes equally apply to denominal and deadjectival Vs, which derived forms will be shown in the succeeding section on morphological derivations.

2.1.2 Nouns

Unlike in most European languages, Tagalog Ns are not inflected. This class typically includes names of persons, places and objects. Ns are usually simple roots, although there is a whole host of complex forms derived from Vs as well as from Ns themselves; some also derive from As.⁶ The first characteristic of N is a dichotomy

⁴ The particle **ng** is pronounced nang.

⁵ Stress is indicated by an apostrophe, ' , before the vowel. Penultimate stress is left unmarked. As in other accounts (Bloomfield 1917:141f; Gonzalez 1970; French 1988:63f), vowel length is treated here as an acoustic correlate of stress. I agree with French 1991 in accounting for a secondary stress on reduplicated syllables or certain prefixes marking either an inflectional or derivational feature.

⁶ See Schachter and Otanes 1972 for a comprehensive listing of derivations.

between common nouns and personal names. They are distinguished by the pairs of particles that mark them in different syntactic functions, namely, *ang/si*, *ng/ni*, and *sa/kay*.⁷ For example, compare the subject, ergative/genitive, and oblique phrases below:

- (11) ang bata/si Amanda ng mestra/ni Dr. Orteza sa nanay/kay Mrs. Diaz
child teacher mother

To express plurality, countable Ns are introduced by the plural-marking particle *mga* (pronounced *manga*), e.g., *mga* *mestra* 'teachers'; *mga* *bahay* 'houses', etc. A name of a person introduced by the plural particle corresponding to its function, namely, *sina*, *nina* or *kina* refers to the person named along with his or her companions. For example: *sina* Amanda 'Amanda and company', *nina* Dr. Orteza 'by or of Dr. Orteza and company', *kina* Mrs. Diaz 'to/at/for Mrs. Diaz and company'.

Unlike V above, N does not typically occur in the reduplicative form with *nang* in between them. It is rather nonsensical for an N to express reiteration or repetition. The rare occasion when N is reduplicated to form a unit, with stress shift, e.g. *bahay* 'house' >-> *bah'ay-bah'ay*, the meaning becomes one of serialization 'house to house; every house' equivalent to the phrase *bawa't bahay* 'each and every house'. To illustrate:

- (12) pumunta ang pulis sa bahay.
went policeman house 'The policeman went to the house.'
- (13) pumunta ang pulis sa bah'ay-bah'ay
went house-to-house 'The policeman went from house to house.'

Roots that have both an N or a V reading may be confused as instances of the N *nang* N structure when in fact the semantic interpretation can only be added to that of a V. It will be recalled that the reduplicated form Vroot nang Vroot is an alternant form of the reduplicated Vstem with its voice affix. For example:

- (14) *dasal* 'prayer; pray' vs *magdasal* 'to pray' --> *dasal nang dasal* 'always/keep praying'. This reduplicated root cannot refer to N meaning 'prayer after/to/by prayer'.

N roots usually have derived N forms referring to either a place for N, marked by the affix *-an*, or some abstract notion pertaining to N, marked by *ka-* *-an*. For example:

- (15) big¹as 'rice grains'/bigasan¹ 'place for storing rice; rice bin'
 akl¹at 'book'/aklatan¹ 'library'
 langit¹ 'sky'/kalangit¹an¹ 'firmament; heavens'
 buhav¹ 'life'/kabuhayan¹ 'livelihood'

V forms with the affix *-an*, in contrast to the preceding, are members of the verbal voice paradigm. However, some of these forms may also be derived into Ns and be associated with a location or place where something is V-ed. For example: *tapunan* (of the verb *tapon* 'throw s.t. to someone or some place') vs. *tapun'an ng basura* 'garbage dump; trash can' are contrastive V and N, respectively).

2.1.3 Adjectives

Descriptive or property words classified as A may also be either roots or complex words. The most common affix in this class is *ma-* attached generally to abstract Ns, which means having or characterized by what is expressed by N. Some examples of root A vs. complex A (derived from N) are as follows:

- (16) pay'at 'thin' **ma-gand'a** 'pretty; beautiful' (< ganda/kagandahan)N 'beauty')
 tuy'o? 'dry' **ma-sungit** 'ill-tempered' (< sungit/kasungitan)N 'ill-temperedness')

⁷ These three functions correspond to three sets of pronouns. (See Schachter and Otanes 1972:88ff.)

las'ing 'drunk' **ma-talino** 'intelligent' (< talino/katalinuhan)N 'intelligence')

There are other affixes that are characteristic of A when derived from V or from N. (See section 2.2.3.) Meanwhile, it is significant to note that there are unaffixed As which have V or N correspondences that are identical in form, except for their stress pattern. For example:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (17)a. V (penultimate stress) | A (ultimate stress) |
| basag 'break' | bas'ag 'broken' |
| ayos 'arrange' | ay'os 'arranged' |
| gamit 'use' | gam'it 'used' |
| putol 'cut' | put'ol 'cut' |
| tulog 'sleep' | tul'og 'asleep' |
| (17)b. N (penultimate stress) | |
| buhay 'life' (or live) | buh'ay 'alive' |
| gutom 'hunger' | gut'om 'hungry' |
| galit 'anger' | gal'it 'angry' |
| hilo 'dizziness; nausea' | hil'o 'dizzy; nauseated' |
| pagod 'tiredness' | pag'od 'tired' |

On this count, the A class is clearly distinct from the V or N class.⁸ These forms may be said to have been derived from the base V or N through stress shift, because the V and N classes manifest the typically unmarked penultimate stress pattern.

An important distinguishing feature of the A category is its ability to express differing degrees or intensities of the property denoted by the root/stem through affixation, reduplication, or the occurrence of specific particles. They also occur in specific comparative structures. Compare the following related forms of the positive (a) *payat* 'thin' and (b) *ma-ganda* 'beautiful':

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (18) <u>Moderative</u> | <u>Intensive</u> | <u>Comparative</u> | <u>Superlative</u> |
| <i>ma- + red.</i> | (i) <i>kay-/napaka-</i> | (i) <i>magkasing-/kasing-/</i> | <i>pinaka-</i> |
| | (ii) <i>pagka-+red.</i> | <i>sing-</i> | |
| | (iii) <i>A na/-ng A⁹</i> | (ii) <i>mas/higit na/lalo-ng</i> | |
| | (iv) <i>ubod ng A base</i> | | |
| (a) <i>mapayat-payat</i> | (i) <i>kay-payat/</i> | (i) <i>magkasing-payat</i> | <i>pinaka-payat</i> |
| <i>medyo payat</i> | <i>napaka-payat</i> | (ii) <i>mas payat __ kaysa __</i> | |
| | (ii) <i>pagka-payat-payat</i> | | |
| | (iii) <i>payat na payat</i> | | |
| | (iv) <i>ubod ng payat</i> | | |
| (b) <i>maganda-ganda</i> | (i) <i>kay-ganda/</i> | (i) <i>magkasing-ganda</i> | <i>pinaka-maganda</i> |
| <i>medyo maganda</i> | <i>napakaganda</i> | (ii) <i>mas maganda __ kaysa __</i> | |
| | (ii) <i>pagka-ganda-ganda</i> | | |
| | (iii) <i>magandang-maganda</i> | | |
| | (iv) <i>ubod ng ganda</i> | | |

All these varying forms are not available in the category N, and when compared with the moderative and intensive forms of the V, shown previously, it will be observed that the A forms still comprise a distinctive paradigm.

⁸See also Himmelmann 1991: 5. It may be argued that the N column is actually referring to the stative V forms: *mabuhay* 'to live', *magutom* 'to be hungry', *magalit* 'to be angry', etc., thus conforming to the preceding source and generalizing the process to operate on V.

⁹The alternant form of the linker *na* is the velar nasal, represented orthographically by *-ng*, which occurs when the preceding word ends with a vowel, a glottal stop or a dental nasal.

Similar to V, A has the option of expressing the plurality of the entity modified. However, the process of formation with A involves the typical prefix *ma-*. It may also take the plural intensive with the prefixes *kay-/pagka-* with partial reduplication of the root, as in the following examples:

- (19) *bata-ng magaganda* (< *maganda*) 'pretty children' (*kay-/pagka-gaganda*)
mababango-ng bulaklak (< *mabango*) 'fragrant flowers' (*kay-/pagka-babango*)

2.2 Lexical derivation

Being a synthetic language, Tagalog employs a proliferation of lexical derivations. A category may be derived into the same or another category, and then the newly formed words may be rederived further into another category. For example, showing only a few derivations, a root can be derived into a large number of words of different categories: *gam'ot*[N 'medicine; a cure' >--> *gamut'in*]V 'to treat' >--> *ipagam'ot*]V, causative >--> *p'agamutan*]N 'clinic; hospital'; *maggam'ot*]V 'to take some medication' >--> *manggam'ot*]V, 'to treat medically' >--> (i) *panggam'ot*]N, 'act of treating medically', (ii) *m'anggagamot*]N 'doctor; physician'¹⁰

As will be observed, the specific forms - simple roots, typical affixes -, the type of reduplication, and/or stress modification that apply to each word class corresponding to specifiable meanings within the class are characteristic to each category. Thus, every lexical derivation rule has to specify the category of its input and the category of its output, even when there is no change in category.

Following are a few samples of the more productive lexical derivations that apply to the three major categories proposed, with the aim of simply showing the existence of such categories and, thereby, the necessity of maintaining them because the derivation rules do refer to them.

2.2.1 Deriving V

The class V can derive other classes of V that add to or modify the meaning of the source forms, such as the following:

- (20) V >--> V

bilh'in 'to buy s.t.' >--> *ipabil'i* (causative), *maki-bil'i* (social),
m'abil'i (abilitative/ accidental), *mamil'i* (from *mang+bili*, intensive),
magb'ilihan (plurality, simultaneous), *m'agbilih'an* (reciprocal), etc.

Some V derivations from N and A are illustrated below:

- (21) N >--> V:

<i>apoy</i> 'fire'	<i>mag-apoy</i> 'to be on fire'
	<i>apuy-an</i> 'to put fire underneath something (s.t.) as in cooking; to incite heat as in a discussion'
<i>buhay</i> 'life'	<i>buhay-in</i> 'to bring back to life; to resuscitate'
<i>sapatos</i> 'shoes'	<i>mag-sapatos</i> 'to wear shoes'
	<i>sapatus-an</i> 'to put shoes on s.o./s.t.'
<i>kamay</i> 'hand'	<i>kamay-in</i> 'to use one's hand on something'
	<i>mag-kamay</i> 'to use one's hand in eating'
<i>gabi</i> 'night'	<i>gabih-in</i> 'to be overtaken by night'
<i>anay</i> 'termite'	<i>anay-in</i> 'to be infested with termites'

¹⁰ Note that there are N and V derived words that are identical in form except for stress placement, e.g.:
manggamot]N 'doctor' vs. *mangg'agam'ot*]V 'will go treating'
p'amahala'an]N 'government' vs. *pamahalaan*]V 'to manage s.t.'

(22) A >-> V:

pay'at 'thin'	p-um-ay'at 'to become thin'; (mamayat) payat-'an 'to make s.t. thin'
tam'ad 'lazy'	mag-papayat 'to make one's self slim; to do s.t. to lose weight'
luma? 'old'	tamar'in 'to feel lazy' mag-tam'ad-tamaraan 'to pretend to be lazy'
	luma?-in 'to wear s.t. out'

The denominal Vs appear to be similar to instances of either subject or object incorporation in other languages, except that in Tagalog we can claim that the phenomenon is morphological, not syntactic. The deadjectival Vs with the affix *-um-* are traditionally referred to as inchoative V, meaning 'to become A'. It will also be observed that the derived infinitive V forms exhibit a voice affix in each case. And to each of these derived forms may be added other forms of V derivations described previously.

2.2.2 Deriving N

The main sources of derived Ns are V and N. Only a few As derive into Ns due to the fact that most As are already derived from Ns. The most productive N derivation from V are gerund formation meaning 'the act of V-ing' and the doer forms meaning 'doer of active V' or one who does V professionally or habitually. The former takes variable forms based on the agentive voice form of the V, with the prefix *pag-/pang-/paki-*; the latter is marked by the affix *taga-* or *mag-/mang-*, with reduplication.

(23) V >-> N

Infinitive V	Gerund N	Doer N
tumakb'o 'run'	pag-takb'o	taga-takb'o
magbig'ay 'give'	pag-bibig'ay	taga-big'ay/ taga-pagbig'ay
mak'akita 'see'	pagk'a-kita	
magpaluto? 'cause to cook'	pagpa-paluto?	taga-pagpaluto?
mangisd'a? 'go fishing'	pangl-ngisd'a?	m'angingisd'a?
makipaglar'o? 'join in playing'	paki-kipaglar'o?	
magbaboy 'raise or sell pigs/pork'	pag-babab'oy	m'agbabab'oy

Verb roots may be preceded by the affix *pang-* to refer to instruments for doing V as in:

(24) V >-> N

buk'as 'open'	pam-buk'as 'opener'
tulak 'push'	pan-tulak 's.t. for pushing'
huli 'catch'	pang-huli 's.t. for catching; a trap'
kamot 'scratch'	pang-kamot 'a scratcher'

We have shown earlier that N could be the source of more complex forms of N to indicate a broadening of meaning or making the term correspond to its abstraction. Certain affixes indicate such derivations as in the following:

(25) N >-> N

tao 'person'	>-> tauhan 'employee(s); members under one's charge'
	>-> katauhan/pagkatao 'personhood' >-> sangkatauhan 'the whole humanity'
	>-> ta'u-tauhan 'a toy person; an imitation person'

With A roots as source of derived Ns, the process of affixing them with *ka-* *-an/* *pagka-* does not necessarily distinguish the class from those Ns that derive in exactly the

same way. It may be countered that this supports no categorial distinction between the two. But the affix *pagka-* seems to be accommodating of even derived As and rejects their source N roots. Compare the following:

- (26) A >--> N
 tamad 'lazy' >--> **katamaran/pagkatamad** 'laziness'
 payat 'thin' >--> **kapayatan/pagkapayat** 'thinness'
 banal 'holy' >--> **kabanal/pagkabanal** 'holiness'
 maganda 'beautiful' >--> **kagandahan/pagkamaganda** 'beauty; state of being beautiful' (*pagkaganda)
 magaling 'good; skillful' >--> **kagalingan/pagkamagaling** 'goodness; skillfulness' (*pagkagaling)

It may be said that this morphological process is shared by both A and N categories, with the affix *pagka-* being more tolerant of words belonging to A, both simple and complex. It is instructive to note, however, that there are simple words which have ambiguous interpretations, i.e. both N and A. Some examples of these are:

- (27) bata? 'child; young' lalaki 'man; male' magulang 'parent; mature'
 Each corresponding abstract N derivation will likewise be ambiguous. The best distinction can be provided again by the formation of the various degrees of qualities denoted by the word (as in (18)), which processes apply to A but not to N.

2.2.3 Deriving A

As previously mentioned, the most common source of A is N prefixed with *ma-*, meaning 'characterized by or having N'. We find that a good number of As are of this form.

- (28) N >--> A
 bango 'fragrance' **ma-bango** 'fragrant'
 lamig 'coldness' **ma-lamig** 'cold; chilly'
 lihim 'secret' **ma-lihim** 'secretive'
 tao 'person' **ma-tao** 'crowded with people'

Ns may be marked with the suffix *-an* to derive A which means 'virtually covered with N' e.g., dug'o? 'blood' >--> **dugu-an**; sugat 'wound' >--> **sugat-an** 'wounded'; pawis 'sweat' >--> **pawis-an** 'sweating'. With the affix *-in*, plus stress modification, the derived A means 'susceptible to or easily affected by N' as in: sip'on 'head cold' >--> **s'ipun-in** 'susceptible to head colds', pawis 'sweat' >--> **pawis-in** 'perspires easily', etc. One other affix that attaches to N to form A, meaning 'generating N', is *naka-*, with reduplication of either the second syllable of the affix or the first syllable of the base. For example: takot 'fear' >--> **nakaka-takot/naka-tatakot** 'frightening'; hiy'a? 'shame' >--> **nakaka-hiy'a?/naka-hihiya?** 'shameful', etc.

Numerals, colors, words depicting volume, weight, height, breadth, taste, appearance, etc. have corresponding derived As, too.

- (29) isa '1' **isa-isa** 'one by one; one at a time'
 dalawa '2' **tig-dalawa/tig-(d)alawa** 'two each'
 sampu? '10' **ika-sampu?** 'tenth'
 piso 'one peso' **ma-miso** 'one peso each' (from mang-+ piso)
 puti? 'white' **ma-puti?** 'white'

Not only N but also V provide an abundant input to A derivations. Consider Vs with corresponding affixed As:

- (30) V >--> A
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| um-in -om 'to drink' | pal'a-in -om 'fond of drinking' |
| mag-luto ? 'to cook' | mapag-lut -o?/ pal'a-lut -o? 'fond of cooking' |
| mang-gulo 'to cause trouble' | mapang-gulo 'fond of causing trouble' |
| ma-galit 'to be angry' | ma(ga)galit-in 'prone to being angry' |

From the preceding, we observe the rich derivational processes operating among the three categories in question. Gil (1992: 1148) is absolutely correct in stating that "the class of words that can take voice and aspect morphology is much larger than in most languages, ... including ... names, proforms, deictics, and interrogatives ...". However, all that such derived V forms indicate is the high productivity of the verb derivation rule. They attest to the extreme facility with which Tagalog can create Vs and in turn use them in both predicate and nominal positions.

3. Lexical categories on the syntactic level

Given the distinct morphological features and derivational possibilities of each proposed lexical category V, N and A on the word level shown above, we also assume that the category V is quite distinct in its classification in terms of semantic features and in its subcategorization based on the complements they take. The idea of abandoning the categories altogether due to lack of grammatical distinctions on the syntactic level appears to be rather costly and incongruous. Firstly, it denies the cross-linguistic correspondence between the semantic, lexical/syntactic categories and their prototypical pragmatic functions. Secondly, the unique description of Tagalog as functioning without lexical category distinctions makes it impervious to syntactic comparisons with other languages that have these categories. However, the question of why Tagalog allows all three categories to perform identical functions without distinction is still a legitimate and penetrating one. In this section I present a couple of explanations with respect to this question which draw upon two prevalent structures, namely, (i) identificational (cleft) construction and (ii) N modification structure. I suggest that these structures provide some clue to what appears to be an indiscriminate use of all three proposed lexical categories, specifically in nominal and modificational positions. Finally, I will show a verbal structure that is modificational in form, but is complementational in syntactic behaviour and which requires distinct categories as heads and as complements.

3.1 Identificational (or cleft) construction

The first basic clause structure Gil (1992: 1140) identifies is that of predication:

- (31) (Predicate) + (ang Subject)

As in other languages, the typical filler for the predicate position is an inflected V, although its non-verbal fillers include N, A, and other types of prepositional phrases.¹¹ For the subject, marked by the particle *ang*, N is the typical category filler, for it corresponds to a referent. Needless to say, the V, or any of its alternants, is said to predicate the N, the entity spoken about. The question now is why do all types of categories that occur in the predicate also freely occur in the subject position.¹² Consider

¹¹ There are other minor structures besides prepositional phrases that can fill the predicate position but we are limiting our discussion here to the three lexical categories only. For a fuller description of the basic structures, see Schachter and Otanes 1972.

¹² Or any other nominal position for that matter, marked by *ng* or by *sa*.

the following examples from Gil (1992: 1140, (2)):

- (32) lumabas/malungkot/lolo ang bangkero/bumalik/mabait
 went out, AV/sad/grandfather boatman/returned, AV/kind

The V form *bumalik* 'returned, AV' and the A form *mabait* 'kind' occurring in subject position are each referring to an entity, the former being 'the one that Ved' and not to V itself, and the latter to 'the one that has the property denoted by A', not to A itself. In other words, they are entities in this position and may be deemed to belong to the category N by virtue of their syntactic function signalled by the particle *ang*. Compared with the same categories appearing in the predicate position, which is not marked by any particle or deictic, the meaning of each category in the nominal function is always referential.

Possibly, one reason that this freedom of occurrence is so pervasive is the existence of a WH-question structure which follows the structure of a marked clause, (*ang* Subject) + (*ang* Predicate),¹³ variously referred to as identificational, cleft, or equational construction. From the first set of sentences that can be formulated from (32), with V/A/N+*ang* N, the corresponding WH-question form inquiring of the identification of the grammatical subject, the entity spoken of, is as follows:

- (33) *sino* ang lumabas/malungkot/lolo
 who went out, AV/sad
 'Who was the one that went out?/Who is the one who is sad?/Who is the one who is a grandfather?'

The first constituent *sino* 'who' is an absolutive personal interrogative pronoun asking for the specific identification of the one who went out/the one who is sad/the one who is a grandfather. In (34), this person is the subject constituent *ang bangkero* 'the boatman'. Given that situation, the full answer to the question in (35) is the identificational construction consisting of two nominal *ang*-phrases (or simply the first *ang*-phrase):

- (34) *ang bangkero* + *ang lumabas/malungkot/lolo*
 'The boatman was the one who went out/ is the one who is sad/ is the one who is a grandfather.'

In both (33) and (34), we see the obligatory use of the identificational structure whereby the various categories in predicate position from a predication structure assume a nominal form identical to that of the subject, i.e. marked by *ang*. This makes both constituents nominal, and thereby the clause is accorded the term equational.

From a more extended structure such as the basic complementation given in Gil (1992:1143(5)) as: ____ ng ____ ang ____, we cite a typical V with its complements from Gil's example (j):

- (35) *pinatay* ng *lolo* ang *bangkero*
 killed,OV grandfather boatman
 'The boatman was killed by a (sic) grandfather.'

The following question corresponds to asking for the identification of the one who was killed by the grandfather and the identificational structure that states it is given in (37):

- (36) *sino/ano* ang *pinatay* ng *lolo*¹⁴
 who/what killed,OV grandfather
 'Who was the one/What was the thing that grandfather killed?'

¹³ For a discussion of identificational structures, see De Guzman 1986 and Kroeger 1991. Other works consider the first *ang*-phrase as the predicate and the second, the subject.

¹⁴ When the object killed is non-human, the appropriate WH-word is *ano*.

- (37) ang bangkero ang pinatay ng lolo
 boatman killed grandfather

'It was the boatman who was the one who grandfather killed.'

As discussed earlier, the Tagalog voice system permits each of the V complements (or participant roles) to be the grammatical subject, and it is this subject that is questioned in this manner. Thus, the agent as subject, indicated by the AV form of the verb, can be questioned as in (38), but not when it is non-subject, indicated by the OV form, as in (39):

- (38) sino ang pumatay sa bangkero
 who killed, AV boatman
 'Who was the one that killed the boatman?'
- (39) *sino ang pinatay ang/sa bangkero
 killed, OV

Again, the agreement between the voice form of the verb and the corresponding nominal complement that is marked as the grammatical subject has to be accounted for in the description of the category V, otherwise, sentences that violate this rule of agreement will inevitably run across different types of sentence structures.

It may be inferred from the preceding that the force of the nominalized predicate structure in WH-questions operating on subjects and in identificational constructions, both of which are common structures, provides the model for the analogous use of these nominalized predicates in subject or other nominal positions. It will be interesting to determine how often and under what circumstances subjects of predicative clauses are filled with V or A rather than N. The result of such a study may explain why the simultaneous cooccurrences of non-typical word categories in all or most syntactic positions in a clause is highly unlikely, if not considered unnatural speech.¹⁵ Thus, although it appears that any category may occur in either predicate or subject position, it must not be overlooked that the non-typical categories occurring in a nominal position carry a nominal category, and as such may manifest certain syntactic characteristics of Ns described previously. Furthermore, we cannot deny that the syntactic features of the V category, in particular, carry over systematically when used in nominal positions. This suggests that the precise voice and aspectual form of the V is inextricably tied to its corresponding cooccurring constituent and cannot be selected at random.

3.2 N modification structure

The modification structure is usually described as consisting of a N head followed by its modifier, typically an A, with the linker *na* (or its alternant *-ng*) between them. Thus, in the structure (N) na (A) (Gil 1992:1141 (3)), the second position functions as the modifier which assigns a property or an attribute to a given head nominal. Taking Gil's example (3)(c) below, note his second interpretation which derives from the alternate reverse order I added in parentheses:

- (40) lolo-ng mabait (mabait na lolo)

grandfather-lkr kind 'a kind grandfather/a kind one who is a grandfather'

This alternation in word order, which is perceived not to affect the meaning, is "possible when the *na*- structure corresponds to the predicate of an underlying predication" (Naylor 1980: 48). If this is the case, then it serves to explain why any category that functions as

¹⁵ Gil's sentences (1992:1143, (5)(s) to (&)), I find questionable because they do not make sense.

predicate in a predicate structure can also function as modifier. What is predicated of a subject nominal may also be attributed as a modifier of a nominal. Compare (40) N modification with (41) predication:

- (41) *mabait ang lolo*
 kind grandfather 'The grandfather is kind.'

With a N and a V functioning as attributes (appositive and relative clause modifiers, respectively), rather than predicates, we may have the following N modification (from Gil 1992: 1141 (3)(a) and (b)):

- (42) *lolo-ng bangkero/bumalik*
 grandfather who's a boatman/ grandfather who returned

Having shown the different categories in the predicate as the precursors of the forms appearing in subject nominal position as well as in nominalized predicate position (see 3.1) and, subsequently, also in adjectival or modificational function, we can understand more clearly the resulting overlap in categories, without any change in form, for the same function. In sum, the typical use of a V in predicate function is shown below as well in its other non-typical functions such as nominalized predicate, modification and subject nominal functions:

- (43)a. *lumabas ang bangkero* 'The boatman went out.' (predication)
 b. *ang bangkero ang lumabas* 'It was the boatman who was the one who went out.' (nominalized predicate)
 c. *ang bangkero-ng lumabas* 'the boatman who went out' (modification from a predicate)
 d. *mabait ang lumabas* 'The one who went out is good.' (nominalized predicate as subject)

After noting some explanations for the convergence of the categories in various functions and for each function being manifested by different categories, we can begin to appreciate the structural relatedness of the forms we find in predicate structures which may carry over wholesale to other nominal or modificational structures. Without the initial description of these categories and their subcategorization, there is no way by which the identical phrases that occur in the basic structures of predication, modification and complementation (not to mention possession¹⁶) can be related systematically. Moreover, there are certain other structures of identical forms that apply only to particular categories and do not accept just any word as freely as we may be led to think.

3.3 Complementation structure, not modification

It is significant to point out that there are at least two structures identical to the modification structure, but whose function is non-modificational. In these constructions, there are constraints on both heads and "modifiers" or, rather, complements.

First, let us look at the verbal modification below. In Gil's example (1992: 1141, (3)(h)), there is another interpretation, which is clearly different from the meanings he gives in parentheses:

- (44) *malungkot na bumalik (bumalik na malungkot)*
 ('a sad one who returned/one who returned who's sad')
 'sadly returned/returned sadly; one who sadly returned'

Interestingly, this verbal modification, wherein the A modifier expresses a kind of manner "adverb", may also be formed with the particle *nang* to introduce the modifier,

¹⁶There is more to be said about the possessive and the complement structure ____ ng ____, but for reasons of time and space limitations we will forego them here.

which usually refers to the manner or time of the V. Thus:

- (45) bumalik nang malungkot ang mestra/bumalik ang mestra nang malungkot
 returned sadly teacher
 'The teacher returned sadly.'

Note that while the *nang*-A modifying phrase may be alternatively relocated after the subject, the *V nang A* order cannot be reversed, without affecting its meaning, contrary to the modification structure described before. Moreover, the V head in this structure cannot be replaced by N or A, without producing a totally different structure referred to by Gil (1992:1142) as the *ng* template (in which he conflates the traditional possessive and verbal complement phrase, whose head position is typically filled by N and V, respectively).¹⁷

The other example of modification in Gil's list (1992:1141, (3)(f)) consisting of *V na A*, for which there is another interpretation not mentioned, is:

- (46) lumabas na mabait
 'one who went out who's kind/a kind one who went out'
 'came/turned out good; one who came/turned out good'

With this verbal meaning, the A constituent has the function of what is traditionally described as a predicate complement. Again, unlike the modification structure, the order of the constituents cannot be reversed and keep the same meaning. This predicate complement function may also be manifested by a N, traditionally referred to as a predicate noun complement, as in:

- (47) lumabas na alkalde ang mestra¹⁸
 came out mayor teacher 'The teacher came out(won as) mayor.'

This structure indicates the need to identify the V category that takes such types of complements. There is no added complexity necessary to meet this requirement if the category V is already subcategorized according to its cooccurring complements, be they NP, PP, AP, sentential complements, or a combination of these, introduced by *ng*, *sa*, or *na*.

The other structure consisting of *A na V*, similar to (44), but which does not permit an alternate reverse order may be illustrated below (from Kroeger (1991:172):

- (48) regular na magsimba ang nanay ko
 regular/faithful to worship mother my
 'My mother is faithful/regular in worshipping (going to church).'

Here, a complex predicate headed by an A (also described as a modal) requires an infinitive form of the V as its complement. Alternatively, this structure permits the omission of the particle *na*, which is prohibited in the first complement structure we described, *V na A/N*.

We have shown that certain words belonging to A and to V take predicate complements in the form of a modification structure. But to account for the differences pointed out, the categories need to be distinguished. Without these distinctions, there is a danger of having an unnecessarily detailed description of each lexical item, which eventually results in a loss of certain generalizations.

¹⁷ The examples in Gil (1991:1142, (4) (g) to (h) in which the head is an A and the modifier is a N/V/A can be made sensible only when put in proper context. See also Naylor 1980:42-43, where heads are distinguished between V and non-V to correspond to the *na* versus *nang* "attributes".

¹⁸ The order in (47) is preferred because it avoids the ambiguity that arises when it is optionally shunted next to the subject nominal, where it may be interpreted as the subject's modifier instead.

4. Conclusion

The amount of evidence presented for the existence of the proposed lexical categories on the word level is more than sufficient to be convincing. Given this, we also find that certain categories need to be specified for various types of complements, e.g. V and A. Similarly, if for stating alternate structures, reference has to be made to a specific category, e.g. V modification, then these categories are still needful on the syntactic level.

Even when there is an overwhelming evidence for the crossing of functions by the three proposed categories, we find it reasonable to assume that this phenomenon is no accident. Rather, it is to be expected because of the influence of one of the most favoured sentence structures, the identificational construction. In view of this, it seems almost natural for any category (including its projection, if you will) in the predicate function to serve as the formal basis for those occurring in other functions.

Typologically, what Tagalog discloses is its strong semantic and morphological orientation, more than syntactic. For this type of language, making syntactic distribution as the sole criterion for defining syntactic/lexical categories completely disregards the significant syntactic contributions that other elements, such as affixes, provide. Finally, by maintaining the proposed major categories, despite overlaps in distribution, we will be able to compare this language for syntactic similarities and differences with other languages in some sensible way, which otherwise would have been impossible.

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