

Tagalog Reference Grammar

*Prepared under the Auspices of the
Philippine Center for Language Study*

Tagalog Reference Grammar

PAUL SCHACHTER

University of California, Los Angeles

and

FE T. OTANES

Philippine Normal College, Manila

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Amparo R. Buhain
Nelly I. Cubar
Agustina S. Cunanan
Ely J. Marquez
Terence Moore
Robert D. Wilson
- Secretarial Staff:** Leticia V. DuBois
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- Composition:** Kathleen Campbell, compositor
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CHAPTER 1

Pronunciation

§1.1. Choice of dialect.

The pronunciation of Tagalog, like that of English, varies more or less markedly from place to place and from one social and educational class to another. Among the distinctive regional dialects may be noted at least the following six: Bataan, Batangas, Bulacan, Manila, Tanay-Paete, and Tayabas. The dialect of Bulacan is sometimes considered to be the "purest", showing perhaps fewer signs than the others of the influence of Spanish, English, or neighboring Philippine languages. But it is the dialect of Manila that is now generally regarded as standard, in both pronunciation and grammar, by virtue both of its prestige as the dialect of the capital and of its overwhelming numerical superiority.

Within the Manila dialect-area itself a considerable range of pronunciation types are found, the differences depending not only upon the social and educational class of the speaker, but also, to some extent, upon his age. Pronunciation differences related to the age of the speaker are particularly noticeable in the case of words borrowed into Tagalog from English. Younger speakers, influenced by their generally superior knowledge of English, tend in some cases to approximate the American pronunciation of such borrowed words to a greater extent than do older speakers. For example, where younger speakers use *nars* as the Tagalized form of English 'nurse', older speakers may use *narsis* (based on the English plural), which has a form that is more in accord with the characteristic word and syllable patterns of Tagalog itself (see §1.22).

It is upon the Manila dialect, as spoken by recent college graduates, that the present treatment of Tagalog pronunciation is based. In cases where members of the group whose speech is being described differ among themselves with regard to a particular feature of pronunciation, the most common variant is taken as the standard, and the less common ones are noted as such.

§1.2. Classification of speech sounds.

Figure 1 shows and labels certain of the organs used in speech. Not shown are the LUNGS, which, in exhalation, provide the stream of air that is acted upon by the other organs to produce the various speech sounds. The following further points should be noted:

The VOCAL CORDS, two bands of cartilage attached to the sides of the larynx, are capable of being held wide apart, drawn close together, or brought into contact with one another along their entire length. All three of these positions may be utilized in speech. When the vocal cords are drawn close together, the passage of air through the space between them (the GLOTTIS) causes them to vibrate. The vibration produces a characteristic noise known as VOICE, which is an important feature of many speech sounds.

The ROOF OF THE MOUTH is divided, for purposes of the description of sound-production, into three parts: the ALVEOLAR RIDGE the HARD PALATE, and the VELUM. The alveolar ridge lies behind the upper teeth, and extends back from them to the point at which the roof of the mouth becomes concave. The hard palate, which begins at this point, includes the rest of the bony portion of the roof of the mouth. The velum, the movable back portion of the roof of the mouth, is shown in Figure 1 in one of the two significant positions it can assume in speech. In the other of these positions, it is drawn back to touch the rear wall of the throat.

Three parts of the TONGUE are also distinguished for purposes of description: the BLADE, the FRONT, and the BACK. These are the parts that lie under the alveolar ridge, the hard palate, and the velum respectively when the tongue is in a position of rest. The extremity of the tongue, a portion of the blade, is called the TIP.

In the articulation of speech sounds, the parts of the speech apparatus shown in Figure 1 may function as: (1) RESONATORS, (2) ARTICULATORS, or (3) POINTS OF ARTICULATION.

(1) The chief RESONATORS are the throat, the mouth, and the nasal cavity. Through changes in size and shape, these resonators can reinforce various sound-producing vibrations. The air passing from the throat may escape through the mouth, through the nasal cavity, or through both. If the velum is raised to touch the rear wall of the throat, the nasal cavity is blocked off, and the air escapes through the mouth alone. If the velum is lowered and the passage of air from the mouth is blocked by the lips or the tongue, the air escapes through the nasal cavity alone. If the velum is lowered and the passage of air from the mouth is not blocked, the air escapes through both the mouth and the nasal cavity.

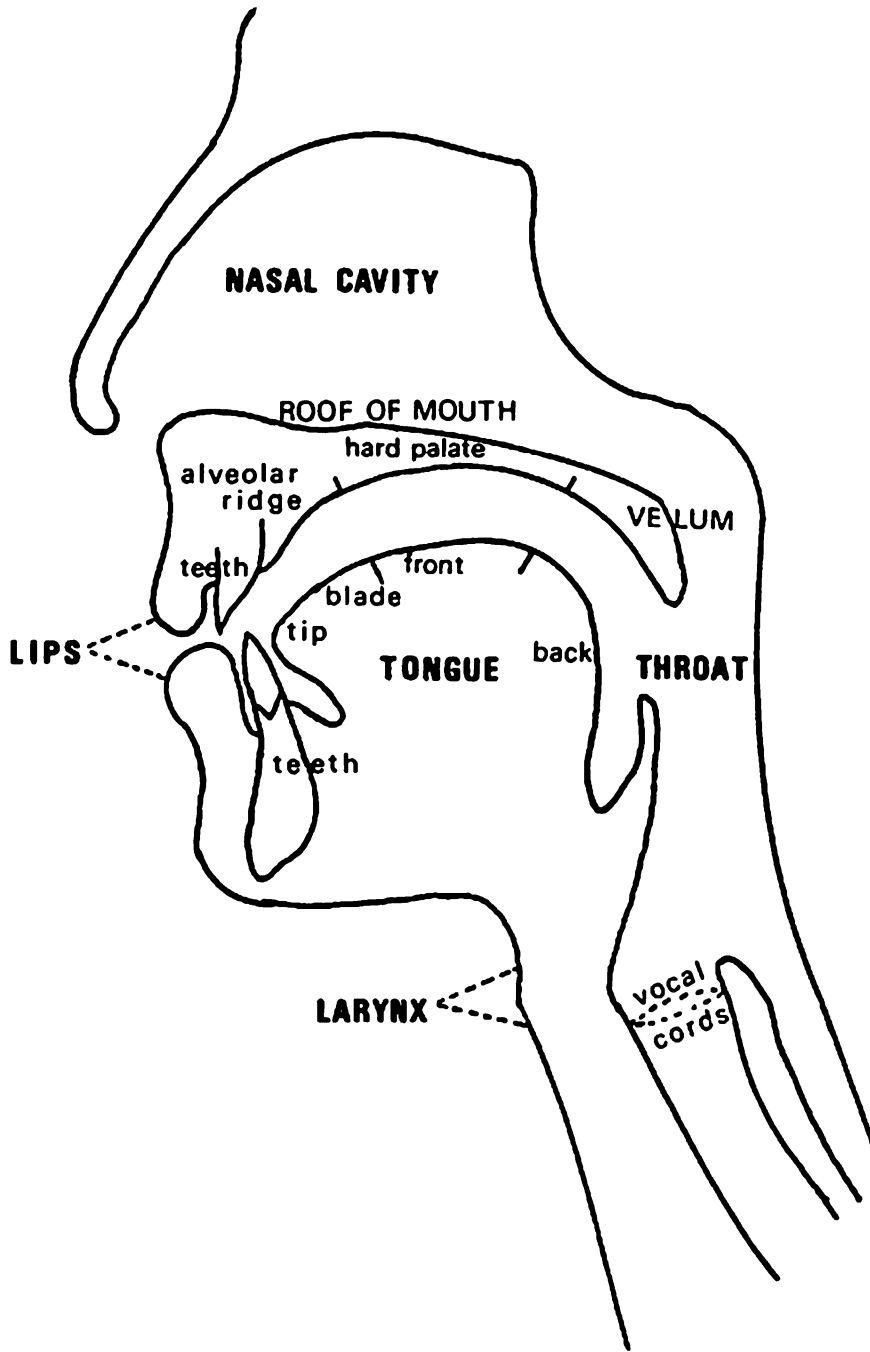


Figure 1. The Organs of Speech

(2) The **ARTICULATORS** are organs which, by assuming different shapes or positions, help to give speech sounds their characteristic acoustic properties. The most important and versatile of the articulators is the tongue, which has a flexibility that enables it to vary the size and shape of the mouth cavity in many different ways. The lips are also important articulators.

(3) The **POINTS OF ARTICULATION** are the parts of the speech apparatus near which or against which the articulators are placed in the production of the various speech sounds. Among the important points of articulation are the upper lip, the upper teeth, and the several parts of the roof of the mouth.

Every speech sound is classifiable as either a vowel or a consonant, in terms of the way in which it is produced. A vowel is any voiced speech sound (i.e., a sound during which the vocal cords vibrate) in the course of which the air issues through the throat and the mouth without obstruction and without such narrowing of the cavities as to cause audible friction. All other speech sounds are classified as consonants.

Differences among vowel sounds may be due to differences in the position taken by the tongue and/or differences in the shape assumed by the lips. Vowel sounds may also differ from one another in relative duration, in the relative tenseness of the speech musculature, and in the presence or absence of nasalization. Vowels of relatively long duration are called **LONG**; those of relatively short duration are called **SHORT**. Vowels produced with relatively tense musculature are called **TENSE**; other vowels are called **LAX**. A **NASALIZED** vowel is one during which the velum is lowered, allowing the escape of air through the nose as well as through the mouth; a non-nasalized, or **ORAL**, vowel is one in which the velum is drawn back, blocking the escape of air through the nose.

Two aspects of the position of the tongue are significant in the differentiation of vowel sounds: relative height and relative frontness. (The relative height and relative frontness of the tongue determine the shape of the mouth and throat cavities, which, as noted above, serve as resonators, selectively reinforcing sound-producing vibrations.) Three general classes of vowels are distinguished on the basis of relative tongue-height: **HIGH** vowels, **MID** vowels, and **LOW** vowels. High vowels are those in which the tongue is close to the roof of the mouth, low vowels those in which the tongue is far from the roof of the mouth, and mid vowels those in which the tongue is midway between high and low. Each of these tongue-height classes may be further divided into an **UPPER** and a **LOWER** subclass.

Three general classes of vowels are also distinguished on the basis of relative tongue-frontness: **FRONT** vowels, **CENTRAL** vowels, and **BACK** vowels. Front vowels are those in which the tongue is forward of its resting position, back vowels those in which the tongue is backward of its resting position, and central vowels those in which it is neither forward nor backward of its resting position.

Chart 1 shows a grid upon which the approximate tongue-position of any given vowel can be indicated. The areas delimited by horizontal lines correspond to tongue-height classes. The areas delimited by vertical lines correspond to tongue-frontness classes. It is upon a grid of this kind that the tongue-positions of the vowels of Tagalog (and, for purposes of comparison, those in English) are indicated in §1.5.

Three lip-shapes may be distinguished for purposes of the description of vowels: **SPREAD** (roughly, the shape of the lips in smiling), **NEUTRAL** (roughly, the shape of the lips in panting), and **ROUNDED** (roughly, the shape of the lips in whistling).

Consonant sounds may differ from one another in one or more of three ways:

- (1) the point of articulation;
- (2) the manner of articulation;
- (3) the presence or absence of voice.

As indicated above, the **POINT OF ARTICULATION** of a sound is the part of the speech apparatus near which or against which an articulator is placed in the production of the sound – or, put somewhat differently, the point at which the narrowest space is left for the escape of air, or at which the escape of air is blocked. In describing the consonant sounds of Tagalog, and, for purposes of comparison, those of English, seven points of articulation are distinguished. The labels given to these points of articulation are listed below. Each label is followed by a brief statement of how the air passage is narrowed or blocked in the given case.

- a. **LABIAL** (the lower lip approaches or touches the upper lip)
- b. **LABIODENTAL** (the lower lip approaches or touches the upper teeth)
- c. **DENTAL** (the tip of the tongue approaches or touches the upper teeth)
- d. **ALVEOLAR** (the tip or blade of the tongue approaches or touches the alveolar ridge)

- e. PALATAL (the front of the tongue approaches or touches the hard palate)
- f. VELAR (the back of the tongue approaches or touches the velum)
- g. GLOTTAL (the vocal cords approach or touch one another).

**CHART I
TONGUE-POSITION CHART**

		FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	Upper			
	Lower			
MID	Upper			
	Lower			
LOW	Upper			
	Lower			

By the **MANNER OF ARTICULATION** is meant the way in which the air escapes. The consonants of Tagalog and English may be divided into seven classes on the basis of manner of articulation. The labels given to six of these classes are listed immediately below; each label is followed by a brief statement of how the air escapes in the given case.

- a. **STOP** (the air passage is completely blocked)
- b. **NASAL** (the air, completely blocked from escape through the mouth, escapes through the nose)
- c. **FRICATIVE** (the air escapes through a relatively narrow passage between an articulator and a point of articulation)
- d. **AFFRICATE** (first the air passage is completely blocked; then the block is rather slowly released, and the air escapes through a relatively narrow passage between an articulator and a point of articulation)
- e. **LATERAL** (the air escapes over and around the sides of the tongue, passage over the center of the tongue being blocked)
- f. **TRILL** (the air is intermittently blocked and allowed to escape, through a series of rapid tongue-movements; a single such movement is called a **TAP**)

The seventh class includes sounds which, from the point of view of manner of articulation, are similar to vowels, but which, unlike the vowels themselves, are characterized by movement from one vocalic tongue position to another. This seventh class is:

- g. **GLIDE**.

VOICE as noted above, is the characteristic noise produced by the vibration of the vocal cords. A sound during which voice is present is called **VOICED**; a sound during which voice is absent is called **VOICELESS**.

§1.3. Phonemes.

Every language makes use of a considerable variety of speech sounds. Not all of the differences among the sounds that occur in a language, however, are used to distinguish words of the language from one another. In English, for example, the initial consonant sounds of the words *goose* and *geese* are not identical in their articulation. The point of articulation of the first is the velum; that of the second, the hard palate. But the difference in articulation between these sounds never constitutes the only difference between two English words. In the other hand, the difference between the initial consonant sounds of *glass* and *class* (the first is voiced, the second voiceless) can, and often does, constitute the only difference between two English words.

From the point of view of their function in distinguishing the words of a language from one another, the speech sounds of a language arrange themselves into a system of contrasting classes. These contrasting classes are called the PHONEMES of the language. Two speech sounds of a language belong to the same phoneme if, first, they cannot constitute the only difference between two words, and, second, they have a certain degree of articulatory similarity to one another. Both requirements are met by the initial sounds of *goose* and *geese* (which are similar in being voiced stops), and the two sounds thus belong to a single English phoneme. Two speech sounds of a language belong to different phonemes whenever the difference between them may constitute the only difference between two words. Thus the initial consonant sounds of *glass* and *class* belong to two different English phonemes.

A speech sound that is a member of a phoneme is known as an ALLOPHONE of that phoneme. Thus the initial sounds of *goose* and *geese* are said to be allophones of the same phoneme.

§1.4. Phonetic and phonemic notation.

Since conventional Tagalog spelling (cf. §1.30) does not reflect the pronunciation of the language with perfect accuracy or consistency, it is necessary to make use of a special system of notation for representing Tagalog speech sounds and phonemes. For the same reason (and to a much greater degree), a special notation is necessary for those speech sounds and phonemes of English with which the sounds of Tagalog can profitably be compared.

An accurate and consistent written representation of speech sounds, in which each symbol represents one and only one sound, is called a PHONETIC NOTATION. In this book all phonetic notations appear between square brackets: e.g., [bu·xʌ·d].

An accurate and consistent written representation of phonemes, in which each symbol represents one and only one phoneme, is called a PHONEMIC NOTATION. In this book all phonemic notations appear between slant lines: e.g., /bu·kid/.

Citations in conventional spelling are italicized, and English translations of Tagalog words and utterances appear between single quotes: e.g., *bukid* 'farm'.

The following list shows the twenty-three symbols used in this book to represent the vowel and consonant phonemes of Tagalog:

/a b d e f g h i k l m n ŋ o p r s t tʃ u w y ʔ/

As can be seen, all but three of the symbols on the list are also used as letters in conventional written English (although the Tagalog sounds represented by the symbols are in some cases quite different from the English sounds usually represented by the letters). The three symbols not used as letters in written English are /ŋ/, /tʃ/, and /ʔ/. The sounds represented by these symbols are discussed in §§1.16, 1.18, and 1.14 respectively.

In addition to the above symbols for the phonemes of Tagalog, certain other symbols are used for the phonemes of English, and for allophones of the Tagalog phonemes. The meaning of these symbols is explained as the symbols are introduced.

§1.5. Tagalog vowels: introduction.

Chart 2 shows the vowel phonemes of Tagalog, arranged according to the approximate position assumed by the tongue in the articulation of the vowels. (See §1.2 for explanation of vowel-position chart.) The range of tongue positions of each of the vowel phonemes is delimited by heavy lines.

CHART 2
TAGALOG VOWEL PHONEMES

		FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	Upper	/i/		/u/
	Lower			
MID	Upper	/e/		/o/
	Lower			
LOW	Upper			
	Lower			

As Chart 2 shows, Tagalog has five vowel phonemes, symbolized /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, and /u/. From the point of view of tongue height, there are two high-vowel phonemes, /i/ and /u/, two mid-vowel phonemes, /e/ and /o/, and one vowel phoneme with a range from mid to low, /a/. From the point of view of tongue frontness, there are two front-vowel phonemes, /i/ and /e/, one central-vowel phoneme, /a/, and two back-vowel phonemes, /u/ and /o/. There is a correlation in Tagalog, as in English, between the tongue frontness and the shape assumed by the lips in the articulation of the vowel. The front vowels of Tagalog are characterized by spread lips, the central vowel by neutral lip position, and the back vowels by rounded lips.

Chart 3 shows the principal allophones of the Tagalog vowel phonemes. As in Chart 2, the range of tongue positions of the phonemes is delimited by heavy lines. Broken lines are used to mark the approximate boundary between allophones of a single phoneme.

As Chart 3 shows, each of the Tagalog vowel phonemes has two principal allophones. The principal allophones of the phoneme /i/ are [i] (upper-high front) and [ɪ] (lower-high front); the principal allophones of /e/ are [e] (upper-mid front) and [ɛ] (lower-mid front); those of /a/ are [ɔ] (with a range from upper-mid central to upper-low central) and [a] (lower-low central); those of /o/, [o] (upper-mid back) and [ɔ] (lower-mid back); and those of /u/, [u] (upper-high back) and [ʊ] (lower-high back).

Chart 4 shows certain English vowel phonemes and diphthongs to which the Tagalog vowels are compared in subsequent sections. (A DIPHTHONG may be defined, for practical purposes, as a vowel followed by a glide consonant in the same syllable.) The English vowels and diphthongs are arranged, once more, according to tongue position. In the case of the diphthongs, the tongue position shown is that of the initial vowel of the diphthong. The /y/ represents a glide upward and forward from the vowel position, the /w/, a glide upward and back from the vowel position.

**CHART 3
PRINCIPAL ALLOPHONES OF TAGALOG VOWEL PHONEMES**

		FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGHER	Upper	[i]		[u]
	Lower	[ɪ]		[ʊ]
MID	Upper	[e]		[o]
	Lower	[ɛ]	[ə]	[ɔ]
LOW	Upper			
	Lower		[a]	

**CHART 4
CERTAIN ENGLISH VOWEL PHONEMES AND DIPHTHONGS**

		FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	Upper	/iy/		/uw/
	Lower	/ɪ/		/ʊ/
MID	Upper	/ey/		/ow/
	Lower	/ɛ/	/ə/	/ɔ/
LOW	Upper			
	Lower		/a/	

The symbols in Chart 4 represent the following vowels and diphthongs in Midland American English (i.e., the English spoken in most parts of the United States other than New England and the Southeast):

/iy/	as in	'beat'	/biyt/
/ɪ/	as in	'bit'	/bɪt/
/ey/	as in	'bait'	/bett/
/e/	as in	'bet'	/bet/
/ə/	as in	'but'	/bət/
/a/	as in	'pot'	/pat/
/ɔ/	as in	'bought'	/bɔt/
/ow/	as in	'boat'	/bowt/
/ʊ/	as in	'put'	/pʊt/
/uw/	as in	'boot'	/buwt/

(Some Midland dialects lack a distinction between /a/ and /ɔ/.) (Certain English vowels and diphthongs are not shown in Chart 4. These include the upper-low-front vowel /æ/, as in 'pat' /pæ t/, which has no Tagalog counterpart, and certain diphthongs that are discussed in connection with the Tagalog diphthongs in §1.11.)

The Tagalog vowels are presented in detail in §§1.6 through 1.10: /i/ in §1.6; /e/ in §1.7; /a/ in §1.8; /o/ in §1.9; /u/ in §1.10. The Tagalog diphthongs are presented in §1.11.

Before the individual vowel phonemes and diphthongs of Tagalog are discussed, a few general observations may be made about the Tagalog vowel system as a whole. All Tagalog vowels show a correlation between length and tenseness, long vowels tending to be tense, short vowels lax. (Long vowels are marked in the phonemic transcriptions of this book by a raised dot following the vowel symbol: thus /iː/ is long, /i/ short, as in *linis* /liːnis/ 'cleanliness'.) Vowel length in Tagalog is phonemic: that is, there are pairs of words that are distinguished from one another on the basis of vowel length alone (cf. §1.12 and – for a discussion of the relation of vowel length to stress – §1.29).

As in American English, nasalized vowels frequently occur in Tagalog before or after the nasal consonants /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/ (see §1.16). Thus the vowels in words like the following would frequently be nasalized: *lamlam* /lamlam/ 'gloom', *bunton* /bunton/ 'heap', *hangang* /hangang/ 'until', *manganak* /manganak/ 'give birth'. In other positions, Tagalog vowels are oral.

The present five-phoneme Tagalog vowel system has developed historically from a three-phoneme system, in which there was one front-vowel phoneme, /i/, one central-vowel phoneme, /a/, and one back-vowel phoneme, /u/. The change from the three-vowel to the five vowel system (with the addition of the phonemes /e/ and /o/) very likely has been brought about through the incorporation into Tagalog of many loan words from Spanish and English, by Tagalog speakers more or less familiar with these languages. While there is no doubt that educated Manila Tagalog now has five vowel phonemes, there are perhaps other Tagalog dialects that still lack a phonemic distinction between /i/ and /e/ and between /u/ and /o/. And even in the case of the educated Manila dialect, there are still many instances of interchangeability between the members of these pairs of phonemes, as is explained in the appropriate sections below.

§1.6. /i/.

The phoneme /i/ has two principal allophones: [i] and [ɪ]. The allophone [i], an upper-high-front spread vowel, is similar to the English vowel that occurs as the first element of a diphthong in 'be' /biy/ or 'beat' /biyt/. In English, this vowel is regularly followed by a forward and upward gliding movement of the tongue (represented by /y/ in phonemic transcriptions of English). In Tagalog, on the other hand, there is no /y/ glide regularly associated with [i].

The allophone [ɪ], a lower-high-front spread vowel, is similar to the vowel of English 'bit' /bɪt/.

While the sounds [i] and [ɪ] occur both in English and in Tagalog, the sounds play quite different roles in the vowel systems of the two languages. In English the difference between the two sounds may be used in distinguishing two words from one another (e.g., 'beat' and 'bit'). In Tagalog the difference between the sounds is never used in this way, and any word in which one of the sounds occurs may be pronounced with the other as well, with no change of meaning.

Although [i] and [ɾ] are interchangeable in Tagalog without any resultant change of meaning, one or the other of the sounds is the more usual under certain specifiable conditions. A long /i/ is usually represented by the [i] allophone. Thus the [i] allophone normally occurs in the following items:

biro	/bi·ro'/	'joke'
kilos	/ki·los/	'action'
labi ko	/la·bi·koh/	'my lips'
silya	/si·lyah/	'chair'
team	/ti·m/	'team'

A short /i/ is usually represented by the [ɾ] allophone. Thus the [ɾ] allophone normally occurs in the following items:

binata	/bina·ta'/	'bachelor'
kidlat	/kidlat/	'lightning'
gabi na	/gabi nah/	'it's night now'
labis	/la·bis/	'surplus'
marami	/mara·mih/	'many'

A short /i/ in a phrase-final syllable – i.e., a syllable followed by pause – is, however, often represented by the [i] allophone when the phrase-final word is being emphasized.

Many words that have the phoneme /i/ in a word-final syllable allow the replacement of /i/ by /e/ if the word is phrase-final. Most of the words that allow alternation between /i/ and /e/ in a phrase-final syllable are words of native Tagalog origin. (Details and examples of such variation are presented in §1.7.) Loan words from Spanish and, especially, from English, on the other hand, rarely if ever allow replacement of /i/ by /e/. The /i/'s in the following loan words, for example, are perfectly stable:

abril	/ˈabril/	'April'
bir	/bi·ɾ/	'beer'
boksing	/bo·ksɪŋ/	'boxing'
boluntir	/bo·luntir/	'volunteer'
jeep	/dʒi·p/	'jeep'
mais	/ma·is/	'corn'
otomobil	/otomo·bil/	'automobile'
parti	/pa·rtih/	'party'

§1.7. /e/.

The two principal allophones of the Tagalog phoneme /e/ are [e] and [ɛ]: respectively, an upper-mid-front spread vowel and a lower-mid-front spread vowel. The allophone [e] is similar to the English vowel that occurs as the first element of a diphthong in 'bay' /bey/ or 'bait' /beyt/; the allophone [ɛ] is similar to the English vowel that occurs in 'bet' /bet/.

In the Tagalog of some speakers, the two principal allophones of /e/ are in completely free alternation with one another. (That is, the two allophones are used interchangeably, each occurring in all the same contexts as the other.) Other speakers prefer one or the other of the allophones in some or all contexts, but, since there is no context in which a majority of speakers reject either allophone, either [e] or [ɛ] may be used to represent the phoneme in all cases.

Some illustrations of the phoneme /e/ are:

ate	/ˈa·teh/	'elder sister'
kape	/ka·peh/	'coffee'
desk	/de·s(k)/	'desk'
esensya	/ˈese·nsyah/	'fragrance'
Lunes	/lu·nes/	'Monday'
peligro	/pe·li·groh/	'danger'
pera	/pe·rah/	'money'
sermon	/se·rmon/	'sermon'

As was mentioned in §1.6, many words that have /i/ in a word-final syllable allow the replacement of /i/ by /e/ if the word is phrase-final. Such alternation between /i/ and /e/ is extremely common in the case of words of native Tagalog origin with short penultimate vowels; and in fact, the great majority of such words allow the alternation. For some speakers the alternation in these words is entirely free, the two phonemes being used interchangeably; for other speakers, either /i/ or /e/ is normal, the other occurring under certain conditions of style or in special contexts. At any rate, both /i/ and /e/ are very common in the final syllable of words like the following, when the words are followed by a pause:

gabi	/gabi ^h /	or	/gabi ^e /	'night'
itim	/'itim/	or	/'item/	'black'
mabait	/maba ^h 'it/	or	/maba ^e 'et/	'kind'

It should be noted that, when words like those just listed are not phrase-final, there is no alternation between /i/ and /e/, only /i/ occurring under these circumstances. Thus:

gabi ba	/gabi ba ^h /	'night?'
itim ba	/'itim ba ^h /	'black?'
mabait ba	/maba ^h 'it ba ^h /	'kind?'

There is also a good deal of alternation between /i/ and /e/ in phrase-final syllables in words of native Tagalog origin with long penultimate vowels. The alternation is particularly common in the case of syllables ending in /h/. (Words that end in phonemic /h/ are written without a final consonant in conventional orthography; see §1.17 and 1.30.) The following words illustrate this alternation.

gabi	/ga ^h 'bi ^h /	or	/ga ^h 'be ^h /	'yam'
lalaki	/'lala ^h 'ki ^h /	or	/'lala ^h 'ke ^h /	'man'
sili	/'si ^h 'li ^h /	or	/'si ^h 'le ^h /	'pepper'

One final case of alternation between /e/ and /i/ may be mentioned. This is the case of a short /e/ in a word-final syllable which is not phrase-final. The /e/ in such cases may be replaced by /i/, as the following examples show:

kape pa	/kape pa ^h /	or	/kapi pa ^h /	'more coffee'
Lunes na	/'lu ^h 'nes na ^h /	or	/'lu ^h 'nis na ^h /	'it's Monday'
sige na	/'si ^h 'ge na ^h /	or	/'si ^h 'gi na ^h /	'OK'

Sporadic replacement of short /e/ by short /i/ in a non-word-final syllable may also occur, but in general short /e/ in this position is quite stable. Thus the replacement of short /e/ by short /i/ in words like the following would be highly unusual:

arkitektura	/'arkitektu ^h 'ra ^h /	'architecture'
eleksyon	/'eleksyon/	'election'
eroplano	/'eroplã ^h 'no ^h /	'airplane'

In addition to the cases of alternation between /e/ and /i/ discussed in this section, there are also certain cases in which a short /e/ is replaced by a long /i/ as a result of the length-shifting effect of certain suffixes. These cases are discussed in §1.12.

In spite of the many cases of alternation between /e/ and /i/, there is no doubt that the two are distinct phonemes in Tagalog, since there are a number of pairs of words whose members differ from each other only in that one has /e/ while the other has /i/. Examples such pairs are:

benta	/be ^h 'ntã ^h /	'sale'	binta	/'bi ^h 'ntã ^h /	'Moro canoe'
Bessie	/'be ^h 'si ^h /	'Bessie'	bisi	/'bi ^h 'si ^h /	'busy'
mesa	/'me ^h 'sa ^h /	'table'	misa	/'mi ^h 'sa ^h /	'mass'
parte	/'pa ^h 'rte ^h /	'part'	parti	/'pa ^h 'rti ^h /	'party'
senyas	/'se ^h 'nyã ^h /	'sign'	sinyas	/'si ^h 'nyã ^h /	'zinnias'

It may be noted that the phoneme /e/, except when it occurs as a replacement for /i/ in a phrase-final syllable, is usually found in words borrowed into Tagalog from other languages. In native Tagalog words, the sound most often occurs as a variant of the diphthong /ay/, and is discussed as such in §1.11.

In the Tagalog of certain younger speakers, long /e/ also occurs as a free alternant of the sequence /i'a/. These speakers may, for example, pronounce *hindi ako* 'not I' (normally, /hindi' akoh/) as /hinde'koh/.

§1.8. /a/.

The two principal allophones of Tagalog /a/ are [a] and [ə]. [a], a lower-low-central neutral vowel, is similar to the vowel that occurs in mid-Western American English 'pot' /pat/ or 'part' /part/. [ə] covers a range of tongue-positions, from upper-low central to upper-mid central, and, like [a], is characterized by neutral lip position. The range of tongue positions of Tagalog [ə] includes that of the vowel of American English 'but' /bət/ (lower-mid central), as well as that of the unstressed vowel of 'sofa' (upper-mid central), and that of the vowel that occurs in a common British pronunciation of words like 'but' (upper-low central). For practical purposes, the allophone may be considered identical with the vowel of American 'but'.

The allophones of Tagalog /a/ are distributed as follows. Long /a/ is always represented by the [a] allophone. Thus the [a] allophone occurs in words like the following:

bakit	/ba'kit/	'why'
Juan	/hwa'n/	'Juan'
marso	/ma'rsoh/	'March'
pare	/pa'res/	'pair'

/a/ in a phrase-final syllable is also represented by the [a] allophone. Thus the [a] allophone occurs in such words as:

bola	/bo'lah/	'ball'
klima	/kli'mah/	'climate'
pekas	/pe'kas/	'freckles'
sulat	/su'lat/	'letter'

Short /a/ in a non-phrase-final syllable is usually represented by the [ə] allophone. Thus [ə] would normally occur in words like the following:

ako	/'akoh/	'I'
damit	/damit/	'dress'
magaling	/magaliŋ/	'excellent'
sandali	/sandali/	'moment'

Short /a/ in a non-phrase-final syllable may, however, be represented by [a] in especially careful or emphatic speech.

§1.9. /o/.

The principal allophones of the Tagalog phoneme /o/ are [o] and [ɔ]: respectively, upper-mid-back rounded and lower-mid-back rounded. The allophone [o] is similar to the vowel that occurs as the first element of a diphthong in Midland American English 'boat' /bowt/ or 'bow' ('bowknot') /bow/. The allophone [ɔ] is similar to the vowel of Midwestern American English 'bought' /bɔt/ or 'Baugh' /bɔ/.

As in the case of the other mid-vowel phoneme, /e/ (see §1.7), the two allophones of /o/ are in free alternation for some speakers, while others prefer one or the other of the allophones in some or all contexts. Once again, then, either allophone may be used to represent the phoneme in all cases.

Some illustrations of the phoneme /o/ are:

bunso	/bunsoʔ/	'youngest child'
hapon	/ha·pon/	'afternoon'
Joe	/dyoʔh/	'Joe'
oo	/ʔoʔoh/	'yes'
otomobil	/ʔotomo·bil/	'automobile'
pontimpen	/po·ntimpen/	'fountain pen'
ubo	/ʔuboh/	'cough'

The phoneme /o/ alternates with the phoneme /u/ under certain conditions specified in §1.10. Like alternation between /i/ and /e/, alternation between /u/ and /o/ is characteristic mainly of that part of the Tagalog vocabulary which is of native Tagalog origin. The large stock of Tagalog words borrowed from Spanish and English, on the other hand, shows relatively little alternation between /o/ and /u/. In particular, it may be noted that, in a non-word-final syllable, long /o/ (which occurs in this position almost exclusively in words of foreign origin) is never replaced by long /u/. The long /o/'s of the following words, for example, are perfectly stable:

bola	/bo·lah/	'ball'
kotse	/ko·tseh/	'car'
loko	/lo·koh/	'crazy'
notebook	/no·tbuk/	'notebook'
oras	/ʔo·ras/	'time'

In a few cases, long /o/ may occur as an alternant of the diphthong /aw/ or the sequence /au/. These cases are discussed in §1.11.

§1.10. /u/.

The principal allophones of the Tagalog phoneme /u/ are [u] and [ʊ]: respectively, upper-high-back rounded and lower-high-back rounded. The allophone [u] is similar to the vowel that occurs as the first element of a diphthong in English 'boot' /buwt/ or 'boo' /buw/. The allophone [ʊ] is similar to the vowel of English 'put' /pʊt/.

A long /u/ is usually represented by the [u] allophone. Thus the [u] allophone is normal in words like the following:

grupo	/gru·poh/	'group'
krus	/kru·s/	'cross'
mura	/mu·rah/	'cheap'
sulat	/su·lat/	'letter'
tubig	/tu·big/	'water'

A short /u/ is usually represented by the [ʊ] allophone. Thus the [ʊ] allophone is normal in words like the following:

lunsod	/lunso·d/	'city'
pula	/pula·h/	'red'
sampu	/sampuʔ/	'ten'
suklay	/sukla·y/	'comb'

/u/ is relatively rare in a phrase-final syllable, and occurs in this position principally in words of foreign origin. In this position, short /u/, though normally represented by the [ʊ] allophone, may be represented by the [u] allophone if the phrase-final word is being emphasized. Some further examples of

/u/ in a phrase-final syllable are:

konsul	/koˈnsul/	‘consul’
honeymoon	/hɑˈnimun/	‘honeymoon’
naku	/nakuh/	‘mother-o’-mine’
sandalwood	/saˈndalwud/	‘sandalwood’

As was mentioned in §1.9, there is a certain amount of alternation between the phonemes /o/ and /u/. The most important instances of alternation are those in which a word that normally has short /o/ in a phrase-final syllable is used non-phrase-finally. Under these circumstances, /o/ is always replaced by /u/ if the word is of native Tagalog origin. Thus the following words have /o/ in their final syllable if they appear at the end of a phrase, but /u/ in their final syllable if they appear in the middle of a phrase:

ano	/ˈanoɦ/	‘what?’	but	ano pa	/ˈanu pah/	‘what else?’
opo	/ˈoˈpo/	‘yes, sir’	but	opo nga	/ˈopu ˈŋa/	‘yes indeed, sir’
ulo	/ˈuˈloh/	‘head’	but	ulo ko	/ˈuˈlu koh/	‘my head’

(Note that the change from /o/ to /u/ is not reflected in the conventional spelling. See §§1.14 and 1.17 for the dropping of word-final /ʔ/ and /h/ in the middle of a phrase, and §1.12 for the compensatory vowel lengthening that accompanies the dropping of word-final /ʔ/.)

In words of foreign origin that have short /o/ in their final syllable, when phrase-final /o/ alternates freely with /u/ for most speakers in most cases when the word is used non-phrase-finally. Thus:

asbestos ba	/asbeˈstos bah/	or	/asbeˈstus bah/	‘asbestos?’
dialog ba	/daˈyalog bah/	or	/daˈyalug bah/	‘dialog?’
mascot ba	/maˈskot bah/	or	/maˈskut bah/	‘mascot?’
pingpong ba	/piˈŋpɔŋ bah/	or	/piˈŋpuŋ bah/	‘pingpong?’

Sporadic replacement of short /o/ by short /u/ in a non-word-final syllable may also occur, but in general short /o/ in this position is fairly stable. Replacement of short /o/ by short /u/ may thus occur occasionally in words like the following, but the forms with /o/ are normal:

onorable	/ˈonoraˈbleɦ/	‘honorable’
otomatik	/ˈotomaˈtik/	‘automatic’

There are also certain words in which short /o/ and short /u/ in a non-word-final syllable alternate freely with one another. Thus:

biyolin	/biyoliˈn/	or	/biyuliˈn/	‘violin’
doktrina	/doktriˈnah/	or	/duktriˈnah/	‘doctrine’
tsuper	/tʃupeˈr/	or	/tʃupeˈr/	‘chauffeur’

In addition to the cases of alternation between /o/ and /u/ already discussed, there are two other cases that are discussed in subsequent sections: cases of alternation between the diphthongs /oy/ and /uy/, to be discussed in §1.11; and cases of replacement of short /o/ by long /u/ as a result of the length-shifting effect of certain suffixes, to be discussed in §1.12.

In spite of the many cases of alternation between /o/ and /u/, there is no doubt that the two are distinct phonemes in Tagalog, since there are a number of pairs of words whose members differ from each other only in that one has /o/ while the other has /u/. Example of such pairs are:

baboy	/baˈboy/	‘pig’	babuy	/baˈbuy/	‘pig-like person’
balot	/balot/	‘wrapped’	balut	/balut/	‘duck’s egg’
bos	/boˈs/	‘boss’	bus	/buˈs/	‘bus’
botas	/boˈtas/	‘boots’	butas	/buˈtas/	‘hole’
hayop	/haˈyop/	‘animal’	hayup	/haˈyup/	‘animal-like person’
Poro	/poˈroh/	(place name)	puro	/puˈroh/	‘pure’

§ 1.11. Diphthongs.

As was stated in § 1.5, a diphthong may be defined, for practical purposes, as a vowel followed by a glide consonant in the same syllable. Tagalog has two glides, /y/ and /w/, which are presented in detail in § 1.21. After a vowel in the same syllable, /y/ represents a glide from the tongue and lip position of the vowel to extreme high-front vowel position with spread lips, /w/ a glide to extreme high-back vowel position with rounded lips. Diphthongs formed with /y/ are called **FRONTING DIPHTHONGS**; diphthongs formed with /w/, **BACKING DIPHTHONGS**.

Tagalog has four fronting diphthongs: /ey/, /ay/, /oy/, and /uy/. In most cases the vowels in these diphthongs are short. Long vowels, however, occur in certain words of foreign origin: e.g.,

reyna	/reːynah/	'queen'
ice box	/ˈaːys baːks/	'ice box'
boyfriend	/boɪfrɛːn(d)/	'boy friend'
Uy	/uːy/	(Chinese surname)

/ey/ is similar to the diphthong of English 'bay'/bey. With a short vowel, /ey/ occurs primarily as an alternant of /ay/, as explained below, but it also occurs as a primary diphthong in a few words of foreign origin: e.g., *Reynaldo* /reynaːldoh/ (man's name).

The diphthong /ay/ is similar to the diphthong of English *by* /bay/. /ey/ may occur as an alternant of any short /ay/ which is not phrase-final. In rapid speech, /eː/ may also occur as an alternant of a short non-phrase-final /ay/. Thus, while words like *bahay* 'house' or *suklay* 'comb' have /ay/ in their final syllable if they occur at the end of a phrase, they may have either /ey/ or /eː/, as well as /ay/, in this syllable if they occur in the middle of a phrase:

	Phrase-Final			Non-phrase-Final	
bahay	/baːhay/	'house'	bahay ko	{ /baːhay koh/ /baːhey koh/ /baːheː koh/ }	'my house'
suklay	/suklay/	'comb'	suklay ko	{ /suklay koh/ /sukley koh/ /sukleː koh/ }	'my comb'

(In a limited number of cases, /i/ also occurs as an alternant of short non-phrase-final /ay/ in rapid speech: thus, also /baːhi koh/.)

Since short /ay/ alternates with /ey/ and /eː/ in any non-phrase-final syllable, there are certain words which always allow the alternation, either because the words never occur phrase-finally, or because the /ay/ occurs in a non-final syllable of the word. Some examples are:

aywan	/ˈaywan/, /ˈeywan/, /ˈeːwan/	'not known'
kay	/kay/, /key/, /keː/	(personal marker)
may	/may/, /mey/, /meː/	'have, there is'
mayroon	/mayruːon/, /meyruːon/, /meːruːon/	'have, there is'

In certain cases the diphthong /ay/ occurs as an alternant of the sequence /aːi/. The alternants /ey/ and /eː/ also occur in these cases. Thus:

kaibigan	/kaːˈibiːgan/, /kaybiːgan/, /keybiːgan/, /keːbiːgan/	'friend'
kailan	/kaːˈilan/, /kaylan/, /keylan/, /keːlan/	'when'

The Tagalog diphthong /oy/ is similar to the diphthong of English 'boy' /boy/. The Tagalog diphthong /uy/ is similar to the diphthong of English 'buoy' /buy/ (where this is differentiated from 'boy'). In Tagalog, phrase-final /uy/ occurs primarily as an emphatic alternant of /oy/. There are, however, a few words that have only /uy/, never /oy/, in a phrase-final syllable: e.g., *aruy* /ˈaruy/ 'ouch', *babuy* /baːbuy/ 'pig-like person'. (The last word contrasts minimally with *baboy* /baːboy/ 'pig'.)

Just as /uy/ is relatively rare in a phrase-final syllable, so /oy/ is relatively rare elsewhere, since, as was explained in §1.10, an /o/ in the last syllable of a native Tagalog word is regularly replaced by /u/ when the word is not phrase-final. Thus:

amoy	/ˈamoy/	‘odor’	but	amoy ba	/ˈamuy bah/	‘odor?’
kahoy	/kaˈhoy/	‘wood’	but	kahoy ba	/kaˈhuy bah/	‘wood?’

Only in words borrowed from other languages may a word-final /oy/ be retained in the middle of a phrase: e.g., *cowboy ba* /koˈboy bah/ ‘cowboy?’.

The Tagalog backing diphthongs are: /iw/, /ew/, /aw/, and /ow/. (/aw/ occurs with a long vowel in a few words of foreign origin – e.g., *loudspeaker* /laˈwdispiˈker/ – but is short in all other cases. /iw/, /ew/, and /ow/ always have short vowels.) Most dialects of English have no diphthongs that are similar to /iw/ or /ew/. (/iw/ occurs, however, in Southeastern American English in certain words where other dialects have /yuw/ or /uw/: e.g., ‘due’, ‘new’, and /ew/ occurs in some British dialects in words where other dialects have /ow/: e.g., ‘boat’, ‘no’.) In Tagalog, /ew/ occurs only as an optional alternant of /iw/ in a phrase-final syllable, in some words, for some speakers. (See §1.7 for a discussion of alternation between /i/ and /e/ in a phrase-final syllable.) Thus some speakers pronounce words like *sisiw* ‘chick’ or *baliw* ‘crazy’ with either /iw/ or /ew/ if they are phrase-final, but only with /iw/ if they occur elsewhere. Other speakers have /iw/ in all cases.

The Tagalog diphthong /aw/ is similar to the diphthong of English ‘brow’ /braw/. In a non-final syllable, some speakers occasionally replace a short /aw/ by /ow/ or by the long vowel /oː/, in rapid speech. (/ow/, which occurs in Tagalog only as an occasional alternant of /aw/, is similar to the diphthong of English ‘boat’ /bowt/.) Thus, sporadic pronunciations of, for example, *ikaw ba* ‘you?’ as /ˈikow bah/ or /ˈikoːbah/ may be heard, in addition to the usual pronunciation /ˈikaw bah/.

In many cases the diphthong /aw/ occurs as an alternant of the sequence /aːu/ in rapid speech. In a few such cases pronunciations with /oː/ or /ow/ also occur: e.g.,

kaunti	/kaˈuntiː/, /kawntiː/, /kowntiː/, /koːntiː/	‘a little’
magsauli	/magsaˈuliː/, /magsawliː/, /magsowliː/, /magsoːliː/	‘return’

§1.12 Vowel length.

Vowel length, or duration, is significant in Tagalog. There are pairs of utterances that are distinguished from one another on the basis of vowel length alone. Thus it is only the difference in the length of the vowel of the second syllable that distinguishes the verb *magnanakaw* /magnaˈnaːkaw/ ‘will rob’ from the noun *magnanakaw* /magnanaːkaw/ ‘robber’.

Tagalog vowels are characterized by one of two degrees of significant relative length. The significantly longer vowels may be called LONG VOWELS, the significantly shorter vowels may be called SHORT VOWELS. (In the phonemic notation used in this book, long vowels are marked by a raised dot after the vowel.) Every significantly long vowel of Tagalog may be explained as an instance of one of the three following cases of vowel length: INHERENT LENGTH, COMPENSATORY LENGTH, or COALESCENCE LENGTH. These cases are dealt with in turn below. Then the phenomena of NON-SIGNIFICANT LENGTHENING and LENGTH SHIFT are discussed. (For a discussion of the relationship between vowel length and stress, see §1.29.)

By INHERENT LENGTH is meant vowel length that is present in a word regardless of the position of the word in an utterance. In words of native Tagalog origin, inherently long vowels occur only in syllables that are not word-final. Thus monosyllabic words of native Tagalog origin – e.g., the markers *ang*, *sa*, *si*, etc. – never have inherently long vowels. The vowels of monosyllabic loan-words from English and Spanish, on the other hand, are always inherently long. The following proper names, for example, have long vowels regardless of their position in an utterance:

Bill	/biːl/	Luz	/luːs/
Fe	/feːh/	Boy	/boːy/
Bob	/baːb/		

Final syllables of disyllabic or longer words of native origin never have inherently long vowels. Final syllables of disyllabic or longer words from English (but not from Spanish) sometimes have inherently long vowels in free alternation with short vowels. That is, the vowels of the final syllables of such words may be either long or short if the words occur in the middle of a phrase. (This is in contrast to words of native origin, all of which have only short vowels in their final syllables under these circumstances.) Some examples are:

balloon ba	/balu'n bah/	or	/balun bah/	'balloon?'
cartoon ba	/kartu'n bah/	or	/kartun bah/	'cartoon?'

Tagalog has many pairs of words that differ from one another only in that one member of the pair has an inherently long vowel in a non-final syllable while the other has a short vowel in this syllable. Some examples are:

aso	/a'soh/	'dog'	vs.	aso	/asoh/	'smoke'
baga	/ba'gah/	'ember'	vs.	baga	/bagah/	'?'
galing	/ga'liŋ/	'from'	vs.	galing	/galiŋ/	'excellence'
lamang	/la'maŋ/	'only'	vs.	lamang	/lamaŋ/	'advantage'
pito	/pi'toh/	'whistle'	vs.	pito	/pitoh/	'seven'

(The difference between the members of these pairs may also be described as a difference of stress, the left-hand member of each pair being stressed on the first syllable, the right-hand member on the second – see §1.29.)

By COMPENSATORY LENGTH is meant length that appears with the dropping of a consonant after an otherwise short vowel. Certain cases of compensatory length have already been presented in §1.11: namely, the long /e:/ and /o:/ that occur as alternants of diphthongs. The length of these vowels – in, for example *aywan* 'not known', pronounced /e.wan/, and *kaunti*, 'a little', pronounced /ko.nti/ – may be regarded as an instance of length compensating for the loss of a following glide consonant.

Another, and still more frequent, case of compensatory lengthening is the lengthening of vowels in word-final syllables that accompanies the loss of a following glottal stop in the middle of a phrase. (The glottal-stop phoneme is not represented in conventional spelling, but is represented by the symbol /ʔ/ in phonemic transcriptions. See §1.14 for a general discussion of the phoneme.) Tagalog has a great many words that end with a glottal stop: e.g.,

baba	/ba'baʔ/	'chin'
hindi	/hindiʔ/	'no'
luto	/lu'toʔ/	'cooked'

When such words occur in the middle of a phrase, the glottal stop does not occur, but there is compensatory lengthening of the vowel of the word-final syllable. Thus:

baba ba	/ba'ba.bah/	'chin?'
hindi ba	/hindi.bah/	'no?'
luto ba	/lu'tu.bah/	'cooked?'

(As was noted in §1.10, /o/ in the final syllable of a word of native Tagalog origin is always replaced by /u/ if the word is used non-phrase-finally. Therefore /u/ results from the compensatory lengthening of /o/, as in the last example above.)

COALESCENCE LENGTH is length that is the product of the merging of two identical vowels that have become contiguous as the result of the omission of a glottal stop. A glottal stop between vowels is often omitted in normal rapid speech. The sentence *Nasaan na ako?* 'Where am I now?', for example, which would have two intervocalic glottal stops in careful speech – /na.sa'an na 'akoh/ – would normally lose them both in rapid speech, and the contiguous identical vowels would coalesce into long vowels: /na.sa'an

na'koh/. As the above example shows, coalescence length may result from the merging of vowels either within a word (*nasaan*) or between two words (*na ako*).

In addition to the three types of significant vowel length just discussed, Tagalog also shows NON-SIGNIFICANT LENGTHENING of the vowels of phrase-final syllables. All Tagalog vowels in phrase-final syllables are phonetically long. This being the case, vowel length in a phrase-final syllable is not significant – i.e., there is no possibility of contrast between long and short vowels in this position – and hence, in general, it is not marked in the phonemic transcriptions of this text. In phonetic transcriptions, on the other hand, all vowels in phrase-final syllables are shown as long. Thus *isa* 'one' is transcribed phonemically /'isah/, phonetically ['isa:h], and *apat* 'four' is transcribed phonemically /'a-pat/, phonetically ['a:pa:t]. (In phonemic transcriptions of phrase-final monosyllabic loan words, however, vowel length is shown. As noted above, all monosyllabic loan words have inherently long vowels – i.e., vowels that are long regardless of the position in which the word occurs. While it is true that such length is not in itself significant phrase-finally, there being no possibility of length contrast in this position, phrase-final monosyllabic loan words are nonetheless distinguished from phrase-final monosyllables of native Tagalog origin by the way in which they are treated in lexically-determined two-point intonation patterns – see § 1.23 and 1.25. In these patterns, phrase-final monosyllabic loans are given the treatment accorded other syllables with significantly long vowels.)

By LENGTH SHIFT is meant the transfer of vowel length from one syllable of a word to another. Length shift in Tagalog is associated with a number of different word-types – notably, verbs formed with the two verbal suffixes *-an* and *-in*. (A VERBAL SUFFIX is a sequence of phonemes that is added to a word to form a verb.) When either of these suffixes is added to a word that contains an inherently long vowel, this vowel is normally shortened and the vowel in the following syllable is simultaneously lengthened. For example:

tasa /ta'sah/ 'assessment' → tasahan /tasa'han/ '(to) assess'
pala /pa'lah/ 'shovel' → palahin /pala'hin/ '(to) shovel'

(Length shift does not occur in those few cases where the inherently long vowel is in a closed syllable, i.e., a syllable ending in a consonant (cf. § 1.22). Thus when the suffix *-in* is added to *plantsa* /pla'ntšah/ 'iron', the resultant form, *plantsahin* /pla'ntšahin/ '(to) iron', does not show length shift.)

There are certain changes of vowel quality that are associated with length shift. These changes concern the lengthening of short /e/ and /o/. In certain specifiable cases, short /e/ is replaced by long /i:/, and short /o/ by long /u:/. In other specifiable cases, the original vowel quality is retained under length shift. The condition that determines whether or not the vowel quality is retained is the quality of the vowel that precedes the /e/ or /o/. If this preceding vowel is either /e/ or /o/, then /e/ is lengthened to /e:/ and /o/ to /o:/. If the preceding vowel is /i/, /a/, or /u/, however, then /e/ is replaced by /i:/ and /o/ by /u:/. Examples of the retention of vowel quality when the preceding vowel is /e/ or /o/ are:

kolorete /kolore'teh/ 'rouge' → koloretehan /kolorete'han/ 'rouge'
lote /lo'teh/ 'lot' → lotehin /lote'hin/ '(to) parcel'
belo /be'loh/ 'veil' → belohan /belo'han/ '(to) veil'
lobo /lo'boh/ 'balloon' → lobohin /lobo'hin/ '(to) make into a balloon'

Examples of the change of vowel quality when the preceding vowel is /i/, /a/, or /u/ are:

tiket /ti'ket/ 'ticket' → tikitan /tiki'tan/ '(to) give a ticket'
dibate /diba'teh/ 'debate' → dibatihin /dibati'hin/ '(to) debate with'
ule /'u'leh/ 'oilcloth' → ulihan /'uli'han/ '(to) put oilcloth on'
pino /pi'noh/ 'fine' → pinuhin /pinu'hin/ '(to) make fine'
palo /pa'lo/ 'flogging' → paluin /palu'in/ '(to) flog'
saludo /salu'doh/ 'salute' → saludahan /saludu'han/ '(to) salute'

§ 1.13. Tagalog consonants.

Chart 5 shows the consonant phonemes of Tagalog, arranged according to the point and the manner of their articulation. Phonemes that are articulated at the same point appear in the same vertical column. Phonemes that are articulated in the same manner appear in the same horizontal row.

CHART 5
TAGALOG CONSONANT PHONEMES

	Labial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop: Voiceless	p		t			k	ʔ
Stop: Voiced	b		d			g	
Nasal (Voiced)	m		n			ŋ	
Fricative (Voiceless)		(f)		s			h
Affricate (Voiceless)				(tʃ)			
Lateral (Voiced)				l			
Tap or Trill (Voiced)				r			
Glide (Voiced)					y	w	

The two phonemes that appear on the chart in parentheses (*/f/* and */tʃ/*) have a somewhat peculiar status, for reasons to be explained in §§ 1.17 and 1.18.

In §§ 1.14 through 1.21 the Tagalog consonant phonemes are taken up in groups that correspond to the rows of Chart 5: */p, t, k, ʔ/* in § 1.14; */b, d, g/* in § 1.15; */m, n, ŋ/* in § 1.16; */f, s, h/* in § 1.17; */tʃ/* in § 1.18; */l/* in § 1.19; */r/* in § 1.20; */y, w/* in § 1.21.

§ 1.14. Voiceless stops.

The Tagalog phonemes */p/*, */t/*, and */k/* differ from their English counterparts – the initial phonemes of ‘pill’, ‘till’, and ‘kill’, for example – in several ways. In the first place, the English phonemes have **ASPIRATED** allophones which occur at the beginning of stressed syllables, while the Tagalog phonemes are **UNASPIRATED** in all positions. (An aspirated sound is one that is followed by a little [h]-like puff of breath; an unaspirated sound is one that is not.) Unaspirated allophones of the voiceless stops do occur in English, however, in certain other positions – e.g., after */s/*, as in ‘spill’, ‘still’, ‘skill’ – and these allophones are similar to the Tagalog sounds.

In addition to the consistent absence of aspiration, two of the Tagalog stops, */t/* and */k/*, differ from their English counterparts in point of articulation as well. Tagalog */t/* is dental, while English */t/* is alveolar. (In American English, furthermore, */t/* is often voiced between vowels at the beginning of an unstressed syllable, in which case it ceases to contrast with */d/*. Thus many Americans pronounce ‘shutter’ and ‘shudder’, or ‘latter’ and ‘ladder’, identically. Tagalog */t/* is never voiced, regardless of its position in a word. The */t/* of *botas* ‘boots’, for example, does not differ appreciably from the */t/* of *tao* ‘person’, and is quite distinct from the */d/* of *boda* ‘wedding’.

The point of articulation of English */k/* varies noticeably according to the sound that follows it. The */k/* of ‘keep’, for instance, is palatal, while that of ‘coop’ is velar. Tagalog */k/* does not show this kind of variation. The */k/* of *kirot* ‘twinge’ and the */k/* of *kurot* ‘pinch’ are both velar. The point of articulation of the Tagalog phoneme is, furthermore, usually somewhat further back than that of even the most retracted allophone of English */k/*.

Tagalog /k/ has a fricative allophone, which may be transcribed [x]. It is a velar fricative, identical with Tagalog [k] in point of articulation, but differing from it in that sufficient space is left between the back of the tongue and the velum for the air to escape with audible friction. The sound is similar to the sound represented by *ch* in the conventional spelling of such German words as *ach* or *Buch*. In Tagalog, the sound is a frequent substitute for [k] between vowels, especially between low and back vowels. In such words as *ako* 'I', *wakas* 'finish', *suka* 'vinegar', *naku* 'mother-o'-mine', therefore, the fricative allophone is quite common, as it is in phrases like *Pupunta kami* 'We'll go', where a word-initial /k/ becomes intervocalic.

The glottal stop, [ʔ], is a sound that occurs in English at the beginning of the second syllable of the ejaculations 'uh-uh' and 'oh-oh'. In American English, it is also fairly common as an allophone of /t/ before a syllabic [n]: e.g., in 'cotton' [ka'n]. (A consonant is said to be SYLLABIC when it is the most prominent sound in a syllable.) Apart from its use in ejaculations and as an allophone of /t/, the glottal stop occurs only sporadically in English, and it is not usually considered to be one of the English phonemes. In Tagalog, on the other hand, /ʔ/ is as much a part of the phonemic system as any of the other consonant phonemes, and is in contrast with other consonants at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of words. Speakers of English are likely to substitute [k] for Tagalog /ʔ/ in certain positions, and to omit the sound altogether in others, especially in phrase-final position, where omission of /ʔ/ is likely to be interpreted by the Tagalog speaker as a use of the phoneme /h/ (see §1.17). The tendency to omit the sound is reinforced by conventional spelling, in which it is not represented (see §1.30). That neither substitution nor omission is in general permissible is evident from such pairs of words as the following, in which /ʔ/ contrasts with /k/, with /h/, or with absence of itself.

aso	/a'soh/	'dog'	kaso	/ka'soh/	'case'
piit	/pi'it/	'imprison'	pikit	/pikit/	'close (the eyes)'
paso	/pa'soʔ/	'burn'	pasok	/pa'sok/	'entrance'
anay	/a'nay/	'termite'	hanay	/ha'nay/	'row'
kaon	/ka'on/	'fetch'	kahon	/kahon/	'box'
bata	/ba'taʔ/	'child'	bata	/ba'tah/	'bathrobe'
mag-alis	/mag'alis/	'remove'	magalis	/magalis/	'full of sores'

There are, however, certain cases in which /ʔ/ is omissible, and other cases in which it is obligatorily omitted. A word-initial /ʔ/ is optionally omitted when the word occurs in the middle of a phrase. Thus the initial /ʔ/ of a word like *ano* /a'noh/ 'what' is omissible when the word occurs in a phrase like *sa ano* 'on what', which may be pronounced either /sa'a'noh/ or /sa'noh/. (The long vowel in /sa'noh/ is an instance of coalescence length resulting from the loss of an intervocalic glottal stop – cp. § 1.12.) A glottal stop within a word, particularly between vowels, is also omissible. Thus *saan* 'where' may be pronounced either /sa'an/ or /sa'n/.

Word-final /ʔ/ is obligatorily omitted and is replaced by vowel length when the word occurs in the middle of a phrase. Thus *Mahaba* 'it's long' is phonemically /maha'baʔ/ while *Mahaba ba* 'Is it long?' is /maha'ba'bah/ (cf. § 1.12).

All the Tagalog voiceless-stop phonemes have unreleased allophones which occur at the end of phrases. (A final unreleased stop is one in which the air passage remains blocked until after the cessation of the outward air-stream, with the result that the release, when it occurs, is inaudible.) In English too, final voiceless stops are often unreleased, but the phenomenon is somewhat more general in Tagalog, so general that an ordinary released [p], [t], or [k] at the end of a phrase sounds decidedly non-Tagalog. (This stricture does not apply to released final /ʔ/, which is fairly common.) In place of the unreleased final allophones of /p/, /t/, and /k/, NASALLY-RELEASED allophones sometimes occur as free alternants. (A nasally-released stop is one in which, after the complete blockage of the air, the velum is lowered, allowing the air to escape through the nose.) Further examples of the phonemes /p/, /t/, and /k/ are:

puto	/pu'toh/	'bread'
tuto	/tu'toh/	'learn'
kuto	/ku'toh/	'louse'
dapo	/da'poʔ/	'alight on'
dato	/da'toh/	(title of nobility)
dako	/da'koʔ/	'place'
ulap	/u'lap/	'cloud'
ulat	/u'lah/	'report'
ulak	/u'lak/	'reel'

§1.15. Voiced stops.

Tagalog /b/, /d/, and /g/ are the voiced counterparts of /p/, /t/, and /k/ respectively, and have the same points of articulation. Just as in the case of the voiceless stops, two of the Tagalog voiced stops, /d/ and /g/, differ in point of articulation from the corresponding English phonemes. Tagalog /d/ is dental while English /d/ is alveolar, and Tagalog /g/ is consistently back-velar, while the point of articulation of English /g/ varies according to the following phoneme.

In final position, the voiced stops, like their voiceless counterparts, are either unreleased or nasally released.

(There are many cases in which /d/ alternates with /r/ under certain specifiable conditions. Such cases are dealt with in §1.20.)

Examples of the voiced stops follow:

balang	/ba·laŋ/	'locust'
dalang	/da·laŋ/	'slowness'
galang	/ga·laŋ/	'respect'
Abad	/ʼabad/	(surname)
agad	/ʼagad/	'immediately'
edad	/ʼidad/	'age'
liyab	/liab/	'flame'
liyag	/liyag/	'beloved'
liyad	/liyad/	'protrusion of the abdomen'

Some examples of contrasts between the voiced and the voiceless stops are:

basa	/basaʼ/	'wet'	pasa	/pasaʼ/	'bruise'
ambon	/ambon/	'drizzle'	ampon	/ampon/	'adopt'
talukab	/talukab/	'crab's shell'	talukap	/talukap/	'eyelid'
dakot	/dakot/	'handful'	takot	/takot/	'frightened'
panday	/panday/	'blacksmith'	pantay	/pantay/	'even'
hilod	/hi·lod/	'scrub the body'	hilot	/hi·lot/	'midwife'
gulang	/gu·laŋ/	'age'	kulang	/ku·laŋ/	'lacking'
saglit	/saglit/	'moment'	saklit	/saklit/	'hook'
balag	/ba·lag/	'trellis'	balak	/ba·lak/	'plan'

§1.16. Nasals.

Tagalog has three nasal phonemes, /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/. The points of articulation of Tagalog /m/ and /ŋ/ are virtually identical with those of their English counterparts (the final sounds, for example, of 'hum' and 'hung'). Tagalog /n/ is dental, while English /n/ is alveolar.

All the Tagalog nasals may occur at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of words. Initial Tagalog /ŋ/ offers difficulties to the speaker of English, since the English velar nasal does not occur in this position. In Tagalog, initial /ŋ/ is quite common, as the following words show:

nga	/ŋa ʼ/	'really'
nganga	/ŋa·ŋaʼ/	'betel'
ngakngak	/ŋakŋa·k/	'cry aloud'
ngipin	/ŋi·pin/	'teeth'
nguni't	/ŋu·nit/	'but'

Some further illustrations of the Tagalog nasals are:

Mayon	/mayon/	(name of mountain)
nayon	/na·yon/	'town'
ngayon	/ŋayon/	'now'
sama	/samah/	'accompanying'
sanay	/sanay/	'experienced'
sanga	/saŋah/	'branch'
kalam	/kalam/	'churning of stomach'
kalan	/kalan/	'stove'
kalang	/ka·laŋ/	'wedge'

In normal rapid conversation, word-final /n/ and /ŋ/ may undergo assimilation in certain cases. (Assimilation is a process whereby a sound accommodates itself to a neighboring sound.) When a word that ends in /n/ is followed by a word that begins with a labial or labiodental consonant (/p/, /b/, /m/, or /f/), /n/ is often replaced by /m/. When a word that ends in /n/ is followed by a word that begins with a velar consonant (/k/, /g/, or /ŋ/), /n/ is often replaced by /ŋ/. Thus the word *San* /san/ 'Saint' tends to become /sam/ or /saŋ/ in contexts like the following:

San Pablo	/sam pa·bloh/	'St. Paul'
San Blas	/sam bla·s/	'St. Blas'
San Marco	/sam ma·rkoɦ/	'St. Mark'
San Francisco	/sam fra·nsi·skoɦ/	'St. Francis'
San Carlos	/saŋ ka·rlos/	'St. Charles'
San Gabriel	/saŋ ga·briyel/	'St. Gabriel'

Assimilation of /ŋ/ takes place only in the case of certain prefixes and MARKERS, and in the case of the LINKER *-ng* and the *-ng* form of the linker *na/-ng*. (Markers are defined in §2.4. The linkers *-ng* and *na/-ng* are discussed in §§3.8 and 3.11 respectively.) Among the prefixes that show assimilation are: *mang-*, *pang-*, and *kasing-*; among the markers, *ang*, *ng* /naŋ/, and *kung*. Assimilation is obligatory in the case of the prefixes, optional in the case of the markers. In the case of the linkers, assimilation is obligatory only if the two elements joined by a linker have coalesced into one word – e.g., the numbers *dalawampu* /dalawampu/ 'twenty' and *dalawandaan* /dalawanda'an/ 'two hundred' (from *dalawang pu* and *dalawang daan* respectively); otherwise, assimilation is optional.

Where assimilation of /ŋ/ occurs, it consists of the replacement of /ŋ/ by /m/ before /p/, /b/, /m/, or /f/, by /n/ before /t/, /d/, /n/, /s/, /tʃ/, /l/, /r/, or /y/ – in other words, /m/ before labial and labiodental consonants, /n/ before dental, alveolar, and palatal consonants. The marker *ang* may be used to illustrate the possible assimilations of /ŋ/, e.g.:

ang pader	/am pader/	'the wall'
ang bahay	/am ba·hay/	'the house'
ang mangga	/am maŋgaɦ/	'the mango'
ang flu	/am flu·ɦ/	'the flu'
ang tatay	/an ta·tay/	'the father'
ang damit	/an damit/	'the clothing'
ang nanay	/an na·nay/	'the mother'
ang susi	/an su·si/	'the key'
ang tsa	/an tʃa·ɦ/	'the tea'
ang lapis	/an la·pis/	'the pencil'
ang reyna	/an re·ynaɦ/	'the queen'
ang yoyo	/an yo·yo/	'the yoyo'

As was mentioned in §1.5, vowels that precede nasal consonants are normally nasalized. Occasionally in rapid conversation, a syllable-final nasal consonant may be omitted and the nasalization of the preceding vowel retained as the only sign of the presence in the syllable of a nasal phoneme.

§ 1.17. Fricatives.

The phoneme /f/ is a relatively recent addition to the stock of Tagalog phonemes, and is not yet an integral part of the phonemic system of all Tagalog speakers. There is no doubt, however, that the phoneme is a part of the system here being described: educated Manila Tagalog (hereafter, EMT). Some speakers of dialects other than EMT may have /p/ quite consistently in cases where EMT speakers have /f/, while others may agree with EMT in having /f/.

The phoneme /f/ occurs only in words borrowed into Tagalog from other languages, notably Spanish and English. In the case of borrowings from Spanish, all EMT speakers agree in retaining /f/ in the case of personal names: e.g., *Fe* /fe·h/, *Flora* /flo·rah/, *Fortunato* /fortuna·toh/. In the case of Spanish loan-words other than personal names, there is less agreement. Some speakers retain the Spanish /f/ with great consistency, others replace /f/ by /p/ with equal consistency, and still others use /f/ in some instances, /p/ in others. Some words in which both /f/ and /p/ are heard are:

Pilipino	/filipi·noh/	or	/pilipi·noh/	'Filipino'
fresco	/fre·skoh/	or	/pre·skoh/	'cool'
pamilya	/fami·lyah/	or	/pami·lyah/	'family'
kape	/kafē·h/	or	/kape·h/	'coffee'
telepono	/tele·fonoh/	or	/tele·ponoh/	'telephone'

In the case of borrowings from English, there is greater uniformity among EMT speakers, /f/ being retained by most speakers in the majority of instances. Examples of such borrowings from English are:

formal (dress)	/fo·rmal/
foxtrot	/fa·kstra·t/
cafeteria	/kafite·riyah/
refrigerator	/refri·dyere·ytor/
chief	/tʃi·f/

Like its English counterpart, the Tagalog phoneme /f/ has a single allophone: a labiodental voiceless fricative.

Tagalog /s/ is, in most of its occurrences, similar to the /s/ of English 'sing', 'sang', etc.: the alveolar fricative [s]. Before /y/, Tagalog /s/ has a PALATALIZED allophone [sʲ]. (A palatalized sound is one in addition to the main articulation of the sound, there is a raising of the front of the tongue toward the hard palate.) This [sʲ] is a sound that is intermediate between [s] and the sound represented by *sh* (the post-alveolar fricative [ʃ]) in English words like 'ship' or 'shop'. It occurs both in loan words and in native Tagalog words. In loan words from English, the sequence /sy/(=)[sʲ] replaces English /ʃ/ at the beginnings of words. Thus the following loan words have /sy/:

shop	/sya·p/	
siyaperon	/sya·peron/	'chaperone'
shine	/sya·yn/	

Elsewhere, the usual replacement of English /ʃ/ is /s/: e.g.,

brush	/bra·s/
machine gun	/masi·ŋga·n/
marshmallow	/ma·rsmaloh/

The sequence /sy/ also occurs in certain loan words from Spanish, e.g., *siyudad* /syudad/ 'city'.

At the beginning of native Tagalog words (but not of loan-words), the sequence /sy/ ([sʲ]) alternates with the sequence /siy/ ([siy]), some speakers preferring the /sy/ form, others the /siy/ form. Thus:

siya	/syah/	or	/siyah/	'he/she'
siyam	/syam/	or	/siyam/	'nine'
siyap	/syap/	or	/siyap/	'chirp'

Since Tagalog has no sound like the sound represented by *z* in English 'zero' this sound is replaced by /s/ in borrowings from English, e.g.:

zero	/se·roh/
zipper	/si·per/
fuse	/iyu·s/
Rose	/ro·ws/

Some further illustrations of Tagalog /s/ are:

saan	/sa'an/	'where'
sino	/si·noh/	'who'
aso	/a·soh/	'dog'
bunso	/bunso'/	'youngest child'
bigas	/bigas/	'hulled rice'
ayos	/a·yos/	'arrangement'

The glottal fricative, /h/, is, for practical purposes, equivalent to the English /h/ of *he* or *hat*. The Tagalog phoneme occurs not only at the beginning and in the middle of words but at the end as well. (In the latter position, /h/ is not represented in conventional spelling; see § 1.30.) As was mentioned in § 1.14, Tagalog has pairs of words that differ from one another only in that one ends in /h/, the other in /'. Additional examples of such pairs are:

aba	/abah/	'oh'	aba	/aba'/	'miserable'
baga	/ba·gah/	'ember'	baga	/ba·ga'/	'lung'
tubo	/tu·boh/	'tube'	tubo	/tu·bo'/	'growth'
yaya	/ya·yah/	'nurse'	yaya	/ya·ya'/	'invitation'

Word-final /h/ is lost in the middle of a phrase. Thus: *baga* /ba·gah/ 'ember', but *Baga ba?* /ba·ga bah/ '(Is it) an ember?' Before the suffixes *-an* and *-in*, however, final /h/ is retained: *punta* /punta'h/ 'going' *puntahan* /puntahan/ 'go to'; *sabi* /sa·bih/ 'saying' *sabihin* /sabi'hin/ 'say'. (It should be noted that, although neither word-final /h/ nor word-final /' is retained in the middle of a phrase, the contrast between them is preserved, /h/ being lost altogether, but /' being replaced by vowel length: thus /ba·ga bah/ '(Is it) an ember?' versus /ba·ga·bah/ '(Is it) a lung?' – see §§ 1.12 and 1.14.)

Some further illustrations of /h/ are:

hayop	/ha·yop/	'animal'
hudyat	/hudyat/	'sign'
bahay	/ba·hay/	'house'
mahirap	/mahi·rap/	'poor'
ama	/amah/	'father'
takbo	/takboh/	'running'

§ 1.18. Affricate.

The alveolar affricate /tʃ/ is similar to the English sound represented by *ch* in 'church'. The sound begins like the voiceless alveolar stop, [t], of English 'top' but the release of the closure is sufficiently slow for the sound [ʃ] (the voiceless post-alveolar fricative) to be briefly heard.

While the phoneme /tʃ/ occurs in the speech of perhaps the majority of EMT speakers, there are some speakers who consistently use in its place the sequence /ty/ (dental [t] followed by [y]). Such speakers pronounce the words in the following pairs identically, using /ty/ for both members of the pair:

tsa	'tea'	tiya	'aunt'
Chan	(a surname)	tiyan	'belly'

For speakers who have the phoneme /tʃ/, on the other hand, *tsa* and *Chan* begin with /tʃ/, *tiya* and *tiyan* with /ty/ or /tiy/.

(Speakers who use /tʃ/ in words like *tsa* and *Chan* use two alternative pronunciations for words like *tiya* and *tiyan*. They may either pronounce these words with the consonant sequence /ty/, or they may insert the vowel /i/ between the /t/ and the /y/. Speakers who do not use /tʃ/ in *tsa* and *Chan*, on the other hand, use only /ty/ (never /tiy/) in these words, as well as in *tiya* and *tiyan*.)

The phoneme /tʃ/ occurs chiefly in words of foreign origin: e.g., *tsa* (from Chinese), *tsinelas* 'slippers' (from Spanish) *tsok* 'chalk' (from English). Other examples of the phoneme are:

tsuper	/tʃsuper/	'chauffeur'
intsik	/intʃik/	'Chinese'
kotse	/koʔtʃeh/	'car'
beach	/biʔtʃ/	'beach'
sandwich	/saʔnwiʃ/	'sandwich'

(A few EMT speakers may use the consonant sequence /ts/ instead of the affricate /tʃ/, especially between vowels. For these speakers, *kotse* is /koʔtʃeh/, with the /ts/ sequence pronounced just as it is in a native Tagalog word like *satsat* /satsat/ 'gossip'. The use of /ts/ instead of /tʃ/ is, however, found principally in dialects other than EMT, and most EMT speakers make a consistent distinction between the medial consonants of *kotseh* and *satsat* using /tʃ/ or /ty/ in the former, /ts/ in the latter.)

§1.19. Lateral.

Tagalog /l/ has two allophones: an alveolar lateral, pronounced with the tongue tip against the alveolar ridge, and a dental lateral, pronounced with the tongue tip against the inner surface of the upper teeth. The dental allophone occurs only after the dental stops /t/ and /d/, as in *tatlo* /tatloh/ 'three', *kidlat* /kidlat/ 'lightning'; the alveolar allophone occurs elsewhere.

Tagalog /l/, whether alveolar or dental, is of the type called CLEAR [l], a label used for an [l] sound during which the blade and front of the tongue are raised toward the hard palate. American English /l/, on the other hand, is normally of the type called DARK [l], a label used for an [l] sound during which the back of the tongue is raised toward the velum. (In British English, and in some varieties of American English, clear [l] occurs before a vowel in the same syllable, dark [l] elsewhere.)

Some further illustrations of Tagalog /l/ are:

lagi	/laʔgi/	'always'
Linggo	/liŋgoh/	'Sunday'
malas	/maʔlas/	'bad luck'
tuloy	/tuloy/	'enter'
aral	/aʔral/	'studying'
tahol	/tahol/	'barking'

§1.20. Tap or Trill.

The most common allophone of Tagalog /r/ is the alveolar tap, [ɾ]: a single rapid tap of the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge. This sound is similar to a very rapidly released English [d], and is the sound used by most Americans as an allophone of /d/ in a word like 'shudder', and as an allophone of /t/ in a word like *shutter*. The single tap is sometimes replaced by the alveolar trill, [r], a series of rapid taps, especially in emphatic speech.

Some illustrations of /r/ are:

rayuma	/rayuʔmah/	'rheumatism'
ripa	/riʔpah/	'lottery'
para	/paʔrah/	'for'
sariwa	/sariʔwa/	'fresh'
bapor	/bapor/	'ship'
cantor	/kantor/	'chanter'

It is likely that [r̄] and [d] were once allophones of a single Tagalog phoneme. While there is no doubt that the two sounds now belong to different phonemes (witness the contrast between such pairs of words as *maramdamin* /maramdamin/ 'sensitive' and *madamdamin* /madamdamin/ 'moving'), the earlier status of the sounds is reflected in the existence of a great deal of alternation between the phonemes /r/ and /d/. This alternation can best be understood on the assumption that /d/ is the basic phoneme in all cases where there is alternation, and that it is replaced by /r/ under certain specifiable conditions.

The replacement of /d/ by /r/ typically occurs under either of two sets of circumstances: a /d/ at the end of a BASE becomes intervocalic as a result of suffixation; or a /d/ at the beginning of a base becomes intervocalic as a result of prefixation. (A base may be defined, for practical purposes, as a word that does not include any affixes, or as the part of a word that remains when all affixes are removed.) The replacement of /d/ by /r/ as a result of suffixation may be illustrated by the following:

lubid	/lu·bid/	'rope'	lubirin	/lubi·rin/	'be made into rope'
palad	/pa·lad/	'palm'	kapalaran	/kapala·ran/	'fate'
tawad	/ta·wad/	'forgiveness'	patawarin	/patawa·rin/	'forgive'
tukod	/tu·kod/	'cane'	tukuran	/tuku·ran/	'be used as a cane'

Replacement does not occur in the case of a few suffixed forms in which the vowel preceding the /d/ is elided; e.g., *sundan* /sundan/ 'be followed' (from *sunod* /sunod/ 'following'); *masdan* /masdan/ 'observe' (from *masid* /masid/ 'observation'). In a few other cases, two alternative suffixed forms occur, one in which /d/ is replaced by /r/, another in which /d/ is retained and the vowel before it elided; e.g., *tuparin* /tuparin/ or *tupdin* /tupdin/ 'be fulfilled' (from *tupad* /tupad/ 'fulfillment').

Replacement of /d/ by /r/ as a result of prefixation is obligatory in the case of certain bases. In the case of other bases, the replacement is optional, either /d/ or /r/ being acceptable. And in the case of still others, /d/ is always retained. Illustrations of the obligatory replacement of /d/ by /r/ are:

dalita	/da·lita/	'poverty'	maralita	/mara·lita/	'poor'
dapat	/da·pat/	'should'	narapat	/na·ra·pat/	'proper'
dinig	/dinig/	'hearing'	makarinig	/makarinig/	'hear'

Illustrations of the optional replacement of /d/ by /r/ are:

dumi	/dumih/	'dirt'	{ marumi /marumih/ } { madumi /madumih/ }	'dirty'
dami	/da·mih/	'quantity'	{ marami /mara·mih/ } { madami /mada·mih/ }	'many'
dagdagan	/dagdagan/	'add'	{ daragdagan /da·ragdagan/ } { dadagdagan /da·dagdagan/ }	'will add'

Illustrations of the retention of /d/ are:

dahon	/da·hon/	'leaf'	madahon	/mada·hon/	'leafy'
dilim	/dilim/	'darkness'	madilim	/madilim/	'dark'
duwag	/duwag/	'cowardly'	naduwag	/naduwag/	'turned coward'

There are six very common words – the four deictics *dito*, *dine*, *diyan*, *doon*, (see §3.4) and the two enclitics, *din* and *daw* (see §6.4) – in which initial /d/ may be replaced by /r/ in the middle of a phrase. This replacement may occur regardless of what precedes the word, but is particularly common after a vowel.

§1.21. Glides.

Tagalog has two glide phonemes, /y/ and /w/, each of which has two principal allophones, one occurring before a vowel in the same syllable, the other after a vowel in the same syllable. Before vowels, /y/ is a glide from the most extreme high-front-vowel tongue position, with lips spread, to the tongue and lip position of the vowel. After vowels, /y/ is a glide to the extreme high-front-vowel tongue position, with lips spread, from the position of the vowel. Similarly, /w/ is a glide either from or to the extreme high-back-vowel tongue position, with lips rounded, according to whether it precedes or follows a vowel in the same syllable.

Tagalog /y/ and /w/ differ from their English counterparts in that the English glides vary with the adjacent vowels, a glide from a low vowel like /a/, for example, reaching a noticeably lower tongue-position than a glide from a higher vowel. The Tagalog glides, on the other hand, always move from one or to one of the extreme high-vowel positions.

(See §1.11 for a discussion of alternation between vowel-glide sequences and long vowels, and §1.22 for a discussion of alternation between consonant-/iy/ and consonant-/y/, and between consonant-/uw/ and consonant-/w/.)

Illustrations of the Tagalog glides after vowels in the same syllable are given in §1.11. Some further illustrations of the glides are:

yaya	/ya·ya/	'invitation'
yeso	/ye·soh/	'chalk'
yinari	/yi·na·ri/	'completed'
yoyo	/yo·yo/	'yoyo'
yumi	/yu·mi/	'demureness'
wawa	/wa·wa/	'mouth of a river'
welga	/we·lgah/	'strike'
wika	/wi·ka/	'language'
wumagayway	/wumagayway/	'flutter'

§1.22. Syllable patterns.

This section is concerned with the permitted syllable patterns of Tagalog – or, more generally, with the sequences of consonant and vowel phonemes that may occur. (When all permitted syllable patterns have been described, all longer sequences of phonemes have necessarily been described as well, since polysyllabic words and sentences always consist of sequences of permitted syllables.) A few definitions of terms precede the presentation.

Every syllable contains a SYLLABIC. The syllabic is the most prominent phoneme of the syllable. A syllable may also contain one or more other phonemes, which may be called NON-SYLLABIC. Non-syllabics that precede the syllabic are called INITIAL; those that follow the syllabic are called FINAL. A syllable that contains a final non-syllabic is a CLOSED SYLLABLE; a syllable that does not contain a final non-syllabic is an OPEN SYLLABLE. A sequence of two or more non-syllabic consonants occurring within a syllable, either initially or finally, is called a CONSONANT CLUSTER.

The syllabic of a Tagalog syllable is always one of the five vowel phonemes: /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/. The vowel may be either long or short. (In words of native Tagalog origin, there are certain restrictions upon the occurrence of long vowels, which are discussed below.)

In addition to the syllabic, every Tagalog syllable contains an initial non-syllabic consonant or consonant cluster. Any one of the individual consonant phonemes of Tagalog may serve as an initial non-syllabic. (Initial /ʔ/ is not represented in conventional spelling: thus /o·'oh/ 'yes' is spelled *oo*.) Initial consonant clusters, however, are more severely restricted. No initial clusters of more than two consonants occur, and within the group of two-consonant initial clusters the following restrictions are observable: the second consonant of a cluster is always one of the four phonemes /y/, /w/, /r/, /l/; if the second consonant is /y/ or /w/, the first may be any of the following thirteen phonemes: six stops (/p/, /t/, /k/, /b/, /d/, /g/), two nasals (/m/, /n/), three fricatives (/f/, /s/, /h/), /l/, and /r/; if the second consonant is /r/, the first may be one of the same six stops, or /f/; if the second consonant is /l/, the first may be /p/, /k/, /b/, /g/, or /f/. (The affricate /tʃ/ – see §1.18 – is not classified as a consonant cluster because /ʃ/ never occurs as a separate phoneme in Tagalog.)

In the case of the clusters formed with /y/ and /w/, there is a certain amount of variation between the clusters themselves and sequences in which short /i/ and short /u/ occur before the /y/ and the /w/ respectively: variation, that is, between consonant-*/y/* and consonant-*/iy/*, and between consonant-*/w/* and consonant-*/uw/*. Such variation is characteristic of many words of native Tagalog origin that have initial consonant-glide clusters. The following are some examples of words in which most speakers allow the variation:

biyak	/byak/	or	/biyak/	'broken'
tuwid	/twid/	or	/tuwid/	'straight'
luwa	/lwa'/	or	/luwa'/	'protruding'

When a vowel intervenes between a consonant and a glide, the vowel is syllable-final and the glide syllable-initial. Thus the syllable division in words like *biyak* and *tuwid*, when the words are pronounced /biyak/ and /tuwid/, is /bi-*/yak/*, /tu-*/wid/*.

Certain other words of native Tagalog origin are pronounced by most speakers with an initial cluster only, no variant with /iy/ or /uw/ occurring. (Note, however, that the words have conventional spellings in which a vowel symbol appears between the initial consonant and the glide.) The following are some examples:

diyan	/dyan/	'there'
buwan	/bwan/	'month'
huwag	/hwag/	'don't'

In the case of words of foreign origin, there is little, if any, alternation between the clusters and the consonant-vowel-glide sequences. For most speakers, such loan words from Spanish and English as the following always have initial clusters. (Once more, however, the conventional spelling frequently includes a vowel before the glide.)

piyano	/pya·noh/	'piano'
biyernes	/bye·rnes/	'Friday'
cute	/kyu·t/	'cute'
tuwalya	/twa·lyah/	'towel'
duwende	/dwe·ndeh/	'dwarf'
suwerte	/swe·rtch/	'luck'
huwebes	/hwe·bes/	'Thursday'

Further examples of initial clusters with /y/ and /w/ are:

/py/	piyesa	/pye·sah/	'piece'
/ty/	tiyak	/tyak/	'certain'
/ky/	kiyosko	/kyo·skoh/	'kiosk'
/by/	biyolin	/byulin/	'violin'
/dy/	diyaryo	/dya·ryoh/	'newspaper'
/gy/	giyera	/gye·rah/	'war'
/my/	miyerkoles	/mye·rkoles/	'Wednesday'
/ny/	niyog	/nyog/	'coconut'
/fy/	fuse	/fyu·s/	'fuse'
/sy/	siyam	/syam/	'nine'
/hy/	hiyas	/hyas/	'jewels'
/ly/	liyo	/lyoh/	'dizzy'
/ry/	riyan	/ryan/	'there'
/pw/	puwang	/pwan/	'space'
/tw/	tuwing	/twiŋ/	'every'
/kw/	kuwago	/kwa·goh/	'owl'
/bw/	buwis	/bwis/	'tax'

/dw/	duwag	/dwag/	'coward'
/gw/	guwapo	/gwa·poh/	'handsome'
/mw/	muwang	/mwan/	'knowledge'
/nw/	nuwebe	/nwe·beh/	'nine'
/fw/	Fuentes	/fwe·ntes/	(family name)
/sw/	suweldo	/swe·ldoh/	'salary'
/hw/	huwes	/hwe·s/	'judge'
/lw/	luwalhati	/lwal·ha·ti/	'glory'
/rw/	ruweda	/rwe·dah/	'wheel'

Initial clusters whose second element is /r/ or /l/ occur only in words borrowed into Tagalog from other languages. Some examples are:

/pr/	Probinsya	/probi·nsyah/	'province'
/tr/	tren	/tre·n/	'train'
/kr/	krus	/kru·s/	'cross'
/br/	brush	/bra·s/	'brush'
/dr/	drill	/dri·l/	'drill'
/gr/	grado	/gra·doh/	'grade'
/fr/	freshman	/fre·sman/	'freshman'
/pl/	plato	/pla·toh/	'plate'
/kl/	klase	/kla·seh/	'class'
/bl/	blotter	/bla·ter/	'blotter'
/gl/	glorya	/glo·ryah/	'glory'
/fl/	flashlight	/fla·slayt/	'flashlight'

All phrase-final syllables in Tagalog are closed: that is, they contain a final non-syllabic. (Final /h/ and /ʔ/ are not represented in conventional spelling: thus /nah/ 'now' is spelled *na*, and /ʔa/ 'really' is spelled *nga*.) Non-phrase-final syllables may be either closed or open.

Any one of the individual consonant phonemes may occur as a final non-syllabic. (/h/ and /ʔ/, however, occur as final non-syllabics only in phrase-final syllables.) In general, final consonant clusters do not occur in words of native Tagalog origin. (An exception is the /wn/ in the /kawnti/ variant of *kaunti* /ka·unti/ 'a little' – see §1.11.) A number of final consonant-clusters, however, are found in loan-words from English. In some cases, such loan-words have alternative pronunciations in which one consonant of the syllable-final cluster is not present: thus *desk* is either /de·sk/ or /de·s/, *absent* either /ʔa·bsent/ or /ʔa·bsen/, *compact* either /ko·mpakt/ or /ko·mpak/.

Most of the final clusters that occur have /y/, /w/, /r/, or /l/ as their first phoneme (/y/ and /w/ in these cases constituting the second element of a diphthong). Some examples are:

/yp/	stripe	/ʔistra·yp/	/yds/	average	/ʔa·bereyds/
/yt/	dogfight	/do·gfayt/	/ym/	game	/ge·ym/
/yk/	bike	/ba·yk/	/yn/	carbine	/ka·rbayn/
/yb/	drive	/dra·yb/	/ys/	base	/be·ys/
/yd/	air raid	/e·r re·yd/	/yl/	sale	/se·yl/
/wt/	scout	/ʔiska·wt/	/ws/	blouse	/bla·ws/
/wn/	brown	/bra·wn/			
/rt/	polo shirt	/po·lo sye·rt/	/rd/	record	/re·kord/
/rk/	homework	/ho·mwo·rk/	/rn/	pattern	/pa·tern/
/r(d)s/	billiards	/bi·lyar(d)s/	/rs/	nurse	/na·rs/
/l(t)s/	wal tz	/wa·l(t)s/	/l(d)/	cold wave	/ko·l(d)·we·yb/
/lb/	flash bulb	/fla·s ba·lb/	/lf/	golf	/go·lf/
/ls/	dimples	/di·mpols/			

Some other final clusters that occur are presented below, with examples:

/ks/	ice box	/ˈa:ys bɑ:ks/	/ns/	allowance	/ˈɑ:ləˈwɑ:ns/
/k(t)/	compact	/kɔːmpɑ:k(t)/	/ntʃ/	branch	/brɑːntʃ/
/ds/	bridge	/brɪˈdʒ/	/ŋk/	pink	/pɪˈŋk/
/nt/	tent	/teːnt/	/s(k)/	desk	/deːs(k)/

In spite of the occurrence of a good many consonant clusters, both initial and final, the great majority of Tagalog syllables consist of either two or three phonemes, the major patterns being either consonant-vowel or consonant-vowel-consonant in a non-final syllable, and consonant-vowel-consonant in a final syllable. With the use of the symbols C and V to represent any consonant phoneme and any vowel phoneme respectively, these patterns may be expressed:

CV (non-final only)
CVC

(Certain markers – e.g., the plural marker *mga* /maŋa/ – apparently show a final CV pattern. Since, however, these markers never occur in final position (except in citation), the CV syllables with which they end may be regarded as non-final.)

There is an observable relation between syllable shape and vowel length in Tagalog. Specifically, it is principally open syllables that have inherently long vowels. (See §1.12 for a discussion of inherent length.) In the part of the vocabulary that is of native Tagalog origin, in fact, there are perhaps only two or three instances, of inherently long vowels in closed syllables (e.g., *nandito* /naːnditoh/ ‘is/are here’). In words borrowed from English and Spanish, on the other hand, a good many instances of inherently long vowels in closed syllables are met: e.g., *bel* /beːl/ ‘bell’, *Fernando* /fernaːndoh/ (man’s name), *kendi* /keːndih/ ‘candy’, *Biyernes* /byeːrnes/ ‘Friday’. But the preference for short vowels in closed syllables is reflected in the pronunciation of certain loan words – particularly, early borrowings from Spanish – in which a vowel that is stressed in the language of origin is short in the Tagalog borrowing. The first syllables of the following words, for example, are stressed in their Spanish source, but in Tagalog have short vowels.

libro	/libroh/	‘book’
martes	/martes/	‘Tuesday’
gusto	/gustoh/	‘like’

Just as there is a certain amount of observable patterning within the Tagalog syllable, so is there a certain amount of patterning of syllable sequences within words. The bulk of Tagalog bases are disyllabic. The shape of the first syllable of the base is usually one of the following:

CV	as in <i>dating</i>	/datiŋ/	‘arrival’
CV:	as in <i>tubig</i>	/tuːbig/	‘water’
CVC	as in <i>isda</i>	/ˈɪsdaː/	‘fish’

The shape of the second syllable is usually CVC. The typical sequences of phonemes that occur in Tagalog bases may therefore be expressed in the following formula:

$$CV\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ C \end{array} \right\}CVC$$

There are, of course, bases that do not conform to this formula: those that have more or less than two syllables, those that include syllable-initial and/or syllable-final consonant clusters, and loan-words with inherent stress in closed syllables. The formula, however, probably covers somewhat over ninety percent of all Tagalog bases.

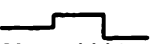

Certain consonant sequences that do not occur within words may occur across word boundaries. In particular, a sequence of two identical consonants may so occur, as in:

masarap pala	/masarap palah/	'oh, it's delicious'
lumabas sa...	/lumabas sa/	'went out from/to...'

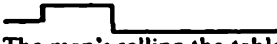


(Phonetically, such sequences involve long consonants: [məsarəpːələh], [lumabəsə].) In any such sequence, one of the two identical consonants may be optionally deleted. Thus, also: /masarapalah/, /lumabasa/.)

§1.23. Intonation: introduction.

In Tagalog, as in English, part of the meaning of every utterance is conveyed by pitch phenomena. In English, for example, an utterance may be understood as a statement or as a question, according to whether there is a drop or a rise in pitch at the end: e.g.,

Statement:		You told him.
Question:		You told him?

(In the above examples and passim below, overlining is used to mark pitch levels: the higher the line, the higher the relative pitch.) Similarly, the point in an English utterance at which a pitch change occurs can be meaningful. A statement like 'The man's selling the table', for instance, can be said so as to suggest such a meaning as 'the man, not the woman', or 'selling, not buying', or 'the table, not the chair', according to the point in the statement at which there is a rise and fall of pitch:

'the man, not the woman'		The man's selling the table.
'selling, not buying'		The man's selling the table.
'the table, not the chair'		The man's selling the table.

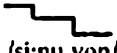


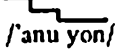
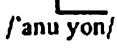
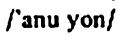
A meaningful pattern of pitches is called an **INTONATION PATTERN**. A stretch of utterance that has an intonation pattern is an **INTONATION PHRASE**, or, simply, a **PHRASE**. The intonation patterns of Tagalog phrases may conveniently be described in terms of three features: **PITCH POINTS**, **PITCH LEVELS**, and **PITCH CONTOURS**. These features are discussed below in the order mentioned.

A **PITCH POINT** is a syllable at which relative pitch is significant: that is, a syllable at which the speaker has a choice of pitches such that the meaning of the phrase is affected by the choice made. Some Tagalog intonation patterns have only one pitch point, the **INITIAL PITCH POINTS**, or P_1 ; others have a second pitch point as well, the **FINAL PITCH POINTS**, or P_2 . Patterns that have only P_1 are called **ONE-POINT PATTERNS**; patterns that have both P_1 and P_2 are called **TWO-POINT PATTERNS**.


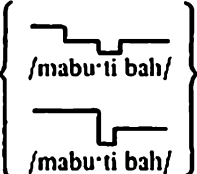


The position of P_1 varies according to the length of the vowels (see §1.12) at the beginning of the intonation phrase, and according to whether the pattern taken by the phrase is a one-point or a two-point pattern. In general, P_1 is the first syllable with a long vowel in the phrase (hereafter, the **FIRST LONG SYLLABLE**). There are, however, several exceptions and partial exceptions to this generalization. In a one-point-pattern phrase whose first syllable does not include a long vowel, P_1 may be any syllable up to and including the first long syllable – the preference being the first long syllable itself. In a one-point-pattern phrase without long vowels, P_1 may be any early syllable of the phrase.

Syllables before P_1 may be slightly lower or slightly higher in pitch than P_1 or they may be on the same level as P_1 . Since such variation is insignificant, it is hereafter assumed, for the sake of simplicity, that syllables before P_1 are on the same level as P_1 itself.

Beginning at P_1 , the pitch level of syllables is, in a one-point pattern, determined by the PITCH CONTOUR (see below). The following sentences would all normally take a one-point pattern (the /31/- see §1.24, pattern I.1) with a high pitch on P_1 and a falling pitch contour beginning at P_1 . In the examples, syllables that may serve as P_1 are italicized.

<i>Sino</i> iyon?	 /si'nu yon/	'Who's that?'
<i>Kanino</i> iyon?	 /kani'nu yon/	'Whose is that?'
	 /kani'nu yon/	
<i>Ano</i> iyon?	 /'anu yon/	'What's that?'
	 /'anu yon/	
	 /'anu yon/	

In a phrase that takes a two-point pattern, the placement of P_1 follows the rules already given, except in cases where following these rules would make P_1 and P_2 coincide, or would place P_1 after P_2 . If, for example, P_2 is the next-to-last syllable of the phrase, and this syllable happens also to be the first long syllable of the phrase, then P_1 must be some syllable before the first long syllable. There are also cases of short phrases taking a two-point pattern in which the actual realization of the pattern lacks P_1 altogether. This is the case, when, for example, a pattern in which P_2 is the next-to-last syllable occurs in a phrase that has only two syllables. The following sentences may all take a two-point pattern (the /31↑/ pattern – see §1.27, pattern IV.4) with a high pitch on P_1 , a low pitch on the next-to-last syllable (P_2), and a rise in pitch after this syllable. (Syllables between P_1 and P_2 normally descend in pitch from P_1 itself – see below.) Once more, syllables that may serve as P_1 are italicized:

<i>Tama</i> ba?	 /ta'ma' bah/	'(Is it) right?'
<i>Mabuti</i> ba?	 /mabu'ti bah/	'(Is it) good?'
<i>Mali</i> ba?	 /mali' bah/	'(Is it) wrong?'
<i>Tama</i> ?	 /ta'ma'	'(Is it) right?'

(Note that in the next-to-last example, P_1 cannot be the first long syllable, since this is P_2 , and that in the last example the realization of the pattern lacks P_1 altogether.)

For P_2 , location as well as relative pitch is significant. That is, the meaning of a phrase may be affected by the placement of P_2 as well as by its pitch level. In some two-point patterns, called LEXICALLY-DETERMINED PATTERNS, the position of P_2 depends upon the presence or absence of

significantly long vowels (see §1.12) in the word(s) at the end of the phrase; in others, called **FIXED PATTERNS**, P_2 is a syllable a fixed distance from the end of the phrase.

In lexically-determined patterns, the positioning of P_2 is governed by the following rules:

1. P_2 is the phrase-final syllable if the last word of the phrase is:
 - a. a polysyllable without a significantly long vowel;
 - b. a monosyllable other than a loan word, following a word without a significantly long vowel.
2. P_2 is the last long syllable (i.e., the last syllable with a significantly long vowel) if the last word of the phrase is:
 - a. a polysyllable with a significantly long vowel no more than three syllables from the end of the word;
 - b. a monosyllabic loan word*.
3. P_2 may be either the phrase-final syllable or the last long syllable in all other cases.

The cases covered by the above rules are illustrated in the following examples, which are numbered according to the rule they illustrate. In two-point lexically-determined patterns ending with the words given in the examples, P_2 would in each case be the italicized syllable(s).

1a.	<i>damit</i>	/damit/ 'clothing'
	<i>dumating</i>	/dumatiŋ/ 'came'
b.	<i>damit ko</i>	/damit koh/ 'my clothing'
	<i>gutom na</i>	/gutum nah/ 'hungry now'
2a.	<i>balloon</i>	/balu:n/ 'balloon'
	<i>lapis</i>	/la'pis/ 'pencil'
	<i>palatuntunan</i>	/pala'tuntu'nan/ 'program'
	<i>darating</i>	/da'ra:tiŋ/ 'will come'
b.	<i>Kuya Bob</i>	/ku'ya ba:b/ 'Big Brother Bob'
	<i>aking bel</i>	/'aki:n be:l/ 'my bell'
3.	<i>sapatos ko</i>	/sapa'tus koh/ 'my shoe(s)'
	<i>mali na</i>	/mali'nah/ 'wrong now'
	<i>makakarating</i>	/maka'ka:ra:tiŋ/ 'will be able to come'
	<i>nagsisipagsayaw</i>	/nagsi'sipa:gsayaw/ 'are dancing'

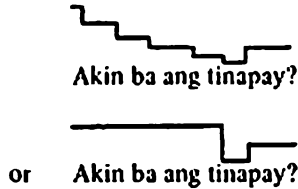
Fixed patterns are of one of two types: **FINAL- P_2 PATTERNS** and **PREFINAL- P_2 PATTERNS**. In final- P_2 patterns, P_2 is always the phrase-final syllable. In prefinal- P_2 patterns, P_2 is always the next-to-last syllable. If, therefore, the words just used for illustrating lexically-determined patterns were to occur in fixed patterns, the position of P_2 would be as indicated by the italics below:

Final- P_2 Pattern	Prefinal- P_2 Pattern
<i>damit</i>	<i>damit</i>
<i>dumating</i>	<i>dumating</i>
<i>damit ko</i>	<i>damit ko</i>
<i>gutom na</i>	<i>gutom na</i>
<i>balloon</i>	<i>balloon</i>
<i>lapis</i>	<i>lapis</i>
<i>palatuntunan</i>	<i>palatuntunan</i>

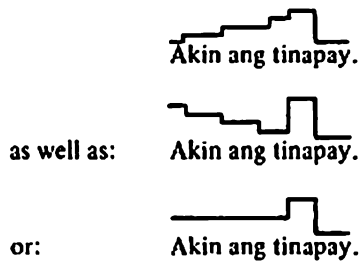
etc.

*Monosyllabic loan words might with equal justice have been included as a subcategory of Rule 1.

In two-point patterns, the pitch level of any syllables between P_1 and P_2 varies according to the pitch levels of P_1 and P_2 themselves. If P_2 is at a lower level than P_1 , there is usually a slight and gradual drop in pitch on syllables between P_1 and P_2 . Less commonly but still quite frequently, there may simply be a sustention of pitch at the level of P_1 . In the sentence *Akin ba ang tinapay?* 'Is the bread mine?' a two-point pattern would normally be used, with P_1 the first syllable of the phrase, P_2 the next-to-last-syllable. The syllables between the pitch points would either drop gradually from the level of P_1 or, less commonly, remain on the level of P_1 . Thus:



If P_2 is on a higher level than P_1 , the pitch may also drop or be sustained on syllables between P_1 and P_2 , but there is the additional possibility of an anticipatory rise on a syllable or over several syllables before P_2 . Thus the sentence *Akin ang tinapay* 'The bread is mine' (in which, once more P_1 is the first syllable, P_2 the next-to-last), may be said:



If P_1 and P_2 are on the same level, there must be a drop on syllables between them. (There are only two intonation patterns, the /33↓/ pattern and its free alternant, the /33↓/ pattern, in which P_1 and P_2 are on the same level: see pattern II.1, §1.25).

In addition to the possibilities already mentioned, OPTIONAL PITCH PROMINENCE may be given to certain syllables between P_1 and P_2 . Syllables receiving such prominence are raised slightly above the level of the syllables that surround them. Optional pitch prominence may occur at all, any, or none of its potential points. These potential points themselves are lexically determined; they are the syllables that would serve as P_2 were the words in which they occur to come at the end of a lexically-determined two-point pattern. Thus in the following sentence, in which P_1 is the first syllable and P_2 the last, optional pitch prominence may be given to any of the italicized syllables.

Darating ang doktor sa bahay ni Juan bukas ng gabi.
 'The doctor is coming to Juan's house tomorrow night.'

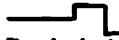

(The words with italicized syllables are, phonemically, /doktor/, /ba'hay/, /hwa'n/, and /bu'kas/.)

At each pitch point, one of three distinctive PITCH LEVELS occurs. They may be designated HIGH, MID, and LOW, and symbolized 3, 2, and 1 respectively. These pitch levels are relative; their absolute value varies from speaker to speaker, and, for a single speaker, from one utterance to another. Level 2 is approximately at the middle of the individual speaker's normal pitch range for speech; levels 3 and 1 are one or two notes above and below 2, respectively. The leave-taking formula *Adyos* 'Goodbye' is commonly spoken with the first syllable on pitch 2, the second starting on pitch 3, and then falling in pitch. Thus: *Ádyos.* (The pitch level at P_1 is, by convention, marked at the beginning of the intonation phrase, although, in many cases, as noted above, P_1 is not actually the first syllable. The pitch level at P_2 is marked at the beginning of P_2 itself. Pitch contours – symbolized by arrows, etc., as explained below – are marked at the end of the phrase.)

Four pitch levels have been ascribed to English: 4, 3, 2, and 1. The English and Tagalog systems, may be compared thus:

English	Tagalog
4	3
3	
2	2
1	1

In English, there is a distinction between high pitch (level 3) and extra-high pitch (level 4), the former being used in normal, unemphatic speech, the latter being used when the speaker wishes to express heightened emotion, or to give special emphasis to a particular word. Thus:

'Don't do it.'	
	Don't do it. (neutral)
'(I said) don't do it.'	
	(I said) don't do it. (emphatic)

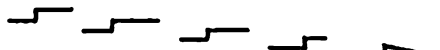
(The examples of the sentence 'The man's selling the table' given earlier in this section, being instances of contrast, use pitch 4 as the highest pitch. Spoken with pitch 3 on 'table' –


The man's selling the table.

– the sentence is a neutral statement and does not imply a contrast like 'the table, not the chair'.)

Although it is ordinarily true that other devices for emphasis or contrast accompany the use of pitch 4 in English – devices such as the use of extra loudness – it is nevertheless possible to keep two utterances the same in all other respects, and still give them different meanings by the use of pitch 3 in one, pitch 4 in the other. In Tagalog, the range for high pitch, or pitch 3, is somewhat wider than that for pitch 3 in English; the use of an extra-high pitch does not necessarily modify the meaning of an utterance.

In Tagalog, as in English, there is a general tendency for the absolute value of pitch levels to become gradually lower in the course of a single sentence. For example, the usual intonation of an English sentence like 'Peter, Richard, Robert, Philip, and Paul', may be represented as follows:


Peter, Richard, Robert, Philip, and Paul.

Each intonation phrase in this sentence would normally be begun at a slightly lower absolute pitch level than the phrase that precedes it. For purposes of describing the intonation patterns of English, however, the pitch levels at the beginning of these phrases may be considered predictable variants of a single distinctive pitch level, level 2. Similarly, in a Tagalog sentence like *Si Pedro, si Ricardo, si Roberto, si Felipe, at si Pablo* 'Pedro, Ricardo, Roberto, Felipe, and Pablo', the pitch level at the beginning of each phrase is describable as a predictable variant of pitch level 2, although in the actual phonetic realization of the sentence the phrases might be begun at successively lower absolute pitch levels:


Si Pedro, si Ricardo, si Roberto, si Felipe, at si Pablo.

The last pitch point of a phrase (P_1 in a one-point pattern, P_2 in a two-point pattern) serves as a reference point for one of four distinctive types of PITCH CONTOURS. A pitch contour is the direction of pitch that follows the last pitch point. While a pitch point is located at a single syllable, a contour may extend over a range from a part of a syllable to, theoretically, any number of syllables. Tagalog has four types of contours, which are symbolized: ↓, ↓, →, and ↑.

↓ is a falling contour, starting from the pitch level at the last pitch point and dropping to the next level or lower. ↓ is also a falling contour, but the fall is not to so low a level as that reached by ↓. ↓ may be called a FULL FALL; ↓ a HALF FALL.

The full fall is a drop of at least one full level; the half fall, a drop of less than one level. There is a similar distinction in English between the full fall occurring at the end of most statements and commands (e.g., ²Be ³careful!² It's ³hot!¹), and the half fall occurring for example, in a mild admonition or warning (e.g., ²Be ³careful!¹). The English full fall, however, differs from its Tagalog counterpart in at least one respect: English ↓ requires a greater degree of pitch change than does Tagalog ↓. As was stated above, the Tagalog full fall requires a drop of at least one level; hence if the preceding pitch has level 3, the contour ↓ requires only a drop to level 2 (although the pitch may also go down to level 1). Thus, in the Tagalog statement *Babalik ako bukas* 'I'll come back tomorrow', the final syllable may be either on level 2 or level 1, with no change of meaning:

²Babalik ako³bukas².

²Babalik ako³bukas¹.

In English, on the other hand, a full fall always involves a drop to level 1. Thus 'I'll come back tomorrow' is always:

²'I'll come back to³morrow¹'.

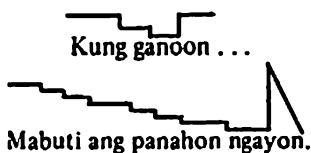
In spite of the fact that the Tagalog full fall may represent a relatively slight drop in pitch, it is always distinct from the half fall, which, in the example ²*Babalik ako³bukas¹*, represents a fall from level 3 to a level about halfway to 2. The use of the half fall changes the meaning of the sentence from that of a complete statement to that of a clause implying 'more to come': e.g., ²*Babalik ako³bukas¹*, (*at mag-uusap tayong mull*) 'I'll come back tomorrow (and we'll talk some more)'.

The English half fall has a wider range than its Tagalog counterpart. It may cover a drop in pitch of as much as one full level, as in the unfinished statement ²'I'm³sorry². . .', contrasting with the full fall in ²'I'm³sorry¹'. In Tagalog, a fall from 3 to 2 would be interpreted as an instance of the full fall rather than the half fall.

The third Tagalog contour, symbolized →, is a sustention of the pitch level of the last pitch point, and most commonly occurs in a non-sentence-final phrase: e.g., ²*Si Juan², si Pedro², si Maria², at* 'Juan, Pedro, Maria, and . . .'

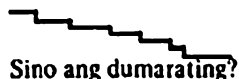
The fourth contour, symbolized ↑, is a rise in pitch from the last pitch point. In Tagalog, as in English, this is the type of contour that occurs at the end of yes-no questions (i.e., questions that can be answered with *oo* 'yes' or *hindi* 'no' – see §7.4).

The phonetic realization of a pitch contour varies according to whether or not the last pitch point of the phrase is the phrase-final syllable. If this is the case, the contour is realized within the phrase-final syllable itself. Hence, in the unfinished statement ²*Kung ganoo³n . . .* 'In that case . . .' and in the complete statement ²*Mabuti ang panahon ngayon¹* 'The weather is good today', the relative levels of pitch are as indicated by the intonation lines below:



If the last pitch point is not the phrase-final syllable, the contour starts on the syllable after the pitch point and goes on to the end of the utterance. Thus, in the question ³*Sino ang dumarating?*⁴ 'Who's coming?' there

is a steady fall in pitch from the first syllable, which is P_1 of a one-point pattern, to the end of the sentence:



Just as optional pitch-prominence can be given to certain syllables between P_1 and P_2 – see above – so it can be given to certain syllables that are part of a pitch contour. The syllables that can receive optional pitch prominence are, in both cases, those that would serve as P_2 were the words in which they occur to come at the end of a phrase taking a lexically-determined two-point pattern. Thus, in the above example, the second syllable of *dumarating* /duma-ratiŋ/ might be given optional pitch prominence, in which case it would be slightly higher in pitch than the preceding syllable, and would be followed by an immediate return to the falling contour.

Every intonation phrase is bounded by pauses. Pauses occur quite consistently at the end of major grammatical units: e.g., clauses of certain types, and sentences. (The writing system of Tagalog, like that of English, reflects the position of such pauses in the placement of punctuation marks like commas, semicolons, colons, periods, question marks, exclamation points, etc.) Pauses of this kind may be called **OBLIGATORY PAUSES**. Apart from obligatory pauses, utterances may include **OPTIONAL PAUSES** at the boundaries of certain lesser grammatical units: e.g., the boundary between predicate and topic in basic sentences (see §2.2). In general, the more deliberate or formal the style of speech used, the more numerous are the optional pauses.

Certain generalizations can be made about the occurrence of optional pauses in Tagalog:

1. There is never a pause (other than a hesitation pause – i.e., a pause that occurs while the speaker collects his thoughts) after an element that cannot occur in sentence-final position: e.g., *ang, si, ng, ni, sa, kay, mga, ay, may, kung*, the linker *na/-ng*, etc.
2. There is never a pause (other than a hesitation pause) before an enclitic pronoun or particle (see §§3.29 and 6.2 through 6.6), or between the members of a series of enclitics.
3. Optional pauses are most likely to occur at boundaries between relatively independent sentence components (e.g., the predicate and the topic), less likely to occur at boundaries between components in close syntactic and semantic relationships (e.g., the elements of a modification construction – see §3.11 ff.)

In the following sentences, places at which optional pauses may occur are marked by slant lines:

Nakita mo ba / si Maria / kahapon?
‘Did you see Maria yesterday?’

Bibigyan din sila / ng pagkain / sa bagong paaralan.
‘They will be given some food at the new school too’.

Magaganda raw / ang mga bulaklak / kung tag-ulan.
‘They say that the flowers are beautiful in the rainy season’.

Kay Pedro / ang aklat / na nasa ibabaw / ng mesa.
‘The book on top of the table is Pedro’s’.

The pauses indicated in these examples (particularly the second and third pauses in the last example) would be likely to occur only in rather deliberate speech. The tendency in ordinary speech is to use few optional pauses, so that frequently each short sentence constitutes a single intonation phrase.

In the sections that follow, the presentation of the major intonation patterns of Tagalog is arranged according to pattern types. One-point patterns are presented in §1.24, lexically-determined two-point patterns in §1.25, final- P_2 patterns in §1.26, and prefinal- P_2 patterns in §1.27. §1.28 presents a summary of the intonation patterns covered in §§1.24 through 1.27, arranged according to the sentence and phrase types in which the patterns occur.

§1.24. One-point patterns.

In this and the immediately following sections, PATTERN FORMULAS are used to represent the intonation patterns of Tagalog. In the case of the one-point patterns, each formula consists of a number representing the pitch level at P₁ and a pitch-contour symbol. Thus the formula /3↓/ represents an intonation pattern with high pitch at P₁ followed by a full fall.

The following are the major one-point patterns:

1.1. /3↓/: used for:

- a. non-emphatic commands (cf. §5.29);
- b. information questions (cf. §§7.7 ff.);
- c. replies with deleted elements;
- d. initial topics or adverbs in yes-no questions with contrastive inversion (cf. §7.2, subsection (2), and §7.4).

Examples:

- a. ³Pumarito ka.↓
'Come here',

³Tawagin mo si Carlos.↓
'Call Carlos'.
- b. ³Sino ka ba?↓
'Who are you?'

³Kumusta po kayo?↓
'How are you, (sir/madam)'.
(Another pattern used for information questions is pattern III.3, presented in §1.26.)
- c. ³Nasa ibabaw ng mesa.↓
'On the table'. (In answer to, e.g., *Nasaan ang libro ko?* 'Where's my book?')

³Ang maliit.↓
'The small one'. (In answer to, e.g., *Ang alin ang mas gusto mo?* 'Which one do you prefer?')
- d. ³Ang bata, ^{↓2}gising ba?↑
'(How about) the baby – is it awake?'

³Sa kusina ba, ^{↓2}may martilyo?↑
'(How about) in the kitchen – is there a hammer (there)?'

1.2. /2↓/: used for:

- a. the second part of alternative questions (cf. §7.5);
- b. phrases of direct address after social formulas not in question form (cf. §7.22);
- c. the sentence-final particle *ha* in sentences expressing sarcasm or a challenge to an assertion (cf. §6.13).
- d. quotation tags (cf. §3.28, subsection (1.d))

Examples:

- a. ²Kukunin mo ba ito ^{↑2}o hindi?↓
'Are you going to take this or not?'

²Juan Cruz ba ^{↑2}o Juan Perez ang pangalan mo?↓
'Is your name Juan Cruz or Juan Perez?'

- b. ²Magandang umaga ^{3→2}po, ²Ginoong Magpayo. [↓]
 ‘Good morning, Mr. Magpayo’.
- ²Salamat, ^{3→2}Maria. [↓]
 (See §1.28, subsection *m*, for a discussion of the range of intonation patterns for phrases of direct address.)
- c. ²Marunong ka, ^{3→2}ha? [↓]
 ‘You think you’re smart, don’t you?’
- ²Hindi ka ba papasok, ^{3→2}ha? [↓]
 ‘So you’re not going to school?’
 (In this use, *ha* may also carry pattern I.4 or I.5, below.)
- d. ²Sabi niya, [↓]“Halika rito”. [↓]
 ‘He said, “Come here”.’
- ²“Aalis ka na ba?” ^{↑2}ang tanong niya. [↓]
 ‘“Are you leaving now?” he asked’.

I.3 /2↑/: used for:

- yes-no questions (cf. §7.4), especially with deleted elements;
- please-repeat questions (cf. §7.12);
- the first part of alternative questions (cf. §7.5) and of confirmation questions with *ano* (cf. §7.6);
- both parts of confirmation questions with *hindi ba* and *diyata* (cf. §7.6);
- non-sentence-final intonation.
- the sentence-final particle *ha* in sentences expressing importunity (cf. §6.13);
- the sentence-final particle *o* used as an attention-director (cf. §6.13).

Examples:

- ²Gusto ba ninyo? [↑]
 ‘Do you like it?’
- ²Wala ba? [↑]
 ‘Isn’t there any?’
 (In yes–no questions, the /2↑/ pattern alternates with two other patterns: pattern III.3, §1.26, and pattern IV.4, §1.27. See the discussion under the latter pattern.)
- ²Ano? [↑]
 ‘What (did you say)?’
 (cf. the information question ³*Ano?* [↓] ‘What (is it)?’)
- ²Sino (‘kamo) ang dumating? [↑]
 ‘Who (did you say) arrived?’
- For examples of the intonation of alternative questions and of confirmation questions with *ano*, see patterns I.2 above and I.5 below, respectively.
- ²Galing sa Estados Unidos ito, ^{↑2}hindi ba? [↑]
 ‘This comes from the United States, doesn’t it?’
- ²Hindi ba, ^{↑2}taga-Albay ang ama ni Linda? [↑]
 ‘Linda’s father is from Albay, isn’t he?’
- ²Diyata, ^{↑2}magkakilala kayo? [↑]
 ‘Then you know one another?’
 (When *hindi ba* is sentence–final, the initial clause may alternatively take a statement intonation pattern such as /23↓/, pattern II.2, §1.25.)

- e. As a pattern for non-sentence-final intonation /2↑/ occurs with a wide variety of phrase types: enumerations, sentence-initial phrases of direct address, non-final clauses, etc. Some examples are:

²Si Rosa^{↑2}, si Pedro^{↑2}, si Ben[↑]. . . .
'Rosa, Pedro, Ben

²Helen^{↑3}, Halika rito.[↓]
'Helen, come here'.

²Kung kailangan^{↑2}, tatawagin ko siya.[↓]
'If necessary, I'll call him'.

²Sa Sabado^{↑2}, manimili ako.[↓]
'On Saturday, I'll go shopping'.

(In its non-sentence-final uses, this pattern alternates freely with pattern II.3, §1.25. There is also a contrastive non-final intonation pattern: pattern IV.2, §1.27. See also the discussion of the intonation of phrases of direct address in §1.28, subsection *m*.)

- f. ²Aalis ka na ba^{↑2}, ha?[↑]
'Well, are you leaving now?' (Implication: 'Do tell me'.)

³Hintayin mo nga ako^{↓2}, ha?[↑]
'Please wait for me, won't you?'

²Diyan ka na^{3→2}, ha?[↑]
'See you later, huh?'

(When, as in the last example, *ha* follows something other than a question or a request, the /2↑/ pattern alternates freely with pattern I.4, below.)

- g. ²Ayun si Juan^{3→2}, o![↑]
'Look, there's Juan!'

²Basag ang baso^{3→2}, o![↑]
'Look, the glass is broken!'

(In this use, *o* may carry either the /2↑/ pattern or pattern I.5, below.)

I.4. /2→/: used for:

- the rhetorical linker *E*, . . . (cf. §6.12), subsection (1));
- the sentence-final particle *ha* (cf. §6.13).

Examples:

- a. ²E^{→3}, magkano naman ito?[↓]
'And how much is this one?'

²E^{→2}, layo na.[→]
'Well, let's go'.

- b. ²Marunong ka^{3→2}, ha?[→]
'You think you're smart, don't you?'

²Diyan ka na^{3→2}, ha?[→]
'See you later, huh?'

(For other patterns taken by *ha*, see I.2, *c* and I.3, *f*, above, and I.5, *b*, below.)

1.5 /1→/: used for:

- a. *ano* in confirmation questions (cf. §7.6);
- b. the sentence-final particle *ha* in sentences expressing sarcasm or a challenge to an assertion (cf. §6.13);
- c. the sentence-final particle *o* (cf. §6.13).

Examples:

a. ²Maganda ito, [↑]₁ [→]ano?
'This is beautiful, isn't it?'

²Nahuli ka kahapon, [↑]₁ [→]ano?
'You were late yesterday, weren't you?'

b. ²Marunong ³kā, [↑]₁ [→]ha?
'You think you're smart, don't you?'

²Hindi ka ba papasok, [↑]₁ [→]ha?
'So you're not going to school?'

(In this use, *ha* may also carry pattern 1.2 or 1.4, above.)

c. ²Ayun si Juan, ³o, [↑]₁ [→]o.
'Look there's Juan!'

²Ayusin mo nga ito, ³o, [↑]₁ [→]o.
'How about fixing this, please'.

(When, as in the first sentence above, *o* is used as an attention-director, the /1→/ pattern alternates freely with pattern 1.3, above.)

§1.25. Two-point patterns: lexically-determined.

Pattern formulas for lexically-determined two-point patterns consist of two numbers – the first representing the pitch level at P₁ the second the pitch level at P₂ – and a pitch-contour symbol. The formula /23↓/ therefore represents an intonation pattern with mid pitch at P₁ and high pitch at P₂ (whose position is lexically determined), ending in a full fall.

The major lexically-determined patterns are:

II.1 /33↓/: used for follow-up statements, commands, and information questions.

Sentences in which this pattern is used are linked by logical relationship to a preceding utterance by another speaker. For example, in response to a statement to the effect that the bus drivers are on strike, one might say any of the following:

³Maglalakad ³ako, [↓]/akoh/
'(Then) I'll walk'.

³Magdyip kayo, [↓]/kayoh/
'(Then) take a jeep'.

³Paano tayo makarating sa ³palengke? [↓]/pale-ŋkeh/
'(Then) how shall we get to the market?'

(The examples of lexically-determined patterns given in this section are followed by phonemic transcriptions of the last word(s) of the phrase taking the patterns. As was explained in §1.23, the position of P₂ in lexically-determined patterns is a function of vowel length and/or the number of syllables in the

phrase-final words.) The /33↓/ pattern is not used for follow-up requests or yes-no questions. In the above context such responses as

Magdyip nga kayo.
'(Then) please take a jeep'.

or

Makararating ba tayo sa palengke?
'(Then) shall we get to the market?'

could not be spoken with the /33↓/ pattern.

(In addition to the lexically-determined /33↓/ pattern, there is a slightly more emphatic /33̇↓/ pattern with P₂ fixed on the last syllable. This pattern may, for practical purposes, be considered a free alternant of the lexically determined pattern. It is not given further treatment in this presentation.)

(As was noted in §1.23, there is an obligatory drop in pitch on syllables between the pitch points of the /33↓/ and /33̇↓/ patterns.)

(Another follow-up pattern, which suggests that the follow-up is self-evident, is pattern IV.2, presented in §1.27.)

II.2 /23↓/: used for:

- a. neutral statements;
- b. citation pronunciations;
- c. hortatives (cf. §5.29).
- a. By a neutral statement is meant a statement whose intonation gives no indication of the speaker's attitude toward what he says, or toward his audience, and in which there is no suggestion of emphasis or contrast. (For the intonation of non-neutral statements, see §1.26, pattern number III.1.)

Examples:

²Ito ang mapa ng Pilipinas.[↓] /pilipi·nas/
'This is the map of the Philippines'.

²Ito ang mapa ng Luzon.[↓] /luzon/
'This is the map of Luzon'.

²Nasa Cavite ang kapatid³ko.[↓] /kapatid koh/
'My brother is in Cavite'.

²Taga-Cavite ang kaibigan ko.[↓] /kaibi·gan koh/

or
²Taga-Cavite ang kaibigan³ko.[↓]
'My friend is from Cavite'.

(For the variation in the placement of P₂ in the last examples above, see the rules governing the position of P₂ in lexically-determined patterns, §1.23.)

- b. A citation is actually a particular kind of neutral statement, a statement that consists of a word mentioned as a word, rather than used as a linguistic symbol. A citation pronunciation is the pronunciation given to a word so mentioned – the kind of pronunciation, for example, that would be given to a word read from a word list, or spoken in answer to a question about how a word is pronounced. Some examples are:

² dumating ³ ↓	/dumatin/ 'came'
² kahapon [↓]	/kaha·pon/ 'yesterday'
² mag·aalīs [↓]	/mag'a·'alis/ 'will remove'
³ aalīs [↓]	/a·'alis/ 'will leave'

- c. See §1.26, pattern number III.2, for a full treatment of the intonation of hortatives, including the use of the /23↓/ pattern.

II.3. /23→/ used for non-sentence-final intonation.

This pattern alternates freely with the /2↑/ pattern – pattern I.3, § 1.24 – in the non-final uses of the later. (The two patterns are, in fact, sometimes homophonous.) Examples of the /23→/ pattern are:

²Si³Rosa, ²si³Pedro, ²si³Ben . . . /ro'sah/, /pe'droh/, /be'n/
'Rosa, Pedro, Ben . . .'

³Helen, ³halika rito. ↓ /he'len/
'Helen, come here.'

²Kung kailangan, ²tatawagin ko siya. ↓ /ka'ila'nan/
'If necessary, I'll call him.'

²Sa ³Sabado, ²mamimili ³ako. ↓ /sa'badoh/
'On Saturday, I'll go shopping.'

(See § 1.27, pattern IV.2, for a contrastive non-final pattern. See also the discussion of intonation in direct address in § 1.28, subsection *m*.)

§ 1.26 Two-point patterns: final-P₂.

Pattern formulas for fixed patterns with final-P₂ have an acute accent over the second number in the formula; they are otherwise to be read like lexically-determined patterns. Thus the formula /23↑/ represents an intonation pattern with mid pitch at P₁ and high pitch at (the beginning of) the phrase-final syllable, followed by a full fall.

The major final-P₂ patterns are:

III.1. /23↑/: used for non-neutral utterances of various types.

This pattern has contrastive, expressive, and social uses.

In its contrastive use the pattern frequently occurs in statements and commands that are marked as contrastive in some other way as well: e.g., by word order, as in the following examples:

²Kay Juan ko ibinigay ang lapis. ↓
'I gave the pencil to *Juan*.'

²Kay Juan mo ibigay ang lapis. ↓
'Give the pencil to *Juan*.'

Here the contrastive item, *kay Juan*, is emphasized by its sentence-initial position (cf. § 7.2): cf. the non-contrastive:

²Ibinigay ko kay Juan ang lapis. ↓ /la'piss/
'I gave the pencil to Juan.'

³Ibigay mo kay Juan ang lapis. ↓
'Give the pencil to Juan.'

However, the contrastive meaning may be carried by the intonation alone, as in:

²Lunes bukas. ↓
'It's *Monday* tomorrow.' or 'It's Monday *tomorrow*.'

which implies a contradiction of some previous statement like ²Linggo ³bukas ↓ 'It's Sunday tomorrow' or ²Lunes ngayon ↓ 'It's Monday today.'

In Tagalog, the contrastive item (e.g., *Lunes* 'Monday') is not singled out by pitch prominence the way it is in the English contrastive pattern. (As pointed out above, one of the ways Tagalog singles out the contrastive item is through word order.) The Tagalog contrastive intonation pattern signals the fact that the

utterance is contrastive to some other utterance, but it does not give an indication as to which specific portion of the utterance is the carrier of the contrast. Where no other indication is present, the item that carries the contrast can only be determined by context.

In its expressive uses, the /23̌4/ pattern indicates strong feeling or emphasis, as in:

²Mabuti![↓]
'Good!'

²Mahuhulog ang bāta![↓]
'The baby's going to fall!'

²Lakad³na![↓]
'Go!'

This use of the pattern is commonly accompanied by such other expressive features as an increase in loudness, or a general raising of the pitch of the voice. The resulting utterance is, in effect, an exclamation, and would be marked in writing by an exclamation point, as in the examples above.

In its social uses, the /23̌4/ pattern indicates personal involvement in what is being said or cordiality toward the person(s) addressed. As noted above (§1.25, pattern II.1), the lexically-determined /234/ pattern is neutral and gives no indication of the speaker's attitude toward what he is saying or toward his audience. For this reason, the pattern is relatively rare in ordinary sociable conversation. (See, however, the discussion of homophony below.) While a statement, like *Éto na si Pedro* 'Here comes Pedro,' may be said either with the lexically-determined /234/ pattern, (*Éto na si Pedro*) or with the fixed /23̌4/ pattern (*Éto na si Pedro*), the latter is more likely, since it shows – which is probably the case – that the speaker is personally interested in the event.

In the case of a command receiving the pattern /23̌4/ (as in ²*Kumain na kayo* 'Eat now'), the meaning departs from that of a neutral command with a /34/ pattern (e.g., ³*Kumain na kayo*) either in the direction of emphasis or in that of cordiality. The meaning of cordiality is also apparent in the frequent use of the /23̌4/ pattern for social formulas not in question form. (Those in question form – like *Kumusta po kayo?* 'How are you?' – use the /34/ pattern of information questions.) (The lexically-determined /234/ pattern sometimes replaces the /23̌4/ pattern in social formulas used in addressing subordinates or intimates.)

Examples:

²Marami pong salamat.[↓]
'Many thanks.'

²Magandang umaga.[↓]
'Good morning.'

(For the use of the /23̌4/ pattern in requests of certain types, see the discussion under pattern IV.3, §1.27; for the use of the pattern in hortatives, see the discussion under pattern III.2, this section.)

The contrast between the neutral statement pattern, /234/, and the non-neutral pattern, /23̌4/, is realized phonetically only in those cases in which the lexically-determined P₂ is not the phrase-final syllable. When the phrase-final word is a polysyllable without significantly long vowels or a monosyllabic loan word, the phonetic realizations of the two patterns are homophonous, since the /234/ pattern, as well as the /23̌4/ pattern, makes P₂ the phrase-final syllable in these circumstances. Note, for example, the different results for utterances a and b below, ending in *Helen* /he-len/ and *Belen* /belen/ respectively:

a. /234/ ²Maganda si Helen.[↓]
'Helen is beautiful.'

 /23̌4/ ²Maganda si Helen.[↓]
'Helen is beautiful.'

b. /234/ ²Maganda si Belen.[↓]
'Belen is beautiful.'

 /23̌4/ ²Maganda si Belen.[↓]
'Belen is beautiful.'

In the case of utterance a the difference between the intonation patterns is reflected in a difference in the position of P₂; in the case of utterance b, the two patterns have homophonous realizations. (Such homophony is often eliminated in actual speech through the use of expressive features such as loudness or gestures.)

III.2 /2³→/: used for:

- a. exclamations expressing negative attitudes (cf. §7.17);
 - b. hortatives (cf. §5.29);
 - c. statements and requests preceding the tag *o* (cf. §6.13);
 - d. emphatic requests with *nga* (cf. §5.30);
 - e. commands and social formulas preceding the tag *ha* (cf. §6.13).
- a. Being emphatic by nature, exclamations generally take the /2³↓/ pattern described above (pattern III.1).

Thus:

²Ang laki ng iyong bahay![↓]
'How big your house is!'

However, for exclamations expressing negative attitudes, a sustained final contour is commonly used. Thus:

²Ang init ng araw!^{3→}
'How (terribly) hot the sun is!'

²Kay haba-haba ng talumpati niya!^{3→}
'How long (and boring) his speech was!'

²Napakadumi naman nito!^{3→}
'How (disgustingly) dirty this is!'

- b. Hortative constructions (equivalent to English constructions with 'Let's') take the /2³→/ pattern when, as is usually the case, they are casual invitations to immediate or spontaneous action.

For example:

²Tayo na.^{3→}
'Let's go.'

²Tawagan natin si Helen.^{3→}
'Let's call Helen.'

²Huwag muna nating pitasin ang rosas.^{3→}
'Let's not pick the roses yet.'

Three other patterns – /3↓/, /23↓/, and /2³↓/ – also, but less frequently, occur with hortatives. The /3↓/ pattern gives the hortative the force of a command; the /23↓/ pattern makes the hortative an invitation to non-immediate or deliberate action; the /2³↓/ pattern suggests urgency. Examples are:


³Tayo na.[↓]
'Let's go. (I insist)'

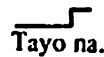
²Magmiting tayo bukas.[↓]
'Let's have a meeting tomorrow.'

²Umalis tayo![↓]
'Let's get out of here!'

- c. For examples of the intonation of statements and requests with the tag *o*, see patterns 1.3 and 1.5, §1.24.
- d. For examples of the use of the /2³→/ pattern for emphatic requests with *nga*, see Pattern IV.3, §1.27.

(It may be noted that the phonetic realization of the /2³→/ pattern is in some cases homophonous with that of the /2↑/ pattern – pattern 1.3 §1.24. Thus the /2↑/ pattern in a question like *Tayo ba?* ‘Us?’ and the /2³→/ pattern in a request like *Tayo na* ‘Let’s go,’ may have identical phonetic realizations with respect to intonation:


 Tayo ba?


 Tayo na.

However, the two patterns have different ranges of phonetic realizations. In the /2↑/ pattern, while the rise represented by /↑/ may be only to level 3, it may be – and frequently is – to a higher level. In the /2³→/ pattern, on the other hand, the pitch level on the final syllable must be level 3. Thus the question *Tayo ba?* may be realized as:


 Tayo ba?

but the request *Tayo na* cannot be realized as:


 Tayo na.)

- e. ²Hintayin mo ³ako, ²na
 ‘Wait for me, won’t you?’
- ²Diyan ka ³na, ha? [↑]
 ‘See you later, huh?’

III.3. /31↑/: used for:

- a. yes–no questions (cf. §7.4);
- b. cordial information questions (cf. §7.7 ff.);
- a. For the use of the /31↑/ pattern in yes-no questions, see the discussion under pattern IV.4, §1.27.
- b. The /31↑/ pattern optionally replaces the /3↓/ pattern (pattern 1.1, §1.24) in information questions in which the speaker wishes to express an attitude of particular cordiality or deference. This replacement is not obligatory; that is, the use of the /3↓/ pattern in an information question does not suggest any absence of cordiality. But the use of the /31↑/ pattern makes the cordiality explicit.

Examples are:

Ano po ba ang kailangan ninyo?
 ‘What do you need?’ (i.e., May I help you?)

Kumusta ang tatay mo?
 ‘How’s your father?’

1.27 Two-point patterns: prefinal-P₂.

Pattern formulas for fixed patterns with prefinal-P₂ have a grave accent over the second number in the formula; they are otherwise to be read like lexically-determined patterns. Thus the formula /2³↓/

represents an intonation pattern with mid pitch at P₁ and high pitch on the next-to-last syllable, followed by a full fall.

The major prefinal-P₂ patterns are:

IV.1. /23↓/: used for statements ending in the sentence—final particles *a* and *e* (cf. §6.13).

Examples:

²Ayun (pala) sila, a[↓]

'But there they are!'

²Hindi na sila nakatira doon, a[↓]

'But they don't live there any more.'

²Kulang ang pera³ ko, e[↓]

'I didn't have enough money, you see.'

²Ikaw (nga) ang matalino, e[↓]

'On the contrary, you're the intelligent one.'

Note that, although the tags *e* and *a* are preceded by a comma in conventional writing, they form a single intonation phrase with what precedes them.

IV.2. /23↓/: used for:

- a. follow-up statements and commands;
 - b. mild admonitions or warnings;
 - c. contrastive non-sentence—final intonation in statements.
- a. The /23↓/ pattern is used for responses in statement or command form that are assumed to express something obvious or self-evident. Often such responses are preceded by *di* 'why . . . (of course)' or *e, di* 'why then . . . (of course)'. Some examples are:

²(Di) si Ben!

'(Why,) Ben (of course).' (in response to, e.g., Sino ang kasama mo? 'Who went with you?')

²(E, di) magpahinga ka!

'(Why then,) take a rest.' (in response to, e.g., Pagod na pagod na ako. 'I'm very tired.')

(A follow-up pattern with more general uses is the /33↓/ pattern — pattern II.1, §1.25.)

b. Examples:

²Mag-ingat ka. ²Mainit!

'(You'd better) be careful. It's hot.'

²Mag-aral kang ma³buti!

'(You'd better) study hard.'

The /23↓/ pattern suggests that the admonition or warning is mild — sometimes even humorous. Urgent warnings would normally take the /23↓/ pattern.

c. As a pattern for non-final phrases, /23↓/ generally connotes contrast, either explicit or implied:

²Si Helen¹, ²maiwan dito. ³Kami³ naman, ²sasama kay Pedro!

'Helen will stay here. We'll go with Pedro.'

²Kung gusto mo, ³padadalhan kita ng kopya!

'If you wish, I'll send you a copy.' ('Otherwise I won't.')

In the first of the above examples, the contrastive character of *si Helen* and *kami naman* is indicated not only by the intonation, but by word order in the first case and both word order and the contrastive particle *naman* in the second. The contrastive /23̂↓/ intonation is therefore redundant here, and essentially the same meaning would be conveyed were another non-final intonation pattern (/2↑/ or /23→/) to be used. In the second example, however, it is only the /23̂↓/ pattern that makes *kung gusto mo* contrastive. Were the /2↑/ or /23→/ pattern to be used in this case, there would be no implication of contrast.

/23̂↓/ is also used as a non-final intonation pattern suggestive of a certain deliberateness of thought. For example, in response to a question like *Sino-sino ba ang nasa parti?* 'Who was at the party?' the answer

³Si Juan,^{2,3} si Helen,² si Pablo¹ . . .
'Juan, Helen, Pablo . . .'

would suggest a deliberate effort at recollection. Or in a sentence like

²Babalik ako³ bukas,^{1,2} at mag-uusap tayong muli.^{3,↓}
'I'll come back tomorrow, and we'll talk some more.'

The use of the /23̂↓/ pattern for the first phrase conveys a suggestion of deliberate planning that would be absent were another non-final pattern to be used.

IV.3. /32↑/: used for non-emphatic requests with the enclitic particle *nga* (cf. §5.30).

Examples:

³Magluto ka nga ng kape.[↑]
'Please make some coffee.'

³Pakitawag mo nga si Rosa.[↑]
'Please call Rosa.'

As was mentioned in §1.26, the /23̂→/ pattern (pattern III.2) is used for emphatic requests with *nga*. Thus, suggesting urgency, etc:

²Tumalikod ka³ nga!
'Please turn around!'

Requests that do not include the enclitic particle *nga* normally take the /23̂↓/ pattern (number III.1, §1.26):

²Magluto ka naman ng kape.[↓]
'(Come now,) please make some coffee.'

²Pakitawag mo si Rosa.[↓]
'Please call Rosa.'

IV.4. /31↑/: used for yes-no questions (cf. §7.4).

Example:

³Para sa iyo ba ito?[↑]
'Is this for you?'

³Darating ba siya bukas?[↑]
'Is he coming tomorrow?'

In yes-no questions with deleted elements, the /2↑/ pattern (§1.24, number 1.3) is preferred to the /3̇1↑/ pattern. Thus:

²Para sa iyo ba?[↑]
'For you?'

²Bukas?[↑]
'Tomorrow?'

In questions without deletions, the reverse preference obtains.

The /31↑/ pattern is occasionally used for please-repeat questions, the first part of alternative questions, and confirmation questions with *hindi ba*, but the /2↑/ pattern is commoner for questions of these kinds.

A pattern with final P₂, /3̇1↑/ (pattern III.3, §1.26), alternates freely with the /3̇1↑/ pattern. Thus:

³Para sa iyo ba ito?[↑]
³Darating ba siya bukas?[↑]

(For some speakers, there is also alternation between /3̇1↑/ and /3̇2↑/ – pattern IV.2, present section – in both questions and *nga* requests.)

Unlike statements, yes-no questions occur in no specifically emphatic or contrastive intonation patterns. Emphasis or contrast in yes-no questions is indicated, if at all, by grammatical devices such as change of word order, or by the use of expressive features.

1.28 Summary of intonation patterns.

The introduction of the major intonation patterns of Tagalog in §1.24 through 1.27 is organized on the basis of pattern types: one-point patterns are presented in §1.24; two-point lexically-determined, final-P₂ and prefinal-P₂ patterns are presented in §§1.25, 1.26, and 1.27 respectively. In the present section the patterns are summarized according to the phrase and sentence types in which they occur. Chart 6 shows the order of presentation to be used. The first column of the chart enumerates the phrase and sentence types to be dealt with, and assigns to each a letter; the second column lists, by pattern formulas, the patterns that occur for each phrase or sentence type; the third column references the numbers assigned to the patterns in the preceding presentation, and the section in which the presentation occurs. In the case of sentence types that take a sequence of two intonation patterns, two pattern formulas connected by a plus sign are given in the second column, and two number references in the third. Twelve phrase and sentence types are listed on the chart, and assigned letters a through l. In the subsections given these letters below, the patterns for each phrase and sentence type are illustrated in the order in which they are listed in the second column of the chart. Then an additional subsection, lettered m, is devoted to a discussion and exemplifications of the intonation of phrases of direct address.

(The intonation patterns of sentences with quotation tags (cf. §3.28, Subsection (1.d)) or with the sentence-final particle *ha* (cf. §6.13) are not included in this summary, the patterns being too varied to allow of convenient summarization. For examples of the intonation of sentences with quotation tags, see pattern 1.2, §1.24; for examples of the intonation of sentences with *ha* see patterns 1.2 through 1.5, §1.24.)

CHART 6

Phrase/sentence types	Pattern	Pattern #	Section #
a. Statements	/23↓/	II.2	(1.25)
	/2̇3↓/	III.1	(1.26)
	/33↓/	II.1	(1.25)
	/2̇3↑/	IV.2	(1.27)
	/2̇3↓/	IV.1	(1.27)
	/2̇3→/+/1→/	III.2	(1.26):1.5(1.24)
	/2̇3→/+/2̇↑/	III.2	(1.26):1.3(1.24)
	/3↓/	I.1	(1.24)

CHART 6 (cont'd.)

Phrase/sentence types	Pattern	Pattern #	Section #
b. Information questions	/34/	I.1	(1.24)
	/31↑/	III.3	(1.26)
	/334/	II.1	(1.25)
c. Yes-no questions	/31↑/	IV.4	(1.27)
	/31↑/	III.3	(1.26)
	/2↑/	I.3	(1.24)
	/34+/2↑/	I.1	(1.24);I.3(1.24)
d. Confirmation questions	/2↑+/2↑/	I.3	(1.24);I.3(1.24)
	/234+/2↑/	II.2	(1.25);I.3(1.24)
	/2↑+/1→/	I.3	(1.24);I.5(1.24)
e. Please – repeat questions	/2↑/	I.3	(1.24)
f. Alternative questions	/2↑+/24/	I.3	(1.24);I.2(1.24)
g. Commands	/34/	I.1	(1.24)
	/234/	III.1	(1.26)
	/334/	II.1	(1.25)
	/234/	IV.2	(1.27)
h. Requests	/32↑/	IV.3	(1.27)
	/23→/	III.2	(1.26)
	/234/	III.1	(1.26)
	/23→+/1→/	III.2	(1.26);I.5(1.24)
i. Hortatives	/23→/	III.2	(1.26)
	/234/	II.2	(1.25)
	/234/	III.1	(1.26)
	/34/	I.1	(1.24)
j. Exclamations	/234/	III.1	(1.26)
	/23→/	III.2	(1.26)
k. Social formulas	/234/	III.1	(1.26)
	/34/	I.1	(1.24)
l. Non-final phrases	/2↑/	I.3	(1.24)
	/23→/	II.3	(1.25)
	/234/	IV.2	(1.27)
	/2→/	I.4	(1.24)
a. Statements:			
	/234/: for neutral statements		

²Ito ang mapa ng Pilipinas.⁴
 'This is the map of the Philippines.'

/2³4/: for non-neutral statements

²Mahuhulog ang bata.³↓
‘The baby’s going to fall.’

/334/: for follow-up statements

³Maglalakad ako.³↓
‘(Then) I’ll walk.’

/2³1/: for follow-up statements expressing the obvious and for mild admonitions

²(Di)³si Ben.¹
‘(Why,) Ben (,of course).’

²Mainit.³↓
‘It’s hot.’

/2³4/: for statements ending in the tags *e* and *a*

²Si Ben ang matalino,³ e.[↓]
‘(On the contrary,) Ben’s the intelligent one.’

²Ayun sila,³ a.[↓]
‘But there they are.’

/2³→+/1→/: for statements followed by the tag *o*

²Ayun si Juan,³ →1→
‘Look, there’s Juan.’

/2³→+/2↑/: for statements followed by the tag *o*

²Ayun si Juan,³ →2↑

/34/: for replies with deleted elements

³Nasa ibabaw ng mesa.[↓]
‘On the table.’

b. Information questions:

/34/: for information questions in general

³Sino ka ba?[↓]
‘Who are you?’

/3↑↑/: for information questions expressing particular cordiality

³Ano po ba ang kailangan ninyo?[↑]
‘What do you need? (i.e., ‘May I help you?’)’

/334/: for follow-up information questions

³Paano tayo makararating sa palengke?[↓]
‘(Then) how shall we get to the market?’

- c. Yes-no questions:
 /3¹↑/: for yes-no questions in general
³Para sa iyo ba¹ ito?[↑]
 'Is this for you?'
 /3¹↑/: for yes-no questions in general
³Para sa iyo ba¹ ito?[↑]
 'Is this for you?'
 /2↑/: for yes-no questions in general, especially those with deleted elements
²Gusto ba ninyo?[↑]
 'Do you like (it)?'
 /3↓+/2↑/: for yes-no questions with emphatic initial phrases
³Ang bata,^{↓2}gising ba?[↑]
 '(How about) the baby – is it awake?'
- d. Confirmation questions:
 /2↑+/2↑/: for confirmation questions with *hindi ba* (in either initial or final position) and *diyata*
²Galing sa Estados Unidos ito,^{↑2} hindi ba?[↑]
 'This comes from the United States, doesn't it?'
²Diyata,^{↑2} magkakilala kayo?[↑]
 'Then you know one another?'
 /23↓+/2↑/: for confirmation questions with *hindi ba* in final position
²Galing sa Estados Unidos ito,^{↓2} hindi ba?[↑]
 'This comes from the United States, doesn't it?'
 /2↑+/1→/: for confirmation questions with *ano*
²Maganda ito,^{↑1} ano?[→]
 'This is beautiful, isn't it?'
- e. Please – repeat questions:
 /2↑/:
²Ano?[↑]
 'What (did you say)?'
- f. Alternative questions:
 /2↑+/2↓/:
²Kukunin mo ba ito o hindi?^{↑2}
 'Are you going to take this or not?'
- g. Commands
 /3↓/: for non-emphatic commands
³Pumarito ka.[↓]
 'Come here.'

/23↓/: for emphatic commands

²Lakad³ na![↓]
'Go!'

/33↓/: for follow-up commands

³Magdyip kayo.[↓]
'(Then) take a jeep.'

/23||/: for follow-up commands expressing the obvious, and for mild admonitions

²(Di) magpahinga ka.[↓]
'(Why then,) take a rest.'

²Mag-ingat ka.[↓]
'(You'd better) be careful.'

h. Requests:

/32↑/: for non-emphatic requests with *nga*

³Magluto ka nga ng² kape.[↑]
'Please make some coffee.'

/23→/: for emphatic requests with *nga*

²Tumalikod ka ng³ nga![→]
'Please turn around!'

/23↓/: for requests without *nga*

²Magluto ka naman ng kape.[↓]
'(Come now,) please make some coffee.'

/23→/+|1→/: for requests followed by the tag *o*

²Ayusin mo nga ito, o.[→]
'Please fix this.'

i. Hortatives:

/23→/: for casual invitations to immediate or spontaneous action

²Tayo na.[→]
'Let's go.'

/23↓/: for invitations to non-immediate or deliberate action

²Magmiting tayo bukas.[↓]
'Let's have a meeting tomorrow.'

/23↓/: for hortatives expressing urgency

²Umalis tayo![↓]
'Let's get out of here!'

/3↓/: for hortatives with the force of commands

³Tayo na.↓
'Let's go. (I insist.)'

- j. Exclamations:
/2³↓/: for exclamations in general

²Ang laki ng iyong bahay!↓
'How big your house is!'

/2³→/: for exclamations expressing negative attitudes

²Ang init ng araw!³→
'How (terribly) hot it is!'

- k. Social formulas:
/2³↓/: for social formulas not in question form

²Marami pong salamat.↓
'Many thanks.'

/3↓/: for social formulas in question form

³Kumusta po kayo?↓
'How are you?'

- l. Non-final phrases:
/2↑/: for non-final phrases of various types

²Si Rosa,^{↑2}si Pedro,^{↑2}si Ben[↑]
'Rosa, Pedro, Ben'

/23→/: for non-final phrases of various types

²Si Rosa,³→²si Pedro,³→^{2,3}si Ben[→]
'Rosa, Pedro, Ben'

/2³↓/: for contrastive non-final phrases in statements

²Si Helen,³↓²maiwan dito.³↓
'Helen will remain here.'

/2→/: for the rhetorical linker *e*

²E,^{→3}magkano naman ito?↓
'And how much is this one?'

- m. The intonation of a phrase of direct address in the middle of a sentence varies according to whether or not the phrase occurs at a genuine phrase boundary: i.e., a point that would serve as a boundary between intonation phrases were the direct-address phrase itself not present. If

the direct-address phrase occurs at such a boundary, two intonational treatments are possible: one, the phrase may be given a separate non-final intonation:

²Kung gusto ninyo, ¹Inay, ²pupunta ³ako. ¹
 'If you like, Mother, I'll go.'
 (cf. ²Kung gusto ninyo, ¹Inay, ²pupunta ³ako.);

two, the direct-address phrase may be treated as part of a larger non-final intonation phrase, with no pause before it:

²Kung gusto ninyo, Inay, ²pupunta ³ako. ¹

If a direct-address phrase in the middle of a sentence does not occur at a genuine phrase boundary – if, in other words, it occurs in the middle of what would, in its absence, constitute a single intonation phrase – it is never given a separate intonation pattern, but is treated instead as an integral part of the phrase into which it has been inserted, with no pauses separating it from the rest of this phrase. Thus:

³Pupunta ba kayo, Inay, sa ¹palengke? ¹
 'Are you going, Mother, to the market?'
 (cf. ³Pupunta ba kayo sa ¹palengke?) ¹

(Note that, in conventional writing, phrases of direct address are set off by commas whether or not they are treated as separate intonation phrases.)

Sentence-finally, phrases of direct address may, in general, be given either of two intonational treatments: they may echo the intonation pattern of the phrase that precedes them, or they may be integrated into this pattern. Thus:

²Mabuti, ³Teresa! ³
²Mabuti, ³Teresa! ³
 'Good, Teresa!'

²Tayo na, ³Pedro. ³
²Tayo na, ³Pedro. ³
 'Let's go, Pedro.'

³Halika rito, ¹Helen. ¹
³Halika rito, ¹Helen. ¹
 'Come here, Helen.'

³Lumagda nga kayo ²rito, ¹Ginang ²Santos. ¹
³Lumagda nga kayo rito, ²Ginang ²Santos. ¹
 'Please sign here, Mrs. Santos.'

²Ito, ¹Binibining Reyes? ¹
²Ito, Binibining Reyes? ¹
 'This one, Miss Reyes?'

The first of the above examples allows of another intonational possibility as well:

²Mabuti, ³Teresa! ¹

This intonation is like the first given above, except that the falling contour before the phrase of direct address is replaced by a sustained contour. Such a replacement may occur in the case of any two-point falling contour that precedes a direct-address phrase. Thus:

³Magpatulong kayo sa kanila, ³Ginoong ³Cruz. ↓
'(Then) have them help you, Mr. Cruz.'

as well as:

³Magpatulong kayo sa kanila, ³Ginoong ³Cruz. ↓
³Magpatulong kayo sa kanila, Ginoong ³Cruz. ↓

(The /33↓/ follow-up pattern – Pattern II.1, §1.25 – and the slightly more emphatic final-P₂ follow-up pattern, /33↓/, do not occur as echo patterns for phrases of direct address. A direct-address phrase echoing one of these patterns shows a lowering of P₁ to level 2, as in the above example.)

After social formulas not in question form, phrases of direct address allow of still another intonational treatment, optionally taking a /2↓/ intonation pattern (pattern I.2, §1.24). Thus:

²Marami pong salamat, ²Ginoong Magpayo. ↓
²Marami pong salamat, Ginoong Magpayo. ↓
'Thank you very much, Mr. Magpayo.'

as well as:

²Marami pong salamat, ²Ginoong Magpayo. ↓
²Marami pong salamat, Ginoong Magpayo. ↓
²Marami pong salamat, Ginoong Magpayo. ↓

§1.29 Stress.

Tagalog syllables show variation in *stress*, or relative prominence. Two degrees of stress may be distinguished: *strong*, and *weak*. Syllables with strong stress may be called *stressed*; syllables with weak stress may be called *unstressed*.

Stressed syllables in Tagalog are characterized by *length prominence*, by *pitch prominence*, or by both. Unstressed syllables show neither length prominence nor pitch prominence.

Length prominence is prominence associated with the presence of a significantly long vowel in a syllable. (See §1.12 for a discussion of significant vowel length.) All syllables that include significantly long vowels are stressed, whether the significant vowel length is an instance of inherent length, of compensatory length, or of coalescence length. In the sentence *Sino po ba ang panganay?* 'Who is the eldest child?', pronounced as follows,

³/si·nu pu· ba·ŋ paŋa·nay/,

there are four stressed syllables showing length prominence: /si·/, which has inherent length; /pu·/, which has compensatory length (cf. the phrase-final form /po·/); /ba·ŋ/, which has coalescence length (cf. the uncoalesced form /ba·ŋŋ/); and /ŋa·/, another instance of inherent length.

Pitch prominence is prominence associated with one of two kinds of pitch phenomena: a rise in pitch at P₂ of a two-point intonation pattern; or a rise in pitch on a syllable that is not a pitch point, followed by a drop in pitch on the next syllable. The former may be called *obligatory pitch prominence*, since, given an appropriate intonation pattern, it must occur; the latter may be called *optional pitch prominence* since, given an appropriate intonation pattern, it may or may not occur. (Optional pitch prominence is discussed in some detail in §1.23, q.v., and is not discussed further in the present section.)

Obligatory pitch prominence is given to at most one syllable of an intonation phrase, and occurs only in two-point patterns in which there is a rise at P_2 : e.g., /23↓/, /23↓/, /23→/. (In one-point patterns – e.g., /3↓/ – or in two-point patterns in which there is a drop at P_2 – e.g., /31↓/ – no syllable has obligatory pitch prominence.) In the patterns in which it occurs, obligatory pitch prominence is given to the syllable that serves as P_2 .

Obligatory pitch prominence in large measure determines *word stress* – i.e., the stress of syllables in cited words. Since citation pronunciations always take the /23↓/ pattern (pattern II.2, §1.25), pitch prominence is always given to the lexically-determined P_2 of a cited word. In the following cited words, pitch prominence is given to the italicized syllables:

<i>damit</i>	² /dāmit/↓	'dress'
<i>maganda</i>	² /magāndah/↓	'beautiful'
<i>mura</i>	³ /mu·rah/↓	'cheap'
<i>mahusay</i>	² /mahu·say/↓	'good'
<i>darating</i>	³ /da·rating/↓	'will come'
<i>nag-aalis</i>	² /nag·a·'alis/↓	'remove(s)'

(In all but the first two of the above examples, pitch prominence coincides with length prominence. The coincidence of the two types of prominence does not result in a degree of stress greater than that characteristic of either type alone.)

While length prominence – at least length prominence given to inherently long vowels – is independent of the position of a word in a phrase or of the intonation pattern used, obligatory pitch prominence is entirely dependent upon them. Syllables that have pitch prominence but not length prominence in cited words are therefore, in general, unstressed when the words occur in utterances in which there is no P_2 , or in which P_2 is some other syllable. Thus the second syllable of *damit* /dāmit/ 'dress,' which has obligatory pitch prominence in citation, is unstressed in the following sentences:

Damit ba?	² /dāmit bah/↑	'(Is it) a dress?'
Damit ito.	² /dāmit itoh/↓	'This is a dress.'

On the other hand, syllables that have both pitch prominence and length prominence in cited words retain stress in all contexts, since the length prominence remains even when the pitch prominence is lost. Thus the first syllable of *mura* /mu·rah/ 'cheap,' which has both pitch and length prominence in citation, is stressed in the following sentences:

Mura ba?	² /mu·ra bah/↑	'(Is it) cheap?'
Mura ito.	² /mu·ra 'ito/↓	'This is cheap.'

§ 1.30 Spelling and pronunciation.

Written Tagalog uses the same letters as does written English. The seven letters c, f, j, q, v, x, and z, however, occur chiefly in proper nouns of foreign origin and in certain other borrowings from English or Spanish; for example:

c	Carlos Cavite camera	(man's name) (place name) 'camera'	q	Quirino Quiapo Quinina	(family name) (place name) 'quinine'
f	Fe San Felipe mag-fishing	(woman's name) (place name) 'go fishing'	v	Victor Vigan vanilla	(man's name) (place name) 'vanilla'

j	Jose	(man's name)	x	Roxas	(family name)
	Jolo	(place name)		Alex	(man's name)
	jazz	'jazz'		tax	'tax'
z	Zulueta	(woman's name)			
	Zamboanga	(place name)			
	zipper	'zipper'			

These seven letters are not included in the conventional Tagalog alphabet, which consists of twenty letters, in the following order:

a b k d e f h i l m n ng o p r s t u w y

(Note that *ng* is conventionally considered a single letter.)

Tagalog spelling is very much more consistent than English spelling in reflecting pronunciation. Except in the case of certain borrowed words, and in a few other cases to be noted below, each of the above twenty letters is consistently used to represent a single phoneme, and each phoneme is consistently represented by a single letter.

Two Tagalog phonemes, /ŋ/ and /t͡s/, are conventionally symbolized by digraphs: *ng* and *ts* respectively, as in:

bangko	/ba·ŋko/	'bank'	tsa	/t͡sa·h/	'tea'
hanggang	/hanga·ŋ/	'until'	titser	/ti·t͡ser/	'teacher'
ngalan	/ŋa·lan/	'name'	otso	/o·t͡soh/	'eight'

The phoneme /ʔ/ is not represented in conventional spelling (except in the spelling system proposed by the Institute of National Language, a system that has not been generally adopted in popular Tagalog writing). When /ʔ/ occurs word-initially, however, its presence may be inferred from the conventional spelling, which, in such cases, always begins with a vowel letter (a, e, i, o, or u); for example:

asin	/ʔasin/	'salt'
Ed	/ʔE·d/	(man's name)
itim	/ʔitim/	'black'
oras	/ʔo·ras/	'time'
utos	/ʔu·tos/	'order'

When a syllable-initial glottal stop occurs after a prefix that ends in a consonant, a hyphen is placed after the prefix:

mag-alis	/magʔalis/	'remove'
pag-uwi	/pagʔuwi/	'going home'

The phoneme /h/ is represented (by the letter *h*) only in syllable-initial position. Since neither word-final /ʔ/ nor word-final /h/ is represented in conventional spelling, pairs of words that differ only in that one of them ends in /ʔ/ and the other in /h/, are spelled in the same way:

bata	/ba·taʔ/	'child'	bata	/ba·tah/	'bathrobe'
yaya	/ya·yaʔ/	'invitation'	yaya	/ya·yah/	'nurse'

As was mentioned in §1.22, initial consonant clusters whose second element is /y/ or /w/ are usually represented in conventional writing by consonant-*iy* and consonant-*uw* respectively, whether or not there is actually alternation in pronunciation between /y/ and /iy/ or /w/ and /uw/:

biyernes	/bye·rnes/	'Friday'	buwan	/bwa·n/	'month'
Diyos	/dyos/	'God'	duwende	/dwe·ndeh/	'dwarf'

Conventional spelling normally reflects changes of vowel quality as a result of length shift in the presence of the suffixes *-an* and *-in* (see §1.12):

tiket /ti·ket/ 'ticket'	→	tikitan /tiki·tan/ 'to give a ticket'
palo /pa·lo/ 'flogging'	→	paluin /palu·'in/ 'to flog'

Changes of vowel quality under other circumstances (see §§1.7, 1.10, 1.11, 1.12) are not normally reflected in the spelling. For example, the spellings *kayo* and *po* are used consistently in the following sentences, although *kayo* is /kayoh/ in the first sentence and /kayu/ in the second and third, while *po* is /po / in the second sentence and /pu:/ in the third:

Kayo. /kayoh/ 'You.'
 Kayo po. /kayu po/ 'You, sir.'
 Kayo po ba? /kayu pu· bah/ 'You, sir?'

Length is not indicated in conventional written Tagalog. Such pairs of words as the following are therefore spelled identically:

bukas	/bu·kas/	'tomorrow'	bukas	/bukas/	'open'
galing	/ga·liŋ/	'from'	galing	/galiŋ/	'excellence'

There are two very common words – the complement and possessive marker *ng* (cf. §§2.12, 2.14, 3.20, etc.) and the plural marker *mga* (cf. §§3.9 4.11, etc.) – whose conventional spelling does not reflect their pronunciation. *Ng* represents /naŋ/; *mga* represents /maŋa/.

CHAPTER 2

Basic Sentence Structure

§2.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the grammatical structure of certain basic sentence types in Tagalog. The sentence types whose structure is outlined are considered basic for two reasons: first, they are, in general, the shortest and simplest types of complete sentences that occur in the language; second, the structure of other, more complex, types of sentences may be described as resulting from particular elaborations or combinations of elements from the basic sentence types. An example from English may serve to clarify this second point. The sentences

John ate the apple.
Mary ate the pear.

may be considered representative of a certain basic type of English sentence. Once the grammatical structure of this sentence type has been adequately described, the structure of the sentences

The apple was eaten by John.
The pear was eaten by Mary.

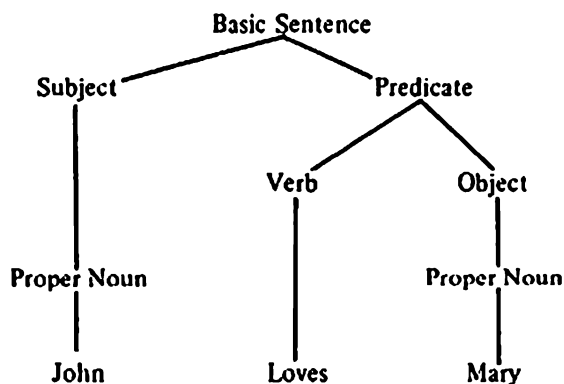
may be quite simply accounted for as a particular rearrangement of (and certain particular additions to) the elements of the first set of sentences. Similarly, the structure of the sentences

John ate the apple and Mary ate the pear.
John ate the apple; Mary, the pear.

may be quite simply accounted for as particular combinations of these elements. Elements of the sentence types considered basic serve, in short, as the building blocks with which the other sentence types of the language are constructed. It follows that a description of the grammatical structure of the basic sentence types will facilitate the description of the full range of sentence types that occur.

The outline of basic Tagalog sentence structures presented in this chapter is followed, in succeeding chapters, by a more detailed examination of certain components of basic sentences. The outline itself contains an ordered inventory of basic-sentence components, together with a preliminary discussion of the internal structure of the components and the kinds of meanings they express. The inventory moves from the more general to the more specific: that is, from the components that all Tagalog basic sentences have in common, to those that distinguish the various types and subtypes of basic sentences from one another.

The structure of a basic sentence may be viewed as a branching diagram. For example, the structure of the English basic sentence *John loves Mary* may be diagrammed as follows:



A diagram of this kind presents, as one moves from the top to the bottom, a number of progressively more specific characterizations of the structure of the sentence. Thus the most general characterization of the sentence above is that it is a basic sentence. Increasingly specific characterizations of the sentence, involving progressively more refined and limited components, are:

- a. Subject + Predicate
- b. Subject + Verb + Object
- c. Proper Noun + Verb + Proper Noun
- d. John + loves + Mary

Characterizations b, c, and d distinguish *John loves Mary* from progressively larger groups of English sentences. Thus while characterization a, Subject + Predicate, applies to a sentence like *John ran*, characterization b, Subject + Verb + Object, does not; and, while characterization b applies to a sentence like *John ate the apple*, characterization c, Proper Noun + Verb + Proper Noun, does not. Finally, characterization d distinguishes *John loves Mary* from all the other sentences of English.

Branching diagrams of the kind just illustrated are used from time to time in the course of the following presentation of Tagalog basic-sentence structure, both as a way of keeping track of the different sentence structures under description and as a way of representing graphically the hierarchical relations between the more general and the more specific components of basic sentences.

§2.2. The predicate-plus-topic structure.

The two most general components of Tagalog basic sentences – i.e., the two components that occur in all such sentences – are a PREDICATE and a TOPIC, which always appear in that order in basic sentences (but may occur in the reverse order in certain non-basic sentences – cf. §7.2.) (Certain basic sentences have a third component, an ADVERBIAL – cf. §2.17.) The topmost branching in a diagram of a Tagalog basic sentence is therefore:



The topic expresses the focus of attention in the sentence. In many cases it corresponds to the subject of an English sentence: e.g.,

Gumising ang bata. 'The child awoke.'

Here the topic, *ang bata* 'the child', corresponds perfectly to the subject of the equivalent English sentence, except for the fact that it follows, rather than precedes, the predicate.

But there are also many sentences in which a Tagalog topic is not translatable by an English subject, and, conversely, in which an English subject is not translatable by a Tagalog topic. Thus the Tagalog equivalent of the English sentence, 'A noise awakened the child', is

Ginising ng ingay ang bata.

In this sentence, the topic, *ang bata* 'the child', corresponds to the object of the English sentence, rather than the subject, while the English subject 'a noise', is translated by *ng ingay*, which is part of the Tagalog predicate.

One of the chief distinctions between the Tagalog topic and the English subject is that a topic never expresses a meaning of indefiniteness, while a subject may or may not. Thus, in general, when the subject of an English sentence includes an indefinite article (e.g., a, as in the previous example), it fails to correspond to the topic of its Tagalog translation-equivalent.

A second important difference between a topic and a subject lies in the semantic relations that the two have to a predicate verb. In the great majority of cases, the semantic relation of an English subject to its verb is the relation of performer to action. There are conspicuous exceptions, such as the passive, but the relation is valid often enough to have given rise to a generalization. In Tagalog, no such general semantic relation obtains between topic and verb – witness the sentences:

Sinulat ko ang liham.
Sinulatan ko ang titser.

'I wrote the letter.'
'I wrote to the teacher.'

The performer of the action is, in both these sentences, expressed by *ko* 'I', which is part of the predicate, while each of the topics – *ang liham* 'the letter', *ang titser* 'the teacher' – is in a different semantic relation to the verb. (The particular semantic relation of a topic to a verb is determined by the FOCUS of the verb – cf. §2.9.)

While the topics of Tagalog sentences occur in a variety of semantic relations to verbs, they have in common the fact that they express the focus of attention in the sentence. That is, each topic represents an object, person, idea, action, etc. that shares the attention of the speaker and his audience – something that is focused on by the sender and the receiver(s) of the message alike. This common focus may originate in any of a number of different ways. For example, the object, etc. may have been mentioned in the immediately preceding context:

(Nagluto ng pagkain ang lola.) Masarap ang pagkain.
'(Grandmother cooked some food.) The food was delicious.'

It may have been implied, rather than mentioned, in the preceding context:

(Pumunta sa Tagaytay ang klase.) Masaya ang biyahe.
'(The class went to Tagaytay.) The trip was enjoyable.'

Or it may be something in sight:

Dumarating na ang bus. 'The bus is coming now.'

The other component of a basic sentence, the predicate, represents what is said about the topic it precedes. In general the predicate offers new information to the listener, representing some object, person, idea, action, etc. that the speaker wants the listener to associate with the topic. While English predicates always include a verb, Tagalog predicates need not. Tagalog predicates are of three types: NOMINAL, ADJECTIVAL, and VERBAL; only the last of these includes a verb. Nominal, adjectival, and verbal predicates are illustrated, in that order, in the following examples:

Artista ang babae.	'The woman is an actress.'
Maganda ang babae.	'The woman is beautiful.'
Yumaman ang babae.	'The woman got rich.'

Tagalog sentences that include nominal or adjectival predicates may conveniently be grouped together into a single class of EQUATIONAL SENTENCES; sentences that include verbal predicates may be called NARRATIONAL SENTENCES. Tagalog equational sentences differ from their English translation-equivalents in the following principal ways: (1) the absence of a linking verb like English *be*; (2) the absence, in the case of indefinite nominal predicates, of an indefinite article like English *a/an*; (3) word order, the Tagalog predicate being sentence-initial, the English predicate sentence-final. The first of these differences applies in all cases: the equivalent of *be* in Tagalog is simply the equational structure itself, the nominal or adjectival predicate plus the topic. (An equational sentence may be translated with a present or a past form of English *be*, according to the context.) The second of the differences does not apply in the case of adjectival predicates (or in the case of marked-nominal or definite predicates – cf. §2.4 for a discussion of marked nominals, and §7.17 for a discussion of definitization of the predicate).

The third difference between Tagalog equational sentences and their English translation equivalents – word order – exists in the case of all basic equational sentences. But Tagalog does have certain non-basic sentence types, both equational and narrational, in which the topic precedes the predicate (cf. §7.2).

Tagalog narrational sentences fail to correspond to their English translation-equivalents in a variety of ways, some of which have already been mentioned. The difference between English and Tagalog in the order of the components of basic sentences obtains in the case of narrational, as in that of equational sentences. And, as was noted above, the subject of an English narrational sentence frequently corresponds to part of the Tagalog predicate.

But even where there is considerable surface correspondence between a Tagalog narrational sentence and its English counterpart, there is a fundamental, if subtle, difference between them. This difference has to do with the status of verbs and nouns in the two languages. The distinction between verbs and nouns in English is a basic and far-reaching one. English verbs and nouns occur in few, if any, of the same contexts. Tagalog verbs and nouns, on the other hand, have many contexts in common. Not only can both nouns and verbs serve as predicates, but there is virtually no context in which a noun occurs in which it cannot be replaced by a verb or verb phrase. Thus, for example, a verb like *yumaman* 'got rich' or a verb phrase like *nagluto ng pagkain* 'cooked some food' may, like a noun, occur in topic position after *ang*: e.g.,

Artista ang yumaman.
'The one who got rich is an actress.'

Artista ang nagluto ng pagkain.
'The one who cooked some food is an actress.'

(Sentences like these are not considered basic sentences; they are dealt with in detail in §3.24.) As the English translations show, English must add to or alter a verb or verb phrase in some way – 'one who got rich/cooked some food' – before it can serve as the subject of a sentence. Tagalog verbs and verb phrases, on the other hand, may occur unaltered in topic position – and, in fact, in virtually any other position in which nouns may occur.

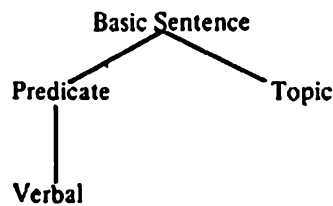
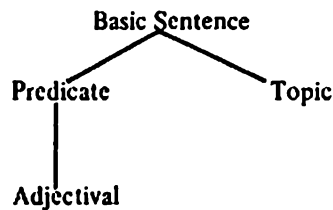
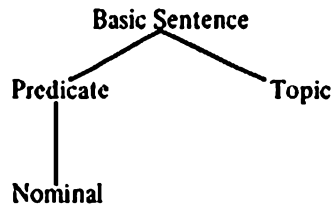
Tagalog verbs and verb phrases are, then, much more noun-like than are their English counterparts. It may, in fact, quite reasonably be argued that the distinction made above between equational and narrational sentences in Tagalog is a somewhat arbitrary one, and that all Tagalog basic sentences, including those here treated as narrational, are essentially equational in nature, involving a balancing of two elements – the predicate and the topic – against one another. Thus a sentence like *Gumising ang bata*, translated above as 'The child awoke', might be literally translated, to reveal its structure, 'The child is identified with a completed awakening'. That is, there is simply a balancing, as on a scale, of two equated elements: *ang bata* 'the child' and *gumising* 'awoke'. (Just how different this basic Tagalog sentence structure is from English may be seen by observing that all English sentences, including the equational ones with *be*, are essentially narrational in structure. In English syntax, *be* is simply the verb that is used when no other verb applies. Sentences such as 'He is a man', 'Mary is an intelligent woman', and so on, say no more, logically, than 'He/a man', 'Mary/an intelligent woman', but to be a complete sentence at all, the English sentence must contain a verb.)

While the distinction made in this presentation between equational and narrational sentences in Tagalog is somewhat arbitrary, there are several reasons for making it. In the first place, verbal predicates are distinguished from predicates of other kinds by the feature of ASPECT (cf. §2.7), which has a certain limited correspondence to TENSE in some other languages. Secondly, verbal predicates are distinguished from predicates of other kinds by the feature of FOCUS (cf. §2.10), which determines the semantic relation between a verbal predicate and its topic. And finally, sentences with verbal predicates have an inherent complexity that makes separate treatment of them, if not mandatory, certainly convenient.

Since there are several kinds of nominal predicates (cf. §2.4), many kinds of adjectival predicates, including adjective phrases (cf. §2.5), and an enormous complexity in verbal predicates (cf. §§2.6 through 2.15), it is clear that the core of Tagalog basic-sentence structure lies in the predicate. For this reason, and because the predicate is normally sentence-initial, it is treated before the topic in the following discussion.

§2.3. Types of predicates.

As noted in §2.2, there are three distinct types of predicates. They are represented in the three diagrams following:



Each of these three types of predicates has further subclasses; each must be developed. They are alternative choices, such that if the predicate is a nominal, it may not be an adjectival, if an adjectival, it may not be a verbal, etc. Certain subclasses of adjectivals and verbals, however, include nominals as components, and it is therefore convenient to present the nominal predicates first. This is done in §2.4. Adjectival predicates are presented in §2.5, and verbal predicates in §2.6 through 2.15.

§2.4. Nominal predicates.

Tagalog nominals, whether serving as predicates or occurring in other sentence positions, may be divided into two large classes: MARKED and UNMARKED. A marked nominal is a nominal whose function in a sentence is always explicitly indicated in one of the two following ways: (1) by the form of the nominal itself, or (2) by the form of a preceding MARKER. (A marker is a word that indicates the grammatical function of another word or group of words.) Tagalog has three types of marked nominals: PERSONAL PRONOUNS, DEICTIC PRONOUNS (sometimes called DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS), and PERSONAL NOUNS (in general, nouns that name specific persons). In the case of personal and deictic pronouns, the function of the pronoun in the sentence is always marked by its own form. In the case of personal nouns, the function of the noun in the sentence is always indicated by the form of a preceding marker.

Tagalog has eight personal pronouns and four deictic pronouns. Each of these pronouns occurs in one of three different forms according to its function in the sentence. (The preceding statement is a slight oversimplification in the case of the second-person-singular pronoun and that of the composite pronoun *kita*: cf. §3.3.) There are, of course, a great many personal nouns, but all are marked by a single set of three markers, one for each of three different kinds of sentence functions. (For the pluralization of these markers, cf. §3.9).

Complete lists of the forms of the deictic and personal pronouns are given in §§3.3 and 3.4 respectively. The personal-noun markers are summarized in §3.5. For present purposes, it is necessary to present only the forms that occur in predicate-nominal position. These are:

a). the following personal pronouns:

ako	'I'	kami	'I and others/we'
kata	'you and I/we'	tayo	'you and I (and others)/we'
ikaw	'you'	kayo	'you (and others)'
siya	'he/she'	silá	'he and others/she and others/they'

b). the following deictic pronouns:

ire	'this'	iyán	'that'
ito	'this'	iyón	'that'

(For meaning distinctions between *ire* and *ito* and between *iyán* and *iyón*, cf. §3.4).

c) the personal-noun marker *si*.

Some examples of basic sentences with marked nominals in predicate position are:

Siya ang Amerikano.	'He's the American.'
Iyan ang bahay.	'That's the house.'
Si Juan ang bunso.	'Juan's the youngest child.'

(Note that in the examples the marked-nominal predicate is translated by a subject in English. More precise but more awkward English equivalents might be 'The American is he', etc. In any case, the Tagalog sentences suggest contexts in which the predicates represent relatively new information – cf. §2.2).

All nominals other than personal and deictic pronouns and personal nouns are UNMARKED NOUNS. The function in a sentence of an unmarked noun is never explicitly indicated by the form of the noun itself, and is not always explicitly indicated by a preceding marker. Unmarked nouns do occur in many constructions after function-indicating markers (e.g., after the marker *ang* in topic position – cf. §2.16), but unlike personal nouns, unmarked nouns also occur in constructions without markers. One of these constructions is the nominal predicate.

An unmarked noun in predicate position usually expresses one of two kinds of general meanings: 'a member of the class _____' or 'the class _____'. These two kinds of meanings may be called INDEFINITE and GENERIC respectively. In English, these meanings are normally expressed by the choice of the article that precedes a noun or by the absence of an article before the noun: the articles *a/an*, and some are the usual signs of the indefinite; the absence of an article is a frequent sign of the generic. Note the English translations of the Tagalog unmarked-noun predicates in the following examples:

Isda ang bakalaw.	'The cod is a fish.'
Isda ang pagkain niya.	'His meal was some fish.'
Isda ang paborito niya.	'His favorite is fish.'

§2.5. Adjectival predicates.

Adjectival predicates are either ADJECTIVES or ADJECTIVE PHRASES. (The former are sometimes referred to in the course of this text as ONE-WORD ADJECTIVES.) In both English and Tagalog, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether a particular word is an adjective or a noun. For in both languages adjectives and nouns occur in many of the same contexts. For example:

Bato ang bahay.	'The house is stone.'
Bago ang bahay.	'The house is new.'

In the first sentence, the predicate *bato* 'stone' is an unmarked noun; in the second, the predicate *bago* 'new' is an adjective. Yet there is apparently nothing in these sentences (or in the forms of the two words) to justify such a distinction. The distinction is justified by the fact that there are certain other constructions in which *bago* may occur but *bato* may not. Thus, for example, there is a sentence:

Bagong-bago ang bahay. but there is no:	'The house is very new.'
*Batong-bato ang bahay.	*'The house is very stone.'

(An asterisk before a citation indicates ungrammaticalness.) In general, then, adjectives are distinguished from nouns by their ability to occur in certain constructions in which nouns do not occur. (A number of these constructions are dealt with in §4.12 through 4.16.) But there are still certain individual words, and even certain whole classes of words (e.g., the CARDINAL NUMBERS – cf. §4.4), which are here considered adjectives, but which might with equal justice be considered nouns, or possibly both adjectives and nouns.

Apart from numbers, Tagalog adjectives fall into two main classes: *ma-* ADJECTIVES AND UNAFFIXED ADJECTIVES. *Ma-* adjectives consist of the prefix *ma-* and a *ma-* ADJECTIVE BASE. (The *ma-* adjective base itself is often a noun.) Unaffixed adjectives, as the name suggests, have no prefix or suffix. Both *ma-* ADJECTIVES AND UNAFFIXED ADJECTIVES are divisible into further subclasses, and there are in addition a number of minor adjective classes whose members are neither *ma-* nor unaffixed adjectives. Details are presented in Chapter 4.

As was noted in §2.2, basic sentences with one-word-adjective predicates differ significantly from their English counterparts only in word order and in the absence in Tagalog of a word equivalent to English *be*. Some further examples of basic sentences with predicate adjectives are:

Mabuti ang panahon.	'The weather is good.'
Matamis ang kendi.	'(The) candy is sweet.'
Pagod ang bata.	'The child is tired.'

The English counterparts of Tagalog sentences with adjective-phrase predicates often include a form of *be* plus a prepositional phrase: e.g.,

Nasa kusina ang mesa.	'The table is in the kitchen.'
Para sa bata ang laruan.	'The toy is for the child.'
Tungkol sa giyera ang kuwento.	'The story is about the war.'

In some cases, however, the English counterparts include some verb other than *be*: e.g.,

May gulayan ang babae.	'The woman has a vegetable garden.'
Kailangan ko ang kuwalta.	'I need the money.'
Sa istudyante ang libro.	'The book belongs to the student.'

What distinguishes these adjective-phrase predicates from genuine verbal predicates is the fact that they are not marked for ASPECT (cf. §2.7). That is, they are not susceptible to variations in form correlated with variations in tense-like meaning.

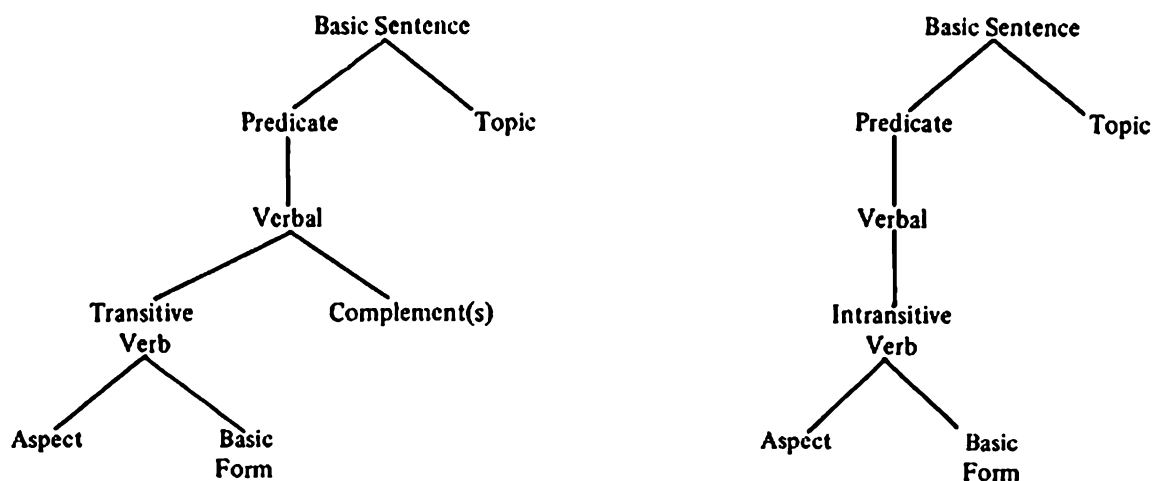
Tagalog has a good many different types of adjective phrases, the details of which are presented in §4.17 through 4.23. In these sections, certain single words that have semantic and distributional similarities to adjective phrases – rather than, say, to *ma-* adjectives or unaffixed adjectives – are dealt with together with the phrases they resemble. (Thus, for example, locative deictics like *narito* 'here' and *naroon* 'There' are dealt with together with locative phrases like *nasa kusina* 'in the kitchen'.

§2.6. Verbal predicates.

All Tagalog verbal constructions include a verb: a word that is capable of INFLECTION to indicate aspect. (By INFLECTION is meant systematic changes in the form of words correlated with systematic changes in meaning. Most English nouns, for example, are capable of inflection to indicate number: 'boy/boys', 'man/men', etc. Aspect is defined in §2.7.) In addition to the verb, many Tagalog verbal constructions include one or more COMPLEMENTS. A verb that accepts a complement in a basic sentence is called a TRANSITIVE VERB; a verb that does not accept a complement in a basic sentence is

called an **INTRANSITIVE VERB**. (The terms transitive and intransitive are applied somewhat differently in the case of **DERIVED VERBS**: verbs that occur only in derived sentences – cf. §5.1.) A transitive verb in a basic sentence always precedes its complement(s).

The verb itself, whether transitive or intransitive, has two components: its aspect and the **BASIC FORM** of the verb. The following diagrams show the structure of basic narrational sentences as summarized thus far:



§2.7. Aspect.

The Tagalog verb system includes no true tense distinctions like the English distinction between past and non-past: past as in 'He lived in Manila', 'He worked too hard', 'He left this morning'; non-past (present, habitual, or anticipated) as in 'He lives in Manila', 'He works too hard', 'He leaves this morning'. This English tense distinction, by means of which events are expressed as either limited or not limited to some time before the moment of speaking, has no genuine parallel in Tagalog.

But the English verb system makes certain other distinctions that do have Tagalog parallels: e.g., the distinction between events viewed as completed – 'He walked down the street' – and those viewed as on-going – 'He was walking down the street'. This type of distinction is a distinction of aspect.

For purposes of describing the Tagalog verb system, aspect may be defined as the characterization of an event as completed or not completed, and, if not completed, as begun or not begun. All Tagalog verbs are inflectable for three aspects: **PERFECTIVE**, **IMPERFECTIVE**, and **CONTEMPLATED**. The perfective aspect characterizes an event as completed, the imperfective as not completed but begun, and the contemplated as not begun. (Some verbs also occur in the **RECENT PERFECTIVE** aspect, which characterizes an event as recently completed. Recent perfective formations do not occur in basic sentences, and are discussed in §5.23.) Since these three aspects are not associated with a tense system (past/non-past), no one-to-one correspondences with English tense/aspect formations obtain. Each of the Tagalog aspects has several English equivalents. The closest equivalent in any case depends upon the semantic and structural context in which the verb occurs.

English has at least three different tense-aspect formations that may be used to report events as completed. One is the simple past, as in 'Mother cooked some food'. The second is the so-called present perfect, as in 'Mother has cooked some food'. And the third is the so-called past perfect, as in 'Mother had cooked some food (when I arrived)'. The Tagalog counterpart of all three of these formations is the perfective aspect – plus, in the case of the counterparts of the English present perfect and past perfect, the enclitic particle *na* (cf. §6.3):

Nagluto ng pagkain ang nanay.

'Mother cooked some food.'

Nagluto na ng pagkain ang nanay.

'Mother has cooked some food.'

Nagluto na ng pagkain ang nanay (noong dumating ako).

'Mother had cooked some food (when I arrived).'

English also has at least three different tense-aspect formations for reporting events as begun but not completed. If the event is recurrent, English uses the simple non-past: 'Mother cooks some food every day'. On-going events are represented by the non-past progressive or the past progressive: 'Mother is cooking some food'; 'Mother was cooking some food'. All three of these formations correspond to the Tagalog imperfective aspect:

Nagluluto ng pagkain ang nanay araw-araw.

'Mother cooks some food every day.'

Nagluluto (na) ng pagkain ang nanay.

'Mother is cooking some food (now).'

Nagluluto ng pagkain ang nanay (noong dumating ako).

'Mother was cooking some food (when I arrived).'

For reporting an event as not yet begun, English uses one of a number of non-past formations: 'Mother cooks/is cooking/will cook some food tomorrow'. The Tagalog counterpart of these various formations is the contemplated aspect:

Magluluto ng pagkain ang nanay bukas.

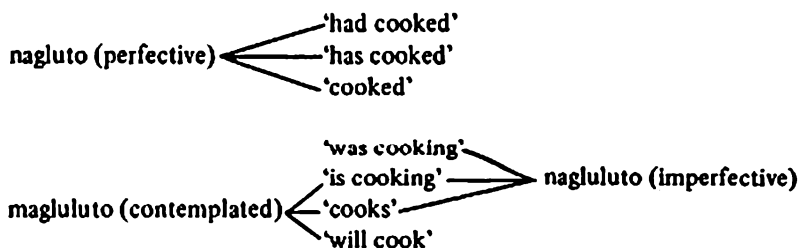
'Mother will cook (etc.) some food tomorrow.'

In addition to the correspondences already discussed between Tagalog aspect formations and English tense-aspect formations, there are certain others that are dealt with in connection with the particular constructions to which they are relevant (e.g., the correspondence dealt with in §6.3 between the Tagalog imperfective and the English present perfect with 'not yet':

Hindi pa nagluluto ng pagkain ang nanay.

'Mother has not cooked any food yet.'

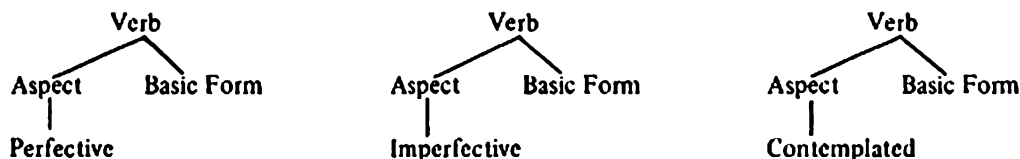
The already-discussed correspondences are summarized below:



The forms that mark the three aspects are set forth in detail in §§5.19 through 5.22. The forms differ according to the affix of the basic form of the verb. (Each basic form consists of an AFFIX and a BASE – cf. §2.8.) But certain features are quite consistently present. For example, the sign of incompleteness (which characterizes both the imperfective and the contemplated aspects) is

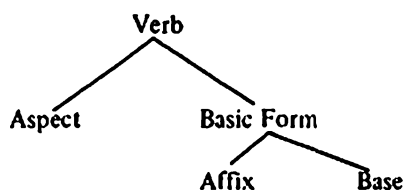
duplication: normally, prefixing of the first consonant and first vowel of the verb base to the base itself. Thus the imperfective *nagluluto* and the contemplated *magluluto* both show the duplicating syllable *lu* (/lu:/) before the base *luto* (/lu'to/), while the perfective *nagluto* lacks this syllable. Similarly, the two aspects that report events as having been begun (i.e., the imperfective and the perfective) are both marked, in most cases, by an affix that includes the phoneme /n/: thus, the begun *nagluluto* and *nagluto* versus the not-begun *magluluto*.

In summary, the aspect branch of a verb (transitive or intransitive) is developed in one of three ways:



§2.8. Basic Forms.

As was stated in §2.6, the second component of a verb (either transitive or intransitive) is a BASIC FORM. The basic form itself has two components: an affix – or, more precisely, the basic form of a affix – and a verb BASE. Thus:



The arrangement of aspect, affix, and base in the branching diagram above does not necessarily represent the sequence in which these elements occur in an actual verb form. As was noted in §2.7, the aspect may be signaled by a duplicating syllable that comes immediately before the base, by a change in the form of the affix, etc. Furthermore, the affix and the base may occur in any of three different order relations, according to whether the affix is a PREFIX, an INFIX, or a SUFFIX.

In basic forms, a prefix precedes a base, an infix follows the first consonant of a base, and a suffix follows the entire base. For example, the prefix *mag-* precedes the base *bakasyon* 'vacation' in the basic form *magbakasyon* 'have a vacation'; the infix *-um-* follows the first consonant of the base *liwanag* 'clearness' in the basic form *lumíwanag* 'become clear'; and the suffix *-in* follows the base *kalawang* 'rust' in the basic form *kalawangin* 'get rusty'. Note that the placement of the hyphen is used to indicate the position of the affix in relation to the base: a hyphen after the affix indicates that the affix is a prefix and precedes the base; hyphens on both sides of the affix indicate that the affix is an infix and is surrounded by the base; a hyphen before the affix indicates that the affix is a suffix and follows the base.

(When a base begins with a glottal stop, /ʔ/, the position of an infix after the first consonant is not reflected in conventional spelling, since the glottal stop itself is not symbolized. Thus with a base like *alis* /ʔalis/ 'departure', the infix *-um-* forms a basic form that is spelled *umalis* 'depart', and the spelling does not reveal the infixing process, although a phonemic respelling – /ʔumalis/ – does.)

Certain affixes, which may be called COMPLEX AFFIXES, consist of two or more distinct components, one of which may, for example, be a prefix and another a suffix. Thus the basic form *pagsulatan* 'write on' contains, in addition to the base *sulat* 'writing', the prefix *pag-* and the suffix *-an*. Such affixes are written with three dots separating the components: e.g., *pag- . . . -an*.

It is convenient to refer to verbs formed with a given affix by labels such as *mag-* verb (i.e., a verb formed with *mag-*), *-um-* verb (i.e., a verb formed with *-um-*), *-in* verb (i.e., a verb formed with *in*), etc. Such labels are used in this text primarily with reference to basic forms. Thus *magbakasyon* is a *mag-* verb because its basic form includes *mag-*. Similarly, the aspect-marked forms of verbs are sometimes referred to by such formulas as 'the imperfective form of a *mag-* verb', 'the contemplated form of an *-um-* verb', 'the perfective form of an *-in* verb', etc.

Of the many verbal affixes that occur in Tagalog, only a rather small subset occur in basic sentences. The affixes that do occur in basic sentences may be called MAJOR AFFIXES; the other affixes, DERIVED AFFIXES. (Verbs formed with major affixes are MAJOR VERBS; those formed with derived affixes, DERIVED VERBS. For a detailed treatment of the major affixes, cf. §5.2. The derived affixes – which, in general, may be predicted as occurring or not occurring with a given base once it is known what major affix(es) the base accepts – are presented in §5.8 through 5.16.)

The second component of a basic form, the base, is the part that expresses the core of meaning of the verb. This core of meaning is in some cases a particular type of activity or movement. For example, 'upward motion' is expressed by the base *akyat*, which occurs in basic forms such as *umakyat* 'climb' and *mag-akyat* 'move (something) upward'. In other cases, the core of meaning is a concrete entity (object, person, etc.) involved in the actions or events expressed by the basic form. Thus *anak* 'child, offspring' is the base of such basic forms as *manganak* 'give birth', and *ipanganak* 'be born'. Or the core of meaning may be an abstract quality: e.g., *ganda* 'beauty', which occurs as the base of such basic forms as *gumanda* 'become beautiful' and *gandahan* 'beautify'.

As the above examples show, a single base may be common to a number of different basic forms. These basic forms are differentiated from one another by the affixes with which the base occurs. There is no general rule for determining the affixes – at least, the major affixes – that a given base accepts. There are, however, relatively few major affixes, and they group themselves into certain sets, each member of which is accepted by the same bases. A base that occurs with a particular set of major affixes is said to belong to a particular AFFIX-CORRESPONDENCE CLASS. Many bases belong to more than one such class – that is, occur with more than one set of major affixes. Affix-correspondence classes are introduced in §2.12, and presented in detail in §§5.3 through 5.5.

§2.9. Focus.

As was mentioned in §2.2, FOCUS is the feature of a verbal predicate that determines the semantic relationship between a predicate verb and its topic. This feature of verbal predicates is associated with the verbal affix. Certain affixes, for example, characteristically form verbs that occur with topics that express the performer of the action while others characteristically form verbs that occur with topics that express the goal of the action. Thus *-um-* verbs normally occur with topics that express the performer of the action, *-in* verbs with topics that express the goal of the action: e.g.,

Bumabasa ng diyaryo ang titser.
'The teacher is reading a newspaper.'

Binabasa ng titser ang diyaryo.
'The teacher is reading the newspaper.'

In the first sentence, the topic *ang titser* 'the teacher', which expresses the performer of the action, is selected by the *-um-* verb *bumasa* (imperfective: *bumabasa*). In the second sentence, the topic *ang diyaryo* 'the newspaper', which expresses the goal of the action, is selected by the *-in* verb *basahin* (imperfective: *binabasa* – the suffix *-in* does not appear in imperfective or perfective forms of *-in* verbs: cf. §§5.20 and 5.21).

While all verbs, both transitive and intransitive, may be said to have focus, the focus of intransitive verbs, at least in basic sentences, shows relatively little variation. Most major intransitive verbs (i.e., intransitive verbs that occur in basic sentences) select topics that express the performer of the action:

Naghihulik ang lolo.
'Grandfather is snoring.'

Humihinga pa ang pasyente.
'The patient is still breathing.'

There are, however, certain major intransitive verbs that are essentially non-actional in character (e.g., *ma-* and *-um-* verbs of 'becoming' – see §5.6, classes c and b):

Nauuhaw ang sanggol.
'The baby is getting thirsty.'

Tumatanda ang aso.
'The dog is growing old.'

In the case of these verbs, it is difficult to decide on the appropriate interpretation of the semantic relation between the topic and the verb. But the correspondence of topic to performer in basic sentences with intransitive verbs as predicates is sufficiently widespread to permit a generalization to the effect that such intransitive verbs are normally ACTOR-FOCUS: i.e., select as topic the performer of the action of the verb.

No such generalization can be made in the case of major transitive verbs. While many of the transitive verbs that occur in basic sentences are actor-focus, an equal or greater number of such verbs select as topic something other than the performer of the action. Any verb that does not focus upon the actor may be called a GOAL-FOCUS verb.

Tagalog has at least eight different classes of goal-focus verbs. That is, the topic of a Tagalog sentence may be in any one of at least eight different kinds of semantic relation to the verb, apart from that of performer to action. Only two of these classes of goal-focus verbs, however, are found in basic sentences. These two classes are OBJECT-FOCUS verbs and DIRECTIONAL-FOCUS verbs.

The distinction between object-focus and directional-focus is in some cases closely matched by the distinction made between direct and indirect objects in English. In such cases, the object-focus verb focuses upon (i.e., selects as topic) the equivalent of the English direct object, while the directional-focus verb focuses upon the equivalent of the English indirect object: e.g.,

Ibinigay ng titser sa istudyante ang premyo.
'The teacher gave the student the prize.'

Binigyan ng titser ng premyo ang istudyante.
'The teacher gave the student a prize.'

In the first example, *ibinigay* is object-focus, and selects as topic the equivalent of the English direct object, *ang premyo* 'the prize'. In the second example, *binigyan* is directional-focus, and selects as topic the equivalent of the English indirect object, *ang istudyante* 'the student'.

When, however, only a single direct object occurs in the English equivalent of a goal-focus basic sentence, the verb in the Tagalog sentence is not invariably object-focus. For, although there are many cases of object-focus verbs that select as topic the equivalent of a single direct object in English, there are also cases of directional-focus verbs that do so. Thus the two sentences

Binili ng mangingisda ang bangka.
'The fisherman bought the boat.'

Sinalpok ng alon ang bangka.
'The wave struck the boat.'

both have as topics *ang bangka* 'the boat', which is the equivalent of the direct object in their English counterparts. But while *binili* in the first sentence is an object-focus verb, *sinalpok* in the second is directional-focus.

This distinction is not the arbitrary one it might appear to be. The distinction is based upon the kinds of complements (cf. §2.11) that occur in the actor-focus counterparts of the sentences. These actor-focus counterparts are:

Bumili ng bangka ang mangingisda.
'The fisherman bought a boat.'

Sumalpok sa bangka ang alon.
'The wave struck the boat.'

The complements in these two sentences are *ng bangka* and *sa bangka* respectively. It is this difference in the corresponding actor-focus sentences that underlies the distinction made between object-focus and directional-focus verbs. As a general rule, a goal-focus verb is considered object-focus if the topic that it selects corresponds to a complement formed with *ng* (*nak/*), in the actor-focus if the topic that it considered directional-focus if it corresponds to a complement formed with *sa* (*/sa/*) in the actor-focus counterpart. (For exceptions to this general rule, cf. §§2.11 and 5.25.)

While the object-focus/directional-focus distinction is not exclusively a semantic one, there are certain kinds of meanings that are typically associated with verbs that have one or the other of the focuses. One kind of semantic correlation has already been observed in the case of those verbs that correspond to certain English verbs that take both direct and indirect objects. (The Tagalog verbs in such cases are called **DOUBLE-OBJECT VERBS**.) In the case of goal-focus verbs that have only a single object in the English equivalents (**SINGLE-OBJECT VERBS**), the verbs that prove to be directional-focus are frequently those whose meanings involve some element of movement toward (or, in some cases, away from) the goal. Thus, in the above examples, *sinalpok* 'struck' involves an element of motion toward the topic, *ang bangka* 'the boat', that is absent in the case of *binili* 'bought'.

Many single-object directional-focus verbs, furthermore, are translated by English sentences without direct objects, with the topic of the Tagalog sentence corresponding to a prepositional object in the English equivalent: e.g.,

Binalikan niya ang Maynila.
'He returned to Manila.'

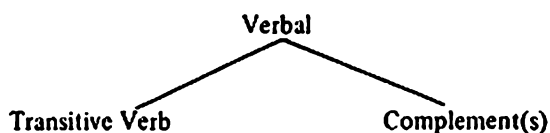
Tinakasan niya ang bilangguan.
'He escaped from the prison.'

Once more, directional-focus verbs of this kind usually have meanings that involve some element of motion.

Transitive verbs in basic sentences, then, have one of three focuses: actor-focus, object-focus, directional-focus. This variability of focus – a variability that is much more extreme if non-basic sentences are considered as well – is perhaps the most striking feature of Tagalog narrational sentences with transitive-verb predicates. A Tagalog sentence, a basic sentence at least, can have only one topic, the focus of attention of the sentence. In order to allow for elements in different semantic relations to the action expressed by the verb to receive this focus, the language provides all bases of transitive verbs with a set of alternative affixes, each member of which selects as topic an element in a different semantic relation to the action. A base that occurs with a given set of alternative affixes belongs to the affix-correspondence class defined by this set of affixes. An introduction to affix-correspondence classes is given in §2.12. First, however, the complement classes and complements of the transitive verb must be considered.

§2.10. Complement classes.

The second component of a verbal predicate that includes a transitive verb is the complement(s):



A complement expresses a person, thing, idea, etc., that is in a non-focus relation to the action expressed by the verb. (An element in a focus relation to the action is always expressed in the topic.)

As was stated in §2.9, major transitive verbs may be actor-focus, object-focus, or directional-focus. The type of complement(s) that a verb accepts varies with the focus of the verb. It also varies with the verb's **COMPLEMENT CLASS**.

Transitive verbs fall into one of three complement classes, according to the type of complement(s) they accept in actor-focus constructions. These classes may be called: **OBJECT VERBS**, **DIRECTIONAL VERBS**, and **DOUBLE-OBJECT VERBS**. (For certain purposes, the first two classes are sometimes

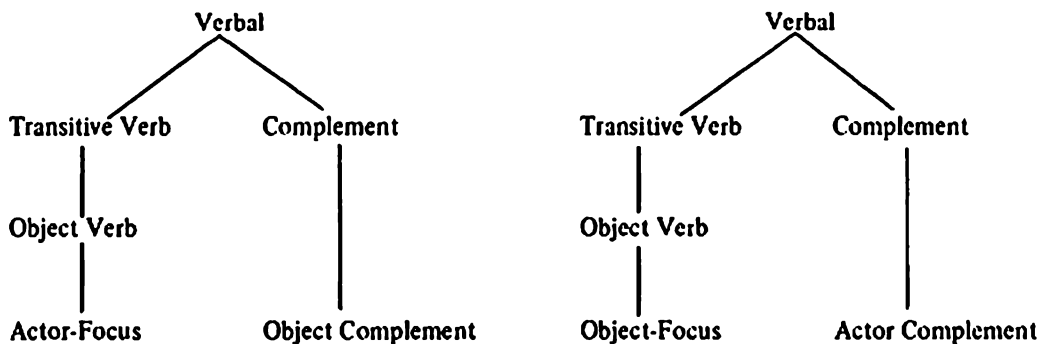
grouped together into a class of SINGLE-OBJECT VERBS.) Actor-focus object verbs accept an OBJECT COMPLEMENT (but not a DIRECTIONAL COMPLEMENT); actor-focus directional verbs accept a directional complement (but not an object complement); and actor-focus double-object verbs accept both an object complement and a directional complement.

Every transitive actor-focus verb has at least one goal-focus (object-focus and/or directional-focus) counterpart: i.e., a verb that expresses the same meaning as the actor-focus verb, but which requires that the goal of the action, rather than the performer, be expressed in topic position. Every actor-focus object verb has an object-focus counterpart; every actor-focus directional verb has a directional-focus counterpart; and every actor-focus double-object verb has both an object-focus and a directional-focus counterpart.

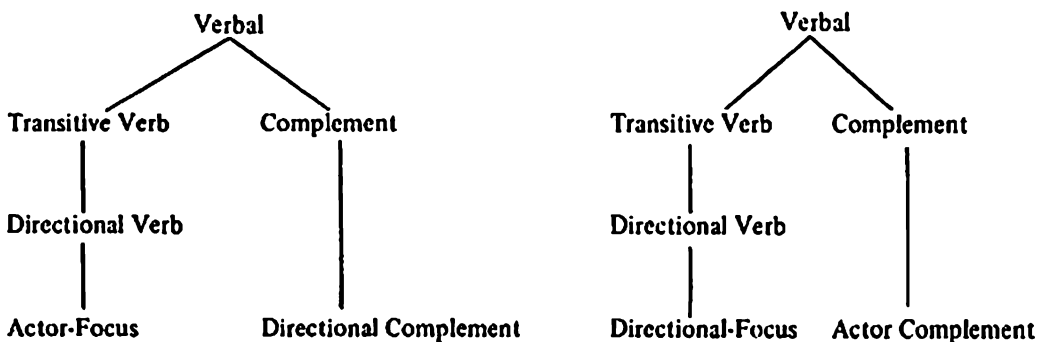
When a goal (either object or direction) is in focus, an actor is expressed by an ACTOR COMPLEMENT. In the case of single-object goal-focus verbs, this actor complement is the only complement. Double-object goal-focus verbs accept a second complement as well: a directional complement in the case of an object-focus verb, an object complement in the case of a goal-focus verb.

The relationships just outlined among complement class, focus of the verb, and complement type(s) are summarized in the following diagram. (For sentences illustrating the structures represented in these diagrams, cf. §2.12.)

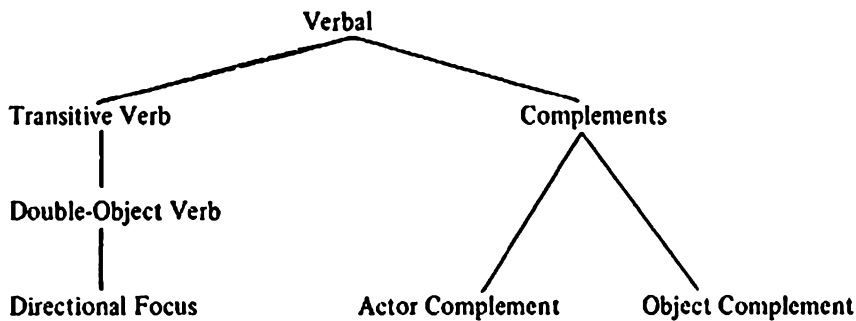
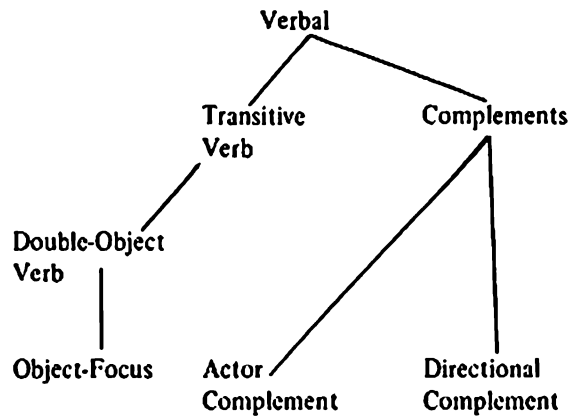
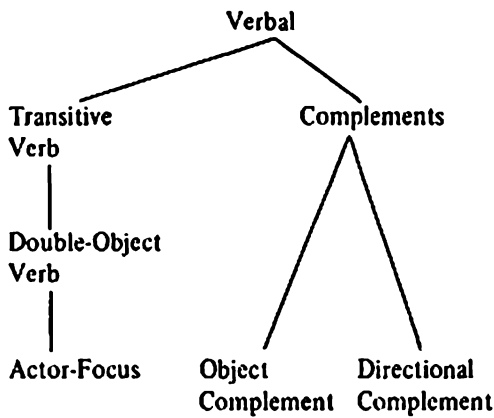
Object Verbs



Directional Verbs



Double-Object Verbs



Some complements are obligatory (i.e., they must always occur), others optional. In the case of most goal-focus verbs, the actor complement may be omitted, if the sentence expresses an action performed by unknown persons, or if the performer of the action is irrelevant. (When no actor complement is present, the sentence is often equivalent to an English passive without a by phrase.) Thus:

Kinain ang pagkain.
'The food was eaten.'

as well as:

Kinain ni Juan ang pagkain.
'Juan ate the food.'

(In the second sentence, *ni Juan* is an actor complement.) Similarly, many actor-focus verbs have optional object and/or directional complements. Thus:

Sumusulat ang istudyante.
'The student is writing.'

as well as:

Sumusulat ng liham sa titser ang istudyante.
'The student is writing a letter to the teacher.'

(In the second sentence, *ng liham* is an object complement, *sa titser* a directional complement.)

§2.11. Verbal complements in basic sentences.

The three kinds of verbal complements introduced in §2.10 are discussed below in the following order: (1) the actor complement; (2) the object complement; (3) the directional complement. The discussion covers only those forms of the complements that occur in basic sentences. (Those forms of the complements that do not occur in basic sentences – viz., the *sa*-pronoun actor complement and the *sa*-phrase object complement – are presented in §5.25.)

(1). The actor complement. An actor complement may occur with any object-focus or directional-focus verb, whether the verb is single-object or double-object. In basic sentences, the actor complement is expressed by a *ng* PHRASE. The term *ng* phrase designates the following structures: the marker *ng* (*/nak/*) plus an unmarked noun; the marker *ni* plus a personal noun; the *ng* form of a personal or deictic pronoun. (A *ng* form is so labeled because it occurs in some of the same contexts as structures that include *ng*.) The *ng* forms of the personal pronouns are:

ko	'I'	namin	'I and others/we'
nita	'you and I/we'	natin	'you and I (and others)/we'
mo	'you'	ninyo	'you (and others)'
niya	'he/she'	nila	'he and others/she and others/they'

The *ng* forms of the deictic pronouns are:

nire	'this'	niyan	'that'
nito	'this'	niyon/noon	'that'

Some examples of basic sentences with actor complements are:

Ginawa	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ng modista} \\ \text{ni Maria} \end{array} \right\}$	ang baro.
	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ko} \\ \text{nito} \end{array} \right\}$	
	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'The dressmaker} \\ \text{'Maria} \end{array} \right\}$	made the dress.'
	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'I} \\ \text{'This one} \end{array} \right\}$	
Pinuntahan	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ng bus} \\ \text{ni Pedro} \end{array} \right\}$	ang Baguio.
	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mo} \\ \text{niyan} \end{array} \right\}$	
	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'The bus} \\ \text{'Pedro} \end{array} \right\}$	went to Baguio.'
	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'You} \\ \text{'That one} \end{array} \right\}$	
Iniabot	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ng bata} \\ \text{ni Mr. Cruz} \end{array} \right\}$	sa Nanay ang asin.
	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{niya} \\ \text{noon} \end{array} \right\}$	
	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'The child} \\ \text{'Mr. Cruz} \end{array} \right\}$	passed Mother the salt.'
	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'He} \\ \text{'That one} \end{array} \right\}$	

An actor complement that consists of *ng* plus an unmarked noun is sometimes translated in English by a definite noun phrase (i.e., a phrase introduced by 'the'), sometimes by an indefinite noun phrase (i.e., a phrase introduced by 'a/an' or 'some'). This:

Ginising ng ingay ang bata.

may mean either 'A noise awakened the child' or 'The noise awakened the child'. (In most cases, however, a *ng*-plus-unmarked-noun actor complement in itself suggests a meaning of definiteness, and indefiniteness is indicated unambiguously only by the insertion of *isa* 'one/a' plus the linker *na/ng* (cf. §3.11) before the noun. Thus:

Ginawa ng modista ang baro.
'The dressmaker made the dress.'

but:

Ginawa ng isang modista ang baro.
'A dressmaker made the dress.'

Marked-noun actor complements are necessarily definite, because of the definite meanings of marked nouns themselves.

(2). **The object complement.** An object complement may occur with an actor-focus object verb or double-object verb or with a directional-focus double-object verb. In basic sentences, the object complement is expressed by a *ng* phrase, which must be either *ng* plus an unmarked noun or the *ng* form of a deictic pronoun. (Personal pronouns and personal nouns do not occur as object complements in basic sentences. Their occurrence as object complements in certain derived sentences is discussed in §5.25.)

Some examples of basic sentences with object complements are:

Pumili	{ ng estudyante } { noon }	ang titser.
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'The teacher chose	{ a student.' } { some of that.' }	
--------------------	---------------------------------------	--

Nagdala	{ ng pagkain } { nito }	sa handaan ang Nanay.
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'Mother brought	{ some food } { some of this }	to the party.'
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Inabutan ko	{ ng karne } { niyan }	ang bisita.
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'I passed	{ some meat } { some of that }	to the guest.'
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An object complement that consist of *ng* plus an unmarked noun is normally indefinite in meaning, and is translated by an English noun phrase that includes an indefinite article. The *ng* form of a deictic pronoun also has, as object complement, an indefinite meaning: e.g., 'some of this/that'.

(3). **The directional complement.** A directional complement may occur with an actor-focus directional verb or double-object verb, or with an object-focus double-object verb. The directional complement is expressed by a *sa* PHRASE. The term *sa* phrase designates the following structures: the marker *sa* plus an unmarked noun or plus the *sa* form of a personal pronoun; the marker *kay* plus a personal noun; the *sa* form of a deictic pronoun. (A *sa* form is so labeled because it occurs in some of the same contexts as structures that include *sa*.) The *sa* forms of the personal pronouns are:

akin	'me'	amin	'me and others/us'
kanita	'you and me/us'	atin	'you and me (and others)/us'
iyo	'you'	inyo	'you (and others)'
kaniya	'him/her'	kanila	'him and others/her and others/them'

The *sa* forms of the deictic pronouns are:

dine	'this/here'	divan	'that/there'
dito	'this/here'	doon	'that/there'

Some examples of basic sentences with directional complements are:

Bumalik	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{sa gusali} \\ \text{kay Fely} \\ \text{sa kanila} \\ \text{dito} \end{array} \right\}$	ang bata.
'The child returned	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{to the building.}' \\ \text{to Fely.}' \\ \text{to them.}' \\ \text{here.}' \end{array} \right\}$	
Nagbigay ng pera	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{sa pulubi} \\ \text{kay Fred} \\ \text{sa amin} \\ \text{diyan} \end{array} \right\}$	ang tatay.
'Father gave	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{the beggar} \\ \text{Fred} \\ \text{us} \\ \text{that one} \end{array} \right\}$	some money.'
Inihagis ko	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{sa aso} \\ \text{kay Carmen} \\ \text{sa inyo} \\ \text{doon} \end{array} \right\}$	ang bola.
'I threw the ball	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{to the dog.}' \\ \text{to Carmen.}' \\ \text{to you.}' \\ \text{there.}' \end{array} \right\}$	

A directional complement that consists of *sa* plus an unmarked noun may in most cases be translated with either a definite or indefinite noun phrase in English. (To express a meaning of indefiniteness unambiguously within a *sa* complement, *isa* 'one/a' plus the linker *na/ng* (cf. §3.11) is inserted before the noun. Thus:

Bumalik sa isang gulsali ang bata.
'The child returned to a building.'

To express a meaning of definiteness unambiguously within a *sa* complement, the noun within the *sa* complement is modified in some way (cf. §3.11, ff.). Thus:

Bumalik sa gusaling iyon ang bata.
'The child returned to that building.'

Since the topic usually corresponds to a definite noun phrase in English and a directional complement frequently does so, it is not always easy for an English translation to reveal the difference between an actor-focus construction with a directional complement and a directional-focus construction with an actor complement. For example, the Tagalog equivalent of 'The child returned to the building' may be either an actor-focus construction with a directional complement:

Bumalik sa gusali ang bata.

or a directional-focus construction with an actor complement:

Binalikan ng bata ang gusali.

The two Tagalog sentences differ in focus, in the element that is the center of attention. While a difference of this kind may be shown in English – e.g., by intonation ('The *child* returned to the building' versus 'The child returned to the *building*'), there are many cases in which, in fact, it is not shown.

Like directional topics, directional complements are frequently translated by prepositional phrases in English. The particular preposition used in English depends upon the verb in the Tagalog sentence. The *sa* phrase may be translated by an English phrase with 'to', 'from', 'on', 'into', etc.: e.g.,

Pumunta sa palengke ang bata.
'The child went to the market.'

Tumakas sa bilangguan ang bilanggo.
'The prisoner escaped from the prison.'

Umupo sa silya ang ale.
'The lady sat on the chair.'

Naghagis ng bato sa tubig ang bata.
'The child threw a stone into the water.'

§2.12. Affix-correspondence classes.

An affix-correspondence class is a class to which a verb base is assigned by virtue of its co-occurrence with a set of two or more major affixes (called an AFFIX SET) in major transitive verbs of differing focus but otherwise identical meaning. A fuller statement of affix-correspondence classes is to be found in §§5.3 through 5.5. The present section presents only a few of the classes, by way of illustration.

Every affix set includes an actor-focus affix (i.e., an affix which, together with a base and an aspect, forms an actor-focus verb). In addition to the actor-focus affix, the affix set may include an object-focus affix, a directional-focus affix, or both.

The affix-correspondence classes to be illustrated below involve the following five affixes: *-an*, *i-*, *-in*, *mag-*, and *-um-*. Two of these affixes, *mag-* and *-um-*, form actor-focus verbs; one, *i-*, forms object-focus verbs; and two, *-in* and *-an*, form either object-focus or directional-focus verbs. (The affix *i-* also occurs as a derived affix – cf. §5.17.)

In the illustrations, the single-object verbs are identified by two affixes, the first of which is an actor-focus affix, the second an object-focus or directional-focus affix, according to whether the class is an object-verb class or directional-verb class. Thus a base in the *mag-/i-* object-verb class forms an actor-focus verb with *mag-*, an object-focus verb with *i-*; a base in the *-um-/an* directional-verb class forms an actor-focus verb with *-um-*, a directional-focus verb with *-an*. Double-object verbs are identified by three affixes: actor-focus, object-focus, and directional-focus, in that order. Thus a base in the *mag-/i-/an* class forms an actor-focus verb with *mag-*, and object-focus verb with *i-*, and a directional-focus verb with *-an*. Three classes each of object verbs, directional verbs, and double-object verbs are illustrated. The abbreviations AF, OF, and DF precede sentences involving actor-focus, object-focus, and directional-focus verbs respectively.

The three classes of object verbs chosen for purposes of illustration are: the *mag-/an* class, the *mag-/i-* class, and the *-um-/in* class. Examples are:

1. *mag-/an*

AF Naghugas ng pinggan ang bata.
'The child washed a plate.'

OF Hinugasan ng bata ang pinggan.
'The child washed the plate.'

2. *mag-/i-*

AF Maghahanda ng pagkain ang katulong.
'The servant will prepare some food.'

OF Ihahanda ng katulong ang pagkain.
'The servant will prepare the food.'

3. *-um-/in*

AF Bumabasa ng nobela ang guro.
'The teacher is reading a novel.'

OF Binabasa ng guro ang nobela.
'The teacher is reading the novel.'

The three classes of directional verbs chosen for purposes of illustration are: the *mag-/in* class, the *-um-/an* class, and the *-um-/in* class. Examples are:

1. *mag-/in*

AF Nagmamahal sa dalaga ang binata.
'The young man loves the young woman.'

DF Minamahal ng binata ang dalaga.
'The young man loves the young woman.'

2. *-um-/an*

AF Tumulong sa babae ang bata.
'The child helped the woman.'

DF Tinulungan ng bata ang babae.
'The child helped the woman.'

3. *-um-/in*

- AF Sumagot sa propesor ang istudyante.
'The student answered the professor.'
- DF Sinagot ng istudyante ang propesor.
'The student answered the professor.'

The three classes of double-object verbs chosen for purposes of illustration are: the *mag-/i-/an* class, the *mag-/in/-an* class, and the *-um-/in/-an* class. Examples are:

1. *mag-/i-/an*

- AF Maglalakip ng kuwalta sa sulat ang istudyante.
'The student will enclose some money in the letter.'
- OF Ilalakip ng istudyante sa sulat ang kuwalta.
'The student will enclose the money in the letter.'
- DF Lalakipan ng istudyante ng kuwalta ang sulat.
'The student will enclose some money in the letter.'

2. *mag-/in/-an*

- AF Magdadala ng regalo sa bata ang ina.
'The mother will bring a gift to the child.'
- OF Dadalhin ng ina sa bata ang regalo.
'The mother will bring the gift to the child.'
- DF Dadalhan ng ina ng regalo ang bata.
'The mother will bring a gift to the child.'

3. *-um-/in/-an*

- AF Bumili ng libro sa tindahan ang maestro.
'The teacher bought a book from the store.'
- OF Binili ng maestro sa tindahan ang libro.
The teacher bought the book from the store.'
- DF Binilhan ng maestro ng libro ang tindahan.
'The teacher bought a book from the store.'

§2.13. The topic.

As was stated in §2.2, the topic is the second major component of a basic sentence. The topic of a basic sentence is expressed by an *ang* PHRASE. *Ang* phrase is a cover term for the following structures: *ang* plus an unmarked noun; *si* plus a personal name; the *ang* form of a personal or deictic pronoun. (An *ang* form is so labeled because it occurs in some of the same contexts as structures that include *ang*.) The *ang* forms of personal and deictic pronouns, which also occur as nominal predicates, have been presented in §2.4. There is only one case in which the predicate and topic *ang* forms differ from one another. This is the case of 'you (singular)', which is expressed by *ikaw* in predicate position, by *ka* in topic position (e.g., *Matalino ka* 'You're intelligent' versus *Ikaw and matalino* 'The intelligent one is you').

To summarize:

⋮ Topic	⋮ Topic	⋮ Topic	⋮ Topic
<i>ang</i> Unmarked Noun	<i>si</i> Personal Name	Personal Pronoun (<i>ang</i> form)	Deictic Pronoun (<i>ang</i> form)

In basic sentences the topic commonly follows the entire predicate. If, however, the topic is the *ang* form of a personal pronoun and the predicate is a phrase (e.g., an adjectival phrase or a transitive-verb-plus-complement phrase), the pronoun usually must follow the first word of the predicate, rather than the entire predicate. (More precisely, the pronoun follows the first word other than a NON-PRE-ENCLITIC. For a detailed discussion of the sentence positions occupied by personal pronouns, cf. §3.29.) Thus the topic *ako* 'I' in the following sentence appears immediately after the predicate verb and precedes the complement of the verb:

Bumili ako ng bigas.
'I bought some rice.'

Compare this sentence to:

Bumili ng bigas	{	ang babae. si Rosa. iyon.
'The woman 'Rosa 'That one	}	bought some rice.'

In these sentences the topics (*ang babae*, *si Rosa*, *iyon*) occur in a common basic-sentence position: after the entire predicate. But there is no parallel construction with a personal pronoun topic: **Bumili ng bigas ako* does not occur.

In cases where the predicate includes a goal-focus verb and the *ng* form of a pronoun as actor complement, an *ang*-pronoun topic normally follows the *ng* pronoun rather than the verb, but still precedes any other complement. Thus:

Binigyan mo ako ng salapi.
'You gave me some money.'

This order – verb + *ng* pronoun + *ang* pronoun – is obligatory if the *ng* pronoun is monosyllabic (*ko* or *mo*) and the *ang* pronoun is disyllabic (i.e., any *ang* pronoun except *ka*). There is no:

*Binigyan ako mo ng salapi.

If the *ng* pronoun and the *ang* pronoun are both disyllabic, the order *ng* pronoun + *ang* pronoun is merely preferred, and the reverse order also occurs. Thus:

Binigyan	{	nila ako ako nila	ng salapi.
'They gave me some money.'			

If, on the other hand, the *ng* pronoun is disyllabic and the *ang* pronoun is the monosyllabic *ka*, *ka* precedes the *ng* pronoun. Thus:

Binigyan ka nila ng salapi.
'They gave you some money.'

Finally, if both the *ng* pronoun and the *ang* pronoun are monosyllabic – *ko* and *ka* are the only potential combination that fits the description – a special composite pronoun *kita*, which has the meaning 'I (actor)-you (goal)', is used: e.g.,

Binigyan kita ng salapi.
'I gave you some money.'

In all cases, the topic pronoun obligatorily precedes any complement other than a *ng* pronoun. There is, for example, no:

*Binigyan nila ng salapi ako.

(Topics other than personal pronouns may actually, in most cases, either precede or follow a verb complement that is not a *ng* form of a personal pronoun. Thus, in addition to the sentences listed earlier, there are sentences like

Bumili	{ ang babae si Rosa iyon }	ng bigas.
	{ 'The woman 'Rosa 'That one }	bought some rice.'

in which the topic precedes the complement, and in which the meaning is not affected by the change of word order. The order of components in basic sentences is further discussed in §2.15.)

Certain types of predicates either optionally or obligatorily occur in constructions without topics. These constructions are equivalent to certain English constructions that begin with 'it is/was' or 'there is/was': e.g.,

Umuulan.	'It's raining.'
May libro sa mesa.	'There's a book on the table.'

They are dealt with in the appropriate sections of subsequent chapters. (A distinction should be made between genuinely topicless constructions like those just exemplified, and constructions with deleted topics like the second sentence in:

Ano iyon?	Bola (iyon).
'What's that?	(That's) a ball.'

In genuinely topicless constructions, either there is no possibility of a topic or the addition of a topic radically changes the meaning: e.g.,

May salapi sa bangko.
'There's money in the bank.'

but:

May salapi sa bangko si Juan.
'Juan has money in the bank.'

§2.14. Adverbials.

A basic sentence may include, in addition to the predicate and the topic, one or more ADVERBIALS. Unlike the predicate and the topic themselves, adverbials are optional components of basic sentences. That is, no basic sentence is incomplete for want of an adverbial, nor is the deletion of an adverbial implied by its absence.

Adverbials that occur in basic sentences are divisible into two main classes: ENCLITIC PARTICLES and MOVABLE ADVERBS. The enclitic particles are a small but important class of words that occur in certain fixed word-order relations to other sentence elements. In general, enclitic particles occur after the first word of a sentence (or, in non-basic sentences, the first word of a clause), whether this word constitutes the entire predicate, a part of the predicate, or some other sentence element. In the following three sentences, for example, the enclitic particle *daw/raw* 'they say' occurs respectively, after a nominal predicate, the verb of a verbal predicate, and the negative word *hindi* (cf. §7.13):

Doktor daw ang bisita.	'They say the guest is a doctor.'
Pumupunta raw sa Maynila ang bus.	'They say the bus goes to Manila.'
Hindi raw doktor ang bisita.	'They say the guest isn't a doctor.'

Tagalog has some eighteen enclitic particles, including several (e.g., the interrogative particle *ba* – cf. §6.4) that do not occur in sentences here classified as basic sentences. Some of these enclitic particles (e.g., *na* 'already/now' and *pa* 'still/yet') are mutually exclusive: that is, they do not occur in the same clause. Others have a fixed or preferred word-order relation to one another. And all have a fixed word-order relation to *ng* forms of personal pronouns serving as actor complements and to non-initial *ang* forms of personal pronouns. (A detailed treatment of the enclitic particles is to be found in §§6.2 through 6.6.)

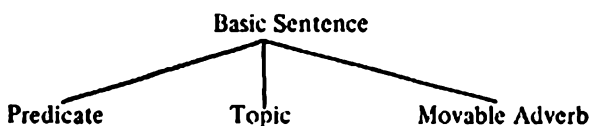
The second major type of adverbial that occurs optionally in basic sentences, the movable adverb, may be a word – e.g., *ngayon* 'today' – or a phrase – e.g., *kung Lunes* 'on Mondays'. Movable adverbs differ from enclitic particles in that they do not, in general, have a fixed word-order relation to other sentence elements. *Kung Lunes*, for example, may be added at any of the three different points to the sentence

Pumapasok sa eskuwela si Juan.
'Juan goes to school.'

without difference of meaning. Thus:

Pumapasok kung Lunes sa eskuwela si Juan.
Pumapasok sa eskuwela kung Lunes si Juan.
Pumapasok sa eskuwela si Juan kung Lunes.
'Juan goes to school on Mondays.'

(*Kung Lunes* may also appear at the beginning of the sentence, but in this position it has emphatic or contrastive meaning – cf. §7.2.) All of the above sentences may be considered basic sentences. For the sake of simplicity, however, the order represented in the third sentence may conveniently be given priority over the others, so that the structure of a basic sentence that includes a movable adverb may be diagrammed as follows:



(See §2.15 for a further treatment of the order of movable adverbs in basic sentences, and §§6.7 through 6.11 for a presentation of the various classes of movable adverbs.)

In addition to enclitic particles and movable adverbs there are several minor adverbial classes. Details are presented in Chapter 6.

§2.15. Order of components in basic sentences.

In English, the components of basic sentences occur in a more or less fixed order. Thus, in a sentence like 'The man gave the woman a book', no change of order is possible without producing an ungrammatical sentence or a sentence with a different meaning. The order of components in Tagalog basic sentences is considerably less fixed. In many cases, the components of a basic sentence may occur in two or more different orders without loss of grammaticalness or change of meaning. Thus, the following six sentences include exactly the same components, are equally grammatical, and are identical in meaning:

Nagbigay ng libro sa babae ang lalaki.
 Nagbigay ng libro ang lalaki sa babae.
 Nagbigay sa babae ng libro ang lalaki.
 Nagbigay sa babae ang lalaki ng libro.
 Nagbigay ang lalaki ng libro sa babae.
 Nagbigay ang lalaki sa babae ng libro.
 'The man gave the woman a book.'

(There are also other possible arrangements of the components of the above sentences: e.g.,

Sa babae nagbigay ng libro ang lalaki.
 'It was the woman that the man gave a book to.'

As the translation shows, however, this sentence is not identical in meaning with those given above. Rearrangements of sentence components that are associated with some change of meaning are discussed in §7.2.)

In the preceding sections of this chapter, only certain of the possible arrangements of the components of Tagalog basic sentences are presented. (The arrangements presented in these sections are chosen to facilitate the explanation of the structural relations of the components to one another, but are not necessarily more common than certain other arrangements.) The previously presented component-arrangements may be summarized as follows:

Nominal	
Adjectival	
Intransitive Verb	+ Topic (+ Movable Adverb)
Transitive Verb + Complement(s)	

The other possible component-arrangements that occur in basic sentences may be explained as follows:

- (1) A movable adverb may, in general, immediately precede a topic and/or any complement.
- (2) A topic may, in general, immediately precede any complement.
- (3) Two complements (of a double-object verb – cf. §2.10) may, in general, occur in either order.

(Exceptions to the above generalizations are found in the behavior of enclitic personal pronouns – cf. §3.29. Hereafter, the word *adverb* is used in place of *movable adverb*.) Thus the component-classes separated by slashes in the following formulas may, in general, occur in any order:

- (a)

Nominal	}	+ Topic/Adverb
Adjectival		
Intransitive Verb		
- (b) Transitive Verb + Complement/Topic
- (c) Transitive Verb + Complement/Topic/Adverb
- (d) Transitive Verb + Complement₁/Complement₂/Topic
- (e) Transitive Verb + Complement₁/Complement₂/Topic/Adverb

topic. In the second sentence, the topic (*iyon*) is shorter than the complement and precedes it. Similarly, a one-word adverb – e.g., *bukas* ‘tomorrow’ – is more likely to precede a topic than is a multi-word adverb – e.g., *nang alas dos y medya* ‘at two-thirty’. Thus the first of the following sentences represents a more common sentence-type than does the second:

Darating bukas si Maria.
'Maria is coming tomorrow.'

Darating nang alas dos y medya si Maria.
'Maria is coming at two-thirty.'

(This tendency of short components to precede long components is particularly apparent in derived sentences, in which the length differences between components may be more striking. Thus the placement of the adverb (BUKAS) before the expanded topic (*ang isang babaeng*, etc.) in the following sentence represents a very much more likely ordering of components than would the reverse:

Darating bukas ang isang babaeng nakilala ko sa probinsya.
'A woman I met in the provinces is coming tomorrow.')

CHAPTER 3

Nominals and Their Expansions

§3.1. Introduction.

The preceding chapter introduced four major classes of sentence components: **NOMINALS**, **ADJECTIVALS**, **VERBALS**, and **ADVERBIALS**. The present chapter and the three that follow it examine these classes in detail. In each case, information is given not only about the members of the class that occur in basic sentences, but also about certain **EXPANSIONS** of the class and certain other **DERIVED CONSTRUCTIONS** relevant primarily to the class.

An **EXPANSION** is a structure that does not itself occur in basic sentences, but that occurs in some or all of the same contexts as a particular class of basic-sentence components. An expansion of a component class may consist of a member of the class plus some other structural element(s), or it may consist of a structure that entirely replaces a member of the class. For example, an English noun phrase like 'a question', which occurs in a basic sentence like 'The man asked the woman a question', may be replaced by such constructions as 'a difficult question' and 'what to do': 'The man asked the woman a difficult question', 'the man asked the woman what to do'. Both constructions may be considered expansions of the noun phrase. In one case, 'a difficult question', the noun phrase itself appears in the expansion; in the other, 'what to do', it does not.

A **DERIVED CONSTRUCTION** is any construction that does not itself occur in a basic sentence, but that is related to a construction that does so occur. An expansion, therefore, is one type of derived construction. There are, however, other types. For example, 'The woman was asked a question by the man' may be considered to be derived from 'The man asked the woman a question', yet does not include any expansions.

Derived constructions of the type just exemplified, which show, rather than an expansion, a rearrangement of sentence components and/or the addition and/or the deletion of components, are discussed in one of two places in the present text. If the derived construction is best understood in relation to a particular class of basic-sentence components, it is discussed in connection with that class in Chapters 3, 4, 5, or 6. If, on the other hand, the derived construction is not relevant primarily to a particular class of basic-sentence components, it is discussed in Chapter 7, **DERIVED AND MINOR SENTENCE STRUCTURES**. Thus, for example, the various derived verb focuses (benefactive focus, causative focus, etc.) are dealt with in Chapter 5, **VERBALS AND THEIR EXPANSIONS**, since they are best understood in relation to the class of verbal structures, while negation, a general phenomenon that is pertinent to a number of different component-classes and structure types, is dealt with in Chapter 7.

The present chapter is arranged as follows. §§3.2 through 3.8 deal with the various classes of nominal words that occur in Tagalog: marked nouns (3.2), personal pronouns (3.3), deictic pronouns (3.4), personal nouns (3.5), unmarked nouns (3.6), derived noun formations (3.7), and nominal compounds (3.8). §3.9 is concerned with the pluralization of nominals, §3.10 with coordinate nominal constructions. Modification constructions other than possessive modification constructions are presented in §§3.11 through 3.19; possessive modification constructions are presented in §3.20. Reflexive and intensive nominal constructions are presented in §3.21, limiters and limited nominal constructions in §3.22, and *ng* phrases of specification in §3.23. The next five sections are concerned with various types of nominalizations: nominalized adjectivals and verbals (3.24), nominalized basic forms (3.25), gerunds (3.26), nominalized verb bases (3.27), and nominal clauses (3.28). §3.29 deals with enclitic personal pronouns.

§3.2. Marked nouns.

As was stated in §2.4, a **MARKED NOUN** is so called because its sentence function is always marked, either by its own form or by the form of a preceding marker. Every marked noun occurs in three different forms or with three different markers, each form or marker indicating a particular set of sentence functions. The three forms (of the marked noun itself or of the preceding marker) are called: the *ang* form, the *ng* form, and the *sa* form. *Ang* forms (or nouns preceded by *ang*-form markers) occur as predicates or topics; *ng* forms (or nouns preceded by *ng*-form markers) occur as verb complements or possessive modifiers (see §3.19), and in general, in all other contexts in which *ng*-plus-unmarked-noun phrases may occur; *sa* forms (or nouns preceded by *sa*-form markers) occur as verb complements, as possessive predicates or modifiers (cf. §§4.22 and 3.19), and, in general, in all other contexts in which *sa*-plus-unmarked-noun phrases may occur.

Tagalog has three classes of marked nouns: personal pronouns, deictic pronouns, and personal nouns. They are presented below in that order.

§3.3. Personal pronouns.

The forms of the personal pronouns are given in Chart 7. On the chart, the pronouns are arranged in two groups: NON-PLURAL and PLURAL. (The first group is called non-plural rather than singular because it included dual pronouns, meaning literally 'you (singular) and I'. The plural pronouns have, as a group, the meanings of the corresponding non-plural pronouns with the additional meaning 'and others' (or 'and another'): thus the first-person plural is literally 'I and others', the dual plural 'you (singular) and I and others', etc. For each pronoun, both the conventional spellings and a phonemic transcription are given. For the sake of simplicity, only subject pronouns (e.g., 'I') are shown in the English translations, although in many cases an *ang* form may actually correspond to an English object pronoun (e.g., 'me'), a *ng* form to a possessive pronoun (e.g., 'my', 'mine'), and a *sa* form to either an object pronoun or a possessive pronoun. The translations on the chart are, in any case, only approximate. (See below for details about the use and English equivalents of the Tagalog pronouns.)

CHART 7
PERSONAL PRONOUNS

NON-PLURAL				
	ang form	ng form	sa form	Translation
1st Person	ako /ˈakoh/	ko /koh/	akin /ˈa:kin/	'I'
Dual	kata /katah/	nita /nitah/	kanita /kanitah/	'we (you and I)'
2nd Person	{ ikaw /ˈikaw/ ka /kah/ }	mo /moh/	iyo /ˈiyoh/	'you'
3rd Person	siya /syah/	niya /nyah/	kaniya /kanyah/	{ 'he' 'she' }
PLURAL				
	ang form	ng form	sa form	Translation
1st Person	kami /kamih/	namin /na:min/	amin /ˈa:min/	'we (I and others)'
Dual	tayo /ta:yoh/	natin /na:tin/	atin /ˈa:tin/	'we (you and I) (and others)'
2nd Person	kayo /kayoh/	ninyo /ninyoh/	inyo /ˈinyoh/	'you (and others)'
3rd Person	sila /silah/	nila /nilah/	kanila /kanilah/	'they (he/she and others)'

As the chart shows, Tagalog distinguishes eight different categories of personal pronouns: a non-plural and a plural of the first person, the dual, the second person, and the third person. One of these categories, the second-person non-plural, is represented by four distinct forms: two *ang* forms (*ikaw* and *ka*, predicate and topic forms respectively – cf. §2.13), a *ng* form, and a *sa* form. The other seven categories are represented by three forms each.

The first-person singular – *ako/ko/akin* – is the only category of Tagalog personal pronouns that corresponds with perfect consistency to a category of English pronouns (the first-person singular: 'I/me/my/mine'). In other cases, a single Tagalog category corresponds to several English categories and/or several Tagalog categories to a single English category.

The Tagalog dual non-plural – *kata/nita/kanita* – corresponds to the English first-person plural ('we/us/our/ours') when the latter is used to refer to the speaker and a single individual addressed. The dual non-plural is thus, literally, 'you (singular) and I'. Dual non-plural pronouns are obsolescent in educated Manila Tagalog, and many speakers do not use them at all, using the dual plural – *tayo/natin/atin* – for 'you (singular) and I' as well as 'you (plural) and I'; see below.

The Tagalog second-person singular – *ikaw/ka/mo/iyo* – corresponds to the English second-person ('you/your/yours') when the latter is used to address a single individual who is a relative belonging to a younger generation, a friend, a social inferior, or – in the case of children and adolescents – an age-mate; the second-person non-plural is also used in addressing God. In addressing single individuals who do not fit into one of these categories, the second-person singular is replaced by the second-person or third-person plural; see below. (As was noted in §2.13, there is a special composite pronoun *kita /kitah/* that combines the meanings of a first-person-singular *ng* form and a second-person-singular *ang* form. *Kita* thus occurs in place of the non-occurring sequences **ko ka* and **ka ko*).

The Tagalog third-person singular – *siya/niya/kaniya* – corresponds to both the masculine third-person singular ('he/him/his') and the feminine third-person singular ('she/her/hers') in cases where these English pronouns refer to human beings, or to pet animals. The Tagalog third-person singular also corresponds to the English neuter third-person singular ('it/its') in the few cases in which the latter is used to refer to a baby or a pet animal. The range of English counterparts for *siya/niya/kaniya* is illustrated below:

Wala rito	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ang lalaki} \\ \text{ang babae.} \\ \text{ang sanggol.} \\ \text{ang aso ko.} \end{array} \right\}$	Nasa bukid siya.
$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'The man} \\ \text{'The woman} \\ \text{'The baby} \\ \text{'My dog} \end{array} \right\}$	isn't here.	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{He's} \\ \text{She's} \\ \text{He's/She's/It's} \end{array} \right\}$
		at the farm.'

Tagalog has no inanimate third-person pronoun, and none which refers to animate creatures other than human beings and pets. Therefore, in cases in which English 'he' and 'she' do not refer to a human being or a pet, or in which 'it' does not refer to a baby or a pet, Tagalog has no overt equivalent of the English pronoun: e.g.,

Wala rito	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ang baka} \\ \text{ang toro} \\ \text{ang kotse} \\ \text{ang libro} \end{array} \right\}$	Nasa bukid.
$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'The cow} \\ \text{'The bull} \\ \text{'The car} \\ \text{'The book} \end{array} \right\}$	isn't here.	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{It's/She's} \\ \text{It's/He's} \\ \text{It's/She's} \\ \text{It's} \end{array} \right\}$
		at the farm.'

Both the first-person plural – *kami/namin/amin* – and the dual plural – *tayo/natin/atin* – are normally translated by the English first-person plural ('we/us/our/ours'). The difference in meaning between the two Tagalog categories is a matter of the composition of the groupings they designate. The category that is here called the first-person plural may also be called the EXCLUSIVE first-person plural, because it specifically excludes the person(s) addressed. The category that is here called the dual plural may also be called the INCLUSIVE first-person plural, because it specifically includes the person(s) addressed. The translation of an English sentence like 'We saw you' necessarily involves the first-person plural (exclusive) as the equivalent of 'we', since it is clear that the person addressed is not part of the designated grouping. The translation of an English sentence like 'we saw him', however may involve either the dual plural (inclusive) or the first-person-plural (exclusive), according to whether the speaker intends to include or exclude the person(s) addressed from the 'we' grouping. Thus:

Nakita namin kayo.
'We saw you.'

	namin	
Nakita	natin	siya.
'We saw him.'		

As was noted above, the dual non-plural – *kata/nita/kanita* – is obsolescent in contemporary Manila Tagalog, and the dual plural is normally used for a grouping that includes only the speaker and a single individual addressed as well as for a grouping that includes others in addition to these. It is possible that at one time the dual plural was used as a polite substitute for the dual non-plural in the same way that the second-person plural is used as a polite substitute for the second-person non-plural (see below). In contemporary Tagalog, in any case, the use of *tayo/natin/atin* to designate the speaker and a single individual addressed does not suggest politeness or social distance, and people who address one another with the second-person non-plural pronouns *ikaw/ka/mo/iyó* use the dual plural, rather than the dual singular, to designate the grouping 'you (singular) and I'.

The second-person plural – *kayo/ninyo/inyo* – is used as the equivalent of the English second-person ('you/your/yours') in addressing more than one individual, and also in addressing a single individual between whom and the speaker there is some social distance. The use of the second-person plural in addressing a single individual may be considered 'polite' or 'respectful'. The second-person plural is used by children in addressing adults, by employees in addressing employers, by adults who may be social equals but not close friends in addressing one another, etc. It is also used in addressing relatives belonging to an older generation, regardless of whether they are actually older in years; thus an uncle or aunt younger than the speaker is normally addressed with the second-person plural pronoun. (The *ng* form of the second-person plural pronoun is frequently contracted from *ninyo* to *n'yo /nyoh/* in conversation.)

Like the third-person non-plural, the third-person plural – *sila/nila/kanila* – is strictly animate in reference. It corresponds to the English third-person plural ('they/them/their/theirs') when the latter refers to human beings or pet animals. Thus:

Wala rito ang mga	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(lalaki.)} \\ \text{(babae.)} \\ \text{(sanggol.)} \\ \text{(aso ko.)} \end{array} \right\}$	Nasa bukid sila.
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$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'The men} \\ \text{'The women} \\ \text{'The babies} \\ \text{'My dogs} \end{array} \right\}$	aren't here. They're at the farm.'
--	------------------------------------

When the English third-person plural has an inanimate reference or refers to animals that are not pets, it has no overt equivalent in Tagalog. Thus:

Wala rito ang mga	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(baka.)} \\ \text{(kotse.)} \end{array} \right\}$	Nasa bukid.
$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{('The cows)} \\ \text{('The cars)} \end{array} \right\}$	aren't here. They're at the farm.'	

The third-person plural is occasionally used as a substitute for the second-person plural in addressing one or more persons. Used in this way, the third-person plural indicates great respect and very marked social distance. It was formerly used, for example, by subjects addressing monarchs, and might now be used, especially in writing, by a humble citizen addressing an august political personal.

The third-person plural is also occasionally used as a substitute for the third-person singular in referring to a respected personage. Thus a child might use the third-person plural in referring to one of its parents.

The following list summarizes the correspondences discussed above between Tagalog and English pronouns. In the first column, the subject forms of the English pronouns are given, in the second the *ang*-form Tagalog equivalents. Infrequent Tagalog equivalents are written in parentheses. The symbol ϕ indicates the absence of an overt equivalent:

English	Tagalog
'I'	ako
'you'	ikaw/ka, kayo, (sila)
'he'	siya, (sila), (ϕ)
'she'	siya, (sila), (ϕ)
'it'	ϕ , (siya)
'we'	kami, tayo, (kata)
'they'	sila, ϕ

The *ang* forms and *ng* forms of the personal pronouns never occur with a marker. The *sa* forms, on the other hand, are in most cases preceded by the marker *sa*. *Sa* regularly fails to occur before the *sa* form of a pronoun only where the pronoun is used as a possessive modifier (cf. §3.20), and is optional when the pronoun occurs in a possessive predicate (cf. §4.22) or after the comparative marker *kaysa* (cf. §4.15). In all other cases, *sa* obligatorily precedes the *sa* form of a personal pronoun.

(In certain specifiable cases, the *ang* and *ng* forms of the personal pronouns obligatorily occur in sentence positions that are either distinct from those occupied by nominals of other types, or not obligatory in the case of nominals of other types. Details are presented in §3.29.)

§3.4. Deictic Pronouns.

Tagalog distinguishes four categories of deictic, or demonstrative, pronouns. The *ang*, *ng*, and *sa* forms of these pronouns are shown in Chart 8. In the discussion that follows the chart, the *ang* forms are used to signify the entire category, unless otherwise specified.

**CHART 8
DEICTIC PRONOUNS**

ang form	ng form	sa form
ire /'ireh/	nire /nireh/	dine /di:neh/
ito /'itoh/	nito /nitoh/	dito /di:toh/
iyang /('i)yan/	niyang /nyan/	diyang /dyan/
	niyon /nyon/	
iyon /('i)yon/		doon /du'on/
	noon /nu'on/	

(The forms shown on the chart are the most common forms of the deictics. In addition to these forms, the following literary variants occur: *yari* /yarih/, *niyari* /nyarih/, and *yaon* /ya'on/ – variants of, respectively, *ire*, *nire*, and *iyon*. In informal conversation, *iyon* is sometimes pronounced /yu'on/.)

English distinguishes only two categories of deictic pronouns: 'this' and 'that'. (The English deictics have, however, distinctive plural forms, 'these' and 'those'; for pluralization of the Tagalog deictics, cf. §3.9.) Each of the English categories corresponds to two Tagalog categories: 'this' to both *ire* and *ito*, 'that' to both *iyon* and *iyon*.

Some Tagalog speakers use *ire* and *ito* interchangeably to refer to things close to the speaker (approximately within arm's reach). Others make a distinction between the two, using *ire* for things in actual contact with the speaker's body (e.g., something in the speaker's hand or something worn) and *ito* as a more general category indicating proximity to the speaker. Still others – possibly a majority of educated Manila speakers – use *ire* rarely or not at all.

A much more consistent distinction is made in the case of *iyon* and *iyon*. *Iyon* is used to refer to things close to the person(s) addressed (approximately within arm's reach) and less close to the speaker, while *iyon* is used to refer to things close to neither the speaker nor the person(s) addressed. (As Chart 8 shows, *iyon* has two *ng* forms, *niyon* and *noon*. These forms are free alternants. Thus:

Uminom { niyon } ang bata.
 { noon }
'The child drank some of that.'

Like English, Tagalog uses deictic pronouns to refer to abstractions, situations, actions, etc., as well as to concrete objects. In these cases, the choice of deictic category is a matter of 'psychological proximity' – whether the abstraction, etc., is felt to be closely identified with the speaker, with the hearer but not the speaker, or with neither. If the abstraction, etc. is felt to be closely identified with the speaker, *ito* (or *ire*) is used; if it is felt to be closely identified with the hearer but not the speaker, *iyon* is used; if, as is perhaps most often the case, it is felt to be closely identified with neither the speaker nor the hearer, *iyon* is used. Some examples are:

Mahirap na kalagayan { { ire. }
 { ito. }
 { iyan. }
 { iyon. }
{ 'This }
{ 'That } is a difficult situation.'

Mabuting idea { { ire. }
 { ito. }
 { iyan. }
 { iyon. }
{ 'This }
{ 'That } is a good idea.'

The Tagalog deictics may be used to refer to people, in which case (as in certain other cases) they must often be translated 'this one' or 'that one' in English: e.g.,

Maglalaba ito; magpaplantsa iyon.
'This one will wash; that one will iron.'

Sometimes a deictic, particularly *iyon* is used in contexts in which English would normally use a personal pronoun: e.g.,

Nakita ko	{ si Linda. si Ben. ang pelikula.	{ Maganda Guwapo Interesante }	iyon.
'I saw	{ Linda. Ben. the movie.	{ She's He's It's }	{ beautiful.' handsome.' interesting.' }

Tagalog too may use a personal pronoun in such cases, provided that the referent is human. Thus:

Nakita ko si Linda. Maganda siya.

But the use of the deictic is at least equally common.

The *sa* forms of the deictics may often be translated by 'here' (for *dine* and *dito*) and 'there' (for *diyan*, and *doon*), which are equivalent to '(to/in, etc.) this/that (place)'. This is usually the case when the *sa* form occurs as a locative adverb (cf. §6.9) and frequently the case when the *sa* form occurs as a directional complement (cf. §2.11). Thus:

Mabuti ang panahon	{ dito. } { doon. }	
'The weather is good	{ here.' } { there.' }	
Inilagay ko	{ rine } { riyan }	ang maleta.
'I put the suitcase	{ here' } { there.' }	

(As was noted in §1.20, the initial /d/ of the *sa* forms of a deictic is frequently replaced by /r/ when the deictic occurs in the middle of a phrase, particularly after a vowel.)

§3.5. Personal nouns.

The *ang*, *ng*, and *sa* forms of the personal-noun markers are, respectively, *si*, *ni*, and *kay*: e.g.,

Ipinakilala ni George kay Jose si Maria.
'George introduced Maria to Jose.'

(Cf. §3.9 for the pluralized forms of the personal-noun markers.)

Personal nouns designate particular human beings (or pet animals). All nouns that serve as personal nouns may also serve as unmarked nouns. These unmarked nouns represent names cited as names. Thus:

Rosa ang paborito kong pangalan.
'My favorite name is Rosa.'

as opposed to:

Si Rosa ang paborito kong kaklase.
'My favorite classmate is Rosa.'

In predicate position, the personal-noun marker *si* may be replaced before a personal noun by its non-personal counterpart, *ang*. When the replacement occurs, the resultant *ang*-plus-personal-noun construction has the meaning 'the one named____': e.g.,

Ang Rosa ang kapatid niya.
'His sister is the one named Rosa.'

This replacement is found only in predicate position. There is, for example, no:

*(Ang) kapatid niya ang Rosa.

And no similar replacement of *ni* by *ng* or *kay* by *sa* is possible. (There are however, certain plural constructions – cf. §3.9 – and modification constructions – cf. §3.16 – in which personal nouns are preceded by non-personal markers.)

There are two small groups of unmarked nouns that may optionally be used as personal nouns. The first of these is a group of nouns that designate relatives older, or of an older generation, than the speaker – e.g., *ate* 'eldest sister', *kuya* 'eldest brother', *ina/nanay* 'mother', *ama/tatay* 'father', *tiya* 'aunt', *tiyo* 'uncle', *lola* 'grandmother', *lolo* 'grandfather'. There is some similarity between the Tagalog practice of using nouns that designate relatives as personal nouns and the English practice of using such nouns as proper nouns: e.g., 'Mother', 'Father', etc. But while in English there is a consistent difference in meaning between the common and the proper noun (e.g., 'Mother' is usually one's own parent, 'the mother' never is), in Tagalog the referent of the noun may be exactly the same when it is used as an unmarked noun as when it is used as a personal noun. Thus *ang nanay* and *si Nanay* may both mean 'Mother', and refer to one's own parent. (*Ang nanay* may, however, also mean 'the mother', a meaning that *si Nanay* does not have.)

The second group of unmarked nouns that may be used as personal nouns is a small group of nouns designating occupations – e.g., *abogado* 'lawyer', *alkalde* 'mayor', *kapitan* 'captain', *doktor* 'doctor', *presidente* 'president', *propesor* 'professor', *sarhento* 'sergeant'. These unmarked nouns frequently occur as titles followed by family names, in which case the title and the name function as a unitary personal noun – e.g., *si Abogado Cruz*, 'Lawyer Cruz', *si Kapitan Santos* 'Captain Santos'. The use of the title alone as a personal noun, which derives from deletion of the name after the title, has no close parallels in spoken English (although one may occasionally hear a nurse say, 'Doctor will see you now'). Written English however, uses a capitalized title (following 'the') in some of the same contexts as those in which Tagalog personalizes the title. Some examples of the use as personal nouns of nouns that designate relatives and professions are:

Binigyan $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ni Tatay} \\ \text{ng tatay} \end{array} \right\}$ ng regalo para $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kay Lolo si Lola.} \\ \text{sa Lolo ang Lola.} \end{array} \right\}$
'Father gave Grandmother a present for Grandfather.'

Ipinakilala $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ni Kapitan kay Alkalde si Propesor.} \\ \text{ng kapitan sa alkalde ang propesor.} \end{array} \right\}$

'The $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Captain} \\ \text{captain} \end{array} \right\}$ introduced the $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Professor} \\ \text{professor} \end{array} \right\}$ to the $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Mayor.} \\ \text{mayor.} \end{array} \right\}$

In addition to titles that designate occupations, there are titles that designate sex and marital status, which, as in English, normally precede family names. In contemporary Manila Tagalog, loan words from English – *Mister*, *Misis*, *Miss* – are frequently used. There are, however, native Tagalog equivalents: *Ginoong* (*gino* plus the linker *na-/ng* – cf. §3.11), ‘Mr.’, *Ginang* ‘Mrs.’, and *Binibining* (*binibini* plus linker) ‘Miss’. Thus:

Ito si	}	<table style="border: none;"> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">{</td><td style="padding: 2px;">Mister</td><td style="padding: 2px;">}</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">{</td><td style="padding: 2px;">Ginoong</td><td style="padding: 2px;">}</td></tr> <tr><td colspan="3" style="padding: 5px 0 0 0;"> </td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">{</td><td style="padding: 2px;">Misis</td><td style="padding: 2px;">}</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">{</td><td style="padding: 2px;">Ginang</td><td style="padding: 2px;">}</td></tr> <tr><td colspan="3" style="padding: 5px 0 0 0;"> </td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">{</td><td style="padding: 2px;">Miss</td><td style="padding: 2px;">}</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">{</td><td style="padding: 2px;">Binibining</td><td style="padding: 2px;">}</td></tr> </table>	{	Mister	}	{	Ginoong	}				{	Misis	}	{	Ginang	}				{	Miss	}	{	Binibining	}	Reyes.
{	Mister	}																									
{	Ginoong	}																									
{	Misis	}																									
{	Ginang	}																									
{	Miss	}																									
{	Binibining	}																									
‘This is	}	<table style="border: none;"> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">{</td><td style="padding: 2px;">Mr.</td><td style="padding: 2px;">}</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">{</td><td style="padding: 2px;">Mrs.</td><td style="padding: 2px;">}</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">{</td><td style="padding: 2px;">Miss</td><td style="padding: 2px;">}</td></tr> </table>	{	Mr.	}	{	Mrs.	}	{	Miss	}	Reyes.’															
{	Mr.	}																									
{	Mrs.	}																									
{	Miss	}																									

There are also certain titles of respect used before the first names of older or prominent people: for men, *Don*, *Mang*; for women, *Donya*, *Aling*. Thus: *si Don* or *si Mang Luisa*, *si Donya* or *si Aling Luisa*.

There is one important exception to the rule that personal nouns are always preceded by a marker. When a personal noun is used in direct address, it is unmarked. Thus:

Magandang umaga, Juan.
‘Good morning, Juan.’

§ 3.6. Unmarked nouns.

An unmarked noun is a nominal of invariant form that may occur without a marker in predicate position. The unmarked noun class is the largest nominal class of Tagalog. Most of the members of the class correspond to common nouns in English: e.g., *bata* ‘child’, *bukid* ‘farm’, *buti* ‘goodness’. The class also includes certain nouns that correspond to proper nouns in English: place names, names of events, etc:

Maynila ang bayan ko.
‘My home town is Manila.’

Pasko ang paborito kong pista.
‘My favorite holiday is Christmas.’

(Generally, however, unmarked nouns that correspond to proper nouns in English are definitized in predicate position. Thus, preferably: *Ang Maynila ang bayan ko*, *Ang Pasko ang paborito kong pista*. (Cf. §7.17 for a discussion of the definitized predicate.)

As was noted in §2.4, an unmarked noun in predicate position usually expresses either an INDEFINITE or a GENERIC meaning: respectively, ‘a member of the class___’ or ‘the class___’. An unmarked-noun predicate expressing an indefinite meaning is usually translated by an indefinite article (‘a/an’ or ‘some’) plus a noun in English:

	}	<table style="border: none;"> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">{</td><td style="padding: 2px;">Bahay</td><td style="padding: 2px;">}</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">{</td><td style="padding: 2px;">Mansanas</td><td style="padding: 2px;">}</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">{</td><td style="padding: 2px;">Kape</td><td style="padding: 2px;">}</td></tr> </table>	{	Bahay	}	{	Mansanas	}	{	Kape	}	ito.
{	Bahay	}										
{	Mansanas	}										
{	Kape	}										
‘This is	}	<table style="border: none;"> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">{</td><td style="padding: 2px;">a house.’</td><td style="padding: 2px;">}</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">{</td><td style="padding: 2px;">an apple.’</td><td style="padding: 2px;">}</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">{</td><td style="padding: 2px;">some coffee.’</td><td style="padding: 2px;">}</td></tr> </table>	{	a house.’	}	{	an apple.’	}	{	some coffee.’	}	
{	a house.’	}										
{	an apple.’	}										
{	some coffee.’	}										

An unmarked-noun predicate expressing a generic meaning is often translated by a noun without an article in English:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(Mansanas)} \\ \text{(Kape)} \end{array} \right\}$	ang pangunahin nilang ani.
‘Their major crop is	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(apple(s).)} \\ \text{(coffee.)} \end{array} \right\}$

In topic position unmarked nouns are preceded by *ang*. An *ang*-plus-unmarked-noun topic normally expresses either a DEFINITE meaning, ‘an identified member of the class’ (corresponding to ‘the’ plus noun in English) or a generic meaning:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Matamis ang kendi.} \\ \text{('The candy)} \\ \text{('Candy)} \end{array} \right\}$	is sweet.’
--	------------

Unmarked nouns serving as actor complements after *ng* and directional complements after *sa* may express either definite or indefinite meanings (cf. §§2.11 and 5.25):

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Ibinigay ng maestra sa bata ang aklat.} \\ \text{('A)} \\ \text{('The)} \end{array} \right\}$	teacher gave the book to	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(a)} \\ \text{(the)} \end{array} \right\}$	child.’
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Unmarked nouns serving as object complements after *ng* normally express indefinite meanings:

Bumili ako ng sombrero.
‘I bought a hat.’

The kinds of meanings expressed by unmarked nouns in other constructions – e.g., adjectival and adverbial phrases, possessive modifiers – are dealt with in connection with the constructions themselves, in the appropriate sections below.

The unmarked-noun class is divisible into a number of subclasses. One such subclass is a relatively small group of GENDER-MARKED nouns borrowed from Spanish. The gender of these nouns is indicated by the final vowel. Members of the gender-marked subclass with masculine referents all end in *-o* /oh/: e.g., *biyudo* /biyu:doh/ ‘widower’; *maestro* /ma`e:stroh/ ‘teacher (masculine)’; members of the subclass with feminine referents all end in *-a* /ah/: e.g., *biyuda* /biyu:dah/ ‘widow’, *maestra* /ma`e:strah/ ‘teacher (feminine)’. A good many gender-marked nouns represent occupations:

kosturero/-a	‘dressmaker’
kusinero/-a	‘cook’
mensahero/-a	‘messenger’
sekretario/-a	‘secretary’
tindero/-a	‘vendor’

Others represents nationalities, relationships, etc:

Amerikano/-a	‘American’
amigo/-a	‘friend’
iho/-a	‘son/daughter’
Pilipino/-a	‘Filipino’
tiyo/-a	‘uncle/aunt’

Where two gender-marked nouns occur as, respectively, predicate and topic of a sentence, they must agree in gender. Thus:

Biyudo ang maestro.
'The teacher is a widower.'

Biyuda ang maestra.
'The teacher is a widow.'

Similarly, when a gender-marked noun occurs as predicate or topic opposite a non-gender-marked noun with a specifically masculine or feminine referent (e.g., *lalaki* 'man', *babae* 'woman') the appropriate gender-marked form must be used: e.g.,

Maestro ang lalaki.
'The man is a teacher.'

Maestra ang babae.
'The woman is a teacher.'

(There is, however, at least one exception. The noun *Filipino* may be used to refer to a Filipino of either sex; cf. §4.2 for the agreement of gender-marked nouns and gender-marked adjectives.)

Other subclasses of unmarked nouns are discussed in connection with the structures or sentence elements to which they are pertinent: e.g., the COUNT and MASS noun subclasses, which are discussed in connection with pluralization in §3.9 and in connection with interrogative quantifiers in §7.11; and the subclass whose members may optionally be used as personal nouns, discussed in connection with personal nouns in §3.5.

§3.7. Derived noun formations.

A DERIVED NOUN is a noun that includes at least one NOMINAL AFFIX and a NOMINAL BASE. For practical purposes, a nominal affix may be defined as a meaningful element that characteristically occurs as part of a noun and never occurs independently as a distinct word. Nominal affixes are either PREFIXES or SUFFIXES, according to whether they precede or follow the nominal base. A nominal base is a meaningful element within a derived noun that may also occur independently (e.g., as a noun or an adjective) and/or as the base of a non-nominal word (e.g., as a verb base).

The inventory of classes of derived noun formations presented in this section is not intended to be exhaustive. However, with the exception of the GERUNDS, or verbal nouns, which are reserved for separate presentation in §3.26, the inventory includes most of the more productive classes, as well as certain less productive ones.

In the inventory, each class is designated by a formula in which the symbol 'B' stands for 'nominal base.' The symbol 'dup₁-' in a formula stands for a prefix that normally consists of a duplication of the first consonant and first vowel of the syllable before which it occurs, except that: (1) the vowel of dup₁- is always short, whether the vowel of the syllable it precedes is short or long; (2) the vowel of dup₁- is /i/ if the vowel of the following syllable is /e/, or if the following syllable begins with a consonant cluster whose second member is /y/; (3) the vowel of dup₁- is /u/ if the vowel of the following syllable is /o/, or if the following syllable begins with a consonant cluster whose second member is /w/. The symbol 'dup_B-' in a formula stands for a prefix that normally consists of duplication of the entire base, except that: (1) the last vowel of dup_B- is long if the independent form of the base ends in /h/ or /' (the /h/ or /' does not itself occur in dup_B-); otherwise it is short; (2) all other vowels of dup_B- are short. Affixes other than dup₁- and dup_B- are represented in the formulas by their conventional spelling, except that prefixes are followed and suffixes preceded by a hyphen. In cases where there are two classes identical in composition but unrelated in meaning, the classes are listed separately without comment.

For each class of formations listed, the class meaning(s), expressed as a function of the meanings of the bases, and examples with translations, are presented. Each example is followed by a parenthetical citation

either of the base alone or of a related formation in which the base occurs. The citation is of the base alone unless otherwise noted.

Many of the listings include a discussion of pronunciation. In the absence of any comment to the contrary, it is to be understood that there is no inherent length in the affix(es), and that the bases show no phonemic change from their CITATION FORMS. (The citation form of a base is the form that it has in its independent occurrence – or, in a few cases, in its occurrence in a related formation.) Such general phenomena of Tagalog phonology as the interchange of /d/ and /t/, /e/ and /i/, or /o/ and /u/ (cf. §§ 1.20., 1.7, and 1.10) or the loss of /h/ and /ʔ/ before a consonant (cf. §§ 1.14 and 1.17) are not commented upon.

(1) B + *-an*

Meaning: a place associated with what the base designates.

Examples:

aklatan	'library'	(aklat 'book')
giikan	'threshing place'	(giik 'thresh')
gulayan	'vegetable garden'	(gulay 'vegetables')
halamanan	'garden'	(halaman 'plant')
hiraman	'place for borrowing'	(hiram 'borrow')
kumpisalan	'confessional'	(kumpisal 'confess')
lansonesan	'place for growing lansones'	(lansones 'a species of fruit')
taguan	'hiding place'	(tago 'hide')
tarangkahan	'gate'	(tarangka 'lock')

Pronunciation:

(a) Bases with long penultimate vowels:

If the base has two syllables, vowel length is normally lost in the derived noun; if the base has three or more syllables, vowel length is shifted to the first vowel of the base if this is syllable-final, is otherwise lost.

/gulayan/	(/gu·lay/)
/taguan/	(/ta·go·/)
/ha·lamanan/	(/hala·man/)
/lansonesan/	(/lanso·nes/)

(b) Bases with short penultimate vowels:

The final vowel of the base is normally lengthened in the derived noun. If the first vowel is syllable-final, it is also normally lengthened; otherwise it is not. Other syllable-final vowels (in bases of three or more syllables) may optionally be lengthened.

/hi·ra·man/	(/hiram/)
/ʔakla·tan/	(/ʔaklat/)
/kumpi(·)sa·lan/	(/kumpisal/)
/ta·raŋka·han/	(/taraŋkah/)

(Some derived nouns are irregular with respect to lengthening:

/gi·ikan/	(/gi·ik/.)
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Remarks: Certain derived nouns of this class are followed by *ng* phrases that correspond to the *ng*-phrase object complements taken by actor-focus verbs formed with the same base: e.g.,

giikan ng palay 'place for threshing rice'	(cf. maggiik ng palay 'thresh rice')
hiraman ng pera 'place for borrowing money'	(cf. humiram ng pera 'borrow money')

(2) B + *-an*

Meaning: reciprocal or joint performance of the action designated by the related verb (an *-um-* or *mag-* verb) formed with the same base.

Examples: (Citations in parentheses are the basic forms of the related verbs.)

awayan	'fighting (one another)'	(umaway 'fight')
bigayan	'giving (one another)'	(magbigay 'give')
bulabugan	'scaring away (one another)'	(bumulabog 'scare away')
kalabugan	'falling together with a loud noise'	(kumalabog 'fall with a loud noise')
paliwanagan	'explaining (to one another)'	(magpaliwanag 'explain')
parusahan	'punishing (one another)'	(magparusa 'punish')
saksakan	'stabbing (one another)'	(sumaksak 'stab')
sulatan	'writing (one another)'	(sumulat 'write')
takbuhan	'running (together)'	(tumakbo 'run')

Pronunciation:

(a) For two-syllable bases, the vowel length patterns are the same as for Class (1) B + *-an* formations (see above). Thus:

/ˈawayan/	(/ˈa:way/)
/bi:ga:yan/	(/bigay/)
/ka:ma:yan/	(/kamah/)
/saksa:kan/	(/saksak/)
/sulatan/	(/su:lat/)
/takbu:han/	(/takboh/)

(b) For bases of three or more syllables, the first vowel (if syllable-final) and the final vowel of the base are normally long in the derived nouns, regardless of the original vowel-length pattern. Length is optional in other syllable-final vowels.

/bu:la(:)bu:gan/	(/bula:bog/)
/pa:li(:)wa(:)na:gan/	(/paliwa:nag/)
/pa:ru(:)sa:han/	(/paru:sah/)
/ka:la(:)bu:gan/	(/kalabog/)

Remarks: Certain derived nouns in this class may be followed by *ng* phrases that correspond to the *ng*-phrase object complements taken by the related actor-focus verbs formed with the same base: e.g.,

bigayan ng regalo 'giving one another presents'	(cf. magbigay ng regalo 'give a present')
sulatan ng liham 'writing one another letters'	(cf. sumulat ng liham 'write a letter')

(3) B + *-in*

Meaning: an object of the action designated by the related verb formed with the same base.

Examples: (Citations in parentheses are the basic forms of the related verbs.)

alagain	'something to take care of'	(mag-alaga 'take care of')
aralin	'something to study'	(mag-aral 'study')
awitin	'song'	(umawit 'sing')
bilihin	'something to buy'	(bumili 'buy')
burdahin	'something to embroider'	(magburda 'embroider')

kumpunihin	'something to repair'	(mag-kumpuni 'repair')
linisin	'something to clean'	(maglinis 'clean')
lutuin	'(the) cooking'	(magluto 'cook')
{plantsahin}	'something to iron'	(magp(a)lantsa 'iron')
{palantsahin}		

Pronunciation:**(a) Bases with long penultimate vowels:**

If the base has two syllables, the derived noun shows one of two patterns: (1) length on both the penultimate and final base vowels; (2) length on neither.

(1)	/ʼa:wi:tin/	(/ʼa:wit/)
(2)	/ʼaralin/	(/ʼa:ral/)
	{/linisin/}	(/li:nis/)
	{/li:ni:sin/}	
	{/lutu'in/}	(/lu:to'')
	{lu:tu:'in/}	

Speakers may differ as to which of these two patterns they use for a given derived noun, and in some cases a single speaker may use the two patterns as free alternates. For bases of three or more syllables, see (b), immediately below.

(b) Bases with no long vowels:

The normal vowel-length patterns of disyllabic bases are the same as those for B + *-an* formations, classes (1) and (2) above. Bases of three or more syllables have the same vowel-length patterns as in Class (2) B + *-an* formations, whether or not the penultimate vowel of the citation form of the base is long.

/a:la(:)ga'in/	(/ʼala:ga'')
/bi:li:hin/	(/bilih/)
/burda:hin/	(/burdah/)
/kumpu(:)ni:hin/	(/kumpunih/)
/ga:wa'in/	(/gawa'')
/p(a:)lantsa:hin/	(/p(a)la:ntsah/)

Remarks: There is at least one irregular formation: *alalahanin* /ʼalalaha(:)nin/ 'something to worry about' (cf. *mag-alala* /ma'alalah/ 'worry').

(4) dup_B + B + *-an*

Meaning: an imitation of what the base designates.

Examples:

bahay-bahayan	'doll house/'house (the game)'	(bahay 'house')
bulaklak-bulaklakan	'artificial flower'	(bulaklak 'flower')
kabayu-kabayuhan	'toy or imitation horse'	(kabayo 'horse')
libru-libruhan	'imitation book'	(libro 'book')
pari-parian	'pretended priest'	(pare 'priest')

Pronunciation: The last vowel of the base is always long. All other base vowels are short. These rules apply regardless of the presence or absence of inherent length in the citation form of the base. Examples are:

/bahaybaha:yan/	(/ba:hay/)
/bulaklakbulakla:kan/	(/bulaklak/)
/kabayu:kabayu:han/	(/kaba:yoh/)
/libru:libru:han/	(/libroh/)
/pari:pari:'an/	(/pa:re'')

(5) *ka-* + B

Meaning: a person (occasionally, a thing) reciprocally associated with another; the basis of association varies with the meaning of the base and may be: (a) a place of residence, occupation, or origin; (b) a quality; (c) membership in a group; (d) spatial position; (e) participation in an activity.

Examples: The examples are arranged according to the classification given under Meaning.)

(a)	kakwarto	'roommate'	(kuwarto 'room')
	kaopisina	'officemate'	(opisina 'office')
	kaprobinsya	'person from the same province'	(probinsya 'province')
(b)	katimbang	'something/someone of equal weight'	(timbang 'weight')
	katumbas	'something of equal value'	(tumbas 'value')
(c)	kapartido	'fellow party member'	(partido 'party')
	karelihyon	'co-religionist'	(relihyon 'religion')
(d)	kaharap	'someone/something facing'	(harap 'front')
	katabi	'someone/something beside'	(tabi 'side')
(e)	kalaro	'playmate'	(laro 'play')
	kausap	'fellow conversationalist'	(usap 'conversation')

Remarks: There are a few irregular formations: e.g., *kababayan* 'compatriot' (*bayan* 'country'), in which a duplicating syllable occurs between the prefix and the base; *kasambahay* 'housemate' (*bahay* 'house'), in which *-sam-* (probably from *isa* 'one' plus the linker *-ng*) occurs between the prefix and the base.

(6) *ka-* + B + *-an*

Meaning: the class (of qualities) or group (of things/people instanced by what the base designates).

Examples:

kabanalan	'devoutness'	(banal 'devout')
kabukiran	'fields'	(bukid 'field')
kakapalan	'thickness'	(kapal 'thickness')
kabundukan	'mountains'	(bundok 'mountain')
kaintsikan	'the Chinese'	(Intsik '(a) Chinese')
kalungkutan	'sadness'	(lungkot 'sadness')
kapangitan	'ugliness'	(pangit 'ugly')
kapuluan	'archipelago'	(pulo 'island')
karagatan	'seas'	(dagat 'sea')
karalitaan	'poverty'	(dalita 'poverty')
katagalugan	'the Tagalogs'	(Tagalog '(a) Tagalog')
katamaran	'laziness'	(tamad 'lazy')
katangian	'uniqueness'	(tangi 'unique')
katapangan	'bravery'	(tapang 'bravery')

Pronunciation: If the penultimate vowel of the citation form of the base is long, there is normally a shift of length to the last base vowel in the derived noun:

/kabuki:ran/	(/bu:kid/)
/kapaŋi:tan/	(/pa:ŋit/)
/katagaluan/	(/taga:log/)
/katapa:ŋan/	(/ta:paŋ/)

(There are some exceptions:

/karagatan/	(/da:gat/)
/kata:ŋi:'an/	(/ta:ŋi'/).

If the penultimate vowel of the citation form of the base is short, the derived noun shows one or the other of the following patterns:

(1) short penultimate and final base vowels:

/kakapalan/	(/kapal/)
/ka'intsikan/	(/'intsik/)
/kapulu'an/	(/pulo'/)
/kara:lita'an/	(/da:lita'/)

(2) a long final base vowel preceded by a long or short penultimate base vowel, according to whether the penultimate base vowel is or is not syllable-final:

/kaba:na:lan/	(/banal/)
/kabundu:kan/	(/bundok/)
/kalukku:tan/	(/lukkot/)
/kata:ma:ran/	(/tamad/)

There are many derived nouns that are pronounced according to the first of these patterns by some speakers, according to the second by others. And there are also many that show alternation between the two patterns in the speech of a single speaker. It is probably the case, however, that the first pattern is the more common.

Remarks: Virtually any unaffixed adjective or *ma*-adjective base (cf. §§4.2 and 4.3) may occur in this formation. (In the case of *ma*-adjective bases – e.g., *kapal*, *lungkot*, *tapang* – there is usually little difference in meaning between the base itself and the derived noun.) The occurrence or non-occurrence of bases of other types is not susceptible to generalization. There is, for example, no **kahapunan* (cp. *Ilapon* '(a) Japanese') paralleling *kaintsikan*.

There is at least one irregular formation: *katotohanan* /katotoha:nan/ 'truth' (cf. *totoo* /toto oh/ 'true').

(7) *mag-* + B

Meaning: two relatives, one of whom bears to the other the relation designated by the base. (The relation is reciprocal when the base designates a relative of the same generation.)

Examples:

mag-ama	'father and child'	(ama 'father')
mag-asawa	'husband and wife'	(asawa 'spouse')
mag-ina	'mother and child'	(ina 'mother')
magkapatid	'(two) siblings'	(kapatid 'sibling')
magpinsan	'(two) cousins'	(pinsan 'cousin')

Remarks: Bases that occur in this formation designate relatives either of an older generation or of the same generation. Bases that designate relatives of a younger generation – e.g., *anak* 'child' – do not occur in the formation.

(8) *mag-* + dup₁ + B

Meaning: three or more relatives, one of whom bears to the others the relation designated by the base. (The relation is reciprocal when the base designates a relative of the same generation.)

Examples: *mag-ama* 'father and children,' *magkakatid* '(three or more) siblings,' and, in general, all formations that result from inserting dup₁ after the *mag-* of derived nouns of class (7).

(9) *mag-* + *dup₁* - + B

Meaning: vendor of the product designated by the base.

Examples:

magbababoy	'pig/pork vendor'	(baboy 'pig/pork')
magbubulaklak	'flower vendor'	(bulaklak 'flower')
magkakandila	'candle vendor'	(kandila 'candle')
magmamanok	'chicken vendor'	(manok 'chicken')
magpupulot	'honey vendor'	(ulot 'honey')

Pronunciation: If the penultimate vowel of the citation form of the base is long, this vowel is shortened in the derived noun:

/magbababoy/	(/ba:boy/)
/magkakandila'/	(/kandi:la'/)

If the penultimate vowel of the citation form of the base is short, the base pronunciation is in most cases retained in the derived noun:

/magbubulaklak/	(/bulaklak/)
/magpupulot/	(/pulot/)

In a few cases, some speakers lengthen an originally-short penultimate base vowel:

}	/magma:nok/	(manok/)
	/magemanok/	

(10) *mag-* + *dup₁* - + *ka-* + B

Meaning: three or more people/things, each of whom/which may be characterized in relation to the others, by the *ka-* + B derived noun (see class (5), above) included in the formation.

Examples: *magkakakwarto* '(three or more) roommates,' *magkatumbas* '(three or more) things of equal value,' and, in general, all formations that result from prefixing *mag-* + *dup₁* - to derived nouns of class (5).

(11) *mag-* + *ka-* + B

Meaning: two people/things, each of whom/which may be characterized, in relation to the other, by the *ka-* + B derived noun (see class (5) above) included in the formation.

Examples: *magkakwarto* '(two) roommates,' *magkatumbas* '(two) things of equal value' and, in general, all formations that result from prefixing *mag-* to derived nouns of class (5).

(12) *mang-* + *dup₁* - + B

Meaning: a person associated – in most cases, professionally – with what the base designates.

Examples:

mamamahayag	'reporter'	(pahayag 'announcement')
mamamayan	'citizen'	(bayan 'country')
mambabasa	'reader'	(basa 'read')
mananahi	'dressmaker'	(tahi 'sew')
manananggal	'lawyer'	(tanggol 'defend')
mananayaw	'dancer'	(sayaw 'dance')
mandarambong	'bandit'	(dambong 'armed robbery')
manlalaro	'player'	(laro 'play')
mang-aawit	'singer'	(awit 'song')
mangangalakal	'businessman'	(kalakal 'business')
manghahalal	'voter'	(halal 'vote')
mangingibig	'lover'	(ibig 'love')

Pronunciation: In formations involving the nominal prefix *mang-*, as in those involving the homophonous verbal prefix (cf. §5.2, Subsection (12)), certain assimilatory changes occur. Base-initial /p,t,s,k/ are regularly replaced by their homorganic-nasal counterparts: /p/→/m/, /t,s/→/n/, /k/→/ŋ/. Base-initial /b,ʔ/ are in some cases replaced by nasals, in others not. When the replacement occurs, /b/→/m/, /ʔ/→/ŋ/. (A nasal that replaces /p,t,s,k,b,ʔ/ is treated as the base-initial consonant in duplication.) The final /ŋ/ of the prefix is dropped before a nasal consonant, and is replaced by /m/ before /b/, by /n/ before /d,l/. These changes, most of which are illustrated in the examples above, may be summarized as follows:

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{mang-} + \text{dup}_1\text{-} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{ /p/ \} \\ \{ /m/ \} \\ \{ /t/ \} \\ \{ /s/ \} \\ \{ /n/ \} \\ \{ /k/ \} \\ \{ /ŋ/ \} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \text{ma/} + \text{dup}_1\text{-} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /m/ \\ /n/ \\ /ŋ/ \end{array} \right\} \\
 \\
 \text{mang-} + \text{dup}_1\text{-} + /b/ \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /ma/ + \text{dup}_1\text{-} + /m/ \\ \text{or} \\ /mam/ + \text{dup}_1\text{-} + /b/ \end{array} \right\} \\
 \\
 \text{mang} + \text{dup}_1\text{-} + /ʔ/ \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /ma/ + \text{dup}_1\text{-} + /ŋ/ \\ \text{or} \\ /maŋ/ + \text{dup}_1\text{-} + /ʔ/ \end{array} \right\} \\
 \\
 \text{mang} + \text{dup}_1\text{-} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /d/ \\ /l/ \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \text{man/} + \text{dup}_1\text{-} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /d/ \\ /l/ \end{array} \right\}
 \end{array}$$

The /a/ of the prefix is long when it is syllable-final (i.e., when the /ŋ/ of the prefix is lost before another nasal, as explained above); otherwise it is short. A long penultimate vowel in the citation form of the base is regularly shortened in the derived noun if the /a/ of the prefix is long:

$$\begin{array}{ll}
 /ma\text{ː}mamahayag/ & (/paha\text{ː}yag/) \\
 /ma\text{ː}ŋaŋalakal/ & (/kala\text{ː}kal/)
 \end{array}$$

(There are some exceptions: e.g., /ma\text{ː}ŋiŋi\text{ː}big/ ('i\text{ː}big).) If the /a/ of the prefix is short, vowel length in the base is retained.

$$\begin{array}{ll}
 /maŋ\text{ː}a\text{ː}wit/ & (/a\text{ː}wit/)
 \end{array}$$

A syllable-final short vowel in the penultimate syllable of the base is regularly lengthened in the derived noun:

$$\begin{array}{ll}
 /ma\text{ː}nana\text{ː}yaw/ & (/sayaw/) \\
 /manlala\text{ː}ro\text{ː}/ & (/laro\text{ː}/)
 \end{array}$$

(There are some exceptions: e.g., /maŋhahalal/ (/halal/).) A non-syllable-final short vowel is not lengthened:

$$\begin{array}{ll}
 /ma\text{ː}nanangol/ & (/tangol/)
 \end{array}$$

Remarks: Certain derived nouns in this class may be followed by *ng* phrases that correspond to the *ng*-phrase object complements taken by actor-focus verbs formed with the same base: e.g.,

mambabasa ng diyaryo 'reader of newspapers'	(cf. bumasa ng dyaryo 'read a newspaper')
manlalaro ng besbol 'baseball player'	(cf. maglaro ng besbol 'play baseball')

(13) *pa-* + B

Meaning: a thing upon or toward which the action designated by the base is caused to be directed.

Examples:

paabot	'something caused to be handed over'	(abot 'hand over')
padala	'something caused to be brought'	(dala 'bring')
pagawa	'something caused to be made'	(gawa 'make')
paluto	'something caused to be cooked'	(luto 'cook')
patago	'something caused to be kapt'	(tago 'keep')

Remarks: This formation is normally followed by a *ng* phrase expressing the person who causes the action to be performed, and frequently followed by a *sa* phrase expressing the performer: e.g.,

Paluto ni Pedro sa nanay ang hibingka.
'The bibingka is what Pedro asked Mother to cook?'
Iyon ba ang pagawa mo sa sapatero?
'Is that what you're having the shoemaker make?'

The *pa-* that occurs in this formation is related to the *pa-* that occurs in indirect-action verbs (cf. §5.12).

(14) *taga-* + B

Meaning: a person from the place designated by the base.

Examples:

taga-Amerika	'person from America'	(Amerika 'America')
taga-Cebu	'person from Cebu'	(Cebu 'Cebu')
taga-Maynila	'person from Manila'	(Maynila 'Manila')
taga-Pilipinas	'person from the Philippines'	(Pilipinas 'Philippines')
taga-San Francisco	'person from San Francisco'	(San Francisco 'San Francisco')

Remarks: In addition to nouns representing specific places, the interrogative word *saan* (cf. §7.10) and the *sa* forms of deictic pronouns occur as bases in this formation:

Taga-saan ba kayo? 'Where are you from?'	Taga-rito. 'From here'
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(Literally: 'You are a person from where?' 'A person from here.')

(15) *taga-* + B

Meaning: a person employed or delegated to perform the action designated by the related verb (normally an *-um-* verb – see *Remarks*) formed with the same base.

Examples: (Citations in parentheses are the basic forms of the related verbs.)

tagabili	'buyer'	(bumili 'buy')
tagakuha	'taker'	(kumuha 'take')
tagaluto	'cook'	(magluto 'cook')
tagasagot	'answerer'	(sumagot 'answer')
tagasulat	'writer'	(sumulat 'write')

Remarks: The great majority of the bases that occur in this formation also occur as bases of *-um-* verbs. A few of the bases that occur in this formation – e.g., *luto* ‘cook’ – occur as bases of *mag-* verbs, rather than of *-um-* verbs; in these cases, the *taga-* + B formation alternates freely with a *taga-* + *pag-* + B formation – see Class (16).

Derived nouns in this class may take the same *ng*-phrase object complements as do the related verbs formed with the same base: e.g.,

tagakuha ng litrato ‘picture taker’	(cf. kumuha ng litrato ‘take a picture’)
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tagasagot ng telepono ‘telephone answerer’	(cf. sumagot ng telepono ‘answer a telephone’)
---	---

(16) *taga-* + *pag-* + B

Meaning: a person employed or delegated to perform the action designated by the *mag-* verb formed with the same base.

Examples: (Citations in parentheses are the basic forms of the related verbs.)

tagapagbili	‘seller’	(magbili ‘sell’)
tagapaghugas	‘washer’	(maghugas ‘wash’)
tagapaglaba	‘lauderer’	(maglaba ‘laundry’)
tagapagluto	‘cook’	(magluto ‘cook’)
tagapagturo	‘teacher’	(magturo ‘teacher’)

Remarks: Derived nouns in this class may take the same *ng*-phrase object complements as do the related verbs formed with the same base: e.g.,

tagapaghugas ng pinggan ‘dish washer’	(cf. maghugas ng pinggan ‘wash a dish’)
tagapagturo ng Ingles ‘English teacher’	(cf. magturo ng Ingles ‘teach English’)

(17) *taga-* + *pang-* + B

Meaning: a person employed or delegated to perform the action designated by the *mang-* verb formed with the same base.

Examples: (Citations in parentheses are the basic forms of the related verbs.)

tagapamili	‘shopper’	(mamili ‘shop’)
tagapamintuho	‘(delegated) wooer’	(mamintuho ‘woo’)
tagapanghiram	‘borrower’	(manghiram ‘borrow’)
tagapangahoy	‘wood-gatherer’	(mangahoy ‘gather wood’)
tagapangisda	‘fisherman’	(mangisda ‘fish’)

Pronunciation: Any assimilatory changes evidenced in the related *mang-* verb (cf. §5.2, Subsection (12)) are also evidenced in the derived noun.

Remarks: Derived nouns in this class may take the same *ng*-phrase object complements as do the related verbs formed with the same base: e.g.,

tagapamili ng damit ‘clothing shopper’	(cf. mamili ng damit ‘shop for clothing’)
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tagapanghiram ng pera ‘money borrower’	(cf. manghiram ng pera ‘borrow money’)
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§3.8. Nominal compounds.

A COMPOUND may be defined, for practical purposes, as a word composed of two potentially distinct words; a NOMINAL COMPOUND, as a compound that functions as a nominal. Tagalog nominal compounds differ from the derived noun formations dealt with in §3.7 in several ways. In the first place, both the components of nominal compounds are capable of occurring independently, as distinct words, while at least one component of a derived noun is a prefix or a suffix that occurs only in complex formations. Thus, while both the components of the nominal compound *bagoong-Balayan* ‘pickled fish from Balayan’ (*bagoong* ‘pickled fish’, *Balayan* ‘Balayan’) may occur as independent words, only the second component of the derived noun *taga-Balayan* ‘person from Balayan’ may do so. Nominal compounds also differ from derived nouns in that they involve the device of LINKING. Linking is the connecting of the elements of a word or construction by means of a special connecting element, or LINKER. The linker has as its sole function the indication of a relation between the elements it connects, and has no meaning apart from the indication of this relation.

Linking is a characteristic device of Tagalog grammar, and occurs in a number of constructions apart from compounds. Tagalog has two important linkers (besides coordinating conjunctions – cf. §§3.10 and 7.19), which may be called the linker *-ng* and the linker *na/-ng*. The characteristics of the linker *na/-ng* are presented in detail in §3.11. The linker *-ng*, which is the only linker that occurs in compounds has one overt form and one ZERO FORM: i.e., a form without phonemic representation. The overt form of the linker occurs if the first of the two elements it connects ends (in its independent form) with one of the three consonants /h/, /ʔ/, or /n/. In this case the linker consists of the replacement of the final consonant by /ŋ/ (represented by *-ng* in conventional spelling). Note the following examples of nominal compounds whose first elements, in their independent forms, end in /h/, /ʔ/, and /n/:

mata /matah/ ‘eye(s)’	+ -ng +	lawin /la:win/ ‘hawk’	matang-lawin /mataŋla:win/ (‘eyes like a hawk’s’) ‘keen eyes’
nguso /ŋu:soʔ/ ‘upper lip’	+ -ng +	baboy /ba:boy/ ‘pig’	ngusong-baboy /ŋu:suŋba:boy/ (‘upper lip like a pig’s’) ‘protruding upper lip’
ngipin /ŋi:pin/ ‘tooth/teeth’	+ -ng +	aso /ʔa:soh/ ‘dog’	ngiping-aso /ŋipiŋʔa:soh/ (‘teeth like a dog’s’) ‘sharp teeth’

The zero form of the linker *-ng* occurs if the first linked element ends in any consonant other than /h/, /ʔ/, or /n/. In effect, the resultant formation consists merely of the two linked elements in their independent forms. But a zero form of a linker – rather than the absence of a linker – is posited because of the otherwise perfect parallelism with formations involving the replacement of /h/, /ʔ/, or /n/ by /ŋ/. Thus, for example, *silid-kainan* ‘dining room’ and *mesang-kainan* ‘dining table’ are obviously similar compound formations, although the first (whose components are *silid* /silid/ ‘room’ and *kainan* /kaʔinan/ ‘eating place’) involves no overt linker, while the second (whose components are *mesa* /me:sah/ ‘table’ and *kainan*) does.

Some other examples of compounds involving the zero form of the linker *-ng* are:

isip /i:sip/ ‘mind’	+ -ng +	lamok /lamok/ ‘mosquito’	isip-lamok /i:siplamok/ (‘mind like a mosquito’s’) ‘weak mind’
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boses /bo:ses/ 'voice'	+ -ng +	ipis /'i:pis/ 'cockroach'	boses-ipis /bo:ses'i:pis/ (voice like a cockroach's) 'weak voice'
lakad /la:kad/ 'walk'	+ -ng +	pagong /pago:ŋ/ 'turtle'	lakad-pagong /la:kapa:goŋ/ (walk like a turtle's) 'slow walk'

Just as nominal compounds differ in several ways from derived nouns, so also do they differ in several ways from the modification constructions dealt with in §3.11, ff. One of these ways is that modification constructions involve the linker *na/-ng*, rather than the linker *-ng*. As is explained in §3.11, the linker *na/-ng* has the form /na/ (spelled *na*) after a consonant other than /h/, /ʃ/, or /n/. Therefore, when the first element of a modification construction ends in a consonant other than /h/, /ʃ/, or /n/, there is an overt difference between it and an otherwise identical nominal compound. Compare, for example, the modification construction *anak na mayaman* 'rich child' and the nominal compound *anak-mayaman* 'person born to wealth'. The components of the modification construction and those of the compound – *anak* 'child' and *mayaman* 'rich' – are the same but the resultant formations are differentiated by the presence of *na* in the first, its absence in the second.

When the first element of a modification construction ends, in its independent form, in /h/, /ʃ/, or /n/, there is no overt difference between the modification construction and a compound with the same components. For the linker *na/-ng* and the linker *-ng* both have the same phonemic realization in such cases: viz., the replacement of the final consonant by /ŋ/. Thus the modification construction *barong pamparti* 'dress worn at a party' and the nominal compound *barong-pamparti* 'party dress' are homophonous. (The elements in both cases are *baro* /ba:ro/ 'dress' and *pamparti* /pampa:rtih/ 'used/worn at a party').

Nominal compounds, then, are not always distinguishable from modification constructions on the basis of form. There are, however, a number of other ways in which the two may be distinguished. For example, the elements of a modification construction may be separated from one another by certain structures – e.g., a possessive *ng* pronoun (cf. §3.20) – while those of a nominal compound are inseparable. Thus: *baro mong pamparti* 'your dress worn at a party', but *barong-pamparti mo* 'your party dress'. Also, the order of elements within nominal compounds is fixed, while that in modification constructions is, in general, reversible. Thus the modification construction *barong pamparti* is matched by a construction of identical meaning but reversed word order, *pamparting baro* 'dress worn at a party'; but there is no nominal compound **pamparting-baro*.

Another, and very important, difference between nominal compounds and modification constructions lies in the semantic relation that obtains between the two linked elements, and the semantic relation between these elements and the resultant formation. The semantic relation that obtains between elements linked in a simple modification construction (i.e., a two-component modification construction) is essentially the same for all such constructions. This is because, as is explained in §3.11, one of the components of a simple modification construction always corresponds to the predicate of a basic sentence and the other to its topic. And, since the relation between the predicate and the topic is always essentially an equational one (cf. §2.2), so is the relation between the elements of the simple modification construction. Thus in a modification construction like *anak na mayaman* (or *mayamang anak*) 'rich child' *mayaman* 'rich' is equated or identified with *anak* 'child' just as it is in the corresponding basic sentence *Mayaman ang anak* 'The child is rich'.

The elements of a nominal compound, on the other hand, while they in some cases stand in an equational relation to one another, may also stand in one of a number of other kinds of semantic relations. Thus the semantic relation implicit in the compound *anak-mayaman* 'person born to wealth' is a possessive one ('child of the rich'), as is that in the compound *matang-lawin* 'keen eyes' ('eyes like a hawk's'); the semantic relation implicit in the compound *tubig-ulan* 'rain water' is that of object to source ('water (*tubig*) from rain (*ulan*')), as is that in *sukang iloko* 'vinegar (*suka*) from the Ilocos (*loko*)'; etc. (A fuller treatment of the semantic relations that obtain between the elements of nominal compounds is presented on the following page.)

The semantic relation of the elements of compounds to the compounds themselves also shows a wider range than does the relation of the elements of modification constructions to the constructions. The meaning of a modification construction can always be inferred from that of its elements. Thus the meaning of the modification construction *bahay na malaki* 'big house' is directly inferable from the meanings of *bahay* 'house' and *malaki* 'big' – given, of course, the equational meaning implicit in modification constructions in general. In the case of nominal compounds, on the other hand, the meaning of the compound may or may not be inferable from the meanings of the elements, even when the semantic relation between the elements (which, as noted above, may vary) is known. Thus while the meaning of *bahay-pukyutan* 'beehive' can be inferred from the meaning of its elements (*bahay* 'house', *pukyutan* 'honeybee') once it is known that there is a possessive relation between the elements, the meanings of certain other compounds involving a possessive relation cannot be inferred from the meaning of the elements. For example, *bungang-araw* 'prickly heat' probably reflects a possessive relation between *bunga* 'fruit' and *araw* 'sun' ('fruit of the sun'), but the meaning of the compound is not inferable from the meanings of the elements plus the meaning of possession. And even in such a case as *matang-lawin*, the meaning of the compound cannot be directly inferred from the meaning of the elements plus the meaning of possession, for the compound does not mean 'hawk's eyes' (which would be expressed by the possessive construction *mata ng lawin* – cf. §3.20), but, rather, 'eyes like a hawk's' or 'keen eyes'.

Some of the more productive classes of nominal compounds in Tagalog are illustrated below. The basis of classification is the semantic relation that probably obtains between the elements of the compounds. (No attempt is made to subdivide the classes according to the semantic relations of the elements of the compounds to the compounds themselves, but since the meanings of the elements as well as of the compounds are given, the range of such relations within each class may to some extent be inferred from the examples listed.) Each listed compound is followed by a gloss of its elements and then by a translation.

(1) **Descriptive:** The second element of the compound describes or specifies the first. In some cases the first element represents a genus, the second a species; in others, the second element represents the material of which the first is composed; in others, an equational relationship obtains.

<i>bahay-kubo</i>	(<i>bahay</i> 'house,' <i>kubo</i> 'hut')	'hut'
<i>barong-pamparti</i>	(<i>baro</i> 'dress,' <i>pamparti</i> 'used/worn at a party')	'party dress'
<i>damit-panggabi</i>	(<i>damit</i> 'garment,' <i>panggabi</i> 'used/worn at night')	'evening dress'
<i>daang-bakal</i>	(<i>daan</i> 'road,' <i>bakal</i> 'iron')	'railroad tracks'
<i>dugong-mahal</i>	(<i>dugo</i> 'blood,' <i>mahal</i> 'expensive')	'royal blood'
<i>hanging-amihan</i>	(<i>hangin</i> 'wind,' <i>amihan</i> 'breeze')	'breeze'
<i>punong-mangga</i>	(<i>puno</i> 'tree,' <i>mangga</i> 'mango')	'mango tree'
<i>sundalong-kanin</i>	(<i>sundalo</i> 'soldier,' <i>kanin</i> 'cooked rice')	'cowardly soldier'
<i>tabang-lamig</i>	(<i>taba</i> 'fat,' <i>lamig</i> 'cold')	'stout but sickly person'
<i>taong-lupa</i>	(<i>tao</i> 'person,' <i>lupa</i> 'earth')	'mortal'

(2) **Object:** The first element of the compound expresses an activity, instrument, etc., and the second expresses its object or goal.

<i>basag-ulo</i>	(<i>basag</i> 'breaking,' <i>ulo</i> 'head')	'fight'
<i>bayad-utang</i>	(<i>bayad</i> 'payment,' <i>utang</i> 'debt')	'payment'
<i>biyaheng-Bicol</i>	(<i>biyahe</i> 'trip,' <i>Bicol</i> 'Bicol')	'trip to Bicol' 'vehicle bound for Bicol'
<i>bukang-bibig</i>	(<i>buka</i> 'opening,' <i>bibig</i> 'mouth')	'favorite expression'
<i>hanap-buhay</i>	(<i>hanap</i> 'seeking,' <i>buhay</i> 'life')	'livelihood'
<i>ingat-yaman</i>	(<i>ingat</i> 'care,' <i>yaman</i> 'wealth')	'treasurer'
<i>luksong-tinik</i>	(<i>lukso</i> 'jump,' <i>tinik</i> 'thorn')	(kind of jumping game)
<i>pamatid-uhaw</i>	(<i>pamatid</i> 'used for cutting,' <i>uhaw</i> 'thirst')	'thirst-quencher'
<i>panawag-pansin</i>	(<i>panawag</i> 'used for calling,' <i>pansin</i> 'attention')	'attention-getter'
<i>pantawid-gutom</i>	(<i>pantawid</i> 'used for bridging,' <i>gutom</i> 'hunger')	'something that appeases hunger'

(3) **Purpose:** The first element of the compound represents an object, the second the purpose or use of the object. The second element is in most cases formed with the suffix *-an*, and has a locative meaning (cf. §3.7, derived noun class (1)).

bahay-aklatan	'bahay 'house,' aklatan 'library')	'library'
bahay-bakasyunan	(bahay 'house,' bakasyunan 'vacation place')	'vacation house'
bahay-kalakal	(bahay 'house,' kalakal 'business')	'business establishment'
bahay-paaralan	(bahay 'house,' paaralan 'school')	'schoolhouse'
bahay-sanglaan	(bahay 'house,' sanglaan 'pawning place')	'pawnshop'
mesang-kainan	(mesa 'table,' kainan 'eating place')	'dining table'
mesang-sulatan	(mesa 'table,' sulatan 'writing place')	'writing table'
silid-aralan	(silid 'room,' aralan 'studying place')	'study room'
silid-kainan	(silid 'room,' kainan 'eating place')	'dining room'
silid-tulugan	(silid 'room,' tulugan 'sleeping place')	'bedroom'

(4) **Possessive:** The first noun expresses something possessed by the second.

anak-araw	(anak 'child,' araw 'sun')	'albino'
anak-mayaman	(anak 'child,' mayaman 'rich')	'person born to wealth'
awiting-bayan	(awitin 'song,' bayan 'nation')	'folk song'
bahay-pukyutan	(bahay 'house,' pukyutan 'honeybee')	'beehive'
bores-ipis	(bores 'voice,' ipis 'cockroach')	'weak voice'
bungang-araw	(bunga 'fruit,' araw 'sun')	'prickly heat'
matang-lawin	(mata 'eye(s),' lawin 'hawk')	'keen eyes'
saligang-batas	(saligan 'support,' batas 'law')	'constitution'
sinag-tala	(sinag 'ray,' tala 'star')	'ray of a star'
tintang-Intsik	(tinta 'ink,' Intsik '(a) Chinese')	'Chinese ink'

(5) **Source:** The first noun expresses an object, the second its source.

batang-lansangan	(bata 'child,' lansangan 'street')	'homeless child'
bagoong-Balayan	(bagoong 'pickled fish' Balayan 'Balayan')	'pickled fish from Balayan'
buteteng-laot	(butete (kind of globelike fish,' laot 'midsea')	'potbellied person'
dalagang-bukid	(dalaga 'maiden,' bukid 'farm')	'kind of fish'
paruparong-bukid	(paruparo 'butterfly,' bukid 'farm')	'kind of butterfly'
pansit-Kanton	(pansit 'noodles,' Kanton 'Canton')	'Cantonese noodles'
putong-pulo	(puto 'rice cake,' Pulo 'pulo')	'rice cake from Pulo'
ripolyong-Baguio	(ripolyo 'cabbage,' Baguio 'Baguio')	'cabbage from Baguio'
sukang-Iloko	(suka 'vinegar,' Iloko 'the Ilocos')	'vinegar from the Ilocos'
tubig-ulan	(tubig 'water,' ulan 'rain')	'rain water'

One general fact about the order of elements within Tagalog nominal compounds in relation to that within English nominal compounds emerges from the above examples: viz., that in cases where the two languages have compounds with similar elements and similar meanings, the order of elements within the Tagalog compounds is usually the reverse of that in the English compounds. Thus: *punong-mangga* (*puno* 'tree,' *mangga* 'mango') versus 'mango tree'; *pamatid-uhaw* (*pamatid* 'used for cutting,' *uhaw* 'thirst') versus 'thirst-quencher'; *bahay-paaralan* (*bahay* 'house,' *paaralan* 'school') versus 'schoolhouse'; *bahay-pukyutan* (*bahay* 'house,' *pukyutan* 'honeybee') versus 'beehive'; *tubig-ulan* (*tubig* 'water,' *ulan* 'rain') versus 'rain water'.

(In addition to nominal compounds, Tagalog also has certain compound adjectives and compound verb bases. These compounds resemble nominal compounds both in their formation, which involves the linker *-ng*, and in the kinds of semantic relations that obtain between their elements. Thus a possessive

relation is implicit in such compound adjectives as *amoy-isda* (*amoy* 'odor', *isda* 'fish') 'smelling of fish' or *lasang-isda* (*lasa* 'taste', *isda* 'fish') 'tasting of fish', an object relation in the bases of such verbs as *magbigay-galang* (*bigay* 'giving', *galang* 'respect') 'show respect' or *magbangong-puri* (*bangon* 'raise', *puri* 'honor') 'redeem one's honor', etc. Because of the similarity of compound adjectives and compound verb bases to nominal compounds, no further treatment of the adjectives and verbs is included in this text.)

§3.9. Pluralization of nominals.

Tagalog has devices for pluralizing nouns, deictic, personal, and interrogative pronouns, verbs, adjectives, and adjective phrases. Thus Tagalog has a wider range of plural formations than does English, in which only nouns, personal and deictic pronouns, and verbs have distinctive plurals. The number distinctions of English, however, have a more central role in the language than the number distinctions of Tagalog. In the first place, obligatory choices between singular and plural formations are common in English, but rare in Tagalog. In English, for example, a speaker must make a choice between expressing the plural in the case of most common nouns. If he says *the book*, he is clearly referring to one object; if he says *the books*, to more than one. In Tagalog, on the other hand, although there is a way of explicitly pluralizing most unmarked nouns, the pluralization of a noun need not – and, in some cases in fact, cannot – be formally signaled if the context makes the plural meaning clear. Without context the sentence *Nasa mesa ang libro* means 'The book is on the table'. But the same sentence can be used to mean 'The books are on the table' in a situation where both the speaker and the hearer know that more than one book is being referred to. (The insertion of the word *mga* (/maŋah/) before *libro* would make the plural meaning explicit – see below).

In English there are also certain obligatory number agreements between the subject and the predicate of a sentence: *The man is a lawyer/The men are lawyers*. In Tagalog there is, in general, no obligatory number agreement between the predicate and the topic. Either the predicate alone, the topic alone, or both may in most cases be pluralized:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Mga abogado ang lalaki.} \\ \text{Abogado ang mga lalaki.} \\ \text{Mga abogado ang mga lalaki.} \end{array} \right\}$	'The men are lawyers.'
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There are, however, a few cases of obligatory number agreement – as well as of obligatory absence of number agreement – which are discussed below.

Plurality in Tagalog is expressed through a variety of grammatical devices. In the case of personal pronouns and certain personal-noun phrases, it is expressed by distinctive plural forms; in that of interrogative words and certain adjectives, by duplication. In other cases specific pluralizing affixes are used. Elsewhere its most common expression involves the word *mga*, which adds the meaning of plurality to the sentence element that follows it.

The plural forms of personal pronouns are presented in §3.3; those of interrogative words, in §7.7. Plural noun and verb affixes are presented in §§3.9 and 5.14 respectively; the pluralization of adjectives, in §4.11. The present section deals first with the use of *mga* as a pluralizer of unmarked nouns, deictic pronouns, and personal nouns, then with the pluralization of personal-noun markers.

Mga is a conventional spelling for phonemic /maŋah/. This word, which is a PROCLITIC (i.e., does not occur phrase finally), has two different meanings – approximative and plural – according to the type of construction in which it occurs. *Mga* is approximative when it occurs with a cardinal number or with a time expression. In its approximative meaning *mga* translates English 'approximately', 'about', or 'around': *mga sampu* 'approximately ten'; *mga alu una* 'about one o'clock'; *sa mga buwan ng Enero* 'around the month of January'. (The approximative use of *mga* is discussed in §§4.4 and 6.8.) In all other cases *mga* adds a plural meaning to the sentence element that follows it.

Mga occurs in its plural meaning with unmarked nouns, deictic pronouns, and personal nouns. (Plural *mga* also occurs with adjectives – cf. §4.11 – and with nominalized verbals and adjective phrases – cf. §3.24.) Normally, it immediately precedes what it pluralizes:

mga librong para sa bata	'books for the child/children'
librong para sa mga bata	'a book/books for the children'

(When *mga* is used to pluralize a modification construction in which the modifier precedes the head – cf. §3.11 – *mga* may precede either the entire construction or the head. Thus:

{	mga para sa batang libro)	‘books for the child.’)
}	para sa batang mga libro)	

In the case of unmarked nouns, Tagalog makes a distinction between pluralizable and unpluralizable nouns that is like a distinction made in English. Some English nouns, e.g., *table* and *party*, have distinct plural forms, while others – e.g., *furniture* and *fun* – normally do not. Similarly in Tagalog there are some nouns that occur freely with *mga* and others that normally do not. The two classes of nouns may be called COUNT and MASS nouns respectively, following the usage of English grammarians.

In general, Tagalog count nouns correspond to English count nouns, and refer to items that are perceived as discrete units: e.g., *bahay* ‘house’, *baro* ‘dress’, *bata* ‘child’. Similarly, Tagalog mass nouns generally correspond to English mass nouns, and refer to items that are not normally perceived as discrete units: e.g., *alikabok* ‘dust’, *asin* ‘salt’, *aso* ‘smoke’. In some cases, however, the Tagalog translation-equivalent of an English mass noun is a pluralized count noun: *mga balita* ‘news’, *mga kasangkapan* ‘furniture’, *mga maleta* ‘baggage (bags)’. (Some speakers occasionally use *mga* with a mass noun (1) to express the idea of several masses: e.g., *mga alikabok* ‘heaps of dust’ or (2) with the implied deletion of a count noun: e.g., *mga tubig*, short for *mga baso ng tubis* ‘glasses of water’.

When a deictic pronoun is pluralized by *mga*, the *ang* form of the deictic is used in all cases, and the function of the deictic in the sentence is indicated by a marker (*ang*, *ng*, or *sa*) before the *mga*, rather than by a change in the form of the deictic itself. Thus:

Silya ito ‘This is a chair.’	but	Silya ang mga ito ‘These are chairs.’
Gumawa niyan si Pedro. ‘Pedro made (some of) that.’	but	Gumawa ng mga iyan si Pedro. ‘Pedro made (some of) those.’
Para doon ang mga kasangkapan. ‘The furniture is for that (place).’	but	Para sa mga iyon ang mga kasangkapan. ‘The furniture is for those (places).’

Mga does not occur with personal nouns preceded by the personal markers *si*, *ni*, and *kay*. It does, however, occur with personal nouns preceded by *ang*, *ng*, and *sa*, in which case it conveys the meaning of several people with the same name (often a family):

Heto na ang mga Santos.	‘‘Here come the Santosos.’
Kamag-anak siya ng mga Santos.	‘He’s a relative of the Santosos.’

There are certain contexts in which *mga* may not occur as a pluralizer of a nominal. It may not occur with the topic of a sentence whose predicate is a cardinal number. Thus:

Sampu ang anak niya	‘His children are ten (in number).’ (‘He has ten children.’)
---------------------	---

not

*Sampu ang mga anak niya.

Similarly, *mga* does not pluralize a word or phrase modified by a cardinal number (cf. §3.13). In *mga sampung anak*, for example, *mga* is approximative, and the meaning of the phrase is ‘about ten children’. ‘Ten children’ is simply *sampung anak*, without *mga*. As was mentioned above, *mga* does not occur after the personal-noun markers *si*, *ni*, and *kay*. These markers may, however, themselves be pluralized. The plural

markers are formed by adding *-na* to the singulars. In the case of *kay*, there is also a change of vowel from /ay/ to /i/. Thus:

Singular Marker	Plural Marker
si	sina
ni	nina
kay	kina

A phrase consisting of a plural marker and a personal noun means: the person named by the noun and another or others associated with that person. Thus, *sina Maria* has the general meaning 'Maria and (the) other(s)'. In specific instances it might mean 'Maria and her friend(s)', 'maria and her companion(s)', 'Maria and her relative(s)', etc. Some examples of pluralized person-noun phrases are:

Masasaya na sina Maria.	'Maria and the others are happy now.'
Siya ang lola nina Boy.	'She is the grandmother of Boy and the others.'
Para kina Luis ang handaan.	'The party is for Luis and the others.'

It should be noted that personal nouns occur in two different types of plural constructions: a construction involving *mga* after *ang*, *ng*, or *sa*, and the construction just described, involving the plural personal-noun markers. These two plural constructions have different meanings. The *mga* construction is used to designate two or more people with the same name, while the plural-marker construction is used to designate the person named plus other people. Thus *ang mga Santos* is 'the Santoses', while *sina Santos* is 'Santos and others (who may or may not also be named Santos)'.

The plural personal-noun markers also occur in coordinate nominal constructions (cf. §3.10), preceding two personal names linked by *at* 'and', or more than two personal names, the last two of which (at least) are linked by *at*. In these constructions, the plural marker is used as a free alternant of repeated singular markers. Thus *sina Pedro at Maria* 'Pedro and Maria' is equivalent to *si Pedro at si Maria*, *nina Bob, Ed, at Ben* '(of) Bob, Ed, and Ben' to *ni Bob, ni Ed, at ni Ben*, etc. In coordinate constructions such as these, there is no implication of 'and others', as there is where the plural marker precedes a single personal noun.

§3.10. Coordinate nominal constructions.

COORDINATION is a grammatical device for combining elements of two sentences, which may be called UNDERLYING SENTENCES, into a single new sentence: a RESULTANT SENTENCE. A sentence that results from coordination contains a COORDINATE CONSTRUCTION, which consists of two (or more) COORDINATES linked by a COORDINATING CONJUNCTION. An example of an English coordinate construction may clarify the relation between the underlying and the resultant sentences in coordination. In the example, the resultant sentence contains the coordinate construction 'Bill and John' which consists of the coordinates 'Bill' and 'John' and the coordinating conjunction 'and'.

Underlying Sentences:	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'I saw Bill yesterday.'} \\ \text{'I saw John yesterday.'} \end{array} \right\}$
Resultant Sentence:	'I saw Bill and John yesterday.'

In Tagalog, as in English, many different kinds of structures may serve as coordinates, ranging from single words through phrases to entire sentences. A discussion of the full range of coordinate constructions in Tagalog is reserved for §7.19. The present section treats only coordinate nominal constructions (i.e., constructions in which the coordinates are nominals), which have certain peculiarities that warrant separate discussion. A full listing of coordinating conjunctions is also reserved for §7.19. In the present section, only *at* 'and' is dealt with.

When two unmarked nouns are coordinated by *at*, the resultant coordinate construction may or may not include a repetition of a marker (*ang*, *ng*, or *sa*) before the second noun. Thus, from the underlying sentences *Nakita ko ang babae* 'I saw the woman' and *Nakita ko ang lalaki* 'I saw the man', may result in either of the following:

Nakita ko ang babae at	}	ang lalaki.
'I saw the woman and (the) man.'	}	lalaki.

Some other examples are:

Uminom sila ng tsa at	}	ng kape.
'They drank tea and coffee.'	}	kape.

Pupunta siya sa Cebu at	}	sa Negros.
'He'll go to Cebu and Negros.'	}	Negros.

(Both the coordinate nouns may occur without marker in appropriate contexts: e.g.,

Asin at sili ang kailangan ko.
'What I need is salt and pepper.')

When, on the other hand, either of the coordinated nominals is a marked noun, the second nominal must normally be preceded by the appropriate marker or must be in the appropriate marked form. (See below, however, for the replacement of repeated singular personal-noun markers by a plural marker.) Thus, from the underlying sentences *Nakita ko si Juan* 'I saw Juan' and *Nakita ko ang lalaki* 'I saw the man', can result only:

Nakita ko si Juan at ang lalaki.
'I saw Juan and the man.'

There is no:

*Nakita ko si Juan at lalaki.

Similarly, if the order of the coordinates is reserved, the resultant sentence must be:

Nakita ko ang lalaki at si Juan.
'I saw the man and Juan.'

Not:

Nakita ko ang lalaki at Juan.

Some other examples of coordinate nominal constructions that include marked nouns are:

Nakita ko si Juan at si Ben.
'I saw Juan and Ben.'

Gusto ko iyan at ang iba.
'I like that one and the other one.'

Pinili niya ako at si Joe.
'He chose me and Joe.'

Ginawa iyon ni Maria at ng kaibigan niya.
 'Marie and her friend made that.'

Darating sila dito at sa paaralan.
 'They'll come here and to the school.'

Coordinate nominal constructions involving three or more coordinates linked by *at* also follow, in general, the rules given above for repetition of markers, etc. In such a sequence a marker is, however, optionally deletable before the second of two consecutive coordinate unmarked nouns, regardless of whether the sequence of coordinates also includes a marked noun. Thus:

Nakita ko ang babae at $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ang lalaki} \\ \text{lalaki} \end{array} \right\}$ at si Juan.
 'I saw the woman and (the) man and Juan.'

Nakita ko si Juan at ang babae at $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ang lalaki.} \\ \text{lalaki} \end{array} \right\}$
 'I saw Juan and the woman and (the) man.'

If the two unmarked nouns are not consecutive, however, the marker before the second may not be deleted. Thus:

Nakita ko ang babae at si Juan at ang lalaki.
 'I saw the woman and Juan and the man.'

but not:

*Nakita ko ang babae at si Juan at lalaki.

(As in English, all but the last of the coordinating conjunctions in a construction with three or more coordinates may optionally be replaced by a pause. Thus, also, *Nakita ko ang babae, si Juan, at ang lalaki.*)

As was mentioned in §3.9, a plural personal-noun marker (*sina, nina, kina*) may replace repeated singular markers in coordinate constructions involving two or more coordinate personal nouns linked by *at*. Therefore, as an alternative to *Nakita ko si Juan at si Ben (at si Joe)* may occur:

Nakita ko sina Juan at Ben (at Joe).
 'I saw Juan and Ben (and Joe).'

Similarly:

Pinanood $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ni Belen at ni Rosa} \\ \text{nina Belen at Rosa} \end{array} \right\}$ ang parada.
 'Belen and Rosa watched the parade.'

Susulat ako $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{kay G. Reyes at kay Gng. Quizon.} \\ \text{kina G. Reyes at Gng. Quizon.} \end{array} \right\}$
 'I'll write to Mr. Reyes and Mrs. Quizon.'

When the first of two potential coordinates is expressed by a personal pronoun and the second by a nominal other than a personal pronoun, Tagalog in some cases allows, in others requires, the use of a

SPECIAL COORDINATE CONSTRUCTION in place of the coordinate construction with *at*. This special coordinate construction consists of a plural personal pronoun followed by a *ng* phrase (*ng* plus an unmarked noun, *ni* or *nina* plus a personal noun, or the *ng* form of a deictic). If the underlying pronoun is singular, the pronoun in the resultant sentence is its plural counterpart. Thus from the underlying sentences *Nakita ko siya* 'I saw him' and *Nakita ko si Juan* 'I saw Juan' is derived:

Nakita ko sila ni Juan.
'I saw him and Juan.'

If the underlying pronoun is plural, the same pronoun occurs in the resultant sentence. Thus the sentence *Nakita ko sila ni Juan* may also correspond to the underlying sentences *Nakita ko sila* 'I saw them' and *Nakita ko si Juan* 'I saw Juan', and may thus have the meaning 'I saw them and Juan' as well as the meaning given above.

In the special coordinate construction the second coordinate is always expressed by a *ng* phrase, whatever marker may precede this nominal in the underlying sentence. Thus:

Nakita ko sila ni Juan.
'I saw him/them and Juan.'
(Underlying sentence: *Nakita ko si Juan*.)

Ginawa nila ni Juan ang trabaho.
'He/They and Juan did the work.'
(Underlying sentence: *Ginawa ni Juan ang trabaho*.)

Ibibigay ko ito sa kanila ni Juan.
'I'll give this to him/them and Juan.'
(Underlying sentence: *Ibibigay ko ito kay Juan*.)

Some other examples of the special coordinate construction are:

Maglalakad kami ng Nanay.
'Mother and I (and the others) will walk.'

Lilinisin natin nina Maria ang bahay.
'You (sg./pl.) and I and Maria and her friends will clean the house.'

Para sa inyo niyang batang iyan ang regalo.
'The gift is for you and that child.'

A special coordinate construction is the most common way of expressing a grouping whose membership includes at least one person designated by a personal pronoun and one designated by a nominal not a personal pronoun. An *ang* or *sa* personal pronoun may, however, also occur in a coordinate construction with *at*. Thus as alternatives to sentences with special coordinate constructions, may occur:

Nakita ko siya at si Juan.
'I saw him and Juan.'

Ibibigay ko ito sa kaniya at kay Juan.
'I'll give this to him and Juan.'

A *ng* personal pronoun, on the other hand, occurs rarely, if at all, as a coordinate in a construction with *at*.

§3.11. Modification constructions: introduction.

Tagalog, like English, has a variety of constructions that involve the embedding of certain elements of one sentence (hereafter, a **CONSTITUENT SENTENCE**) in another (hereafter, a **MATRIX SENTENCE**) to

produce a single new sentence (hereafter, a RESULTANT SENTENCE). The basic structure of the resultant sentence is the same as that of the matrix sentence that underlies it, but in the resultant sentence, part of the matrix sentence has been expanded – or, in some cases, replaced – by an element or elements taken from the constituent sentence. An example from English will serve to illustrate the relation between a resultant sentence and the matrix and constituent sentences that underlie it:

Matrix sentence: The book is a novel.

Constituent sentence: The book is on the table.

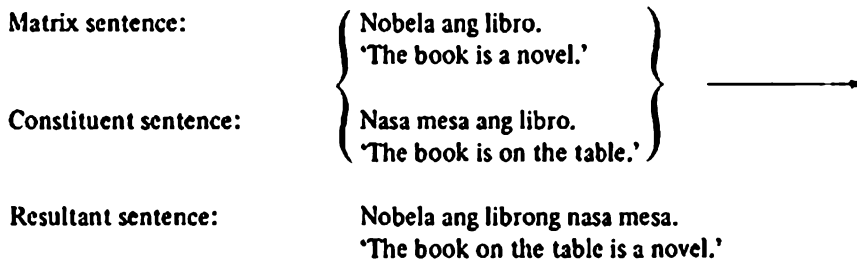
Resultant sentence: The book on the table is a novel.

In the example, the resultant sentence has the same basic structure as the matrix sentence – subject: ‘the book’; predicate: ‘is a novel’ – but ‘book’ has been expanded by a phrase, ‘on the table’, taken from the constituent sentence.

The above example illustrates one of the most important classes of embedded constructions: MODIFICATION CONSTRUCTIONS. Modification constructions are distinguished from certain other embedded constructions by the retention within the resultant sentence of all the elements of the underlying matrix sentence. Some types of embedded constructions – for example, the Tagalog nominal clause constructions (cf. §3.28) – involve the replacement of part of the matrix sentence by elements taken from the constituent sentence. But in a modification construction the matrix sentence is retained intact, and elements taken from the constituent sentence are merely added to it, serving to expand a given part of the matrix sentence (e.g., ‘book’ in the above English example.)

Strictly speaking, the term MODIFICATION CONSTRUCTION applies to that part of the resultant sentence that consists of the element of the matrix sentence that has been expanded and the elements (from the constituent sentence) by means of which it has been expanded. The modification construction in ‘The book on the table is a novel’ is thus ‘book on the table’. A modification construction consists of two parts: a part common to the matrix sentence and the constituent sentence (hereafter, the HEAD), and a part taken from the constituent sentence (hereafter, the MODIFIER). The two parts of ‘book on the table’ are: head, ‘book’; modifier, ‘on the table’.

Tagalog shows a great diversity of modification constructions from the point of view of the types of heads and modifiers that occur. But in one important respect almost all Tagalog modification constructions are alike. This is that – with the exception of certain constructions presented in §§3.19 and 3.20 – modifiers always correspond to the PREDICATE of the constituent sentence, while heads always correspond to the TOPIC of the constituent sentence. In other words, the relation modifier-head in the resultant sentence corresponds to the relation predicate-topic in the constituent sentence. To illustrate:



The modification construction in the resultant sentence is *librong nasa mesa*. It includes the modifier *nasa mesa* and the head *libro*. (The *-ng* after *libro* will be discussed below.) Note that in the constituent sentence *nasa mesa* is the predicate while *libro* is in topic position. This same proportion – modifier is to head (in the resultant sentence) as predicate is to topic (in the constituent sentence) – obtains in almost all Tagalog modification constructions.

In English the relation predicate-subject is frequently reflected in the relation modifier-head. But this relationship in English is less consistent than the Tagalog proportion just presented. Thus the head ‘book’ in the modification construction ‘book I read’ corresponds to the object of the constituent sentence – ‘I read

the book' – rather than the subject, while the modifier 'I read' corresponds to the subject and a part of the predicate. In the Tagalog modification construction *librong binasa ko* 'book I read', on the other hand, the head *libro* and the modifier *binasa ko* correspond, as is usually the case, to the topic and predicate respectively of the constituent sentence: *Binasa ko ang libro* 'I read the book'.

There is a second respect in which – again with certain exceptions discussed in §§3.19 and 3.20 – all Tagalog modification constructions are alike. This is in their use of the device of LINKING. (As was noted in §3.8, linking is the connecting of two sentence elements by means of a third, called a LINKER, which has as its sole function the indication of a relation between the two elements it connects.) The elements of Tagalog modification constructions are in the great majority of cases connected by the linker *na/ng*, one of the two major linkers of Tagalog. (The characteristics of the other major linker, the linker *-ng*, are presented in §3.8.)

The linker *na/ng* has two different forms. The form that occurs in any given case is determined by the final consonant of the independent form of the element that precedes the linker. If this final consonant is /h/, /ʃ/, or /n/, the consonant is replaced by /ŋ/, which is represented in conventional writing by *-ng* at the end of a word. For example:

mabuti /mabu:tih/ 'good' + linker *na/ng* → mabuting /mabu:tiŋ/
 mayumi /mayu:mi/ 'modest' + linker *na/ng* → mayuming /mayu:miŋ/
 mayaman /maya:man/ 'rich' + linker *na/ng* → mayamang /maya:maŋ/

as in:

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mabuting} \\ \text{mayuming} \\ \text{mayamang} \end{array} \right\}$	tao	'a	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{good} \\ \text{modest} \\ \text{rich} \end{array} \right\}$	person'
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If the final consonant is not /h/, /ʃ/, or /n/, it is not replaced. Instead, it is followed by /na/, which is represented in conventional spelling as a separate word, *na*. Thus:

masipag /masi:pag/ 'diligent' + linker *na/ng* → masipag na /masi:pag na/
 magalang /maga:laŋ/ 'courteous' + linker *na/ng* → magalang na /maga:laŋ na/
 matakaw /mata:kaw/ 'greedy' + linker *na/ng* → matakaw na /mata:kaw na/

as in:

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{masipag} \\ \text{magalang} \\ \text{matakaw} \end{array} \right\}$	na tao	'a	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{diligent} \\ \text{courteous} \\ \text{greedy} \end{array} \right\}$	person'
---	--------	----	--	---------

(The /na/ form of the linker *na/ng* also occurs after a pause, whatever may be the final consonant of the word that precedes the pause – cf. §3.18.) (Some speakers occasionally, and others regularly, omit the /na/ form of the linker *na/ng* immediately after one of the enclitic particles *daw*, *la(ma)ng*, and *tuloy* – cf. §§6.4 and 6.5. Thus the following sentence is acceptable with or without *na*:

Masipag daw (na) tao ang kailangan nila.
 'They say that what they need is a diligent person.'

English has no device used in modification constructions that corresponds very closely to the Tagalog linker *na/ng*. The most important grammatical device for expressing modification in English is word order: one-word modifiers usually precede, and phrasal modifiers usually follow, the head: 'new book' versus 'book on the table'. In Tagalog modification constructions, on the other hand, word order is relatively free. Thus 'new book' may be either *bagong libro* or *librong bago*, and 'book on the table' either *nasa mesang libro* or *librong nasa mesa*. Certain Tagalog modification constructions, however, do show word-order restrictions or word-order preferences. These restrictions and preferences are dealt with in the appropriate sections on the following page.

The modification constructions that have been used by way of example thus far have all been of quite simple structure, with the modifier corresponding to the predicate of a basic sentence, and the head to the topic of a basic sentence; such constructions may be called **SIMPLE MODIFICATION CONSTRUCTIONS**. Both the modifier and the head may, however, be of more complex structure. Consider, for example, the sentence:

Nobela ang librong nasa mesang mababa.
'The book on the low table is a novel.'

Librong nasa mesang mababa 'book on the low table' is a modification construction, consisting of the head *libro*, a linker, and the modifier *nasa mesang mababa*. But the latter itself includes a modification construction, *mesang mababa* 'low table', which consists of the head *mesa*, a linker, and the modifier *mababa*. Similarly, the head of a modification construction may itself include a modification construction:

Nobela ang bagong librong nasa mesa.
'The new book on the table is a novel.'

Here, *bagong libro* 'new book', which is the head of *bagong librong nasa mesa*, includes the modifier *bago* and the head *libro*. Modification constructions like these, in which the head and/or the modifier includes a modification construction, may be called **COMPLEX MODIFICATION CONSTRUCTIONS**.

In the sections that follow, simple modification constructions are dealt with first. Since the head of a simple modification construction is, by definition, a noun or a pronoun (corresponding to the topic of a basic sentence), the various simple constructions may be classified and discussed on the basis of the kinds of modifiers involved. Simple modification constructions headed by personal pronouns and personal nouns, however, have certain peculiarities that warrant separate discussion. In the sections that follow, the simple modification constructions of Tagalog are presented in the following order: noun head with noun modifier in §3.12; noun head with one-word-adjective modifier in §3.13; noun head with phrase modifier in §3.14; modification of personal pronouns in §3.15; modification of personal nouns in §3.16. (For examples of modification constructions with nominalized adjectivals and verbals as heads, cf. §3.24.) Complex modification constructions are presented in §3.17.

Like English, Tagalog distinguishes between modification constructions involving **RESTRICTIVE** modifiers and those involving **NONRESTRICTIVE** modifiers. A restrictive modifier is one that limits the reference of the head with which it occurs. A nonrestrictive modifier is one that merely gives information about the head. Some English examples may clarify the distinction. Compare:

- a. 'The students who worked hard passed.'
- b. 'The students, who worked hard, passed.'

Both sentences contain modification constructions whose head is 'students' and whose modifier is 'who worked hard'. The modifier in sentence a is restrictive, and limits the reference of the head. Thus the sentence does not say that the students as a group passed, but rather that those students with the quality expressed by the restrictive modifier – namely, those who worked hard – passed. The modifier in sentence b on the other hand, is nonrestrictive and merely gives information about the head. Thus sentence b says that the students as a group passed, and gives some information about the students: namely, that they worked hard.

Most of the Tagalog modification constructions to be dealt with in §§3.12 through 3.17 involve restrictive modifiers. Modification constructions involving nonrestrictive modifiers have, as a group, certain distinctive formal characteristics that warrant separate treatment, and are dealt with in §3.18.

Finally, §§3.19 and 3.20 deal with the two classes of modification constructions that either do not involve the device of linking at all or do not involve the device in all cases: modification constructions with adverbial modifiers (§3.19) and possessive modification constructions (§3.20).

§3.12. Modification constructions: noun head with noun modifier.

In this and the following two sections, **NOUN** is used as a cover term for unmarked nouns and deictic pronouns. (Note that the term *noun*, as used in these sections, does not include personal pronouns or personal nouns.)

Any equational sentence with a noun predicate and a noun topic may serve as the constituent sentence of a modification construction of the shape noun + linker (*na/-ng*) + noun. Thus corresponding to sentences such as *Repolyo ang gulay* 'The vegetable (dish) is (made from) cabbage' and *Besbol ang laro* 'The game is baseball', there are modification constructions such as *gulay na repolyo* 'vegetable dish made from cabbage' and *larong besbol* 'baseball game'.

The preferred ordering of nouns within a simple modification construction is: head-linker-modifier. That is, the first noun of the construction generally corresponds to the noun in topic position in the constituent sentence, the second to the noun in predicate position. In most cases, therefore, the first noun represents older information or a more general semantic category, while the second noun represents newer, more explicit, or contrastive information. Thus, to convey in a modification construction the relation expressed in the sentence *Kalan ang laruan* 'The toy is a stove', the order *laruan-linker-kalan* (*laruang kalan* 'toy stove') is preferred. Only when there is a wish to contrast 'toy stove' with, for example, 'real stove', is the order *kalan-linker-laruan* (*kalang laruan* 'toy stove' or 'stove that's a toy') preferred; and here the underlying sentence would be *Laruan ang kalan* 'The stove is a toy'.

The modifying and/or contrastive function of the second noun in a modification construction is also evident when one of the nouns is a deictic. In a sentence like *Mahal ang damit na ito* 'This dress is expensive', the deictic *ito* is a modifier that makes the referent of the noun *damit* explicit. Expressed in terms of matrix, constituent, and resultant sentences, the relationships within *Mahal ang damit na ito* are as follows:

Matrix sentence:	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Mahal ang damit.} \\ \text{'The dress is expensive.'} \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow$
Constituent sentence:	
Resultant sentence:	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Ito ang damit.} \\ \text{'This is the dress.'} \end{array} \right\}$
	<p>Mahal ang damit na ito. 'This dress is expensive.'</p>

A possible context for the resultant sentence is:

Mahal ang damit na ito. 'This dress is expensive.	Pero mura ang damit na iyan. 'But that dress is cheap.'
--	--

On the other hand, putting a deictic before, rather than after, the linker, as in *itong damit* 'this dress' results in giving the noun that follows the linker a contrastive, and hence modifying function:

Matrix sentence:	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Mahal ito.} \\ \text{'This is expensive.'} \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow$
Constituent sentence:	
Resultant sentence:	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Damit ito.} \\ \text{'This is a dress.'} \end{array} \right\}$
	<p>Mahal itong damit. 'This dress is expensive.'</p>

A possible context for this resultant sentence is:

Mahal itong damit. 'This dress is expensive.'	Pero mura itong sombrero. 'But this hat is cheap.'
--	---

If the plural marker *mga* – cf. §3.9 – occurs in a modification construction involving a deictic and another noun, it precedes the other noun in all cases: thus, *itong mga damit* 'these dresses; *mga damit na ito* 'these dresses'.

A deictic *sa* pronoun – *dito*, etc. – cannot serve as the head of a regular modification construction. Thus, there is no **Para ditong damit ang mga bitones* derivable from *Para dito ang mga bitones* ‘The buttons are for this’ and *Damit ito* ‘This is a dress’. To express the equivalent of, e.g., ‘for this dress’, Tagalog does not use a modification construction, but uses instead a special construction in which a deictic *sa* pronoun is immediately followed by another *sa* phrase, without linking: *Para dito sa damit ang mga bitones* ‘The buttons are for this dress’. Other examples are:

Ibigay mo riyan sa bata ang libro.
 ‘Give the book to that *child*.’

Pumunta ka roon sa palengke.
 ‘Go to that *market*.’

§3.13. Modification constructions: noun head with adjective modifier.

There is a group of adjectives which, in simple modification constructions headed by an unmarked noun, regularly precede the linker. These adjectives include the CARDINAL and ORDINAL NUMBERS (cf. §4.4) and a small list of other words, called LIMITERS (cf. §3.22), that express quantity or order in a series: e.g., *marami* ‘much, many’, *huli* ‘(the) last’. Thus, corresponding to the sentences:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Dalawa} \\ \text{Marami} \\ \text{Ikalawa} \\ \text{Huli} \end{array} \right\}$	ang bata.
--	-----------

‘There are two children.’ (Literally: ‘The children are two.’)
 ‘There are many children.’ (Literally: ‘The children are many.’)
 ‘The child is second.’
 ‘The child is last.’

are the following modification constructions:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{dalawang} \\ \text{maraming} \\ \text{ikalawang} \\ \text{huling} \end{array} \right\}$	bata	‘two children’ ‘many children’ ‘the second child’ ‘the last child’
--	------	---

(In modification constructions consisting of a deictic and a number or limiter, word order is determined by which of the two elements is the head, as in the case of the deictic-plus-unmarked-noun modification constructions discussed in §3.12. Thus *itong dalawa* is ‘these two’, with head *ito* and modifier *dalawa*, while (*ang*) *dalawang ito* is ‘these two’, with the nominalized head *dalawa* and the modifier *ito*.)

Word order is much less fixed in simple modification constructions that involve modifying adjectives other than numbers or limiters. In the case of such constructions, decided word-order preferences obtain only when the construction occurs as an unmarked predicate. In this position, if the adjective and the noun provide equally new or equally important information, the order noun-linker-adjective is preferred: e.g.,

Doktor na bantog ang ama ni Juan.
 ‘Juan’s father is a famous doctor.’

The order *doktor na bantog* ‘famous doctor’ suggests that the audience knows neither that Juan’s father is a doctor nor that he is a famous one.

If, however, the information provided by the noun is relatively well-known or self-evident, while the information provided by the adjective is less well known or less self-evident, the order adjective-linker-noun is preferred: e.g.,

Bantog na tao ang ama ni Juan.
'Juan's father is a famous man.'

Bantog na siyudad ang Maynila.
'Manila is a famous city.'

Here, the *tao* in the first sentence and the *siyudad* in the second provide relatively little information, since the audience may be assumed to know that Juan's father is a 'man' and Manila a 'city'. Hence the order *taong bantog* or *siyudad na bantog* would be felt to place unnecessary emphasis upon the obvious. Similarly, the first example above, *Doktor na bantog ang ama ni Juan*, would not normally be used in a situation in which the audience already knew that Juan's father was a doctor. In this situation *Bantog na doktor ang ama ni Juan* would be preferred.

In other than unmarked-predicate position – e.g., after *ang*, *ng*, or *sa* – the order of the modifying adjective and the head noun is not significant. Either the adjective-linker-noun order or the noun-linker-adjective order may be used, without any apparent difference in meaning.

Some examples are:

Ang $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{bantog na siyudad} \\ \text{siyudad na bantog} \end{array} \right\}$ ang siyudad na ito.

'This city is the famous city.'

Magara ang $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pulang baro.} \\ \text{barong pula.} \end{array} \right\}$

'The red dress is attractive.'

Siya ang anak ng $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mayamang tao.} \\ \text{taong mayaman.} \end{array} \right\}$

'He's the son of a rich man.'

Bumili sila ng $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{maliit na bahay.} \\ \text{bahay na maliit.} \end{array} \right\}$

'They bought a small house.'

Para sa $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{malaking bintana} \\ \text{bintanang malaki} \end{array} \right\}$ ang kurtina.

'The curtain is for the big window.'

Humahanga siya sa $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{magagandang babae.} \\ \text{babaeng magaganda.} \end{array} \right\}$

'He admires beautiful women.'

In such constructions, when one order results in the use of the /-*ng*/ form of the linker and the other in the use of the /*na*/ form of the linker *na/ng* (cf. §3.11), the former is slightly preferred. Thus *bagong titser* 'new teacher' would be somewhat more likely to occur than *titser na bago*, and *batang mabait* 'good child' than *mabait na bata*.

§3.14. Modification constructions: noun head with modifying phrase.*

Any adjective phrase or verbal that occurs as predicate with a given noun in topic position may occur as modifier with that same noun as head. The shape of the phrase in the modification construction is exactly the same as its shape as predicate of the constituent sentence (cf. §3.11); thus from the constituent sentence *Nagbabasa ng diyaryo ang babae* 'The woman is reading a paper' is derived the modification construction *babaeng nagbabasa ng diyaryo* 'woman reading a paper' (as in *Ang babaeng nagbabasa ng diyaryo ang tiya ko* 'The woman reading a paper is my aunt') in which the predicate of the constituent sentence, *nagbabasa ng diyaryo*, appears intact. In this respect Tagalog modifying phrases differ from English modifying phrases, which, even when they are derived from the predicate of the constituent sentence, are somewhat different in shape from the predicate itself. Thus from the constituent sentence 'The woman is reading a paper' English derives such modification constructions as 'woman who is reading a paper' and 'woman reading a paper' (e.g., 'The woman (who is) reading a paper is my aunt'), but not 'woman is reading a paper' (*'The woman is reading a paper is my aunt').

Another respect in which Tagalog modification constructions involving modifying phrases differ from their English counterparts is word order. As was mentioned in §3.11, English modifying phrases normally follow the head: e.g., 'woman reading a paper', 'book on the table'. Tagalog modifying phrases, on the other hand, may in most cases either precede or follow the head. Thus:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(nagbabasa ng diyaryong babae)} \\ \text{(babae ng nagbabasa ng diyaryo)} \end{array} \right\}$	'woman reading a paper'
$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(nasa mesang libro)} \\ \text{(librong nasa mesa)} \end{array} \right\}$	'book on the table'

There is, however, a tendency to prefer the order head-linker-modifier when the modifying phrase is long. Thus, while 'teacher who gave her students books' may be either *titser na nagbigay ng libro sa kaniyang mga istudyante* or *nagbigay ng libro sa kaniyang mga istudyanteng titser*, the former is preferred. There is also a preference for the order head-linker-modifier when, as is often the case, the order modifier-linker-head is potentially ambiguous. The sentence

Amerikanong may pera si Bob.
'Bob is an American with money.'

is, for example, unambiguous, but

May perang Amerikano si Bob.

may mean either the same as the first sentence or 'Bob has American money.' The first sentence, which avoids ambiguity, is preferred.

Some further examples of sentences that include modifying phrases are:

Alin ang	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(kotseng gusto ni Juan?)} \\ \text{(gusto ni Juang kotse?)} \end{array} \right\}$
'Which is the car Juan likes?'	

Ayaw niya ng mga	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(kuwentong tungkol sa giyera.)} \\ \text{(tungkol sa giycrang kuwento.)} \end{array} \right\}$
'He doesn't like stories about war.'	

*The term *phrase*, as used in this section, includes all structures classified as adjective phrases in Chapter 4 or as verbals in Chapter 5, although some of these structures actually consist of a single word.

Masarap ang $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(pagkaing niluto mo.)} \\ \text{(niluto mong pagkain.)} \end{array} \right\}$
 'The food you cooked is delicious.'

Pumunta ka sa $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(tindahang pinuntahan ko)} \\ \text{(pinuntahan kong tindahan.)} \end{array} \right\}$
 'Go to the store I went to.'

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(Regalong para sa titser)} \\ \text{(Para sa titser na regalo)} \end{array} \right\}$ ito.
 'This is a present for the teacher.'

Nobela ang $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(librong nasa mesa.)} \\ \text{(nasa mesang libro.)} \end{array} \right\}$
 'The book on the table is a novel.'

An abbreviated alternative to a head-linker-modifier construction may occur whenever the modifier is a reservational, partisanship or purpose phrase of the shape *para + sa + noun* (cf. §4.20) or a locative phrase of the shape *na + sa + noun* (cf. §4.19). In the case of a *para-sa*-phrase modifier, the abbreviation consists in the deletion of the linker, so that the resultant construction has the shape: head + *para + sa + noun*. If, for example, the linker is deleted from *regalong para sa titser* 'present for the teacher', what remains is *regalo para sa titser*, which has exactly the same meaning. In the case of a locative-phrase modifier, the abbreviation consists in the deletion of both the linker and the *na* of the locative phrase, so that the resultant construction has the shape: head + *sa + noun*. If, for example, the linker and the *na* are deleted from *librong nasa mesa* 'book on the table', what remains is *libro sa mesa* which has exactly the same meaning. Some further examples of abbreviated *para-sa*-phrase-modifier and locative-modifier constructions are given below. In each case the full form of the construction, which includes the linker (and, in the case of locative modifiers, the *na* of the locative phrase), is given above the abbreviated form:

Sino ang $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(titser na para sa ikalawang grado?)} \\ \text{(titser para sa ikalawang grado?)} \end{array} \right\}$
 'Who is the teacher for the second grade?'

May $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(telegramang para sa iyo.)} \\ \text{(telegrama para sa iyo.)} \end{array} \right\}$
 'There's a telegram for you.'

Malaki ang $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(bahay na nasa kanto.)} \\ \text{(bahay sa kanto.)} \end{array} \right\}$
 'The house on the corner is big.'

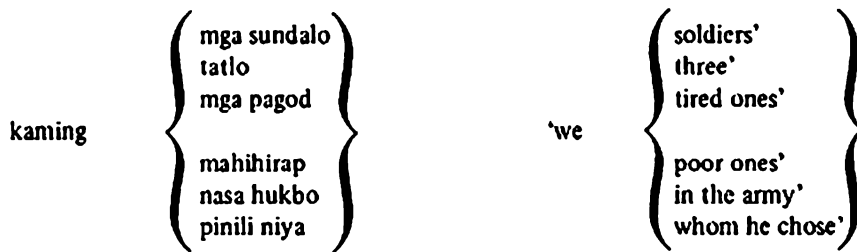
Kinuha niya ang $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(silyang nasa salas.)} \\ \text{(silya sa salas.)} \end{array} \right\}$
 'He took the chair (that was) in the living room.'

(The last of the above examples is actually ambiguous in its abbreviated form, since *sa salas* may be interpreted not only as a locative modifier of *silya*, but also as a locative adverb placed in sentence-final

position – cf. §6.9. With the latter interpretation, the sentence *Kinuha niya ang silya sa salas* would have the meaning ‘He took the chair from the living room’. This type of ambiguity is quite common when the abbreviated locative-modifier construction is used.)

§3.15. Modification of personal pronouns.

Modification constructions headed by personal pronouns are considerably more restricted, both in their internal structure and in the contexts in which they occur, than are modification constructions headed by nouns. The order of elements within a modification construction headed by a personal pronoun is always head (pronoun) + linker + modifier. Thus:



but not: **mga sundalong kami*, etc.

In the case of singular pronouns, only the *ang* forms (cf. §3.3) may occur as heads of modification constructions, and then only in predicate position. Thus:

Ikaw na Pilipino ang kailangan ng heneral.
 ‘What the general needs is you, a Filipino.’

but not:

**Kailangan kang Pilipino ng heneral.*

These restrictions do not apply to plural pronouns. *Ang*, *ng*, and *sa* plural pronouns may all head modification constructions, and such modification constructions may occur in all the same contexts as the unmodified pronouns. Thus:

Kailangan kayong mga Pilipino ng heneral.
 ‘The general need you Filipinos.’

Mahal ninyong mga Pilipino ang bayan ninyo.
 ‘Your country is dear to you Filipinos.’

Para sa inyong mga Pilipino ang paanyayang ito.
 ‘This invitation is for your Filipinos.’

For some speakers, any noun or pluralizable one-word adjective modifying a plural pronoun must be explicitly pluralized (cf. §§3.9 and 4.11). For other speakers explicit pluralization in such cases is not obligatory, but merely preferred. There is thus a certain amount of disagreement about the acceptability of constructions such as *kayong Pilipino* and *kaming mahirap*. All speakers prefer *kayong mga Pilipino* and *kaming (mga) mahihirap*, and some reject the constructions with nonpluralized modifiers altogether.

Modification constructions headed by the *ng* and *sa* third-person-plural pronouns *nila* and *kanila* are relatively rare except where the modifier is a cardinal number. Thus constructions like *nilang/kanilang mga Pilipino* ‘(of/to) them who are Filipinos’ are uncommon, but constructions like *nilang/kanilang dalawa* ‘(of/to) the two of them’ are of frequent occurrence.

In many cases, sentences that may be interpreted as involving modification constructions headed by *ng* or *sa* pronouns are susceptible to another structural interpretation as well. Thus the sentence:

Ilan ang pipiliin naming mga opisyal?

may mean either 'How many will we officers choose?' (in which case *naming mga opisyal* is a pronoun-headed modification construction) or 'How many officers will we choose?' (in which case *pipiliin naming mga opisyal* is a modification construction headed by *mga opisyal*: literally, '(the) will-be-chosen-by-us officers'). Similarly the sentence:

Para sa inyong mga ina ang paanyayang ito.

may mean either 'This invitation is for you mothers' (in which case *inyong mga ina* is a pronoun-headed modification construction) or 'This invitation is for your mothers (in which case *inyong mga ina* is a possessive modification construction – cf. §3.19). In most such cases of ambiguity, native speakers of Tagalog tend to interpret the sentences as not involving pronoun-headed modification constructions unless the context makes this interpretation perfectly clear.

§3.16. Modification of personal nouns.

A personal noun may serve as either the first or the second component of a simple modification construction, and may or may not be preceded by a personal-noun marker.

(a) **Personal noun as first component; personal-noun marker.** A personal noun that is the first component of a modification construction is always the head of the construction. If the personal noun is preceded by a personal-noun marker (*si, ni, kay*), the construction has the meaning of naming and characterizing an individual. The characterization is expressed by the modifier. If this modifier is an adjectival or a verbal, it acts as an epithet, serving, in effect, as part of the name: e.g.,

lyon si pedrong	}	(marunong. gumagawa ng sapatos.)
‘That’s Pedro the	}	(wise. maker of shoes.)

In order for an adjectival or a verbal to occur in this construction, it must express a potentially characteristic quality or activity. Certain kinds of adjectivals and verbals are thus disqualified from occurring in the construction. In particular, it may be noted that a verbal modifier must be in the imperfective aspect, the aspect used to express habitual activity (cf. §2.7). While, for example, a verbal like *gumagawa ng sapatos* 'makes shoes' may occur as a modifier after *si Pedrong*, a verbal like *gumawa ng sapatos* 'made shoes' or *gagawa ng sapatos* 'will make shoes' may not.

A modifying unmarked noun in this construction may or may not serve as an epithet. Thus *si Pedrong mangingisda* may mean either 'Pedro the fisherman', with *mangingisda* 'fisherman' functioning as part of the name, or 'Pedro, the fisherman', with *mangingisda* functioning as a characterizing modifier but not part of the name. (When the unmarked noun does not function as an epithet, an alternative construction may occur. This construction, which may be called an **APPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTION**, involves, instead of the linker *na/ng*, a pause and the marker *ang* before the unmarked noun. Thus:

}	(si Pedro, ang mangingisda si Pedrong mangingisda)	‘Pedro, the fisherman’
---	---	------------------------

The appositional construction is a standard alternative to the modification construction only when the marker that precedes the personal noun is *si*. However, constructions like *ni Pedro, ang mangingisda* and *kay Pedro, ang mangingisda* – as alternatives to *ni Pedrong mangingisda* and *kay Pedrong mangingisda* respectively – though rare, are probably grammatical.)

For reasons similar to those that disqualify certain adjectivals and verbals from occurrence in this construction, deictic pronouns may not occur. There is, for example, no **si Pedrong ito*, since *ito* 'this' cannot serve as a characterization.

(b) **Personal noun as first component; no personal-noun marker.** If a personal noun occurring as the first component of a modification construction is not preceded by a personal-noun marker (but is preceded, instead, by *ang*, *ng*, or *sa*), the construction has the meaning of distinguishing a particular person from another or others with the same name. The construction is, in other words, contrastive, either explicitly or implicitly: e.g.,

Hinahanap ko ang Pedrong	}	(marunong inihalal nila mangingisda ito)	(hindi ang Pedrong . . .)
'I'm looking for	}	(the Pedro who's wise the Pedro they elected the Pedro who's a fisherman this Pedro)	(not the Pedro . . .)

(c) **Personal noun as second component; personal-noun marker.** As the second component of a modification construction, a personal noun may be preceded by only one of the personal-noun markers: the marker *si*. The first element of the construction may be preceded by *ang*, *ng*, or *sa*, and it is this marker, rather than the *si* before the personal noun that indicates the function in the sentence of the modification construction as a whole. Thus:

Iyon ang mabait na si Mr. Cruz.
'That's kind Mr. Cruz.'

Pinili ka ng mabait na si Mr. Cruz.
'Kind Mr. Cruz chose you.'

Dadalaw ako sa mabait na si Mr. Cruz.
'I'm going to visit kind Mr. Cruz.'

If the first element of the construction is an adjectival or a verbal, the personal noun is the head of the construction:

Iyon ang	}	(mabait na inihalal naming)	si Mr. Cruz.
'That's	}	(kind Mr. Cruz.' Mr. Cruz, whom we elected.)'	

If the first element of the construction is a nominal, the personal noun serves as a modifier:

Iyon ang senador na si Mr. Cruz.
'That's the senator (named) Mr. Cruz.'

In all cases, the construction has the meaning of naming and giving information about an individual.

(d) **Personal noun as second component: no personal-noun marker.** When a personal noun occurring as the second component of a modification construction is not preceded by a personal-noun marker, the first element of the construction is normally an adjectival or a verbal. In these cases, the personal noun is the head of the construction, and the construction, which is contrastive in meaning, is interchangeable with the contrastive construction discussed above, in which the personal noun is the first component. Thus:

Hinahanap ko ang { Pedrong marunong. }
 { marunong na Pedro. }
 'I'm looking for the Pedro who's wise.'

Hinahanap ko ang { Pedrong inihalal nila. }
 { inihalal nilang Pedro. }
 'I'm looking for the Pedro they elected.'

An unmarked noun cannot occur as the first component of this construction. Thus there is no **ang mangingisdang Pedro* to correspond to *ang Pedrong mangingisda* 'the Pedro who's a fisherman'. If a deictic pronoun occurs as the first component of the construction, the deictic is the head of the construction and the construction is not contrastive. Rather, it has the meaning 'this/that (one named)'. Like the *ang-plus-personal-noun* construction mentioned in §3.5, this construction is of limited distribution, occurring regularly only in predicate position: e.g.,

Iyong Juan daw ang kapatid niya.
 'They say that his brother is that (person named) Juan.'

Itong Maria ang nakayayamot.
 'The trouble-maker is this (person named) Maria.'

§3.17. Complex modification constructions.

A complex modification construction is a modification construction whose head and/or modifier itself includes a modification construction. A head that includes a modification construction is a **COMPLEX HEAD**; a modifier that includes a modification construction is a **COMPLEX MODIFIER**.

A complex head, like the simple heads dealt with in §3.12 through 3.16, always corresponds to the topic of a constituent sentence; a complex modifier, like the simple modifiers, always corresponds to the predicate of a constituent sentence. The complex modification construction *maliit na laruan kalan* 'small toy stove', for example, includes the complex head *laruang kalan* 'toy stove', which corresponds to the topic of the constituent sentence:

Maliit ang laruang kalan
 'The toy stove is small.'

The complex modification construction *gulay na repolyong gisado* 'vegetable dish (made from) sauteed cabbage', includes the complex modifier *repolyong gisado* 'sauteed cabbage', which corresponds to the predicate of the constituent sentence:

Repolyong gisado ang gulay.
 'The vegetable dish is (made from) sauteed cabbage.'

(It is often the case that a complex modification construction is ambiguous because it corresponds to two different constituent sentences. Consider, for example, the complex modification construction *istudyanteng mahusay na kantor*. This construction may mean either 'good student who is a singer' or 'student who is a good singer'. In the first interpretation, the construction includes a complex head, *istudyanteng mahusay* 'good student', and a simple modifier, *kantor* 'singer', and corresponds to the constituent sentence:

Kantor ang istudyanteng mahusay.
 'The good student is a singer.'

In the second interpretation, the construction includes a simple head, *istudyante* 'student', and a complex modifier, *mahusay na kantor* 'good singer', and corresponds to the constituent sentence:

Mahusay na kantor ang istudyante.
'The student is a good singer.'

The order of two elements within a complex head or modifier is normally in accord with the generalizations about word order in modification constructions made in §§3.12 through 3.16. Thus the generalization that governs the preference for *laruang kalan* over *kalang laruan* for expressing 'toy stove' (cf. §3.12) applies to the expression of 'toy stove' as a complex head – e.g., *maliit na laruang kalan* 'small toy stove' – or as a complex modifier – e.g., *regalong laruang kalan* 'gift (of a) toy stove'.

The complex modification constructions presented by way of example thus far have all consisted of three linked elements, analyzable either into complex head and simple modifier or simple head and complex modifier. Complex constructions that include four or more linked elements are, however, by no means uncommon. Both the head and the modifier may be complex: e.g.,

maliit na regalong laruang kalan
'small gift (of a) toy stove,'

which is analyzable into the complex head, *maliit na regalo*, and the complex modifier, *laruang kalan*. And either or both the head and modifier may include more than two linked elements: e.g.,

maliit na regalong laruang kalan
'this small gift (of a) plastic toy stove.'

which is analyzable into the three-element complex head *maliit na regalong ito* and the three-element complex modifier *kalang laruang plastic*.

A deictic at the beginning of a complex modification construction is normally the head (or part of the complex head) of the construction. For example:

itong hinog na mangga 'this ripe mango'

In the example, *hinog na mangga* makes explicit the referent of *ito*, as in the examples of deictic heads presented in §3.12. Thus *itong hinog na mangga* suggests some such context as 'this ripe mango, not this green papaya', and contrasts with *hinog na manggang ito*, which suggests 'this ripe mango, not that one'.

A deictic may occur at the beginning of a complex modification construction that includes a deictic modifier. (The initial and noninitial deictics in such constructions are always the same.) For example:

itong manggang ito	'this mango'
iyang damit na iyan	'that dress'
iyong lapis na iyon	'that pencil'

In such cases, the initial deictic is not the head of the construction, but serves, rather, as an intensifier of the deictic modifier. Thus *itong manggang ito*, like *manggang ito*, suggests a context like 'this mango, not that one', rather than a context like 'this mango, not this papaya'.

A number or other limiter (cf. §§3.13, 3.22, and 4.4), may occur as part of a complex head or complex modifier, and is normally the first element within the complex unit: e.g.,

tatlong kahong kahoy	'three wooden boxes'
regalong dalawang mangga	'gift (of) two mangoes'

In the first of the above examples, *tatlo* 'three' may be either part of the complex head *tatlong kahon* 'three boxes' or a modifier of the complex head *kahong kahoy* 'wooden boxes.' (The corresponding constituent sentences are:

Kahoy ang tatlong kahon.
 'The three boxes are wooden.'

Tatlo ang kahong kahoy.
 'The wooden boxes are three.' ('There are three wooden boxes.')

It is this structural ambiguity that accounts for the fact that the construction might be used in either of the following contexts:

tatlong kahong kahoy – hindi papel
 'three *wooden* boxes – not *paper*'

tatlong kahong kahoy – hindi dalawa
 'three wooden boxes – not *two*'

In *regalong dalawang mangga*, *dalawa* 'two' is part of the complex modifier *dalawang mangga* 'two mangoes'.

A modification construction consisting of a number or limiter, the linker *na/-ng*, and a noun that expresses a unit of measurement or a containing unit may be used as a complex modifier: e.g.,

isang librang mantikilya	'one/a pound of butter'
dalawang sakong bigas	'two bags of rice'
maraming tasang kape	'many cups of coffee'

(When a number/limiter + linker + noun-of-measurement construction is used to express a measured selection from a specific source, the construction is followed by the marker *ng* instead of the linker *na/-ng*. Thus 'a pound of the butter' is *isang libra ng mantikilya*, 'two bags of that rice' is *dalawang sako ng bigas na iyan*. This construction is similar to the limiter-plus-*ng*-phrase construction discussed in §3.22.)

A verb or adjective phrase may occur in a complex modification construction, functioning as a modifier, part of a complex modifier, or part of a complex head: e.g.,

{ binili kong para sa batang }	damit na seda	
'silk dress	{ I bought' for the child' }	
regalong manggang	{ pinitas niya kahapon galing sa probinsiya }	
'gift (of) mangoes	{ he picked yesterday' from the provinces' }	
damit na	{ nilabhan ko kahapong para kay Mariang }	lana
'wool dress	{ I washed yesterday' for Maria' }	

And a modifying verb or adjective phrase may include within it a modification construction: e.g.,

librong	{	binili ng bagong titser	}
		nasa mesang mababa	
		}	
'book	{	the new teacher bought'	}
		on the low table'	
		}	

(The modifying verb phrase *binili ng bagong titser* includes the modification construction *bagong titser* 'new teacher'; the modifying adjective phrase *nasa mesang mababa* includes the modification construction *mesang mababa* 'low table'.) The presence of a modification construction within a modifying phrase has no influence upon the order of the phrase in relation to its head.

§3.18. Nonrestrictive modifiers.

As was noted in §3.11, Tagalog, like English, makes a distinction between restrictive and nonrestrictive modifiers: i.e., between modifiers that limit the reference of the head with which they occur and those that merely give information about the head. Most of the modification constructions described and illustrated in the preceding sections involve restrictive modifiers. Exceptions are certain of the modification constructions dealt with in §§3.15 and 3.16, headed by personal pronouns and personal nouns. The modifiers in these constructions – e.g., *Pilipino in ikaw na Filipino* 'you, a Filipino', *inihalal nila in ang inihalal nilang si Mr. Cruz* 'Mr. Cruz, whom they elected' – are necessarily nonrestrictive because the heads with which they occur have in themselves a limited reference that does not allow of further limitation by modifiers of these types. The present section is not concerned with nonrestrictive modifiers of this kind, which are nonrestrictive by virtue of the meaning of the heads with which they occur, but are otherwise indistinguishable from restrictive modifiers. Rather, it is concerned with those nonrestrictive modifiers that have distinctive formal characteristics.

In English, the distinction between a restrictive and a nonrestrictive modifier is normally signaled by intonation. Nonrestrictive modifiers are spoken as separate intonation phrases, and are bounded by pauses (indicated by commas in writing), while restrictive modifiers usually follow their head without pause and form a single intonation phrase with it. Thus:

'the students, who worked hard...' (nonrestrictive; two intonation phrases)

vs. 'the students who worked hard...' (restrictive; one intonation phrase).

In Tagalog too, nonrestrictive modifiers constitute separate intonation phrases while restrictive modifiers normally do not:

ang mga mag-aaral, na nagtrabaho nang masakap,... (two phrases)
'the students, who worked hard,...'

vs. ang mga mag-aaral na nagtrabaho nang masakap... (one phrase)
'the students who worked hard...'

Another similarity between English and Tagalog nonrestrictive modifiers is that, in both languages, such modifiers always follow their heads. Thus the reversibility of head and modifier that has been ascribed, in preceding sections, to Tagalog modification constructions as a group does not apply in cases when the modifier is nonrestrictive. In all cases of nonrestrictive modification, the head is the first element of the construction, the modifier the second.

The fact that a nonrestrictive modifier always constitutes a separate intonation phrase, and is consequently preceded by a pause, has consequences for the shape of the linker *na/-ng* in nonrestrictive

modification. As was noted in §3.11, only the /na/ form of the linker occurs after a pause, whatever may be the final consonant of the independent form of the pre-pausal word. Therefore, in cases where the /ŋ/ form of the linker occurs before a restrictive modifier (i.e., cases where the preceding word ends, in its independent form, in /h/, /ʔ/, or /n/), there is, in addition to the pause, a second formal distinction between modification constructions involving nonrestrictive modifiers and those involving restrictive modifiers: namely, the distinction between the /na/ and the /ŋ/ forms of the linker. Thus:

ang mga estudyante, na nagtrabaho nang masakap
'the students, who worked hard'

vs. ang mga estudyanteng nagtrabaho nang masakap
'the students who worked hard'

There are certain types of structures that may serve freely as restrictive modifiers but that either do not occur or occur rarely as nonrestrictive modifiers. Unmarked nouns, for example, do not occur as nonrestrictive modifiers unless they themselves are modified. Thus, while there are restrictive constructions like *ang guro kong Amerikana* 'my American teacher' or 'my teacher who is an American', there are no constructions like **ang guro ko, na Amerikana*. (To express the equivalent of 'my teacher, who is an American', Tagalog requires the use of *isa* 'one/a(n)' plus linker within the nonrestrictive modifier: *ang guro ko, na isang Amerikana*.)

One-word adjectives occur rarely if at all as nonrestrictive modifiers, except when the adjectives are intensified. (Cf. §4.12 for the intensification of adjectives.) While constructions like *ang guro ko, na napakahusay* or *ang guro ko, na mahusay na mahusay* 'my teacher, who is very good' are quite acceptable (*napakahusay* and *mahusay na mahusay* are both intensifications of *mahusay* 'good'), constructions like *ang guro ko, na mahusay* are of questionable grammaticality.

§3.19. Adverbial modifiers.

Two types of adverbs occur as modifiers in nominal modification constructions: time adverbs and locative adverbs. These are the same two classes of adverbs that may occur in sentence-initial position as pseudo-predicates (cf. §§6.8 and 6.9). The head nouns with which time and locative adverbs may occur as modifiers are the same nouns that may occur as topics with adverbial pseudo-predicates: i.e., nouns that express events. Some examples of time and locative adverbs used as pseudo-predicates are:

{ Alas nuwebe }
{ Sa bahay ko } ang handaan.

'The party is/was { at nine o'clock.' }
 { at my house.' }

{ Tuwing Linggo }
{ Sa likod ng simbahan } ang mga miting.

'The meetings are held { every Sunday.' }
 { behind the church.' }

{ Noong isang buwan }
{ Dito } ang aksidente.

Tungkol sa mga miting	{ tuwing Linggo { sa likod ng simbahan }	ang aming usapan.
'Our conversation was about the meetings (held)	{ every Sunday.' { behind the church.'	
Sino ang makakalimot ng aksidente	{ noong isang buwan? { dito? }	
'Who can forget the accident (that happened)	{ last month?' { here? }	

(Some sentences that involve adverbial modifiers are ambiguous, since the phrases may be interpretable as referring to the entire predicate-plus-topic structure, as well as to the nominal head alone. Thus the sentence *Pinag-usapan namin ang aksidente noong isang buwan* may mean either 'We talked about the accident (that happened) last month', in which case *noong isang buwan* is interpreted as a modifier of *aksidente*, or 'Last month we talked about the accident', in which case *noong isang buwan* is interpreted as referring to the entire predicate-plus-topic structure.)

When an adverb occurs in a complex modification construction (cf. §3.18), it is always the last element of the construction. Regardless of whether the element that precedes the adverb is the head of the construction or another modifier, the adverb is never preceded by a linker. Thus:

{ handaang malaki { malaking handaan }	nang alas nuwebe
'big party at nine o'clock'	

§3.20. Possessive modification constructions.

Tagalog has two classes of possessive constructions: possessive sentences, and possessive modification constructions. Every possessive construction, whether a sentence or a modification construction, includes as its basic components a word or phrase expressing something possessed and a word or phrase expressing the possessor. In a possessive sentence, one of the basic components occurs in the topic, the other in the predicate. In a possessive modification construction, the two components are juxtaposed: both may occur in the topic, or both in the predicate.

There are two main types of possessive sentences in Tagalog. In one, the predicate expresses the thing possessed, by means of a *may* phrase: e.g.,

May lapis ang bata.
'The child has a pencil.'

In the other, the predicate expresses the possessor, by means of a *sa* phrase: e.g.,

Sa bata ang lapis.
'The pencil belongs to the child.'

(These constructions are dealt with in detail in §4.22.)

There are four types of possessive modification constructions in Tagalog. Two of these belong to the class of modification constructions introduced in §3.11, and share the essential characteristics of this class: viz., the components of the construction (the head and the modifier) are connected by the linker

na/ng; and the head and modifier correspond respectively to the topic and predicate of an underlying constituent sentence. In one of these constructions, the modifier is a possessive *may* phrase; in the other, the modifier is a possessive *sa* phrase. The constituent sentences that underlie the constructions are thus the two types of possessive sentences mentioned above. Examples of the modification constructions are:

{ batang may lapis }
 { may lapis na bata }
 'child with a pencil' ('child that has a pencil')

{ lapis na sa bata }
 { sa batang lapis }
 'the child's pencil' ('pencil that belongs to the child')

Note that both of these constructions, like most of the other modification constructions dealt with in §§3.11 through 3.17, allow alternative word order. As was mentioned in §3.14, however, there is a general preference for placing one-word components of modification structures before phrasal components, particularly when the phrasal components are long (e.g., if they themselves include modifiers). Thus 'child with a new pencil' would normally be *batang may bagong lapis* rather than *may bagong lapis na bata*; and 'pencil that belongs to the child sitting over there' would normally be *lapis na sa batang nakaupo doon* rather than *sa batang nakaupo doong lapis*.

As is explained in §4.22, *sa* itself is optional in a possessive-*sa*-phrase predicate that involves the *sa* form of a personal pronoun. Thus 'The pencil belongs to me' may be either of the following:

Sa akin ang lapis.
 Akin ang lapis.

When the *sa* form of a personal pronoun occurs as a possessive modifier, on the other hand, the presence or absence of *sa* depends upon whether the pronoun precedes or follows the head. If the pronoun precedes the head, *sa* is never used; if the pronoun follows, *sa* is always used. Thus:

Nasaan ang { aking lapis? }
 { lapis na sa akin? }
 'Where is my pencil?'

but not:

*Nasaan ang { sa aking lapis? }
 { lapis na akin? }

Of the two occurring possessive modification constructions that involve *sa* forms of personal pronouns, the one in which the pronoun precedes the linker (e.g., *aking lapis*) is very much more common than the one in which the pronoun follows the linker (e.g., *lapis na sa akin*). The construction in which the pronoun precedes the linker is, in fact, the only commonly used *sa*-possessive modification construction. When the possessor is expressed by something other than a pronoun, there is a strong preference for the *ng*-possessive construction, to be presented later in this section.

The third type of possessive modification construction to be dealt with has the following structure:

Head (Possessor)	Linker	Modifier (Thing Possessed)
Noun	na/-ng	Adjective + ang + Noun

e.g., batang bago ang lapis
 'child with the new pencil'

This construction differs from the two previously discussed in several ways: it does not allow alternative word order, and its head and modifier are not directly referable to the topic and predicate of an underlying constituent sentence. From the point of view of meaning, however, the construction is similar to a construction with a modifying *may* phrase that includes within it a modifying adjective: e.g.,

batang may bagong lapis
'child with a new pencil'

But, while the construction with *may* generally expresses the thing possessed as indefinite (note the translation with 'a' rather than 'the'), the construction under discussion always expresses the thing possessed as definite.

Note that the modifier in this construction has the shape of an ordinary equational sentence – adjective + *ang* + noun. Further examples of the construction are:

bulaklak na mahaba ang tangkay
'flower with the long stem'

babaeng berde ang baro
'woman with the green dress'

doktor na malaki ang bahay
'doctor with the big house'

The fourth type of possessive modification construction to be dealt with has the shape:

	Head (Thing Possessed) Noun	Modifier (Possessor) ng Phrase
e.g.,	lapis ng bata { the } a }	'child's pencil'

(As in other cases, *ng* phrase is to be understood as a cover term for: *ng* plus an unmarked noun; *ni* or *nina* plus a personal noun; the *ng* form of a personal or deictic pronoun.)

This construction differs from the three previously presented possessive modification constructions in that it does not include the linker *na/ng*, and differs from the first two in that its components are not directly referable to an underlying constituent sentence, and in the general nonreversibility of its components. (The *ng* form of a personal pronoun may, however, in certain cases precede a noun expressing the thing possessed; see below.)

The possessive-*ng*-phrase construction is the most common Tagalog translation equivalent of English possessive modification constructions involving the possessive suffix-*'s*, or involving 'of': *ang buntot ng aso* 'the dog's tail', 'the tail of the dog'. Only when the possessor is a pronoun (expressed in English by *my*, *your*, etc.) is the *sa*-possessive construction equally common:

{aking lapis }
{lapis ko }
'my pencil'

A possessive *ng* phrase never begins the construction in which it occurs. When the possessor is expressed by the *ng* form of a personal pronoun, however, and a modifying adjective precedes the word

that represents the thing possessed, the pronoun may follow the adjective and precede the noun. Thus, an alternative to:

maliit na anak ko
'my little child.'

there is also:

maliit kong anak.

(Note that in the second construction the linker follows the pronoun.) Some further examples are:

bagong baro mo	→	bago mong baro 'your new dress'
asul na sombrero niya	→	asul niyang sombrero 'his blue hat'
mahusay na titser natin	→	mahusay nating titser 'our good teacher'
malakas na boses ninyo	→	malakas ninyong boses 'your loud voices'
tamad na kapatid nila	→	tamad nilang kapatid 'their lazy brother'

(This construction involves ENCLITIC behavior of personal pronouns – cf. §3.29.)

In all other cases, a *ng* form of a personal pronoun used as a possessive modifier immediately follows the word representing the thing possessed, whether or not another modifier is also present. Thus:

anak kong maliit
'my little child'

never:

*anak na maliit ko.

A possessive *ng* phrase other than the *ng* form of a personal pronoun always follows the word representing the thing possessed, but another modifier may occur between this word and the *ng* phrase. Thus:

anak na maliit ni Maria
'Maria's little child'

as well as:

anak ni Mariang maliit.

(Since the latter order is frequently ambiguous – the example just given might mean 'little Maria's child' as well as 'Maria's little child' – the order in which the *ng* phrase follows any other modifiers of the head noun is often preferable.)

To express the equivalent of an English emphatic possessive construction with 'own' – e.g., 'my own' – Tagalog uses either a *ng*-possessive or a *sa*-possessive modification construction whose head is *sarili* 'own, self': e.g.,

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Sarili ko} \\ \text{Aking sarili} \end{array} \right\} \text{ ang bahay.}$$
 'The house is my own.'

As in other cases, the *ng*- and *sa*- possessive constructions are equally common only when the possessor is expressed by a personal pronoun. When the possessor is expressed by something other than a personal pronoun, the *ng*-possessive construction is preferred. Thus 'The house is Juan's own' would normally be:

Sarili ni Juan ang bahay.

Emphatic possessive constructions with *sarili* may themselves be used as modifiers, in which case the linker *na/ng* connects the *sarili* construction to the word or phrase expressing the thing possessed. When used as modifiers, emphatic-possessive constructions normally precede the linker:

Ito ang $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{sarili kong bahay.} \\ \text{aking sariling bahay.} \end{array} \right\}$
 'This is my own house.'

(Constructions like *bahay na sarili ko* and *bahay na aking sarili* may, however, occasionally occur.)

As an alternative to constructions like *sarili kong bahay*, some speakers allow a construction in which the *ng* form of the personal pronoun is separated from *sarili* and placed after the head noun: *sariling bahay ko*. As an alternative to constructions like *sarili ni Juan ang bahay* 'Juan's own house', all speakers allow, and many prefer, the placement of the *ng* phrase after the head noun: *sariling bahay ni Juan*.

(For the use of *sarili* in reflexive constructions, cf. §3.21.)

§3.21. Reflexive and intensive nominal constructions.

The English 'self/selves' formations ('myself', 'ourselves', etc.) have two different uses: reflexive, as in 'I hurt myself', and intensive, as in 'I went myself' or 'I myself went'. Tagalog uses distinct constructions to express the reflexive and the intensive.

The Tagalog counterpart of the English reflexive pronouns is identical in shape with the emphatic possessive construction discussed in §3.20: viz., a possessive modification construction whose head is *sarili* 'self, own' and whose modifier is either the *ng* form or the *sa* form of a personal pronoun. As in the case of other possessive modification constructions, the *ng* form follows the head without linking, while the *sa* form precedes the head and is joined to it by the linker *na/ng*. Thus:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{sarili ko} \\ \text{aking sarili} \end{array} \right\} \text{ 'myself'}$$

Some examples of the use of reflexive constructions in sentences are:

Sinaktan ko ang $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{sarili ko.} \\ \text{aking sarili.} \end{array} \right\}$
 'I hurt myself.'

Nag-aalala sila sa $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{\{ sarili nila \\ \text{\} } \\ \text{\{ kanilang sarili \\ \text{\} } \end{array} \right\}$
 'They worry about themselves.'

Reflexive constructions are normally preceded by either the marker *ang* or the marker *sa*. They may follow the marker *ng* only under highly specific circumstances, as explained below, and do not occur as unmarked predicates. (A *sarili* construction without a marker may occur in predicate position, but only as an emphatic possessive: e.g., *Sarili ko iyon* 'That's my own'.)

Reflexive constructions may occur as modifiers (followed by the linker *na/ng*) with a very few unmarked nouns: roughly, those nouns that translate English nouns that occur before 'of' plus a reflexive pronoun. Some examples are:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{\{ sarili niyang \\ \text{\} } \\ \text{\{ kaniyang sariling \\ \text{\} } \end{array} \right\}$ larawan/retrato/foto
 'a picture/picture (photograph)/photo of himself.'

(The usual equivalent of an 'of' phrase with such nouns is not a modifier, but, rather, a *ng* phrase of specification – cf. §3.23. Thus 'a picture of Manila' is *larawan ng Maynila*, not **Maynilang larawan*. The reflexives, however, do not normally occur in *ng* phrases of specification, and a construction like *larawan ng sarili niya* is of questionable grammaticality.) Constructions with reflexives used as modifiers are always ambiguous, since the *sarili* constructions in them may also be interpreted as emphatic possessives. (English constructions like 'his own picture' are similarly ambiguous, and may mean either 'a picture of himself' or 'a picture belonging to him'.) When a reflexive construction is used as a modifier, it may be preceded by the marker *ng* if this is the appropriate marker for the modification constructions as a whole: e.g.,

Tumitinging si Pedro ng $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{\{ sarili niyang \\ \text{\} } \\ \text{\{ kaniyang sariling \\ \text{\} } \end{array} \right\}$ larawan.
 'Pedro was looking at a picture of himself.'

Except when used as a modifier, a reflexive construction is rarely, if ever, preceded by *ng*.

The Tagalog counterpart of a construction involving an English intensive pronoun (and of certain other English constructions – see below) is a construction involving the intensifier *mismo*. *Mismo* may be used to intensify any marked noun, and any unmarked noun preceded by *ang*, *ng*, or *sa*. (It is, however, less common with *ng* phrases than with *ang* or *sa* phrases.) *Mismo* does not occur with unmarked nouns in predicate position unless the nouns are definitized by a preceding *ang* (cf. §7.17).

Mismo may either precede or follow a sentence-initial marked noun. (In the case of personal nouns, *mismo* either precedes the personal-noun marker or follows the noun.) When *mismo* precedes, it is linked to the nominal by the linker *na/ng*; when it follows, no linker occurs. Thus:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{\{ Mismong ako \\ \text{\} } \\ \text{\{ Ako mismo \\ \text{\} } \\ \text{\{ Mismong ito \\ \text{\} } \\ \text{\{ Ito mismo \\ \text{\} } \\ \text{\{ Mismong si Juan \\ \text{\} } \\ \text{\{ Si Juan mismo \\ \text{\} } \end{array} \right\}$ ang pumunta.
 $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{\{ 'I myself \\ \text{\} } \\ \text{\{ 'This one himself \\ \text{\} } \\ \text{\{ 'Juan himself \\ \text{\} } \end{array} \right\}$ went.'

When *mismo* is used to intensify an unmarked noun preceded by *ang* or *sa* in a sentence-initial phrase, it may occur in any of three positions. It may precede either the marker or the noun, with linking, or it may follow the noun, without linking. (The last is the most common.) Thus:

{ Mismong ang Amerikano }
 { Ang mismong Amerikano } ang pumunta.
 { Ang Amerikano mismo }
 'The American himself went.'

{ Mismong sa Maynila }
 { Sa mismong Maynila } siya nakatira.
 { Sa Maynila mismo }
 'It's in Manila itself that he lives.'

A nominal intensified by *mismo* most often occurs at the beginning of a sentence. Occasionally, however, a non-sentence-initial nominal may be intensified by *mismo*. In such cases, *mismo* always follows the nominal:

Pumunta { siya }
 { si Juan } mismo.
 { iyon }
 { ang Amerikano }

{ 'He }
 { 'Juan }
 { 'That one } went himself.'
 { 'The American }

Sinabi { niya mismo }
 { ni Juan mismo } na maaga pa.
 { noon mismo }
 { ng Amerikano mismo }

{ 'He }
 { 'Juan }
 { 'That one } himself said that it was still early.'
 { 'The American }

Dinala ko { sa kaniya }
 { kay Juan } mismo ang pera.
 { doon }
 { sa Amerikano }

'I brought the money to { him.' }
 { Juan.' }
 { that one.' }
 { the American.' }

As the last example shows, *mismo* is sometimes translatable in English by emphatic stress, rather than an intensive pronoun. In particular cases, it may have certain other English equivalents as well: e.g., 'very' and 'right' as in:

Sa gitna mismo ng siyudad siya nakatira.
'He lives in the very heart of the city.'

Dito mismo siya nakatira.
'He lives right here.'

§3.22. Limiters and limited nominal constructions.

The class of LIMITERS includes various words and phrases that express quantity, distribution, or order in a series. While some limiters may be classified as nouns and others as adjectives, the members of the class show certain differences from nouns and adjectives of other types, that make a unified presentation convenient. (Certain details are, however, presented elsewhere in the text: e.g., the details of the formation of cardinal and ordinal numbers, presented in §4.4.)

The major limiters are the cardinal and ordinal numbers and the items in the following list:

bahagi	'part (of)'
bawa't	'each, every'
kakaunti	'only a little'
kalahati	'half (of)'
kapiraso	'a piece of'
kaputol	'a piece of'
karamihan	'most (of), the majority (of)'
kaunti	'a little, little, few'
hindi (ka)kaunti	'quite a lot (of), not a little'
hindi gaano	'not much'
hindi gagaano	'quite a lot (of), not a little'
hindi iilan	'quite a few, not a few'
huli	'(the) last'
iilan	'only a few'
ilan	'a few, some, certain'
lahat	'all'
marami	'a lot (of), lots (of), much many'
parte	'part (of)'

(The notation *hindi (ka)kaunti* signifies free alternation between the form with and the form without the duplicating syllable. Note that the other limiters that include duplicating syllables – *kakaunti*, *hindi gagaano*, and *iilan* – although related in meaning to their nonduplicated counterparts – *kaunti*, *hindi gaano*, and *ilan* respectively – do not alternate freely with them.)

Two of the limiters, *bawa't* and *lahat*, are dealt with individually later in this section. The remaining limiters are dealt with in groups, immediately below, in relation to structures of four types: unmarked predicates, modification constructions, limiter-plus-*sa*-phrase constructions, and limiter-plus-*ng*-phrase constructions.

The limiters that commonly occur as unmarked predicates are: the cardinal and ordinal numbers, *kakaunti*, *kaunti*, *hindi (ka)kaunti*, *hindi gaano*, *hindi gagaano*, *hindi iilan*, *huli*, *iilan*, and *marami*. The cardinal numbers, *hindi iilan* and *iilan* normally occur as predicates only with count-noun topics (cf. §3.9):

Dalawa	}	ang bulaklak.	'There are	}	flowers.'
Hindi iilan					
iilan					
(Literally: 'The flowers are two,' etc.)					

(The topic is optionally pluralized with (*hindi*) *iilan*, but not with cardinal numbers. Thus, also: (*Hindi*) *iilan ang mga bulaklak*, but not: **Dalawa ang mga bulaklak*).

Kakaunti, *kaunti*, *hindi (ka)kaunti*, *hindi gagaano* and *hindi gaano*

normally occur as predicates with mass-noun topics:

Kakaunti Kaunti Hindi { (ka)kaunti } Hindi { gagaano }	}	ang kape.	‘There is	{	only a little little quite a lot of not much	}	coffee.’
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Hindi gaano
(Literally: ‘The coffee is only a little,’ etc.)

They may, however, also occur with count-noun topics when the count noun is interpreted as expressing an undifferentiated collection rather than an assemblage of individuals. Thus, if one were talking about a collection of small flowers perceived as a mass, one might say *Kakaunti ang bulaklak*, but if the flowers were large and perceived individually, one would say only *iilan ang bulaklak*. A count noun occurring as topic opposite *kakaunti*, *kakaunti*, *hindi (ka)kaunti*, *hindi gaano*, or *hindi gagaano* is never pluralized.

(As predicates, *iilan*, *kakaunti*, and *kaunti* are frequently, but not obligatorily, followed by the enclitic particle *la(ma)ng* ‘only’ (cf. §6.4): *iilan la(ma)ng ang (mga) bulaklak* ‘There are only a few flowers’, *(Ka)kaunti la(ma)ng ang kape* ‘There is only a little coffee’. The presence of *la(ma)ng* after *kakaunti* or *iilan* does not affect the meaning, since these words themselves mean respectively, ‘only a little’ and ‘only a few’. After *kaunti*, however, *la(ma)ng* adds the meaning ‘only’.

Marami may occur as predicate with either a count-noun or a mass-noun topic:

Marami ang	{	(mga) bulaklak kape	}	‘There	{	are is	}	a lot of	{	flowers. coffee.’
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(Literally: ‘The

{	flowers are coffee is	}	a lot.’
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Ordinal numbers and *huli* usually occur with count-noun topics:

Una } Huli }	ang batang ito.	‘This child is	{	first. last.’
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but may occur with mass-noun topics as well:

Una ang sopas; ikalawa ang karne; huli ang kape.
‘The soup is first, the meat second, the coffee last.’

As the preceding examples show, Tagalog sentences whose predicates are limiters expressing quantity (i.e., limiters other than ordinal numbers and *huli*) are frequently translated by ‘There is’ or ‘There are’ constructions in English. When, however, the topic noun of the Tagalog sentence is modified by a possessive *ng* or *sa* phrase (cf. §3.20), the normal English equivalent involves ‘has’ or ‘have’:

Dalawa } iilan } Marami }	ang kaibigan ni Jose.	‘Jose has	{	two only a few many	}	friends.’
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(Literally: ‘Jose’s friends are two,’ etc.)

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Kaunti} \\ \text{Marami} \end{array} \right\}$	ang kanilang pera.	‘They have	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{little} \\ \text{lots of} \end{array} \right\}$	money
(Literally: ‘Their money is little,’ etc.)				

This type of construction is a very common equivalent of English possessive sentences in which ‘has’ or ‘have’ is followed by an expression of quantity.

As was noted in §3.13, limiters occurring as modifiers in modification constructions headed by common nouns or personal nouns regularly precede the linker *na/ng*. (A cardinal number modifying a deictic or personal pronoun follows the linker – cf. §§3.13 and 3.15.) The limiters that commonly occur as modifiers are the same as those that commonly occur as predicates, with the exception of *hindi gaano* and the additions of *kalahati*, *kapisaso*, *kaputol*, and *ilan*. *Kalahati* normally modifies a count noun, *kapisaso* and *kaputol* a mass noun. *Ilan*, which normally modifies a count noun, is equivalent to English ‘a few’, or to ‘some’ when the latter is interchangeable with ‘certain’:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{‘A few} \\ \text{‘Some} \\ \text{‘Certain} \end{array} \right\}$	Gusto ng ilang (mga) tao ang klima roon. people like the climate there.’
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(When ‘some’ is used as an indefinite article, it is normally untranslated in Tagalog: e.g.

Nagdala siya ng (mga) mansanas.
‘He brought some apples.’)

Some examples of limiters in modification constructions are:

Kumain siya ng	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{dalawang} \\ \text{hindi iilang (mga)} \\ \text{iilang (mga)} \\ \text{ilang (mga)} \\ \text{maraming (mga)} \\ \text{kalahating} \\ \text{ikalawang} \\ \text{huling} \end{array} \right\}$	mansanas.
‘He ate	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{two} \\ \text{quite a few} \\ \text{only a few} \\ \text{a few} \\ \text{a lot of} \end{array} \right\} \\ \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{half an} \\ \text{(some of) the second} \\ \text{(some of) the last} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$	apples.’ apple.’
$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Kakaunting} \\ \text{Kapisasong} \\ \text{Kaputol na} \\ \text{Kaunting} \\ \text{Hindi} \\ \text{Maraming} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(ka)kaunting} \\ \text{gagaanong} \end{array} \right\}$	tela iyon.

'That's $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{only a little} \\ \text{a piece of} \\ \text{a little} \\ \text{quite a lot of} \\ \text{a lot of} \end{array} \right\}$ cloth.'

A construction consisting of a limiter plus a *sa* phrase or a *ng* phrase expresses a selection from the grouping designated by the *sa* or *ng* phrase. In general, count-noun groupings are designated by *sa* phrases, mass-noun groupings by *ng* phrases. (Explicit pluralization of a count noun in a *sa* phrase after a limiter is normal, although *mga* is occasionally omitted.) Thus:

Kumain si Nena ng marami $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(sa (mga) mangga.)} \\ \text{ng kanin.} \end{array} \right\}$

'Nena ate a lot of the $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(mangoes.)} \\ \text{(rice.)} \end{array} \right\}$

However, when a count-noun grouping is designated by a nonpluralized deictic pronoun, or by a modification construction beginning with a deictic pronoun, the *ng* form of the pronoun is used:

marami $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(nito)} \\ \text{(nitong (mga) bulaklak na ito)} \end{array} \right\}$

'a lot of $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(these')} \\ \text{(these flowers')} \end{array} \right\}$

(In *marami nito*, the deictic may also refer to a mass-noun grouping, in which case the phrase means 'a lot of this.'). If the deictic pronoun is explicitly pluralized, the marker *sa* is used:

marami sa mga ito 'a lot of these'

(After *marami* – but not after other limiters – there is some variation in the use of *sa* and *ng* phrases. While some speakers follow the generalization given above, two other patterns are found in the case of nominals other than deictics:

(1) Some speakers use only *sa* phrases, regardless of whether a mass- or count-noun grouping is designated; thus, for these speakers:

Kumain si Nena ng marami sa $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(mga) mangga.} \\ \text{kanin.} \end{array} \right\}$

(2) Some speakers use *ng* and *sa* interchangeably; thus, for these speakers:

Kumain si Nena ng marami $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(ng)} \\ \text{(sa)} \end{array} \right\}$ $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(mga) mangga.} \\ \text{kanin.} \end{array} \right\}$

Limiters that commonly occur with *sa* phrases (or the *ng* form of a deictic) are: the cardinal and ordinal numbers, *karamihan*, *huli*, *ilan*, *ilan*, and *marami*. Some examples are:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{dalawa} \\ \text{ikalawa} \\ \text{karamihan} \\ \text{huli} \\ \text{iilan} \\ \text{ilan} \\ \text{marami} \end{array} \right\}$	sa (mga) bata	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'two} \\ \text{'the second} \\ \text{'most} \\ \text{'the last} \\ \text{'only a few} \\ \text{'some} \\ \text{'a lot} \end{array} \right\}$	of the children'
---	---------------	---	------------------

(*Karamihan* differs from the other limiters that take *sa* phrases in that in most cases it allows free alternation between the *sa* phrase and a *ng* phrase. Thus: *Karamihan ng (mga) bata* 'most of the children', as well as *karamihan sa (mga) bata*. There is, however, no *ng*-phrase equivalent for *sa* plus a personal pronoun after *karamihan*: 'most of them' is only *karamihan sa kanila*. Mass nouns do not occur in phrases following *karamihan*. The usual equivalent of English 'most of' plus a mass noun is expressed in Tagalog by *malaking bahagi* or *malaking parte* (literally 'a large part') plus a *ng* phrase: e.g.,

malaking	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(bahagi)} \\ \text{(parte)} \end{array} \right\}$	ng kape	'most of the coffee.'
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(*Kakaunti* and *kaunti* occur occasionally before a *sa* phrase when the phrase is interpreted as expressing an undifferentiated collection: e.g.,

(ka)kaunti sa (mga) bulaklak	'(only) a litte of the flowers.'
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Limiters (other than *karamihan* and *lahat*) that commonly occur with *ng* phrases are: *bahagi*, *kakaunti*, *kalahati*, *kapisaso*, *kaputol*, *kaunti*, *marami*, and *parte*.

Some examples are:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(bahagi} \\ \text{kakaunti} \\ \text{kalahati} \\ \text{kaunti} \\ \text{marami} \\ \text{parte)} \end{array} \right\}$	ng lupa	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'part} \\ \text{'only a little} \\ \text{'half} \\ \text{'a little} \\ \text{'a lot} \\ \text{'part} \end{array} \right\}$	of the land'
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(*Kalahati* differs from the other limiters that take *ng* phrases in that the noun within the *ng* phrase may be a count noun. Thus, also: *kalahati ng mansanas* 'half of the apple'.)

Bawa't 'each, every' commonly occurs before the cardinal number *isa* 'one' in constructions of two types: modification constructions, and limiter-plus-*sa*-phrase constructions:

bawa't isang babae	'each/every woman'
bawa't isa sa mga babae	'each of the women'

Isa may be omitted after *bawa't* in modification constructions. When *isa* is omitted, the linker that follows it is also omitted. The meaning of the construction is not affected by the omission of *isa*:

bawa't babae	'each/every woman'
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A nominalized verbal (cf. §3.24) may replace a noun after *bawa't* (*isang*). The resultant construction is equivalent to English constructions with 'each/every one/thing/place who/that': e.g.,

bawa't (isang)	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(magluluto)} \\ \text{(nagluluto)} \\ \text{(nagluto)} \end{array} \right\}$
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{ 'each one' }	who	{ will cook' }
		{ is cooking' }
		{ cooked' }

bawa't (isang)	{ gagawin ginagawa ginawa }	niya
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{ 'each thing' }	that he	{ will do' }
		{ is doing' }
		{ did' }

bawa't (isang)	{ pupuntahan pinupuntahan pinuntahan }	niya
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{ 'each place' }	that he	{ will go' }
		{ is going' }
		{ went' }

(The nominalized verbal may include the usual actor and/or object and/or directional complements – cf. §2.11. Thus: *bawa't (isang) nagbigay ng pera sa mga mahihirap* 'everyone who gave money to the poor', etc.)

In the above examples, *bawa't (isang)* is followed by one of the three aspect-marked forms of the verb (contemplated, imperfective perfective – cf. §2.7) that may occur in predicate position in basic sentences. It may, however, also be followed by the basic form of the verb (cf. §2.8), in which case the action expressed by the verb is unspecified with regard to aspect: i.e., with regard to whether or not it has been begun and/or completed. In the English equivalent, the verb is usually a simple present form ending in *-s/-es*: e.g.,

bawa't (isang) magluto	who cooks'
{ 'each one' }	
{ 'everyone' }	

bawa't (isang) gawin niya	that he does'
{ 'each thing' }	
{ 'everything' }	

bawa't (isang) puntahan niya	that he goes'
{ 'each place' }	
{ 'every place' }	

Constructions introduced by *bawa't* are normally preceded by one of the markers *ang*, *ng*, and *sa*: e.g.,

Uminom ng kape ang bawa't (isang) babae.
'Each woman drank some coffee.'

Kaibigan siya ng bawa't isa sa mga babae.
'She is a friend of each of the women.'

Magbigay ka noon sa bawa't (isang) babae.
 'Give some of that to each woman.'

(*Bawa't* constructions do not occur as unmarked predicates. The marker *ang* may, however, be optionally deleted before a topic *bawa't* construction occurring in sentence-initial position as a result of *ay*-inversion – cf. §7.2. Thus:

{ Bawa't } babae ay uninom ng kape.
 { Ang bawa't }
 'Each woman drank some coffee.'

Lahat 'all' may be followed by *ng* phrases of the following types: *ng* plus a mass noun, *ng* plus a count noun (with optional explicit pluralization), the *ng* form of a deictic pronoun, *ng* plus an explicitly pluralized deictic pronoun. Examples are:

lahat { ng kape } 'all (of) { the coffee' }
 { ng (mga) babae } { the women' }
 { nito } { this/these' }
 { ng mga ito } { these' }

There is no parallel construction involving personal pronouns. 'All of us/you/them' is expressed instead by a construction in which the pronoun is initial and is followed by the linker *-ng* plus *lahat*. The pronoun is an *ang*, *ng*, or *sa* form, according to its sentence function. Thus:

Narito na silang lahat.
 'All of them are here now.'

Siya ang nanay nilang lahat.
 'She is the mother of all of them'

Binili ko ito para sa kanilang lahat.
 'I bought this for all of them.'

Lahat also occurs independently (i.e., without an accompanying *ng* phrase or personal pronoun plus linker), in which case it may, according to the context, be equivalent to English 'everything' or 'everyone': e.g.,

Narito ang lahat.
 'Everyone/everything is here.'

(*Lahat*, or a construction consisting of *lahat* plus a *ng* phrase, is normally preceded by one of the markers *ang*, *ng*, or *sa*. It may, however, like *bawa't* (see above), occur without a marker in sentence-initial position as a result of the optional deletion of *ang* in an *ay*-inversion construction – cf. §7.2. Thus:

{ Lahat } ay narito.
 { Ang lahat }
 'Everyone/everything is here.'

In free alternation with a *lahat*-plus-*ng*-phrase construction serving as the topic of a sentence (after *ang*) there occurs a construction in which the linker *-ng* or the linker *na/ng* plus *lahat* occurs after the first word of the sentence (plus any enclitic pronouns or particles – cf. §§3.29 and 6.2-6.6). Thus:

Natutulog	}	ba ang lahat ng mga bata?
	}	bang lahat ang mga bata?
‘Are all of the children sleeping?’		

The linker-plus-*lahat* construction always refers to the topic of the sentence:

Bumasang lahat ng mga libro ang mga bata.
‘All of the children read books.’

Binasang lahat ng mga bata ang mga libro.
‘The children read all of the books.’

As noted above, the linker in this construction may be either *-ng* or *na/-ng*. (For characteristics of these two linkers, cf. §§3.8 and 3.11.) Thus, if the linker follows a word ending in a consonant other than /h/, /’/, or/n/, it may be manifested either as a zero-form or as the word *na*

{	Natutulog lahat	}	ang mga bata.
	Natutulog na lahat		
‘All of the children are sleeping.’			

A deictic pronoun serving as the topic of a sentence including a linker-plus-*lahat* construction may optionally be treated as an enclitic, in which case it immediately precedes the linker. Thus:

Binili ba itong lahat ng Nanay?
‘Did Mother buy all of these?’

as well as:

Binili bang lahat ng Nanay ito?

§3.23. Ng phrases of specification.

Several types of expanded nominal constructions that consist of or include a noun followed by a *ng* phrase are presented in other sections of this text. Among these constructions are: constructions in which an object *ng* phrase follows a derived noun with a verbal base: e.g., *hiranan ng pera* ‘place for borrowing money’ (cf. §3.7, derived noun classes (1), (12), (15)-(17)); constructions in which a *ng* phrase expresses a specific selection after an expression of measure, amount, etc., or after a limiter, e.g., *isang salop ng bigas* ‘one ganta of the rice,’ *kalahati ng mansanas* ‘half of the apples’ (cf. §§3.17 and 3.22); and possessive modification constructions: e.g., *buntot ng aso* ‘dog’s tail’ (§3.20). The present section is concerned with certain other expanded nominal constructions of the shape noun + *ng* + noun, constructions such as:

buwan ng Agosto	‘month of August’
grupo ng babae	‘group of women’
mina ng karbon	‘coal mine’
sakit ng ulo	‘headache’

The *ng* phrases that occur in these constructions serve to specify the referent of the preceding noun, and may be called PHRASES OF SPECIFICATION.

Constructions that include *ng* phrases of specification may be divided into a number of classes on the basis of the kind of specification expressed by the *ng* phrase. Among the more productive of these classes are APPELLATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS, COMPONENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS, and CONTENTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Some examples of appellative constructions are:

araw ng Lunes 'day' 'Monday'	'Monday'
Bundok ng Banahaw 'mountain' 'Banahaw'	'Mount Banahaw'
lalawigan ng Batangas 'province' 'Batangas'	'province of Batangas'
Look ng Maynila 'bay' 'Manila'	'Manila Bay'
siyudad ng Maynila 'city' 'Manila'	'city of Manila'

In these constructions, the *ng* phrase specifies the name of a period of time, geographic phenomenon, or political division designated by the preceding noun. When the first noun represents a geographic phenomenon, there is in some cases alternation between the appellative construction and a nominal compound (cf. §3.8); in other cases only an appellative construction may be used, and in still others, only a compound. For example, the names of mountains usually show alternation (*Bundok ng Banahaw* or *Bundok-Banahaw* 'Mount Banahaw'), while the names of bays allow only an appellative construction (*Look ng Maynila* 'Manila Bay') and the names of rivers only a compound (*Ilog-Pasig* '(the) Pasig River').

Examples of componential noun-plus-*ng*-phrase constructions are:

balasa ng baraha 'deck' 'card'	'deck of cards'
katipunan ng kuwento 'collection' 'story'	'collection of stories'
kawan ng isda 'group' 'fish'	'school of fish'
koponan ng manlalaro 'team' 'player'	'team of players'
grupo ng babae 'group' 'woman'	'group of women'
hanay ng tao 'line' 'person'	'line of people'

In these constructions, the *ng* phrase specifies the units of which the collection or group designated by the first noun is composed.

Examples of contentive noun-plus-*ng*-phrase constructions are:

bote ng pomada 'bottle' 'pomade'	'pomade bottle'
bukid ng palay 'field' 'rice'	'rice field'

kahon ng sapatos 'box' 'shoe'	'shoe box'
hardin ng rosas 'garden' 'rose'	'rose garden'
lata ng serbesa 'can' 'beer'	'beer can'
mina ng karbon 'mine' 'coal'	'coal mine'

In these constructions, the *ng* phrase specifies what the receptacle or place designated by the first noun is meant to contain. (As was noted in §3.17, a complex modification construction is normally used to designate what a receptacle – regardless of its original purpose – actually contains: thus: *isang latang serbesa* 'a can of beer' vs. *lata ng serbesa* '(a) beer can'.)

In addition to appellative, componential, and contentive constructions, *ng* phrases of specification occur in a variety of other constructions. Most of these constructions, like those already presented, are translated either by noun-*of*-noun constructions or by nominal compounds in English. Some examples are:

banda ng musika 'band' 'music'	'band'
klase ng Ingles 'class' 'English'	'English class'
guro ng Tagalog 'teacher' 'Tagalog'	'Tagalog teacher'
larawan ng bahay 'picture' 'house'	'picture of a house'
sakit ng ulo 'illness' 'head'	'headache'
taon ng kapanganakan 'year' 'birth'	'year of birth'

§3.24. Nominalized adjectivals and verbals.

In the analysis of the structure of Tagalog basic sentences presented in Chapter 2, a severely limited distribution is assigned to adjectivals and verbals. While nominals are described as occurring in a variety of positions in basic sentences, adjectivals and verbals are described as occurring in predicate position only. This restriction upon the distribution of adjectivals and verbals in basic sentences is, however, largely a matter of analytic and expository convenience; for, as noted in §2.2, Tagalog adjectivals and verbals may actually occupy most of the same sentence positions as unmarked nouns.

In a derived sentence, then, an adjectival or verbal may occupy virtually any sentence position that, in a basic sentence, is occupied exclusively by an unmarked noun: e.g., topic position after *ang*, complement position after *ng* or *sa*. Similarly, an adjectival or verbal may replace an unmarked noun in most of the derived constructions – e.g., the *ng*-possessive construction (§3.19) – which are introduced as involving nominals only. An adjectival or verbal used as something other than an unmarked predicate or a modifier – modifiers are derived from predicates, as explained in §3.11 – is said to be **NOMINALIZED**, or a **NOMINALIZATION**

Tagalog adjectivals and verbals undergo no change of form when they are nominalized. Their English equivalents, on the other hand, usually involve the addition of the pronoun 'one(s)', or of 'one(s)' and a relative pronoun, to the adjectival or verbal itself. Thus:

Iyon ang	{	bago. para sa iyo. bumagsak. binili ko.	}
‘That’s the	{	new one.’ one for you.’ one that fell.’ one (that) I bought.’	}

Like unmarked nouns, nominalizations are pluralized by a preceding *mga*:

Iyon ang mga	{	bago. para sa iyo. bumagsak. binili ko.	}
‘These are the	{	new ones.’ ones for you.’ ones that fell.’ ones (that) I bought.’	}

(*Mga* may also be used to pluralize a one-word adjective that is not nominalized – cf. §4.11 – but may not be used to pluralize an adjective phrase or a verbal other than a nominalization. Thus the following do not occur:

*Mga { para sa iyo } iyon.)
 { bumagsak }
 { binili ko }

Sentences with nominalizations in topic position often involve a contrastive meaning. The element being contrasted is expressed in such sentences by the predicate. The English equivalent of the sentences often involves emphatic intonation or begins with ‘It’s or ‘It was’: e.g.,

(Nakita ba niya si Maria?)	Hindi, si Rosa ang nakita niya.
‘(Did he see Maria?)	No, { he saw Rosa.’ } { it’s Rosa he saw.’ }

The contrastive meaning of a sentence with a nominalized adjectival or verbal in topic position may be made quite explicit by the insertion of CONTRAST-MARKING *siya* plus the linker *-ng* between *ang* and the nominalization:

Hindi, si Rosa ang siyang nakita niya.

(Contrast-marking *siya* should not be confused with the *ang* form of the third-person-singular pronoun (cf. §3.3). The contrast marker occurs only between *ang* and a nominalized topic, and is not limited in reference to the third-person-singular:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Ikaw} \\ \text{Ang mga libro} \end{array} \right\} \text{ ang siyang nakita niya.}$$

$$\text{'It's} \quad \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{you} \\ \text{the books} \end{array} \right\} \text{ he saw.}'$$

When contrast-marking *siya* occurs before a goal-focus verb with a *ng*-pronoun actor complement, the *ng* pronoun may occur either after the verb or immediately after the *siya* (and before the linker *-ng*). Thus:

$$\text{Si Rosa ang} \quad \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{siyang nakita niya.} \\ \text{siya niyang nakita.} \end{array} \right\}$$

Some other examples of sentences with contrast-marking *siya* are:

Si Rosa ang siyang maganda.
'It's Rosa who's pretty.'

Si Rosa ang siyang pupunta.
'It's Rosa who'll go.'

Si Rosa ang siyang binigyan ng titser ng premyo.
'It's Rosa the teacher gave a prize to.'

(These sentences may be compared with the basic sentences:

Maganda si Rosa.
'Rosa is pretty.'

Pupunta si Rosa.
'Rosa will go.'

Binigyan ng titser ng premyo si Rosa.
'The teacher gave a prize to Rosa.)

There are certain actor-focus *-um-* verbs that occur quite freely as nominalizations but that do not occur as unmarked predicates (cf. §5.3, class E.2b). For example, the verb *tumakot* 'frighten' does not occur as an unmarked predicate, but occurs in such a sentence as:

$$\text{Ako ang tumakot kay Juan.}$$

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'I frightened Juan.}' \\ \text{'It was I who frightened Juan.}' \end{array} \right\}$$

These necessarily-nominalized *-um-* verbs are used principally when the speaker intends to call special attention to the performer of the action, an intention that is realized by expressing the performer in the predicate and nominalizing the verb. (When no special attention is being called to the performer, a goal-focus counterpart of the *-um-* verb is used. Thus:

Tinakot ko si Juan
'I frightened Juan.')

The *-um-* verbs may also occur in other nominalized positions: e.g.,

Ano ang gagawin nila sa tumakot kay Juan?
 'What will they do to the one who frightened Juan?'

As was noted in §3.11, a nominalization may serve as the head of a modification construction: e.g.,

Nasaan ang	{ bagong binili mo kahapon? inilarawan mong napakamahal? }
'Where's the	{ new one you bought yesterday? one you described that's so expensive? }

Some further examples of the use of nominalized adjectivals and verbals are:

Ginambala siya ng	{ maingay. nasa likuran ng sild. kumakain. }
-------------------	--

{ 'The noisy one 'The one at the back of the room 'The one who was eating }	interrupted him.'
---	-------------------

Ibinigay ko ang paketa sa	{ matangkad. may resibo. naghihintay. }
---------------------------	---

'I gave the package to	{ the tall one.' the one who had a receipt.' the one who was waiting.' }
------------------------	--

Para sa	{ mga maliliit mga gusto ko mga papasok sa iskwela }	ang mga ito.
---------	--	--------------

'These are for the	{ little ones.' ones I like.' ones who are going to school.' }
--------------------	--

Iyan ang kotse ng	{ mayaman. nasa bahay. dumating kahapon. }
-------------------	--

'That's the	{ rich one's one in the house's one who arrived yesterday's }	car.'
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§3.25. Nominalized basic forms.

The nominalized verbals presented in §3.24 are identical in form with verbals occurring as predicates of basic sentences. The same three aspect-marked forms that occur in unmarked verbal predicates (the

contemplated, imperfective, and perfective forms -- cf. §2.7) occur in nominalized verbals of the type presented. Compare, for example, the verbal predicates in:

{ Magsasalita }
 { Nagsasalita } si Rosa.
 { Nagsalita }

'Rosa { will speak. }
 { is speaking. }
 { spoke }

and the nominalized verbals in:

Si Rosa ang { magsasalita. }
 { nagsasalita. }
 { nagsalita. }

'The one who { will speak }
 { is speaking } is Rosa.'
 { spoke }

or the verbal predicates in:

{ Huhugasan }
 { Hinuhugasan } ni Rosa ang mga pinggan.
 { Hinugasan }

'Rosa { will wash }
 { is washing } the dishes.'
 { washed }

and the nominalized verbals in:

Mga pinggan ang { huhugasan }
 { hinuhugasan } ni Rosa.
 { hinugasan }

'What Rosa { will wash }
 { is washing } is some dishes.'
 { washed }

In addition to nominalized verbals of this type, Tagalog has certain nominalized verbals that differ in form from verbals that occur as predicates of basic sentences. These nominalized verbals are of three types: **NOMINALIZED BASIC FORMS**, **GERUNDS**, and *nominalized verb bases*. Nominalized basic forms are dealt with in the present section, gerunds in §3.26 and nominalized verb bases in §3.27.

A nominalized basic form, like any other basic verb form (cf. §2.8), consists of the basic form of an affix plus a verb base. Thus *magsalita*, which consists of the basic affix *mag-* and the base *salita*, is the basic form that corresponds to the aspect-marked forms *magsasalita*, *nagsasalita*, and *nagsalita*, while *hugasan*, which consists of the basic affix *-an* and the base *hugas*, is the basic form that corresponds to *huhugasan*, etc.

A nominalized basic form designates a type of activity. It is usually translatable by either 'to' plus a verb or the '-ing' form of a verb in English. A sentence that includes a nominalized basic form says something about the type of activity designated by the basic form:

Madaling magsalita.
 { 'To speak' }
 { 'Speaking' } is easy.'

Laban sa batas higaan ang damo.
 { 'To lie' }
 { 'Lying' } on the grass is against the law.'

Unlike the nominalizations presented in §3.24, which may occur in virtually any context in which an unmarked noun occurs (e.g., after *ang*, *ng*, or *sa*) nominalized basic forms occur in only a few special contexts. No nominalized basic forms occur after *ng* or *sa*, and only the basic forms of actor-focus verbs occur after *ang*. (See §2.10 for a discussion of verb focus.)

The most common construction in which a nominalized basic form occurs is one in which it serves as sentence topic. A nominalized actor-focus basic form serving as sentence topic may be preceded by either the topic marker *ang* or the linker *-ng*. (The linker *-ng* – cf. §3.8 – has one overt form, /ŋ/, which occurs as a replacement of a final /l/, /h/, or /n/ in the preceding word, and one zero form – i.e., a form without phonemic content – which occurs in all other contexts. Thus *madali* /madali/ plus the linker is *madaling* /madaliŋ/, while *batas* /batas/ plus the linker is simply *batas*.) The constructions with *ang* and *-ng*, alternate freely with one another:

{ Maaksaya ang }
 { Maaksayang } magtapon ng damit.
 'To throw away clothing is wasteful.'

A nominalized goal-focus basic form serving as sentence topic is always preceded by the linker *-ng*:

Maaksayang itapon ang damit.
 'To throw away the clothing is wasteful.'

A nominalized basic form serving as a sentence topic is never followed by a phrase expressing a performer. Thus nominalized actor-focus basic forms are not followed by an *ang* phrase, and nominalized goal-focus basic forms are not followed by a *ng*-phrase actor complement. (In basic sentences, it is an *ang* phrase (the topic of the sentence) that expresses the performer after an actor-focus verb, and a *ng*-phrase actor complement that expresses the performer after a goal-focus verb.) Except for phrases expressing the performer, any of the various types of phrases that may follow the aspect-marked forms of a verb may follow the nominalized basic form. Thus, a nominalized actor-focus basic form may be followed by any of the usual complements (an object and/or directional and/or secondary-actor complement – cf. §§2.11 and 5.12), and a nominalized goal-focus basic form may be followed by its topic, and by any complements other than actor complements: e.g.,

Magugol magpadala sa kanila ng bigas sa Maynila.
 'To have them take rice to Manila is expensive.'

(cf. Nagpadala siya sa kanila ng bigas sa Maynila.)
 'He had them take rice to Manila.'

Magugol ibili ng bigas sa groseri ang pamilya.
 'To buy rice for the family from a grocery is expensive.'

(cf. Ibinili niya ng bigas sa groseri ang pamilya.
 'He bought rice for the family from a grocery.'

The predicate of a sentence whose topic is a nominalized basic form must be one of a rather small group of adjectivals or nominals, or of verbals that include goal-focus verbs. Examples of adjectivals and nominals that may occur as predicates with basic form topics are:

Adjectivals:	bagay (+ sa phrase)	'suitable' (+ 'for' phrase)
	bawal	'prohibited'
	laban sa batas	'against the law'
	maaksaya	'wasteful'
	mabuti	'good'
	madali	'easy'
	magastos	'expensive'
	magugol	'expensive'
	mahalay	'indecent'
	mahirap	'difficult'
	mainam	'good'
	mapanganib	'dangerous'
	masagwa	'disagreeable'
	masama	'bad'
	matrabaho	'involving a lot of work'
	nakakabagot	'boring'
	nakakainis	'annoying'
nakakapagod	'tiring'	
nakakawili	'entertaining'	
nakakatakot	'frightening'	
Nominals:	abala	'(a) bother'
	basag-ulo	'trouble'
	kabayanihan	'heroism'
	kalokohan	'foolishness'

Some examples of sentences with adjectival or nominal predicates and nominalized-basic-form topics are:

{ Mapanganib ang } lumapit sa ahas.
 { Mapanganib }
 'To go near a snake is dangerous.'

{ Matrabaho ang } magluto ng lumpia.
 { Matrabahong }
 'Cooking lumpia involves a lot of work.'

{ Kalokohan ang } magsugal.
 { Kalokohang }
 'Gambling is foolishness.'

Mabuting bigyan ng pera ang mga mahihirap.
 'To give money to the poor is good.'

Mahirap basahin ang librong iyan.
 'To read that book is difficult.'

(Some sentences in which an adjective is followed by the linker *-ng* and a goal-focus basic form are ambiguous, and may be interpreted either as involving the construction under discussion, in which the adjective is a predicate, characterizing the type of activity designated by the nominalized basic form, or as involving the adjective-plus-basic-form-complement construction discussed in §4.17, in which the adjective and the basic form function together as a predicate, jointly characterizing what the topic of the sentence designates. Thus the last example given, *Mahirap basahin ang librong iyan*, may mean either 'To read that book is difficult', or 'That book is difficult to read'. Other sentences in which an adjective is followed by the linker *-ng* and a goal-focus basic form are, however, unambiguously either examples of sentences with nominalized basic forms or examples of adjective-plus-complement constructions. Thus *Laban sa batas basahin ang librong iyan* 'To read that book is against the law' can be interpreted only as including a nominalized basic form (since *laban sa batas* does not accept a basic-form complement), while *Magaling basahin ang librong iyan* 'That book is excellent to read' can be interpreted only as including an adjective-plus-complement construction (since *magaling* does not occur as a predicate opposite a basic-form topic).)

Goal-focus verbs of three types occur in predicates before basic-form topics. These are:

(1) object-focus verbs (cf. §5.3): e.g.,

balakin	'plan'
ipagbawal	'forbid'
ipahintulot	'allow'
isipin	'plan'
tangkain	'attempt'

(2) directional-focus verbs (cf. §5.4): e.g.,

ilagan	'avoid'
iwasan	'avoid'
katamaran	'be lazy about'
katuwaan	'be amused at'
katakutan	'be afraid of'

(3) causative-focus verbs (cf. §5.8): e.g.,

ikagalak	'be pleased about'
ikahiya	'be ashamed about'
ikalugod	'be happy about'
ikalungkot	'be unhappy about'
ikatuwa	'be happy about'

These verbs are normally followed by an actor complement, and then by the nominalized basic form topic. Some examples are:

{ Binalak ko ang }
 { Binalak kong } mamalengke.
 'I planned to go marketing.'

{ Inilagan ni Juan ang }
 { Inilagan ni Juang } mag-aral ng Kastila.
 'Juan avoided studying Spanish.'

{ Ikinagalak ng titser ang }
 { Ikinagalak ng titser } pumunta sa bagong iskwela.
 'The teacher was pleased about going to a new school.'

Ipinagbabawal ng batas lakaran ang daan.
'The law forbids walking in the street.'

Kinatatamaman niyang gawin ang trabaho.
'He is lazy about doing the work.'

Ikinalulungkot ni Manuel isulat siya ng liham.
'Manuel is unhappy about writing a letter for him.'

In addition to the constructions already presented, in which basic forms serve as sentence topics, there are certain other constructions in which nominalized basic forms occur. In these constructions, the basic form is always actor-focus and is preceded by either the linker *-ng* or the linker *na/ng* (cf. §3.11). The constructions all involve verbal predicates introduced by the actor-focus counterparts of goal-focus verbs like those listed above: i.e., goal-focus verbs that occur in predicate position before basic-form topics. The actor-focus verbs that correspond to the verbs listed above are:

(1)	magbalak magbawal magpahintulot mag-isip magtangka	'plan' 'forbid' 'allow' 'plan' 'attempt'
(2)	umilag umiwas matamad matuwa matakot	'avoid' 'avoid' 'be lazy about' 'be amused at' 'be afraid of'
(3)	magalak mahiya malugod malungkot matuwa	'be pleased' 'be ashamed' 'be happy' 'be unhappy' 'be happy'

The verbs in the first group correspond to object-focus verbs that take nominalized-basic-form topics. After the verbs in this group, a nominalized basic form functions as a replacement of a *ng*-phrase object complement (cf. §2.11): e.g.,

Nagbalak akong mamalengke.
'I planned to go marketing.'

(cf. Nagbalak ako ng gawain.
'I planned an activity.')

The verbs in the second group correspond to directional-focus verbs that take nominalized-basic-form topics. After the verbs in this group, a nominalized basic form functions as a replacement of a *sa*-phrase directional complement (cf. §2.11): e.g.,

Umilag (na) mag-aral ng Kastila si Juan.
'Juan avoided studying Spanish.'

(cf. Umilag sa gawain si Juan
'Juan avoided the activity.')

The verbs in the third group correspond to causative-focus verbs that take nominalized-basic-form topics; After the verbs in this group, a nominalized basic form functions as a replacement of a *dahil-sa*-phrase causative adverbial (cf. §6.11 subsection (1.b)): e.g.,

Nagalak ang titser (na) pumunta sa bagong iskwela.
'The teacher was pleased about going to a new school.'

(cf. Nagalak ang titser dahil sa gawain.
'The teacher was pleased about the activity.')

§3.26 Gerunds.

Gerunds, like nominalized basic forms, are in many cases translatable by the '-ing' form of a verb in English. Gerunds differ from basic forms, however, in the way in which they are formed, the range of meanings they express, and the contexts in which they occur.

There are two different types of gerund formations, one of which designates an action without indicating whether or not it is viewed as completed, the other of which designates an action viewed as completed. The first of these, which may be called the **ASPECTLESS GERUND**, is often translated by the '-ing' form of a verb in English; the second, which may be called the **PERFECTIVE GERUND**, is often translated by 'having' plus the past participle of a verb in English. Thus *pagsasalita* and *pag(ka)ka(pag)salita*, which are respectively the aspectless and perfective gerunds that correspond to *magsalita* 'speak', are equivalent to 'speaking' and 'having spoken' respectively in the following sentences:

Pinarusahan si Juan dahil sa pagsasalita sa klase.
'Juan was punished for speaking in class.'

Pinarusahan si Juan dahil sa pag(ka)ka(pag)salita sa klase.
'Juan was punished for having spoken in class.'

In the first sentence, the use of *pagsasalita* does not indicate whether or not the 'speaking' is viewed as completed: Juan may or may not have finished speaking before he was punished. In the second sentence, the use of *pag(ka)ka(pag)salita* makes it clear that Juan had already finished speaking when he was punished.

Just as there are many situations in which an English speaker may use either the '-ing' form of a verb or 'having' plus a past participle, so there are many situations in which a Tagalog speaker may use either the aspectless or the perfective gerund. If an action is definitely viewed as incomplete, only the aspectless gerund may be used; but if the action is viewed as complete, the speaker may or may not choose to specify the completedness of the action through the use of the perfective gerund.

Gerunds, both aspectless and perfective, are formed by replacing certain affixes found in the basic forms of actor-focus verbs with other affixes. The affixes that occur in the gerunds vary according to the affixes that occur in the corresponding basic forms. Chart 9 shows the aspectless gerund formations that correspond to the various actor-focus basic forms. (If an actor-focus basic form is not included on the chart, there is no corresponding aspectless gerund formation.) On the chart, prefixes are followed by a hyphen, suffixes preceded by a hyphen, infixes written between hyphens; B represents the verb base, pre- any prefix that may occur in the given position, and dup₁- a prefix normally consisting of a duplication of the first consonant and first vowel of the immediately following syllable. (cf. §3.7 for a detailed presentation of the formation of dup₁-.) The vowels of *pag-*, *pang-*, *pagka-*, and *pa-* are short; the length of vowels in bases and in any prefix(es) that occur in both the basic form and the gerund is identical in the two formations.)

CHART 9
BASIC FORMS AND CORRESPONDING ASPECTLESS GERUNDS

Basic Form		Aspectless Gerund
(1) -um + B	→	pag- + B
(2) mag- (+ pre-) + B	→	pag- + dup ₁ - (+ pre-) + B
(3) mang- + B	→	pang- + dup ₁ - + B
(4) ma- + B	→	pagka- + B
(5) ma- + ki- (+ pre-) + B	→	pa- + dup ₁ - + ki- (+ pre-) + B

As the chart shows:

(1) The aspectless gerunds that correspond to *-um-* verbs are formed by replacing *-um-* with *pag-*. Examples are:

dumating	'come'	→	pagdating	'coming'
pumunta	'go'	→	pagpunta	'going'
sumulat	'write'	→	pagsulat	'writing'

(There are no gerunds – either aspectless or perfective – that correspond to certain *-um-* verbs whose bases are also *ma-* adjective bases – cf. §5.6, Class H. Thus there is no **pagtamis* corresponding to *tumamis* 'become sweet', etc. There are, however, gerunds corresponding to other *-um-* verbs of this type: e.g., *paglaki* 'becoming big' (cf. *lumaki* 'become big').)

(2) The aspectless gerunds that correspond to basic forms that begin with the prefix *mag-* (i.e., *mag-* verbs, and derived verbs formed with complex prefixes such as *magka-*, *magpa-* ik) are formed by replacing *mag-* with *pag-* plus a duplicating syllable. Examples are:

mag-aral	'study'	→	pag-aaral	'studying'
magkasalapi	'acquire money'	→	pagkakasalapi	'acquiring money'
magpakabuti	'try to be very good'	→	pagpapakabuti	'trying to be very good'
magpasulat	'have (someone) write'	→	pagpapasulat	'having (someone) write'
magsitulong	'help (plural)'	→	pagsisitulong	'help (plural)'

(3) The aspectless gerunds that correspond to *mang-* verbs are formed by replacing *mang-* with *pang-* plus a duplicating syllable. (Whatever assimilations occur with *mang-* (cf. §5.2, subsection (12)) occur with *pang-* as well.) Examples are:

mamangka	'go boating'	→	pamamangka	'going boating'
manakot	'frighten'	→	pananakot	'frightening'
manganak	'give birth'	→	panganganak	'giving birth'

(4) The aspectless gerunds that correspond to *ma-* verbs are formed by replacing *ma-* with *pagka-*. Examples are:

mabuyo	'get involved'	→	pagkabuyo	'getting involved'
mahirati	'become accustomed'	→	pagkahirati	'becoming accustomed'
matunaw	'melt'	→	pagkatunaw	'melting'

(Those *ma-* verbs that alternate freely with *-um-* verbs – cf. §5.4, classes A.1 and D.1 – form gerunds on the pattern of the *-um-* verbs only. Thus the aspectless gerund that corresponds to both *maupo* and *umupo*

'sit' is *pag-upo*; there is no corresponding **pagkaupo*. At least two *ma-* verbs have irregular aspectless gerunds: the aspectless gerund that corresponds to *makinig* 'listen' is *pakikinig* 'listening'; the aspectless gerund that corresponds to *maligo* 'bathe' is *paliligo* 'bathing'. For the gerunds that correspond to the verb *maging*, cf. §5.26.)

(5) The aspectless gerunds that correspond to basic forms that begin with the prefix *maki-* are formed by replacing the *ma-* of the prefix by *pa-* plus a duplicating syllable. Examples are:

<i>makisama</i>	'accompany'	→	<i>pakikisama</i>	'accompanying'
<i>makipagtawanan</i>	'join in laughing'	→	<i>pakikipagtawanan</i>	'joining in laughing'
<i>makipangisda</i>	'join in fishing'	→	<i>pakikipangisda</i>	'joining in fishing'

Chart 10 shows the perfective gerund formations that correspond to the various actor-focus basic forms. The vowel in the prefix written *ka-* is long. The symbol *pre¹* - represents any prefix other than *pa-* or *ka-* that may occur in the given position. The other symbols are to be interpreted as in Chart 5.

CHART 10 BASIC FORMS AND CORRESPONDING PERFECTIVE GERUNDS

Basic Form	Perfective Gerund
(1) <i>-um-</i> + B	→ <i>pag-</i> (+ dup ₁ -) + <i>ka-</i> + B
(2a) <i>mag-</i> (+ <i>pa-</i>) + B	→ <i>pag-</i> (+ dup ₁ -) + <i>ka-</i> (+ <i>pag-</i>) (+ <i>pa-</i>) + B
(2b) <i>mag-</i> + <i>pre¹</i> + B	→ <i>pag-</i> (+ dup ₁ -) + <i>ka-</i> + <i>pag-</i> + <i>pre¹</i> + B
(3) <i>mang-</i> + B	→ <i>pag-</i> (+ dup ₁ -) + <i>ka-</i> + <i>pang-</i> + B
(4) <i>ma-</i> + B	→ <i>pag-</i> (+ dup ₁ -) + <i>ka-</i> + B
(5) <i>ma-</i> + <i>ki-</i> (+ <i>pre-</i>) + B	→ <i>pag-</i> (+ dup ₁ -) + <i>ka-</i> + <i>pa-</i> + <i>ki-</i> (+ <i>pre-</i>) + B

As the chart shows, all perfective gerund formations begin with *pagka-* /*pagka:*/ or *pagkaka-* /*pagkaka:*/. The two formations are in free alternation for some speakers, while others use only the *pagka-* forms. The following further points may be noted:

(1) The perfective gerunds that correspond to *-um-* verbs are formed by replacing *-um-* with *pag(ka)ka-*. Examples are:

<i>dumating</i>	'come'	→	<i>pag(ka)karating</i>	'having come'
<i>pumunta</i>	'go'	→	<i>pag(ka)kapunta</i>	'having gone'
<i>sumulat</i>	'write'	→	<i>pag(ka)kasulat</i>	'having written'

(2a) The perfective gerunds that correspond to basic forms of the shape *mag-* + base or *mag-* + *pa-* + base are formed by replacing *mag-* with *pag(ka)ka(pag)-*. Examples are:

<i>mag-aral</i>	'study'	→	<i>pag(ka)ka(pag-)aral</i>	'having studied'
<i>magpasulat</i>	'have (someone) write'	→	<i>pag(ka)ka(pag)pasulat</i>	'having had (someone) write'

(There are no distinct perfective-gerund formations that correspond to basic forms that begin with *mag-* + *ka-* (i.e., intensive *magka-* + dup₂ - verbs and possessive-existential *magka-* verbs -- cf. §5.16, subsection (1.d) and §5.28). The aspectless gerunds that correspond to basic forms of this shape may, however, be used to express perfective as well as aspectless meanings. Thus the aspectless gerund *pagkakasira-sira* /*pagkaka:sira:sira*/ (cf. *magkasira-sira* /*magka:sira:sira*/ 'get thoroughly damaged') may express the meaning 'having gotten thoroughly damaged' as well as the meaning 'getting thoroughly damaged'. And the aspectless gerund *pagkakasalapi* /*pagkakasalapi*/ (cf. *magkasalapi* /*magkasalapi*/ 'acquire money') may express the meaning 'having acquired money' as well as the meaning 'acquiring money'.)

(2b) The perfective gerunds that correspond to all other basic forms that begin with *mag-* (i.e., basic forms in which *mag-* is immediately followed by something other than a base, *pa-* plus a base, or *ka-* (plus

dup₂-) plus a base) are formed by replacing *mag-* with *pag(ka)kapag-*. (The only difference between perfective-gerund formations (2a) and (2b) is that in (2a) the second prefixed *pag-* is optional, while in (2b) it is obligatorily present.) Examples are:

<i>magpakabuti</i>	'try to be very good'	→	<i>pag(ka)kapagpakabuti</i>	'having tried to be very good'
<i>magsitulong</i>	'help (plural)'	→	<i>pag(ka)kapagsitulong</i>	'having helped (plural)'

(3) The perfective gerunds that correspond to *mang-* verbs are formed by replacing *mang-* with *pag(ka)kapang-*. Examples are:

<i>mamangka</i>	'go boating'	→	<i>pag(ka)kapamangka</i>	'having gone boating'
<i>manakot</i>	'frighten'	→	<i>pag(ka)kapanakot</i>	'having frightened'
<i>manganak</i>	'give birth'	→	<i>pag(ka)kapanganak</i>	'having given birth'

(4) The perfective gerunds that correspond to *ma-* verbs are (like those that correspond to *-um-* verbs) formed by replacing *ma-* with *pag(ka)ka-*. Examples are:

<i>mabuyo</i>	'get involved'	→	<i>pag(ka)kabuyo</i>	'having gotten involved'
<i>mahirati</i>	'become accustomed'	→	<i>pag(ka)kahirati</i>	'having become accustomed'
<i>matunaw</i>	'melt'	→	<i>pag(ka)katunaw</i>	'having melted'

(When the *pagka-* form of the prefix is used to form the perfective gerund, the only difference between the aspectless and perfective gerunds is in the length of the vowel in the prefixed *ka-*. Thus the aspectless gerund corresponding to *mabuyo* is pronounced /pagkabuyoh/, the perfective gerund /pagka:buyoh/. Many *ma-* verbs of 'becoming', whose bases are usually unaffixed adjectives (cf. §5.6, class e), do not have distinctive perfective gerunds. Thus there is no perfective gerund **pag(ka)kapagod* that corresponds to *mapagod* 'become tired'; the aspectless gerund *pagkapagod* 'becoming tired' does, however, occur.)

(5) The perfective gerunds that correspond to basic forms that begin with the prefix *maki-* are formed by replacing the *ma-* of the prefix by *pag(ka)kapa-*. Examples are:

<i>makisama</i>	'accompany'	→	<i>pag(ka)kapakisama</i>	'having accompanied'
<i>makipagtawanan</i>	'join in laughing'	→	<i>pag(ka)kapakipagtawanan</i>	'having joined in laughing'
<i>makipangisda</i>	'join in fishing'	→	<i>pag(ka)kapakipangisda</i>	'having joined in fishing'

(It may be noted that neither Chart 9 nor Chart 10 includes gerunds corresponding to basic forms that begin with the prefix *maka-* (cf. §5.13). This is because most *maka-* verbs do not have corresponding gerunds. There are, however, perfective gerund formations corresponding to *makakita* /maka:ki:tah/ 'see' and *makarinig* /maka:rinig/ 'hear'. These are, respectively, *pag(ka)kakita* /pag(ka)ka:ki:tah/ 'having seen' and *pag(ka)karinig* /pag(ka)ka:rinig/ 'having heard'.

As was noted in §3.24, a nominalized basic form always designates a type of activity. A gerund, on the other hand, may designate either a type of activity or some specific performance of an action. Note the two translations of the following sentence:

Tungkol sa pagsusugal ang lathalaing ito.

'This article is about

{ gambling' }
{ the gambling.' }

In one interpretation, *pagsusugal* designates 'gambling' as a type of activity; in the other, some particular performance(s) of the act of gambling (e.g., 'the gambling (that he observed last night)' *pagsusugal (na pinanood niya kagabi)*) may be designated.

The performer of the action expressed by a gerund may or may not be designated. If designated, the performer is expressed by a possessive modifier (cf. §3.20): specifically, either a *ng* phrase (*ng* plus unmarked noun, (*ni/na*) plus personal noun, or the *ng* form of a deictic or personal pronoun) immediately following the gerund, or the *sa* form of a personal pronoun plus the linker *-ng* preceding the gerund:

pagsusugal	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ng lalaki} \\ \text{ni Pedro} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'the man's'} \\ \text{'Pedro's'} \end{array} \right\}$	gambling'
	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{noon} \\ \text{niya} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'that one's'} \\ \text{'his'} \end{array} \right\}$	
kaniyang pagsusugal			'his gambling'

The construction that expresses the performer is usually translatable by a possessive before the '-ing' form in English, sometimes by an 'of' phrase:

pagtahal ng aso	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'the dog's barking'} \\ \text{'the barking of the dog'} \end{array} \right\}$
-----------------	--

Gerunds may also be followed by any object and/or directional and/or secondary-actor complements (cf. §§2.11 and 5.12) taken by the actor-focus verbs to which they correspond:

pagsulat ng liham sa Nanay	'writing a letter to mother'
pagpapagawa ng trabaho kay Jose	'having Jose do the work'

A gerund may (like various '-ing'-form constructions in English) merely designate an action, or it may designate 'the fact that' an act is performed, or 'the way that' an act is performed. Thus, an action is designated by the gerund in:

Pagluluto ng pagkain ang trabaho niya.
 'Her job is cooking food.'
 ('It's her job to cook food.');

'the fact that' an act is performed is designated by the gerund in:

Ikinagulat ko ang pag-alis niya.
 'His leaving surprised me.'
 ('The fact that he was leaving surprised me.');

and 'the way that' an act is performed is designated by the gerund in:

Masyadong mabilis ang pagtugtog niya ng piyesa.
 'His playing of the piece is too fast.'
 ('The way that he plays the piece is too fast.')

Gerunds (in contrast to nominalized basic forms) occur in a wide variety of contexts: as predicates of basic sentences (only aspectless gerunds occur in this position), after the markers *ang*, *ng*, *sa*, etc. Some further examples of the uses of gerunds are:

Pangingisda ang paborito kong gawain.
 'My favorite activity is fishing.'

Masama ang $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pagpapantsa} \\ \text{pag(ka)ka(pag)pantsa} \end{array} \right\}$ niya.

'Her ironing $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{is} \\ \text{was} \end{array} \right\}$ bad.'

Makakabuti kay Pedro ang $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pag-aaral} \\ \text{pag(ka)ka(pag-)aral} \end{array} \right\}$ ng Ingles.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'Studying} \\ \text{'Having studied} \end{array} \right\}$ English will do Pedro good.'

Kagaya ng $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pag-awit} \\ \text{pag(ka)kaawit} \end{array} \right\}$ namin ang $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pag-awit} \\ \text{pag(ka)kaawit} \end{array} \right\}$ nila.

'Their singing $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{is} \\ \text{was} \end{array} \right\}$ like our singing.'

Nag-aalaala siya ng $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pagsulat} \\ \text{pag(ka)kasulat} \end{array} \right\}$ ng liham na iyan.

'He worried about $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{writing} \\ \text{having written} \end{array} \right\}$ that letter.'

Nagkasakit siya dahil sa $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pagsisigarilyo.} \\ \text{pag(ka)ka(pag)sigarilyo.} \end{array} \right\}$

'He got sick because of $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{smoking.} \\ \text{having smoked.} \end{array} \right\}$

Natuwa ang lahat sa $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pagsagot} \\ \text{pag(ka)kasagot} \end{array} \right\}$ ni Bob sa titser.

'Everyone was amused at the way Bob $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{answered} \\ \text{had answered} \end{array} \right\}$ the teacher.'

§3.27. Nominalized verb bases.

A **NOMINALIZED VERB BASE** is a verb base used in a typically nominal position to express a verb-like, or actional, meaning. Nominalized verb bases occur in only a few special contexts: (1) as

sentence topics with time or locative adverbs in predicate position; (2) as sentence topics with certain adjectival and verbal predicates; (3) after *ng* in exclamations. These uses of nominalized verb bases are discussed in turn below.

(1) Sentences with time or locative adverbs in predicate position and verb bases in topic position (after *ang*) are used to emphasize the fact that an action (the action expressed by the verb base) occurs at a particular time or place (the time or place denoted by the predicate). Such sentences always convey a meaning that may also be expressed by a sentence with an emphatic initial time or locative adverb (cf. §§6.8, 6.9, and 7.2) and a verbal predicate that includes a contemplated-aspect or imperfective-aspect actor-focus verb. Thus the following sentences are identical in meaning:

Kung Lunes ang dating ng tren.
 Kung Lunes dumarating ang tren.
 'It's on Mondays that the train arrives.'

In the first sentence *kung Lunes* 'on Mondays' occupies predicate position (where it functions as a pseudo-predicate – cf. §6.8) and the verb base *dating* occupies topic position; in the second sentence *kung Lunes* is an emphatic initial adverb and *dating* occurs within the actor-focus verb *dumarating* 'arrives'. Similarly, the following sentences are identical in meaning:

Dito ang dating ng tren.
 Dito dumarating ang tren.
 'It's here that the train arrives.'

(The formal differences between these two sentences are the same as those between the first two sentences, but the sentence-initial element is a locative adverb – *dito* 'here' – rather than a time adverb.)

The sentence types with the nominalized verb base in topic position may be considered to be derived from the sentence types with the verbal predicate through the following formal changes: (1) the affix and aspect marking of the verb are deleted, and the marker *ang* is placed before the base; (2) the marker *ng* replaces *ang* before the word (or phrase) that designates the performer. In all other respects the two sentence types are identical. Thus the same range of time and locative adverbs that may occur in initial position before contemplated-aspect and imperfective-aspect verbal predicates may occur in predicate position with nominalized verb base topics: e.g.,

Noong Lunes sana { ang dating ng tren.
 { darating ang tren.
 'It was last Monday that the train was to have arrived.'

Sa Lunes { ang dating ng tren.
 { darating ang tren.
 'It's next Monday that the train is arriving.'

Sa may harap ng istasyon { ang dating ng tren.
 { dumarating ang tren.
 'It's somewhere in front of the station that the train arrives.'

And the same directional or object complements that occur with the verbal predicates occur with the nominalized verb bases: e.g.,

Kung Lunes { umaalis sa Maynila ang eroplano.
 { ang alis sa Maynila ng eroplano.
 'It's on Mondays that the plane leaves Manila.'

Kung Pasko { kumakain ng litson ang kaibigan ko.
 { ang kain ng litson ng kaibigan ko.
 'It's at Christmastime that my friend eats lechon.'

Only a limited number of verb bases may occupy topic position opposite time or locative pseudo-predicates. Most of these bases occur as bases of directional or intransitive *-um-* verbs expressing motion: e.g., *alis* (cf. *umalis* 'leave'), *dating* (cf. *dumating* 'arrive'), *pasok* (cf. *pumasok* 'enter'), *punta* (cf. *pumunta* 'go'). A few occur as bases of double-object *-um-* verbs: e.g., *inom* (cf. *uminom* 'drink'), *kain* (cf. *kumain* 'eat').

(2) As was noted in §3.25, gerunds may be used to designate 'the way that' an action is performed, as in:

Mabilis ang pagtugtog niya ng piyesa.
 'His playing of the piece is fast.'
 ('The way that he plays the piece is fast.')

When, as in the above sentence, a gerund designating the way that an action is performed occurs in topic position, it may be replaced by a nominalized verb base. Thus, also:

Mabilis ang tugtog niya ng piyesa.
 'His playing of the piece is fast.'

Nominalized verb bases alternate freely with gerunds in topic position when the predicate is one of a class of adjectives that may characterize the way in which an action is performed. This class includes certain unaffixed adjectives and *ma-* adjectives (cf. §§4.2 and 4.3), all *pa-* manner adjectives (cf. §4.7), and all adjectives prefixed by *na-* + *dup*₁- + *ka-*, *na-* + *ka-* + *dup*₁-, or *ka-* + *dup*₂- (cf. §4.10, subsections (4) and (7)). Some examples are:

Unaffixed adjectives:	baliktad bigla mali tama	'topsy-turvy' 'sudden' 'incorrect' 'correct'
Ma- adjectives:	mabagal mabilis malakas masama	'slow' 'fast' 'loud, strong' 'bad'
Pa- manner adjectives:	paismid palundag pasayaw patagilid	'with a grimace' 'as if jumping' 'as if dancing' 'sideways'

Na- + <i>dup</i> ₁ - + <i>ka-</i> Na- + <i>ka-</i> + <i>dup</i> ₁ }	adjectives:	{ nakakabighag { nakabibihag }	'captivating'
		{ nakakahiya { nakahihiya }	'embarrassing'

	$\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{nakakatakot} \\ \text{nakakatakot} \end{array} \right\}$	'frightening'
	$\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{nakakatuwa} \\ \text{nakatutuwa} \end{array} \right\}$	'laughable'
Ka- + dup ₂ - adjectives:	kahiya-hiya kaibig-ibig kawili-wili kayamut-yamot	'shameful' 'adorable' 'delightful' 'extremely boring'

Some further examples of sentences with adjectival predicates and nominalized verb bases alternating freely with gerunds in topic position are:

- Baliktad ang $\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{pagsusuot} \\ \text{suot} \end{array} \right\}$ niya ng baro.
 'She put on the dress topsy-turvy.'
 ('Her putting on of the dress was topsy-turvy.')
- Paismid ang $\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{paglunok} \\ \text{lunok} \end{array} \right\}$ niya ng gamot.
 'He swallowed the medicine with a grimace.'
 ('His swallowing of the medicine was (done) with a grimace.')
- Nakakabihag ang $\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{pagsayaw} \\ \text{sayaw} \end{array} \right\}$ niya ng pandanggo.
 'Her dancing of the fandango was captivating.'
- Kahiya-hiya ang $\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{pagsasalita} \\ \text{salita} \end{array} \right\}$ niya sa iyo.
 'The way he spoke to you was shameful.'

Nominalized verb bases also alternate freely with gerunds in topic position when the predicate is one of certain *-an* verbs. These *-an* verbs constitute a subclass of the verbs discussed in §5.6 (class A), whose bases also occur as bases of *ma-* adjectives and whose general meaning is: 'make (something) have the quality expressed by the related adjective' : e.g.,

bagalan	'make...slow'	(cf. mabagal 'slow')
bilisan	'make...fast'	(cf. mabilis 'fast')
lakasan	'make...loud/strong'	(cf. malakas 'loud, strong')
samaan	'make...bad'	(cf. masama 'bad')

Examples of sentences with verbal predicates and nominalized verb bases alternating freely with gerunds in topic position are:

- Bagalan mo ang $\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{paglakad} \\ \text{lakad} \end{array} \right\}$ mo.
 'Walk slowly.'
 ('Make your walking slow.')

Linakasan nila ang kanilang $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{pag-awit.} \\ \text{awit.} \end{array} \right\}$
 'They sang loudly.'
 ('They made their singing loud.')

(While most gerunds expressing 'the way that' an action is performed are replaceable by nominalized verb bases in the contexts listed above, there are certain types of gerunds that do not admit of the replacement. For example, the verb base cannot replace a gerund derived from a *mang-* verb. Thus the gerund *pangingisda* 'fishing', which is derived from the *mang-* verb *mangisda* 'fish', cannot be replaced by the base *isda* in such a sentence as:

Masama ang pangingisda niya.
 'He fished badly.'
 ('The way that he fished was bad.')

(3) As is explained in §4.24, exclamations may be derived from sentences with certain types of adjectival predicates by placing any of several markers (*ang*, *kay*, etc.) before the adjective (or, in some cases, before the adjective base), and replacing the *ang*-phrase topic with a *ng* phrase. Sentences with adjectival predicates of the appropriate type and nominalized verb base topics (sentences of the type discussed under (2) above) may be made into exclamations in the usual way. Thus the exclamation that corresponds to:

Mabilis ang tugtog niya ng piyesa.
 'His playing of the piece is fast.'

is:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Ang} \\ \text{Kay} \end{array} \right\}$ bilis ng tugtog niya ng piyesa!
 'How fast he plays the piece!'

It is only in exclamations that nominalized verb bases occur after the marker *ng*. In all other cases (construction types (1) and (2) above), nominalized verb bases follow the marker *ang*.

(Apart from nominalized verb bases, Tagalog also has a great many forms that occur both as verb bases and as nouns. Thus the base of the verb *gumawa* 'make' occurs as the noun *gawa* 'something made' and the base of the verb *magtrabaho* '(to) work' occurs as the noun *trabaho* 'work'. Nominalized verb bases are distinguished from nouns that also occur as verb bases in several ways. In the first place, nominalized verb bases occur only in the few contexts discussed above, while nouns occur in many other contexts as well. Thus the noun *gawa* may occur in predicate position, as in *Gawa ni Pedro iyon* 'That's something Pedro made' (Literally, 'That's Pedro's something made'), while a nominalized verb base may never occur in this position. Secondly, nominalized verb bases always express a verb-like, or actional meaning, while nouns that also occur as verb bases generally express an object or product of the activity expressed by the related verb, as the noun *gawa* expresses an object or product of the verb *gumawa*. There are, however, certain ambiguous cases in which a form may be interpreted either as a noun or as a nominalized verb base. Thus the sentence *Mabilis ang gawa ni Pedro* may mean either 'Pedro made (something) quickly' or 'What Pedro made is fast'. In the first interpretation, *gawa* is a nominalized verb base, and alternates freely with the gerund *paggawa*; in the second interpretation *gawa* is a noun.)

§3.28. Nominal clauses.

A clause is a construction that has essentially the same internal structure as a sentence, but that occurs as part of another sentence. A **NOMINAL CLAUSE** is a clause that occurs as an expansion of a

nominal (a noun or a marker plus a noun): i.e., a clause that occurs in some of the same contexts as those in which nominals occur in basic sentences. The nominal clauses of Tagalog are discussed below under the following headings: (1) DIRECT-QUOTATION CLAUSES; (2) INDIRECT-QUOTATION CLAUSES; (3) OTHER OBJECT CLAUSES; (4) DIRECTIONAL AND CAUSATIVE CLAUSES; (5) PREDICATE CLAUSES AFTER INVERTED TOPICS. (cf. also the discussion of indefinite nominal clauses in §7.18).

(1) **Direct-quotation clauses.** A direct-quotation clause is a clause that purports to reproduce some utterance in exactly the original words. Direct-quotation clauses occur as expansions of one of the following:

- (a) the topic of certain object-focus verbs;
- (b) an inverted predicate with certain nominalized object-focus-verb topics;
- (c) the object complement with certain actor-focus and directional-focus verbs;
- (d) the predicate with certain nominal topics.

(a) Direct-quotation clauses occur as topics of object-focus verbs (cf. §5.3) signifying some act of speech. Unlike the nominals of which they are expansions, the direct-quotation clauses are not preceded by the marker *ang*. Some examples are:

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Sasabihin} \\ \text{Sinasabi} \\ \text{Sinabi} \end{array} \right\}$	niya sa akin. "Wala akong pera."
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'He} \\ \text{will tell} \\ \text{tells} \\ \text{told} \end{array} \right\}$	me, "I don't have any money."

(cf. Sasabihin niya sa akin ang lahat.
'He will tell me everything.')

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Itatanong} \\ \text{Itinatanong} \\ \text{Itinanong} \end{array} \right\}$	niya sa akin, "Bakit hindi mo ako tutulungan?"
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'He} \\ \text{will ask} \\ \text{asks} \\ \text{asked} \end{array} \right\}$	me, "Why won't you help me?"

(cf. Itatanong niya sa akin ang dahilan.
'He will ask me the reason.')

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Isisigaw} \\ \text{Isinisigaw} \\ \text{Isinigaw} \end{array} \right\}$	niya sa akin, "Umuwi ka."
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'He} \\ \text{will shout} \\ \text{shouts} \\ \text{shouted} \end{array} \right\}$	at me. "Go home."

(cf. Isisigaw niya sa akin ang utos.
'He will shout the order at me.')

(b) Direct-quotation clauses occur as predicates with nominalized object-focus verb topics. The verbs that occur as nominalized topics with direct-quotation clauses as predicates are the same verbs that occur as predicates with the clauses as topics (see (a) above). The construction always involves either *ay*-inversion or

contrastive inversion (cf. §7.2): that is, the topic is moved to a position before the predicate, and is followed either by the inversion-marker *ay*, or by a pause. Thus:

Ang sasabihin niya sa $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(akin ay)} \\ \text{(akin,)} \end{array} \right\}$ "Wala akong pera."
 'What he will tell me is, "I don't have any money.'

(cf. Ang sasabihin niya sa $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(akin ay)} \\ \text{(akin,)} \end{array} \right\}$ kasinungalingan.
 'What he will tell me is a lie.')

The inversion, which is optional with a nominal predicate, is obligatory with a nominal-clause predicate. Sentences with predicate direct-quotation clauses in initial position followed by nominalized object-focus verb topics do not occur. Thus there is no such sentence as *"*Wala akong pera*", *ang sasabihin niya sa akin* to parallel the occurring sentence *Kasinungalingan ang sasabihin niya sa akin*.

(c) Direct-quotation clauses occur as object complements of the actor-focus and directional-focus counterparts of the object-focus verbs discussed under (a): i.e., verbs signifying some act of speech. Unlike the nominals of which they are expansions, the clauses are not preceded by the marker *ng*. Some examples are:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(Magsasabi)} \\ \text{(Nagsasabi)} \\ \text{(Nagsabi)} \end{array} \right\}$ siya sa akin, "Wala akong pera."

'He $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(will tell)} \\ \text{(tells)} \\ \text{(told)} \end{array} \right\}$ me, "I don't have any money.'

(cf. Magsasabi siya sa akin ng lahat.
 'He will tell me everything.')

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(Sasabihan)} \\ \text{(Sinasabihan)} \\ \text{(Sinabihan)} \end{array} \right\}$ niya ako, "Wala akong pera."

'He $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(will tell)} \\ \text{(tells)} \\ \text{(told)} \end{array} \right\}$ me, "I don't have any money.'

(cf. Sasabihan niya ako ng lahat.
 'He will tell me everything.')

(d) Direct-quotation clauses occur as predicates opposite QUOTATION TAGS in topic position. A quotation tag consists of a SPEECH NOUN – i.e., a noun that designates the product of an act of speech – plus a *ng* phrase that designates the speaker(s). The most common speech noun is *sabi* (literally, 'something said/told'). (*Sabi*, like most other speech nouns, also occurs as the base of a set of verbs that designate the act of which the noun itself designates the product: cf. *magsabi/sabihin/sabihan* 'say/tell'.) Some other speech nouns are: *ayon* (literally, 'something said in agreement'), *sagot* 'answer', *sigaw* (literally, 'something shouted'), *tanong* 'question', *utos* 'order', *wika* (literally, 'language' – a literary or dialectal alternative to *sabi*), and *yaya* 'invitation'.

In some cases speech nouns are translatable by nouns in English: e.g.,

"Saan ka pupunta?" ang tanong niya.
 'His question was, "Where are you going?'

“Sa palengke,” ang sagot ko.
 ‘My answer was, “To the market.”’

In many cases, however, there is no common English noun that is equivalent to the Tagalog noun, and the normal English translation involves a verb signifying an act of speech:

“Wala akong pera,” ang sabi niya.
 ‘He said, “I don’t have any money.”’

“Umuwi ka,” ang sigaw niya.
 ‘He shouted, “Go home.”’

(Even where there is an English noun equivalent in meaning to the Tagalog noun, the Tagalog sentence may be translated by an English sentence with a speech verb. Thus “*Saan ka pupunta?*” *ang tanong niya* may also be translated, ‘He asked, “Where are you going?”’)

The usual interpretation of a quotation tag is that the act of speech referred to occurred at some time in the past: hence the above translations with ‘His question was’, ‘He asked’, etc. The tag may, however, also be used to refer to recurrent or habitual acts of speech if the context makes this meaning clear: e.g.,

“Saan ka pupunta?” ang tanong niya araw-araw.
 ‘Every day he asks, “Where are you going?”’

The topic marker *ang* is optionally deletable before a quotation tag. Thus, also:

“Saan ka pupunta?” tanong niya.
 “Sa palengke,” sagot ko.
 “Wala akong pera,” sabi niya.
 “Umuwi ka,” sigaw niya.

A quotation tag may occur in initial position in *ay* inversion or contrastive inversion (cf. §7.2):

Ang tanong	{ niya’y niya, }	“Saan ka pupunta?”
Ang sagot	{ ko’y ko, }	“Sa palengke.”
Ang sabi	{ niya’y niya, }	“Wala akong pera.”
Ang sigaw	{ niya’y niya, }	“Umuwi ka.”

In some cases, the topic marker *ang* is deletable before an inverted quotation tag. Deletion of *ang* is especially common before *sabi*. Thus:

Sabi	{ niya’y niya, }	“Wala akong pera.”
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As was noted above, *wika* (phrase-finally /wi:ka’/, non-phrase-finally /wi:ka:/, with compensatory lengthening of the final vowel (cf. §1.12) is a literary or dialectal alternative to *sabi*. When the topic marker

ang is deleted before it, *wika* is in some cases optionally contracted to *'ka-* /ka:/ or *a-* /a:/ . The *'ka-* contraction occurs before any *ng*-form personal pronoun, the *a-* contraction before the *ng* form of a third-person personal pronoun, or, less, commonly, before *ng* (spelled *nang* in this case) plus an unmarked noun, *ni(na)* plus a personal noun, or the *ng* form of a deictic pronoun. Both *'ka-* and *a-* are treated as prefixes in conventional spelling. Thus:

'kako	'I said'	'kanatin	'we (I and others) said'
'kanita	'you (sg.) and I said'	'kanamin	'we (you and I and others) said'
'kamo	'you (sg.) said'	'kaninyo	'you (pl.) said'
{ 'kanya }	'he/she said'	{ 'kanila }	'They said'
{ anya }		{ anila }	
anang bata	'the child said'		
ani Pedro	'Pedro said'		
anito	'this one said'		

Examples in sentences are:

"Umalis ka na." kako.

'I said, "Leave now." '

'Kanamin, "Ayaw naming gawin iyon."

'We said, "We don't want to do that." '

{ 'kaniya'y }

{ Aniya'y }

"Marikit ba siya?"

'He said/asked, "Is she pretty?" '

(In addition to being used as quotation tags, the two forms *'kamo* and *'kaninyo* are used as imperatives meaning "Say." Thus a sentence like:

'Kamo, "Umalis ka na."

is ambiguous, and can mean either 'You said, "Leave now" ' or 'Say, "Leave now." ')

(2) **Indirect-quotation clauses.** An indirect-quotation clause is a clause that purports to reproduce the content of some utterance, but not to reproduce the utterance in its original form. Indirect-quotation clauses occur as topics opposite certain object-focus verbs, as object complements with certain actor-focus or directional-focus verbs, and, in some cases, as inverted predicates (see the discussion under (b), below). Indirect-quotation clauses may be divided into three classes on the basis of their correspondence to certain underlying sentence types: **STATEMENT CLAUSES** (corresponding to statements, whose basic structure is described in Chapter 2); **IMPERATIVE CLAUSES** (corresponding to imperative sentences – cf. §5.29); and **INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES** (corresponding to questions – cf. §§7.3 through 7.12).

Except when they occur in sentence-initial-position (see the discussion under (d), below), or as inverted predicates (see the discussion under (b)), indirect-quotation clauses are introduced either by the linker *na/ng* (cf. §3.11) or by the particle *kung*. The linker *na/ng* is used to introduce both statement clauses and imperative clauses:

Sinabi ko	{ kay Pedrong }	narito ka.
	{ kay Manuel na }	
'I told	{ Pedro }	that you are/were here.'
	{ Manuel }	

Iniutos ko	}	kay Pedrong kay Manuel na	tapusin niya ang trabaho.
‘I ordered	}	Pedro Manuel	to finish the work.’

(There is often a rhythmic break before a nominal clause, such that the clause constitutes a distinct intonation phrase (cf. §1.23). When a rhythmic break occurs before a clause introduced by the linker *na/ng*, the break precedes the linker, and the */na/* form of the linker is used, whatever the preceding word. Thus, also: *Sinabi ko kay Pedro na narito ka*, etc.)

The particle *kung* is used to introduce interrogative clauses: e.g.,

Itinanong ko sa kanya kung narito ka.
‘I asked him if you were here.’

Clauses introduced by *na/ng* or *kung* are never preceded by a nominal marker (*ang*, *ng*, etc.).

Statement clauses have essentially the same internal structure as statements. Thus:

Sinabi kong maganda si Maria.
‘I said that Maria was beautiful.’

(cf. Maganda si Maria.
‘Maria is beautiful.’)

Sinabi kong nakita kita doon.
‘I said that I saw you there.’

(cf. Nakita kita doon.
‘I saw you there.’)

Imperative clauses have essentially the same internal structure as imperative sentences (e.g., they always include the basic form of a verb), but, while the actor in an imperative sentence is always expressed by a second-person pronoun, the actor in an imperative clause may be expressed by nominals of other types as well. Thus:

Sinabi ng Nanay na kanin	}	ko mo niya ng bata ni Manuel	ang pagkain.
‘Mother said that	}	I you he the child Manuel	should eat the food.’

(cf. Kanin mo ang pagkain.
‘Eat the food.’)

Sinabi ng Nanay na maghintay	}	kami. kayo. sila. ang mga bata. sina Manuel.
------------------------------	---	--

'Mother said that $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{we} \\ \text{you} \\ \text{they} \\ \text{the children} \\ \text{Manuel and his friends} \end{array} \right\}$ should wait.'

(cf. Maghintay kayo.
'Wait.')

When the person who is to perform the action expressed by the imperative clause is specified earlier in the sentence, the word or phrase expressing the actor within the imperative clause is optionally deletable. Thus:

Sinabi ng Nanay sa aking kanin (ko) ang pagkain.
'Mother said to me that I should eat the food.'
(Or: 'Mother told me to eat the food.')

Sinabi ng Nanay sa inyong maghintay (kayo).
'Mother said to you that you should wait.'
(Or: 'Mother told you to wait.')

Interrogative clauses have essentially the same internal structure as questions, except that the enclitic particle *ba* (cf. §6.4, subsection (g)), which is optionally present in the questions, is never present in the clauses. Interrogative clauses may correspond to yes-no questions, information questions, alternative questions, etc.: e.g.,

Itinanong ko kung darating siya.
'I asked if he was coming.'

(cf. Darating (ba) siya?
'Is he coming?')

Itinanong ko kung kailan siya darating.
'I asked when he was coming.'

(cf. Kailan (ba) siya darating?
'When is he coming?')

Itinanong ko kung darating siya, o hindi.
'I asked whether he was coming or not.'

(cf. Darating (ba) siya, o hindi?
'Is he coming, or not?')

Indirect-quotation clauses serve all the same sentence functions as direct-quotation clauses. That is, they occur as:

- (a) topics with certain object-focus verbs;
- (b) inverted predicates with certain nominalized object-focus verb topics;
- (c) object complements with certain actor-focus and directional-focus verbs;
- (d) predicates opposite quotation-tag topics.

(The verbs and nouns that occur opposite indirect-quotation clauses are the same as those that occur opposite direct-quotation clauses.)

(a) A number of examples of indirect-quotation clauses occurring as topics with object-focus verbs have been included in the preceding discussion. Some further examples are:

Isinagot niyang maaga pa.
‘He replied that it was still early.’

Ipinakiusap niyang pumunta ka.
‘He requested that you go.’

Sinabi ba niya kung bakit hindi siya sumama sa kanila?
‘Did he say why he didn’t go along with them?’

(b) Statement and imperative clauses occurring as inverted predicates opposite nominalized object-focus verb topics lack the introductory linker *na/ng*:

Ang sinagot $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{niya'y} \\ \text{niya,} \end{array} \right\}$ maaga pa.
‘What he replied was that it was still early.’

Ang sinabi $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ng Nanay ay} \\ \text{ng Nanay,} \end{array} \right\}$ maghintay tayo.
‘What Mother said was that we should wait.’

Interrogative clauses occurring in this position are, however, introduced by *kung*:

Ang itinanong $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ko'y} \\ \text{ko,} \end{array} \right\}$ kung narito ka.
‘What I asked was whether you were here.’

When the actor within the nominalized topic is expressed by something other than a first-person (or dual) pronoun, the inverted predicate clause frequently includes the enclitic particle *daw/raw* (‘reportedly’, ‘it is said’ – cf. §6.4 subsection (c)). Thus, also:

Ang sinabi ng Nanay ay maghintay daw tayo.

(The use of *daw/raw* often resolves a potential ambiguity between an indirect-quotation clause and a direct-quotation clause. Thus, in speech, *Ang sinabi ng Nanay ay maghintay tayo* may be confused with *Ang sinabi ng Nanay ay, “Maghintay tayo”* ‘What Mother said was, “Let’s wait.”’ The inclusion of *daw/raw* in the indirect-quotation clause eliminates this ambiguity.) Some further examples of the use of *daw* in inverted predicate clauses are:

Ang isinagot niya’y mahirap daw siya.
‘What he replied was that he was poor.’

Ang itinanong ni Ben ay kung sino raw ang bagong titser.
‘What Ben asked is who the new teacher is.’

(c) Examples of indirect-quotation clauses occurring as objects of actor-focus and directional-focus verbs are:

- { Nagsabi ako kay }
 { Sinabihan ko si } Pedrong narito ka.
 'I told Pedro that you were here.'
- { Nag-utos ako kay }
 { Inutusan ko si } Manuel na tapusin (niya) ang trabaho.
 'I ordered Manuel to finish the work.'
- { Nagtanong ako sa iyo }
 { Tinanong kita } kung kailan siya darating.
 'I asked you when he was coming.'

(d) When they occur as predicates opposite quotation-tag topics, indirect-quotation clauses are not introduced by *na/ng* or *kung*. An interrogative clause may include the enclitic particle *ba*. Examples are:

- { Sinira ko (raw) ang kamera niya, }
 { Matulog (daw) sila, } ang sabi niya.
 { Bakit (ba) (raw) ninyo siya tinawag, }
- 'He said { that I ruined his camera.' }
 { that they should go to sleep.' }
 'He asked why you called him.'

(Note that *sabi* may be used with an interrogative clause in the meaning '(something) ask(ed)'). As in the case of inverted-predicate clauses with nominalized object-focus-verb topics (see (b), above), the predicate clause with a topic noun often includes the enclitic *daw/raw*.

Sentences involving predicate indirect-quotation clauses and quotation-tag topics show the same range of variations as those involving predicate direct-quotation clauses and quotation-tag topics (see above). Thus the following are all possible, and are more or less identical in meaning:

- { Matulog (daw) sila, ang sabi niya. }
 { Matulog (daw) sila, sabi niya. }
 { Ang sabi niya'y matulog (daw) sila. }
 { Sabi niya'y matulog (daw) sila. }
 'He said that they should go to sleep.'

The same *'ka-* and *a-* formations (*'kako*, *'kamo*, (*'kaniya*, etc. – see (1.d), above) that occur with direct-quotation clauses occur with indirect-quotation clauses. In the case of the indirect-quotation clauses, the *'ka-* and *a-* formations may occur in medial, as well as in initial or final, position. In medial position, the formations are neither preceded nor followed by pause. They occur immediately after any enclitic particles, or, if there are no enclitic particles, in the position in which an enclitic particle, if present, would occur. Examples of the formations in medial position are:

Mayayaman ba 'kako sila.
'I asked if they're rich.'

Ano 'kamo ang pangalan mo?
'What did you say your name is?'

Hugasan { 'kaniya } nila ang mga pinggan.
 { aniya }
'He said they should wash the dishes.'

(3) Other object clauses. Both direct-quotation and indirect-quotation clauses may be classified as OBJECT CLAUSES, in that they typically serve as expansions of topics opposite object-focus verbs, or as expansions of object-complements with non-object-focus verbs. The verbs with which direct-quotation and indirect-quotation clauses occur all signify acts of speech. There are, however, a number of other verbs that also take object clauses: e.g., verbs of perception such as:

makabalita/mabalitaan	'hear (news of)'
makakita/makita	'see'
makapansin/mapansin	'(happen to) notice'
makaramdam/maramdaman	'feel'
makarinig/marinig	'hear'

or verbs signifying mental processes, such as:

humula/hulaan	'guess/predict'
makaintindi/maintindihan	'understand'
makalimot/makalimutan	'(happen to) forget'
mag-akala/akalain	'think (mistakenly)'
umisip/isipin	'think'

(In the above listings, the first verb listed is an actor-focus verb, the second an object-focus verb.)

Object clauses occurring with such verbs are identical in form with indirect-quotation clauses of the statement and interrogative sub-classes (see above). Thus, as topics or object complements, clauses that correspond to statements are introduced by the linker *na/-ng*: e.g.,

Nakita ni { Pedrong } puno na ang bus.
 { Manuel na }

{ 'Pedro }
 { 'Manuel } saw that the bus was already full.'

(cf. Puno na ang bus.
 'The bus is already full.')

Siya ang nakakitang puno na ang bus.
 'He's the one who saw that the bus was already full.'

As inverted predicates, clauses that correspond to statements lack an introductory linker: e.g.,

Ang nakita ni { Pedro'y } puno na ang bus.
 { Pedro, }

'What Pedro saw was that the bus was already full.'

Clauses that correspond to questions are introduced by the particle *kung* in all cases:

Nakita ni Pedro kung sinu-sino ang nasa bus.
 'Pedro saw who was in the bus.'

(cf. Sinu-sino ang nasa bus?
 'Who is in the bus?')

Siya ang nakakita kung sinu-sino ang nasa bus.
 'He's the one who saw who was in the bus.'

Ang nakita ni $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pedro'y} \\ \text{Pedro,} \end{array} \right\}$ kung sinu-sino ang nasa bus.
 'What Pedro saw was who was in the bus.'

Like direct- and indirect-quotation clauses, object clauses with verbs of perception and verbs signifying mental processes occur as: (a) topics, (b) inverted predicates, (c) object complements. Some further examples are:

(a) Napansin niyang umiiyak ang bata.
 'He noticed that the child was crying.'

Nakalimutan niya kung dapat siyang maghintay, o hindi.
 'He forgot whether he was supposed to wait or not.'

Inakala niyang paparoon ka.
 'He thought (mistakenly) that you would be there.'

(b) Ang narinig $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ko'y} \\ \text{ko,} \end{array} \right\}$ mabuti ang klima roon.
 'What I heard is that the climate there is good.'

Ang nabalitaan $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ko'y} \\ \text{ko,} \end{array} \right\}$ kung bakit hindi sila dumating.
 'What I heard (news of) is why they didn't come.'

Ang inisip $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ko'y} \\ \text{ko,} \end{array} \right\}$ ikaw ang panganay.
 'What I thought was that you were the eldest child.'

(c) Siya ang nakaramdam na masyadong maliit ang bahay.
 'He's the one who felt that the house was too small.'

Siya ang humula kung ano ang regalo.
 'He's the one who guessed what the present was.'

Siya ang nakaintinding kailangan silang magpahinga.
 'He's the one who understood that they needed to rest.'

There are at least three nouns that signify products of mental processes, which occur in sentences with nominal clauses: *isip* '(a) thought', *akala* '(a mistaken) thought', and *alam* 'something known'. The clauses that occur with these nouns may conveniently be classified as object clauses.

Isip and *akala* occur as inverted topics opposite nominal-clause predicates. (The inversion is obligatory.) Only statement clauses occur, and, like other statement-clause predicates, they lack a preceding linker: e.g.,

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Ang isip} \\ \text{Ang akala} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ko'y} \\ \text{ko,} \end{array} \right\} \text{ maaga pa.}$$

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'I} \\ \text{(More literally: 'My thought was that it was still early.')} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{thought} \\ \text{(thought (mistakenly))} \end{array} \right\} \text{ that it was still early.'}$$

Ang is optionally deletable before *isip* and *akala*. Thus, also:

Isip ko'y maaga pa.

etc.

Alam may occur in the same contexts as *isip* and *akala* – i.e., as an inverted topic, with optional deletion of *ang*, before a statement-clause predicate: e.g.,

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(Ang) alam ko'y} \\ \text{(Ang) alam ko,} \end{array} \right\} \text{ maaga pa.}$$

 'I know that it is still early.'

Alam, however, may also occur as predicate before either a statement clause introduced by *na/-ng* or an interrogative clause introduced by *kung*: e.g.,

Alam kong maaga pa.
 'I know that it is still early.'
 ('That it is still early is something known by me.')

Alam ko kung kailan siya darating.
 'I know when he is coming.'

(cf. §7.16 for a discussion of *aywan*, the negative counterpart of *alam*.)

(4) **Directional and causative clauses.** As was noted above, object clauses are clauses that typically serve as topics of object-focus verbs or as object complements (i.e., expansions of *ng* phrases). In addition to such clauses, there are several types of clauses that are similar in form to object clauses (of the types dealt with under (3), above), but that differ from them in sentence function.

DIRECTIONAL CLAUSES are clauses used as topics of directional-focus verbs, as inverted predicates opposite nominalized directional-focus topics, or as directional complements (i.e., expansions of *sa* phrases). There are only a few verbs that occur with directional clauses: e.g.,

magpasya/pagpasyahan	'decide'
maniwala/paniwalaan	'believe'
umawa/asahan	'hope'

(In the above list, the first verb listed in each case is actor-focus, the second directional-focus.) Directional clauses show the same range of forms as object clauses: i.e., as topics and complements they are introduced by the linker *na/-ng* if they correspond to statements, by *kung* if they correspond to questions: e.g.,

Pinagpasyahan niyang uuwi sila.
'He decided that they would go home.'

(cf. Pinagpasyahan niya ang gawain.
'He decided (upon) the activity.')

Nagpasya siyang uuwi sila.
'He decided that they would go home.'

(cf. Nagpasya siya sa gawain.
'He decided (upon) the activity.')

{ Pinagpasyahan niya }
{ Nagpasya siya } kung saan sila pupunta.
'He decided where they would go.'

As inverted predicates, statement clauses lack the introductory linker, while interrogative clauses are, once more, introduced by *kung*: e.g.,

Ang pinagpasyan { niya'y } uuwi sila.
{ niya, }
'What he decided was that they would go home.'

Ang pinagpasyahan { niya'y } kung saan sila pupunta.
{ niya, }
'What he decided was where they would go.'

CAUSATIVE CLAUSES are clauses that occur as topics of causative-focus verbs (cf. §5.8), as inverted predicates opposite nominalized causative-focus verbs, and as expansions of causative adverbs (i.e., adverbs introduced by *dahil sa* – cf. §6.11, subsection (1.b)) after intransitive verbs. Some verbs that occur with causative clauses are:

magalak/ikagalak	'be pleased (about/that)'
magulat/ikagulat	'be surprised (about/that)'
mainis/ikainis	'be annoyed (about/that)'
malugod/ikalugod	'be happy (about/that)'
malungkot/ikalungkot	'be unhappy (about/that)'
matakot/ikatakot	'be afraid (about/that)'
matuwa/ikatuwa	'be happy (about/that)'

(In the above list, the first verb listed in each case is intransitive, the second causative–focus.) Causative clauses always correspond to statements. When they occur as topics or as expansions of causative adverbs, they are introduced by the linker *na/ng*; when they occur as inverted predicates, there is no introductory linker. Some examples are:

Ikinatuwa kong naroon ka.
'I was happy that you were there.'

(cf. Ikinatuwa ko iyon.
'I was happy about that.')

Natuwa akong naroon ka.
 'I was happy that you were there.'

(cf. Natuwa ako dahil doon.
 'I was happy about that.')

Ang ikinatuwa $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ko'y} \\ \text{ko,} \end{array} \right\}$ naroon ka.

'What I was happy about was that you were there.'

(cf. Ang ikinatuwa $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ko'y} \\ \text{ko,} \end{array} \right\}$ iyon.
 'What I was happy about was that.')

(It may be noted that the nominal clause after an intransitive verb is similar in meaning to an adverbial clause introduced by *dahil*, etc. (cf. §6.16). Thus, also, *Natuwa ako dahil naroon ka* 'I was happy because you were there'. The nominal clause is so identified because of its form, which is identical with that of the topic clause that occurs with the corresponding causative-focus verb. It may also be noted that many of the intransitive verbs that accept causative clauses are homonymous with directional verbs. Thus *matuwa* also occurs as a directional verb meaning 'be amused at'. It is clear, however, that when there is a following nominal clause, it is the intransitive, rather than the directional, verb that is being used. This is evident not only from the meaning – see the second example above – but also from the fact that the directional-focus counterpart of the directional verb does not accept a clause as topic. Thus *katuwaan*, the directional-focus counterpart of *matuwa* 'be amused at', never occurs with a topic nominal clause.)

(5) **Predicate clauses after inverted topics.** Many constructions involving nominal clauses used as predicates after inverted topics are presented above. In most of the cases presented, the same elements that occur as inverted topics opposite nominal-clause predicates also occur as predicates opposite nominal-clause topics. For example, verbal constructions that signify acts of speech may occur either as inverted topics or as predicates opposite indirect-quotation clauses: e.g.,

Ang sinabi $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{niya'y} \\ \text{niya,} \end{array} \right\}$ wala (raw) siyang pera.

'What he said was that he doesn't have any money.'

Sinabi niyang wala siyang pera.
 'He said he doesn't have any money.'

In addition to those elements that may occur either as inverted topics with nominal-clause predicates or as predicates with nominal-clause topics, there are certain elements that serve only the former of these functions. Some examples have already been given: e.g., quotation tags formed with speech nouns such as *sabi* (literally 'something said'), which occur freely as inverted topic before an indirect-quotation clause predicate, as in:

Ang sabi $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{niya'y} \\ \text{niya,} \end{array} \right\}$ wala (raw) siyang pera.

'What he said was that he doesn't have any money.'

but which never occur as predicate with an indirect-quotation clause topic. (There is no **Sabi niyang wala siyang pera.*) There are, however, a number of other elements that share this characteristic (but not the other characteristics of quotation tags, and which have not thus far been discussed. These elements include

any nominal or (nominalized) adjectival whose meaning is such that it may be identified with what is expressed by a clause: e.g.,

Nominals:	karaingan	'complaint'
	katotohanan	'truth'
	dahilan	'cause'
	palagay	'opinion'
	pasya	'decision'
	problema	'problem'
	suliranin	'problem'
Adjectivals:	kahiya-hiya	'shameful'
	interesante	'interesting'
	mabuti	'good'
	masagwa	'disagreeable'
	masama	'bad'
	nakakagulat	'surprising'
	nakakainis	'annoying'

They also include a few (nominalized) verbals that contain directional-focus *ka...-an* verbs (cf. §5.4), such as:

kagulatan	'be surprised at'
katakutan	'be afraid of'
katuwaan	'be amused at'

Predicate clauses occurring after inverted topics such as these show the same formal features as previously-presented sentence-initial clauses: that is, clauses that correspond to statements lack any introductory linker or particle, while clauses that correspond to questions are introduced by the particle *kung*. Some examples are:

Ang karaingan $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{niya'y} \\ \text{niya,} \end{array} \right\}$ wala siyang pera.
 'His complaint is that he doesn't have any money.'

Ang $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kahiya-hiya'y} \\ \text{kahiya-hiya,} \end{array} \right\}$ hindi nila siya tinutulungan.
 'What is shameful is that they don't help him.'

Ang $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{interesante'y} \\ \text{interesante,} \end{array} \right\}$ kung sinu-sino ang inanyayahan nila.
 'What is interesting is whom they invited.'

Ang kinagugulatan $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ko'y} \\ \text{ko,} \end{array} \right\}$ umalis siyang maaga.
 'What I'm surprised at is that he left early.'

Ang kinatutuwaan $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ko'y} \\ \text{ko,} \end{array} \right\}$ kung paano niya nagawa.
 'What I'm amused at is how he managed to do it.'

§3.29. Enclitic personal pronouns.

The present section is concerned with certain peculiarities shown by personal pronouns, as compared with nominals of other types, with respect to the positions they occupy in sentences. (The forms and meanings of the personal pronouns are presented in §3.3.)

As was noted in §2.15, the order of non-initial components of basic sentences is in most cases not fixed. Thus, for example, a sentence topic and an actor complement may, in general, occur in either order: e.g.,

{ Nakita si Ben ni Pedro. }
 { Nakita ni Pedro si Ben. }
 'Pedro saw Ben.'

(In both sentences *si Ben* is the topic, *ni Pedro* the actor complement.) This same flexibility of word order is not found in the case of sentences (either basic or derived) whose topic is the *ang* form of a personal pronoun. For example, while the following sentence is grammatical –

Nakita siya ni Pedro.
 'Pedro saw him.'

– there is no such sentence as:

*Nakita ni Pedro siya.

Nor is the same flexibility present in the case of sentences that include the *ng* form of a personal pronoun used as an actor complement. Thus there is a grammatical sentence:

Nakita niya si Ben.
 'He saw Ben.'

but there is no:

*Nakita si Ben niya.

This difference in behavior between personal pronouns and nominals of other types reflects the fact that the pronouns are, in certain of their uses, ENCLITICS (or ENCLITIC WORDS).

An enclitic is a word that obligatorily occurs in a position after some other word or group of words. In Tagalog, enclitics, with certain storable exceptions, follow the first word of the construction of which they constitute an immediate part. (See below for an explanation of IMMEDIATE PART.) Note, for example, the position of the enclitic pronoun *siya* in the following sentences:

(1) Masaya siya ngayon.
 'He is happy today.'

(cf. Masaya si Ben ngayon.
 'Ben is happy today.')

(2) Hindi siya masaya ngayon.
 'He isn't happy today.'

(cf. Hindi masaya si Ben ngayon.
 'Ben isn't happy today.')

(3) Bakit siya hindi masaya ngayon?
 'Why isn't he happy today?'

(cf. Bakit hindi masaya si Ben ngayon?
 'Why isn't Ben happy today?')

Siya – which is, in these examples, an immediate part of the entire sentence – occurs after the first word of the sentence in each case, whatever the grammatical function of this word. (In sentence (1), a basic sentence, the first word is a predicate adjective; in sentence (2), the first word is a negator – cf. §7.13; in sentence (3), the first word is an interrogative – cf. §7.10.) This behavior is notably different from that of a non-enclitic nominal (such as *si Ben*).

Tagalog has enclitic words of two types: enclitic personal pronouns and enclitic particles. The enclitic personal pronouns are discussed in the present section, the enclitic particles in §6.2 through 6.6.

The *sa* forms of personal pronouns are never enclitic. The *ang* forms of personal pronouns (hereafter, *ang* pronouns) are enclitic when they are used as topics, except that *ang* pronouns used as inverted topics (cf. §7.2) are non-enclitic. The *ng* forms of personal pronouns (hereafter, *ng* pronouns) are enclitic both as actor complements and as possessive modifiers (cf. §3.20), as in:

Hindi niya kaklase si Ben.
'Ben isn't his classmate.'

(cf. Hindi kaklase ni Pedro si Ben.
'Ben isn't Pedro's classmate.')

(The composite pronoun *kita* – cf. §3.3 – is also enclitic.) (Topic *ang* phrases other than personal pronouns occasionally occur in typically enclitic positions. The placement of such a topic in enclitic position is always optional. Optional enclitic behavior may be manifested by non-personal-pronoun topics in, for example, sentences introduced by *mayroon*, *hindi*, or *wala* (cf. §4.22, 7.13, and 7.14), and in sentences with modification constructions in predicate position. Examples are:

Mayroon ba ang batang lapis?
'Does the child have a pencil?'
(cf. Mayroon bang lapis ang bata?)

Hindi si Juan darating bukas.
'Juan won't be coming tomorrow.'
(cf. Hindi darating bukas si Juan.)

Wala itong takip.
'This one doesn't have a cover.'
(cf. Walang takip ito.)

Magaling ang aspirinang gamot.
'Aspirin is an excellent medicine.'
(cf. Magaling na gamot ang aspirina.)

Optional enclitic behavior may also occasionally be manifested by non-personal-pronoun topics in constructions of various other types.)

When a sentence includes an *ang* pronoun and a *ng* pronoun both of which are enclitic to the same word, the following rules of order obtain:

(1) the monosyllabic pronouns *ka* (*ang* form, second-person singular), *ko* (*ng* form, first-person singular), and *mo* (*ng* form, second-person singular) always precede any other enclitic pronoun;

(2) in other cases, an *ang* pronoun and a *ng* pronoun may occur in either order, but the order *ng*-pronoun-plus-*ang*-pronoun is the more common, especially when the *ng* pronoun is *niya* (third-person singular). Examples of the operation of these rules are:

Nakita ka { niya. }
 { namin. }
 { nila. }

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'He} \\ \text{'We} \\ \text{'They} \end{array} \right\}$ saw you (sg.).'

Nakita ko $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{siya.} \\ \text{kayo} \\ \text{silá.} \end{array} \right\}$

'I saw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{him.}' \\ \text{you (pl.)}' \\ \text{them.}' \end{array} \right\}$

('I saw you (sg.),' is *Nakita kita*, in which *kita* replaces the non-occurring sequence **ko ka* or **ka ko*.)

Nakita mo $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ako.} \\ \text{siya.} \\ \text{kami.} \\ \text{silá.} \end{array} \right\}$

'You (sg.) saw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{me.}' \\ \text{him.}' \\ \text{us.}' \\ \text{them.}' \end{array} \right\}$

Nakita niya $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ako.} \\ \text{siya.} \\ \text{kami.} \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right\}$

'He saw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{me.}' \\ \text{him.}' \\ \text{us.}' \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right\}$

(Some speakers may occasionally say *Nakita ako niya*, etc., but this order is highly unusual.)

Nakita $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{namin siya.} \\ \text{siya namin.} \end{array} \right\}$
 'We saw him.'

Nakita $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ninyo ako.} \\ \text{ako ninyo.} \end{array} \right\}$
 'You (pl.) saw me.'

Nakita $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nila kayo.} \\ \text{kayo nila.} \end{array} \right\}$
 'They saw you (pl.).'

(The first order is the more common in each of the last three examples.) (For a discussion of the order of enclitic pronouns in relation to enclitic particles, cf. §6.2.)

As was noted above, enclitics, with certain storable exceptions, follow the first word of the construction of which they constitute an immediate part. For purposes of describing enclitic behavior, enclitic *ang* pronouns may be said to constitute an immediate part either of a sentence or of a clause. (A clause is a part of a sentence which itself has essentially the same internal structure – predicate-plus-topic – as a sentence.) In basic sentences (and derived sentences that contain only one clause), an enclitic *ang* pronoun normally follows the first word of the sentence. In sentences that include two or more clauses, however, an *ang* pronoun occurring as topic of a non-initial clause normally follows the first word of the clause, not the first word of the sentence. Thus in the sentence:

Nang dumating si Ben, hindi siya nakita ni Pedro.

'When Ben came, Pedro didn't see him.'

siya follows *hindi*, the first word of the clause of which it is the topic; it cannot be moved to a position within the preceding clause.

For purposes of describing enclitic behavior, an enclitic *ng* pronoun may be said to constitute an immediate part either of a predicate or of a MARKED CONSTRUCTION (a construction preceded by one of the markers *ang*, *ng*, or *sa*). When a *ng* pronoun occurs as actor complement within a verbal predicate or possessive modifier within a nominal predicate, it normally follows the first word of this predicate. The predicate itself may occur at the beginning of a sentence, at the beginning of a non-initial clause, or, in certain inversion constructions (cf. §7.2), it may follow the topic (plus, in some cases, the inversion marker *ay*). Note the position of *niya* in the following sentences.

(1) Hindi niya $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{nakita} \\ \text{kaklase} \end{array} \right\}$ si Ben.

'He didn't see Ben.'

'Ben isn't/wasn't his classmate.'

(2) Nang dumating si Pedro, hindi niya $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{nakita} \\ \text{kaklase} \end{array} \right\}$ si Ben.

'When Pedro came, $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{he didn't see Ben.} \\ \text{Ben wasn't his classmate.} \end{array} \right\}$

(3) Si Ben ay hindi niya $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{nakita.} \\ \text{kaklase.} \end{array} \right\}$

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'He didn't see Ben.} \\ \text{'Ben isn't/wasn't his classmate.} \end{array} \right\}$

In each sentence, *niya* follows *hindi*, which is the first word of the predicate. In sentence (1) the predicate is sentence-initial; in sentence (2) it is clause-initial; in sentence (3) it follows the topic (and the inversion marker *ay*). Regardless of where the predicate occurs, the *ng* pronoun that constitutes an immediate part of the predicate follows its first word.

A *ng* pronoun that occurs as part of a marked construction normally follows the first word, other than the marker itself, within that construction. The marked construction may involve either a noun and a *ng* pronoun used as a possessive modifier, or a verb and a *ng* pronoun used as an actor complement. (Verbs occur after markers in nominalized verbals – cf. §3.24.) Note, for example, the position of *niya* in the following sentences.

- (1) Iyon ang hindi niya $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nakita.} \\ \text{kaklase.} \end{array} \right\}$
 That's the one $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'he didn't see.}' \\ \text{'who isn't his classmate.}' \end{array} \right\}$
- (2) Ginawa iyon ng hindi niya $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nakita.} \\ \text{kaklase.} \end{array} \right\}$
 'The one $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{he didn't see} \\ \text{who isn't his classmate} \end{array} \right\}$ did that.'
- (3) Ibinigay ko iyon sa hindi niya $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nakita.} \\ \text{kaklase.} \end{array} \right\}$
 'I gave that to the one $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'he didn't see.}' \\ \text{'who isn't his classmate.}' \end{array} \right\}$

In each case *niya* follows *hindi*, which is the first word that follows the marker (*ang*, *ng*, and *sa* in sentences (1), (2), and (3), respectively).

The word that an enclitic follows (either immediately or after one or more other enclitics) within a given construction may be called the PRE-ENCLITIC WORD (hereafter, P). In sentences cited thus far, P has in each case been the first word of the construction of which the enclitic constitutes an immediate part. There are, however, cases in which P is preceded by one or more other words. Any word that precedes P in a given construction is a NON-PRE-ENCLITIC (hereafter, N). An inventory of common words, word classes, and structures that function as N with respect to enclitic pronouns is given below. (The inventory does not apply in all cases to enclitic particles, since certain sentence elements that function as N with respect to enclitic pronouns may function as P with respect to the particles – cf. §6.6.) From this inventory the position of P (with respect to pronouns) in any given construction may be determined, since P is always the first word of the construction that is not N.

The inventory is divided into two parts. Part I, labeled OBLIGATORY NON-PRE-ENCLITICS, lists sentence elements that never function as P with respect to enclitic pronouns. Part II, labeled OPTIONAL NON-PRE-ENCLITICS, lists sentence elements that may function either as N or as P with respect to enclitic pronouns.

(I) Obligatory Non-pre-enclitics

(A) The following words:

- (1) The nominal markers *ang*, *kay*, *kina*, *ni*, *nina*, *ng*, *sa*, *si*, *sina*
- (2) The plural marker *mga* (cf. §3.9)
- (3) The inversion marker *ay* (cf. §7.2)
- (4) The locative-phrase marker *na(sa)* (cf. §4.19)
- (5) The possessive-, indefinite-, and existential-phrase marker *may* (cf. §§4.22 and 4.23)
 (The possessive/indefinite/existential marker *mayroon*, however, is not N. Thus:

May pera siya.	vs.	Mayroon siyang pera.
'He has money.'		'He has money.'

See I.D. below, for an explanation of the *-ng* after *siya* in the second sentence.)

- (6) The comparative markers *mas* and *kaysa* (cf. §4.15)

- (7) The verb *maging* and its various inflected and derived forms (cf. §5.27)
- (8) The adverb *halos* 'almost'
- (9) The sentence-initial adverb *di* (cf. §6.12, subsection (4))
- (10) The great majority of subordinating and coordinating conjunctions (cf. §§6.14 through 6.18, and 7.19): e.g., *at* 'and,' *kung* 'if/when,' *dahil* 'because,' *hanggang* 'until,' *hangga'* 'while,' *nang* 'when,' *o (kaya)* 'or (else),' *pero* 'but,' *sa sandali* 'the moment that,' *upang* 'so that'
- (Common conjunctions that may function as P are listed under II.A.7, below.)
- (B) Non-final components of structures of the following types:
- (1) Names: e.g., *Juan* in *Juan Cruz*
- (2) Numbers (cf. §§4.4 and 4.5): e.g., *sampu* 'ten' in *sampung libo* 'ten thousand'
- (3) Intensive adjectival constructions of the shape adjective-linker-(repeated-)adjective (cf. §4.12): e.g., the first *mabait* of *mabait na mabait* 'very kind'
- (4) Gerund-linker-(repeated-)gerund time adverbs (cf. §6.8, subsection (3)): e.g., the first *pagkarating* of *pagkarating na pagkarating* 'as soon as . . . had arrived'
- (5) Coordinate phrases (cf. §7.19): e.g., *mabuti* and *malakas* in *mabuti, malakas, at masaya* 'well, strong, and happy'
- (6) Adverbial phrases and directional complements that begin the construction of which the enclitic pronoun is an immediate part, and that are not linked to this construction by the linker *na/-ng*. Thus the italicized portions of the following sentences are N with respect to enclitic pronouns:
- Bukas ng gabi nang alas* otso siya aalis.
'It's tomorrow night at eight that he's leaving.'
- Sa maliit na bahay sa probinsya* siya pupunta.
'It's the little house in the provinces that he's going to.'
- (7) The following types of expressions that include numbers: (a) grade-level expressions that include numbers of English origin (cf. §4.4, subsection (3)); (b) age expressions (cf. §4.4, subsection (4.a)); (c) money expressions that include numbers of Spanish origin, or that include numbers of Tagalog origin followed by *piso* (cf. §4.4, subsection (4.b)); (d) combined quantity and price expressions (cf. §4.4, subsection (4.b)). Thus the italicized portions of the following sentences are N with respect to enclitic pronouns:
- (a) *Fourth year* siya sa unibersidad.
'He's (in the) fourth year at the university.'
- (b) *Isang taon at apat na buwan* siya.
'He is one year and four months old.'
- (c) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{Dos siyentos pesos} \\ \textit{Dalawang daang piso} \end{array} \right\}$ siya.
'He (e.g., a dog) costs two hundred pesos.'
- (d) *Dalawa-sandaang-piso* sila.
'(They are two for a hundred pesos).'
- (8) Recipient-topic constructions (cf. §4.5, subsection (a)) that consist of a distributive numeral followed by the linker *na/-ng* plus a nominal representing what is to be distributed. Thus the italicized portion of the following sentence is N with respect to enclitic pronouns:

Tigl-tigisang kendi sila.
 'Each of them is to get one candy.'

- (C) Adverbs that begin the construction of which the enclitic pronoun is an immediate part, and that are followed by a pause or by the inversion marker *ay* (cf. §7.2). Thus the italicized portions of the following sentences are N with respect to enclitic pronouns.

Bukas ay aalis siya.
 'He'll leave tomorrow.'

Bukas, aalis siya.
 'Tomorrow, he'll leave.'

Bukas ng gabi ay aalis siya.
 'He'll leave tomorrow night.'

Bukas ng gabi, aalis siya.
 'Tomorrow night, he'll leave.'

(*Ay* is N per I.A.3.)

- (D) The linkers *-ng* and *na/ng* (As is explained in §§3.8 and 3.11, both the linker *-ng* and the linker *na/ng* are in some cases manifested as a word-final /ŋ/. For example, in:

Mayroong pera si Juan.
 'Juan has money.'

the linker *-ng* is manifested as an /ŋ/ replacing the final /n/ of *mayroon*. For purposes of determining the position of P, however, the linker is treated as a separable element in all cases. The word to which the linker would attach were no enclitics present may serve – and frequently does serve – as P: e.g.,

Mayroon siyang pera.
 'He has money.'

In such cases, the appropriate form of the linker follows the enclitic (or the last of two or more enclitics), and the word to which the linker would otherwise attach appears in its normal non-phrase-final form.)

(II) Optional Non-pre-enclitics

- (A) The following words:

- (1) The resemblance-phrase markers *gaya*, *mukha*, and *para* (cf. §4.18): e.g.,

Gaya { ni Pedro siya. }
 { siya ni Pedro. }
 'He is like Pedro.'

{ Parang si Pedro siya. }
 { Para siyang si Pedro. }
 'He is like Pedro.'

{ Mukhang Amerikano siya. }
 { Mukha siyang Amerikano. }
 'He looks like an American.'

- (2) The partisanship-phrase marker *para* (cf. §4.20): e.g.,

Para { kay Makapagal siya. }
 { siya kay Makapagal. }
 'He is for Makapagal.'

- (3) The source-phrase markers *buhat* and *galing* (cf. §4.20): e.g.,

{ (Buhat) }
 { (Galing) } sa Maynila siya. }
 { (Buhat) }
 { (Galing) } siya sa Maynila. }
 'He is from Manila.'

(When a phrase introduced by *buhat* appears in an inverted adverbial phrase, however, *buhat* is always N with respect to enclitic pronouns. Thus:

Buhat sa Maynila siya maglalakad. 'He will walk from Manila.'

never:

*Buhat siya sa Maynila maglalakad.

This is because, as was noted under I.B.6, non-final components of inverted adverbial phrases not linked to what follows them by the linker *na/-ng* are always N with respect to enclitic pronouns. This same reservation applies in the case of non-final components of modification constructions, dealt with under II.B.1, below.)

- (4) The relative-location phrase markers *paharap* and *patalikod* (cf. §4.20): e.g.,

Paharap { sa akin siya. }
 { siya sa akin. }
 'He is facing me.'

Patalikod { sa ilog sila. }
 { sila sa ilog. }
 'They have their backs to the river.'

(*Pararap* and *patalikod* are never N with respect to the monosyllabic pronoun *ka*. Thus:

Paharap ka sa akin. 'You are facing me.'

never:

*Paharap sa akin ka.

The treatment of *paharap* and *patalikod* as P is preferred in other cases, but the treatment of them as N is also possible.)

- (5) The interrogative word *bakit* 'why' (cf. §7.10): e.g.,

Bakit { tinanong mo siya?
mo siya tinanong? }
'Why did you ask him?'

(Other interrogative words are never N. Thus:

Kailan mo siya tinanong?
'When did you ask him?'

never:

*Kailan tinanong mo siya?)

- (6) The adverbs *baka* 'maybe' and *tila* 'it seems': e.g.,

Baka { aalis siya } ngayon.
siya aalis }
'Maybe he'll leave today.'

Tila nagustuhan niya ang bahay.
niya nagustuhan
'It seems he liked the house.'

- (7) Certain subordinating and coordinating conjunctions (cf. §§6.]4 through 6.18 and 7.19). About half of these are conjunctions of Spanish origin: e.g., *imbis* (Spanish *en vez*) 'instead,' (*sa lugar* 'instead,' *miyentras* 'while,' *para* 'so that,' *porke* 'because.' Non-Spanish conjunctions belonging to this class are: (*at/saka* 'and then,' (*ka/pag(ka)* 'if/when,' *haba* 'while,' *matapos* 'after,' *pagkatapos* 'after,' (*sa halip* 'instead,' *samantala* 'while,' and *tuwi* 'every time (that)') Some examples are:

(Ka)pag(ka) { naaalaala ko } iyon, napapatawa ako.
ko naaalaala }
'When I remember that, I feel like laughing.'

Sa halip { na tulungan niya ako } lumabas siya.
niya akong tulungan }

'Instead of helping me, he went outside.' (Most conjunctions other than those listed here are obligatorily N – see class I.A.8, above. There are, however, at least two conjunctions, *bago* 'before' and *kundi* (a contraction of *kung hindi*) 'if not,' that are never N. Thus:

Bago kayo umalis, hugasan mo ang mga pinggan.
'Before you leave, wash the dishes.'

Kundi ko siya nakita, nakaalis sana siya.
 'If I hadn't seen him, he would have left.'

never:

*Bago umalis kayo...
 *Kundi nakita ko siya...

- (8) Distributive numerals in the recipient-topic construction (cf. §4.5, subsection (a)), when followed by the linker *na/ng* plus a noun representing a unit of measurement: e.g.,

{Tigi-tigisang piraso(ng Kendi) sila.}
 {Tigi-tigisa silang piraso(ng kendi).}
 'They are each to get one piece (of candy).'

(When a distributive numeral in a recipient topic construction is immediately followed by the linker *na/ng* plus a noun representing what is to be distributed, it is obligatorily N – cf. 1.B.8, above.)

- (B) Non-final components of structures of the following types:

- (1) Modification constructions (cf. §3.11-3.17): e.g.,

{Bagong baro ko }
 {Bago kong baro } iyon.
 'That's my new dress.'

{Barong binili ko }
 {Baro kong binili } iyon.
 'That's a dress that I bought.'

{Bagong barong binili ko }
 {Bagong baro kong binili } iyon.
 {Bago kong barong binili }
 'That's a new dress that I bought.'

(The second sentence of the second pair is ambiguous, and may also mean 'That's my new dress that someone bought.' This is because *ko* may be interpreted in the sentence either as an actor complement or as a possessive modifier. For the same reason, both the second and third sentences of the third set are ambiguous: they may also mean 'That's my new dress that someone bought.')

Mahusay {na titser siya. }
 {siyang titser. }
 'He's a good teacher.'

Duktor {na bantog siya. }
 {siyang bantog. }
 'He's a famous doctor.'

{Pareng Amerikano siya }
 {Pare siyang Amerikano } o Philipino?
 'Is he an American priest, or a Filipino (priest)?'

(When, as in the last two pairs of sentences, the initial-component of the modification construction is a noun, there is a preference for treating it as N with respect to enclitic *ang* pronouns. This is particularly so when, as in the last pair of sentences, the final component of the construction is also a noun.)

- (2) Certain adjective-plus-complement constructions (cf. §4.17): specifically, adjective-plus-*(para)*-*sa*-phrase and adjective-plus-*sa*-phrase constructions: e.g.,

{Bagay (para) sa iyo siya.}
 {Bagay siya (para) sa iyo.}
 'He is suitable for you.'

{Takot sa kulog siya.}
 {Takot siya sa kulog.}
 'He is afraid of thunder.'

(The adjective in such constructions is never N with respect to *ka*. Thus:

Bagay ka (para) sa kaniya.
 'You are suitable for him.'

never:

*Bagay (para) sa kaniya ka.

The treatment of the adjective as P is preferred in other cases, but the treatment of them as N is also possible.)

- (C) One-word adverbs, and both final and non-final components of adverbial phrases, that begin the construction of which the enclitic pronoun is an immediate part, and that are linked to this construction by the linker *na/ng*. Thus:

Madalas { na naririnig ko } iyon.
 { kong naririnig }
 'I've often heard that.'

{ Lalong hindi siya } nakagawa ng trabaho.
 { Lalo siyang hindi }
 'He was all the more unable to do any work.'

{ Ganito(ng) kabilis na naglalakad siya }
 { Ganito(ng) kabilis siyang naglalakad } sa iskwela.
 { Ganito siya(ng) kabilis na naglalakad }
 'He walks to school as fast as this.'

{ Parang batang umiiyak siya. }
 { Parang bata siyang umiiyak. }
 { Para siyang batang umiiyak. }
 'He is crying like a child.'

CHAPTER 4
Adjectivals and Their Expansions

§4.1 Introduction.

The many different classes of adjectivals that occur in Tagalog may conveniently be divided into two main groups: ADJECTIVES and ADJECTIVE PHRASES (cf. §2.5). The assignment of a class of adjectivals to one or the other of these groups is, in general, based upon whether the members of the class are single words (adjectives) or sequences of two or more words (adjective phrases). (In cases where a class of adjectivals includes both single words and sequences of two or more words, however, the entire class is assigned to one or the other group. Thus, both *isa* 'one' and *sandaá't isa* 'one hundred one' are assigned to the adjective class, CARDINAL NUMBERS, while both *naroon* 'there' and *nasa bahay* 'in the house' are assigned to the adjective-phrase class, LOCATIVE ADJECTIVE PHRASES.)

Adjectives and adjective phrases have certain sentence functions in common. Most adjectives and adjective phrases may serve as:

- a. predicates of basic sentences (cf. §2.5):

{ Mahal
Nasa probinsya } ang bahay.

'The house is { expensive.'
in the provinces.' }

- b. modifiers (cf. §3.11, ff.)

Binili niya ang { bahay na mahal.
mahal na bahay. }

{ bahay na nasa probinsya.
nasa probinsyang bahay. }

'He bought the { expensive house.'
house in the provinces.' }

- c. nominalized topics, complements, etc. (cf. §3.24)

Binili niya ang { mahal.
nasa probinsya. }

'He bought the { expensive one.'
one in the provinces.' }

Bumili siya ng { mahal.
nasa probinsya. }

'He bought { an expensive one.'
one in the provinces.' }

There are also sentence functions peculiar to certain classes or subclasses of adjectives, and others peculiar to certain classes or subclasses of adjective phrases. Thus only certain unaffixed adjectives and adjectives formed with the prefixes *ma-* and *nakaka-* occur as predicates of sentences with nominalized basic forms as topics (cf. §3.25): e.g.,

{ Bawal
Magugol
Nakakawili } ang magsugal.

'Gambling is { prohibited.'
expensive.'
entertaining.' }

And only phrases introduced by *nasa* or *para sa* occur as modifiers with optional deletion of the linker *na/ng* (plus, in the case of *nasa* phrases, deletion of the *na-* of *nasa* – cf. §3.14): e.g.,

Sino ang titser { (na) para sa ikalawang grado?
(na na)sa silid na iyon? }

'Who is the teacher { for the second grade?'
in that room? }

Most of the sentence functions peculiar to certain classes or subclasses of adjectivals are presented below, in connection with the presentation of the various adjectival types themselves.

The present chapter is arranged as follows. Various types of adjective formations are presented in §§4.2 through 4.10: unaffixed adjectives (4.2); *ma-* adjectives (4.3); cardinal and ordinal numbers (4.4); other numerical expressions (4.5); attention-directing deictics (4.6); *pa-* adjectives (4.7); *pang-* adjectives (4.8); adjectives expressing inclination (4.9); other derived adjective formations (4.10). Constructions involving expansions of adjectives are presented in §§4.11 through 4.17: pluralization of adjectives (4.11); intensification of adjectives (4.12); moderation of adjectives (4.13); comparison of equality (4.14); comparison of inequality (4.15); superlatives (4.16); adjective-plus-complement constructions (4.17). Adjective phrases are presented in §§4.18 through 4.23: phrases expressing similarity (4.18); locative adjective phrases (4.19); other relational phrases (4.20); pseudo-verb phrases (4.21); possessive *sa* and *may* phrases (4.22); indefinite and existential *may* phrases (4.23). Exclamatory sentences, which are derived from sentences with adjectival predicates, are presented in §4.24.

§4.2. Unaffixed adjectives.

Most of the commonest adjectives of Tagalog are either UNAFFIXED ADJECTIVES or *ma-*ADJECTIVES. Unaffixed adjectives, as the label suggests, include no prefixes or suffixes in their formation. They fall into two major subclasses. The first of these subclasses consists of unaffixed adjectives that lack inherently long vowels (cf. §1.12), and that are related to nouns and/or verb bases with an inherently long vowel in the penultimate syllable. (Except for vowel length, the adjectives and the nouns or verb bases are identical.) Some examples are:

Adjective			Noun and/or Verb Base	
ayos	/ˈayos/	'arranged'	/ˈaːyos/	'arrange(ment)'
bali	/baliˈ/	'fractured'	/baˈliˈ/	'fracture'
basag	/basag/	'broken'	/baˈsag/	'break'
buhay	/buhay/	'living'	/buˈhay/	'life'
butas	/butas/	'having a hole'	/buˈtas/	'hole'
bungi	/buŋiˈ/	'gap-toothed'	/buˈŋiˈ/	'gap in the teeth'
galit	/galit/	'angry'	/gaˈlit/	'anger'
gamit	/gamit/	'used'	/gaˈmit/	'use'
gutom	/gutom/	'hungry'	/guˈtom/	'hunger'
hilo	/hiloˈ/	'dizzy'	/hiˈloh/	'dizziness'
hukay	/hukay/	'dug'	/huˈkay/	'pit'

Adjective			Noun and/or Verb Base	
punit	/punit/	'torn'	/pu nit/	'tear'
pagod	/pagod/	'tired'	/pa'god/	'tiredness'
putol	/putol/	'cut'	/pu tol/	'cut'
sira	/sira/	'damaged'	/si'ra/	'damage'
sunog	/sunog/	'burned'	/su'nog/	'fire'
tulis	/tulis/	'pointed'	/tu lis/	'point'
tulog	/tulog/	'asleep'	/tu'log/	'sleep'
uka	/'uka/	'pitted'	/'u'ka/	'pit'

(It may be noted that many of the adjectives related to verb bases are translated by past participles in English: *ayos* 'arranged', *bali* 'fractured', *basag* 'broken', etc.)

All other unaffixed adjectives belong to the second of the major subclasses. The members of this subclass may or may not include an inherently long vowel. Those that lack inherent length are, in any case, not related to nouns and/or verb bases with inherent length. Some examples of adjectives in the second major subclass are:

banal	'virtuous'	pisa	'crushed'
berde	'green'	pula	'red'
bihira	'uncommon'	puti	'white'
duwag	'cowardly'	yayat	'emaciated'
hilaw	'raw'	putot	'bent'
hinog	'ripe'	sariwa	'fresh'
mahal	'expensive'	suwail	'insolent'
mura	'cheap'	tama	'correct'
payat	'thin'	tahimik	'quiet'
pipi	'dumb'	tamad	'lazy'

There are certain types of formations and constructions in which members of this second subclass of unaffixed adjectives occur while members of the first subclass do not. For example, virtually all members of the second subclass occur in intensive formations with *napaka-* (cf. §4.12), and many members of this class occur in exclamations after *kay* (§4.24), but no members of the first subclass so occur. Thus there are formations like *napakabanal* 'very virtuous', *napakaberde* 'very green' and constructions like *kay banal* 'how virtuous', *kay berde* 'how green' (*banal* and *berde* belong to the second subclass of unaffixed adjectives), but there is no **napakaayos*, **napakabali*, or **kay ayos*, **kay bali* (*ayos* and *bali* belong to the first subclass).

Within the second subclass, there is a small group of unaffixed adjectives that are GENDER-MARKED. These adjectives, all of which are borrowed from Spanish, occur in two different forms: one ending in *-o* /oh/, the other ending in *-a* /ah/. The forms ending in *-a* are used when the adjectives refer to female human beings or female animals; the forms ending in *-o* are used in all other cases: i.e., when the adjectives refer to male human beings or male animals, to groups including individuals of both sexes, to inanimate objects, to abstractions, etc. Thus:

Komika si Linda.

'Linda is funny.'

Komiko	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{si Fred.} \\ \text{ang mga bata.} \\ \text{ang kuwento.} \\ \text{ang buhay.} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'Fred is} \\ \text{'The children are} \\ \text{'The story is} \\ \text{'Life is} \end{array} \right\}$	funny.'

Some other adjectives belonging to the gender-marked subclass are:

ambisyoso/-a	'ambitious'	nerbyoso/-a	'nervous.
delikado/-a	'delicate'	relihyoso/-a	'religious'
guwapo/-a	'handsome'	romantiko/-a	'romantic'
loko/-a	'crazy'	simpatiko/-a	'pleasing'
moderno/-a	'modern'	tonto/-a	'stupid'

(cf. also §3.6 for a discussion of gender-marked nouns.)

§4.3. Ma- adjectives.

Ma-adjectives consist of the prefix *ma-* (/ma/) and a *ma*-adjective base. Most *ma*-adjective bases also occur independently, either as nouns or as unaffixed adjectives; a few *ma*-adjective bases do not occur independently.

ma-adjective bases that occur independently as nouns may be divided into two subclasses, according to whether the nouns designate abstract qualities or concrete objects. These two subclasses of bases differ in distribution in the following way: bases that designate abstract qualities generally also occur in intensive formations after *napaka-* (cf. §4.11), in *-um-* verbs of 'becoming' (§5.6, class G) and in exclamations after *ang* or *kay* (§4.24); but bases that designate concrete objects do not generally occur in these formations and constructions. Thus the base of *mabigat* 'heavy' (cf. *bigat* 'weight') also occurs in *napakabigat* 'very heavy', *bumigat* 'become heavy' and *ang/kay bigat* 'how heavy'; but the base of *mabundok* 'mountainous' (cf. *bundok* 'mountain') does not occur in similar formations and constructions: there is no **napakabundok*, **bumundok*, or **ang/kay bundok*. (The distribution of *ma*-adjective bases that occur independently as unaffixed adjectives and of *ma*-adjective bases that do not occur independently generally resembles that of the bases that designate abstract qualities.)

The meaning expressed by a *ma*-adjective whose base is a noun is, generally: having an abundance of what the base designates. This is the case whether the base itself designates an abstract quality or a concrete object.

In the following list of *ma*-adjectives whose bases function as nouns in their independent occurrences, the nouns are cited and translated in parentheses after the adjectives. (There are five adjectives listed – *mabundok*, *mabuto*, *madagta*, *malangis*, and *matao* – whose bases designate concrete objects; the other bases designate abstract qualities.)

mabigat	'heavy'	(bigat 'weight')
mabilis	'fast'	(bilis 'speed')
mabundok	'mountainous'	(bundok 'mountain')
mabuto	'bony/full of seeds'	(buto 'bone/seed')
makapal	'thick'	(kapal 'thickness')
makipot	'narrow'	(kipot 'narrowness')
madagta	'rich in sap'	(dagta 'sap')
maganda	'beautiful'	(ganda 'beauty')
mahaba	'long'	(haba 'length')
mahina	'weak'	(hina 'weakness')
mainit	'hot'	(init 'heat')
malaki	'big'	(laki 'size')
malaman	'fleshy'	(laman 'flesh')
malangis	'oily'	(langis 'oil')
mapait	'bitter'	(pait 'bitterness')
masama	'bad'	(sama 'badness')
mataas	'high'	(taas 'height')
matao	'populous'	(tao 'person')
matalino	'intelligent'	(talino 'intelligence')
matatag	'stable'	(tatag 'stability')

Ma-adjectives whose bases occur independently as unaffixed adjectives may be divided into two subclasses, according to whether the *ma*- adjective does or does not have the same meaning as the unaffixed adjective. Examples of *ma*- adjectives that are more or less identical in meaning with their bases are:

maaliwalas	'bright'	(aliwalas 'bright')
malaganap	'widespread'	(laganap 'widespread')
mapayapa	'peaceful'	(payapa 'peaceful')
masagana	'prosperous'	(sagana 'prosperous')
matapat	'faithful'	(tapat 'faithful')

In cases where the *ma*- adjective differs in meaning from the unaffixed adjective that serves as its base, the *ma*- adjective generally designates the transitory and/or non-inherent possession of a quality, the unaffixed adjective the permanent and/or inherent possession of the quality. This is the case with many adjectives designating color or shape. Compare the meanings of the *ma*- adjectives and unaffixed adjectives in the following pairs of sentences:

{ Maputi ang bulaklak.
'The flower is white (e.g., it has faded).'

{ Puti ang bulaklak.
'The flower is (naturally) white.'

{ Madilaw ang buhok niya.
'Her hair is yellow (e.g., bleached).'

{ Dilaw ang buhok niya.
'Her hair is (naturally) yellow.'

{ Mabilog ang buwan.
'The moon is full.'

{ Bilog ang buwan.
'The moon is round.'

{ Matulis ang mga lapis.
'The pencils are sharpened.'

{ Tulis ang mga lapis.
'Pencils are pointed.'

The following are some examples of *ma*- adjectives whose bases do not occur as independent words (except in *ang* and *kay* exclamations – which, as explained in §4.24, are derived from the adjectives themselves):

maaga	'early'	marubdob	'ardent'
mabanas	'sultry'	masahol	'inferior'
maimpok	'economical'	masinsin	'compact'
malinis	'clean'	matatas	'talkative'
malusog	'healthy'	maunlad	'productive'

(A small group of *ma*- adjectives that express weather conditions, and the adjective *maaga* 'early,' may occur as predicates in *topicless phenomenal sentences* – cf. §7.21.)

§4.4. Cardinal and ordinal numbers.

Like English, Tagalog distinguishes between **CARDINAL NUMBERS** (i.e., numbers used in counting or in expressing quantity: cf. English 'one', 'two', etc.) and **ORDINAL NUMBERS** (i.e., numbers used in expressing order or rank: cf. English 'first', 'second', etc.). The Tagalog cardinal numbers may, for descriptive purposes, be divided into two classes: **SIMPLE** and **COMPLEX**. Simple numbers consist of a single meaningful element, complex numbers of more than one meaningful element. The simple cardinal numbers of Tagalog are:

isa	'one'	lima	'five'
dalawa	'two'	anim	'six'
tatlo	'three'	pito	'seven'
apat	'four'	walo	'eight'
	siyam	'nine'	

All the complex numbers include at least one of the simple numbers and at least one other meaningful element. The other meaningful elements that commonly occur in complex numbers are:

pu	'times ten'
labi	'ten plus'
daan	'times one hundred'
libo	'times one thousand'
milyon	'times one million'

Multiples of ten are formed by adding the linker *na/-ng* (cf. §3.11) plus *pu*, *daan*, *libo*, or *milyon* to one of the simple numbers. (The *-ng* form of the linker is always manifested as /m/ before *pu*, and this pronunciation is reflected in the conventional spelling. The *-ng* form of the linker is often manifested as /n/ before *daan* and *libo* and as /m/ before *milyon*, but the *-ng* spelling – except in the case of the variant forms for 'one hundred' and 'one thousand', *sandaan* and *sanlibo* – is retained. The first syllable of *isa* 'one' is dropped in *sampung* 'ten' (← *isa* + linker + *pu*), and in *sandaan* and *sanlibo*. *Daan* has a variant form, *raan*, which is a normal after the *na* form of the linker.) Examples are:

sampung	'ten'	limampung	'fifty'
dalawampung	'twenty'	animnapu	'sixty'
tatlumpu	'thirty'	pitumpu	'seventy'
apatnapu	'forty'	walumpu	'eighty'
	siyampu	'ninety'	
isang daan (sandaan)		'one hundred'	
dalawang daan		'two hundred'	
tatlong daan		'three hundred'	
apat na raan		'four hundred'	
isang libo (sanlibo)		'one thousand'	
dalawang libo		'two thousand'	
isang milyon		'one million'	
dalawang milyon		'two million'	

(Three additional elements – *laksa* 'times ten thousand', *yuta* 'times one hundred thousand', and *angaw* 'times one million' – are used by some Tagalog speakers in forming numbers representing multiples of ten. When used, these elements, like *pu*, etc., occur after one of the simple numbers plus the linker *na/-ng*: *isang laksa* 'ten thousand', *isang yuta* 'one hundred thousand', *isang angaw* 'one million'. These elements are, however, unfamiliar to perhaps the majority of educated Manila speakers, who would express 'ten thousand' as *sampung libo*, 'one hundred thousand' as *isang daang libo*, and 'one million' as *isang milyon*.)

Numbers from eleven to nineteen are formed by adding the linker *-ng* plus one of the simple numbers to *labi*. (The linker is manifested as /m/, /n/, or /ŋ/ according to whether the first consonant of the following simple number is bilabial, dental/alveolar, or velar/glottal. The variation is reflected in the conventional spelling.) Thus:

labing-isa	'eleven'	labinlima	'fifteen'
labindalawa	'twelve'	labing-anim	'sixteen'
labintatlo	'thirteen'	labimpito	'seventeen'
labing-apat	'fourteen'	labingwalo	'eighteen'
	labinsiyam	'nineteen'	

Other complex numbers are formed with the coordinating conjunction *at* 'and' (cf. §7.19), which occurs between any number representing a multiple of ten and another number. (As noted in §7.19, *at* is optionally contracted to *'t* /t/ after a word which, in its independent occurrences, ends in /l/, /h/, or /n/. The final consonant of the preceding word is simultaneously dropped. The contracted form of *at* is normal after the elements *pu*, *daan* and *libo*. Thus:

pu /pu'/ + at	→	pu't /put/
daan /da'an/ + at	→	daa't /da'at/
libo /li·boh/ + at	→	libo't /li·but/.)

Some examples are:

dalawampu't isa	'twenty-one'
tatlumpu't dalawa	'thirty-two'
apat na raa't sampu	'four hundred ten'
limang libo't labing-isa	'five thousand eleven'

siyam na libo't siyam na raa't siyam na pu't siyam
'nine thousand nine hundred ninety-nine'

isang milyon at limang daang libo.
'one million five hundred thousand'

There is only one common expression for a fraction: *kalahati* '(a) half' – cf. §3.22. *Kalahati* may occur without other numbers, or it may be joined by the conjunction *at* (or its contracted form *'t*) to a preceding cardinal number, as in *isa't kalahati* 'one and a half'. (Arithmetic is taught in English in the Philippines; hence no extensive Tagalog vocabulary for fractions has developed.)

Tagalog has two common ways of expressing 'about' or 'approximately' with cardinal numbers. One is the particle *mga* /maŋah/, which immediately precedes the number. (This particle is homonymous with the pluralizing particle *mga* discussed in §3.9 and 4.11.) The other is the expression *h(um)jigit-kumulang* (literally, 'exceed fall-short', i.e., 'more or less'), which also precedes the number, but is separated from it by the linker *na/-ng* (as well as, optionally, by any enclitic particles that may be present – cf. §6.6). Some examples of the use of *mga* and *h(um)jigit-kumulang* with cardinal numbers are:

May { mga
h(um)jigit-kumulang na } dalawampung tao doon noong Biyernes.
'There were approximately twenty people there last Friday.'

Naghintay ako nang { mga
h(um)jigit-kumulang na } isang oras.
'I waited about one hour.'

{	{	Mga	}	dalawang daan na	}	sila.
		H(um)jigit-kumulang na		dalawang daan		
		H(um)jigit-kumulang nang				

'There are about two hundred of them now.'
(Literally: 'They are now about two hundred.')

Tagalog has two sets of ordinal numbers, one formed by prefixing *ika* – to the cardinal numbers, the other formed by prefixing *pang-* to the cardinal numbers. In both sets the first three ordinal numbers are irregular. (In the *ika-* set, the expected but non-occurring form for 'first', **ikaisa*, is replaced by the Spanish loan-word *una* which in turn serves as the base of the first member of the *pang-* set, *panguna*. See the list below for the other irregular formations.) *Pang-* shows the variant forms *pam-*, *pan-*, and *pang-*, according to whether the first consonant of the cardinal number is bilabial, dental/alveolar, or velar/glottal. Examples of the ordinal numbers are listed below:

ika- Formation	pang- Formation	
una	panguna	'first'
ikalawa	pangalawa	'second'
ikatlo	pangatlo	'third'
ika-apat	pang-apat	'fourth'
ikalima	panlima	'fifth'
ika-anim	pang-anim	'sixth'
ikapito	pampito	'seventh'
ikawalo	pangwalo	'eighth'
ikasiyam	pansiyam	'ninth'
ikasampu	pansampu	'tenth'
ikalabing-isa	panlabing-isa	'eleventh'
ikadalawampu	pandalawampu	'twentieth'
ika-isang-daan	pang-isang-daan	'one hundredth'

The *pang-* and *ika-* formations are both quite common for the first twenty ordinals. For higher ordinals, the *ika-* formations are common, the *pang-* formations relatively rare.

In addition to the numbers dealt with above, Tagalog uses numbers borrowed from Spanish and English in certain semantic contexts. The borrowed numbers have, in general, the forms that they have in the language of origin, but their pronunciation is in many cases slightly modified so as to conform to the Tagalog phonemic system. For example, Spanish *diez* 'ten' is borrowed as *diyēs* (/dyeːs/~/diyeːs/), and English *three* as a Tagalog word is pronounced /triːh/. (The sequence *diez y* in Spanish numbers is pronounced /disiː/ in Tagalog, as in /disisyēːteh/ 'seventeen' (Spanish *diez y siete*.) In conventional Tagalog spelling, Spanish numbers are respelled to reflect their Tagalog pronunciation; English spellings for English numbers are retained.

There are some semantic contexts in which a Tagalog speaker has the option of using numbers from any one of the different sets (i.e., numbers of Spanish, English, or native Tagalog origin), others in which he may use numbers from either of two of these sets, and still others in which numbers from only one of the sets may be used. Numbers of Tagalog origin are the most versatile, numbers of English origin the most restricted in their occurrence – at least in standard formal Tagalog. (In the following presentation of the uses of numbers in various semantic contexts, English numbers are, in general, discussed in detail only where their usage in Tagalog differs from native English usage.)

The following are some of the more common semantic contexts in which numbers are used:

(1) ADDRESSES. Spanish and English cardinal numbers are used, the latter only colloquially. The Spanish numbers are more or less obligatorily preceded by the word *numero*; the name of the street is optionally preceded by the word *kalye* 'street' or by *daang* (*daan* 'street' plus the linker *na/ng*):

Nakatira siya sa $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{numero dos} \\ \text{two} \end{array} \right\}$ (kalye/daang) Medel.
 'He lives at number two Medel Street.'

(*Kalye* and *daang* are not used where the name of the street includes a word designating a thoroughfare: e.g., *Abenida Rizal* 'Rizal Avenue', Dewey Boulevard.)

House numbers are read as follows:

those below 100 are read as regular numbers:

2 : $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dos} \\ \text{two} \end{array} \right.$

95 : $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nobenta'y singko} \\ \text{ninety-five} \end{array} \right.$

100 or a higher number is normally read as a series of single numbers:

100 : $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{uno, sero sero} \\ \text{one, } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{zero, zero} \\ \text{oh, oh} \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right.$

236 : $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dos, tres, seis} \\ \text{two, three, six} \end{array} \right.$

1445 : $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{uno, kuwatro, kuwatro, singko} \\ \text{one, four, four, five} \end{array} \right.$

(There are, however, many allowable variations. Thus '100' may also be *one hundred* (but not the Spanish *siyento*), '236' may also be 'two (hundred) thirty-six' or *dos (siyentos) treynta'y seis*, and '1445' may also be 'fourteen-forty-five' or *katorse kuwarenta'y singko*.)

(2) DATES. Tagalog, English and Spanish numbers are used for the days of the month. The Tagalog numbers are preferred in formal situations. Expressions using Tagalog numbers consist of a member of the *ika-* set of ordinal numbers (i.e., *una* 'first', *ikalawa* 'second', etc.) followed by the linker *na/ng*, *araw* 'day', the marker *ng*, and *buwan* 'month' and its modifiers, in the order given. Examples are:

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{unang araw} \\ \text{ikatlong araw} \\ \text{ikaapat na araw} \end{array} \right\}$

ng

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{buwang ito} \\ \text{buwang susunod} \\ \text{buwan ng Nobyembre} \end{array} \right\}$

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'first day} \\ \text{'third day} \\ \text{'fourth day} \end{array} \right\}$

of

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{this month'} \\ \text{next month'} \\ \text{the month of November'} \end{array} \right\}$

The linker and *araw* are optional, except after *una* 'first'. *Buwan ng* is optional before the name of a month. Thus, also:

ikatlo ng buwang ito
'third of this month'

ikaapat ng Nobyembre
'fourth of November'

(The last day of the month may be referred to by the phrase *katapusan ng buwan* 'end of the month'.)

Expressions using Spanish numbers consist of *a-* plus the ordinal number *primero* 'first' or *a-* plus a higher cardinal number, followed by a *ng* phrase identifying the month:

Darating siya sa	{	a-primero	}	ng	{	Hulyo	}
		a-treynta				buwang ito	

'He will arrive on the	{	first	}	of	{	July	}
		thirtieth				this month	

In expressions using English numbers, either ordinal or cardinal numbers may be used. The number follows the name of the month (which is expressed as in English):

sa July	{	first	}	'on July first'
		one		

(The English alternative forms using an 'of' phrase – e.g., 'the fifth of July' – have not been borrowed into Tagalog.)

Years may also be expressed in Tagalog, Spanish, or English numbers: e.g.,

{	isang libo't siyam na raa't apatnapu't isa	}
	mil nobesiyentos kuwarenta y uno	
	nineteen forty-one	

(3) GRADE LEVELS. The word *baytang* 'step,' preceded by a Tagalog ordinal number and the linker *na/ng*, is used in expressions denoting grade levels in the school system. For grade levels in the elementary school, *grado* 'grade' is also used:

unang	{	baytang	}	(ng mababang paaralan)
		grado		

'first grade (of elementary school)'

For high-school grades, only *baytang* is used:

ikaapat na baytang (ng mataas na paaralan)
'fourth year (of high school)'

(English terms are also used colloquially: e.g., *first grade*, *second year*, etc., with modifications only in pronunciation:

Fourth year na si Anita sa unibersidad.
'Anita is now (in the) fourth year at the university.')

(4) MEASUREMENT. The term measurement, as used here, includes the following semantic areas: (a) AGE; (b) MONEY; (c) PERCENTAGE; (d) LENGTH, TIME, VOLUME, WEIGHT, and STANDARD QUANTITY. Both Tagalog and Spanish numbers occur in expressions falling within the first three of these areas; only Tagalog numbers occur in expressions falling within the fourth area. (While Tagalog numbers are used for expressions of time measurement, Spanish numbers are normally used for expressing clock time – cf. (6), below.) The constructions involving Tagalog numbers consist in all cases of a cardinal number followed by the linker *na/ng* and a noun designating a unit of measurement: e.g.,

dalawang	}	piso	‘two	}	pesos’
apat na			‘four		

(When the number includes *at kalahati* ‘and a half’, this expression may either precede the linker or follow the noun designating the unit of measurement: e.g., *apat at kalahating kilo* or *apat na kilo’t kalahati* ‘four and a half kilograms’. When a number including *at kalahati* is used to modify a noun that does not designate a unit of measurement, *kalahati* always precedes the linker. Thus ‘four and a half apples’ is *apat at kalahating mansanas*, not **apat na mansanas at kalahati*.) The constructions involving Spanish numbers consist in all cases of a cardinal number followed by a noun designating the unit of measurement: e.g.,

dos	}	pesos	‘two	}	pesos’
kuwatro			‘four		

Expressions of measurement that fall within the semantic areas listed above are presented below in the listed order.

(a) AGE. Most expressions involving the measurement of units of time use only Tagalog numbers (see (d), below). For expressing a person’s age, however, either Tagalog or Spanish numbers may in most cases be used, the latter only colloquially. With Tagalog numbers, the nouns *taon* ‘year(s)’ and *buwan* ‘month(s)’ are used. Ages up to two years are not expressed with Spanish numbers. Ages of two or more years may be expressed, colloquially, by a Spanish number followed by *anyos* ‘years’.

(The enclitic particles *na* ‘now/already’ and *la(ma)ng* ‘only’ (cf. §§6.3 and 6.4) are often used after expressions of age. Since, as is noted in §3.29, subsection (I.B.7), non-final components of age expressions are obligatorily non-pre-enclitic, the enclitic particles follow the entire age expression:

Isang taon	}	({ na)) ang bata.									
Apat na buwan					}	({ la(ma)ng)						
Isang taon at apat na buwan													
‘The child is	({ now	})	{ one year	}) old.’						
‘He is five years old.’								({ only	})	{ four months	}

(b) MONEY. The centavo is the smallest unit of Philippine currency; one hundred centavos is one peso. With Tagalog numbers, the centavo is called either *pera* or *sentimo*. (With Tagalog numbers expressing

'two' or more, an -s is optionally added to *sentimo*.) With Spanish numbers expressing 'two' or more, the centavo is called *sentimos*. (No Spanish number is used for 'one centavo'.) Thus:

isang	{	pera sentimo	}	'one centavo'
dalawang	{	pera	}	'two centavos'
dos sentimos		sentimo(s)		

(*Piseta* 'twenty centavos' and *salapi* 'fifty centavos' are common as names of denominations, but are not often used as units for reckoning monetary value.) With Tagalog numbers, the peso is called *piso*. (The meaning 'one peso' is normally expressed by *piso* alone, without a preceding number.) With Spanish numbers expressing 'two' or more, the peso is called *pesos*. (No Spanish number is used for 'one peso'.) Thus:

piso	'one peso'	
dalawang piso	}	'two pesos'
dos pesos		

The Spanish numbers are often used independently, without *sentimos* or *pesos*, when the monetary unit intended is clear from the context:

Beynte-singko ang pasahe.
'The fare is twenty-five (centavos).'

Dos-singkuwenta ang tsinelas.
'The slippers are two (pesos)-fifty (centavos).'

(While no Spanish number is used to express exactly one peso, the number *uno* may be used in expressions for amounts between one and two pesos, without *pesos* or *sentimos* expressed: e.g., *uno-singkuwenta* 'one (peso)-fifty (centavos).')

In sentences expressing both quantity and cost, the expression of cost may occur in predicate position, the expression of quantity (which uses numbers of Tagalog origin only) in topic position preceded by the marker *ang*: e.g.,

Limang piso	}	ang dalawa.
Singko (pesos)		
'Two for five pesos.'		
(Literally: 'The two are five pesos.')		

An alternative construction places the expression of quantity before the expression of cost, with no intervening *ang*: e.g.,

Dalawa	{	limang piso.
		singko (pesos).
'Two for five pesos.'		

This latter construction may itself function as the predicate of a sentence, as a modifier in a modification construction, etc: e.g.,

Dalawa- $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{limang-piso} \\ \text{singko (pesos)} \end{array} \right\}$ ang silya.
 'The chairs are two for five pesos.'

Bumili siya ng dalawa- $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{limang-piso} \\ \text{singko (pesos) na} \end{array} \right\}$ ang silya.
 'He bought some two-for-five-peso chairs.'

(Cf. §4.5, subsection (a) for a discussion of distributive numerals in relation to expressions of money.)

(c) PERCENTAGE. Both Tagalog and Spanish numbers are used with the word *porsyento* (from Spanish *por ciento*) to form expressions denoting percentage. Examples are:

Tagalog	Spanish	
isang porsyento	uno porsyento	'one per cent'
anim na porsyento	seis porsyento	'six per cent'
sandaang porsyento	siyento porsyento	'one hundred per cent'

(d) LENGTH, TIME, VOLUME, WEIGHT, AND STANDARD QUANTITY. While only Tagalog numbers are used, many of the nouns designating the units of measurement are borrowed from Spanish. Some examples are:

Length:	pulgada	'inch'
	yarda	'yard'
	metro	'meter'
	kilometro	'kilometer'
	milya	'mile'
	piye	'foot'
Time:	segundo	'second'
	minuto	'minute'
	oras	'hour'
Volume:	kutsarita	'teaspoonful'
	kutsara	'tablespoonful'
	tasa	'cupful'
	litro	'liter'
	galon	'gallon'
Weight:	onsa	'ounce'
	libra	'pound'
	kilo	'kilogram'
Standard Quantity:	pares	'pair'
	dusena	'dozen'

There are also nouns of native Tagalog origin used to designate units of length, etc.: e.g.,

	dali	'finger-width'
Length:	dangkal	'handspan'
	dipa	(length of both arms outstretched)

Time:	araw	'day'
	linggo	'week'
	buwan	'month'
	taon	'year'
Volume:	dakot	'handful'
	gatang	(approx. one cup, used for non-liquids)
	salop	'ganta' (three liters, used for non-liquids)

Expressions of measurement consisting of a cardinal number plus the linker *na/ng* plus a noun designating a unit of measurement often occur as preposed modifiers in complex modification constructions (cf. §3.17) e.g.,

isang yardang tela	'a yard of cloth'
dalawang salop na bigas	'two gantas of rice'

They also occur in a construction in which they are followed by a *ng* phrase of specification (cf. §3.23): e.g.,

isang yarda ng tela	'a yard of the cloth'
dalawang salop ng bigas	'two gantas of the rice'

(5) PAGE NUMBERS. Tagalog ordinal or English cardinal numbers, the latter only colloquially, are used for designating page numbers. In expressions using Tagalog numbers, the word *pahina* 'page' (from Spanish *pagina*) is preceded by the number plus the linker *na/ng*:

unang pahina	'page one'
ikalimandaang pahina	'page five hundred'

Expressions using English numbers retain the original form: *page two, page three, etc.*

(6) CLOCK TIME. Spanish cardinal numbers are normally used in expressing clock time. (Expressions of time measurement, however, always involve Tagalog numbers – cf. (4.d), above. Thus:

Naghintay kami hanggang alas dos.
'We waited until two o'clock.

vs:

Naghintay kami nang dalawang oras.
'We waited for two hours.'

The number that expresses the hour is preceded by *ala-* in the case of *una* 'one', by *alas* in all other cases. Thus:

ala-una	'one o'clock'
alas dos	'two o'clock'
alas dose	'twelve o'clock'

Minutes after the hour are expressed by *y* plus a number, or in some cases, by a number alone, after the *ala(s)* expression. (The *y* is optional, and omitted more often than not, when the preceding word ends in a consonant.)

ala-una y singko	'one-five'
alas tres(y)beynte	'three-twenty'

Minutes before the hour are expressed by *menos* plus a number plus *para*, before the *ala(s)* expression:

menos singko para ala-una	'five to one'
menos beynte para alas tres	'twenty to three'

(The half hour is frequently expressed by *medya* 'half', the quarter hour by *kuwarto* 'quarter'. Thus:

ala-una y medya	'half-past one'
alas singko y kuwarto	'a quarter past five'
menos kuwarto para alas otso	'a quarter to eight'

In formal style (primarily in writing), Tagalog numbers are sometimes used in expressing the time of day. Time-of-day expressions involving Tagalog numbers obligatorily end with one of the following *ng* phrases: *ng umaga* 'in the morning', *ng tanghali* 'noon', *ng hapon* 'in the afternoon', *ng gabi* 'in the evening', *ng hatinggabi* 'midnight'. (These phrases are optional after time-of-day expressions involving Spanish numbers. Thus:

alas dose	'twelve o'clock'
alas dose ng tanghali	'twelve noon'
alas dose ng hatinggabi	'twelve midnight'

but only:

ikalabindalawa ng tanghali	'twelve noon'
ikalabindalawa ng hatinggabi	'twelve midnight'

'Twelve o'clock' cannot be expressed by **ikalabindalawa*.) Hours are expressed by ordinal numbers of the *ika-* set. 'One o'clock' is *unang oras*; hours after one are expressed by an *ika-* ordinal without a following *oras*. Thus:

unang oras ng umaga	'one in the morning'
ikalawa ng umaga	'two in the morning'

Minutes after the hour are expressed by a cardinal number plus the linker *na/ng* plus *minuto pagkaraan ng* before the ordinal number:

limang minuto pagkaraan ng ikalawa ng umaga	'two-five in the morning'
---	---------------------------

Minutes before the hour are expressed by a cardinal number plus the linker *na/ng* plus *minuto bago mag-* before the ordinal number:

limang minuto bago mag-ikalawa ng umaga	'five to two in the morning'
---	------------------------------

(The half hour may be expressed by *at* (or '*t*') *kalahati* after the ordinal number:

ikalawa't kalahati ng umaga	'one-thirty in the morning')
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§4.5. Other numerical expressions.

In addition to cardinal and ordinal numbers (§4.4), Tagalog has numerical expressions of five kinds. These are: (a) DISTRIBUTIVE NUMERALS; (b) RESTRICTIVE NUMERALS; (c) GROUPING

NUMERALS; (d) INDEFINITE NUMERALS; (e) FREQUENTATIVE NUMERALS.

(a) DISTRIBUTIVE NUMERALS. Distributive numerals are used to express equal distribution. They are translated by English constructions that involve a cardinal number and 'each': e.g.,

Bigyan mo kami ng tigelawang lapis.

'Give us two pencils each.'

Tigasampung piso }

Tigdidiyes (pesos) }

ang mga pontimpen.

'The fountain pens are ten pesos each.'

There are two sets of distributive numerals, one corresponding to cardinal numbers of Tagalog origin, the other to cardinal numbers of Spanish origin. Except for the first four members of the Tagalog set (see below), each distributive numeral consists of the prefix *tig-*, a duplicating syllable, and a cardinal number, in that order. (The formation of the duplicating syllable follows the rules given for *dup₁* in §3.7.)

Examples of distributive numerals corresponding to cardinal numbers of Tagalog origin are:

tiglimah /tiglili(·)mah/	'five each'	(cf. lima /limah/'five')
tig-aanim /tig'a'a'nim/	'six each'	(cf. anim /'a'nim/'six')
tigsiyam /tigsisyam/	'nine each'	(cf. siyam /syam/'nine')

(*Tiglimah* is irregular in that length is optionally added to the penultimate vowel of the base.) Examples of distributive numerals corresponding to cardinal numbers of Spanish origin are:

tigdudos /tigdudo's/	'two each'	(cf. dos /do's/'two')
tigitres /tigitre's/	'three each'	(cf. tres /tre's/'three')
tigkukwatro /tigkukwa'troh/	'four each'	(cf. kwatro /kwa'troh/'four')

There are three different distributive forms that correspond to each of the first four cardinal numbers of Tagalog origin. The two most common forms in each case are:

tigi-tigisa /tigi'tigi'sah/	and	tigisa /tigi'sah/	'one each'	(cf. isa 'one' /'isah/)
tiga-tigalawa /tiga'tigala'wah/	and	tigalawa /tigala'wah/	'two each'	(cf. dalawa 'two' /'dalawah/)
tiga-tigatlo /tiga'tigatloh/	and	tigatlo /tigatloh/	'three each'	(cf. tatlo 'three' /'tatloh/)
tiga-tig-apat /tiga'tiga'pat/	and	tig-apat /tiga'pat/	'four each'	(cf. apat 'four' /'a'pat/)

The first form listed is the preferred form in the RECIPIENT-TOPIC CONSTRUCTION discussed below; the second form is the preferred form in other cases. The third form follows the rules of formation previously given for other distributive numerals. This form is not often used in standard formal Tagalog, but is occasionally heard in speech.

(In addition to the distributive numerals, there are four special distributive forms used in expressing equal distribution of money. These forms are: *mamera* 'one centavo each' (cf. *pera* '(one) centavo'), *mamiso* 'one peso each' (cf. *piso* '(one) peso'), *mamiseta* 'twenty centavos each' (cf. *piseta* 'twenty centavos'), and *manalapi* 'fifty centavos each' (cf. *salapi* 'fifty centavos'). The last two are relatively rare; the first two are very common, especially in quoting prices.)

In general, a given distributive numeral may occur only in those semantic contexts in which the cardinal number to which it corresponds occurs. Thus, in contexts in which either Tagalog or Spanish cardinal numbers may be used (as in expressing most amounts of money: e.g., *dalawang piso* or *dos pesos* 'two pesos'), either Tagalog or Spanish distributive numerals may also be used (e.g., *tigalawang piso* or *tigdudos pesos* 'two pesos each'). And in contexts in which only Tagalog cardinal numbers are used (as in expressing measurements: e.g., *dalawang yarda* 'two yards,' not **dos yarda*), only Tagalog distributive numerals are used (e.g., *tigalawang yarda* 'two yards each,' not **tigdudos yarda*).

Apart from constructions in which they may be considered as distributive substitutes for cardinal numbers, distributive numerals also occur in one type of construction that is unique to them: the RECIPIENT-TOPIC CONSTRUCTION. In this construction, the predicate of the sentence expresses something that is to be distributed in equal portions, the topic the recipients of these portions. (The English equivalents often involve 'each of . . . is to get'. The predicate is introduced by a distributive numeral, or by a phrase consisting of a distributive numeral plus the linker *na/-ng* plus a nominal representing a unit of measurement. The distributive numeral or distributive-numeral phrase is followed by a *ng* phrase of specification (cf. §3.23) if what is to be distributed represents a selection from a specific group: e.g.,

<p>Tigi-tigisa Tigi-tigisang piraso</p>	}	<p>ng kendi ang mga bata.</p>
<p>'Each of the children is to get</p>	{	<p>one of the candies.' one piece of the candy.'</p>

If what is to be distributed does not represent a selection from a specific group, the distributive numeral or distributive-numeral phrase is followed by the linker *na/-ng* and a nominal: e.g.,

<p>Tigi-tigisang Tigi-tigisang pirasong</p>	}	<p>kendi ang mga bata.</p>
<p>'Each of the children is to get</p>	{	<p>one one piece of</p>
		<p>candy.'</p>

Some further examples are:

Tigasampu raw kayo ng libro.
'They say that each of you is to get ten of the books.'

Tigasampung libro raw kayo.
'They say that each of you is to get ten books.'

(Note that, in the recipient-topic construction, enclitic particles and pronouns – cf. § §3.29 and 6.2) never occur directly before a linker followed by a nominal representing what is to be distributed.' Thus:

Tigi-tigisang kendi ba sila?
'Are they each to get one candy?'

not:

**Tigi-tigisa ba silang kendi?*

Enclitics may, however, optionally occur directly before a linker followed by a nominal representing a unit of measurement, whether or not this nominal is in turn followed by a linker plus a nominal representing what is to be distributed. Thus:

Tigi-tigisa ba silang piraso(ng kendi)?
 'Are they each to get one piece (of candy)?'

as well as:

Tigi-tigisang piraso(ng kendi) ba sila?)

(b) **RESTRICTIVE NUMERALS.** Restrictive numerals are used to express the equivalent of English 'only' plus a cardinal number: e.g., *iisa* /i-'isah/ 'only one', *sasampu* /sa'sampu/ 'only ten'. They are formed by prefixing a duplicating syllable to a cardinal number. (The formation of the duplicating syllable follows the rules given for dup_A in §5.19.) The cardinal number that follows the duplicating syllable may be of either Tagalog or Spanish origin. (The two sets of restrictive numerals occur only in those semantic contexts in which the related cardinal numbers occur.) Some further examples are:

dadalawa /da'dalawah/	}	'only two'
dodos /do'do's/		
tatatlo /ta'tatloh/	}	'only three'
tetres /te'tres/		
aapat /'a'a'pat/	}	'only four'
kukwatro /ku'kwatroh/		

Restrictive numerals are most commonly used as indefinite predicates or as the first element of modification constructions serving as indefinite predicates. In these uses the restrictive numeral denotes an amount viewed as relatively small: e.g.,

lisa ang bulaklak.
 'There is only one flower.'
 (Literally: 'The flower is only one.')

lisang maliit na mangga ang kinain niya.
 'He ate only one small mango.'
 (Literally: 'What he ate was only one small mango.')

Restrictive numerals that designate amounts viewed as relatively small are often followed by the enclitic particles *la(ma)ng* 'only', *na la(ma)ng* 'now only', or *pa la(ma)ng* 'still only'. If the restrictive numeral is the first element of a modification construction, *la(ma)ng*, etc., normally follow the entire modification construction, but may also follow the numeral if the modification construction includes another modifier. Some examples are:

Dadalawa(ng isda) la(ma)ng ang nahuli ko.
 'I caught only two (fish).'
 (Literally: 'What I caught was only two (fish).')

Tatatlong paketeng sigarilyo na la(ma)ng }
 Tatatlo na la(ma)ng (na) paketeng sigarilyo } ang natitira.
 'There are now only three packs of cigarettes left.'
 (Literally: 'What is left is now only three packs of cigarettes.')

Aapat (na bulaklak) pa la(ma)ng ang nasa rosas.
 'There are still only four (flowers) on the rose bush.'
 (Literally: 'What is on the rose bush is still only four (flowers).')

(When *la(ma)ng* is present, a restrictive meaning is conveyed even if a cardinal number, rather than a restrictive numeral, is used. Thus 'I caught only two' may also be *Dalawa la(ma)ng ang nahuli ko.*)

Restrictive numerals also occur after *ang*, either in topic position or in a definite predicate (cf. §7.17). The *ang*-plus-restrictive-numeral construction is equivalent to an English construction with 'the only' plus a number, and denotes an amount which, though restricted, is the total available amount: e.g.,

Ito ang aapat (na manggang hinog).
 'These are the only four (ripe mangoes).'

Ang aapat (na manggang hinog) ang kinain niya.
 'He ate the only four ripe mangoes.'
 (Literally: 'What he ate was the only four (ripe mangoes).')

(The restrictive numerals show formal and semantic similarity to the limiters *kakaunti* 'only a little' and *iilan* 'only a few', discussed in §3.22.)

(c) GROUPING NUMERALS. Grouping numerals normally express the equivalent of English 'by' or 'in (groups of)' plus a pluralized cardinal number: e.g., *dala-dalawa* /dala:dalawah/ 'by twos, in pairs', *lima-lima* /limalimah/ 'by fives, in groups of five'. They are formed by prefixing two duplicating syllables to a cardinal number of Tagalog origin. The duplicating syllables are identical with the first two syllables of the cardinal number, except that: (1) if the second syllable of the cardinal number ends in a short vowel, or a short vowel plus /ʔ/, the second duplicating syllable ends in a long vowel; (2) if the second syllable of the cardinal number ends in a short vowel plus /h/, this /h/ is absent in the second duplicating syllable; (3) if the second vowel of the cardinal number is /o/, the vowel of the second duplicating syllable is /u/. Some further examples are:

isa-isa	/ʔisaʔisah/	'by ones'
tatlu-tatlo	/tatlutatloh/	'by threes, in groups of three'
apat-apat	/ʔaʔpatʔaʔpat/	'by fours, in groups of four'
sampu-sampu	/sampuʔsampuʔ/	'by tens, in groups of ten'
dala-dalawampu	/dalaʔdalawampuʔ/	'by twenties, in groups of twenty.'

The grouping numerals most commonly occur in adverbial phrases of manner introduced by *nang* (cf. §6.10): e.g.,

Lumakad sila nang dala-dalawa.
 'They walked { by twos.'
 { in pairs.'

Ayusin mo nang apat-apat ang (mga) kamatis.
 'Arrange the tomatoes in groups of four.'

They also occur as predicates before gerunds (cf. §3.26) occurring in topic position: e.g.,

Apat-apat ang pagbilang niya ng (mga) kamatis.
 'He counted the tomatoes in groups of four.'
 (Literally: 'His counting of the tomatoes was by fours.')

In addition to the expression of a grouping, a grouping numeral may be used to express the idea of excessive number, as in:

Bakit dala-dalawa ang lapis mo?
'Why do you have two pencils (when only one is needed).'

(d) INDEFINITE NUMERALS. Indefinite numerals are used to express a large, but indefinite, number. They consist of a repeated utterance of certain of the elements used in the formation of complex cardinal numbers. The indefinite numerals in common use are:

daan-daan	'hundreds'
libu-libo	'thousands'
angaw-angaw	'millions'

(*Milyon-milyon* 'millions' also occurs, but is less common than the forms listed above.) Like their English equivalents, the indefinite numerals can often be used more or less interchangeably, to indicate 'a large number.' Some examples of their use are:

Daan-dan Libu-libo Angaw-angaw	} ang kaibigan niya.
'He has	{ hundreds thousands millions } of friends.'
Hinahangaan siya ng	{ daan-daang libu-libong angaw-angaw na } tao.
'Hundreds 'Thousands 'Millions	} of people admire him.'

(e) FREQUENTATIVE NUMERALS. Frequentative numerals express the equivalent of an English phrase consisting of a cardinal number plus 'times': e.g., *makaapat* /maka(·)'a'pat/ 'four times', *makasampung* /maka(·)'sampung/ 'ten times'. They are formed by prefixing *maka-* (/maka/ or /maka:/ – the form with inherent vowel length is probably the more common) to a cardinal number of Tagalog origin. In most cases, the form of the cardinal number is retained intact within the frequentative numeral. The frequentative formations based on *dalawa* 'two' and *tatlo* 'three' are, however, irregular:

makalawa	/maka(·)'lawah/	'two times, twice'
makaitlo	/maka(·)'itloh/	'three times'

Some further examples of regular formations are:

makalima	/maka(·)'limah/	'five times'
makaanim	/maka(·)'a'nim/	'six times'
makaapatnapu	/maka(·)'a'patnapu/	'forty times'

(There is no *maka-* formation based upon *isa* 'one'. The equivalent of 'one time, once' is expressed by *minsán*.)

Frequentative numerals are used to form *nang* frequency adverbs. For discussion and illustrations of these adverbs, cf. §6.8, subsection (1.a).

§4.6. Attention-directing deictics.

In addition to the *ang*, *ng*, and *sa* forms presented in §3.4, and the *nasa* forms presented in section §4.19, there are distinctive forms of the deictic pronouns that are equivalent to the sentence-initial 'here' and 'there' of English sentences such as: 'Here/There he is', 'Here's/There's the water, boiling already', etc. These distinctive forms may be called ATTENTION-DIRECTING DEICTICS. (Note that the English equivalents of the attention-directing deictics are distinguished from locatives only by position in the sentence (compare 'Here he is', in which 'here' is attention-directing, and 'He is here', in which 'here' is locative). The Tagalog attention-directing and locative deictics, on the other hand, are formally distinct (compare *Heto siya* 'Here he is' and *Narito siya* 'He is here').

Tagalog has four attention-directing deictics, one corresponding to each of the usual deictic categories (cf. §3.4). Three of the four attention-directing deictics occur in two freely alternating forms, one with initial /h/, the other with initial /'/. The following is a list of the attention-directing deictics, in both conventional spelling and phonemic transcription. To the right of each attention-directing deictic appears its English-translation equivalent, and the *ang*-form deictic to which it corresponds.

ere	/eˈreh/	'here'	(iri)
(h)eto	{ /heˈtoh/ /'eˈtoh/ }	'here'	(ito)
(h)ayan	{ /hayan/ /'ayan/ }	'there'	(iyan)
(h)ayun	{ /hayon/ /'ayon/ }	'there'	(iyon)

Attention-directing deictics occur only in sentence-initial position. They may constitute sentences in themselves, equivalent to English 'Here/There (it is)':

Ere.	}	'Here (it is).'
(H)eto.		
(H)ayan.	}	'There (it is).'
(H)ayun.		

Or they may occur as predicates with topics of the usual kinds:

Ere	}	ang bus.	'Here's the bus.'
(H)eto			
(H)ayan	}	si Pedro.	'There's Pedro.'
(H)ayun			

Attention-directing deictics also occur in a construction in which they are followed by *at* and a clause. The clause following *at* in this construction is in itself a complete statement, and includes a predicate and a topic. The construction combines the function of directing the listener's attention to what is expressed by the topic with that of making the statement. Some examples are:

Ere at biyuda na siya.
'Here she is, a widow already.'

(cf. Biyuda na siya.
'She is already a widow.')

(H)cto at $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kukulo} \\ \text{kumukulo} \\ \text{kumulo} \end{array} \right\}$ na ang tubig.

'Here's the water $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{about to boil already.} \\ \text{boiling now.} \\ \text{boiled already (having boiled).} \end{array} \right\}$

(cf. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Kukulo} \\ \text{Kumukulo} \\ \text{Kumulo} \end{array} \right\}$ na ang tubig.

'The water $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{is already about to boil.} \\ \text{is boiling now.} \\ \text{has boiled.} \end{array} \right\}$

(H)ayan at walang laman ang baso mo.
'There's your glass empty.'

(cf. Walang laman ang baso mo.
'Your glass is empty.')

(H)ayun at nasa isang taxi sila.
'There they are in a taxi.'

(cf. Nasa isang taxi sila.
'They are in a taxi.')

§4.7. Pa- adjectives.

There are adjectives of three types formed with the prefix *pa-*: INTERMITTENT-ACTIVITY ADJECTIVES, INCIPIENT-ACTIVITY ADJECTIVES, and *pa-* MANNER ADJECTIVES. Intermittent-activity adjectives consist of *pa-* plus two duplicating syllables, and a base. (The formation of the duplicating syllables follows the rules given for *dup₂-* in §5.16.) The duplicating syllables and the base in most cases also occur in a moderative directional *-um-* verb (cf. §5.16, subsection (2.b)) that expresses the occasional or diffuse performance of an activity. The adjective has essentially the same meaning as the related verb, except that it expresses the performance of the activity as a characteristic, rather than as an occurrence. The English equivalents of both the verb and the adjective normally involve a verb accompanied by an adverbial expression such as 'sometimes', 'occasionally', 'once in a while', 'now and then', or 'here and there'. Some examples are:

Pa- Adjective	Meaning	-um- Verb
padalu-dalo	'attend now and then'	dumalu-dalo
pagala-gala	'wander here and there (in)'	gumala-gala
palahuk-lahok	'join once in a while'	lumahuk-lahok
pasama-sama	'accompany occasionally'	sumama-sama
patira-tira	'live (at) sometimes'	tumira-tira

The same directional complements (*sa* phrases) that follow the moderative verbs follow the intermittent-activity adjectives: e.g.,

Padalu-dalo sa sayawan sina Maria.
'Maria and her friends attend dances now and then.'

(cf. Dumalu-dalo sa sayawan sina Maria.
'Maria and her friends attended dances now and then.')

Pagala-gala sila sa palengke araw-araw.
'They wander here and there in the market every day.'

(cf. Gumala-gala sila sa palengke araw-araw.
'They wandered here and there in the market every day.')

There is at least one intermittent-activity adjective, *paminsan-minsan* 'occasional(ly),' that is not related to an *-um-* verb. An example of its use is:

Paminsan-minsan ang baha dito.
'There are floods here occasionally.'
(Literally: 'The floods here are occasional.')

Incipient-activity adjectives, like most intermittent-activity adjectives, include *pa-* and a base that also occurs as the base of a directional *-um-* verb. The base is, however, not preceded by duplicating syllables. Incipient-activity adjectives are often equivalent to English 'starting to' plus a verb. Some examples are:

paakyat	'starting to climb'	(cf. umakyat 'climb')
paalis	'starting to leave'	(cf. umalis 'leave')
palubog	'starting to set/sink'	(cf. lumubog 'set/sink')
papunta	'starting to go'	(cf. pumunta 'go')
pauwi	'starting to go home'	(cf. umuwi 'go home')

Incipient-activity adjectives are frequently followed by the enclitic particle *na* 'now/already': e.g.,

Paak at na siya (sa bundok.)
'He is starting to climb (the mountain) now.'

Palubog na ang araw.
'The sun is starting to set now.'

Pauwi na ako.
'I'm starting to go home now.' ('I'm on my way home.')

Pa- manner adjectives consist of *pa-* plus a base that also occurs as the base of one of the following: a directional *-um-* verb, an intransitive *-um-* verb (cf. §5.6, class E), or an intransitive *mag-* verb (cf. §5.6, class G). The adjective is often equivalent to an adverbial expression of manner in English: e.g.,

pabulong	'in a whisper'	(cf. bumulong 'whisper')
padabog	'with motions of anger'	(cf. dumabog 'move angrily')
pahinakit	'in an injured manner'	(cf. maghinakit 'have injured feelings')
paismid	'with a grimace'	(cf. umismid 'grimace')
pangiti	'smilingly'	(cf. ngumiti 'smile')
pasayaw	'as if dancing'	(cf. sumayaw 'dance')
patagilid	'sideways'	(cf. tumagilid 'move sideways')

Except when they initiate certain adjective-plus-complement constructions (cf. §4.17), manner adjectives occur as predicates only with topics of the following types: gerunds (cf. §3.26) and nominalized verb bases (cf. §3.27). Some examples are:

Pabulong ang $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pagsasalita} \\ \text{salita} \end{array} \right\}$ ni Pedro.
 'Pedro speaks/spoke in a whisper.'
 'Literally: 'Pedro's speaking is/was (done) in a whisper.'

Padabog ang $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pagkilos} \\ \text{kilos} \end{array} \right\}$ nila.
 'They are/were moving angrily.'
 (Literally: 'Their moving is/was (done) with motions of anger.')

Pangiti ang $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pagbati} \\ \text{bati} \end{array} \right\}$ niya sa akin.
 'He greet(ed) me smilingly.'
 (Literally: His greeting me is/was (done) smilingly.')

Pasayaw ang $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pagbaba} \\ \text{baba} \end{array} \right\}$ ni Rosa sa hagdanan.
 'Rosa is/was descending the stairs as if dancing.'
 (literally: 'Rosa's descending the stairs is/was (done) as if dancing.')

Patagilid ang $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{paglakad} \\ \text{lakad} \end{array} \right\}$ ng alimango.
 'The crab walks/walked sideways.'
 (Literally: 'The crab's walking is/was sideways.')

§4.8 Pang- adjectives.

The prefix *pang-* is used to form adjectives of three different types. One of these types, ordinal numbers, is dealt with in §4.4. The remaining two types, which are dealt with in the present section, may be called: RESERVATIONAL ADJECTIVES and INSTRUMENTAL ADJECTIVES.

A reservational adjective consists of the prefix *pang-*, plus, ordinarily, a noun. (See below for exceptions.) The adjective is often translatable into English by a phrase consisting of 'for' plus the translation-equivalent of the noun that follows *pang-*: e.g., *pangkamay* 'for the hand' (cf. *kamay* 'hand') *pangkape* 'for coffee' (cf. *kape* 'coffee'), *pangkumot* 'for a blanket' (cf. *kumot* 'blanket'). The English 'for' phrases to which reservational adjectives are equivalent usually have the meaning 'reserved or intended for use on/in, etc.', as in:

Pangkamay ang relos na ito.
 'This watch is for (use on) the hand.'
 (i.e., 'This watch is a wristwatch.')

Pangkape ang asukal na ito.
 'This sugar is for (use in) coffee.'

Pangkumot ang lanang ito.
 'This wool is for (use in) a blanket.'

There is a subclass of reservational adjectives that means 'reserved or intended to be worn in/at-', as in:

Pang-opisina ang damit na ito.
'This dress is for (wear in) an office.'

In reservational adjectives belonging to this subclass, the prefix may be followed by a noun representing a place, event, time or activity: e.g., *pang-opisina* 'for (wear in) an office' (cf. *opisina* 'office'), *pangkasal* 'for (wear at) a wedding' (cf. *kasal* 'wedding'), *panggabi* 'for (wear in) the nighttime' (cf. *gabi* 'night'), *pantenis* 'for (wear in playing) tennis' (cf. *tenis* 'tennis' – see below for an explanation of the *pan-* form of the prefix). In a few cases, what follows the prefix is not a noun but a verb base: e.g., *pansimba* 'for (wear in) church' (cf. *magsimba* 'go to church'). Some *pang-* adjectives used in the meaning 'for wear in/at' may have other reservational meanings as well. Thus *pang-opisina* may have the general meaning 'for use in an office' as well as the meaning 'for wear in an office':

Pang-opisina ang mesang ito.
'This table is for (use in) an office.'

Other *pang-* adjectives used in the meaning 'for wear in/at' have only this meaning. *Pansimba*, for example, can mean only 'for wear in church'.

Pansimba ito.
'This is for (wear in) church.'

(The meaning 'for use in church' is expressed by *(para) sa simbahan*, as in *(Para) sa simbahan ang kandilang ito*. 'This candle is for (use in) church'. As is noted in §4.20, subsection (1), reservational phrases introduced by *(para) sa* are common translation equivalents of English 'for'-phrases, in which 'for' connotes 'reserved or intended for'. In some cases either a *(para) sa* phrase or a *pang-* adjective may be used to translate the 'for' phrase. Thus 'The sugar is for coffee' may be either *(Para) sa kape ang asukal* or *Pangkape ang asukal*. In other cases, only a *(para) sa* phrase may be used.)

As was noted above, the *pang-* of a reservational adjective is occasionally followed by a verb base rather than a noun. It may also be followed by a cardinal or ordinal number (cf. §4.4). A reservational adjective consisting of *pang-* plus a cardinal number usually has the meaning 'for the use of _____': e.g.,

Pandalawa ang mesang ito.
'This table is for (the use of) two.'

(Note that the reservational adjective *pandalawa* 'for two' differs in form from the *pang-* ordinal number *pangalawa* 'second'.) The cardinal number may, in turn, function as the first element of a modification construction, in which case it is followed by the linker *na/ng* plus a noun: e.g.,

Pandalawang tao ang mesang ito.
'This table is for two people.'

A reservational adjective consisting of *pang-* plus an ordinal number usually has the meaning 'for use as ___', and usually functions as the first element of a modification construction: e.g.,

Pang-ikalawang }
Pampangalawang } premyo ang librong ito.
'This book is for (use as) the second prize.'

The prefix *pang-* in reservational adjectives has three variant forms: *pam-* /pam/, *pan-* /pan/, and *pang-* /paŋ/. *Pam-* occurs if the following consonant is labial, *pan-* if the following consonant is dental or alveolar *pang-* elsewhere. Examples of the *pam-* and *pan-* forms of the prefix are:

pamparti	'for a party'
pambata	'for a child'
pantatlo	'for three'
pandalawa	'for two'
pansopas	'for soup'
panlima	'for five'

An instrumental adjective consists of the prefix *pang-* plus a verb base or of *pang-* plus the indirect-action prefix *pa-* cf. §5.12 plus a verb base. The adjective has the meaning 'for use in performing' the action designated by the related actor-focus verb (cf. §2.9) formed with the same base. (It may be noted that, from the point of view of meaning, instrumental adjectives are quite similar to reservational adjectives. There is, however, a formal reason for separating the two – see below.) For example, the instrumental adjective *panghabi* means 'for use in weaving' (cf. *humabi* 'weave'), the instrumental adjective *panghukay* means 'for use in digging' (cf. *humukay* 'dig'), etc. The actor-focus verb to which the instrumental adjective is related may be an *-um-* verb (examples above), a *mag-* verb (*panluto* 'used in cooking' – cf. *magluto* 'cook'), a *mang-* verb (*pangusina* 'used in cooking,' – cf. *mangusina* 'cook'), or a *magpa-* indirect-action verb (*pampatulog* 'used for putting to sleep' – cf. *magpatulog* 'put to sleep'). The instrumental adjective may be followed by the same object and/or directional and/or secondary-actor complements as the verb: e.g.,

Panghabi ng tela ito.
'This is used for weaving cloth.'
(cf. Humabi ng tela ang babae.
'The woman wove cloth.')

Panghukay sa lupa ito.
'This is used for digging in the ground.'
(cf. Humukay sa lupa si Juan.
'Juan dug in the ground.')

Pampatulog ng pasyente ito.
'This is used for putting a patient to sleep.'
(cf. Nagpatulog ng pasyente ang doktor.
'The doctor put the patient to sleep.')

When the verb related to an instrumental adjective is an *-um-* or *mag-* verb whose base begins with one of the phenemes /p/, /t/, /s/, or /k/, there are usually two freely alternating ways of forming the adjective. One of these ways is identical with the way in which reservational adjectives of similar composition are formed (see above). That is, the prefix assumes one of three shapes: /pam/ before /p/, /pan/ before /t/ or /s/, /paŋ/ before /k/. The alternative formation is not shared by the reservational adjectives. In this formation, the initial base consonant is replaced by its homorganic nasal counterpart – /p/ by /m/, /t/ or /s/ by /n/, /k/ by /ŋ/ – and the final nasal of the prefix is simultaneously lost. Examples of the alternation are:

pampunas } pamunas }	'for use in wiping'	(cf. magpunas 'wipe')
pantakip } panakip }	'for use in covering'	(cf. magtakip 'wipe')

pansuklay	}	'for use in combing'	(cf. magsuklay 'comb')
panuklay			
panguha	}	'for use in getting'	(cf. kumuha 'get')
panguha			

When the verb base used in the instrumental adjective begins with a consonant other than /p/, /t/, /s/, or /k/, and the related verb is an *-um-* or *mag-* verb, the formation of the adjective is identical with that of the reservational adjectives, as described above. (The prefix is /pam/ before a labial, /pan/ before a dental or alveolar, /paŋ/ elsewhere.) Some examples are:

pambili	'for use in buying'	(cf. bumili 'buy')
pandagdag	'for use in adding'	(cf. magdagdag 'add')
panluto	'for use in cooking'	(cf. magluto 'cook')
pang-ahit	'for use in shaving'	(cf. mag-ahit 'shave')
pangguhít	'for use in drawing'	(cf. gumuhít 'draw')
panghabi	'for use in weaving'	(cf. lumabi 'weave')
pangmumog	'for use in gargling'	(cf. magmumog 'gargle')
pangnobena	'for use in performing novenas'	(cf. magnobena 'perform novenas')
pangnguya	'for use in chewing'	(cf. ngumuya 'chew')
pangwalis	'for use in sweeping'	(cf. magwalis 'sweep')
pangyupi	'for use in denting'	(cf. yumupi 'dent')

When the verb related to an instrumental adjective is a *mang-* verb, the instrumental adjective is formed by prefixing /pam/ to a formation in which /p/ replaces the initial /m/ of the verb affix. Thus *pampamili* 'for use in shopping' is the instrumental adjective that corresponds to *mamili* 'shop' (base, *bili*), and *pampangahoy* 'for use in gathering wood' is the instrumental adjective that corresponds to *mangahoy* 'gather wood.' In some cases, the initial /pam/ of the formation is optionally deletable. Thus the instrumental adjective that corresponds to *mamalengke* 'go marketing' (base, *palengke*) may be either *pampamalengke* or *pamalengke* 'for use in going marketing', and the instrumental adjective that corresponds to *mangusina* 'cook' may be either *pampangusina* or *pangusina* 'for use in cooking'.

Where the verb related to an instrumental adjective is a *magpa-* verb, the adjective is formed by replacing the *mag-* of the prefix with *pam-*. Thus *pampakain* 'for use in feeding' is the instrumental adjective that corresponds to *magpakain* 'feed', and *pampadala* 'for use in sending' is the instrumental adjective that corresponds to *magpadala* 'send'.

§4.9. Adjectives expressing inclination.

Inclination to perform an activity is often expressed in Tagalog by an adjective-plus-basic-form-complement construction introduced by *mahilig* 'fond of': e.g., *mahilig lumakad* 'fond of walking' (cf. §4.17). In addition to this adjective-plus-complement construction, there are at least four types of one-word adjective formations that express inclination to perform an activity. These adjective formations are often translatable by 'fond of ___ing', 'inclined to ___', or 'always ___ing' in English. The formations are: (1) *pala-* ADJECTIVES, (2) *mapag-* ADJECTIVES, (3) *mapang-* ADJECTIVES, and (4) *ma-. . .-in* ADJECTIVES.

(1) *pala-* ADJECTIVES. *Pala-* adjectives consist of the prefix *pala-* /pala/ and a base that also occurs as the base of a verb. In most cases, the verb in which the base occurs is an *-um-* verb:

palabasa	'fond of reading'	(cf. bumasa 'read')
palakopya	'fond of copying'	(cf. kumopya 'copy')
palakuha	'fond of taking'	(cf. kumuha 'take')
palalakad	'fond of walking'	(cf. lumakad 'walk')
palapunta	'fond of going'	(cf. pumunta 'go')
palatawa	'fond of laughing'	(cf. tumawa 'laugh')

If the base of the related verb has a long vowel in its penultimate syllable, the *pala-* adjective often has two freely alternating pronunciations: one in which the length of the penultimate vowel is retained, the other in which it is lost. Thus, *palabasa* is either /palabaːsah/ or /palabasah/ (cf. *bumasa* /bumaːsah/), and *palalakad* is either /palalaːkad/ or /palalakad/ (cf. *lumakad* /lumaːkad/). If the base of the related verb lacks inherent length, so does the base of the *pala-* adjective. Thus *palapunta* is pronounced /palapuntah/ (cf. *pumunta* /pumuntah/).

Apart from bases of *-um-* verbs, certain other bases occur in *pala-* adjectives. Among these are at least two *ma-* verb bases: *ligo* (*palaligo* /palaliːgo/ 'fond of bathing' – cf. *maligo* /maliːgo/ 'bathe') and *tulog* (*palatulog* /palatu(ː)log/ 'fond of sleeping' – cf. *matulog* /matuːlog/ 'sleep'). Some speakers also use certain *mag-* verb bases in *pala-* adjectives: e.g., *aral* (*palaaral* /palaːa(ː)ral/ 'fond of studying' – cf. *mag-aral* /magːaːral/ 'study'), *bintang* (*palabintang* /palabintaŋ/ 'fond of blaming' – cf. *magbintang* /magbintaŋ/ 'blame'), *luto* (*palaluto* /palalu(ː)to/ 'fond of cooking' – cf. *magluto* /magluːto/ 'cook'), and *sigarilyo* (*palasigarilyo* /palasigari lyoh/ 'fond of smoking (cigarettes)' – cf. *magsigarilyo* /magsigari lyoh/ 'smoke (cigarettes)'). But usage is divided in most such cases, with the majority of speakers either preferring *mapag-* formations (see below to the *pala-* formations, or using *mapag-* formations exclusively).

(2) *Mapag-* adjectives. *Mapag-* adjectives consist of the prefix *mapag-* /mapag/ and a base that also occurs as the base of a *mag-* verb. Some examples are:

mapagkape	'fond of drinking coffee'	(cf. magkape 'drink coffee')
mapagdala	'fond of bringing'	(cf. magdala 'bring')
mapagluto	'fond of cooking'	(cf. magluto 'cook')
mapagmarunong	'fond of pretending to be wise'	(cf. magmarunong 'pretend to be wise')
mapagseda	'fond of wearing silk'	(cf. magseda 'wear silk')
mapagsinelas	'fond of wearing slippers'	(cf. magtsinelas 'wear slippers')

The pronunciation of the base in the *mapag-* adjective is identical with its pronunciation in the *mag-* verb. Thus:

/mapagkapeh/	(/magkapeh/)
/mapagluːto/	(/magluːto/)

(3) *Mapang-* adjectives. *Mapang-* adjectives consist of the prefix *mapang-* and a base that also occurs as the base of a *mang-* verb. The same assimilatory changes that occur in the verbs (cf. §5.2, subsection (12)) occur in the adjectives. Thus, for example, the initial /p/ of the base *pintas* is replaced by /m/ (with simultaneous loss of the nasal of the prefix) in *mapamintas* 'fond of criticizing' (cf. *mamintas* 'criticize'), and the initial /t/ of the base *takot* is replaced by /n/ (with simultaneous loss of the prefix nasal) in *mapanakot* 'fond of frightening' (cf. *manakot* 'frighten'). Some further examples are:

mapanligalig	'fond of causing worry'	(cf. manligalig 'cause worry')
mapanlundag	'fond of jumping upon'	(cf. manlundag 'jump upon')
mapanggulo	'fond of causing disturbance'	(cf. manggulo 'cause disturbance')
mapanghiya	'fond of embarrassing'	(cf. manghiya 'embarrass')

The pronunciation of the base in the *mapang-* adjective is identical with its pronunciation in the *mang-* verb. Thus:

/mapamintas/	(/mamintas/)
/mapana'kot/	(/mana'kot/)

(4) *Ma-...-in* adjectives. *Ma-...-in* adjectives consist of the prefix *ma-* /ma/, a base that also occurs as the base of *ma-* verb, and the suffix *-in* /in/. (The *ma-* verbs whose bases occur in *ma-...-in* adjectives all belong to the class of directional *ma-* verbs whose directional-focus counterparts are formed with *ka-...-an*: cf. §5.4, class A.2). Some examples are:

mainggitin	'inclined to be envious'	(cf. maingit 'be envious')
mainipin	'inclined to be bored'	(cf. mainip 'be bored')
magalitin	'inclined to be angry'	(cf. magalit 'be angry')
matakutin	'inclined to be frightened'	(cf. matakot 'be frightened')
matuwain	'inclined to be amused'	(cf. matuwa 'be amused')
mayamutin	'inclined to be annoyed'	(cf. mayamot 'be annoyed')

The last vowel of the base is always long in the adjective formation; the penultimate vowel is also long if it is syllable-final, but short if it is not syllable-final. Thus:

/ma'ingi·tin/	(/ma'ingit/)
/ma'i·ni·pin/	(/ma'inip/)
/maga·li·tin/	(/maga'lit/)

Many speakers also use a formation in which a duplicating syllable (consisting of the first consonant and first vowel of the base) occurs between *ma-* and the base. Thus, also: *maiinggitin*, *mainipin*, *magagalitin*, etc. In this formation, both vowels of the base are always short. Some speakers use either a short or a long vowel in the duplicating syllable: e.g.,

/ma'i'inggitin/
/ma'i·'inggitin/
/magagalitin/
/maga·galitin/

Other speakers use only a short vowel in the duplicating syllable.

For some speakers, the two formations – with and without the duplicating syllable – are in free alternation in all cases. Other speakers prefer the formation without duplication for some bases, the formation with duplication for others. And still other speakers use the formation without duplication almost exclusively, allowing the duplicated formation as an alternant in a few cases only.

All four of the types of adjectives presented in this section may be followed by the same *ng*-phrase and/or *sa*-phrase complements as the verbs to which they are related. For example:

Palabasa ng mga diyaryo si Juan.
'Juan is fond of reading newspapers.'

(cf. Bumabasa ng mga diyaryo si Juan.
'Juan reads newspapers.')

Mapagdala ng mga regalo sa kanila si Juan.
'Juan is fond of bringing presents to them.'

(cf. Nagdadala ng mga regalo sa kanila si Juan.
'Juan brings presents to them.')

Mapanghiya ng kanyang mga propesor si Juan.
'Juan is fond of embarrassing his professors.'

(cf. Nanghihiya ng kanyang mga propesor si Juan.
'Juan embarrasses his professors.')

Mainggitin si Juan sa kapatid niya.
'Juan is inclined to be envious of his brother.'

(cf. Naiinggit si Juan sa kapatid niya.
'Juan is envious of his brother.')

§4.10. Other derived adjective formations.

A DERIVED ADJECTIVE is an adjective that includes at least one ADJECTIVAL AFFIX and an ADJECTIVAL BASE. An adjectival affix is a meaningful element that occurs as part of an adjective and never occurs independently as a distinct word. Adjectival affixes are either PREFIXES or SUFFIXES, according to whether they precede or follow the base. An adjectival base is a meaningful element within a derived adjective that may also occur independently (e.g., as a noun or unaffixed adjective) and/or as the base of another type of formation (e.g., as a verb base).

Many classes of derived adjective formations are dealt with in other sections of this chapter: e.g., *ma-* adjectives (§4.3), ordinal numbers (4.4), distributive, restrictive, grouping, and indefinite numerals (4.5), *pa-* adjectives (4.7), *pang-* adjectives (4.8), adjectives expressing inclination (4.9), pluralized adjectives (4.11), intensive adjectives (4.12), and moderative adjectives (4.13). The present section provides an inventory of the more productive of the remaining classes. In the inventory, each class is designated by a formula in which the symbol 'B' stands for 'adjectival base'. The symbol 'dup_A-' in a formula stands for a prefix that normally consists of a duplication of the first following consonant and vowel; the symbol 'dup₂-' stands for a prefix that normally consists of a duplication of the first two syllables of the following base. (For details of the formation of dup_A- and dup₂-, cf. §§5.23 and 5.16, respectively.) Other affixes are represented in the formulas by their conventional spelling, except that prefixes are followed and suffixes preceded by a hyphen.

For each class of derived adjectives listed, the class meaning(s), expressed as a function of the meanings of the bases, and examples with translations are presented. Each example is followed by a parenthetical citation either of the base alone or of a related formation in which the base occurs. The citation is of the base alone unless otherwise noted.

Some of the listings include a discussion of pronunciation. Where there is no such discussion, it is to be understood that there is no inherent length in the affix(es), and that the bases show no phonemic change from their CITATION FORMS, except for such regular features of Tagalog phonology as the interchanges of /d/ and /r/, /e/ and /i/, or /o/ and /u/. (The citation form of a base is the form that it has in its independent occurrence – or, in a few cases, in its occurrence in a related formation. Discussion of pertinent regular features of Tagalog phonology are to be found in §§1.17, 1.10 and 1.20.)

(1) B + -an

Meaning: virtually covered with what the base designates.

Examples:

duguan	'virtually covered with blood'	(dugo 'blood')
itiman	'virtually covered with black'	(itim 'black')
pulahan	'virtually covered with red'	(pula 'red')
putikan	'virtually covered with mud'	(putik 'mud')
sugatan	'virtually covered with wounds'	(sugat 'wound')

Pronunciation: No long vowels occur in the derived formations. Any inherently long vowel in the citation form of the base is shortened. Thus:

/putikan/	(/puˈtik/)
/sugatan/	(/suˈgat/)

Remarks: There are a very few adjectives of the shape B + *-an* in which the base designates a part of the body. These adjectives mean: having a body-part (the part designated by the base) of unusually large size: e.g., *pangahan* /paŋahan/ 'large-jawed' (cf. *panga* /paŋah/ 'jaw').

(2) B + *-in*

Meaning: susceptible to, given to, or easily affected by, what the base designates.

Examples:

antukin	'given to sleepiness'	(antok 'sleepiness')
baliktarin	'reversible'	(baliktad 'inside out')
bulutungin	'susceptible to smallpox'	(bulutong 'smallpox')
himatayin	'tending to faint often'	(himatay 'faint')
lagnatin	'susceptible to fever'	(lagnat 'fever')
sipunin	'susceptible to head colds'	(sipon 'head cold')
ubuhin	'susceptible to chest colds'	(ubo 'chest cold')

Pronunciation: All syllable-final base vowels are long in the derived formation, regardless of whether they are long or short in the citation form of the base. Non-syllable-final base vowels remain short. Thus:

/ˈantuːkin/	(/ˈantok/)
/baˈliktaːrin/	(/baliktad/)
/buːluːtuːŋin/	(/buluːtoŋ/)
/hiːmaːtaːyin/	(/himatay/)

(3) B + *na/-ng* + B

Meaning: experiencing in an intense degree the emotion expressed by the base.

Examples:

awang-awa	'feeling great pity'	(awa 'pity')
bagot na bagot	'very bored'	(bagot 'boredom')
habag na habag	'feeling great pity'	(habag 'pity')
lugod na lugod	'very pleased'	(lugod 'pleasure')
lungkot na lungkot	'very sad'	(lungkot 'sadness')
sindak na sindak	'very surprised'	(sindak 'surprise')
suklam na suklam	'very disgusted'	(suklam 'disgust')

Remarks: The element that connects the two occurrences of the base is the linker *na/-ng*, whose characteristics are given in detail in §3.11.

These formations are structurally similar to certain intensive formations dealt with in §4.12: formations involving an unaffixed adjective followed by *na/-ng* and a repetition of the adjective. The formations illustrated above differ from the formations presented in 4.12 only in the fact that their bases – *awa*, *bagot*, etc. – do not occur independently as unaffixed adjectives.

(4) *ka-* + *dup₂* + B

Meaning: causing or serving to produce, in an extreme degree, what the base designates.

Examples:

kagalang-galang	'inspiring great respect'	(galang 'respect')
kahila-hilakbot	'extremely shocking'	(hilakbot 'shock')
kaibig-ibig	'adorable'	(ibig 'love')
kalugod-lugod	'delightful'	(lugod 'satisfaction')
kapani-paniwala	'very plausible'	(paniwala 'belief')
kapuri-puri	'highly praiseworthy'	(puri 'praise')
katawa-tawa	'hilarious'	(tawa 'laughter')
kawili-wili	'delightful'	(wili 'enjoyment')
kayamut-yamot	'extremely boring'	(yamot 'boredom')

(5) *ma-* + B + *-an*

Meaning: (a) requiring the quality designated by the base; (b) characterized by a mutual manifestation of the quality designated by the base.

Examples:

(a) mabilisan	'requiring speed'	(bilis 'speed')
madalian	'requiring speed'	(dali 'speed')
matagalan	'requiring slowness'	(tagal 'slowness')
(b) mahigpitan	'characterized by mutual closeness (of competition)'	(higpit 'closeness (of competition)')
mahirapan	'characterized by mutual difficulty'	(hirap 'difficulty')
malakasan	'characterized by mutual vigorousness'	(lakas 'vigorousness')
masinsinan	'characterized by mutual closeness (of competition)'	(sinsin 'closeness (of competition)')

(Some examples of the above formations in sentences are:

(a) Mabilisan }
Matagalan } ang trabahong ito.

'This work requires { speed.'
{ slowness.'

(b) Mahigpitan }
Malakasan } ang labanan.

'The fighting was { closely competitive.'
{ vigorous on both/all sides.'

Pronunciation: The vowel of *ma-* is long. All syllable-final base vowels are long in the derived formation; non-syllable-final base vowels are short. Thus:

/ma·bi·li·san/	(/bilis/)
/ma·hi·ra·pan/	(/hi·rap/)
/ma·sinsi·nan/	(/sinsin/)

(6) *maka-* + B

Meaning: in favor of, or fond of, what the base designates.

Examples:

maka-ama	'close to (one's) father'	(ama 'father')
makabago	'progressive'	(bago 'new')
makabayan	'patriotic'	(bayan 'country')
maka-Garcia	'pro-Garcia'	(Garcia (a surname))
maka-Hapon	'pro-Japanese'	(Hapon 'Japan')
maka-ina	'close to (one's) mother'	(ina 'mother')
makaluma	'conservative'	(luma 'old')

Remarks: Any surname, or any geographic name designating a country, region, city, etc., may occur as a base in this formation; the resultant adjective in these cases normally denotes partisanship.

(7) *na-* + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dup}_A - + ka- \\ ka- + \text{dup}_A \end{array} \right\}$ + B

Meaning: causing or serving to produce what the base designates.

Examples:

nakakaantok	}	'causing sleepiness'	(antok 'sleepiness')
nakaaantok			
nakakabihag	}	'captivating'	(bihag 'captive')
nakabibihag			
nakakahiya	}	'embarrassing'	(hiya 'embarrassment')
nakahihiya			
nakakatakot	}	'frightening'	(takot 'fear')
nakatatakot			
nakakatuwa	}	'laughable'	(tuwa 'laughter')
nakatutuwa			
nakakaubo	}	'causing coughing'	(ubo 'cough')
nakauubo			

Pronunciation: The vowels of *na-* and *ka-* are short; the vowel of the duplicating syllable is long (cf. §5.16); the base retains its citation pronunciation. Thus:

/naka·ka'antok/	}	(/'antok/)
/naka'a'antok/		

/naka·kabi·hag/	}	(bi·hag/
/nakabi·bi·hag/		
/naka·kahiya'/	}	(hiya'/)
/nakahi·hiya'/		

Remarks: The two formations (with the duplicating syllable immediately before or immediately after *ka-*) alternate freely in all cases.

In some cases, the adjective formations are homonymous with the imperfective forms of *maka-* verbs (cf. §5.20). Thus *nakakabihag/nakabibihag* also occurs as the imperfective form of the verb *makabihag* 'succeed in capturing.' The homonymous verbs differ from the adjectives not only in meaning, but in the fact that, being transitive, they accept *ng*-phrase or *sa*-phrase complements. Compare, for example, the verb in:

Lagi silang nakakabihag	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ng} \\ \text{sa} \end{array} \right\}$	maraming kaaway.
'They always succeed in capturing many enemies.'		

and the adjective in:

Lagi silang nakakabihag. 'They are always captivating.'

There are also many adjective formations that are not matched by homonymous verb forms. Thus there are no such verbs as **makaantok* or **makahiya* from which to derive imperfective forms homonymous with the adjectives *nakakaantok/nakaaantok* and *nakakahiya/nakahihiya*.

(8) $\left. \begin{array}{l} na- + \text{dup}_A + \text{kapang-} \\ na- + \text{kapang-} + \text{dup}_A \end{array} \right\} + B$

Meaning: causing or producing the state designated by the *mang-* verb formed with the same base.

Examples: (Citations in parentheses are the basic forms of the related verbs.)

nakakapamutla	}	'causing temporary paleness'	(mamutla 'be temporarily pale')
nakapamumutla			
nakakapanlambot	}	'causing temporary weakness'	(manlambot 'be temporarily weak')
nakapanlalambot			
nakakapanliit	}	'causing one to feel small'	(manliit 'feel small')
nakapanliliit			
nakakapanghina	}	'causing temporary weakness'	(manghina 'be temporarily weak')
nakapanghihina			

nakakapanghinayang	} 'causing regret'	(manghinayang 'feel regret')
nakapanghinayang		
nakakapangalog	} 'causing trembling (of the knees)'	(mangalog 'tremble (in the knees)')
nakapangalog		

Pronunciation: The vowels of *na-* and *kapang-* are short; the vowel of the duplicating syllable is long. The same assimilatory changes (of the initial base consonant and/or the final nasal of the prefix) that occur in the related *mang-* verb occur in the adjective. Vowel length, if any, in the base is retained. Thus:

/naka'kapanutla'/	}	(/mamutla'/)
/nakapamu'mutla'/		(cf. putla /putla/'paleness')
/naka'kapanhina'yaŋ'/	}	(/manhina:yaŋ'/)
/nakapanhi'hinayaŋ'/		(cf. hinayang /hina'yaŋ/'regret')

Remarks: The two formations (with the duplicating syllable immediately before or immediately after *kapang-*) alternate freely in all cases.

(9) *naka-* + B

Meaning: (a) in the position or state that results from performing the action designated by the *-um-* verb formed with the same base; (b) wearing the article designated by the base.

Examples: (Citations in parentheses for examples (a) are the basic forms of the related verbs.)

(a)	nakaharap	'facing'	(humarap 'face')
	nakahiga	'lying down'	(humiga 'lie down')
	nakatayo	'standing'	(tumayo 'stand')
	nakatira	'living (in/at)'	(tumira 'live (in/at)')
	nakaupo	'seated'	(umupo 'sit')
(b)	naka-amerikana	'wearing a coat'	(amerikana 'coat')
	nakabaro	'wearing a dress'	(baro 'dress')
	nakaluksa	'wearing mourning'	(luksa 'mourning (apparel)')
	nakasalamin	'wearing glasses'	(salamin 'glasses')
	nakasapatos	'wearing shoes'	(sapatos 'shoes')

§4.11. Pluralization of adjectives.

Most adjectives other than numbers may, like unmarked nouns (cf. §3.9), be explicitly pluralized by the plural marker *mga* (/manah/), which normally precedes what it pluralizes. As in the case of nouns, explicit pluralization of adjectives is in general optional. Thus either a pluralized or a non-pluralized adjective may occur as predicate with a plural topic, as (nominalized) topic with a plural predicate, etc.:

Mga tamad	}	sila.
Tamad		
'They're lazy.'		
Sila ang	}	mga tamad.
'They're the lazy ones.'		

Many *ma-* adjectives (cf. §4.3) may be pluralized not only by *mga*, but also by the use of a distinctive plural formation. (Sometimes both *mga* and the plural formation are used – see below.) In this formation, a duplicating syllable occurs between *ma-* and the *ma-* adjective base. (The formation of the duplicating syllable follows the rules given for *dup₁-* in §3.7.) Some examples are:

Singular		Plural
maayos	'orderly'	maaayos /ma'a'a'yos/
mabagal	'slow'	mababagal /mababa'gal/
mabuti	'good'	mabubuti /mabubu'tili/
maganda	'beautiful'	magaganda /magagandah/
malaki	'big'	malalaki /malalakah/
maliit	'little'	maliliit /malili'it/
maswerte	'lucky'	masuswerte /masuswe'rteh/
matyaga	'persevering'	matityaga /matityaga'/
mayaman	'rich'	mayayaman /mayaya'man/

Certain *ma-* adjectives are not pluralizable in this way. These are the majority of *ma-* adjectives whose base is a CONCRETE noun: that is, a noun representing something concrete or visible. Examples of *ma-* adjectives that do not occur in pluralized forms are: *maalikabok* 'dusty' (base: *alikabok* 'dust'), *madahon* 'leafy' (base: *dahon* 'leaf'), *mailaw* 'full of light' (base: *ilaw* 'light'), *matao* 'full of people' (base: *tao* 'person'). (A few *ma-* adjectives with concrete- noun bases, however, do have plural forms: e.g., *marumi*→*marurumi* 'dirty' (base: *dumi* 'dirt'); *matinik*→*matitinik* 'thorny' (base: *tinik* 'thorn').)

The use of pluralized *ma-* adjectives is in general optional:

Maganda	}	ang mga bulaklak.
Magaganda		
'The flowers are beautiful.'		
Sila ang	}	mayaman. mayayaman.
'They are the rich ones.'		

When *ma-* adjectives occur after the plural marker *mga*, however, the use of the pluralized form of the adjective is obligatory in some contexts, for some speakers. Thus:

Mga magaganda ang (mga) bulaklak.
Sila ang mga mayayaman.

not, for most speakers:

*Mga maganda ang (mga) bulaklak.
*Sila ang mga mayaman.

Some speakers, however, occasionally use the non-pluralized form after *mga*, especially when the *ma-* adjective is used as a modifier: e.g., *mga magandang bulaklak* (as well as *mga magagandang bulaklak*) 'beautiful flowers'.

Restrictions on the use of *mga* with a non-pluralized *ma-* adjective do not apply in the case of *ma-* adjectives whose roots are concrete nouns. (As was mentioned above, these adjectives lack an explicitly pluralized form.) Thus:

Gusto ko ang mga madahon.
'I like the leafy ones.'

In a modification construction involving a pluralizable *ma-* adjective followed by the linker *na/-ng* (cf. §3.11), a number of alternative pluralizations may occur. Plurality may be expressed by duplication of the adjective, by *mga*, or by both, and *mga* may occur either before the adjective or after the linker. The alternatives are illustrated below:

Mga masisipag na bata	}	ang mga kapatid ko.
Mga masipag na bata		
Masisipag na bata		
Masisipag na mga bata		
Masipag na mga bata		
‘My brothers are industrious children.’		

(*Mga* may also occur either before the adjective or after the linker in modification constructions involving adjectives other than *ma-* adjectives. Thus: *mga bagong libro* or *bagong mga libro* ‘new books’.)

Where a modification construction (except for a modification construction that involves a cardinal number) occurs as predicate opposite a pluralized topic, pluralization of the construction is obligatory if the topic refers to a specific group of things or people:

Mga magagaling na komersyante iyong mga Intsik doon.
‘Those Chinese over there are good businessmen.’

When a non-pluralized modification construction occurs opposite a pluralized topic, the topic has a generalized meaning:

Magaling na komersyante ang mga Intsik.
‘The Chinese (in general) are good businessmen.’

(There are certain unaffixed adjectives that have distinctive plural formations in specific constructions: after the intensive prefix *napaka-*, after the prefix *ka-* in certain phrases expressing similarity and in exclamations. The pluralization of these adjectives is presented in connection with the pertinent constructions in §4.12, 4.18, and 4.24.)

§4.12. Intensification of adjectives.

An intense degree of the quality denoted by an adjective (equivalent to English ‘very’ plus an adjective) is frequently expressed by a construction in which the adjective is repeated, with the linker *na/-ng* (cf. §3.11) preceding the second occurrence. The members of many different classes of adjectives occur in this construction, among them: unaffixed adjectives (§4.2), *ma-* adjectives (4.3), adjectives expressing inclination (4.9), and various other classes of derived adjectives (§4.10). An adjective given an intensified meaning by repetition may occur in all the same sentence positions as the non-intensified adjective. Some examples are:

Pagod na pagod ako.
‘I am very tired.’

Sino ang matabang-mataba?
‘Who’s the very fat one?’

May mga batang palabasang-palabasa sa klase.
‘There are some children who are very fond of reading in the class.’

Gumamot siya ng mga sipuning-sipunin.
‘He treated the ones who were very susceptible to head colds.’

Mahilig na mahilig magbesbol sina Joe.
‘Joe and his friends are very fond of playing baseball.’

All *ma-* adjective bases and many unaffixed adjectives also occur in a formation of intensive meaning in which they are preceded by the prefix *napaka-* /na:paka/. *Napaka-* replaces the *ma-* of *ma-* adjectives, and precedes unaffixed adjectives. Thus:

maganda	'beautiful'	→	napakaganda	'very beautiful'
tamad	'lazy'	→	napakatamad	'very lazy.'

Members of the subclass of unaffixed adjectives that correspond to nouns with loss of penultimate vowel length (cf. §4.2) do not occur in intensive formations with *napaka-*. Thus, there are no intensive *napaka-* formations involving unaffixed adjectives such as *galit* /galit/ 'angry' (cf. *galit* /ga'lit/ 'anger'), *pagod* /pagod/ 'tired' (cf. *pagod* /pa'god/ 'tiredness'), etc. (A few adjectives belonging to this subclass do occur with *napaka-*, but with a shifted, rather than an intensified, meaning. Thus *gutom* /gutom/ 'hungry' (cf. *gutom* /gu'tom/ 'hunger') occurs with *napaka-*, but the meaning of *napakagutom* is 'greedy', rather than 'very hungry'.) There are also certain other unaffixed adjectives (e.g., *bukas* 'open', *munti* 'small') that fail to occur with *napaka-*, but most other unaffixed adjectives do occur in *napaka-* formations.

A sentence-initial adjective intensified by *napaka-* sometimes requires, and almost always allows, the replacement of the topic *ang* phrase by a *ng* phrase. This replacement is obligatory whenever the sentence-initial intensified adjective is itself the predicate (i.e., is not a modifier). Thus:

Napakaganda ng baro.
'The dress is very beautiful.'

not:

*Napakaganda ang baro.

(Note, however, that the *ang*-phrase is retained when the topic precedes the predicate with *ay* inversion or contrastive inversion – cf. §7.2:

Ang baro'y napakaganda.
'The dress is very beautiful.'

Ang baro napakaganda.
'The dress is very beautiful.')

Replacement of the topic *ang* phrase by a *ng* phrase is also obligatory when an adjective intensified by *napaka-* occurs in the predicate before a basic-form complement (cf. §4.17):

Napakatamad (na) magluto ng babae.
'The woman is very lazy about cooking.'

When a sentence-initial adjective intensified by *napaka-* is used as a modifier, the replacement of the topic *ang* phrase by a *ng* phrase is obligatory in some cases, optional in others. The replacement is obligatory if the topic is expressed by a personal pronoun or a personal name, a singular delictic pronoun, a singular unmarked noun or a singular (nominalized) adjective. Thus:

Napakabait na bata { niya.
ni Pedro.
noon.
ng kapatid ko.
ng maliit.

'He 'Pedro 'That one 'My brother 'The little one	}	is a very good child.'
Napakababait na bata	{	nila. nina Pedro.
'They 'Pedro and his friends	}	are very good children.'

The replacement is optional when the topic is expressed by a pluralized deictic, unmarked noun, or adjective, or by a nominalized verbal or adjective phrase. Thus:

Napakababait na bata	{	ang ng	mga	{	iyon. kapatid ko. maliliit.
'Those 'My brothers 'The little ones	}	are very good children.'			
Napakabait na bata	{	ang ng	{	gumawa noon. nasa harap.	
'The one who did that 'The one in front	}	is a very good child.'			

(When *napakarami* 'very many' is used attributively in predicate position before a nominalized verbal or adjective-phrase topic, there is no replacement of the topic *ang* phrase by a *ng* phrase:

Napakaraming libro ang nasa kahon.
'What's in the box is a great many books.')

Any adjective that may be intensified by *napaka-* may also be intensified by a construction involving *kay* or the prefix *pagka-* /*pagka-*/ plus a disyllabic duplicating prefix. (The formation of the duplicating prefix follows the rules given for *dup₂-* in §5.16.)

The use of the intensive constructions with *kay* and *pagka-* in intensified exclamations is discussed in §4.24. Some other uses are illustrated below:

Nakita mo ba iyong asong 'Did you see that very big dog?'	{	kay laki-laki? pagkalaki-laki?
Kumanta si Maria nang Maria sang very loudly.'	{	kay lakas-lakas. pagkalakas-lakas.

Most *ma-* adjective bases also occur in an intensive construction in which they are preceded by the sequence *ubod ng* (literally, 'core of'). For example:

Ubod ng bait ang aming tatay.
'Our father is very kind.'

Si Juan ang sumulat ng liham na ubod ng haba.
'The one who wrote a very long letter is Juan.'

Similar constructions with *hari ng* (literally, 'king of') and *ulo ng* (literally, 'head of') occur in a few fixed phrases: e.g., *hari ng yabang* 'very conceited', *ulo ng yaman* 'very rich'.

A good many unaffixed adjectives occur in an intensive formation involving a disyllabic duplicating prefix (cf. the presentation of *dup₂-*, §5.16.) Examples are:

balì-baliktad	'all topsy-turvy'	(cf. baliktad 'upside down')
basag-basag	'broken to smithereens'	(cf. basag 'broken')
butas-butas	'full of holes'	(cf. butas 'having a hole')
hiwa-hiwalay	'thoroughly scattered'	(cf. hiwalay 'separated')
labis-labis	'thoroughly excessive'	(cf. labis 'excessive')
punit-punit	'thoroughly torn'	(cf. punit 'torn')
sira-sira	'thoroughly ruined'	(cf. sira 'ruined')

(If the underlying adjective contains an inherently long vowel, the vowel length is in some cases retained in the intensive formation, in others lost. Thus: /la·bisla·bis/ (cf. /la·bis/), but /punitpunit/ (cf. /pu·nit/).)

This duplicated intensive formation, in addition to the meaning of intensification, always carries some plural meaning as well. The plural meaning may be a matter of a plural referent for the adjective – e.g.,

Basag-basag ang mga pinggan.
'The plates are broken to smithereens.'

– or it may be a matter of a single referent that shows many instances of the quality denoted by the adjective – e.g.,

Butas-butas ang medyas ko.
'My stocking is full of holes.'

(Most of the duplicated formations that occur as intensive adjectives also occur in intensive *magka-* + *dup₂-* verbs – cf. §5.16, subsection (1.d).)

Finally, an adjective may be intensified by a preceding or following adjective of intensive meaning, the two being joined by the linker *na/ng*. The most common intensive adjectives are: *lubha*, *masyado*, *totoo*, and *tunay*. *Lubha* and *masyado* mean, respectively, 'serious' and 'excessive'. When they are used as intensifiers with another adjective, they frequently have the meaning 'too' or 'terribly'. *Totoo* and *tunay* both mean 'true'. When they are used as intensifiers, they frequently have the meaning 'really'. Some examples are:

Lubhang kawawa }
Kawawang lubha } ang mga nasunugan.
'The fire victims are terribly pitiful.'

Masyadong mahal }
Mahal na masyado } ang kuwintas.
'The necklace is too expensive.'

Totoong pagod	}	ang kabayo.
Pagod na totoo		
'The horse is very tired.'		
Tunay na masarap	}	itong adobo.
Masarap na tunay		
'This adobo is really delicious.'		

The impersonal adjective *talaga* 'it is true' (which differs from *lubha*, etc. in that it never accepts a topic) may also be used as an intensifier, in which case it is similar in meaning to *totoo* and *tunay*:

Talagang masaya	}	ang anihan.
Masayang talaga		
'The harvest is really fun.'		

Ma- adjectives pluralized by duplication (cf. §4.11) may occur in any one of the intensive constructions discussed above, except for the *kay* and *pagka-* intensive formations (and the duplicated intensive formation, in which only unaffixed adjectives occur). Thus:

Mababait na mababait sila.
'They are very kind.'

Napakabibigat ng mga maleta.
'The bags are very heavy.'

Ubod ng lalakas ang boses nila.
'Their voices are very loud.'

Talagang mayayaman ang mga doktor.
'The doctors are really rich.'

Unaffixed adjectives intensified by *napaka-* also have a distinctive plural formation, which involves the insertion of a duplicating syllable between *napaka-* and the adjective itself. (The formation of the duplicating syllable follows the rules given for *dup₁-* in §3.7.) Some examples are:

Singular		Plural
napakabago	'very new'	Napakababago
napakaberde	'very green'	napakabiberde
napakahinog	'very ripe'	napakahihinog
napakatamad	'very lazy'	napakatatamad

It should be noted that, while *ma-* adjectives may be pluralized regardless of whether or not they are intensified, unaffixed adjectives are pluralizable only when they are intensified by *napaka-* (or when they occur in certain phrases expressing similarity or in exclamations – cf. §§4.18 and 4.24). Thus there is a *magaganda* 'beautiful (plural)' that corresponds to *napakagaganda* 'very beautiful (plural)' but no **babago* that corresponds to *napakababago* 'very new (plural)'.

§4.13. Moderation of adjectives.

A moderate degree of the quality expressed by an adjective (equivalent to English 'rather' or 'somewhat' plus adjective) may be indicated by preceding the adjective with *medyo*, or by following the adjective with the phrase *nang kaunti*:

Medyo gutom	}	ang lahat.
Gutom nang kaunti		
'Everyone is rather hungry.'		
Medyo magugulo	}	ang mga bata.
Magugulo nang kaunti		
'The children are somewhat troublesome.'		
Sino iyong babaeng	}	medyo payat?
		payat nang kaunti
'Who is that rather thin woman'		

Most *ma-* adjectives also occur in a moderative formation involving a disyllabic duplicating prefix, the duplicating syllables occurring between *ma-* and the base itself. (The formation of the duplicating syllables follows the rules given for *dup₂-* in §5.16.) No inherently long vowels occur in duplicated moderative formations based on adjectives with disyllabic bases. The only long vowels that may occur in such formations are instances of compensatory length as the result of the loss of a glottal stop (cf. §1.12). Thus:

masarap /masarap/ 'tasty'	→	masarap-sarap /masarapsarap/ 'rather tasty'
malinis /mali·nis/ 'clean'	→	malinis-linis /malinislinis/ 'rather clean'
mabisa /mabi·sa/ 'effective'	→	mabisa-bisa /mabisa·bisa/ 'rather effective'

In formations based on adjectives with trisyllabic bases, the second duplicated vowel is always long (cf. §5.16), and any inherently long vowel in the base itself optionally retains or loses its length. Thus:

masalita /masalita/ 'talkative'	→	masali-salita /masali·salita/ 'rather talkative'
matalino /matali·noh/ 'intelligent'	→	matali-talino /matali·tali·noh/ 'rather intelligent'

Not all *ma-* adjectives occur in a duplicated moderative formation. Those that do not are, in general, the same as those that do not occur in a duplicated plural formation (cf. §4.11): i.e., the majority of *ma-* adjectives whose base is a concrete noun. Thus there is no duplicated moderative formation corresponding to *madahon* 'leafy' (cf. *dahon* 'leaf') *maginoo* 'gentlemanly' (cf. *ginoo* 'gentleman'), etc.

In addition to *ma-* adjectives, certain unaffixed adjectives occur in duplicated moderative formations. Among the duplicated moderative formations involving unaffixed adjectives are the following:

bagu-bago	'rather new'
basa-basa	'rather wet'
bata-bata	'rather young'
buhā-buhaghag	'rather porous'

hinug-hinog	'rather ripe'
luma-luma	'rather old'
mura-mura	'rather cheap'
pagud-pagod	'rather tired'
sanay-sanay	'rather experienced'
sari-sariwa	'rather fresh'
tahi-tahimik	'rather peaceful'

It may be noted that the formation of these duplicated moderatives is identical with that of the intensive plurals of unaffixed adjectives discussed in §4.12. There is no ambiguity in most cases, however, since very few unaffixed adjectives occur in both the moderative and the intensive plural formations.

A duplicated moderative formation may occur together with *medyo* or *ng kaunti* without any change of meaning: e.g.,

Maganda-ganda	} si Maria.
Medyo maganda-ganda	
Maganda-ganda nang kaunti	
'Maria is rather pretty.'	

In the case of duplicated moderative formations involving unaffixed adjectives, the use of *medyo* or *nang kaunti* together with the duplicated formation is always preferred, and in some cases may be considered obligatory. Thus:

Medyo pagud-pagod	} ang nanay.
Pagud-pagod nang kaunti	
'Mother is a little tired.'	

but not normally:

*Pagud-pagod ang nanay.

Apart from its use in expressing a moderate degree of the quality of the underlying adjective, the duplicated moderative also occurs in a comparative construction which is discussed in §4.15.

§4.14. Comparison of equality.

The comparison of equality (expressed in English by an 'as ... as' construction) is expressed in Tagalog by a construction involving: (1) the prefix (*ka*)*sing-* before an unaffixed adjective or the root of a *ma-* adjective; and (2) a *ng*-phrase complement that expresses the person, thing, etc., to which comparison is being made. Some speakers ordinarily use only the full form of the prefix, *kasing-*, associating the shorter form, *sing-*, with poetic language. Other speakers use both *sing-* and *kasing-* freely in ordinary conversation.

Any *ma-* adjective root may occur with (*ka*)*sing-*. Unaffixed adjectives that correspond to nouns with loss of inherent length (e.g., *antok* 'sleepy', *gutom* 'hungry' – cf. §4.2) do not occur with (*ka*)*sing-*; most other unaffixed adjectives (e.g., *berde* 'green', *tamad* 'lazy') do occur with (*ka*)*sing-*.

Some examples of the (*ka*)*sing-* construction are:

(Ka)singluma ng bahay natin ang kamila.
'Their house is as old as ours.'

(Ka)singganda ni Elena si Maria.
'Maria is as beautiful as Elena.'

(Ka)singhirap ko siya.

'He is as poor as I am.'

May kakilala ka bang (ka)singbait niya?

'Do you know anyone as kind as he'

The root of a *ma-* adjective may be pluralized by duplication in the usual way (cf. §4.12) after *(ka)sing-* if several people or things are the subject of comparison:

(Ka)singlalaki nito ang mga iyon.

'Those are as big as these.'

(Ka)singgaganda sila ng mga artista.

'They are as beautiful as actresses.'

The 'reciprocal' prefix *mag-* (which also occurs in certain derived nouns – cf. §3.7, subsections (7), (8), (10), (11)) occurs before *(ka)sing-* (plus an adjective or adjective base), the entire prefix meaning 'equally' or 'equal in'. The *mag(ka)sing-* formation expresses a quality shared equally by exactly two people, things, places, etc.:

Mag(ka)singtalino sina Juan at Pedro.

'Juan and Pedro are equal in intelligence.'

Mag(ka)singbago ang iyong kotse at ang akin.

'Your car and mine are equally new.'

Mag(ka)sing-init ba sa Baguio at Maynila

'Is it equally hot in Baguio and Manila'

When a quality is expressed as shared equally by more than two people or things, the *ka-* of the prefix *magkasing-* is duplicated, the vowel of the duplicating syllable being short: e.g., *magkakasingtalino* /magkakasingtaliːnoh/.

Some examples are:

Magkakasingtalino silang lahat.

'They are all equal in intelligence.'

Magkakasingbago ang tatlong kotse.

'The three cars are equally new.'

As an alternative to the *magkakasing-* formation, some speakers use *mag(ka)sing-* plus duplication of the first consonant and vowel of the following adjective or adjective base, the vowel of the duplicating syllable being short. For these speakers, *magkasingtatalino* /magkasingtataliːnoh/ or *magsingtatalino* /magsingtataliːnoh/ may occur as an alternative to *magkakasingtalino*.

A formation consisting of *mag(ka)sing-* or *magkakasing-* plus an adjective or adjective base may be followed by a *ng* phrase that expresses the thing with respect to which the quality of the adjective is shared. For example, *mag(ka)singganda ng boses* might be translated literally as 'equal in beauty of voice', or, more idiomatically, 'having equally beautiful voices' or 'with equally beautiful voices'. Thus:

Humahanap siya ng dalawang batang mag(ka)singganda ng boses.

'He is looking for two children with equally beautiful voices.'

Some further examples of this construction are:

Magkakasingdumi sila ng mukha.
'They have equally dirty faces.'

Binigyan ng premyo ang lahat ng magkakasingbuti ng grado. 'All those with equally good grades were given a prize.'

§4.15. Comparison of inequality.

English has a number of ways of expressing comparisons of inequality. One of them is simply the negative of the 'as . . . as' comparison of equality:

'John isn't as intelligent as Mary'.

Others involve 'less', 'more', or the suffix '-er' with an adjective (or adverb) followed by 'than':

'John is less intelligent than Mary'.
'John is more intelligent than Mary'.
'John is smarter than Mary'.

In Tagalog too a comparison of inequality may be expressed by the negative of the comparison-of-equality construction (cf. §§4.14 and 7.13):

Hindi kasingtalino ni Mary si John.
'John isn't as intelligent as Mary.'

This same construction would also be used in most cases to express the equivalent of the English 'less . . . than' construction. (The idiom *wala sa kalingkingan* – literally 'not at the little finger' – is sometimes used to express the equivalent of English 'much less . . . than':

Wala ka sa kalingkingan niya sa sipag.
'You're much less diligent than he.'
(Literally: 'You're not at his little finger in diligence.')

Tagalog has several constructions that correspond to English 'more/-er . . . than' constructions. The Tagalog equivalents of 'more/-er' are: *mas*, *lalo* plus the linker *-ng* (hereafter *lalong*), and *higit* plus the linker *na/-ng* (hereafter *higit na*). The Tagalog equivalents of 'than' are *kaysa sa*, *kaysa*, and *sa*.

The three ways of expressing 'more/-er' differ from one another in frequency and/or meaning. *Mas* is the most frequent. *Lalong* (or its variant *mas lalong*) may replace *mas* when the speaker wishes to call special attention to one of certain types of contrast. The contrast may be with something said by another speaker: e.g.,

A: Mas maganda si Rosa kaysa sa kapatid niya, ano?
'Rosa is prettier than her sister, isn't she'

B: Hindi! (mas) lalong maganda ang kapatid niya kaysa sa kaniya.
'No! Her sister is prettier than she is.'

Or the contrast may be with a stated or implied expectation (in which case it is sometimes equivalent to English 'even more'): e.g.,

Nagbakasyon ako sa Baguio, pero lalong mainit doon kaysa dito.
'I vacationed in Baguio, but it was even hotter there than here.'

(*lalong* or its post-verb equivalent, *na/ng* plus *lalo*, also occurs as an adverb meaning ‘all the more/-er’: e.g.,

Hindi siya kumakain, pero { lalo siyang tumataba.
 { tumataba siyang lalo.
 ‘She doesn’t eat, but she gets all the fatter.’)

Higit na is the literary equivalent of *mas*, and is rather rare in ordinary conversation.

The three equivalents of English ‘than’ – *kaysa sa*, *kaysa*, and *sa* – are interchangeable in a good many contexts. For example:

Mas matanda siya { kaysa sa kaibigan niya.
 { kaysa kaibigan niya.
 { sa kaibigan niya.
 ‘He is older than his friend.’

(In certain contexts, to be discussed below, only *kaysa sa* and *kaysa*, or *kaysa* alone, may occur.) If the OBJECT OF COMPARISON – i.e., the word that follows *kaysa sa*, *kaysa*, or *sa* – is expressed by a pronoun, this pronoun is always a *sa* form (cf. §3.3). Thus:

Mas matanda siya { kaysa sa akin.
 { kaysa akin.
 { sa akin.
 ‘He is older than I am.’

If the object of comparison is expressed by a personal noun, *kaysa sa* and *kaysa* are followed by *kay*, while *sa* is replaced by *kay*:

Mas matanda siya { kaysa sa kay Juan.
 { kaysa kay Juan.
 { kay Juan.
 ‘He is older than Juan.’

Similarly, if the object of comparison is expressed by a deictic pronoun, *kaysa sa* and *kaysa* are followed by the *sa* form of the deictic (cf. §3.4), while *sa* is replaced by the /d/ of the *sa* form of the deictic:

Mas matanda siya { kaysa sa doon.
 { kaysa doon.
 { doon.
 ‘He is older than that one.’

Provided one of the equivalents of ‘than’ is present, no equivalent of ‘more’ need be expressed in most cases. That is, *mas*, *lalong*, and *higit na* are usually optional in the ‘more... than’ comparison-of-inequality construction. Thus:

Mabigat ang aso kaysa sa pusa.
 ‘The dog is heavier than the cat.’

as well as:

Mas }
 Lalong } mabigat ang aso kaysa sa pusa.
 Higit na }

(If the object of comparison is implied, rather than expressed by a *kaysa sa* phrase, etc., some equivalent of *more* is necessary to express the comparison of inequality:

Siya ang mas matanda, ano?
 'He's the older one, isn't he?'

Siya ang matanda, ano? would mean 'He's the old one, isn't he?' Some other cases in which some equivalent of 'more' is obligatory are mentioned below.)

The examples of *mas ... kaysa sa*, etc. constructions presented thus far have involved as the SUBJECT OF COMPARISON the topic of an equational sentence whose predicate is an adjective. (The subject of comparison is the element to which the object of comparison is compared.) The topic of an equational sentence may also be the subject of comparison if the predicate is a pseudo-verb-phrase (cf. §4.21), or if it includes an adjective used as a modifier or followed by the basic form of a verb (cf. §4.17): e.g.,

(Mas) gusto niya ang basketbol	}	kaysa (sa) besbol.
		sa besbol.
'He likes basketball better than baseball.'		

(Mas) mahusay na istudyante si Juan	}	kaysa (sa) akin.
		sa akin.
'Juan is a better student than I am.'		

(Mas) malakas kumain si Pedro	}	kaysa (sa) iyo.
		sa iyo.
'Pedro eats more heartily than you do.'		

The topic of a narrational sentence may be the subject of comparison when either of the following conditions is met: (1) the verb in the sentence has a pseudo-verb base, or is one of a small list of verbs expressing attitudes; (2) the sentence includes a manner adverb consisting of *nang* plus a *ma-* adjective, or of a *ma-* adjective plus the linker *na/ng* (cf. §6.10). Some examples are:

(1) Mas aayawan mo ang siyudad kaysa sa probinsya.
 'You will dislike the city more than the provinces.'

Mas pinaniniwalaan ko si Juan kaysa sa kay Pedro.
 'I believe Juan more than Pedro.'

(2) Nagsayaw si Petra nang mas mahusay	}	kaysa sa iyo.
Mas mahusay na nagsayaw si Petra		
'Petra danced better than you.'		

Makakagawa ang bata noon nang mas madali	}	kaysa sa akin.
Mas madaling makakagawa ang bata noon		
'The child will be able to do that more easily than I.'		

In constructions like those under (1) above, some equivalent of 'more' is normally required. Thus there is no:

- *Aayawan mo ang siyudad kaysa sa probinsya.
- *Pinaniniwalaan ko si Juan kaysa sa kay Pedro.

In constructions involving an adverb of manner consisting of *nang* plus a *ma-* adjective, *mas* is optional for some speakers, obligatory for others. Thus, also, for some speakers:

Nagsayaw si Petra nang mahusay kaysa sa iyo.

If there is no equivalent of 'more' in such a construction, however, the *sa* equivalent of *than* may not occur. Thus there is no:

*Nagsayaw si Petra nang mahusay sa iyo.

When the adverb of manner consists of a *ma-* adjective plus the linker *na/ng*, some equivalent of 'more' is always required.

The subject of comparison need not be the topic. In sentence types similar to those in which the topic may occur as the subject of comparison (sentences that include adjectives, pseudo-verb-base verbs, manner adverbs, etc.), a number of other sentence elements may also occur as the subject of comparison: e.g., *ng* phrases, *sa* phrases, verb phrases, and adverbs. In general, the comparison-of-inequality constructions are the same when one of these elements is the subject of comparison as in the cases already discussed. There are, however, certain differences in detail.

Certain speakers, for example, allow an optional *ng* after *kaysa* (but not after *(kaysa)sa*) when a *ng* phrase is the subject of comparison: e.g.,

(Mas) mahal ang baro ni Nene kaysa ng nanay.
'Nene's dress is more expensive than Mother's.'

as well as:

(Mas) mahal ang baro ni Nene $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kaysa(sa)} \\ \text{sa} \end{array} \right\}$ nanay.

When a *sa* phrase is the subject of comparison, the *sa* equivalent of 'than' does not occur. Thus:

Mas madalas kaming pumupunta sa kabundukan kaysa (sa) baybayin.
'We go to the mountains more often than the seashore.'

but not, as an equivalent sentence:

*Mas madalas kaming pumupunta sa kabundukan sa baybayin.

The *sa* equivalent of 'than' also fails to occur when the subject of comparison is a verb phrase or an adverb. Thus:

Mas madalas siyang nagpasyal kaysa (sa) pumasok.
'He paid calls more often than he went to work.'

(Mas) mainit ngayon kaysa (sa) kahapon.
'It's hotter today than it was yesterday.'

but not:

*Mas madalas siyang nagpasyal sa pumasok.
*Mas mainit ngayon sa kahapon.

In addition to the already-presented constructions for expressing a comparison of inequality, there is a special moderative-comparative construction that is equivalent to English 'a little more . . . than'. This construction, which involves a duplicated moderative adjective (cf. §4.13), is similar to the constructions with *kaysa sa*, *kaysa*, and *sa* discussed above. It differs from these constructions only in that, for most speakers at least, the omission of any overt equivalent of 'more' is greatly preferred in this case. Thus:

Maganda-ganda si Rosa	}	kaysa sa kay Maria. kaysa kay Maria. kay Maria.
'Rosa is a little prettier than Maria.'		

but also, for some speakers:

Mas maganda-ganda si Rosa kaysa sa kay Maria, etc.

Some further examples of the moderative-comparative construction are:

Tumakbo si Ed nang mabilis-bilis kaysa kay Bob.
'Ed ran a little faster than Bob.'

Mabigat-bigat ang maleta mo kaysa sa akin.
'Your suitcase is a little heavier than mine.'

Marami-raming tao doon kaysa dito.
'There are a few more people there than here.'

Mahusay-husay siyang kumanta kaysa sumayaw.
'She sings somewhat better than she dances.'

Malamig-lamig kahapon kaysa sa ngayon.
'It was a little cooler yesterday than it is today.'

§4.16. Superlative constructions.

The superlative degree of an adjective (usually equivalent to English 'most' plus adjective, or adjective plus '-est') is generally expressed in Tagalog by the prefix *pinaka-* /*pinaka*/ plus an adjective. *Pinaka-* occurs before both *ma-* adjectives (with retention of *ma-*) and unaffixed adjectives:

Adjective		→	Superlative	
mabuti	'good'	→	pinakamabuti	'best'
malamig	'cold'	→	pinakamalamig	'coldest'
masarap	'delicious'	→	pinakamasarap	'most delicious'
interesante	'interesting'	→	pinakainteresante	'most interesting'
mura	'cheap'	→	pinakamura	'cheapest'
sariwa	'fresh'	→	pinakasariwa	'freshest'

The *pinaka-* formation may occur in any of the contexts in which the underlying adjective itself occurs: as a predicate, in a nominalized position, before the basic form of a verb, as an adverb of manner, or in a modification construction. For example:

Pinakasariwa ang kanilang isda.
'Their fish is freshest.'

Si Mang Pepe ang pinakamatanda.
'The oldest is Mang Pepe.'

Siya ang pinakamabilis tumakbo.
'He is the one who runs fastest.'

Si Nene ang namimili nang pinakamadalas.
'The one who goes shopping most often is Nene.'

Siya ang pinakamagandang babae dito.
'She is the most beautiful woman here.'

Ang anak na pinakabata ang bunso.
'The bunso is the youngest child.'

A *pinaka-* formation may also be followed by a *sa-*phrase complement which translates an English 'of' or 'among' phrase after a superlative:

Pinili ni Rosa ang pinakamagara sa mga terno.
'Rosa chose the most attractive of the ternos.'

Si Maria ang dalagang pinakamayaman kina Luisa.
'Maria is the richest girl of Luisa's circle.'

Siya ang pinakamatalinong tao sa kanila.
'He is the most intelligent person among them.'

Note that when the *pinaka-* formation is used as a modifier before a noun, the *sa-*phrase complement generally follows the noun rather than the adjective: thus, *ang pinakamatalinong tao sa kanila* 'the most intelligent person among them'.

The *sa-*phrase complement is usually explicitly pluralized. For some speakers, however, explicit pluralization is optional in the case of unmarked nouns. Such speakers might say, for example, *pinakamagara sa terno* as well as *pinakamagara sa mga terno* 'most attractive of the ternos'.

A *ma-* adjective after *pinaka-* may be pluralized in the usual way, by duplication (cf. §4.11):

Sila ang pinakamaingay na bata.
'They are the noisiest children.'

In addition to the *pinaka-* formation, Tagalog has another superlative formation, which involves the prefix *ka-* /ka:/ followed by a disyllabic duplicating prefix, and the suffix *-an*. In the case of *ma-* adjectives, *ma-* itself is deleted: *maliit* 'small' → *kaliit-liitan* 'smallest'.

The *ka-* . . . *-an* superlative formation occurs with a limited list of adjectives, most of them unaffixed adjectives, a few of them *ma-* adjectives. Among the unaffixed adjectives that occur with *ka-* . . . *-an* are *una* 'first' and *huli* 'late/last', the *ka-* . . . *-an* formations having the meanings 'first of all' and 'last of all' respectively.

As noted above, the vowel of the prefix *ka-* is long. In addition, the vowel of the syllable before *-an* is always long. If the underlying adjective is disyllabic and ends in a consonant other than /h/ or /ʔ/, there are no other long vowels in the *ka-* . . . *-an* formation. If the underlying adjective is disyllabic and ends in /h/ or /ʔ/, or if the underlying adjective has more than two syllables, there is one additional long vowel: the second vowel of the duplicating prefix. A long vowel in the second duplicating syllable is always syllable-final. (That is, there is no duplication of the final /h/ or /ʔ/ of an underlying disyllabic adjective, or of any final consonant in the second syllable of a longer underlying adjective.) These rules for the formation of *ka-* . . . *-an* superlatives are illustrated below:

banal /banal/ 'virtuous'	→	kabanal-banalan /ka·banalbana·lan/ 'most virtuous'
malinis /mali·nis/ 'clean'	→	kalinis-linisan /ka·linislini·san/ 'cleanest'

mura /mu'rah/ → 'cheap'	kamura-murahan /ka'mura'mura'han/ 'cheapest'
luma /lu'ma'/ → 'old'	kaluma-lumaan /ka'luma'luma'an/ 'oldest'
baluktot /baluktot/ → 'bent'	kabalu-baluktutan /ka'balu'baluku'tan/ 'most bent'
gulanit /gulanit/ → 'ragged'	kagula-gulanitan /ka'gula'gulani'tan/ 'most ragged'

Except in the case of *kauna-unahan* 'first of all' and *kahuli-hulihan* 'last of all', the *ka-...-an* superlatives generally connote some kind of negative attitude in the speaker: e.g., disapproval of the action being spoken of. Thus, the sentence:

Ang kaluma-lumaang libro niya ang ibinigay niya sa akin.
'What he gave me was his oldest book.'

clearly expresses disapproval of the action, and differs in this respect from the more neutral:

Ang pinakalumang libro niya ang ibinigay niya sa akin.
'What he gave me was his oldest book.'

In English, this kind of negative attitude is sometimes expressible only by intonation and voice quality, in other cases is expressed by 'even':

Ikinagagalit nila ang kaliit-liitang bagay.
'Even the littlest thing makes them angry.'

Like the *pinaka-* superlative, the *ka-...-an* superlative sometimes occurs with a *sa*-phrase complement:

Pinang-uupisina ni Helen ang kamahal-mahalan sa mga damit niya.
'Helen wears the most expensive of her clothes to the office.'

§4.17. Adjective-plus-complement constructions.

Various constructions that consist of an adjective followed by another word or phrase may conveniently be grouped together as ADJECTIVE-PLUS-COMPLEMENT CONSTRUCTIONS. The first element of all such constructions is an adjective; the second may be called an ADJECTIVE COMPLEMENT. Certain types of adjective complements are discussed elsewhere in this text, in connection with the particular classes of adjectives after which they occur: e.g., the object and/or directional complements that may follow instrumental *pang-* adjectives (cf. §4.8), and the actor complements within pseudo-verb phrases (cf. §4.21). Most other types of adjective complements are discussed in the present section. The complement types discussed are: (1) *para sa* phrases; (2) *sa* phrases; (3) *ng* phrases; (4) linker-plus-basic-form constructions; (5) *kung*-plus-basic-form constructions. These are presented below and on the following pages in the listed order.

(1) Constructions consisting of an adjective followed by a *para sa* phrase (*para sa* plus an unmarked noun or plus the *sa* form of a personal pronoun, *para kay* or *para kina* plus a personal noun, *para* plus the *sa*

form of a deictic pronoun) are usually equivalent to English constructions consisting of an adjective followed by a 'for' phrase: e.g.,

bagay kailangan kasya dapat mabuti	}	para	sa bata sa iyo kay Maria doon	}	'suitable 'necessary 'adequate (in size) 'appropriate 'good 'easy 'hard 'pleasant 'bad 'right	}	for	{ the child' you' Maria' that (one)'
--	---	------	--	---	--	---	-----	---

The *para* in the *para sa* phrase may normally be deleted without affecting the meaning of the construction. Thus: *bagay (para) sa bata* 'suitable for the child', *kailangan (para) sa iyo* 'necessary for you', etc.

When a construction consisting of an adjective plus a *para-sa* phrase complement occurs in predicate position, the complement may optionally be moved to a position after the topic. Thus:

Bagay	{	(para) sa bata ang baro.
	}	ang baro (para) sa bata.

'The dress is suitable for the child.'

Similarly, when the complement construction is used as a preposed modifier in a modification construction (cf. §3.11, ff.), the complement may optionally be moved to a position after the head:

Naghahanap ako ng	{	bagay (para) sa batang damit.
	}	bagay na damit (para) sa bata.

'I am looking for a dress (that is) suitable for the child.'

(When the complement is separated from the adjective in this way, retention of *para* is preferred if the adjective is a *ma-* adjective. Thus, usually, *Madali ang trabaho para sa bata* 'The work is easy for the child', rather than *Madali ang trabaho sa bata*, and *Naghahanap ako ng madaling trabaho para sa bata* 'I am looking for some work that is easy for the child', rather than *Naghahanap ako ng madaling trabaho sa bata*.)

Some further examples of the uses of adjective-plus-*para-sa* phrase constructions are:

Siguro hindi mabuti (para) kay Maria ang mabuti (para) sa iyo.
'Perhaps what is good for you is not good for Maria.'

Walang kasya (para) doon sa buong tindahan.
'There's nothing that fits that one in the whole store.'
(Literally: 'There's nothing adequate (in size) for that one . . .')

Huwag mo silang bigyan ng mga librong masyadong mahirap (para) sa kanila.
'Don't give them books that are too hard for them.'

(2) Constructions consisting of an adjective followed by a *sa* phrase (*sa* plus an unmarked noun or plus the *sa* form of a personal pronoun, *kay* or *kina* plus a personal noun, or the *sa* form of a deictic pronoun) are usually equivalent to English constructions consisting of an adjective followed by a

prepositional phrase. Various English prepositions may be equivalent to the *sa* of the Tagalog constructions: e.g., 'at', as in:

mahusay	}	sa trabaho	'good	}	at (the) work'
masipag			'diligent		

'of,' as in:

mahilig	}	doon	'fond	}	of that'
takot			'afraid		

'to,' as in:

hirati	}	kay Maria	'used	}	to Maria.'
malupit			'cruel		

'with,' as in:

galit	}	sa kanila	'angry	}	with them'
yamot			'bored		

A *sa*-phrase complement that is part of an adjectival predicate may, like a *para-sa*-phrase complement (see above), optionally be moved to a position after the topic. Thus:

Galit	}	sa kanila si Juan.
		si Juan sa kanila.
'Juan is angry with them.'		

Unlike a *para-sa*-phrase complement, however, a *sa*-phrase complement forming part of a preposed modifier may not ordinarily be moved to a position after the head. Thus *ang galit sa kanilang tao* 'the person who is angry with them', but not **ang galit na tao sa kanila*.

Some further examples of the uses of adjective-plus-*sa*-phrase constructions are:

Sino iyong napakahusay sa trabaho?
'Who is that one who's very good at the work?'

Ayaw ko sa mga taong malupit sa hayop.
'I don't like people who are cruel to animals.'

Bakit ka galit sa akin?
'Why are you angry with me?'

(3) *Ng* phrases (*ng* plus an unmarked noun, etc.) occur as complements after a small number of adjectives. The adjectives after which *ng*-phrase complements occur are often translatable by verbs in English – e.g., *kapos* 'lack(s)', *kulang* 'lack(s)', *marunong* 'know(s)', *matakaw* 'eat(s) ... voraciously' – and the complement phrases by verbal objects: e.g.,

kapos ng pera	'lack(s) money'
kulang ng asin	'lack(s) salt'
marunong ng Tagalog	'know(s) Tagalog'
matakaw ng kanin	'eat(s) rice voraciously.'

At least three adjectives – *bukod* ‘separate’, *hiwalay* ‘separate’, and *sabay* ‘together’ – take as complements *ng* phrases of the shape *ng* plus gerund or verb base (cf. §§3.26 and 3.27), the gerund or verb base expressing an activity performed ‘separately’ or ‘together’: e.g.,

bukod } hiwalay }	ng	{ pagkain { kain	‘eat(s) separately’
sabay ng	{ pag-alis { alis	‘leave(s) together’	

Bukod and *hiwalay* (but not *sabay*) also take complements of the shape *ng* plus unmarked noun:

bukod } hiwalay }	ng mesa	‘at a separate table’
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Like *sa*-phrase complements, *ng*-phrase complements occurring as part of an adjectival predicate may optionally be moved to a position after the topic. Thus:

Kapos	{ ng pera si Juan. { si Juan ng pera.	‘Juan lacks money.’
Marunong	{ ng Tagalog ang Amerikano. { ang Amerikano ng Tagalog.	‘The American knows Tagalog.’
Bukod	{ ng pagkain ang bagong-kasal. { ang bagong-kasal ng pagkain.	‘The newly-weds eat separately.’

(*Kapos* and *kulang* accept *sa*-phrase complements in place of *ng*-phrase complements; thus, also: *kapos sa pera*, *kulang sa asin*.)

(4) The basic form of a verb (cf. §2.8) consists of the basic form of an affix plus a verb base. Thus *magtayo* ‘(to) build’, which consists of the basic affix *mag-* and the verb base *tayo*, is the basic form that corresponds to the aspect-marked verb forms *magtatayo* ‘will build’, *nagtatayo* ‘build(s)’, and *nagtayo* ‘built’. Basic forms of verbs occur in adjective-plus-complement constructions of two types: a type in which the basic form is preceded by a linker (discussed immediately below), and a type in which the basic form is preceded by the particle *kung* (discussed in subsection (5)).

Constructions consisting of an adjective followed by a linker plus a basic form may be divided into two subclasses on the basis of the type(s) of linker that occur in the constructions. In one subclass, either the linker *-ng* (cf. §3.8) or the linker *na/-ng* (cf. §3.11) may occur; in the other, only the linker *-ng* may occur. (The linker *-ng* and the linker *na/-ng* have identical forms when the preceding word ends, in its independent form, in /ʔ/, /n/, or /h/. In these contexts, both linkers are manifested as an /u/ replacing the word-final consonant. In all other contexts, the linker *-ng* is manifested as a zero form, while the linker *na/-ng* is manifested as the word *na* /na/.)

The two subclasses differ not only in form, but also in the meaning relationship that holds between the adjective and the basic form, and in the meaning relationship that holds between the construction as a whole and its referent. Sentences in which the two constructions occur in predicate position may

conveniently be used by way of example. In such sentences, if the adjective-plus-complement construction belongs to the first subclass (i.e., the subclass in which the basic form may be preceded by either *-ng* or *na/-ng*), the adjective generally designates a characteristic of the topic, and the basic form designates the activity in which this characteristic is manifested. Thus in the sentence:

Sanay (na) kumanta si Petra.
'Petra is experienced at singing.'

The adjective *sanay* 'experienced' designates a characteristic of *si Petra* 'Petra', and the basic form *kumanta* 'sing(ing)' designates the activity in which this characteristic is manifested. If, on the other hand, the adjective-plus-complement construction belongs to the second subclass (i.e., the subclass in which the basic form is preceded only by the linker *-ng*), the adjective generally expresses the way in which the activity designated by the basic form is characteristically performed by the topic. (The construction is often translatable by a verb-plus-adverb construction in English.) Thus in the sentence:

Malakas kumanta si Petra.
'Petra sings loudly.'

the adjective *malakas* 'loud(ly)' expresses the way in which the activity expressed by *kumanta* is characteristically performed by *si Petra*. (In some cases, the adjective expresses the time at which an activity is characteristically performed, rather than the way in which it is performed: e.g., *Maagang gumising si Petra* 'Petra gets up early'.)

The basic form in constructions belonging to the first subclass is normally actor-focus (cf. §2.9). It may be followed by any object and/or directional complements taken by the inflected forms of the verb. Thus:

Sanay (na) kumanta ng mga imno si Petra.
'Petra is experienced at singing hymns.'

Tamad (na) pumunta sa opisina si Ben.
'Ben is lazy about going to the office.'

The basic form in constructions belonging to the second subclass may be either actor-focus or goal-focus. Actor-focus basic forms may be followed by object and/or directional complements; goal-focus basic forms by actor complements. Thus:

Malakas	{	kumanta ng mga imno si Petra. kantahin ni Petra ang mga imno.	
'Petra sings	{	hymns the hymns	} loudly.'
Mabilis	{	pumunta sa opisina si Ben. puntahan ni Ben ang opisina.	
			} 'Ben goes to the office quickly.'

Some further examples of sentences involving constructions belonging to the first subclass are:

Bantulot (na) umalis ang mga tao.
'The people are reluctant to leave.'

Interesado daw (na) magtayo ng bahay ang doktor.
'They say that the doctor is interested in building a house.'

Marunong (na) magsalita ng Inggles si Juan.
'Juan knows how to speak English.'
(Literally: 'Juan is knowledgeable (about) speaking English.')

Some further examples of sentences involving constructions belonging to the second subclass are:

Mahal sumingil ang tinderong iyon.
'That storekeeper charges a lot.'
(More literally: 'That storekeeper charges expensively.')

Madali daw basagin ang porselana.
'They say that porcelain breaks easily.'

Matagal silang magtrabaho.
'They work slowly.'

(5) Constructions consisting of an adjective followed by the particle *kung* plus the basic form of a verb are similar in meaning to the second subclass of basic-form-complement constructions discussed under (4) above: the adjective in the construction expresses the way in which the action designated by the basic form is characteristically performed. Thus in the sentence:

Pasigaw kung kumanta si Petra.
'Petra shouts when she sings.'

The adjective *pasigaw* (literally 'in a shouting manner') characterizes the way in which the action expressed by *kumanta* 'sing(ing)' is performed.

Any *pa-* manner adjective (cf. §4.7) may be followed by a complement consisting of *kung* plus a basic form (of an actor-focus verb), plus, optionally, the complements of the verb. In the English equivalents, the *pa-* adjective is in some cases translatable by a verb, the complement by a 'when' construction: e.g.,

Patayo kung mamalantsa ang Nanay.
'Mother stands when she irons.'

Or the *pa-*adjective may be translated by some kind of adverbial construction, the complement by the main verb of the sentence: e.g.,

Pasayaw kung lumakad ang batang babae.
'The girl walks as if dancing.'

Paismid kung makinig ang mga mag-aaral.
'The students listen with a grimace.'

Kung-plus-basic-form complements also occur after certain time expressions (cf. §6.8): e.g.,

Gabi	}	kung gunusing si Petra.
Maaga		
Tanghali		

'Petra gets up	}	late.'
		early.'
		at noon.'

And some speakers use *kung*-plus-basic-form complements after *ma*- adjectives expressing the way in which the action expressed by the verb is characteristically performed. For these speakers, the construction with *kung* alternates freely in these cases with the second-type of linker-plus-complement construction presented under (4) above: e.g.,

Mabilis tumakbo	}	si Juan.
Mabilis kung tumakbo		

'Juan runs fast.'

Other speakers, however, do not allow the *kung* construction in these cases.

§4.18. Phrases expressing similarity.

The equivalent of an English 'like' phrase is often expressed in Tagalog by a construction consisting of *gaya* /ga'yah/ or *kagaya* /kaga'yah/ plus a *ng* phrase. (*Gaya* and *kagaya* alternate freely.) Some examples are:

Gaya	}	ng sapatos mo ang sapatos ko.
Kagaya		

'My shoes are like your shoes.'

Gaya	}	ni Juan ang kapatid niya.
Kagaya		

'His brother is like Juan.'
(Or: 'Juan's brother is like him.')

Gaya	}	ninyo sila.
Kagaya		

'They are like you.'

Gaya	}	niyan ito.
Kagaya		

'This is like that.'

When, as in the last example, the *ng* phrase following *gaya* (but not *kagaya*) is the *ng* form of a deictic pronoun, the vowel length plus /ya/ are optionally deletable. The contractions that result from this optional deletion are written as single words. Thus:

Full form		Contracted form	
gaya nire		ganire	'like this'
	→		
/ga'ya nireh/		/ganireh/	
gaya nito		ganito	'like this'
	→		
/ga'ya nitoh/		/ganitoh/	

Full form		Contracted form	
gaya niyan	→	ganyan	'like that'
/ga`ya nyan/		/ganyan/	
gaya noon	→	ganoon	'like that'
/ga`ya nu'on/		/ganu'on/	

(As was noted in §3.4, the deictic pronoun *iyon* has two freely alternating *ng* forms, *niyon* and *noon*. While both of these forms occur after *(ka)gaya*, only *noon* commonly occurs in a contraction after *ga-*. There is an irregular contracted formation corresponding to *gaya niyon* – namely, *gayon* – but it is rarely used in standard Manila Tagalog.) Some examples of the use of the contracted formations in sentences are:

Ganyan ito.
'This is like that.'

Ganoon ang buhay.
'Life is like that.'

The contracted formations *ganire*, etc., may be followed by an adjective formation that specifies the quality with respect to which the two objects, etc., being compared are similar. (Neither the uncontracted formations nor the contracted formations with initial *ka-* occur in this construction.) The adjective formation following the contraction consists either of *ka-* plus an unaffixed adjective (cf. §4.2) or of *ka-* plus the base of a *ma-* adjective (cf. §4.3). Some speakers use the linker *-ng* before the *ka-* formation; others do not. Thus:

ganito(ng) kabago	{ 'new like this (one)' 'as new as this (one)' }	(cf. bago 'new')
ganito(ng) kalaki	{ 'big like this (one)' 'as big as this (one)' }	(cf. malaki 'big')

Some examples in sentences are:

Ganito(ng) kaberde ang baro niya.
'Her dress is green like this (one).'

Ganyan(g) katanda ang lola ko.
'My grandmother is { old like
as old as } that.'

Ganoon(g) kalaki ang kotse niya.
'His car is { big like
as big as } that.'

(In one of its meanings, the construction under discussion is more or less synonymous with certain comparison-of-equality constructions presented in §4.14: e.g.,

Kasinglaki noon ang kotse niya.
'His car is as big as that.'

Parang kayo ako.
'I'm like you.'

Parang iyon ito.
'This is like that.'

(In formal or literary language, general similarity is also expressed by *tulad* /tu·lad/ plus a *sa* or *ng* phrase or by *katulad* /katu·lad/ plus a *ng* phrase: e.g.,

Tulad $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sa} \\ \text{ng} \end{array} \right\}$ ulan ang luha niya.
'Her tears are like rain.'

Katulad nito iyon.
'That is like this.'

Similarity of function, equivalent to an English construction with 'count(s) as' or 'serve(s) as' may be expressed by a construction consisting of *bilang* /bi·laŋ/ plus a nominal. For example:

Bilang pera sa kanila ang mga suso.
'Shells count as money among them.'

Bilang tagapamahala na siya ng tindahan.
'He serves as manager of the store now.'

Physical resemblance is expressed either by *mukha* /mukha/ 'looking like' plus the linker *-ng* plus an unmarked noun or by the derived noun *kamukha* /kamukha/ 'one looking like' (cf. §3.7, subsection (5)) plus a *ng* phrase. The *nukha* construction expresses resemblance to an unspecified member of a class of objects, etc., the *kamukha* construction expresses resemblance to a specific object, etc. Thus:

Mukhang pabrika ang bahay.
'The house looks like a factory.'

Kamukha ng pabrika ang bahay.
'The house looks like the factory.'

§4.19. Locative adjective phrases.

Tagalog has LOCATIVE PHRASES (phrases expressing location) of two classes: LOCATIVE ADJECTIVE PHRASES and LOCATIVE ADVERBIAL PHRASES. Locative adjective phrases are discussed in the present section; locative adverbial phrases are discussed in §6.9.

Locative adjective phrases normally consist of *na* /na/ plus a *sa* phrase. When the nominal in the *sa* phrase is an unmarked noun or (the *sa* form of) a personal pronoun, *na* and *sa* are conventionally written as a single word:

nasa kusina 'in the kitchen'

nasa iyo $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'with you'} \\ \text{'in your possession'} \end{array} \right.$

When the nominal in the *sa* phrase is a personal noun, *sa* is replaced by *kay* (or its plural counterpart *kina*), and *na* is conventionally written as a separate word:

na kay Nena	}	'with Nena'
		'in Nena's possession'
na kina Nena	}	'with Nena and her friends'
		'in the possession of Nena and her friends'

When the nominal in the *sa* phrase is a deictic pronoun, the *sa* form of a deictic is used. As was noted in §3.4, the *sa* forms of the deictics are: *dine*, *dito*, *dryan* and *doon*. In locative-adjective phrases, either the initial /d/ of the deictic is replaced by /r/ (a common phonemic alternation – cf. §1.20) or an /n/ is inserted between *na* and the initial /d/ of the deictic. The two formations alternate freely for most speakers. Thus:

narine /na·ri·neh/	}	'here'
nandine /na·ndi·neh/		
narito /na·ritoh/	}	'here'
nandito /na·ndi·toh/		
naryan /na·ryan/	}	'there'
nandyan /na·ndyan/		
naroon /na·ru'on/	}	'there'
nandoon /na·ndu'on/		

In addition to the above formations, there are formations of identical meaning involving duplicating syllables. These formations are:

naririne /na·ri(·)ri·neh/	}	'here'
nandidine /na·ndi(·)di·neh/		
naririto /na·ri(·)ritoh/	}	'here'
nandidito /na·ndi(·)di·toh/		
nariryman /na·ri(·)ryan/	}	'there'
nandidyan /na·ndi(·)dyan/		
naruroon /na·ru(·)ru'on/		'there'

(Vowel length in the duplicating syllable is optional in all cases. There is no duplicated form corresponding to *nandoon* in educated Manila Tagalog.)

Nasa akin ang pera.
 { 'The money is in my possession.' }
 { 'I have the money.' }

Na kay Maria ang manika.
 { 'The doll is in Maria's possession.' }
 { 'Maria has the doll.' }

(The above constructions differ in meaning from the possessive *sa* and *may* constructions discussed in §4.22. The *nasa* construction denotes temporary possession of a specifically identified object; the *sa* construction denotes ownership of such an object; the *may* construction denotes either temporary possession or ownership of an object that is not specifically identified. Compare the following sentences:

Nasa babae ang libro.
 'The woman has the book.'

Sa babae ang libro.
 'The woman owns the book.'

May libro ang babae.
 'The woman has a book.')

When the nominal in a locative adjective phrase is a deictic pronoun, the phrase is equivalent to 'here' or 'in/at this place' or to 'there' or 'in/at that place'. (The four categories of deictics show the same meaning differences in locative phrases that they show elsewhere – cf. §3.4). Thus:

Narito si Juan.
 'Juan is { here.' }
 { in/at this place.'

Naroon si Juan.
 'Juan is { there.' }
 { in/at that place.'

A locative deictic is often used as the first element (and head) of a modification construction, in which case it is followed by a *sa* phrase. (As was noted in §3.12, the *sa* form of a deictic, when it occurs as the head of a modification construction, is followed by a *sa* phrase, rather than by a linker-plus-modifier construction.) For example:

Narito sa Maynila si Juan.
 'Juan is here in Manila.'

When the locative deictic in such a construction is *naroon* (or one of its variants), the demonstrative meaning of the deictic is often negligible, and the construction is more or less identical in meaning with a locative construction lacking a deictic: e.g.,

Naroon sa Maynila si Juan.
 'Juan is (there) in Manila.'

In addition to simple nominals (and nominalizations), the *sa* within a locative adjective phrase may be followed by a POSITIONAL PHRASE. A positional phrase consists of one of a small group of unmarked nouns – which may be called POSITIONAL NOUNS – and a *ng* phrase. Some common positional nouns are:

dulo	'end'
gitna	'middle'
harap	'front'
harapan	'front'
ibaba	'lower part'
ibabaw	'place above'
ilalim	'place beneath'
itaas	'upper part'
labas	'exterior'
likod	'back'
likuran	'back'
loob	'interior'
tabi	'side'

A locative phrase consisting of *nasa* plus a positional phrase is translated by a prepositional phrase in English. The common equivalents are:

nasa +	{ dulo gitna { harap } { harapan } ibaba ibabaw ilalim itaas labas { likod } { likuran } loob tabi }	+ ng phrase	{ 'at the end of' 'in the middle/midst of' 'before/in front of' 'at the bottom of' 'on (top of)/above' 'beneath/below' 'at the top of' 'outside' 'behind/in back of' 'inside' 'beside/near/next to' }	+ noun phrase
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Some examples of the use of such constructions in sentences are:

Nasa gitna ng silid ang mesa.
'The table is in the middle of the room.'

Nasa { harap }
 { harapan } nila ang titser.
'The teacher is in front of them.'

Nasa { likod }
 { likuran } ni Fe si Norma.
'Norma is behind Fe.'

Nasa tabi noon ang bukal.
'The fountain is next to that.'

(*May*, which, as noted above, is used to indicate approximate location, may precede a positional phrase: e.g.,

Nasa may gitna ng silid ang mesa.
'The table is approximately in the middle of the room.')

§4.20. Other relational phrases.

The present section deals with adjectival phrases of six types: (1) RESERVATIONAL PHRASES; (2) PARTISANSHIP PHRASES; (3) PURPOSE PHRASES; (4) SOURCE PHRASES; (5) REFERENTIAL PHRASES; and (6) RELATIVE-LOCATION PHRASES. These six phrase types are similar in that each consists of an introductory word followed by a *sa* phrase (*sa* plus an unmarked noun, nominalization, or *sa*-form personal pronoun; *kay* or *kina* plus a personal noun; or a *sa*-form deictic pronoun). They are also similar in that, when they occur in predicate position, they all express relationships between two nominals: the nominal within the *sa* phrase and the topic nominal. The English equivalents of sentences with such phrases in predicate position normally involve some form of 'be' plus a prepositional phrase.

(1) Reservational, partisanship, and purpose phrases are all introduced by *para* /pa:rah/ 'for'. The three phrase types differ, however, both in meaning and, to a certain extent, in internal structure. Reservational phrases are equivalent to 'for' phrases in which 'for' connotes 'reserved or intended for'. The introductory *para* is optionally deletable. Some examples are:

(Para) sa titser ang pontimpen.
'The fountain pen is for the teacher.'

(Para) sa salas ang kasangkapan.
'The furniture is for the living room.'

(Para) kay Maria ang silid na ito.
'This room is for Maria.'

(When *para* is deleted, the resultant sentence is often ambiguous, since the *sa* phrase may be interpreted as a possessive *sa* phrase – cf. §4.22. Thus *Sa titser ang pontimpen* may also mean 'The fountain pen is the teacher's'.)

(2) Partisanship phrases are equivalent to 'for' phrases in which 'for' connotes 'in favor of (a political party or candidate)'. Like the *para* of a reservational phrase, the *para* of a partisanship phrase is optionally deletable. It is, however, preferably retained. Some examples are:

Para sa mga Nasyonalista ang kapatid niya.
'His brother is for the Nationalists.'

Para kay Makapagal si Ernesto.
'Ernesto is for Makapagal.'

(3) Purpose phrases are equivalent to 'for' phrases in which 'for' connotes 'used for (the purpose of)'. The *para* that introduces the phrase is not deletable. The nominal within the *sa*-phrase is an aspectless gerund (cf. §3.26). Some examples are:

Para sa pagluluto ng kanin ang palayok na ito.
'This pot is (used) for cooking rice.'

Para sa pagsasayaw ang sapatos.
'The shoes are (used) for dancing.'

(4) Source phrases are equivalent to English 'from' phrases. The *sa* phrase within the source phrase may be preceded by *buhat* /buhat/, *galing* /ga'liŋ/ *mula* /mula'/. A source phrase introduced by *buhat*, *galing* or *mula* is equivalent to a 'from' phrase that connotes 'has/have arrived from' or 'has/have been sent from':

Buhat } Galing } Mula }	sa Maynila ang tren.	
'The train	{ is } { has arrived }	from Manila.'
Buhat } Galing } Mula }	sa Amerika ang pakete.	
'The package	{ is } { has been sent }	from America.'

(*Buhat* and *mula* – but not *galing* – are also used in introducing adverbials: cf. §6.8, subsection (1.e), and §6.11, subsection (1.d). *Tubo* is equivalent to 'from' in the sense 'hail(s) from, is a native of, are natives of': e.g.,

Tubo sa Tarlac si Miguel.
 'Miguel is from Tarlac.'

(5) Referential phrases are equivalent to English 'about' phrases, where 'about' connotes 'on the subject of'. The *sa* phrase is preceded by *tungkol* /tuŋkol/, *hinggil* /hingil/ or *nauukol* /na'ʉ'u'kol/. (*Tungkol* is the most common of the three in ordinary conversation.) Some examples are:

Tungkol kay Rizal ang kuwento.
 'The story is about Rizal.'

Hinggil sa negosyo ang usapan nila.
 'Their conversation is about business.'

Nauukol sa kanila ang balita ko.
 'My news is about them.'

(6) Relative-location phrases are introduced by *paharap* 'having the face/front toward' or *patalikod* 'having the back toward.' Some examples are:

Paharap } Patalikod }	sa kaniya ang bata.	
'The child	{ is facing } { has his back toward }	him.'

Paharap	}	sa ilog ang bahay.
Patalikod		
'The	{ front	of the house faces the river.'
	{ back	

§4.21. Pseudo-verbs and pseudo-verb phrases.

There is a small class of adjectivals in Tagalog which have verb-like meanings, but which, unlike genuine verbs, are incapable of inflection to show variation in aspect (cf. §2.7 for an introduction to verb aspect). The members of this class of adjectivals may be called **PSEUDO-VERBS**. The eight Tagalog pseudo-verbs are listed below, together with some of their more common English translation-equivalents:

ayaw /'a:yaw/	'do(es)n't like (to), wouldn't like (to)'
kailangan /ka'ila:nan/	'need(s) (to), ought to, must, should'
dapat /da'pat/	'ought to, must, should'
gusto /gustoh/	'like(s) (to), would like (to), want(s) (to)'
ibig /i'big/	'like(s) (to), would like (to), want(s) (to)'
maaari /ma'a'a:ri'/	'can, may, could, might'
nais /na'is/	'like(s) (to), would like (to), want(s) (to)'
puwede /pwe:deh/	'can, may, could, might'

As the translations show, certain of the pseudo-verbs are similar to one another in meaning: viz., *kailangan* and *dapat*; *maaari* and *puwede*; *gusto*, *ibig*, and *nais*. In construction types in which *kailangan* and *dapat* both occur, *kailangan* often connotes internal necessity or need, *dapat* external necessity or appropriateness. Thus, for example, while both *Kailangang matalino ang titser* and *Dapat (na) matalino ang titser* may be translated 'The teacher must be intelligent', the former suggests that the teacher feels the need to be intelligent, the latter that the situation requires that the teacher be intelligent. (There are two formations, *marapat* /mara'pat/ and *nararapat* na'ra'ra'pat/, that occur as alternants of *dapat*. *Marapat* alternates with *dapat* only in nominalizations (cf. §3.24): e.g., *Ito ang dapat/marapat gawin* 'This is what must be done'. *Nararapat* occurs in all the same constructions as *dapat*, but is more formal.)

Maaari and *puwede*, which both denote ability, permission, or possibility, are synonymous in all their occurrences. *Maaari* is common in both informal and formal contexts; *puwede* is common only in informal contexts. (In addition to being used as pseudo-verbs, *kailangan*, *maaari*, and *puwede* are also used as unaffixed adjectives (cf. §4.2). In this use *kailangan* means 'necessary', while *maaari* and *puwede* mean 'possible'. Examples are:

Kailangan	}	ba raw iyon?
Maaari		
Puwede		
'Do they say that this is	{ necessary?	
	{ possible?	
Kung	{ kailangan,	aalis ako bukas.
	{ maaari,	
	{ puwede,	
'If	{ necessary,	I'll leave tomorrow.'
	{ possible,	

The construction types are presented below in the order listed.

(1) PSEUDO-VERB PHRASE PLUS DEFINITE OBJECT. Any pseudo-verb but *dapat*, *maaari*, and *puwede* may occur in this construction (and in the following one). The construction consists of a pseudo-verb phrase (pseudo-verb plus actor complement – see above) followed by a phrase that is translated by a definite object ('the' plus noun, etc.) in the English equivalents. Normally, this phrase is an *ang* phrase (*ang* plus an unmarked noun, *si(na)* plus a personal noun, or the *ang* form of a personal or deictic pronoun): e.g.,

Kailangan Gusto Ibig Nais Ayaw	}	ni Pedro ang libro.	
'Pedro	}	needs likes/wants doesn't like/want	the book.'
Kailangan Gusto Ibig Nais Ayaw	}	namin iyon.	
'We	}	need like/want don't like/want	that.'

If the pseudo-verb is *gusto* or *ayaw*, an animate definite object (person or animal) may – or, in some cases, for some speakers, must – be expressed by a *sa* phrase (*sa* plus an unmarked noun or plus the *sa* form of a personal pronoun, *kay/kina* plus a personal noun, or the *sa* form of a deictic pronoun). Thus most speakers may use either an *ang* phrase or a *sa* phrase to express the definite object in such sentences as:

Gusto ni Pedro	}	ang sa	titser.
'Pedro likes the teacher.'			
Ayaw ni Pedro	}	ang sa	titser.
'Pedro doesn't like the teacher.'			

(Some speakers allow the replacement of the *ang* phrase by a *sa* phrase only after *ayaw*. For these speakers, 'Pedro likes the teacher' cannot be expressed by *Gusto ni Pedro sa titser*.)

For many speakers the replacement of the *ang* phrase by a *sa* phrase after *ayaw* is obligatory if the definite object is expressed by a personal noun or personal pronoun. For these speakers 'I don't like Pedro/him' is:

Ayoko	}	kay Pedro. sa kaniya.
rather than:		
Ayoko	}	si Pedro. siya.

Other speakers, however, may use either a *sa* phrase or an *ang* phrase in these cases. (Certain sentences of the shape *gusto/ayaw*-plus-*ng*-phrase-plus-*sa*-phrase are ambiguous. In these sentences, the *sa* phrase may be interpreted either as a definite object or as a directional object. For example, *Ayoko kay Pedro* may mean either 'I don't like Pedro' or 'I don't like to go/come to Pedro's', 'I don't like to be at Pedro's'. In the latter interpretations, the sentence represents the pseudo-verb-phrase-plus-directional-object construction dealt with under (3) below.)

(2) PSEUDO-VERB PHRASE PLUS INDEFINITE OBJECT. In this construction, the pseudo-verb phrase is followed by a *ng* phrase that is translated by an indefinite object ('a/an' plus noun, 'some' plus noun, etc.) in the English equivalent. The *ng* phrase representing the indefinite object must be either *ng* plus an unmarked noun or the *ng* form of a deictic pronoun. (Personal nouns and personal pronouns always express meanings of definiteness, and thus do not occur in this construction.) Some examples are:

Kailangan Gusto Ibig Nais Ayaw	}	ng bata ng lapis.	
'The child	{	needs wants/would like doesn't want	a pencil.'
Kailangan Gusto Ibig Nais Ayaw	}	niya nito.	
'He	{	needs some wants/would like some doesn't need any	of this.'

(3) PSEUDO-VERB PHRASE PLUS DIRECTIONAL OBJECT. In this construction, a pseudo-verb phrase with *gusto*, *ibig*, *nais*, or *ayaw* is followed by a *sa* phrase that represents a place toward which the actor (i.e., the referent of the actor complement) 'wants' or 'doesn't want', etc., to move, or a place at/in which he 'wants' or 'doesn't want', to be. (If the noun in the *sa* phrase designates a person, the *sa* phrase represents a place associated with that person – usually his home.) In the English equivalents of the construction, the translation-equivalent of the pseudo-verb is usually followed by 'to go/come to ___' or 'to be at/in ___'. Some examples of the construction are:

Gusto Ibig Nais Ayaw	}	ng Nanay sa tindahan.		
'Mother	{	wants/likes/would like doesn't want/like	to { go/come to be in }	the store.'

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Gusto} \\ \text{Ibig} \\ \text{Nais} \\ \text{Ayaw} \end{array} \right\}$	nila kay Maria.			
‘They	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{want/like/would like} \\ \text{don't want/like} \end{array} \right\}$	to	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{go/come to} \\ \text{be at} \end{array} \right\}$	Maria’s.’

(As was previously noted, sentences like *Ayaw nila kay Maria* are ambiguous, since *kay Maria* can be interpreted either as a definite object – see construction type (1), above – or as a directional object. In the former interpretation, the sentence means ‘They don’t like Maria.’)

(4) PSEUDO-VERB PLUS OBJECT PLUS TOPIC. The pseudo-verb *ayaw* occurs in three constructions in which it is not followed by a *ng*-phrase actor complement. In these constructions the ‘actor’ (i.e., the person who ‘doesn’t like/want’) is expressed by the topic of the sentence, an *ang* phrase. Two of the constructions are presented here. (The third is presented in subsection (7), below.) In one, the sentence includes, in addition to *ayaw* and the topic, a *ng* phrase that serves as the indefinite object of *ayaw*: e.g.,

Ayaw ng mansanas si Juan.
‘Juan doesn’t like apples.’

In the other, the sentence includes a *sa* phrase that serves as the directional object of *ayaw*. (As in construction type (3), above, the English equivalent normally involves ‘to go/come to’ or ‘to be in/at’). For example:

Ayaw sa tindahan si Juan.
‘Juan doesn’t like $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{to go/come to} \\ \text{to be in} \end{array} \right\}$ the store.’

(The order of the topic phrase and the object phrase is in most cases free. Thus, also: *Ayaw si Juan ng mansanas* and *Ayaw si Juan sa tindahan*. If, however, the topic is the *ang* form of a personal pronoun, it obligatorily precedes the object phrase: *Ayaw siya ng mansanas* ‘He doesn’t like apples’, *Ayaw siya sa tindahan* ‘He doesn’t like to be in the store.’)

For all constructions of the type just presented, there is a construction of identical meaning in which *ayaw* is followed by an actor complement. Thus, *Ayaw ni Juan ng mansanas* (construction type (2), above) is identical in meaning with *Ayaw ng mansanas si Juan*, and *Ayaw ni Juan sa tindahan* (construction type (3)) is identical in meaning with *Ayaw sa tindahan si Juan*.

(A few speakers allow *gusto*, as well as *ayaw* in pseudo-verb-plus-object-plus-topic constructions. These speakers may use sentences such as *Gusto ng mansanas si Juan* or *Gusto sa tindahan si Juan*. This is, however, definitely a minority usage.)

(5) PSEUDO-VERB PHRASE PLUS LINKER, ETC., PLUS CLAUSE. Any pseudo-verb but *dapat*, *maaari*, and *puwede* may occur in this construction (and in the following one). In the English equivalent, the counterpart of the pseudo-verb phrase is followed by an object plus ‘to’ plus a verb or by a possessive plus the ‘-ing’ form of a verb: e.g.,

Gusto ng $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Nanay ay} \\ \text{Nanay,} \\ \text{Nanay, ay} \\ \text{Nanay (na)} \end{array} \right\}$ narito siya.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{‘Mother wants him to be here.’} \\ \text{‘Mother likes his being here.’} \end{array} \right\}$

As the example shows, a clause following a pseudo-verb phrase may in most cases be preceded by a linker, by the inversion-marker *ay* (cf. §7.2), by a pause, or by a pause plus *ay*. A clause following a pseudo-verb phrase with *ayaw*, however, is always preceded by a linker. (Hereafter, all examples show a linker before the clause. In each case, unless the pseudo-verb is *ayaw*, or unless otherwise specified, it is to be understood that *ay*; etc., may also occur.) Some speakers use only the linker *na/ng* (cf. §3.11) in this construction, others either the linker *na/ng* or the linker *-ng* (cf. §3.8). (This means that, if the word preceding the linker ends, in its independent form, in one of the phonemes /ʔ/, /h/, or /n/, the linker is, for all speakers, manifested as an /ŋ/ replacing this phoneme. But when the word preceding the linker does not end in /ʔ/, /h/, or /n/, some speakers always use an overt linker (*na /na/*), while others may or may not use an overt linker.)

The clause that follows the linker, etc., has its own predicate and topic. If the predicate is an adjectival (as in the examples given previously) or a nominal, the clause has the same form that it would have as an independent sentence. Thus:

Kailangang kong naroon siya.
 'I need him (to be) there.'
 (cf. Naroon siya.
 'He is there.')

Gusto kong lalaki ang bata.
 'I want the child to be a boy.'
 (cf. Lalaki ang bata.
 'The child is a boy.')

If the predicate of the clause is a verbal, the verb within it ordinarily loses the aspect marking that it would have in an independent sentence, and the basic form of the verb (which consists of the basic form of an affix plus a verb base – cf. §2.8) is used instead. Thus:

Kailangan kong magluto ng pagkain si Maria.
 'I need Maria to cook some food.'

(cf. { Magluluto }
 { Nagluluto } ng pagkain si Maria.
 { Nagluto }

'Maria { will cook }
 { is cooking } some food.'
 { cooked }

Gusto kong lutuin ni Maria ang pagkain.
 'I { would like }
 { want } Maria to cook the food.'

(cf. { Lututuin }
 { Niluluto } ni Maria ang pagkain.
 { Niluto }

'Maria { will cook }
 { is cooking } the food.'
 { cooked }

Many speakers allow the basic form of the verb in a clause after a pseudo-verb to be replaced by one of the two aspect-marked forms that include a duplicating syllable: the contemplated form and the

imperfective form (cf. §§5.19 and 5.20). For these speakers, the aspect-marked forms are used, in this construction, to connote regular or frequent occurrence of the action expressed by the verb. The contemplated form connotes that the action has not yet occurred, but is to occur regularly or frequently in the future: e.g.,

Gusto kong lulutuin ni Maria ang pagkain.
 'I would like Maria to $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{cook} \\ \text{start cooking} \end{array} \right\}$ the food (regularly).'

The imperfective form connotes that the action has already occurred, and is to continue occurring regularly or frequently: e.g.,

Gusto kong niluluto ni Maria ang pagkain.
 'I would like Maria to $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{cook} \\ \text{continue cooking} \end{array} \right\}$ the food (regularly).'

(Some speakers use the aspect-marked forms of the verb after *ayaw*, but not after the other pseudo-verbs. Such speakers would not use sentences of the kind just illustrated, but might say:

Ayaw kong $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{lulutuin} \\ \text{niluluto} \end{array} \right\}$ ni Maria ang pagkain.
 'I don't want Maria to cook the food (regularly).'

When the clause is preceded by a linker (rather than *ay*, etc.) and has the basic form of an actor-focus verb in predicate position, its topic may optionally be moved to a position before the linker. (The topic of the clause cannot be moved to a position before the linker except under the circumstances specified. Thus, when the predicate of the clause is a nominal, an adjectival, a basic or inflected form of a goal-focus verb, or an inflected form of an actor-focus verb, its topic cannot precede the linker.) For example, *si Maria*, the topic of the clause in *Kailangan kong magluto ng pagkain si Maria*, may be moved to a position before the linker, to produce:

Kailangan ko si Mariang magluto ng pagkain.
 'I need Maria to cook some food.'

The placement of the topic of an actor-focus basic form before the linker is particularly common when the topic is a marked noun (cf. §3.2), but may also occur when the topic is an unmarked noun. Thus the following all occur, but the example with *ang batang* represents a less common sentence-type than do the others.

Gusto ko $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{silang} \\ \text{si Juang} \\ \text{iyong} \\ \text{ang batang} \end{array} \right\}$ mag-aral mamayang gabl.
 'I want $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{them} \\ \text{Juan} \\ \text{that one} \\ \text{the child} \end{array} \right\}$ to study tonight.'

(When the *ang* form of a personal pronoun is moved to a position before the linker, it is enclitic to the pseudo-verb, and takes its usual enclitic position in relation to other enclitic and non-enclitic sentence elements (cf. §3.29). Compare, for example, the position of *sila* in the example above and in the following one:

Gusto sila ng Nanay (na) mag-aral mamayang gabi.
(Mother wants them to study tonight.)

In the usage of some speakers, the construction with the topic before the linker shows a potential difference in connotation from the construction in which the entire clause follows the linker. For these speakers, the construction in which the topic precedes the linker may direct more attention to the topic than does the other construction. For example, the sentence *Kailangan ko si Mariang magluto ng pagkain* may suggest the paraphrase:

Kailangan ko si Maria. Magluluto siya ng pagkain.
'I need Maria. She will cook the food.'

while the sentence *Kailangan kong magluto ng pagkain si Maria* suggests the paraphrase:

May kailangan ako: ang pagluluto ni Maria ng pagkain.
'I need something: for Maria to cook the food.'

(6) PSEUDO-VERB PHRASE PLUS LINKER PLUS BASIC FORM. In this construction, a pseudo-verb phrase is followed by a linker plus the basic form of a verb, plus, in some cases (see below), the complement(s) and/or the topic of the verb. In the English equivalent, the counterpart of the pseudo-verb phrase is followed by 'to' plus a verb: e.g.,

Gusto	{	kong ni Bob (na)	}	mangisda.
'I want	{			to go fishing.'
'Bob wants	}			

(As in the case of construction type (5), above, some speakers use only the linker *na/ng* in this construction, while others use either *na/ng* or *-ng*.)

This construction is related to the construction presented above (subsection (5)) in which a pseudo-verb phrase is followed by a linker plus a clause with a basic-form-verbal predicate: e.g., *Gusto kong mangisda siya* 'I want him to go fishing'. The construction under discussion may be described as being derived from the previously presented construction through the obligatory deletion of the word or phrase that expresses the actor after the basic form, where this word or phrase has the same referent as the actor complement of the pseudo-verb. Thus *Gusto kong mangisda* may be said to be derived from **Gusto kong mangisda ako* 'I want (me) to go fishing'. If, as in this example, the basic form is actor focus, its topic is deleted. If the basic form is goal focus, its actor complement is deleted: e.g.,

Gusto kong paroonan ang palengke.
'I want to go to the market.'

(cf. *Gusto kong paroonan niya ang palengke.*
'I want him to go to the market.')

An actor-focus verb in this construction may be followed by any of its normal complements (cf. §§2.11 and 5.12), a goal-focus verb by any of its normal complements other than an actor complement: e.g.,

Ayokong magpalagay kay Juan ng bakod doon.
'I don't want to have Juan put a fence there.'

(cf. Magpapalagay ako kay Juan ng bakod doon.
'I will have Juan put a fence there.'

Kailangan kong isulat ang Tatay ng liham kay Ricardo.
'I need to write a letter to Ricardo for Father.'

(cf. Isusulat ko ang Tatay ng liham kay Ricardo.
'I will write a letter to Ricardo for Father.')

When the actor complement of the pseudo-verb is a personal pronoun, it always precedes the linker. When, however, it is something other than a personal pronoun, it may optionally be moved to a position after the basic form. Thus *Gustong mangisda ni Bob* is an optional variant of *Gusto ni Bob (na) mangisda*.

When the topic of a goal-focus basic form in this construction is a personal pronoun, it is enclitic to the pseudo-verb (cf. §3.29), and is obligatorily moved to a position before the linker. Thus:

Gusto ko siyang tawagin.
'I want to call him.'

not:

*Gusto kong tawagin siya.

When the topic of a goal-focus basic form is something other than a personal pronoun, it may optionally be moved to a position before the linker. The pre-linker position is common in the case of personal-name and deictic-pronoun topics, less common in the case of unmarked-noun topics. Examples are:

Gusto ko	{	si Juang iyong ang doktor (na)	}	tawagin.
'I want to call	{	Juan.' that one.' the doctor.'	}	

(*Gusto ko ang doktor (na) tawagin* represents a less common sentence type than do the others. The examples are optional variants of:

Gusto kong tawagin	{	si Juan. iyon. ang doktor.)	}
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(7) PSEUDO-VERB PLUS LINKER PLUS AF BASIC FORM PLUS TOPIC. As was noted in subsection (6) above, a construction like *Ayokong mangisda* 'I don't want to go fishing' may be described as being derived from **Ayokong mangisda ako* 'I don't want (me) to go fishing', through deletion of an actor topic that has the same referent as the actor complement of the pseudo-verb. In some cases, there is an alternative construction in which the actor topic is retained and the actor complement of the pseudo-verb is absent. This alternative construction has the shape: pseudo-verb plus linker plus actor-focus

basic form plus topic: e.g., *Ayaw (na) mangisda sila.* (As in construction type (6), some speakers use only the linker *na/-ng* in this construction, while others use either this or the linker *-ng*. The actor topic may optionally be moved to a position before the linker in all cases: thus, also, *Ayaw silang mangisda.*)

The construction under discussion is a common alternative to the construction with the deleted actor topic only if the pseudo-verb is *ayaw*. If the pseudo-verb is *kailangan*, *gusto*, *ibig*, or *nais*, the construction is in some cases acceptable, in others marginally acceptable, and in still others unacceptable. The construction is unacceptable to most speakers if the actor is expressed by a personal pronoun. Thus **Gusto siyang pumunta sa tindahan* (or **Gustong pumunta siya sa tindahan*) does not occur as an alternative to *Gusto niyang pumunta sa tindahan* 'He wants to go to the store'. If the actor is expressed by something other than a personal pronoun, the construction is apparently most acceptable if the verb is followed by a directional and/or object complement (cf. §2.11), less acceptable or unacceptable if there is no complement. Thus most speakers do not accept **Gustong pumunta ang nanay*, but do accept *Gustong pumunta sa tindahan ang nanay* 'Mother wants to go to the store'. (The sentence is equivalent to *Gusto ng nanay (na) pumunta sa tindahan.*) Similarly, *Kailangang kumain si Pedro* is not acceptable to most speakers in the meaning of *Kailangan ni Pedrong kumain* 'Pedro needs to eat'. (*Kailangang kumain si Pedro* is a grammatical sentence, but it means, literally, 'It is necessary for Pedro to eat', and is an example of the pseudo-verb-plus-linker-plus-clause construction dealt with under (8), below.) *Kailangang kumain ng karné si Pedro* is, however, acceptable in the meaning of *Kailangan ni Pedrong kumain ng karné* 'Pedro needs to eat meat'. (*Kailangang kumain ng karné si Pedro* also occurs as an example of the pseudo-verb-plus-linker-plus-clause construction, in the literal meaning 'It is necessary for Pedro to eat meat'.)

(8) PSEUDO-VERB PLUS LINKER, ETC. PLUS CLAUSE. The pseudo-verbs that occur in this construction are *kailangan*, *dapat*, *maaari* and *puwede*. Their literal meanings in the construction are: *kailangan* 'it is necessary (for)', *dapat* 'it is fitting (for)', *maaari* and *puwede* 'it is possible (for/that)'; e.g.,

Kailangang lider si Juan.

'It is necessary for Juan to be a leader.'

Dapat (na) lider si Juan.

'It is fitting for Juan to be a leader.'

Maaaring/Puwedeng lider si Juan.

'It is possible { for Juan to be a leader.'
that Juan is a leader.'

Usually, however, *kailangan* and *dapat* are more freely translatable by an auxiliary verb such as 'ought to', 'must', or 'should', and *maaari* and *puwede* by an auxiliary verb such as 'can', 'may', 'could', or 'might'.

A clause following *kailangan* or *dapat* may be preceded by a linker, by the inversion marker *ay*, by a pause, or by a pause plus *ay*; a clause following *maaari* or *puwede* is always preceded by a linker. (Once more, some speakers use only the linker *na/-ng*, others either this or the linker *ng*.) Thus there are sentences like:

Kailangan/Dapat ay lider si Juan.

but there is no:

*Maaari/Puwede ay lider si Juan.

The clause in this construction may be any normal statement type, with its own predicate and topic. If the predicate is a verbal, the basic form of the verb, as well as any of the three aspect-marked forms, may be used. When the pseudo-verb in the construction is *kailangan* or *dapat*, verb-form usage is as follows:

(a) the basic form is used in speaking of actions that should occur in the future, or that should occur regularly:

Kailangang }
 Dapat (na) } magbasa ng libro bukas si Pedro.
 'Pedro should read a book tomorrow.'

Kailangang }
 Dapat (na) } magbasa ng libro araw-araw si Pedro.
 'Pedro should read a book every day.'

(b) The contemplated form is used in speaking of actions that should occur regularly starting at some time in the future:

Kailangang }
 Dapat (na) } magbabasa ng mga libro si Pedro
 'Pedro should start reading books.'

(c) The imperfective form is used in speaking of actions that should be occurring at present or that should continue to occur:

Kailangang }
 Dapat (na) } nagbabasa ng libro ngayon si Pedro.
 'Pedro should be reading a book now.'

Kailangang }
 Dapat (na) } nagbabasa ng libro araw-araw si Pedro.
 'Pedro should continue to read a book every day.'

(d) The perfective form is used in speaking of actions that should have occurred in the past:

Kailangang }
 Dapat (na) } nagbasa ng libro si Pedro.
 'Pedro should have read a book.'

When the pseudo-verb in the construction is *maaari* or *puwede*, verb-form usage is as follows:

(a) the basic form is used to express a possible action without specifying whether it is thought of as begun and/or completed:

Maaaring }
 Puwedeng } gawin iyon ni Pedro.
 'Pedro can do that.'
 ('It is possible for Pedro to do that.')

(b) the inflected forms carry their usual meanings:

Maaaring } Puwedeng }	}	{ gagawin } { ginagawa } { ginawa }	iyon ni Pedro.
'It is possible that Pedro	}	{ will do } { is doing } { did }	that.'

If a basic form occurs in the predicate of the clause and is preceded by a linker (i.e., is not, in the case of *kailangan* and *dapat*, preceded by *ay*, etc.), any enclitic pronouns within the clause may be moved to a position before the linker. If the pseudo-verb is *kailangan* or *dapat*, the placement of enclitic pronouns before the linker is always optional: thus *Kailangan akong mag-Ingles* is an optional variant of *Kailangang mag-Ingles ako* 'I should speak English', and *Dapat ko siyang makausap* is an optional variant of *Dapat (na) makausap ko siya* 'I should talk to him'. If the pseudo-verb is *maaari* or *puwede* and the basic form is goal-focus, the placement of enclitic pronouns before the linker is also optional: thus *Maaari/Puwede ko siyang makausap* is an optional variant of *Maaaring/Puweding makausap ko siya*. If, however, the pseudo-verb is *maaari* or *puwede* and the basic form is actor-focus, the placement of enclitic pronouns before the linker is obligatory: thus *Maaari/Puwede akong mag-Ingles* 'I can speak English' (not **Maaaring/Puwedeng mag-Ingles ako*).

When an actor-focus basic form follows the linker, and its topic is something other than a personal pronoun, the topic may in all cases optionally precede the linker. Thus:

Kailangan } Dapat }	}	{ ang alkaldeng mag-Ingles. }
Maaari } Puwede }	}	

are optional variants of:

Kailangang } Dapat (na) }	}	{ mag-Ingles ang alkalde. }	
Maaaring } Puwedeng }	}		
'The mayor	}	{ should } { can }	speak English.'

In the case of *dapat*, *maaari*, and *puwede* (but not *kailangan*), the topic of a nominal or adjectival predicate may also be moved to a position before the linker. If the pseudo-verb is *dapat*, the meaning is not affected. Thus:

Dapat si Juang	}	{ lider } { mabait. }
----------------	---	--------------------------

or

Dapat (na)	}	lider mabait	si Juan.
------------	---	-----------------	----------

'Juan should be	}	a leader.' good.'
-----------------	---	----------------------

If the pseudo-verb is *maaari* or *puwede*, the placement of the topic before the linker resolves a potential ambiguity. The sentence *Maaaring lider si Juan*, for example, can be taken to mean either 'It is possible for Juan to be a leader' or 'It is possible that Juan is a leader'. That is, it may refer either to a hypothetical possibility or to the possibility that a given situation actually obtains. The sentence *Maaari si Juang lider*, on the other hand, means only 'It is possible for Juan to be a leader', and refers unambiguously to a hypothetical possibility. Similarly *Puwede si Juang mabait* 'It is possible for Juan to be good' refers to a hypothetical possibility while *Puwedeng mabait si Juan* may refer either to a hypothetical possibility or to the possibility that a given situation actually obtains (in which case it has the meaning, 'It is possible that Juan is good'.) (When the topic of a nominal or adjectival after *maaari* plus linker or *puwede* plus linker is a personal pronoun, it may not be moved to a position before the linker unless the speaker wishes to refer to a hypothetical possibility. Thus *Maaaring/Puwedeng lider siya* means only 'It is possible that he is a leader', and the meaning 'It is possible for him to be a leader' is expressible only by *Maaari/Puwede siyang lider*.)

(In yes-no questions – cf. §7.4 – *maaari* and *puwede* (plus the interrogative particle *ba*) plus a linker are sometimes followed by a basic form that is not accompanied by any expression of the actor. These questions imply either an indefinite actor or a first-person-pronoun actor: e.g.,

Maaari/Puwede bang umalis ngayon?

'May	}	one I we	leave now?'
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Maaari/Puwede bang basahin iyon?

'Can	}	one I we	read that?')
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§4.22. Possessive *sa* and *may* phrases.

The possessive phrases dealt with in the present section are phrases that may occur as predicates of basic or derived sentences. (In addition to these phrases, which may be called POSSESSIVE PREDICATES, Tagalog has certain other constructions expressing possession that are discussed under the heading POSSESSIVE MODIFIERS in §3.20.) Possessive predicates are of two main types, which may be called POSSESSIVE *sa* PHRASES and POSSESSIVE *may* PHRASES. Possessive *sa* phrases occur as predicates of sentences expressing possession of some specific, already-identified object or objects. The object possessed is expressed by the topic of the sentence. If the nominal in the *sa* phrase has an animate referent, it designates the owner of the object, and the sentence is often equivalent to an English sentence of the type 'The _____ is/are _____ 's' or 'The _____ belong(s) to _____': e.g.,

Sa Nanay ang relo.

}	'The watch is Mother's.'
}	'The watch belongs to Mother.'

If the nominal in the *sa* phrase has an inanimate referent, it designates the place where the object properly belongs (the place that “possesses” the object), and the sentence is equivalent to an English sentence of the type ‘The _____ belong(s)/go(es) in/on _____’: e.g.,

Sa	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{kahon} \\ \text{mesa} \end{array} \right\}$	ang relos.
‘The watch belongs/goes		
$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{in the box.} \\ \text{on the table.} \end{array} \right\}$		

A possessive *sa* phrase may be any of the following: (1) *sa* plus an unmarked noun; (2) *sa* plus the *sa* form of a personal pronoun; (3) the *sa* form of a personal pronoun without a preceding *sa* ((2) and (3) alternate freely); (4) *kay* (or its pluralized counterpart *kina*) plus a personal noun; (5) the *sa* form of a deictic pronoun. Examples are:

Sa Nanay	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \\ \\ \end{array} \right\}$	ang relos.
Sa akin		
Akin		
Kay Pedro		
Doon		
The watch is		
$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Mother's} \\ \text{mine.} \\ \text{Pedro's.} \\ \text{that one's.} \end{array} \right\}$		

Possessive *may* phrases occur as predicates of sentences expressing possession of some specific but not previously identified object or objects. The object possessed is expressed in the *may* phrase, the owner by the topic of the sentence. Sentences with possessive *may* phrase predicates are often equivalent to English sentences of the type ‘_____ has/have a/some _____’: e.g.,

May relos ang Nanay.
‘Mother has a watch.’

May pera ang Nanay.
‘Mother has some money.’

(The equivalent of an English sentence of the type ‘_____ has/have the _____’ is often expressed in Tagalog by a sentence with a locative-phrase predicate: e.g., *Nasa Nanay ang relos*. ‘Mother has the watch’ (more literally: ‘The watch is with Mother’) – cf. §4.19. The equivalent of an English sentence in which ‘has/have’ is followed by an expression of quantity is often expressed in Tagalog by a sentence with a limiter as predicate and a topic modified by a possessive modifier: e.g., *Dalawa ang relos ng Nanay* ‘Mother has two watches’ (more literally: ‘Mother’s watches are two’) – cf. §3.22.)

The label POSSESSIVE *may* PHRASE is used as a cover term for possessive phrases introduced by any one of the following: *may*, *mayroon*, *marami*, *wala*. Phrases introduced by *wala* (which are negative in meaning – e.g., *Wala akong relos* ‘I don’t have a watch’) are however, dealt with separately in §7.14.

May and *mayroon* are identical in meaning, and are often in free alternation. When, however, the object possessed is expressed by a deictic pronoun, only *mayroon* is used, and it is followed by the *ng* form of the deictic (cf. §3.4): e.g.,

Mayroon	}	<table style="border: none;"> <tr><td style="padding: 0 5px;">{</td><td style="padding: 0 5px;">nire</td><td style="padding: 0 5px;">}</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 0 5px;">{</td><td style="padding: 0 5px;">nito</td><td style="padding: 0 5px;">}</td></tr> </table>	{	nire	}	{	nito	}	}	si Juan.
{	nire	}								
{	nito	}								
		<table style="border: none;"> <tr><td style="padding: 0 5px;">{</td><td style="padding: 0 5px;">niyan</td><td style="padding: 0 5px;">}</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 0 5px;">{</td><td style="padding: 0 5px;">niyon/noon</td><td style="padding: 0 5px;">}</td></tr> </table>	{	niyan	}	{	niyon/noon	}		
{	niyan	}								
{	niyon/noon	}								

‘Juan has some of	}	this/these.’	}	
		that/those.’		

When the object possessed is expressed by something other than a deictic pronoun, either *may* or *mayroon* may be used. *May* is always immediately followed by the word or phrase expressing the object possessed. *Mayroon*, on the other hand, may be separated from this word or phrase by one or more enclitic particles or pronouns (cf. §§3.29 and 6.2–6.6), and is always separated from it by the linker *-ng* (cf. §3.8). (The linker immediately precedes the word or phrase expressing the object possessed. If there are enclitics present, the linker follows the last enclitic; if there are no enclitics, the linker is manifested as an /ŋ/ replacing the final /n/ of *mayroon*.)

In sentences that do not include enclitic particles or pronouns, *may* is more common than *mayroon*. Thus ‘Juan has a boat’ would usually be expressed as *May bangka si Juan*, rather than *Mayroong bangka si Juan*. Sentences like the latter are grammatical, but relatively rare.

In sentences that include one or more enclitics, *may* and *mayroon* are equally common. Thus:

May bangka ba	}	si Juan?
Mayroon bang bangka	}	
‘Does Juan have a boat?’	}	

{ May bangka ako.	}
{ Mayroon akong bangka.	
‘I have a boat.’	

A possessive phrase introduced by *marami* expresses possession of a large quantity or number of an object. As in the case of phrases introduced by *mayroon*, the object(s) possessed may be expressed either by the *ng* form of a deictic pronoun or by an unmarked noun preceded by the linker *-ng*. (Once more, any enclitic particles or pronouns obligatorily precede the linker.) Some examples are:

Marami noon si Juan.
‘Juan has a lot of that/those.’

Maraming pera si Juan.
‘Juan has a lot of money.’

Marami ba siyang pera?
‘Does he have a lot of money?’

(*Marami* is also used as a limiter – cf. §3.22 – in which case it does not have a possessive meaning. Because *marami* may have either a possessive or a non-possessive meaning, certain sentences that include it are ambiguous. Thus *Maraming pera iyon* may mean either ‘That one has a lot of money’ or ‘That’s a lot of money’.)

§4.23. Indefinite and existential may phrases.

Apart from *may* phrases that express possession, *may* phrases that express meanings of two other types occur in predicate position: these may be called INDEFINITE *may* PHRASES and EXISTENTIAL *may* PHRASES. (Once more, *may* phrase is used as a cover term for phrases introduced by *may*, *mayroon*, *marami*, or *wala*, with *wala* reserved for separate treatment in §7.14. In addition to phrase-types dealt with in this and the preceding section, *may* – but not *mayroon*, *marami*, or *wala* – occurs after *sa* within locative adjectival and adverbial phrases – cf. §§4.19 and 6.9.)

In indefinite phrases, *may* (or *mayroon* plus the linker *-ng*, *marami* plus the linker *-ng*) is followed by an inflected form of a verb. If the verb in an indefinite *may* phrase predicate is an actor-focus verb (cf. §2.9 for a discussion of verb focus), the sentence has no topic. Sentences in which *may* or *mayroon* is followed by an actor-focus verb are often equivalent to English sentences with an indefinite pronoun ('someone', 'something') as subject: e.g.,

May	{	darating bukas. dumarating araw-araw. dumating kahapon.
‘Someone	{	is coming tomorrow.’ comes every day.’ came yesterday.’
Mayroon bang	{	mangyayari? nangyayari? nangyari?

‘Will something happen?’

‘Is something happening?’

‘Did something happen?’

(*May* and *mayroon* show essentially the same distribution in sentences that include indefinite and existential phrases that they show in sentences with possessive phrases. That is, *may* is preferred in sentences that lack enclitics, while the two are equally common in sentences that include enclitics.) Sentences in which *marami* is followed by an actor-focus verb are often equivalent to English sentences with ‘a lot (of people/things)’ (or ‘lots (of people/things)’) as subject: e.g.,

Maraming darating bukas.

‘A lot (of people) are coming tomorrow.’

Marami bang mangyayari?

‘Will a lot (of things) happen?’

If the verb in an indefinite-*may*-phrase predicate is a goal-focus verb, the sentence has a topic, which represents the performer of the action of the verb. (Note that the performer of the action is not expressed by a *ng*-phrase actor complement, as it is in other constructions that involve goal-focus verbs. Compare, for example:

May ginawa ang Amerikano.

‘The American did something.’

and:

Ginawa ng Amerikano iyon.

‘The American did that.’)

Sentences in which *may* or *mayroon* is followed by a goal-focus verb in the contemplated aspect (cf. §2.7 for a discussion of verb aspects) are often equivalent either to English sentences in which ‘has/have’ is

followed by an indefinite pronoun (or the indefinite adverb 'somewhere') plus 'to' plus a verb – e.g., 'Juan has something to do' – or to sentences in which a verb is followed by an indefinite pronoun or adverb – e.g., 'Juan is going to do something': e.g.,

May gagawin si Juan.

'Juan { has something to do.'
{ is going to do something.'

May susulatan ako.

'I { have someone to write to.'
{ am going to write to someone.'

Mayroon siyang pupuntahan.

{ 'He has somewhere to go.'
{ 'He is going somewhere.'

(When the verb refers to an action that was contemplated in the past, the usual English equivalent involves 'had' plus an indefinite plus 'to' plus a verb, or 'was/were going to' plus a verb: e.g.,

May gagawin si Juan kahapon (pero hindi niya nagawa.)

Juan { had something to do
{ was going to do something } yesterday (but he didn't get to do it.)'

Sentences in which *may* or *mayroon* is followed by a goal-focus verb in the imperfective or perfective aspect are usually equivalent to English sentences in which a verb is followed by an indefinite form:

May { ginagawa }
{ ginawa } si Juan doon.

'Juan { does }
{ did } something there.'

Mayroon siyang { pinupuntahan }
{ pinuntahan } araw-araw.'

'He { goes }
{ went } somewhere every day.'

Sentences in which *maraming* is followed by a goal-focus verb may, if the verb is in the contemplated aspect, be equivalent to English sentences in which 'has/have a lot (of things/people/places)' is followed by 'to' plus a verb – e.g., 'Juan has a lot (of things) to do'. Or they may, regardless of the aspect of the verb, be equivalent to English sentences in which a verb is followed by 'a lot (of things/people/places)' – e.g., 'Juan is going to do/does/did a lot (of things)': e.g.,

Maraming gagawin si Juan.

{ 'Juan has a lot (of things) to do.'
{ 'Juan is going to do a lot (of things).'

Marami akong sinusulatan awaw-araw.
'I write to a lot (of people) every day.'

Marami ka bang pinuntahan?
'Did you go to a lot (of places)?'

Any of the various goal-focus types (object focus, directional focus, benefactive focus, etc. – cf. §§2.9 and 5.7 through 5.12) may occur in an indefinite *may* phrase. The meaning of the verb in such a phrase is essentially the same as its meaning when it occurs as a verbal predicate: e.g.,

May sinulat ako. 'I wrote something.'	(cf. Sinulat ko ang liham. 'I wrote the letter.')
May sinulatan ako. 'I wrote to someone.'	(cf. Sinulatan ko si Pedro. 'I wrote to Pedro.')
May isinulat ako (ng liham). 'I wrote (a letter) for someone.'	(cf. Isinulat ko (ng liham) ang Nanay. 'I wrote (a letter) for Mother.')
May pinagsulatan ako. 'I wrote (it) somewhere.'	(cf. Pinagsulatan ko ang desk. 'I wrote (it) on the desk.')
May ipinangsulat ako. 'I wrote with something.'	(cf. Ipinangsulat ko ang lapis. 'I wrote with the pencil.')

(Instead of an inflected form of a verb, an indefinite *may* phrase may include a pseudo-verb – cf. §4.21 – followed by the linker *ng* and the basic form of a goal-focus verb. Some examples are:

May	{ ayaw kailangang dapat gustong ibig	gawin si Juan.
'Juan	{ doesn't want to do anything.' needs ought wants wants	to do something.'

An indefinite *may* phrase may include, in addition to the verb (and its complements other than an actor-complement), a noun that partially specifies the person, thing, place, etc., to which the verb refers. This noun may either precede or follow the verb (or verb phrase). In either case, the linker *na/ng* immediately precedes the second element. As was mentioned above, the English equivalent of a sentence whose predicate is an indefinite *may* phrase introduced by *may* or *mayroon* often includes an indefinite pronoun or adverb. When a specifying noun is present, however, the English equivalent normally includes, instead of an indefinite pronoun or adverb, an indefinite noun phrase: that is, a phrase consisting of 'a/an' or 'some' plus a noun. Thus:

May	{ istudyanteng dumating dumating na istudyante	kahapon.
'A student came yesterday.'		

(cf. *May dumating kahapon.*
'Someone came yesterday.')

Mayroon siyang $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(mga) tindahang pinupuntahan} \\ \text{pinupuntahang (mga) tindahan} \end{array} \right\}$ araw-araw.
'He goes to some stores every day.'

(cf. *Mayroon siyang pinupuntahan araw-araw.*
'He goes somewhere every day.')

(As was noted in §2.2, the topic of a Tagalog sentence always expresses a meaning of definiteness. Therefore the predicate-plus-topic structure cannot in most cases express the equivalent of an English sentence with an indefinite noun phrase as subject. The equivalent of such a sentence is instead commonly expressed by a sentence with an indefinite *may* phrase that includes an actor-focus verb and a specifying noun. Thus, while the English sentences 'A student came' and 'The student came' are highly similar in structure, their Tagalog counterparts – *May istudyanteng dumating* and *Dumating ang istudyante* respectively – are not.)

The presence of a specifying noun in an indefinite phrase introduced by *marami* normally corresponds to the presence of a phrase consisting of 'a lot of' or 'lots of' plus a noun in English: e.g.,

Maraming $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{trabahong gagawin} \\ \text{gagawing trabaho} \end{array} \right\}$ si Juan.
'Juan has a lot of work to do.'

(cf. *Maraming gagawin si Juan.*
'Juan has a lot to do.')

A verb (or verb phrase) and a specifying noun within an indefinite *may* phrase need not occur in immediate sequence. They may be separated by an adverb, by the topic of the sentence, etc. (In all cases, however, whichever element – verb or specifying noun – is second is immediately preceded by the linker *na/-ng*.) Thus, there are such sentences as:

May $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{istudyante kahapong dumating.} \\ \text{dumating kahapong istudyante.} \end{array} \right\}$
'A student came yesterday.'

Maraming $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{trabaho si Juang gagawin.} \\ \text{gagawin si Juang trabaho.} \end{array} \right\}$
'Juan has a lot of work to do.'

as well as sentences of the type previously exemplified.

Existential *may* phrases, like possessive *may* phrases (cf. §4.22), normally consist of *may* (or *mayroon*) plus the linker *-ng*, *marami* plus the linker *-ng*) followed by a noun. Sentences with existential-phrase predicates differ from those with possessive-phrase predicates in the absence of a topic. The sentence consists either of a *may* phrase alone or of a *may* phrase plus one or more adverbials.

Sentences with existential-phrase predicates introduced by *may* or *mayroon* are often equivalent to English sentences in which initial 'there' is followed by some form of 'be' plus an indefinite noun phrase – e.g., 'There's a book on the table', 'There was a party yesterday'. (The 'there' in the equivalent English sentences is unstressed. The Tagalog equivalent of sentences with stressed initial 'there' – e.g., 'There's a bus' (= 'There comes a bus') – begins with an attention-directing deictic – cf. §4.6 – rather than an existential phrase.) Some examples are:

May libro sa mesa.
'There's a book on the table.'

May parti kahapon.
'There was a party yesterday.'

Mayroon ding gatas.
'There's some milk too.'

Sentences with existential-phrase predicates introduced by *marami* are often equivalent to English sentences introduced by 'there is/are' etc., 'a lot of': e.g.,

Maraming pagkain.
'There's a lot of food.'

Maraming trak sa daan.
'There are a lot of trucks on the street.'

As in the case of possessive phrases, *mayroon* or *marami* in existential phrases may be followed by the *ng* form of a deictic pronoun, instead of by a linker plus a noun. (Once more, *may* does not occur before a deictic.) For example:

Mayroon	}	nito roon.	
Marami			
'There's	{	some	of this there.'
	}	a lot	

§4.24. Exclamatory sentences.

One-word exclamations, or interjections (e.g., *Aba!* 'Oh!'; *Aray!* 'Ouch!'), are presented in §7.23. The present section is concerned with exclamatory sentences that have a more complex structure, and that have a regular structural relation to non-exclamatory sentences with adjectival predicates.

Any statement that includes a *ma-* adjective as predicate (in normal initial position) is convertible into an exclamation through a replacement of the prefix *ma-* by *ang*, *kay*, *ka-*, or *ano* plus the linker *-ng* and a change of the topic *ang* phrase to a *ng* phrase. Thus:

Maganda ang dalaga. 'The girl is beautiful.'	}	Ang ganda Kay ganda Kaganda Anong ganda	ng dalaga!
		'How beautiful the girl is!'	
Mahusay ang pagtuturo niya. 'His teaching is good.'	}	Ang husay Kay husay Kahusay Anong husay	ng pagtuturo niya!

(Some speakers do not use exclamations with *ka-*. Among speakers who do use such exclamations, some prefer *ka-* with a short vowel (e.g., /kahu'say/) while others use either a short vowel or a long vowel (e.g., /kahu'say/~ /ka'hu'say/).)

If the *ma-* adjective in the underlying statement is pluralized by duplication (cf. §4.11), the pluralization is retained in the exclamatory sentence:

Matatangkad sila. 'They are tall.'	Ang tatangkad Kay tatangkad Katatangkad Anong tatangkad 'How tall they are!'	} nila!
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In addition to *ma-* adjectives, certain unaffixed adjectives occur in exclamatory sentences introduced by *ang*, *kay*, *ka-*, and *anong*. These are the same unaffixed adjectives that occur with the intensifying prefix *napaka-* (i.e., most of the unaffixed adjectives that are not related to nouns with loss of penultimate vowel length); they are discussed more fully in §§4.2 and 4.12. Some examples of exclamations involving unaffixed adjectives are:

Luma ang bahay nila. 'Their house is old'	Ang luma Kay luma Kaluma Anong luma 'How old their house is!'	} ng bahay nila!
Asul ang langit. 'The sky is blue.'	Ang asul Kay asul Kaasul Anong asul 'How blue the sky is!'	} ng langit!

As is the case when they follow *napaka-* (cf. §4.12), unaffixed adjectives in exclamations may be pluralized by duplication. Thus:

Ang luluma Kay luluma Kaluluma Anong luluma 'How old their houses are!'	} ng mga bahay nila!
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There are also a few nouns that occur after *ang* (but not after *kay*, *ka-*, or *anong*) in exclamations. These are a small subclass of those nouns with penultimate vowel length that are related to adjectives without penultimate length (cf. §4.2): e.g., *gutom* /gu'tom/ 'hunger' (cf. *gutom*/gu'tom/ 'hungry'), *pagod* /pa'god/ 'tiredness' (cf. *pagod* /pa'god/ 'tired'), *uhaw* /u'haw/ 'thirst' (cf. *uhaw* /u'haw/ 'thirsty'). In exclamations, these nouns convey an adjectival meaning. The exclamations are usually interpreted as referring to a past condition (note the translations with 'was', below). Examples in sentences are:

Gutom /gutom/ } Pagod /pagod/ } ako. Uhaw /uhaw/ }	→	Ang { gutom /gu'tom/ } Ang { pagod /pa'god/ } ko! Ang { uhaw /u'haw/ }
'I'm { hungry.' { tired.' { thirsty.'		'How { hungry } { tired } I was! { thirsty }

Exclamations with *ang*, *kay*, and *ka-* (but not with *anong*) may be intensified by placing a disyllabic duplicating prefix before the adjective (for rules of formation, cf. *dup*₂-, §5.16), and, in the case of *ka-*, changing the prefix to *pagka-* /*pagka'*/. Thus:

Ang talino ng bata! 'How intelligent the child is!'	→	Ang tali-talino ng bata! 'How very intelligent the child is!'
Kay luma noon! 'How old that is!'	→	Kay luma-luma noon! 'How very old that is!'
Kabait ni Miss Santos! 'How kind Miss Santos is!'	→	Pagkabait-bait ni Miss Santos! 'How very kind Miss Santos is!'

(The *kay* and *pagka-* intensive constructions also occur in non-exclamatory sentences – cf. §4.12.) Some speakers accept intensified exclamations with *ka-* as well as with *pagka-* in certain cases:

(Pag)katamis-tamis ng mangga!
'How sweet the mango is!'

To others, only the *pagka-* form is acceptable.

Adjective bases and adjectives that occur in exclamations may be followed by any of the usual adjective complements (cf. §4.17). Some examples are:

Ang bagay (para) sa iyo ng barong iyan!
'How becoming to you that dress is!'

Ang sipag niya sa trabaho!
'How diligent he is at the work!'

Kay takaw ninyo ng kanin!
'How voraciously you eat rice!'

Katamad (na) pumunta sa opisina ni Ben!
'How lazy Ben is about going to the office!'

Anong lakas kumanta ni Petra!
'How loudly Petra sings!'

CHAPTER 5
Verbals and Their Expansions

§5.1. Introduction.

A preliminary discussion of Tagalog verbal constructions has been presented in §§2.6 through 2.12. The major points covered in these sections are summarized immediately below, by way of introduction to the more detailed treatment of verbal constructions offered in the present chapter.

A verb occurring in the predicate of a basic sentence may be analyzed as consisting of two components: an aspect and a basic form. (In certain derived construction-types and sentence-types, however, the basic form occurs alone: §§3.25, 5.30, etc.) The three verbal aspects found in basic sentences are: the contemplated aspect, the imperfective aspect, and the perfective aspect. (A fourth verbal aspect, the recent perfective, occurs only in derived sentences: cf. §5.23.) In general, the contemplated aspect characterizes an event as not begun, the imperfective aspect as begun but not completed, and the perfective aspect as completed. The aspect of a verb is indicated by inflection. That is, each aspectual meaning is correlated with a different modification of the basic form of the verb.

The basic form itself consists of a verbal affix and a verb base. The affix may be a prefix (e.g., *mag-*), an infix (e.g., *-um-*), a suffix (e.g., *-in*), or a complex affix consisting of both a prefix and a suffix (e.g., *pag- . . . -an*). Affixes that may occur in the predicate verb of a basic sentence are called major affixes, and the verbs in which they occur, major verbs. All other verbal affixes are called derived affixes, and the verbs in which they occur, derived verbs.

The second component of a basic form, the base, expresses the core of meaning of the verb. A given base may occur in two or more major verbs, as well as in a number of derived verbs. No general rules can be given for the occurrence or non-occurrence of a base with any particular major affix. However, the occurrence or non-occurrence of a base with a particular derived affix can in many cases be predicted once it is known what major affix(es) the base occurs with.

The semantic relation of a predicate verb to a sentence topic varies with the focus of the verb, a feature associated with the verbal affix. Certain affixes characteristically occur in actor-focus (AF) verbs: verbs whose topics express the performer of the action. Others characteristically occur in goal-focus (GF) verbs: verbs whose topics express the goal, etc., of the action. ("Goal-focus" is used as a cover term for all non-actor-focus verbs.) A major verb may be AF, or may belong to one of two classes of GF verbs: object-focus (OF) verbs, and directional-focus (DF) verbs; the distinction between these two classes is explained below. (There are also a number of classes of GF verbs that occur only in derived sentences: cf. §§5.7 through 5.11, and §5.12, subsection (2).)

Some verbal predicates include, in addition to the verb itself, one or more complements. A complement of a major verb is one of certain structures that stand in a non-focus relation to the verb, but that correspond to the topic of a related major verb formed with the same base. Major verbs are divisible into two classes on the basis of whether or not they accept complements. Those major verbs that accept complements are transitive; those that do not, intransitive. (Derived verbs may also be classified as transitive or intransitive. In the case of derived verbs, however, the basis of classification is the transitivity or intransitivity of the major verbs from which they are derived. Certain derived verbs – e.g., causative-focus verbs derived from major intransitive verbs (cf. §5.8) – are thus classified as intransitive even though they accept a complement.)

Three types of complements occur in basic sentences: the actor complement (which is expressed by a *ng* phrase), the object complement (which is also expressed by a *ng* phrase), and the directional complement (which is expressed by a *sa* phrase). An actor complement corresponds to the topic of a related AF verb; an object complement corresponds to the topic of a related OF verb; and a directional complement corresponds to the topic of a related DF verb. (It is the correspondence of their topics to object complements and directional complements respectively that is the basis for the distinction made between OF and DF verbs.)

Every major transitive verb is a member of a set of verbs with a common base, which differ from one another in focus but are otherwise identical in meaning. Each of these sets includes one AF verb, and the sets may be assigned to one of three classes (complement classes) on the basis of the type of complement(s) this AF verb accepts. If the AF verb accepts an object complement (but not a directional complement), the set belongs to the object-verb complement class; if the AF verb accepts a directional complement (but not an object complement), the set belongs to the directional-verb complement class; and if the AF verb accepts both an object complement and a directional complement, the set belongs to the double-object-verb complement class.

Each set of object verbs includes, in addition to the AF verb, an OF verb (which accepts an actor complement). Each set of directional verbs includes, in addition to the AF verb, a DF verb (which also accepts an actor complement). And each set of double-object verbs includes, in addition to the AF verb, an OF and a DF verb. (The OF verb belonging to such a set accepts an actor complement and a directional complement; the DF verb belonging to such a set accepts an actor complement and an object complement.)

Every base that occurs in a set of major transitive verbs belongs to an affix-correspondence class. (Some bases occur in more than one such class.) The affix-correspondence class to which a base belongs is determined by the set of major affixes (or affix set) with which it occurs in verbs of differing focus but otherwise identical meaning. An affix set that corresponds to a set of object verbs consists of an AF affix (i.e., an affix that forms an AF verb) and an OF affix. An affix set that corresponds to a set of directional verbs consists of an AF affix and a DF affix. And an affix set that corresponds to a set of double-object verbs consists of an AF affix, an OF affix, and a DF affix.

The remaining sections of the present chapter are arranged as follows. §5.2 presents a survey of major affixes. This is followed by a presentation of the classes of major verbs: object-verb classes (5.3), directional-verb classes (5.4), double-object-verb classes (5.5), and intransitive-verb classes (5.6). The next group of sections is devoted to derived verbs: first, those verbs that differ in focus from major verbs: benefactive-focus verbs (5.7), causative-focus verbs (5.8), locative-focus verbs (5.9), reservational-focus and instrumental-focus verbs (5.10), and referential-focus verbs (5.11); then other types of derived verbs: indirect-action verbs (5.12), ability and involuntary-action verbs (5.13), social verbs (5.14), pluralized verbs (5.15), and other derived verbs (5.16). A summary of verbal affixes is presented in §5.17. §5.18 deals with base formations, §§5.19 through 5.23 with aspect formations: the contemplated aspect (5.19), the imperfect aspect (5.20), the perfective aspect (5.21), a summary of basic aspect formations (5.22), and the recent-perfective aspect (5.23). Irregular verbs formations are dealt with in §5.24. §5.25 presents further information about verb complements (supplementing the presentation in §2.11). §5.26 presents verb adjuncts: certain complement-like structures that occur with intransitive verbs. The final sections of the chapter are devoted to: *maging* constructions (5.27), intensive constructions (5.28), possessive and existential verbal constructions (5.29), and imperative, hortative, and optative constructions (5.30).

§5.2. Survey of Major Affixes.

A major affix is an affix that combines with a verb base in the basic form of a major verb: i.e., a verb whose inflected forms may occur in the predicate of a basic sentence. All major affixes are capable of forming major transitive verbs, and many are capable of forming major intransitive verbs as well. In the case of the transitive verbs, some major affixes are characteristically associated with actor-focus (AF) verbs, others with object-focus (OF) verbs, and others with directional-focus (DF) verbs. (There is at least one affix, *ma-* that occurs in both AF and OF major transitive verbs, and there are at least three, *-an*, *-in*, and *pag...-an*, that occur in both OF and DF major transitive verbs.) Most major intransitive verbs may conveniently be considered AF. (Many such verbs are, however, essentially non-actional in character, so that the identification of the verbs as AF is problematic – cf. §2.9. There is also a set of intransitive verbs, the *pseudo-transitives* that are clearly not AF. These verbs occur with *actor adjuncts*, structures that resemble actor complements in form and meaning, but that, unlike actor complements, do not correspond to the topic of a related AF verb formed with the same base – cf. §§5.6 and 5.26.)

The major affixes are presented below in alphabetical order. (Note that *k* is the third letter of the Tagalog alphabet.) Each presentation includes information about the focus of the major verbs formed with the affix, and examples of such verbs. In some cases, further information is given about the types of meanings associated with formations that involve the affix, the pronunciation of the formations, their relation to formations involving other affixes, etc.

(1) *-an*

The suffix *-an* (/an/) forms transitive OF and DF verbs, and intransitive verbs. OF *-an* verbs typically

denote actions affecting the surface or appearance of the goal, but not causing a change in its structure: e.g.,

buksan	'open'
hugasan	'wash'
sarhan	'close'
talupan	'peel'
walisan	'sweep'

Many DF *-an* verbs denote movement in relation to a goal: e.g.,

abutan	'pass (something) to'
dalhan	'take/bring (something) to'
lapitan	'approach'
puntahan	'go to'
upuan/upan	'sit (down) on'

Others denote actions typically involving a human goal: e.g.,

halikan	'kiss'
ngitian	'smile at'
tolongan	'help'

Most of the intransitive *-an* verbs are pseudo-transitives. Examples of such verbs are:

ayusan	'arrange'
bagalan	'make slow'
hayaan	'let'
tandaan	'remember'

An example of an intransitive *-an* verb that is not a pseudo-transitive is:

kilabutan	'have gooseflesh, be terrified'
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As is noted in §1.12, the addition of the verbal suffix *-an* to a verb base with a long penultimate vowel normally effects a length shift in the base: a shortening of the originally long vowel and a simultaneous lengthening of the final base vowel. Thus:

lapit /la·pit/	→	lapitan /lapi·tan/
hugas /hu·gas/	→	hugasan /huga·san/

(There is, however, no length shift in those few cases where a long penultimate base vowel is followed by a consonant in the same syllable. Thus:

benda /be·ndah/	→	bendahan /be·ndahan/ 'bandage'
mando /ma·ndoh/	→	manduhan /ma·nduhan/ 'give an order to')

When the original long vowel is /i·/, /a·/, or /u·/, length shift in some cases involves a change of quality in the lengthened vowel: viz., short /e/ changes to long /i·/ and short /o/ to long /u·/. Thus:

tiket /ti·ket/	→	tikitan /tiki·tan/ 'give a ticket to'
Abot /'a·bot/	→	abutan /'abu·tan/

When the original long vowel is /e:/ or /o:/ there is no change of quality. Thus:

abono /'abo·noh/ → abonohan /'abono·han/ 'make a partial payment on'
kolorete /kolore·teh/ → koloretehan /kolorete·han/ 'apply rouge to'

The last vowel of bases that lack penultimate length is lost in a number of common *-an* verbs. Thus:

bili /bilih/ → bilhan /bilhan/ 'buy (something) from'
bukas /bukas/ → buksan /buksan/

In cases where the last base vowel is followed by a glottal stop, both the vowel and the glottal stop may be lost:

upo /'upo'/ → upan /'upan/ (also: upuan /'upu'an/)

A listing of formations that involve loss of the final base vowel, and of the final base vowel plus glottal stop, is presented in §5.24. (It may be noted that the final base vowel is always retained when the penultimate syllable ends in a consonant: thus, *punta* /puntaʔ/ → *puntahan* /puntahan/.)

(The statements made above about the pronunciation of *-an* verbs apply equally to *-in* verbs ((4), below), and in general, to all verbs, both major and derived, formed with complex affixes that include *-an* or *-in*. The statements do not, however, necessarily apply to formations in which *-an* is part of a derived base – cf. §5.18, subsection (2).)

(2) *ka...-an*

As a major affix, *ka...-an* (/ka...an/) is always the DF counterpart of AF *ma-* (cf. (8), below). (*Ka...-an* also occurs as a derived affix – cf. §5.9.) Examples are:

kagalitan 'scold' (DF counterpart of AF magalit)
katuwaan 'be amused/delighted by' (DF counterpart of AF matuwa)
kawilihan 'enjoy' (DF counterpart of AF mawili)
(For pronunciation, cf. (1), above.)

(3) *i-*

As a major affix, *i-* (/i/) forms OF verbs and a small number of pseudo-transitive intransitive verbs. (*i-* is also widely used as a derived affix – cf. §§5.7, 5.8, and 5.11.) OF *i-* verbs often denote actions affecting the position of the goal, but not causing a change in its structure. They usually correspond to AF *mag-* verbs. Examples are:

iakyat 'bring/take up' (OF counterpart of AF mag-akyat)
ialok 'offer' (OF counterpart of AF mag-alok)
isakay 'take aboard' (OF counterpart of AF magsakay)
itapon 'throw' (OF counterpart of AF magtapon)
iuwi 'take home' (OF counterpart of AF mag-uwi)

Examples of pseudo-transitive *i-* verbs are:

ihalal 'elect'
ipalagay 'consider'
iyuko 'bow (the head)'

i- verbs whose bases begin with /j/ normally have two freely alternating pronunciations, one with the base-initial /j/ retained, and one with the base-initial /j/ replaced by /y/. Thus:

akyat /'akyat/ → iakyat /'i'akyat/~'iyakyat/
uwi /'uwi'/ → iuwi /'i'uwi'/~'iyuwi'/

(4) *-in*

The suffix *-in* (/in/) forms transitive OF and DF verbs, and a smaller number of intransitive verbs. OF *-in* verbs typically denote actions radically affecting the goal, such as those causing a change in its structure. Examples are:

gawin	'make, do'
inumín	'drink'
lutuin	'cook'
tapusin	'finish'
tadtarin	'chop'

DF *-in* verbs may denote motion in relation to a goal (in which case there is usually some element of contact with the goal): e.g.,

panhikin	'go up into'
pasukin	'enter'
pukulin	'throw (something) at'
salpukin	'strike against'

They may also denote actions typically involving a human goal: e.g.,

dalawin	'visit'
ibigin	'love'
sundin	'obey'

Some examples of intransitive *-in* verbs are:

antukin	'be sleepy'
araw-arawin	'perform every day'
ginawin	'feel cold'
langgamin	'be infested with ants'
tanawin	'view as'

(*Araw-arawin* and *tanawin* are examples of pseudo-transitive *-in* verbs.)

(For pronunciation, see (1), above.)

(5) *ipa-*

As a major affix, *ipa-* (/ipa/) occurs in the OF counterpart of at least one AF *ma-* verb (cf. (8), below):

ipaligo 'bathe with' (OF counterpart of AF *maligo*)

(For the use of *ipa-* as a derived affix, cf. §5.12.)

(6) *ipag-*

As a major affix, *ipag-* (/ipag/) occurs in the OF counterparts of a few AF *mag-* verbs (cf. (11), below). (*Ipag-* is, however, a productive affix in the formation of derived verbs related to *mag-* verbs – cf. §§5.7 and 5.8.) Examples of major *ipag-* verbs are:

ipagbili 'sell' (OF counterpart of AF *magbili*)
 ipagkatiwala 'entrust with' (OF counterpart of AF *magkatiwala*)
 ipagtapat 'confess' (OF counterpart of AF *magtapat*)

(7) *ipang-*

As a major affix, *ipang-* occurs in the OF counterparts of a few AF *mang-* verbs (cf. (12), below).

(*Ipang-* is, however, a productive affix in the formation of derived verbs related to *mang-* verbs – cf. §§5.7 and 5.8.) Examples of major *ipang-* verbs are:

ipanganak 'give birth to' (OF counterpart of AF manganak)
 ipangako 'promise' (OF counterpart of AF mangako)

(For rules governing the pronunciation of *ipang-* verbs, cf. the discussion of *mang-* verbs under (12), below.)

(8) *ma-*

Ma- forms transitive AF and OF major verbs, and intransitive verbs. Most transitive AF *ma-* verbs are the AF counterparts of DF *ka- . . . -an* verbs (cf. (2), above). Examples are:

magulat 'be surprised at' (AF counterpart of DF kagulatan)
 mainis 'be annoyed with' (AF counterpart of DF kainisan)
 matakot 'be afraid of' (AF counterpart of DF katakutan)

There is also at least one AF *ma-* verb that corresponds to an OF *ipa-* verb (cf. (5), above), and at least one that corresponds to an OF *ma- . . . -an* verb (cf. (9), below), and there are a very few that correspond to OF or DF *pa- . . . -an* verbs (cf. (14), below):

maligo 'bathe with' (AF counterpart of OF ipaligo)
 matuto 'learn' (AF counterpart of OF matutuhan)
 makinig 'listen' (AF counterpart of OF/DF pakinggan)

Ma- occurs as an OF affix in a very few major verbs. (It is, however, a productive affix in OF and DF verbs derived from *-in* verbs – cf. §5.13.) OF *ma-* is the OF counterpart of AF *maka-* (cf. (10), below). Examples are:

makita 'see' (OF counterpart of AF makakita)
 mahalata 'notice' (OF counterpart of AF makahalata)

Examples of intransitive *-ma-* verbs are:

mabingi	'become deaf'
mahuli	'catch . . . doing'
mamatay	'die'
masira	'become damaged'

(A few intransitive *ma-* verbs – e.g., *mahuli* – are pseudo-transitives. For further discussion of intransitive *ma-* verbs of 'becoming,' cf. §5.6, subsection D.)

As an AF affix, and in intransitive verbs other than pseudo-transitives, *ma-* is normally pronounced with a short vowel: thus, /maguˈlat/, /maliˈgo/, /mabiŋih/. In OF and pseudo-transitive verbs, and in the AF verb *matuto*, *ma-* is usually pronounced with a long vowel: thus, /mɑˈkiːtah/, /mɑːtuːtoh/. Vowel length in these latter cases is, however, not distinctive in the usage of most younger speakers, and pronunciations like /makiːtah/ and /matuːtoh/ also occur (cf. the discussion of vowel length in the derived affix *ma-* in §5.13).

(9) *ma- . . . -an*

Ma- . . . -an occurs as a major affix in a very few OF and intransitive verbs. Examples of OF *ma- . . . -an* verbs are:

matutuhan 'learn' (OF counterpart of AF matuto)
 maramdaman 'feel' (OF counterpart of AF makaramdam)

(The major OF affix *ma- . . . -an* is to be distinguished from the derived affix of similar shape (cf. §5.13). A derived verb with *ma- . . . -an* is formed by the addition of *ma-* to an OF or DF *-an* verb. Thus, for example,

mabuksan 'be able to open, accidentally open' is formed by the addition of *ma-* to *buksan* 'open'. A major *ma-...-an* verb cannot be similarly analyzed. Thus *matutuhan* cannot be formed by the addition of *ma-* to **tutuhan*, since the latter formation does not occur.) Examples of intransitive *ma-...-an* verbs are:

maanghangan	'feel a biting taste'
malamigan	'feel cold'

In OF major verbs, the *ma-* of *ma-...-an* is usually pronounced with a long vowel: thus, /*maːtutuːhan/*, /*maːramdaman/*. Vowel length is, however, not distinctive in the usage of most younger speakers, and pronunciations like /*matutuːhan/* and /*maramdaman/* also occur (cf. the discussion of vowel length in the derived affix *ma-* in §5.13). In intransitive verbs the *ma-* of *ma-...-an* has a short vowel: thus, /*maːŋhaŋan/*, /*maldmigan/*. (Cf. also (1), above, for notes on the pronunciation of verbs formed with the suffix *-an*.)

(10) *maka-*

Maka- occurs as a major affix in a very few AF transitive and intransitive verbs. (It is, however, a productive affix for forming derived verbs – cf. §5.13.) Examples of transitive verbs are:

makahalata	'notice' (AF counterpart of OF mahalata)
makaramdan	'feel' (AF counterpart of OF maramdaman)

Examples of intransitive verbs are:

makaraos	'be over'
makasulit	'pass (in an examination)'

The second vowel of *maka-* is commonly long in the case of some major verbs, short in the case of others: thus, usually /*makaːhalataː/*, /*makaːsulit/*. In the usage of most younger speakers, however, the length of the second vowel of *maka-* is non-distinctive, and pronunciations like /*makahalataː/* or /*makaːsulit/* may also occur, with the use of the less usual pronunciation not affecting the meaning of the verb (cf. the discussion of vowel length in the derived affix *maka-* in §5.13.)

(11) *mag-*

Mag- (/mag/) forms major transitive and intransitive AF verbs. (*Mag-* also forms several types of derived AF verbs – cf. §5.16.) *Mag-* is frequently found in major AF verbs connoting deliberate action and/or action involving movement of an object external to the actor. The most common OF counterpart of *mag-* is *i-* (cf. (3), above); other OF counterparts of *mag-* are *-an*, *-in*, *ipag-*, and *pag-...-an*. The DF counterparts of *mag-* are *-an* (primarily in double-object verbs), *-in* (exclusively in double-object verbs), and *pag-...-an* (in both directional and double-object verbs). Some examples of major transitive *mag-* verbs are:

magbigay	'give'
magbili	'sell'
maghanda	'prepare'
magluto	'cook'
maghiganti	'have revenge on'

Some examples of major intransitive *mag-* verbs are:

mag-apoy	'burst into flames'
magbus	'take a bus'
magdugo	'bleed'
magtagalog	'speak Tagalog'
magnars	'become a nurse'

(cf. (17), below, for a discussion of meaning differences between major *mag-* and *-um-* verbs formed with the same base.)

(12) *mang-*

Mang- forms major transitive and intransitive AF verbs. (*Mang-* also, and more commonly, forms derived AF verbs – cf. §5.16, subsection (6).) Some examples of major transitive *mang-* verbs are:

mangailangan	'need'
manganak	'give birth (to)'
mangwalta	'deprive of money fraudulently'

Some examples of major intransitive *mang-* verbs are:

mangaykay	'tremble'
mangawit	'be tired'
mangyari	'happen'

(cf. (17) below for a discussion of meaning differences between major *mang-* and *-um-* verbs formed with the same base.)

In formations (major or derived) involving the verbal prefix *mang-*, as in those involving the homophonous nominal prefix (cf. §3.7, subsection (12)), certain assimilatory changes occur. These changes are summarized in the following formulas:

(a)			$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{ /p/ \} \\ \{ /m/ \} \end{array} \right\}$						$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /m/ \\ /n/ \\ /ŋ/ \end{array} \right\}$
	mang- +		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{ /t/ \} \\ \{ /s/ \} \\ \{ /n/ \} \end{array} \right\}$	→	/ma/	+			
			$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{ /k/ \} \\ \{ /ŋ/ \} \end{array} \right\}$						
(b)	(1)	mang- +	/b/	→	/ma/	+	/m/		
	(2)	mang- +	/b/	→	/mam/	+	/b/		
(c)	(1)	mang- +	/ʔ/	→	/ma/	+	/ŋ/		
	(2)	mang- +	/ʔ/	→	/maŋ/	+	/ʔ/		
(d)		mang- +	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{ /d/ \} \\ \{ /l/ \} \end{array} \right\}$	→	/man/	+	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{ /d/ \} \\ \{ /l/ \} \end{array} \right\}$		

The operation of these formulas is illustrated below. (The illustrations include derived as well as major *mang-* verbs. Some bases that begin with /b/ form *mang-* verbs according to formula (b.1), others according to formula (b.2). Similarly, some bases that begin with /ʔ/ form *mang-* verbs according to formula (c.1), others according to formula (c.2). In several cases, the base of the *mang-* verb occurs only in *mang-* verbs and related formations. In these cases, the base is listed with a preceding hyphen.)

(a)	mang- + pili /pi-li/	→	mamili /mami-li/	'choose (several things)'
	mang- + -manhid /manhid/	→	mamanhid /mamanhid/	'get numb'
	mang- + takot /ta-kot/	→	manakot /mana-kot/	'frighten (several people)'
	mang- + sakit /sakit/	→	manakit /manakit/	'cause pain'
	mang- + -nood /nu'od/	→	manood /manu'od/	'watch'
	mang- + kailangan /ka'ila-ŋan/	→	mangailangan /maŋa'ila-ŋan/	'need'
	mang- + ngaykay /ŋaykay/	→	mangaykay /maŋaykay/	'tremble'

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----|--------------------------|---|--|
| (b) | (1) | mang- + bili /bilih/ | → | mamili /mamilih/ 'go shopping' |
| | (2) | mang + bakya /bakya'/ | → | mambakya /mambakya'/
'hit with a wooden shoe' |
| (c) | (1) | mang- + anak /'anak/ | → | manganak /maŋanak/ 'give birth (to)' |
| | (2) | mang- + atake /'ata'keh/ | → | mang-atake /məŋ 'ata'keh/ 'attack' |
| (d) | | mang- + dukot /dukot/ | → | mandukot /mandukot/ 'steal' |
| | | mang- + ligaw /li'gaw/ | → | manligaw /manli'gaw/ 'pay court to' |

When the base begins with /g/, /h/, /w/, or /y/, no assimilatory changes occur. Thus:

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| mang- + gulo /guloh/ | → | manggulo /maŋguloh/ 'create disorder' |
| mang- + hiwa /hi'wa'/ | → | manghiwa /maŋhi'wa'/ 'cut (someone intentionally)' |
| mang- + walis /walis/ | → | mangwalis /maŋwalis/ 'hit with a broom' |
| mang- + yari /ya'rih/ | → | /maŋya'rih/ 'happen' |

(The assimilatory changes discussed above apply in the case of most major and derived verb formations that include prefixes ending in ng: e.g., *pang-...-an*, *pang-...-in*, *makapang-*, and *makipang-*. In the case of *ipang-* formations, however, the changes apply in some instances but not in others. Specifically, the changes apply in the case of object-focus, benefactive-focus, and causative-focus *ipang-* formations (cf. (7), above, and §§5.7 and 5.8), but not in the case of reservational-focus and instrumental-focus *ipang-* formations. As is noted in §5.11, the *ipang-* of reservational-focus and instrumental-focus formations consists of the verbal prefix *i-* plus the adjectival prefix *pang-*. While formations involving this adjectival prefix show certain assimilatory changes, the changes are not identical with those that occur in *mang-* formations.)

(13) *pa-...-an*

As a major affix, *pa-...-an* (/pa...an/) occurs in the OF or DF counterparts of a very few AF *ma-* verbs (cf. (8), above). Examples are:

- pakialaman 'meddle with' (DF counterpart of AF makialam)
pakinggan 'listen' (OF/DF counterpart of AF makinig)

(For a presentation of the use of *pa-...-an* in derived verb formations, cf. §5.12.)

(14) *pag-...-an*

Pag-...-an (/pag...an/) occurs in OF and, more commonly, DF major verbs that correspond to AF *mag-* verbs. Examples of OF *pag-...-an* verbs are:

- pag-aralan 'study' (OF counterpart of AF mag-aral)
pagtiisan 'endure' (OF counterpart of AF magtiis)

Examples of DF *pag-...-an* verbs are:

- pagbatayan 'base (a decision) on' (DF counterpart of AF magbatay)
pgabilhan 'sell (to)' (DF counterpart of AF magbili)
paghigantihan 'take revenge on' (DF counterpart of AF maghiganti)

(For pronunciation, cf. (1), above. For a discussion of the use of *pag-...-an* as a derived affix, cf. §5.9.)

(15) *pang-...-an*

As a major affix, *pang-...-an* occurs in a small number of DF and intransitive verbs. The DF verbs correspond to AF *mang-* verbs. Examples are:

- pangakuan 'give a promise to' (DF counterpart of AF mangako)
panghimasukan 'meddle in' (DF counterpart of AF manghimasok)

Examples of intransitive verbs (all of which are adjunctive – cf. §5.6, class II, and §5.26, subsection II.A.6) are:

panghinaan	'feel a weakness in'
panginigan	'have a tremor in'

(For pronunciation, cf. (1) and (12), above. For a discussion of the use of *pang- . . . -an* as a derived affix, cf. §5.9.)

(16) *pang- . . . -in*

Pang- . . . -in occurs in the OF counterpart of at least one *mang-* verb:

panoorin 'watch' (OF counterpart of AF manood)

(For an explanation of the assimilatory changes that produce *panoorin* /panu'urin/ from *pang- + -nood + -in*, cf. (12), above, and §1.20.)

(17) *-um-*

The infix *-um-*, which is always a major affix, forms major transitive and intransitive AF verbs. It is frequently found in verbs denoting casual action and/or action not involving movement of an object external to the actor. The most common OF counterpart of *-um-* is *-in* (cf. (4), above); other OF counterparts of *-um-* are *-an* and (very rarely) *-i*. The DF counterparts of *-um-* are *-an* (in both directional and double-object verbs) and *-in* (exclusively in directional verbs). Some examples of major transitive *-um-* verbs are:

kumain	'eat'
humiram	'borrow'
pumunta	'go'
umabot	'reach for'
umibig	'love'

Some examples of major intransitive *-um-* verbs are:

bumuti	'become good'
dumating	'arrive'
dumugo	'bleed'
humina	'become weak'
pumasa–Maynila	'go to Manila'

(For further discussion of *-um-* verbs of 'becoming,' cf. §5.6, class J.)

(It may be noted that *-um-* does not occur with bases beginning with /m/ or /w/.)

There are many verb bases that occur with *mag-* or *mang-* as well as with *-um-*. Some of these *mag-* and *mang-* verbs are best considered as derived from the *-um-* verb formed with the same base, while others are best considered as independent major verbs. Characteristic meaning differences that distinguish derived *mag-* or *mang-* verbs from the major *-um-* verbs that underlie them are presented in §5.16.

Characteristic meaning differences that distinguish major *mag-* or *mang-* verbs from major *-um-* verbs formed with the same base are discussed immediately below.

In many cases, major transitive *-um-* and *mag-* verbs formed with the same base belong to different complement classes, the *-um-* verb being directional, the *mag-* verb object or double-object. In these cases, the *-um-* verb generally designates a movement from one place to another on the part of the performer, the *mag-* verb a movement from one place to another of some object external to the performer. Examples are:

-um- Verb

lumabas 'come/go out'
 pumasok 'enter'
 umakyat 'climb'
 umalis 'leave, go away'
 umuwi 'go home'

Mag- Verb

maglabas 'bring/take out'
 magpasok 'bring/take in'
 mag-akyat 'bring/take up'
 mag-alis 'remove'
 mag-uwi 'bring/take home'

There are also a good many cases of directional *-um-* verbs that are formed with the same base as intransitive *mag-* verbs. In these cases, the *mag-* verb generally designates a reciprocal performance of the action designated by the *-um-* verb. Examples are:

-um- Verb

humiwalay 'separate from'
 lumaban 'fight with'
 sumalubong 'meet (someone)'

Mag- Verb

maghiwalay 'separate from one another'
 maglaban 'fight with one another'
 magsalubong 'meet one another'

In a few cases, there is a correspondence between an *-um-* verb that expresses an action directed or oriented toward the performer and a *mag-* verb formed with the same base that expresses an action directed or oriented away from the performer. Examples are:

-um- Verb

bumili 'buy'
 umabot 'reach for'

Mag- Verb

magbili 'sell'
 mag-abot 'hand to'

(The pair *umabot/mag-abot* also involves a contrast between a directional *-um-* verb and a double-object *mag-* verb – see above.)

The major *mang-* verbs that are formed with the same base as *-um-* verbs are intransitive. The *-um-* verbs are also intransitive, and designate the (complete or permanent) acquisition of a quality, while the *mang-* verbs designate the partial or temporary acquisition of this same quality. Examples are:

-um- Verb

kumupas 'become colorless'
 lumaki 'grow, enlarge'
 pumula 'become red'

Mang- Verb

mangapas 'fade'
 manlaki 'enlarge temporarily' (used, e.g.,
 of the eyes in an expression of surprise)
 mamula 'become reddish, redden temporarily'

§5.3. Affix–correspondence classes: object verbs.

As is specified in §2.12, an **AFFIX-CORRESPONDENCE CLASS** is a class to which a verb base is assigned by virtue of its co-occurrence with an **affix set**: a set of two or more major affixes which, together with the base, form major transitive verbs of differing focus but otherwise identical meaning. Bases of verbs belonging to the object–verb complement class (cf. §2.10) co-occur with an affix set that consists of an actor–focus (AF) affix and an object–focus (OF) affix; bases of verbs belonging to the directional–verb complement class co-occur with an affix set that consists of an AF affix and a directional–focus (DF) affix; and bases of verbs belonging to the double–object–verb complement class co-occur with an affix set that consists of an AF affix, an OF affix, and a DF affix. The various affix–correspondence classes of object–verb bases are presented in this section, those of directional–verb bases and double-object-verb bases in §§5.4, and 5.5 respectively. The presentation of the classes of object–verb bases is preceded, immediately below, by some notes on the criteria by which a base is assigned to its particular affix–correspondence class(es). These notes cover: (1) the treatment of bases that occur in two or more verbs of identical focus formed with different major affixes; (2) the treatment of bases that co-occur with the members of a single affix set to form major verbs that belong to two different complement classes.

(1) A focus is never represented more than once in a given affix set. Thus an affix set may include only one AF affix and one OF and/or DF affix. There are, however, many bases that co-occur with two or

more major affixes to form verbs of identical focus. Cases of this kind are treated in one of four ways, as follows:

(a) Where two major transitive verbs of identical focus and a common base have clearly different meanings, the base is assigned to two different affix–correspondence classes. The base *abot*, for example, forms an AF verb meaning ‘reach for’ with *-um-*, and an AF verb meaning ‘hand to’ with *mag-*. Since the members of an affix set occur, by definition, only in verbs of identical meaning, *umabot* and *mag-abot* do not belong to the same affix set, and the base *abot* must be assigned to two different classes. (The classes are, in this case, the *-um-/in* object–verb class (*umabot/abutin* ‘reach for’ – cf. class E.2a, below) and the *mag-/i/-an* double–object–verb class (*mag-abot/iabot/abutan* ‘hand to’ – cf. §5.5, class A.1).)

(b) Where two major transitive verbs of identical focus and a common base have similar but slightly different meanings, and both meanings are expressed in a single verb of another focus formed with the same base, the base is assigned to two affix–correspondence classes that have an affix in common. Thus the base *sulat* forms, with *-i-* and *-in*, OF verbs both of which have the meaning ‘write.’ The *-in* verb, however, connotes creative writing while the *-i-* verb connotes primarily writing of other kinds: e.g., the writing of letters. The AF verb *sumulat* corresponds in meaning to both the *-in* verb and the *-i-* verb, and may or may not connote creative writing. *Sulat* is therefore assigned to two affix–correspondence classes, in both of which *-um-* occurs: the *-um-/in* object–verb class (*sumulat/sulatin* ‘write (creatively)’) and the *-um-/i/-an* double–object–verb class (*sumulat/isulat/sulaton* ‘write, write to, write on’ – cf. §5.5, class C.1).)

(c) Where two transitive verbs of identical focus and a common base have similar but slightly different meanings, and only one of these meanings is found in a verb (or verbs) of different focus formed with the same base, only the verb with the exact semantic counterpart(s) is considered a major verb, and the other verb is interpreted as derived. Thus the base *kuha* forms, with *-um-* and *mang-*, AF verbs both of which mean ‘get.’ The *mang-* verb, however, has the additional meaning of activity directed toward multiple objects, and there is no goal–focus verb formed with *kuha* that has this additional meaning. Therefore the *-um-* verb is considered primary for purposes of assignment of the base to an affix–correspondence class – in this case, the *-um-/in/-an* double–object–verb class (*kumuha/kunin/kunan* ‘get’) – and the *mang-* verb (*manguha* ‘get (a number of items), gather’) is interpreted as a derived verb (cf. §5.16, subsection (6)).

(d) Where two major transitive verbs of identical focus and a common base have identical meanings, the base is always assigned to two affix–correspondence classes. For example, the base *luto* forms, with *-i-* and *-in*, freely alternating OF verbs meaning ‘cook’; both OF verbs correspond to AF *magluto*, and *luto* is thus assigned to both the *mag-/i-* object–verb class (*magluto/iluto* ‘cook’ – cf. class C.2, below) and the *mag-/in* object–verb class (*magluto/lutuin* ‘cook’ – cf. class C.3, below).

(2) There are a number of affix sets that may be associated with either object verbs or directional verbs. Thus the members of the *-um-/an* affix set occurs both in object verbs (e.g., *lumunas/lunasan* ‘cure’ – cf. class E.1, below) and in directional verbs (e.g., *dumalo/daluhan* ‘attend’ – cf. §5.4, class D.1). In most cases, a given base occurs with the members of such an affix set in either object or directional verbs but not in both. (Thus the base *lunas* occurs in the *-um-/an* object–verb class but not the *-um-/an* directional–verb class, while the base *dalo* occurs in the directional–verb but not the object–verb class.) There are, however, certain bases that co-occur with the members of a single affix set to form both object and directional verbs. (That is, the AF verbs formed with the bases may take either an object complement or a directional complement.) Such bases are always assigned to both the object–verb class and the directional–verb class identified with the given affix set.

In some cases the object and directional verbs formed with a common base and a common affix set differ from one another in meaning. For example, the base *hawak* occurs in both the *-um/-an* object–verb class and the *-um/-an* directional–verb class, the object verbs having the meaning ‘hold,’ as in:

Humawak siya ng libro.
‘He held a book.’

Hinawakan niya ang libro.
‘He held the book.’

and the directional verbs having the meaning ‘hold on to,’ as in:

{ Humawak siya sa barandilya. }
 { Ilinawakan niya ang barandilya. }
 'He held on to the railing.'

In other cases, the object and directional verbs formed with a common base and a common affix set are identical in meaning. For example, the base *kinig* occurs in both the *ma-/pa-...-an* object-verb class and the *ma-/pa-...-an* directional-verb class in verbs that mean 'listen to.' Examples of the AF verbs in sentences are:

Nakinig kami ng talumpati.
 'We listened to a speech.'

Nakinig kami sa talumpati.
 'We listened to the speech.'

The first sentence involves the object verb *makinig*, the second the homophonous directional verb. The goal-focus counterpart of both sentences is:

Pinakinggan namin ang talumpati.
 'We listened to the speech.'

in which *pinakinggan* (the perfective form of *pakinggan*) is ambiguously either object-focus or directional-focus.

Regardless, then, of whether the object verbs and the directional verbs formed with a common base and a common affix set are the same or different in meaning, the base is always classified as both an object-verb base and a directional-verb base.

In the following presentation, the affix-correspondence classes of object-verb bases are presented in alphabetical order, according, first, to the AF affixes, then to the OF affixes, that occur in the affix sets. (In the notation used to identify an affix set, the AF affix precedes the OF affix, and the two are separated by a slash.) Examples of bases that occur in each class are followed by a parenthetical listing of the pertinent basic forms and a translation of the latter. (Wherever possible, four bases are listed for each class. If fewer than four bases are listed, the class is an unproductive one, and the listed examples may be the only ones that occur. Bases that never occur word-initially are listed with a preceding hyphen.) The examples of bases and basic forms are followed by a set of sentences illustrating the affix correspondences. Only one set of verbs in each class is chosen for these illustrative sentences. The examples and illustrative sentences are in some cases accompanied by remarks of various kinds.

A. *Ma-* classes (very few bases in each class)

1. *ma-/ipa-*

-ligo (maligo/ipaligo 'bathe with')

AF: Naligo siya ng mainit na tubig.
 'He bathed with hot water.'

OF: Ipinaligo niya ang mainit na tubig.
 'He bathed with the hot water.'

2. *ma-/ma-...-an*

-tuto (matuto/matutuhan 'learn')

AF: Natututo siya noon.
 'He is learning (some of) that.'

OF: Natututuhan niya iyon.
 'He is learning that.'

3. *ma-/pa- . . . -an*

-kinig (makinig/pakinggan 'listen to')

AF: Nakinig kami ng talumpati.

'We listened to a speech.'

OF: Pinakinggan namin ang talumpati.

'We listened to the speech.'

The base *-kinig* also occurs in the directional-verb *ma-/pa- . . . -an* class (cf. §5.4, class A.3).

B. *Maka-* classes (very few bases in each class)1. *maka-/ma-*

kita (makakita/makita 'see')

dinig (makarinig/marinig 'hear')

halata (makahalata/mahalata 'notice')

pansin (makapansin/mapansin 'notice')

AF: Nakakita ka ba ng aksidente?

'Did you see an accident?'

OF: Nakita mo ba ang aksidente?

'Did you see the accident?'

2. *maka-/ma- . . . -an*

damdam (makaramdam/maramdaman 'feel')

ulinig (makaulinig/maulinigan 'hear faintly')

AF: Nakaramdam ako ng sakit.

'I felt some pain.'

OF: Naramdaman ko ang sakit.

'I felt the pain.'

2a. *maka-(nom)/ma- . . . -an*

The *maka-* verbs in this class occur only in nominalized verbals: i.e., after one of the markers *ang*, *ng*, *sa* (cf. §3.2.4). Examples are:

limot (makalimot/ma(ka)limutan 'forget')

tanda (makatand/matandaan 'remember')

AF: Siya ang nakalimot ng libro niya.

'He's the one who forgot his book.'

OF: Na(ka)limutan niya ang libro niya.

'He forgot his book.'

(Malimutan and makalimutan are free alternants.)

C. *Mag-* classes1. *mag-/an*

anyaya (mag-anyaya/anyayahan 'invite')

bukas (magbukas/buksan 'open')

laba (maglaba/labhan 'laundry')

walis (magwalis/walisan 'sweep')

AF: Mag-anyaya ka ng mga istudyante.

'Invite some students.'

OF: Anyayahan mo ang mga istudyante.

'Invite the students.'

2. *mag-/i-*

kula (magkula/ikula 'bleach (in the sun)')

handa (maghanda/ihanda 'prepare')

luto (magluto/iluto 'cook')

pinid (magpinid/ipinid 'close')

AF: Magkukula sila ng mga damit.

'They're going to bleach some clothes.'

OF: Ikukula nila ang mga damit.

'They're going to bleach the clothes.'

Most *mag-* verbs denoting ways of preparing food have two object–focus counterparts, one formed with *i-*, the other with *-in*. The *i-* and *-in* verbs are normally free alternants. Examples are: *iluto* ~ *lutuin* 'cook'; *ipaksiw* ~ *paksiwin* 'make into *paksiw*'; *iprito* ~ *prituhin* 'fry.' The bases of such verbs are assigned to two object–verb classes: the *mag-/i-* class and the *mag-/in* class (class C.3, below).

3. *mag-/in*

kudkod (magkudkod/kudkurin 'grate (coconut)')

hiwa (maghiwa/hiwain 'cut')

luto (magluto/lutuin 'cook')

plantsa (magplantsa/plantsahin 'iron')

AF: Magkudkod ka ng niyog.

'Grate some coconut.'

OF: Kudkurin mo ang niyog.

'Grate the coconut.'

Many *mag-/in* object–verb bases – e.g., *kudkod*, *hiwa*, *plantsa* – also occur in the *-um/-in* or *-um(nom)/-in* object–verb class (respectively, class E.2a and class E.2b, below), the *-um-* and *mag-* verbs having similar or identical meanings. For further discussion, cf. E.2b, below.

For a note on the alternation between *i-* and *-in* with bases denoting ways of preparing food, cf. C.2 above.

4. *mag-/ipag-*

-kanulo (magkanulo/ipagkanulo 'betray')

AF: Nagkanulo siya ng mga kasamahan niya.

'He betrayed (some of) his companions.'

OF: Ipinagkanulo niya ang mga kasamahan niya.

'He betrayed his companions.'

5. *mag-/pag- . . . -an*

tiis (magtiis/pagtiisan 'endure')

AF: Nagtiis siya ng kahirapan.

'He endured some hardship.'

OF: Pinagtiisan niya ang kahirapan.

'He endured the hardship.'

Tiis also occurs in the *mag-/in* object–verb class – class C.3, above; *tiisin* and *pagtiisan* are free or dialectal alternants.

D. *Mang-* classes (very few bases in each class)

1. *mang/-an*

kuwalta (mangwalta/kuwaltahan 'deprive of money by fraudulent means')
sakit (manakit/saktan 'injure')

AF: Nangungwalta siya ng mga kamag-anak niya.
'He is robbing (some of) his relatives of their money.'

OF: Kinukwaltahan niya ang mga kamag-anak niya.
'He is robbing his relatives of their money.'

2. *mang/-in*

kailangan (mangailangan/kailanganin 'need')

AF: Nangangailangan kami ng tulong ninyo.
'We need (some of) your help.'

OF: Kinakailangan namin ang tulong ninyo.
'We need your help.'

Some speakers use *kumailangan* instead of, or in alternation with, *mangailangan*. For these speakers, *kailangan* belongs to the *-um/-in* object-verb class (class E.2a, below) instead of, or in addition to, the *mang/-in* object-verb class.

3. *mang/ipang-*

anak (manganak/ipanganak 'give birth to')
bahagi (mamahagi/ipamahagi 'apportion')

AF: Nanganak siya ng kambal noong isang buwan.
'She gave birth to twins last month.'

OF: Ipinanganak niya ang kambal noong isang buwan.
'She gave birth to the twins last month.'

4. *mang/pang- . . . -an*

talo (manalo/panalunan 'win as a prize')

AF: Nanalo ako ng kotse sa paligsahan.
'I won a car as a prize in the contest.'

OF: Pinanalunan ko ang kotse sa paligsahan.
'I won the car as a prize in the contest.'

5. *mang/pang- . . . -in*

-nood (manood/panoorin 'watch')

AF: Nanood siya ng palabas.
'He watched a show.'

OF: Pinanood niya ang palabas.
'He watched the show.'

E. *-um-* classes

1. *-um/-an*

hawak (humawak/hawakan 'hold')
lunas (lumunas/lunasan 'cure')
tangan (tumangan/tang(a)nan 'hold')

tikim (tumikim/tikman 'taste')

AF: Humawak siya ng libro.
'He held a book.'

OF: Hinawakan niya ang libro.
'He held the book.'

Hawak and *tangan* also occur in the directional-verb *-um/-an* class (§5.4, class D.1). The directional verbs have the meaning 'hold on to.'

2a. *-um/-in*

abot (umabot/abutin 'reach for')
huli (humuli/hulihin 'catch')
tahi (tumahi/tahiin 'sew')
tugtug (tumugtug/tugtugin 'play (an instrument)')
AF: Umabot ka ng mangga.
'Reach for a mango.'

OF: Abutin mo ang mangga.
'Reach for the mango.'

Abot also occurs in the *mag/-i/-an* double-object-verb class (§5.5, class A.1). The double-object verbs have the meaning 'hand to.'

2b. *um-(nom)/-in*

The *-um-* verbs in this class occur only in nominalized verbals: i.e., after one of the markers *ang, ng, sa* (cf. §3.24). Examples are:

basag (bumasag/basagin 'break')
kudkod (kumudkod/kudkurin 'grate (coconut)')
gulat (gumulat/gulatin 'surprise')
takot (tumakot/takutin 'frighten')
AF: Ako ang bumasag ng baso.
'I'm the one who broke a glass.'

OF: Binasag ko ang baso.
'I broke the glass.'

Bases in this class are divisible into two subclasses: (1) those that form *-um-(nom)/-in* verbs that require animate objects: e.g., *gulat, takot*; and (2) those that form *-um-(nom)/-in* verbs that denote ways of fragmenting or disintegrating an object: e.g., *basag, kudkod*. Most bases in subclass (1) also occur in derived *mang-* verbs denoting actions directed toward multiple objects (cf. §5.16, subsection (6)). The *mang-* verbs, unlike the *-um-* verbs from which they are derived, need not be nominalized. Thus:

Nanggulat siya ng mga kaibigan niya.
'He surprised (some of) his friends.'

but not:

*Gumulat siya ng mga kaibigan niya.
(cf. Siya ang gumulat ng mga kaibigan niya.
'He's the one who surprised (some of) his friends.')

Some other bases in this subclass are: *bigo* (*bumigo/biguin* 'disappoint'), *gutom* (*gumatom/gutumun* 'starve'), *hiya* (*humiya/hiyain* 'embarrass'). (At least one base in subclass (1), *patay* (*pumatay/patayin* 'kill'), does not occur in a derived *mang-* verb. *Patay* does, however, also occur in the *mag/-in* object-verb class (class C.3, above) in formations which differ somewhat in

use from those representing the *-um-(nom)/-in* class. The *-um-(nom)-in* formations are used with human objects, the *mag-/in* formations with non-human objects. Thus:

Siya ang pumatay ng sundalo.
'He's the one who killed a soldier.'

Nagpatay siya ng lamok.
'He killed a mosquito.'

Pinatay niya ang	}	sundalo.
	}	lamok.
'He killed the	}	soldier.'
	}	mosquito.'

Most *-um-(nom)/-in* bases in subclass (2) also occur in the *mag-/in* object–verb class (class C.3, above). The *mag-* verbs, unlike the *-um-* verbs, need not be nominalized. Thus:

Nagbasag ako ng baso.
'I broke a glass.'

Other bases in this subclass include: *durog* (*dumurog/durugin* 'pulverize'), *giling* (*gumiling/gilingin* 'grind'), *sunog* (*sumunog/sunugin* 'burn').

Certain bases in subclass (2) also occur in *-um-/in* verbs that do not require nominalization (as well as in *mag-/in* verbs). The *-um-/in* verbs (which belong to class E.2a, above) differ somewhat in meaning from the *-um-(nom)/-in* verbs (and *mag-/in* verbs) formed with the same base, and denote the obtaining of part of an object by means of fragmenting it. Thus, for example, the *-um-/in* verb formed with the base *hiwa* has the meaning 'slice off':

Humiwa ka niyon.
'Slice (some of) that off.'

Hiwain mo iyon.
'Slice that off.'

while the *-um-(nom)/-in* verb (as well as the *mag-/in* verb) formed with the same base has the meaning 'slice':

Ikaw ang humiwa noon.
'You slice (some of) that.'

Hiwain mo iyon.
'Slice that.'

(In the case of the verbs under discussion, only a non-nominalized *-um-* verb unambiguously expresses the meaning of obtaining by fragmenting. An *-in* verb, as the examples show, may have either this meaning or simply the meaning of fragmenting, while a nominalized *-um-* verb is also ambiguous, since it may represent either the *-um-(nom)/-in* class or a nominalization of the *-um-* verb in the *-um-/in* class. Thus *Ikaw ang humiwa noon* may also mean 'You slice (some of) that off'.) Some other bases that behave like *hiwa* are: *bali* (*bumali/baliin* 'break (off)'), *gupit* (*gumupit/gupitin* 'cut (off) (with scissors)'), *putol* (*pumutol/putulin* 'cut (off)'), *taga* (*tumaga/tagain* 'cut (off) (with a knife)').

§5.4. Affix–correspondence classes: directional verbs.

The following presentation of the affix–correspondence classes identified with directional verbs parallels the presentation of the classes of object–verb bases in §5.3, except that the second affix listed in each affix set is a DF, rather than an OF, affix.

A. *Ma-* classes

1. *ma-/an*

- higa (mahiga/higaan ‘lie on’)
- tulog (matulog/tulugan ‘sleep in/on’)
- upo (maupo/upuan ‘sit on’)
- { AF: Nahiga siya sa sahig. }
- { DF: Hinigaaan niya ang sahig. }
- ‘He lay on the floor.’

Higa and *upo* occur in the *-um-/an* directional–verb class (class D.1, below) as well as in the *ma-/an* directional–verb class. In some dialects – but not in educated Manila Tagalog – *tulog* also occurs in the *-um-/an* directional–verb class. (In derived formations, all three bases function as if they formed major AF verbs exclusively with *-um-*. Thus the aspectless gerunds formed with the bases (cf. §3.26) are *paghiga*, *pagtulog*, and *pagupo*, forms that follow the pattern for *-um-* verb bases (*pag-* + base) rather than that for *ma-* verb bases (*pagka-* + base).)

2. *ma-/ka- . . . -an*

- hirati (mahirati/kahiratihan ‘get used to’)
- muhi (mamuhi/kamuhian ‘hate’)
- suya (masuya/kasuyaan ‘be surfeited with’)
- takot (matakot/katakutan ‘be afraid of’)
- { AF: Nahihirati ako sa klima. }
- { DF: Kinahihiratian ko ang klima. }
- ‘I’m getting used to the climate.’

3. *ma-/pa- . . . -an*

- kialam (makialam/pakialaman ‘meddle with’)
- kibagay (makibagay/pakibagayan ‘adapt oneself to’)
- kinig (makinig/pakinggan ‘listen to’)
- kisama (makisama/pakisamahan ‘get along with,’ ‘live with’)
- { AF: Nakikialam siyang palagi sa kanila. }
- { DF: Pinakikialaman niya silang palagi. }
- ‘He is always meddling with them.’

It may be noted that the bases in this class all begin with *ki-*. This *ki-* is probably related historically to the prefix component *ki-* that occurs in social verbs (cf. §5.14), but it is most conveniently treated as part of the base in the case of the verbs under discussion. The elements that follow the *ki-* of *-kialam-* *-kibagay* and *-kisama* also occur independently: *alam* ‘something known,’ *bagay* ‘suitable’ *sama* ‘company.’ The element that follows the *ki-* of *-kinig* does not occur independently, but is perhaps a contracted form of *dinig*, the base of the object verb *makarinig/marinig* ‘hear’ (cf. §5.3, class B.1). (*-kinig* also occurs in the *ma-/pa- . . . -an* object–verb class – cf. §5.3, class A.3.)

B. *Mag-* classes

1. *mag-/an*

- bayad (magbayad/bayaran ‘make a payment to’)
- maktol (magmaktol/maktulan ‘behave sulkily towards’)
- masid (magmasid/masdan ‘look at’)
- matyag (magmatyag/matyagan ‘observe cautiously’)
- { AF: Nagbayad siya sa bangko. }
- { DF: Binayaran niya ang bangko. }
- ‘He made a payment to the bank.’

It may be noted that most of the bases in this class begin with /m/, a phoneme that never occurs as the initial consonant of the base of an *-um-* verb (cf. §5.2, subsection (17)). This fact is probably relevant to the occurrence of these bases in the *mag-/an* directional-verb class, rather than in the much larger *-um-/an* directional-verb class (class D.1, below).

The base *bayad* also occurs in the *mag-/i-/an* double-object-verb class in the meaning 'pay in the form of' and in the *mag-/an* object-verb class in the meaning 'pay for'.

Maktol and *masid* also occur in the *mag-/pag-...-an* directional-verb class (class B.2, below).

2. *mag-/pag-...-an*

hati (maghati/paghatian 'share')

higanti (maghiganti/paghigantihan 'have revenge on')

mataas (magmataas/pagmataasan 'be snobbish toward')

sawa (magsawa/pagsawaan 'be tired of')

{ AF: Naghati sila sa keyk. }
{ DF: Pinaghatian nila ang keyk. }

'They shared the cake.'

A number of *ma-* adjectives (cf. §4.3) occur as bases of *mag-/pag-...-an* directional verbs that express a meaning of assuming, or pretending to possess, the quality denoted by the adjective. Compare: *mataas* 'high,' *magmataas/pagmataasan* 'be snobbish toward (i.e., pretend to be higher than)'; *mabait* 'kind,' *magmabait/pagmabaitan* 'pretend to be kind to.' (There are also *ma-* adjectives that occur as bases of intransitive *mag-* verbs expressing similar meanings – cf. §5.6, class G.)

C. *Mang-* classes (very few bases in each class)

1. *mang-/in*

-pupo (mamupo/pupuin 'use po (respect particle) in addressing')

panginoon (mamanginoon/panginoonin 'serve')

{ AF: Namumupo siya sa akin. }
{ DF: Pinupupo niya ako. }

'He uses po in addressing me.'

2. *mang-/ma-*

lalo (manalo/matalo 'win against')

AF: Nanalo ako kay Juan.

DF: Natalo ko si Juan.

'I won against Juan.'

3. *mang-/pang-...-an*

himasok (manghimasok/panghimasukan 'meddle in')

hinayang (manghinayang/panghinayanan 'regret the loss of')

pitagan (mamitagan/pamitaganan 'respect')

{ AF: Nanghimasok sila sa gawain namin. }
{ DF: Pinanghimasukan nila ang gawain namin. }

'They meddled in our affairs.'

D. *-um-* classes

1. *-um-/an*

dalo (dumalo/daluhan 'attend')

hawak (humawak/hawakan 'hold on to')

punta (pumunta/puntahan 'go to')

tulong (tumulong/tulungan 'help')

{ AF: Dadalo ka ba sa pulong? }
{ DF: Dadaluhan mo ba ang pulong? }

'Will you attend the meeting?'

Hawak also occurs in the *-um/-an* object–verb class (cf. §5.3, class E.1). The object–verb formations have the meaning ‘hold.’

2. *-um/-in*

akyat (*umakyat/akyatin* ‘climb’)

pasok (*pumasok/pasukin* ‘enter’)

salungat (*sumalungat/salungatin* ‘oppose’)

sunod (*sumunod/sundin* ‘follow’)

{ AF: *Umakyat siya sa punong-mangga.* }

{ OF: *Inakyat niya ang punong-mangga.* }

‘He climbed the mango tree.’

Akyat and *pasok*, like a number of other bases in the *-um/-in* directional–verb class, also occur as bases of *mag-/i/-an* double–object verbs (cf. §5.5, class A.1). The directional verbs express some movement of the actor from one place to another, while the double–object verbs express some movement of an object external to the actor from one place to another. Compare: *umakyat/akyatin* ‘climb,’ *mag-akyat/iakyat/akyatan* ‘bring/take up to’; *pumasok/pasukin* ‘enter,’ *magpasok/ipasok/pasukan* ‘bring/take into’; *lumabas/labasin* ‘come/go outside,’ *maglabas/ilabas/labasan* ‘bring/take outside.’

§5.5. Affix–correspondence classes: double–object verbs.

The following presentation of the affix–correspondence classes identified with double–object verb classes parallels the presentation of object–verb and directional–verb classes in §5.3 and 5.4, except that each affix set includes three affixes: an AF affix, an OF affix, and a DF affix (which are listed in that order).

A. *Mag-* classes

1. *mag-/i/-an*

abot (*mag-abot/iabot/abutan* ‘hand to’)

akyat (*mag-akyat/iakyat/akyatan* ‘bring/take up to’)

bigay (*magbigay/ibigay/bigyan* ‘give to’)

pasok (*magpasok/ipasok/pasukan* ‘bring/take into’)

AF: *Nag-abot siya sa akin ng sulat.*

‘He handed me a letter.’

OF: *Iniabot niya sa akin ang sulat.*

‘He handed me the letter.’

DF: *Inabutan niya ako ng sulat.*

‘He handed me a letter.’

Abot also occurs in the *-um/-in* object–verb class (cf. §5.3, class E.2a), in formations meaning ‘reach for.’

For remarks on the occurrence of *akyat*, *pasok*, etc., in the *-um/-in* directional–verb class, cf. §5.4, class D.2.

2. *mag-/i/-in*

alok (*mag-alok/ialok/alukin* ‘offer’)

balibag (*magbalibag/ibalibag/balibagin* ‘throw at’)

bato (*magbato/ibato/batuhin* ‘stone with’)

pukol (*magpukol/ipukol/pukulin* ‘throw at’)

AF: *Nag-alok siya sa akin ng kendi.*

‘He offered me some candy.’

OF: Inialok niya sa akin ang kendi.
'He offered me the candy.'

DF: Inalok niya ako ng kendi.
'He offered me some candy.'

3. *mag-/i-/pag- . . . -an*

batay (magbatay/ibatay/pagbatayan 'base (a decision) on')
 bilin (magbilin/ibilin/pagbilinan 'entrust with')
 bintang (magbintang/ibintang/pagbintangan 'accuse of')
 sandal (magsandal/isandal/pagsandalan 'lean (something) against')

AF: Nagbatay siya ng kapasyahan niya sa balita.
'He based a decision of his on the news report.'

OF: Ibinatay niya ang kapasyahan niya sa balita.
'He based his decision on the news report.'

DF: Pinagbatayan niya ng kapasyahan niya ang balita.
'He based a decision of his on the news report.'

4. *mag-/in/-an*

alis (mag-alis/alisin/alisan 'bring/take out of')
 dala (magdala/dalhin/dalhan 'bring/take to')
 kuskos (magkuskos/kuskusin/kuskusan 'scrape from')
 tanggal (magtanggal/tanggalin/tanggalan 'detach from')

AF: Mag-alis ka ng bigas sa sako.
'Take some rice out of the sack.'

OF: Alisin mo ang bigas sa sako.
'Take the rice out of the sack.'

DF: Alisan mo ng bigas ang sako.
'Take some rice out of the sack.'

5. *mag-/ipag-/pag- . . . -an*

bili (magbili/ipagbili/pagbilhan 'sell to')
 kaila (magkaila/ipagkaila/pagkailaan 'deny')
 kait (magkait/ipagkait/pagkaitan 'refuse to give to')
 tapat (magtapat/ipagtapat/pagtapatan 'confess to')

AF: Nagbili siya sa kanila ng kasangkapan.
'He sold them some furniture.'

OF: Ipinagbili niya sa kanila ang kasangkapan.
'He sold them the furniture.'

DF: Pinagbilhan niya sila ng kasangkapan.
'He sold them some furniture.'

Bili also occurs in the *-um-/in/-an* double-object-verb class (class B.2, below). The *-um-/in/-an* formations have the meaning 'buy from.'

Kaila also occurs in the *mag-/i-/pag- . . . -an* double-object-verb class (class A.3, above). The OF verbs *ikaila* and *ipagkaila* have the same meaning.

B. *Mang-* class (very few bases)

1. *mang-/ipang-/pang- . . . -an*

ako (mangako/ipangako/pangakuan 'promise')

AF: Nangako siya sa akin ng tulong niya.

'He promised me (some of) his help.'

OF: Ipinangako niya sa akin ang tulong niya.

'He promised me his help.'

DF: Pinangakuan niya ako ng tulong niya.

'He promised me (some of) his help.'

C. *-um-* classes

1. *-um-/i-/an*

sulat (sumulat/isulat/sulatan 'write to')

AF: Sumulat ako sa kaniya ng liham.

'I wrote him a letter.'

OF: Isinulat ko sa kaniya ang liham.

'I wrote him the letter.'

DF: Sinulatan ko siya ng liham.

'I wrote him a letter.'

Sulat also occurs in the *-um-/in* object-verb class (§5.3, class E.2a), in formations with the meaning 'write (creatively)'. The *-um-/i-/an* verb has, in addition to the meaning 'write to,' the meaning 'write on, make marks on,' as in:

{ Sumulat ako ng pangalan ko sa papel. }
 { Isinulat ko ang pangalan ko sa papel. }
 { Sinulatan ko ng pangalan ko ang papel. }
 'I wrote my name on the paper.'

As is the case with many other AF double-object verbs, *sumulat* need not be followed by both an object complement and a directional complement, but may occur with only one. Thus, also:

Sumulat ako { ng liham.
 { sa kaniya.

'I wrote { a letter.'
 { to him.'

(The goal-focus counterparts of the above sentences are:

Isinulat ko ang liham.
 'I wrote the letter.'

Sinulatan ko siya.
 'I wrote to him.')

2. *-um/-in/-an*

awit (umawit/awitin/awitan 'sing to')

bili (bumili/bilhin/bilhan 'buy from')

hingi (humingi/hingin/hingan 'ask for')

hiram (humiram/hiramin/hiraman 'borrow from')

AF: Aawit sila sa inyo ng kundiman.

'They will sing a kundiman to you.'

OF: Aawitin nila sa inyo ang kundiman.

'They will sing the kundiman to you.'

DF: Aawitan nila kayo ng kundiman.

'They will sing a kundiman to you.'

Bili also occurs in the *mag-/ipag-/pag- . . . -an* double-object-verb class (class A.5, above). The *mag-/ipag-/pag- . . . -an* formations have the meaning 'sell to.'

§5.6. Affix classes of major intransitive verbs.

Major intransitive verbs are formed with one of ten affixes, each of which defines an affix class. Certain subclasses can be established within the affix classes on the basis of the types of sentence structures into which the verbs enter. In the presentation below, these classes are called: SIMPLE INTRANSITIVES, PSEUDO-TRANSITIVES, ADJUNCTIVES, and ADJUNCTIVE PSEUDO-TRANSITIVES. A simple intransitive (hereafter, SI) verb is one that accepts no adjuncts. (An ADJUNCT is one of certain structures that occur in a non-focus relationship to the verb, and that do not correspond to the topic of a related verb formed with the same base. Adjuncts are presented in detail in §5.26.) A pseudo-transitive (PT) verb is one that accepts an actor adjunct (a structure that is similar in form and meaning to the actor complement that occurs with a GF transitive verb). An adjunctive (A) verb does not accept an actor adjunct, but accepts an adjunct of some other type. An adjunctive pseudo-transitive (APT) verb accepts both an actor adjunct and an adjunct of some other type.

A. *-an* class

bagal (bagalan 'make slow' PT)

kilabot (kilabutan 'feel terrified' SI)

gupit (gupitan 'cut' APT)

pawis (pawisan 'sweat' SI)

sakit (saktan 'have a pain in' A)

tamis (tamisan 'make sweet' PT)

Bagalan mo ang lakad mo.

'Walk slowly.'

(Literally: 'Make your walking slow')

SI, PT, A and APT verbs all occur (cf. §5.26, classes I.1, II.A.1, III.A.1, III.B.1, and III.C.1), with PT and APT verbs in the majority. A subclass of PT verbs is formed with bases that also occur as the bases of *ma-* adjectives (cf. §4.3); these verbs express the 'making' or 'producing' of the quality expressed by the adjective. (The base *pawis* also occurs in *pagpawisan* ~ *pagpusan* 'sweat,' an intransitive verb that alternates freely with *pawisan*, *pagpawisan* ~ *pagpusan* is apparently a unique example of an intransitive *pag- . . . -an* verb, and *pag- . . . -an* is not included in the present inventory of intransitive-verb affixes.)

B. *i-* class (relatively few bases)

kasal (ikasal 'get married to' A)
 kaway (ikaway 'wave (the hand)' PT)
 galaw (igalaw 'move (a part of the body)' PT)
 halal (ihalal 'elect' APT)

Ikinasal siya kay Maria.
 'He got married to Maria.'

The intransitive verbs formed with *i-* are all A, PT, or APT (cf. §5.26, classes I.2, II.B.1, and III.C.2). The majority of them are PT verbs expressing the movement of some part of the body.

C. *-in* class (relatively few bases)

agad (agarin 'do without delay' PT)
 antok (antukin 'feel sleepy' SI)
 kulang (kulangin 'be short of' A)
 hintay (hintayin 'wait for . . . to' APT)
 langgam (langgamin 'be infested with ants' SI)

Agarin mo ang kampanya.
 'Campaign without delay'

SI, PT, A and APT verbs all occur (cf. §5.26, classes I.3, II.A.2, II.C.1, and III.C.3). Most nouns that designate insects may occur as bases of SI *-in* verbs that express the meaning of being infested with the specified insect. Compare: *langgam* 'ant,' *langgamin* 'be infested with ants'; *lamok* 'mosquito,' *lamukin* 'be infested with mosquitoes,' etc.

D. *Ma-* class

bingi (mabingi 'become deaf' SI)
 basag (mabasag 'get broken' SI)
 huli (mahuli 'catch (someone doing something)' APT)
 mahal (mamahal 'become expensive' SI)
 -matay (mamatay 'die' SI)
 tukso (matukso 'be tempted (to)' A)

Nabibingi ang Lolo.
 'Grandfather is becoming deaf.'

Most of the bases that occur in this class also occur as unaffixed adjectives (cf. §4.2), and the SI verbs they form, which may be called *ma-* VERBS OF 'BECOMING,' denote the acquisition of the quality expressed by the adjective; their usual English equivalents involve 'become' or 'get' plus an adjective. Compare: *bingi* 'deaf,' *mabingi* 'become deaf'; *basag* 'broken,' *mabasag* 'get broken,' etc. As is noted in §4.2, some unaffixed adjectives that lack penultimate vowel length are related to nouns that show such length: e.g., *basag* /basag/ 'broken,' *basag* /ba:sag/ '(a) break.' When adjectives such as these occur as bases of *ma-* verbs of becoming, they are identical in form with the related nouns, and show penultimate vowel length: e.g., *mabasag* /maba:sag/ 'get broken.' (See also the discussion of *-um-* verbs of 'becoming' under J, below.)

A few A and APT *ma-* verbs also occur (cf. §5.26, classes II.A.3 and III.C.2).

E. *Ma- . . . -an*

anghang (maanghangan 'find (something) biting in taste' A)
 alat (maalatan 'find (something) salty' A)
 init (mainitan 'feel hot,' 'find (something) hot' SI or A)
 lamig (malamigan 'feel cold,' 'find (something) cold' SI or A)

Naanghangan siya sa sili.
'He found the pepper biting in taste.'

Most of the bases in this class also occur as the bases of *ma-* adjectives (cf. §4.3). The verbs have the meaning of attributing to something the quality expressed by the adjective (in which case they are A) and/or of experiencing the quality expressed by the adjective (in which case they are SI). Compare: *maanghang* 'biting in taste,' *maanghangan* 'find (something) biting in taste'; *mainit* 'hot,' *mainitan* 'feel hot,' 'find (something) hot.' (For a presentation of the adjuncts taken by *ma-. . . -an* verbs, cf. §5.26, classes II.A.4, II.B.2, and II.C.3).

F. *Maka-* class (relatively few bases)

daan (makaraan 'be over' SI)
daos (makaraos 'be over' SI)
sulit (makasulit 'pass (in an examination)' A)

Nakaraan na ang pista.
'The fiesta is over now.'

The few verbs in this class are SI or A (cf. §5.26, class II.B.3).

(Certain intransitive verbs formed with *maka-* may be analyzed as optional contractions of the ability/involuntary-action forms of intransitive indirect-action verbs – cf. §§5.12 and 5.13. Examples are: *makaalat* ~ *makapagpaalat* 'make salty' (literally, 'be able to cause to become salty' – cf. *umalat* 'become salty'), *makatamis* ~ *makapagpatamis* 'make sweet' (cf. *tumamis* 'become sweet'). Like other indirect-action verbs, the *maka-* verbs take a secondary-actor complement such as the *ng* phrase in *Nakatamis ng kape ang asukal* 'The sugar made the coffee sweet.')

G. *Mag-* class

abogado (mag-abogado 'become a lawyer' SI)
atubili (mag-atubili 'hesitate to' A)
bus (magbus 'ride a bus' SI)
kamayan (magkamayan 'exchange handshakes' SI)
hiwalay (maghiwalay 'separate from one another' SI)
mabagal (magmabagal 'be slow (in)' SI or A)
madaling-araw (magmadaling-araw 'be dawn' SI)
-sa-Kastila (magsa-Kastila 'be like a Spaniard' SI)

Nag-aabogado si Juan.
'Juan is becoming a lawyer.'

Most intransitive *mag-* verbs are SI; a few are A (cf. §5.26, class II.C.5).

Many of the bases that occur in this class also occur as unmarked nouns. In the case of nouns designating a member of a profession, the verbs express the meaning of becoming a member of this profession. Compare: *abogado* 'lawyer,' *mag-abogado* 'become a lawyer'; *maestro* 'teacher,' *magmaestro* 'become a teacher'; *nars* 'nurse,' *magnars* 'become a nurse.' In other cases, the verb may express the meaning of making use of the item designated by the noun in the normal or appropriate way: e.g., riding, for vehicles (*bus* 'bus,' *magbus* 'ride a bus'); wearing, for articles of clothing (*kurbata* 'tie,' *magkurbata* 'wear a tie'); speaking, for languages (*Inggles* 'English,' *mag-Inggles* 'speak English'); smoking, for tobacco (*sigarilyo* 'cigarette,' *magsigarilyo* 'smoke (cigarettes)'), etc. Or the verb may express the meaning of producing the item designated by the noun: e.g., *asin* 'salt,' *mag-asin* 'produce salt,' *bunga* 'fruit,' *magbunga* 'bear fruit,' etc.

There are two subclasses of intransitive *mag-* verbs that express reciprocal or joint actions involving two or more actors: one formed with bases that also occur as derived nouns ending in the suffix *-an* (cf. §3.7, subsection (2)), the other formed with bases that do not include the suffix *-an*. Some examples of verbs in the first subclass are: *magkamayan* 'exchange handshakes' (cf. *kamayan*

'exchange of handshakes'), *magsaksakan* 'stab one another' (cf. *saksakan* 'stabbing one another'), *magtakbuhan* 'run together' (cf. *takbuhan* 'running together'). Some examples of verbs in the second subclass are: *mag-away* 'quarrel with one another' (cf. *away* '(a) quarrel'), *magsalubong* 'greet one another' (cf. *salubong* 'greeting'). (cf. also §5.16, subsection (4), for a presentation of multiple reciprocal verbs.)

There is also a subclass of intransitive *mag-* verbs formed with *ma-* adjectives (cf. §4.3 and §5.18, subsection (2.b.1)) as bases. The verbs denote assuming, or pretending to possess, the quality designated by the adjective. Compare: *mabagal* 'slow,' *magmabagal* 'be slow (in),' *madali* 'fast,' *magmadali* 'hurry (in),' *mayaman* 'rich,' *magmayaman* 'pretend to be rich.' (*Ma-* adjectives also occur as the bases of *mag-/pag- . . . -an* directional verbs of similar meaning – cf. §5.3, class B.2.)

Intransitive *mag-* verbs with bases expressing times of day (e.g., *magmadaling-araw* 'be down' – cf. *madaling-araw* 'down') and other natural phenomena occur in topicless phenomenal sentences (cf. §7.21 for further examples and discussion). Intransitive *mag-* verbs with bases consisting of *sa-* plus a noun designating a person denote the assumption of the behavior of the person or type of person designated by the noun. Compare: *Kastila* 'Spaniard,' *magsa-Kastila* 'behave like a Spaniard.' (Cf. §5.18, subsection (2.c.4) for further examples.)

H. *Mang-*class

bangka (mamangka 'go boating' SI)
kimi (mangini 'be hesitant to' A)

kupas (mangupas 'fade' SI)
-nginig (manginig 'tremble' SI)
pula (mamula 'blush, redden' SI)

Mamangka tayo.
'Let's go boating.'

Most of the verbs in this class are SI; a few are A (cf. §5.26, class II.c.5).

A number of bases that occur in this class also occur as unmarked nouns. The *mang-* verbs often denote activities – particularly recreational activities – involving the items designated by the nouns. Compare: *bangka* 'boat'; *mamangka* 'go boating'; *kabayo* 'horse,' *mangabayo* 'go horseback riding'; *isda* 'fish,' *mangisda* 'go fishing,' etc.

There is also a subclass of *mang-* verbs whose bases occur as unaffixed adjectives or as the bases of *ma-* adjectives (cf. §4.2 and 4.3). The *mang-* verb designates the temporary or partial acquisition of the quality expressed by the adjective. Compare: *kupas* 'colorless,' *mangupas* 'fade'; *pula* 'red,' *mamula* 'blush, redden'; *puti* 'white,' *mamuti* 'blanch'; *masakit* 'painful,' *manakit* 'ache'; *matigas* 'hard,' *manigas* 'become stiff.'

I. *pang- . . . -an* class (relatively few bases)

hina (panghinaan 'feel a weakness in' A)
pula (pamulahan 'have a reddening of' A)
-nginig (panginigan 'have a tremor in' A)
sakit (panaktan 'have a pain in' A)

Pinanghinaan siya ng bisig.
'He felt a weakness in the arm.'

All verbs in this class are A, and express the undergoing of something in a part of the body.

J. *-um-* class

- bagyo (bumagyo 'storm' SI)
- buti (bumuti 'become good, improve (in)' SI)
- dami (dumami 'become much, be more than' SI or A)
- dating (dumating 'arrive' SI)
- pasa-Maynila (pumasa-Maynila 'go to Manila' SI)
- sainyo (sumainyo 'be yours' SI)

Bumabagyo na.
'It's storming now.'

SI verbs like *bumagyo*, formed with bases that designate natural conditions (cf. *bagyo* 'storm'), occur in topicless sentences (cf. §7.21). Other examples are: *kumidlat* 'be lightning' (cf. *kidlat* 'lightning'), *gumabi* 'get on toward nighttime' (cf. *gabi* 'night'), *umulan* 'rain' (cf. *ulan* 'rain').

Many of the bases that occur in intransitive (SI or A) *-um-* verbs also occur as the bases of *ma-* adjectives (cf. §4.3), and the verbs, which may be called *-um-* VERBS OF 'BECOMING,' denote the acquisition of the quality expressed by the adjective. Their usual English equivalents are 'become' or 'get' plus an adjective. Compare: *mabuti* 'good,' *bumuti* 'become good, improve'; *malaki* 'big,' *lumaki* 'get big, grow'; *matanda* 'old,' *tumanda* 'get old, age.' The bases of a few *-um-* verbs of 'becoming' also occur as unaffixed adjectives (cf. §4.2), rather than as *ma-* adjective bases. Compare: *payat* 'thin,' *pumayat* 'become thin.' (most unaffixed adjectives occur as bases of *ma-* verbs of 'becoming' – cf. class D, above – rather than *-um-* verbs of 'becoming'.)

There is a subclass of SI *-um-* verb bases related to locative adjective phrases (cf. §4.19). In the verb bases, the *na-* of the adjective phrase is replaced by *pa-* /*pa*/; compare: *nasa Maynila* 'in Manila,' *pumasa-Maynila* 'go to Manila.' There is also a subclass related to possessive *sa* phrases (cf. §4.22); compare: *sa inyo* 'yours,' *sumainyo* 'be yours.' (For further examples of verbs like *pumasa-Maynila* and *sumainyo*, cf. §5.18, subsection (4.a). For a presentation of A *-um-* verbs, cf. §5.26, classes II.A.7, II.B.4, and II.C.6.)

§5.7. Benefactive–focus verbs.

BENEFACTIVE–FOCUS (BF) verbs form predicates that select as topics nominals expressing the beneficiary of the action: i.e., the (one)s for whose benefit or in whose stead the action is performed. Examples are:

Ipagluluto ko ng pagkain si Maria.
'I'll cook some food for Maria.'

Ipipirma ko ang Tatay.
'I'll sign (as proxy) for Father.'

The meaning of action performed for someone's benefit is more frequent than that of action done in someone's stead. The latter meaning is associated principally with BF verbs that denote activities of a social nature: e.g.,

ikumusta	'say hello for'
idalo	'attend (e.g., a social function) for'
ihalik	'kiss (someone) for'
ipagpaalam	'say goodbye for'

BF verbs are derived from AF *-um-*, *mag-*, and *mang-* verbs by replacing the AF affix with the corresponding BF affix. (*Ma-* and *maka-* bases rarely if ever form BF verbs.) Chart 11 gives the productive affix correspondences:

CHART 11
AF–BF AFFIX CORRESPONDENCES

AF Affix	BF Affix
-um-	i-
mag-	ipag-
mang-	ipang-

Examples are:

AF Verb	BF Verb
bumili 'buy'	ibili 'buy for'
kumuha 'get'	ikuha 'get for'
maglaba 'launder'	ipaglaba 'launder for'
magsaing 'cook rice'	ipagsaing 'cook rice for'
manahi 'sew'	ipanahi 'sew for'
manguha 'gather'	ipanguha 'gather for'

The topic of a BF verb corresponds to a nominal within a *para sa* phrase serving as a benefactive adverb (cf. §6.11, subsection (1.a)) with the corresponding AF verb. Compare, for example:

AF: Bumili ako ng damit para sa bata.
'I bought some clothes for the child.'

and:

BF: Ibinili ko ng damit ang bata.
'I bought some clothes for the child.'

A benefactive–focus verb takes an actor complement and, additionally, any other complement(s) taken by the related AF verb. Examples for each of the three complement classes of transitive verbs are:

1. Object Verb:

AF: Mag-iihaw si Nene ng isda para kay Eddie.	}
BF: Ipag-iihaw ni Nene ng isda si Eddie.	
'Nene will broil some fish for Eddie.'	

2. Directional verb:

AF: Pipirma ako sa kasulatan para sa Tatay.	}
BF: Ipipirma ko sa kasulatan ang Tatay.	
'I'll sign the document for Father.'	

3. Double–object verb:

AF: Hihingi si Ben ng mga kopya sa titser para sa iyo.	}
BF: Ihingi ka ni Ben ng mga kopya sa titser.	
'Ben will ask the teacher for some copies for you.'	

Examples of intransitive verbs, the BF counterparts of which take actor complements only, are:

- | | |
|---|---|
| AF: Magluluksa sila para sa pinsan nila. | } |
| BF: Ipagluluksa nila ang pinsan nila. | |
| 'They will wear mourning for their cousin.' | |
-
- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| AF: Magnunubena kami para sa kaniya. | } |
| BF: Ipagnunubena namin siya. | |
| 'We will say a novena for him.' | |

In addition to BF verbs formed with *i-*, *ipag-*, and *ipang-*, there is a small group of *-an* and *pag-...-an* verbs with benefactive meanings. The group includes: *gawan* 'make (something) for,' *iwanan* 'leave (something) for,' *paglaanan* 'set aside (something) for,' and *tiran* 'leave (something) for.' *Gawan* is a dialectal variant of the regular BF formation *igawa* (cf. *gumawa* 'make'). Thus:

{	AF:	Gumawa ka ng damit para sa Nanay.	}						
{	BF:	<table style="border: none;"> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">Igawa</td> <td rowspan="2" style="vertical-align: middle;">mo ng damit ang Nanay.</td> <td rowspan="2" style="vertical-align: middle;">}</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">Gawan</td> </tr> </table>	}	Igawa	mo ng damit ang Nanay.	}	}	Gawan	}
}	Igawa	mo ng damit ang Nanay.	}						
}	Gawan								
		'Make a dress for Mother.'							

Iwanan, *paglaanan*, and *tiran* are ambiguously DF or BF, since the AF verbs to which they correspond (respectively, *mag-iwan*, *maglaan*, and *magtira*) accept either directional complements (formed with *sa* – cf. §5.25) or benefactive adverbs to express the one(s) for whom something is 'left' or 'set aside.' Thus:

{	AF:	<table style="border: none;"> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">Mag-iwan</td> <td rowspan="2" style="vertical-align: middle;">ka ng pagkain (para) sa akin.</td> <td rowspan="2" style="vertical-align: middle;">}</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">Magtira</td> </tr> </table>	}	Mag-iwan	ka ng pagkain (para) sa akin.	}	}	Magtira	}		
}	Mag-iwan	ka ng pagkain (para) sa akin.	}								
}	Magtira										
{	DF/BF:	<table style="border: none;"> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">Iwanan</td> <td rowspan="3" style="vertical-align: middle;">mo ako ng pagkain.</td> <td rowspan="3" style="vertical-align: middle;">}</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">Tiran</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: center;">'Leave some food for me.'</td> </tr> </table>	}	Iwanan	mo ako ng pagkain.	}	}	Tiran		'Leave some food for me.'	}
}	Iwanan	mo ako ng pagkain.	}								
}	Tiran										
	'Leave some food for me.'										
{	AF:	Maglaan ka ng sopas (para) kay Maria.	}								
{	DF/BF:	Paglaanan mo ng sopas si Maria.	}								
		'Set aside some soup for Maria.'									

There is no regular BF formation corresponding to *mag-iwan* – i.e., the expected **ipag-iwan* fails to occur. There are, however, regular BF formations corresponding to *maglaan* and *magtira*: respectively *ipaglaan* and *ipagtira*. The topics of these regular BF verbs may express either the one(s) for whom something is 'set aside' or 'left' (in which case they are synonymous with *paglaanan* and *tiran* respectively) or the one(s) for whose benefit the action of 'setting aside something for someone' or 'leaving something for someone' is performed. Thus:

{	Ipaglaan	mo ako ng pagkain.	}
}	Ipagtira		
{	'Set aside	some food for me.'	}
}	'Leave		
{	Ipaglaan	mo ako (para) kay Maria ng pagkain.	}
}	Ipagtira		
{	'Set aside	some food for Maria for me.'	}
}	'Leave		

(cf. {	Maglaan	}	ka (para) kay Maria ng pagkain para sa akin.
	Magtira		
	'Set aside	}	some food for Maria for me.')
	'Leave		

§5.8. Causitive–focus verbs.

CAUSATIVE–FOCUS (CF) verbs form predicates that select as topics nominals expressing the cause of the action. They are derived from transitive and intransitive *-um-*, *ma-*, *mag-* and *mang-* verbs. Chart 12 gives the affix correspondences:

CHART 12
AF–CF AFFIX CORRESPONDENCES

AF Affix	CF Affix
-um-	i-, ika-
ma-	ika-
mag-	i(ka)pag-
mang-	i(ka)pang-

(The notations *i(ka)pag-* and *i(ka) pang-* indicate free alternation between the forms with and without *ka*. Thus: *ipag- ~ ikapag-*, *ipang- ~ ikapang-*.)

Of the two CF counterparts of *-um-*, *ika-* is the more common. Generally, intransitive *-um-* verbs of 'becoming' (cf. §5.6, class J) have corresponding causative–focus verbs formed with either *i-* or *ika-*, the two occurring as free alternants. Examples are:

<p>AF Verb gumanda 'become beautiful' yumaman 'become rich' pumayat 'become thin'</p>	<p>CF Verb iganda/ikaganda 'cause to become beautiful' iyaman/ikayaman 'cause to become rich' ipayat/ikapayat 'cause to become thin'</p>
--	---

Although there are some exceptions, the majority of *-um-* verbs outside this group correspond to CF *ika-* verbs only. In the case of the exceptions, both CF *i-* and CF *ika-* verbs occur. In general, the *i-* verbs imply that the cause of the action is of some importance, as in:

Iniluha ni Nena ang pagkawala ng alahas niya.
'The loss of her jewelry made Nena shed tears.'

The *i-* verbs are avoided, and the *ika-* verbs used instead, where the cause of the action is regarded as trivial. Thus:

Ikinaluha ni Nena ang usok.
'The smoke made Nena shed tears.'

(*Iniluha* and *ikinaluha* are the perfective forms of, respectively, *iluha* and *ikaluha*, both of which correspond to AF *lumuha* 'shed tears'.)

At least one AF *mag-* verb *magbili* 'sell,' has a corresponding CF verb formed with *ikapag-* (*ikapagbili* 'cause to sell') but none formed with *ipag-*. (*ipagbili* does, however, occur as the OF counterpart of *magbili*.)

Other examples of the derivation of CF verbs are:

AF Verb	CF Verb
pumunta 'go'	ikapunta 'cause to go'
tumakbo 'run'	ikatakbo 'cause to run'
magalit 'get angry'	ikagalit 'cause to get angry'
mag-away 'fight'	i(ka)pag-away 'cause to fight'
magturo 'teach'	i(ka)pagturo 'cause to teach'
maniwala 'believe'	i(ka)paniwala 'cause to believe'
manginig 'tremble'	i(ka)panginig 'cause to tremble'

The topic of a CF verb corresponds to a nominal within a *dahil sa* phrase occurring as a causative adverb (cf. §6.11, subsection (1.b)) with the corresponding AF verb. The predicate formed by a CF verb includes an actor complement and, additionally, any other complement(s) taken by the related AF verb. Examples are:

AF:	Nag-away sina Ben at Eddie dahil sa laruan. 'Ben and Eddie fought because of the toy.'
CF:	Ipinag-away } Ikinapag-away } nina Ben at Eddie ang laruan. 'The toy caused Ben and Eddie to fight.'
AF:	Nagbili sila ng kanilang kasangkapan dahil sa kahirapan nila. 'They sold some of their furniture because of their poverty.'
CF:	Ikinapagbili nila ng kanilang kasangkapan ang kahirapan nila. 'Their poverty caused them to sell some of their furniture.'

§5.9. Locative-focus verbs.

A LOCATIVE-FOCUS (LF) verb forms a predicate that selects as topic a nominal expressing the location of the action. LF verbs are derived from certain major AF verbs by replacing the AF affix with the corresponding LF affix. The affix correspondences are shown in Chart 13.

CHART 13
AF-LF AFFIX CORRESPONDENCES

AF Affix	LF Affix
ma-	ka- . . . -an, pag- . . . -an
maka-	ka- . . . -an
-um-	pag- . . . -an
mag-	pag- . . . -an
mang-	pang- . . . -an

Of the two LF counterparts of *ma-*, *ka- . . . -an* is the more common, *pag- . . . -an* occurring in only a few cases. Some examples of the correspondences shown in Chart 13 are:

AF Verb	LF Verb
mamatay 'die'	kamatayan 'die in/on'
malunod 'drown'	kalunuran 'drown in'
matulog 'sleep'	pagtulugan 'sleep in/on'
makakita 'see'	kakitahan 'see at/in'

AF Verb	LF Verb
makarinig 'hear'	karinggan 'hear at/in'
sumulat 'write'	pagsulatan 'write in/on'
umawit 'sing'	pag-awitan 'sing at/in'
maglaro 'play'	paglaruan 'play in/on'
magturo 'teach'	pagturuan 'teach in'
mamangka 'go boating'	pamangkaan 'go boating in/on'
mangisda 'go fishing'	pangisdaan 'go fishing in/on'

The topic of an LF verb corresponds to a nominal within a *sa* phrase serving as a locative adverb (cf. §6.9) with the corresponding AF verb. Compare, for example:

AF: Namamangka ka ba sa ilog?
'Do you go boating on the river?'

and:

LF: Pinamamangkaan mo ba ang ilog?
'Do you go boating on the river?'

The LF verb takes an actor complement, and, additionally, any other complement(s) taken by the related AF verb (see examples below).

LF verbs occur less often as predicates than they do as nominalized topics (cf. §3.24). Thus, a sentence like:

Pinagsulatan ko ang desk na ito.
'I wrote on this desk.'

represents a less common sentence type than does:

Ang desk na ito ang pinagsulatan ko.
'It's this desk that I wrote on.'

While there are LF verbs corresponding to many major AF object verbs, double-object verbs, and intransitive verbs, AF directional verbs do not normally have LF counterparts. It may be noted, in this connection, that there is considerable formal similarity between LF and DF (direction-focus) verbs. Thus, all three of the affixes that occur in LF verbs, *ka- . . . -an*, *pag- . . . -an*, and *pang- . . . -an*, also occur in DF verbs. Compare: LF *ka-matayan* 'die in/on' DF *kagalitan* 'be angry with'; LF *paglaruan* 'play in/on,' DF *paghigantihan* 'take revenge on'; LF *pangisdaan* 'go fishing in/on,' DF *panghimasukan* 'meddle with.' But in spite of the formal similarity between LF verbs and DF verbs, and in spite of the fact that the majority of major AF verbs have either LF or DF counterparts but not both, there is usually a clear semantic and/or structural basis for distinguishing the two focus types.

The semantic basis for the distinction between LF and DF verbs is most evident in the case of double-object verbs, the only complement class of verbs that allows of a direct comparison between LF and DF verbs formed with the same base and corresponding to the same AF verb. In the case of such verbs, there is a clear semantic contrast between the two focus types. Compare, for example:

LF: Pinaghahaluan ni Rosa ng asukal sa kape ang kapitera.
'Rosa stirs sugar into the coffee in the coffee pot.'
(or, more commonly:
Ang kapitera ang pinaghahaluan ni Rosa ng asukal sa kape.
'It's in the coffee pot that Rosa stirs sugar into the coffee.'

and:

DF: Hinahaluan ni Rosa ng asukal ang kape sa kapitera.
'Rosa stirs sugar into the coffee in the coffee pot.'

In these examples, the LF verb *pinaghahahuan* (the imperfective form of *paghahuan*) selects as topic *ang kapitera* 'the coffee pot,' which expresses the location of the action of 'stirring,' while the DF verb *hinahahuan* (the imperfective form of *hahuan*) selects as topic *ang kape* 'the coffee,' which expresses the directional goal of this action. (The sentences with the LF and DF verbs both correspond to AF:

Naghahalo si Rosa ng asukal sa kape sa kapitera.
'Rosa stirs sugar into the coffee in the coffee pot.'

Another example of this type of contrast is:

LF: Ang iskwelang iyon ang pagtuturuan niya ng Tagalog sa mga Amerikano.
'It's in that school that he'll teach the American Tagalog.'

DF: Tuturuan niya ng Tagalog ang mga Amerikano sa iskwelang iyon.
'He'll teach the American Tagalog in that school.'

(cf. AF: Magtuturo siya ng Tagalog sa mga Amerikano sa iskwelang iyon.
'He'll teach the American Tagalog in that school.')

Once more the LF verb (*pagtuturuan*) focuses upon a phrase expressing the location of the action (*ang iskwelang iyon* 'that school'), the DF verb (*tuturuan*) upon a phrase expressing the directional goal of the action (*ang mga Amerikano* 'the Americans').

In the case of LF verbs derived from AF object verbs and intransitive verbs, no direct LF–DF comparison is possible (since such AF verbs lack DF counterparts.) A comparison may, however, be made instead between such LF verbs and superficially similar DF verbs formed with the same affix. Compare, for example, the LF and DF *ka- . . . -an* formations in the following sentences:

LF: Kinamatayan nila ang bundok na iyon.
'They died on that mountain.'

(cf. AF: Namatay sila sa bundok na iyon.
'They died on that mountain.')

DF: Kinaawaan nila ang pulubing iyon.
'They took pity on that beggar.'

(cf. AF: Naawa sila sa pulubing iyon.
'They took pity on that beggar.')

In the examples, *kinamatayan*, an LF verb, corresponds to the intransitive AF verb *namatay*, while *kinaawaan*, a DF verb, corresponds to the directional AF verb *naawa*. Several types of contrasts may be noted between the two *ka- . . . -an* verbs. First, there is a semantic contrast of the kind already noted: i.e., the topic of *kinamatayan* represents the location of an action, that of *kinaawaan* the directional goal of an action. Second, there is a structural contrast between the LF verb whose topic corresponds to a completely optional element (i.e., a locative adverb) in the related AF sentence, and the DF verb whose topic corresponds to a semi-obligatory element (i.e., a directional complement) in the related AF sentence. Thus, while the sentence:

Namatay sila.
'They died.'

is complete in itself, and does not imply a deleted locative adverb, the sentence:

Naawa sila.
'They took pity (on someone).'

if it occurs at all, strongly implies a deleted directional goal.

Since the topic (or predicate) that occurs opposite an LF verb expresses, in general, the location of the action, it is normally an unmarked noun or deictic pronoun representing a place. Some further examples of LF sentences and their AF counterparts are:

{ AF: Nagbayo sila ng palay sa lusong. }
 { LF: Pinagbayuhan nila ng palay ang lusong. }
 'They pounded rice in the mortar.'

{ AF: Naglalaro kami ng tses sa mesang maliit. }
 { LF: Pinaglalaruan namin ng tses ang mesang maliit. }
 'We play chess on the small table.'

{ AF: Nagluto si Helen ng karne sa kawali. }
 { LF: Pinaglutan ni Helen ng karne ang kawali. }
 'Helen cooked some meat in the frying pan.'

§5.10. Referential-focus and measurement-focus verbs.

REFERENTIAL-FOCUS (RfF) verbs express actions involving communication, and select as topics nominals that denote the subject matter of the communication. The topic of an RfF verb usually corresponds to an 'about' phrase in English.

RfF verbs are derived from certain intransitive *mag-* verbs (cf. §5.6, class G) that express joint actions involving communication. In the RfF verbs, *mag-* is replaced by *pag-...-an*. Some examples of the correspondence between intransitive *mag-* verbs and RfF *pag-...-an* verbs are:

<p>Intransitive mag-Verb mag-away 'quarrel' magkasundo 'be in agreement' magpulong 'have a meeting' magtalo 'argue' mag-usap 'converse, talk'</p>	<p>RfF pag-...-an Verb pag-awayan 'quarrel about' pagkasunduan 'be in agreement about' pagpulangan 'have a meeting about' pagtaluhan 'argue about' pag-usapan 'talk about'</p>
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The topic of an RfF verb commonly corresponds to a nominal within a *tungkol sa* referential adverb (cf. §6.11, subsection (1.c)) that occurs with the related *mag-* verb. The RfF verb takes an actor complement that corresponds to the topic of the *mag-* verb. Compare:

{ AF: Nag-away sila tungkol sa pera. }
 { RfF: Pinag-awayan nila ang pera. }
 'They quarreled about the money.'

{ AF: Nag-usap sina Rudy tungkol sa giyera. }
 { RfF: Pinag-usapan nina Rudy ang giyera. }
 'Rudy and the others talked about the war.'

Quite frequently a nominalized referential adjective phrase (cf. §4.20, subsection (5)) occurs in place of a nominal as topic of an RfF verb. (Like referential adverbs, referential adjective phrases are commonly introduced by *tungkol sa*.) A referential phrase occurring as topic of an RfF verb is often translatable by a phrase introduced by 'about the matter of' or 'about matters concerning' in English. Examples are:

Pinag-awayan nila ang tungkol sa pera.
 'They quarreled about the matter of the money.'

Pinag-usapan nina Rudy ang tungkol sa giyera.
 'Rudy and the others talked about matters concerning the war.'

-um- Verb	MF i- Verb	
bumigat	ibigat	'gain in weight (become heavy)'
lumaki	ilaki	'grow (become big)'
tumaas	itaas	'grow (become tall)'
tumagal	itagal	'last (become long)'
umunlad	iunlad	'progress (become advanced)'

MF verbs take actor complements corresponding to the topics of the *-um-* verbs from which they are derived. The construction formed by the MF verb and the actor complement occurs only as a nominalized verbal in topic position (cf. §3.24). The predicate opposite which this construction occurs corresponds to an expression of measurement found within a *nang* measurement adverb occurring with the related *-um-* verb (cf. §6.11, subsection (3)). Compare:

{ AF: Lumaki nang tatlong pulgada ang bata. }
 { MF: Tatlong pulgada ang inilaki ng bata. }
 'The child grew three inches.'

(but not:

*Inilaki ng bata ang tatlong pulgada.

{ AF: Tatagal nang dalawang oras ang pulong. }
 { MF: Dalawang oras ang itatagal ng pulong. }
 'The meeting will last two hours.'

{ AF: Umunlad nang malaki ang bayan. }
 { MF: Malaki ang iniunlad ng bayan. }
 'The nation has progressed a lot.'

§5.11. Reservational-focus and instrumental-focus verbs.

RESERVATIONAL-FOCUS (RF) verbs are formed by affixing the prefix *i-* to a reservational adjective; INSTRUMENTAL-FOCUS (IF) verbs are, in general, formed by affixing the prefix *i-* to an instrumental adjective (see below for exceptions). The formation of reservational and instrumental adjectives is presented in detail in §4.8. As is noted in that section, both types of adjectives consist of the prefix *pang-* plus a base or, in the case of certain instrumental adjectives of *pampa-* plus a base. In the case of reservational adjectives, the base is ordinarily a noun, and the adjective has the meaning 'reserved or intended for use on/in' what the base designates: e.g., *pambubong* 'for (use on) the roof' (cf. *bubong* 'roof'), *pangkape* 'for (use in) coffee' (cf. *kape* 'coffee'). A subclass of reservational adjectives has the specialized meaning 'reserved or intended for wear in/at' what the base designates: e.g., *pangkasal* 'for (wear at) a wedding' (cf. *kasal* 'wedding'), *pang-opisina* 'for (wear in) an office' (cf. *opisina* 'office'). (There are, in addition, reservational adjectives whose bases are cardinal or ordinal numbers, and a very few whose bases do not occur independently, but do occur as verb bases – cf. §4.8.)

In the case of instrumental adjectives, the base also occurs as a verb base, and the adjective has the meaning 'for use in performing' the action designated by the related actor-focus verb formed with the same base. Examples are: *panghabi* 'for use in weaving' (cf. *humabi* 'weave'), *pangwalis* 'for use in sweeping' (cf. *magwalis* 'sweep'), *pangusina* (or *pampangusina* – see below) 'for use in cooking' (cf. *mangusina* 'cook'), *pampatulog* 'for use in putting to sleep' (cf. *magpatulog* 'put to sleep').

The rules governing the form of reservational and instrumental adjectives may be summarized as follows:

(1) In reservational adjectives, the prefix has one of three forms: *pam-* /pam/ if the base begins with /p/ or /b/; *pan-* /pan/ if the base begins with /t/, /d/, /s/, or /l/; *pang-* /pan/ in other cases.

(2) In instrumental adjectives whose bases occur in related *-um-* or *mag-* verbs and begin with /p/, /t/, /s/, or /k/, there are two alternative formations: one that is identical with the formation of reservational adjectives whose bases begin with these consonants, and another in which the initial base consonant is

replaced by its homorganic nasal counterpart – /p/ by /m/, /t/ or /s/ by /n/, /k/ by /ŋ/ – and the final nasal of the prefix is simultaneously lost.

(3) In instrumental adjectives whose bases occur in related *-um-* or *mag-* verbs and begin with some consonant other than /p/, /t/, /s/, or /k/, the formation of the adjective is identical with that of a reservational adjective with the same base–initial consonant.

(4) In instrumental adjectives whose bases occur in related *mang-* verbs, *pam-* /pam/ is prefixed to a formation in which /p/ replaces the initial /m/ of the verbal affix; in some cases, the initial /pam/ of the adjectival formation is optionally deletable. (Examples of the operation of the above rules are presented in §4.8. It may be noted that the rules governing formations with the adjectival prefix *pang-* differ from those governing formations with the verbal prefix *pang-*. The latter resemble the rules for the formation of *mang-* verbs which are presented in §5.2, subsection (12).)

Some examples of the correspondence of reservational adjectives and RF verbs are:

Reservational Adjective	RF Verb
pambahay 'for (wear in) the house'	ipambahay 'wear in the house'
pansimba 'for (wear in) church'	ipansimba 'wear in church'
pansopas 'for (use in) soup'	ipansopas 'use in soup'
pangkape 'for (use in) coffee'	ipangkape 'use in coffee'
pangkunsyerto 'for use in/at a concert'	ipangkunsyerto 'use in/at a concert'

As the translations show, RF verbs usually correspond to English constructions with 'wear in/at' or 'use in/at.'

Some examples of the correspondence of instrumental adjectives and IF verbs are:

Instrumental Adjective	IF Verb
pampunas } pamunas } 'for use in wiping'	ipampunas } ipamunas } 'wipe with'
pansuklay } panuklay } 'for use in combing'	ipansuklay } ipanuklay } 'comb with'
pangguhit 'for use in drawing'	ipangguhit 'draw with'
pangwalis 'for use in sweeping'	ipangwalis 'sweep with'
pampangusina } pangusina } 'for use in cooking'	ipampangusina } ipangusina } 'cook with'
pampatulog 'for use in putting to sleep'	ipampatulog 'put to sleep with'

As the translations show, IF verbs usually correspond to English verbs followed by 'with.'

The topic of an IF verb designates the instrument with which an action is performed. The verb takes an actor complement designating the user(s) of the instrument, and, in addition, any other complement(s) taken by the related actor–focus verb formed with the same base. Examples are:

Ipinampunas }
Ipinamunas } ng katulong ng kasangkapan ang basahang iyon.
'The maid wiped furniture with that rag.'

(cf. Nagpunas ang katulong ng kasangkapan.
'The maid wiped furniture.')

Ipinapambili nila ng mga kagamitan sa tindahan ang perang Amerikano.
'They buy goods at the store with American money.'

(cf. Bumibili sila ng mga kagamitan sa tindahan.
'They buy goods at the store.')

Ipinampapatulog ng duktor ng pasyente ang gamot.
'The doctor is putting a patient to sleep with the drug.'

(cf. Nagpapatulog ng pasyente ang duktor.
'The doctor is putting a patient to sleep.')

In a limited number of cases, IF verbs show, in addition to formations that involve *i-* plus an instrumental adjective, alternative formations that involve either *i-* or *ipag-* plus the base of the instrumental adjective. These alternative formations normally occur only when the base of the instrumental adjective itself designates an instrument. Thus the base *suklay* '(a) comb,' which occurs in the instrumental adjective *pansuklay/panuklay* 'for use in combing' (cf. *magsuklay* '(to) comb') appears in the IF-verb formations *isuklayi* and *ipagsuklay* as well as in *ipansuklay* and *ipanuklay*. (All four formations mean 'comb with.')

Some further examples of such alternative IF formations are:

igunting/ipaggunting/ipanggunting 'cut with' (base: *gunting* 'scissors')
isandok/ipagsandok/ipansandok 'ladle with' (base: *sandok* 'ladle')
isipilyo/ipagsipilyo/ipansipilyo 'brush with' (base: *sipilyo* 'brush')

When the base of the instrumental adjective does not itself designate an instrument, the alternative *i-* and *ipag-* formations do not normally occur. Thus there are no IF verbs **ihalo* and **ipaghalo* alternating with *ipanghalo* 'mix with.' (A few common bases that do not designate instruments, however, occur in the alternative *i-* formation. Thus *ibili~ipambili* 'buy with,' *iguhit~ipangguhit* 'draw with,' *isulat~ipan(s)ulat* 'write with.' These bases do not form IF verbs with *ipag-*.)

§5.12. Indirect-action verbs.

All the verbs presented in §5.3 through 5.11 may be called **direct-action verbs**, in that they express the direct performance of an action by the person(s), etc., designated by the actor topic (in the case of actor-focus verbs) or the actor complement (in the case of goal-focus verbs). Tagalog also has a set of **INDIRECT-ACTION VERBS**. In the case of these verbs, all of which are formed with complex affixes that include the prefix *pa-* /*pa-*/, the person(s), etc., designated by the actor topic or actor complement are not necessarily expressed as performing the action of the verb, but, rather, as permitting or causing this action to be performed. The English equivalents of such verbs often involve 'let,' 'make,' or 'have' plus verb: e.g.,

Nagpaluto ako ng adobo kay Rosa.
'I let/made/had Rosa cook some adobo.'

There are eight different focus types of indirect-action verbs. Seven of these are the indirect-action counterparts of direct-action-verb focus types presented in previous sections: actor focus (AF), object focus (OF), directional focus (DF), benefactive focus (BF), causative focus (CF), locative focus (LF), and referential focus (RfF). The eighth is a focus type peculiar to indirect-action verbs, which may be called **SECONDARY-ACTOR focus (A2F)**. The various focus types of indirect-action verbs are presented below under the following headings: (1) AF indirect-action verbs; (2) A2F indirect-action verbs; (3) OF and DF indirect-action verbs; (4) other indirect-action verbs.

(1) **AF INDIRECT-ACTION VERBS.** AF indirect-action verbs select as topics nominals denoting the person(s) etc., permitting or causing the action to be performed. They are in all cases formed with the prefix *magpa-*, whatever the affix of the corresponding AF direct-action verb formed with the same base. (Bases that form AF direct-action verbs only with *mang-* (e.g., *isda* 'fish' → *mangisda* 'go fishing') do not form AF indirect-action verbs.) Examples are:

AF Direct-Action Verb
 mahinog 'get ripe'
 makakita 'see'
 magwalis 'sweep'
 sumulat 'write'

AF Indirect-Action Verb
 magpahinog 'permit/cause to get ripe'
 magpakita 'permit/cause to see'
 magpawalis 'permit/cause to sweep'
 magpasulat 'permit/cause to write'

As is noted in §5.2, subsection (17), there are many pairs of major *-um-* and *mag-* verbs formed with the same base: e.g., *lumabas* 'go out' and *maglabas* 'bring/take out'; *umuwi* 'go home' and *mag-uwi* 'bring/take home.' Since the AF indirect-action verbs that correspond to direct-action *-um-* and *mag-* verbs are formed with the same prefix, *magpa-* it follows that the formal distinction between pairs of verbs like *lumabas* and *maglabas* or *umuwi* and *mag-uwi* is lost in the corresponding indirect-action verbs. Thus *magpalabas* may mean either 'permit/cause to go out' or 'permit/cause to bring/take out,' and *magpauwi* may mean either 'permit/cause to go home' or 'permit/cause to bring/take home.' The ambiguity of such verbs is resolved only by context. (Similar ambiguity occurs in the case of certain indirect-action verbs of focus types presented in subsections (3) and (4), below. No special note is made of such ambiguity in these subsections.)

AF indirect-action verbs may take any complement(s) taken by the corresponding direct-action verb, plus, in most cases (see below for exceptions), a **SECONDARY-ACTOR COMPLEMENT**. The secondary-actor complement expresses the person(s), etc., permitted or caused to perform the action. In form, the secondary-actor complement taken by an AF indirect-action verb is in some cases identical with a directional complement, in others with an object complement. (Cf. §5.25 for a summary of the forms of directional and object complements.) The secondary-actor complement has the form of a directional complement when the corresponding direct-action verb is a transitive verb belonging to the object or double-object complement class (cf. §§5.3 and 5.5, respectively). Thus in the following sentences, the secondary-actor complement is expressed by the *sa* phrase *sa katulong* 'the maid,' which is identical in form with a directional complement:

Magpawalis ka ng bakuran sa katulong.
 'Let/Have the maid sweep the yard.'

Magpabili ka ng sigarilyo sa tindahan sa katulong.
 'Let/I have the maid buy some cigarettes at the store.'

(*Magwalis*, the direct-action verb that corresponds to *magpawalis*, is an object verb. *Bumili*, the direct-action verb that corresponds to *magpabili*, is a double-object verb.)

(Since the secondary-actor complement and the directional complement are identical in form after an AF indirect-action verb that corresponds to a double-object verb, there are many cases of ambiguity. Thus the sentence:

Magpabigay ka ng pera kay Rosa kay Maria.

can mean either 'Have Rosa give some money to Maria' (in which case *kay Rosa* is interpreted as a secondary-actor complement, *kay Maria* as a directional complement) or 'Have Maria give some money to Rosa' (in which case *kay Rosa* is interpreted as a directional complement, *kay Maria* as a secondary-actor complement). This kind of ambiguity, which can be resolved only by context, can occur in the case of various other focus-types of indirect-action verbs that correspond to direct-action double-object verbs.)

The secondary-actor complement has the form of an object complement when the corresponding direct-action verb is a transitive verb belonging to the directional complement class (cf. §5.4) or is

intransitive (cf. §5.6). (As is specified in §5.25, subsection (2), an object complement within a non-nominalized verbal is expressed by a *ng* phrase, which must be either *ng* plus an unmarked noun or the *ng* form of a deictic pronoun. Within a nominalized verbal, the object complement is expressed by either a *ng* phrase or a *sa* phrase if the nominal within the complement is an unmarked noun or a deictic pronoun, and is expressed by a *sa* phrase if the nominal within the complement is a personal noun or a personal pronoun.) Thus in the following sentences the secondary-actor complements are identical in form with object complements occurring in similar contexts:

Nagpapunta siya	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ng bata} \\ \text{noon} \end{array} \right\}$		sa tindahan.
‘He let/had	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{a child} \\ \text{one of those} \end{array} \right\}$		go to the store.’
Nagpapatulog sila	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ng bata} \\ \text{noon} \end{array} \right\}$		
‘She’s putting	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{a child} \\ \text{one of those} \end{array} \right\}$		to bed.’
(Literally: ‘She’s letting/having...sleep.’)			
Siya ang nagpapunta	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ng} \\ \text{sa} \\ \text{noon} \\ \text{doon} \\ \text{kay Jose} \\ \text{sa kaniya} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{bata} \end{array} \right\}$	sa tindahan.
‘He’s the one who let/had	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{a/the} \\ \text{the} \\ \text{one of those} \\ \text{that one} \\ \text{Jose} \\ \text{him} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{child} \end{array} \right\}$	go to the store.’

(*Pumunta*, the direct-action verb that corresponds to *magpapunta* is a directional verb. *Matulog*, the direct-action verb that corresponds to *magpapatulog*, is an intransitive verb.) As the above examples show, secondary-actor complements that have the form of object complements carry the same meanings of definiteness or indefiniteness as are carried by object complements occurring in similar contexts.

There is at least one AF indirect-action verb that constitutes an exception to the above generalizations. This is the verb *magpakain* ‘feed’ (literally, ‘permit/cause to eat’), which corresponds to the

double-object direct-action verb *kumain* 'eat.' When *magpakain* is followed by an object complement, the formation of the secondary-actor complement is regular; that is, it is identical in form with a directional complement: e.g.,

Magpakain ka ng darak sa baboy.
'Feed the pig some rice bran.'

(The indirect-actor complement in the above sentence is *sa baboy* 'the pig.')

When, however, *magpakain* is not followed by an object complement, the secondary-actor complement is identical in form with an object complement. Thus:

Magpakain ka ng baboy.
'Feed { a } pig.'
 { the }

(In the case of other indirect-action verbs, only a *sa*-phrase secondary-actor complement would occur in similar structures. Thus:

Magpawalis ka sa katulong.
'Let/Have the maid sweep.'

but not:

*Magpawalis ka ng katulong.)

(Secondary-actor complements also occur with indirect-action verbs of the focus types presented in subsections (3) and (4), below. With these focus types, the secondary-actor complement is always in the form of a *sa* phrase.)

Certain AF indirect-action verbs that correspond to intransitive direct-action verbs may occur without a secondary-actor complement in a REFLEXIVE INDIRECT-ACTION CONSTRUCTION. The direct-action verbs to which these indirect-action verbs correspond are, for the most part, *ma-* and *-um-* verbs of 'becoming' (cf. §5.6, classes D and J), and the meaning of the indirect-action verb is 'permit/cause oneself to become .'. Some examples are:

Nagpapapagod si Nene.
'Nene is letting herself get tired.'

(cf. Napapagod si Nene.
'Nene is getting tired.')

Nagpapataba si Nene.
'Nene is trying to put on weight.'
(Literally: 'Nene is making herself get fat.')

(cf. Tumataba si Nene.
'Nene is getting fat.')

Sentences like those just illustrated are at least potentially ambiguous. For, in addition to the reflexive interpretation shown in the English translations above, the sentences allow of a non-reflexive interpretation as well. This latter interpretation involves the assumed deletion of a secondary-actor complement after the verb. (A secondary-actor complement, like other complements, is optionally deletable in cases where its referent is indefinite or is clear from context.) Thus, for example, *Nagpapataba*

si Nene may also be interpreted as meaning 'Nene is fattening something,' in which case the sentence is taken to be similar in meaning to a sentence like:

Nagpapataba ng manok si Nene.
 'Nene is fattening a chicken.'
 (Literally: 'Nene is making a chicken get fat.')

(The reflexive meaning may be made unambiguous by the inclusion in the sentence of a reflexive nominal construction (cf. §3.21) serving as a secondary-actor complement. Thus:

Nagpapataba ng sarili (niya) si Nene.
 'Nene is trying to put on weight.'

Since the reflexive meaning, when intended, is usually clear from context, this use of a reflexive secondary-actor complement is relatively rare.)

There are at least two AF indirect-action verbs that are always reflexive in meaning. These are the verbs *magpatihulog* 'make oneself fall down' and *magpatirapa* 'make oneself fall face down,' which correspond, respectively, to the intransitive direct-action verbs *mahulog* 'fall down' and *madapa* 'fall face down.' Examples in sentences are:

Nagpatihulog sa hagdanan ang bata.
 'The child made himself fall down the steps.'

(cf. Nahulog sa hagdanan ang bata.
 'The child fell down the steps.')

Nagpatirapa siya.
 'He made himself fall face down.'

(cf. Nadapa siya.
 'He fell face down.')

It may be noted that these two reflexive indirect-action verbs include in addition to the usual prefix *magpa-* a further prefix, *ti-*. This prefix, which occurs only in the reflexive verbs and their derivatives (e.g., the gerunds *pagpapatihulog* 'making oneself fall down' and *pagpapatirapa* 'making oneself fall face down'), is always associated with a meaning of (deliberate) reflexive action.

In addition to the reflexive constructions already discussed, there are also certain reflexive constructions that involve AF indirect-action verbs corresponding to transitive direct-action verbs. These constructions normally include a secondary-actor complement, but lack some other complement of a type taken by the corresponding direct-action verb. An example is:

Nagpahuli ang magnanakaw sa pulis.
 'The thief { let himself be caught by the police.'
 { let the police catch him.'

Nagpahuli, in the example, lacks an object complement. The corresponding direct-action verb, *humuli*, is usually followed by such a complement: e.g.,

Humuli ng magnanakaw ang pulis.
 'The police caught a thief.'

It is the absence of an object complement after *nagpahuli* that allows the sentence to be interpreted reflexively. Similarly, in the following sentence:

Nagpatulong sa bata ang Nanay.
'Mother let the child help her.'

(cf. Tumulong ang bata sa Nanay.
'The child helped mother.')

It is the absence of a directional complement after *nagpatulong* that allows of the reflexive interpretation.

The potential for the reflexive use of an AF indirect-action verb that corresponds to a transitive direct-action verb exists whenever the direct-action verb accepts as object or directional complement a nominal that can also occur as the topic of the indirect-action verb. (Thus the potential generally exists if the direct-action verb accepts an object or directional complement with animate reference.) In all cases, however, that allow of a reflexive interpretation, a non-reflexive interpretation is also possible. Thus *Nagpahuli ang magnanakaw sa pulis* may also be interpreted as meaning 'The thief let the police catch someone/something,' and *Nagpatulong sa bata ang Nanay* as meaning 'Mother let the child help (someone).' In these latter interpretations, the absence of the usual object or directional complement is taken to reflect an optional deletion of the complement, rather than a reflexive construction.

(Various goal-focus counterparts of the reflexive indirect-action constructions presented above occur. No special note is made of the occurrence of such constructions in subsequent subsections.)

(2) A2F INDIRECT-ACTION VERBS. A2F indirect-action verbs select as topics nominals denoting the person(s), etc. permitted or caused to perform the action of the verb. They are derived from certain transitive or intransitive AF direct-action verbs by replacing the AF direct-action affix with the corresponding A2F indirect-action affix. The affix correspondences are shown in Chart 14.

CHART 14
CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN AF DIRECT-ACTION AND
A2F INDIRECT-ACTION AFFIXES

AF Direct-Action Affix	A2F Indirect-Action Affix
ma-, -um-	pa-...-in
mag-	papag-...-in
mang-	papang-...-in

Examples are:

AF Direct-Action Verb	A2F Indirect-Action Verb
matulog 'sleep'	patulugin 'permit/cause to sleep'
matuyo 'get dry'	patuyuin 'permit/cause to get dry'
bumalik 'return'	pabalikin 'permit/cause to return'
lumakad 'walk'	palakarin 'permit/cause to walk'
magsapatos 'wear shoes'	papagsapatusin 'permit/cause to wear shoes'
magturo 'teach'	papagturuin 'permit/cause to teach'
manood 'watch'	papanoorin 'permit/cause to watch'
mangibig 'pay court to'	papangibigin 'permit/cause to pay court to'

A2F verbs take an actor complement that expresses the person(s), etc., permitting or causing the action to be performed, plus any other complement(s) taken by the corresponding AF direct-action verb. Examples in sentences are:

Patutuyuin ko ang damit.
'I'll let the dress get dry.'

(cf. Matutuyo ang damit.
'The dress will get dry.')

Pinabalik ni Dr. Magpayo ang pasyente sa opisina.
'Dr. Magpayo had the patient return to the office.'

(cf. Bumalik ang pasyente sa opisina.
'The patient returned to the office.')

Papagtuturuin nila siya ng aritmetika sa mga bata.
'They'll have him teach the children arithmetic.'

(cf. Magtuturo siya ng aritmetika sa mga bata.
'He'll teach the children arithmetic.')

Pinapanood ng Tatay ng telebisyon sina Boy.
'Father let Boy and the others watch television.'

(cf. Nanood ng telebisyon sina Boy.
'Boy and the others watched television.')

(It may be noted that the topic of an A2F indirect-action verb corresponds semantically to the topic of the AF direct-action verb from which it is derived.)

(3) OF AND DF INDIRECT-ACTION VERBS. OF indirect-action verbs are derived from OF (object and double-object) direct-action verbs. If the affix of the direct-action verb is *-an*, that of the corresponding direct-action verb is *pa...-an*. In all other cases, the affix of the indirect-action verb is *ipa-*. Examples are:

OF Direct-Action Verb

buksan 'open'
pintahan 'paint'
itago 'hide/keep'
ibigay 'give'
alisin 'remove'
linisin 'clean'
makita 'see'
mahalata 'notice'

OF Indirect-Action Verb

pabuksan 'permit/cause to open'
papintahan 'permit/cause to paint'
ipatago 'permit/cause to hide/keep'
ipabigay 'permit/cause to give'
ipaalis 'permit/cause to remove'
ipalinis 'permit/cause to clean'
ipakita 'permit/cause to see'
ipahalata 'permit/cause to notice'

(Complex OF direct-action affixes – e.g., *ipag-* and *pag...-an-* rarely, if ever, have indirect-action counterparts. Thus there are no OF indirect-action verbs corresponding to such direct-action verbs as *ipagbili* 'sell' or *pag-aralan* 'study'.)

DF indirect-action verbs are derived from DF (directional and double-object) direct-action verbs. *Pa...-an* is the DF indirect-action counterpart of both *-an* and *-in*. Examples are:

DF Direct-Action Verb

tingnan 'look at'
sulatan 'write to'
akyatin 'climb'
pasukin 'enter'

DF Indirect-Action Verb

patingnan 'permit/cause to look at'
pasulatan 'permit/cause to write to'
paakyatin 'permit/cause to climb'
papasukin 'permit/cause to enter'

(Complex DF direct-action affixes – e.g., *ka...-an* and *pag...-an* – rarely, if ever, have indirect-action counterparts. Thus there are no DF indirect-action verbs corresponding to such direct-action verbs as *kamuhian* 'hate' or *pagbatayan* 'base (a decision) on'.)

The topic of an OF or DF indirect-action verb is the same as that of the direct-action verb from which it is derived. The indirect-action verb accepts an actor complement, a secondary-actor complement, and any directional or object complement taken by the direct-action verb (i.e., a directional complement in the case of an OF double-object verb, an object complement in the case of a DF double-object verb.)

The actor complement occurring with the indirect–action verb expresses the person(s), etc., permitting or causing the action to be performed. The secondary–actor complement expresses the person(s), etc., permitted or caused to perform the action. (For the form of the secondary–actor complement, cf. (1) above. It may be noted that a secondary–actor complement occurring with an OF or DF indirect–action verb – as well as one occurring with any of the various focus types of indirect–action verbs presented in subsection (4), below – corresponds semantically to the actor complement occurring with the direct–action verb from which the indirect–action verb is derived.) Some examples of OF indirect–action verbs in sentences are:

Pinabuksan ko kay Pedro ang kahon.
'I had Pedro open the box.'

(cf. Binuksan ni Pedro ang kahon.
'Pedro opened the box.')

Ipinaalis ng titser kay Jose ang mapa sa dingding.
'The teacher made Jose remove the map from the wall.'

(cf. Inalis ni Jose ang mapa sa dingding.
'Jose removed the map from the wall.')

Some examples of DF indirect–action verbs in sentences are:

Pinasulatan siya sa akin ng liham ang alkalde.
'He had me write a letter to the mayor.'

(cf. Sinulatan ko ng liham ang alkalde.
'I wrote a letter to the mayor.')

Pinapasukan ng bantay sa mga bisita ang museo.
'The guard let some visitors into the museum.'

(cf. Pinasok ng mga bisita ang museo.
'The visitors entered the museum.')

(3) OTHER INDIRECT–ACTION VERBS. The remaining focus types of indirect–action verbs are derived from the various derived focus types of direct–action verbs presented in §5.7 through 5.10. The correspondences between the direct–action and indirect–action affixes that occur in the several focus types are shown in Chart 15. In cases where the chart lists two indirect–action affixes within braces, the two are free of dialectal alternants.

CHART 15
CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN DIRECT–ACTION AND INDIRECT–ACTION
AFFIXES OF DERIVED VERBS

Focus Type	Direct–Action Affix	Indirect–Action Affix
BF	i-, ipag- ipang-	ipagpa- { ipagpa- ipapang-
CF	i-, ika-, i(ka)pag- i(ka)pang-	ikapagpa- ikapagpapang-

CHART 15 (cont'd.)

Focus Type	Direct–Action Affix ka...-an	Indirect–Action Affix (None)
LF	pag...-an	{ pagpa...-an
		{ papag...-an
	pang...-an	papang...-an
RfF	pag...-an	papag...-an

Examples of the correspondences shown in Chart 15 are:

Focus Type	Direct–Action Verb	Indirect–Action Verb
BF	igawa 'make for' ipaglinis 'clean for' ipamingwit 'go fishing (with hook and line) for'	ipagpagawa 'permit/cause to make for' ipagpalinis 'permit/cause to clean for' ipagpabingwit/ipapamingwit 'cause/permit to go fishing (with hook and line) for'
CF	iyaman 'cause to grow rich' ikakain 'cause to eat' i(ka)pagbunot 'cause to pull' i(ka)paniwala 'cause to believe'	ikapagpayaman 'cause/permit to grow rich' ikapagpakain 'cause/permit to feed' ikapagpabunot 'cause to have . . . pull' ikapagpaniwala 'cause to have . . . believe'
LF	pagturuan 'teach in' pangisdaan 'go fishing in/on'	pagpaturuan/papagturuan 'permit/ cause to teach in' papangisdaan 'permit/cause to go fishing in/on'
RFF	pag-usapan 'talk about'	papag-usapan 'permit/cause to talk about'

(Instrumental–focus (IF) and reservational–focus (RF) indirect–action verbs do not occur. For example, there is no **ipapanggawa* (cf., the direct–action IF verb *ipanggawa* 'use for making') or **ipapambahay* (cf., the direct–action RF verb *ipambahay* 'wear in the house') – cf. §5.10 for a presentation of direct–action IF and RF verbs. Note, however, that there are direct–action IF verbs whose bases include the indirect–action prefix *pa-*: e.g., *ipampatulog* 'use in putting to sleep,' which may be analyzed as consisting of the IF prefix *i-* plus the derived base *pampatulog* 'for use in putting to sleep' (or, more literally, 'for use in causing (someone) to sleep') – cf. *magpatulog* 'put to sleep.'

Indirect–action verbs of types whose formation is summarized in Chart 15 all accept – potentially, at least – an actor complement (which, as with other types of indirect–action verbs, expresses the person(s), etc., permitted or caused to perform the action – cf. (1) above, for rules of formation), and, in addition, any object and/or directional complement accepted by the corresponding direct–action verb. The topic of the indirect–action verb has the same semantic relation to the action as does the topic of a direct–action verb of the same focus type. Thus the topic of a BF indirect–action verb expresses the person(s), etc., receiving the benefit of the action, that of a CF indirect–action verb the cause of the action, etc. Examples of BF indirect–action verbs in sentences are:

Ipinagpagawa ko ng diyaket sa sastre si Juan.
'I had the tailor make a jacket for Juan.'

Ipagpapalinis ko kayo ng mesa sa katulong.
'I'll have the maid clean a table for you.'

Examples of CF indirect–action verbs in sentences are:

Ikinapagpakain nila ng lugaw sa mga bata ang kanilang kahirapan.
 ‘Their poverty caused them to feed the children rice gruel.’
 (Literally: ‘Their poverty caused them to have the children eat rice gruel.’)

Ikinapagpabunot ni Eddie ng ngipin sa dentista ang sakit.
 ‘The pain caused Eddie to have the dentist pull (his) tooth.’

(As the examples show, CF indirect–action verbs express two different kinds of causation, one characteristic of causative verbs in general, the other of indirect–action verbs in general. Causative verbs normally express actions whose occurrence is caused by some particular condition (or event). Indirect–action verbs normally express actions whose occurrence is caused (or permitted) by some particular person(s). In sentences with CF indirect–action verbs in predicate position, the sentence topic (in the above examples, *ang kanilang kahirapan* ‘their poverty’ and *ang sakit* ‘the pain’) normally expresses the condition (or event) responsible for the occurrence of the action, while an actor complement (in the examples, *nila* ‘them’ and *ni Eddie* ‘Eddie’) expresses the person(s) responsible for it.)

LF indirect–action verbs, like LF direct–action verbs (cf. §5.9), occur less often as predicates than they do as nominalized topics. Examples of LF indirect–action verbs in sentences are:

Ang iskwelang iyon ang $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{pinagpaturuan} \\ \text{pinagtuturuan} \end{array} \right\}$ nila sa akin.
 ‘It’s that school that they’re having me teach in.’

Iyon ang pinapangingsidaan niya sa mga bata.
 ‘That’s where he lets the children go fishing.’

Like their direct–action–verb counterparts (cf. §5.10), RfF indirect–action verbs are relatively few. An example of such a verb in a sentence is:

Huwag mong papag–usapan sa kanila iyon.
 ‘Don’t make them talk about that.’

§5.13. Ability and involuntary–action verbs.

Derived verbs formed with the prefixes *maka-* and *ma-* (plus, in some cases, other affixes – see below) express meanings that include the meaning of ability and/or involuntary action; these verbs may be called, respectively, ABILITY VERBS and INVOLUNTARY–ACTION VERBS. (For the uses of *maka-* and *ma-* as major affixes, cf. §5.2, subsections (8) and (10).) Some speakers consistently pronounce *maka-* and *ma-* as /maka/ and /ma/ in ability verbs, as /maka:/ and /ma:/ in involuntary–action verbs. Other speakers, however, including most younger speakers of educated Manila Tagalog, either do not make this distinction, or do not make it consistently. For these speakers, vowel length in the prefixes is either a matter of free alternation or determined by the individual verb, and any derived *maka-* or *ma-* verb is potentially ambiguous to the extent that both the ability and the involuntary–action meanings are compatible with the central meaning of the verb. In the practice of such speakers, there is, for example, no consistent difference in the pronunciation of the verbs in the following sentences that is correlated with the meaning difference expressed in the two English equivalents given for the verbs:

Nakagamit siya ng manggang hilaw.
 ‘He $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{was able} \\ \text{happened} \end{array} \right\}$ to use a green mango.’

Nagamit niya ang manggang hilaw.

'He $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{was able} \\ \text{happened} \end{array} \right\}$ to use the green mango.'

Most verbs, whether major or derived, have ability/involuntary–action counterparts. These counterparts are identical with the underlying verbs in focus, in the grammatical contexts in which they occur, and, except with respect to the specific connotation of ability or involuntary action, in meaning as well. There are regular affix correspondences between ability/involuntary–action formations and the formations of the underlying verbs. These are summarized in Chart 16. The letter X in the chart is used to represent the verb base plus any affix(es) that may occur in the given formation, other than the affix specified. Thus, for example, in the formula *mag-* + X, X may represent a base alone, as in *magbasa* 'read,' or a prefix plus a base, as in *magpadasal* 'have prayers said.' In the goal–focus row of the chart, X represents the verb base plus any goal–focus affix(es) other than *-in*. (All goal–focus affixes other than *-in* are retained in ability/involuntary–action formations.)

CHART 16
AFFIX CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN UNDERLYING AND ABILITY/INVOLUNTARY–ACTION VERB FORMATIONS

Focus	Underlying Verb	Ability/Involuntary–Action Verb
Actor–Focus	-um- + X	maka- + X
	mag- + X	makapag- + X
	mang- + X	makapang- + X
Goal–Focus	X (+ -in)	ma- + X

The formulas in the chart are exemplified below:

	-um- + X → maka- + X	
gumamit (-um- + gamit) 'use'	→	makagamit
lumakad (-um- + lakad) 'walk'	→	makalakad
umisip (-um- + isip) 'think'	→	makaisip
	mag- + X → makapag- + X	
mag-awitan (mag- + awitan) 'sing together'	→	makapag-awitan
magbasa (mag- + basa) 'read'	→	makapagbasa
magpadasal (mag- + pa- + dasal) 'have prayers said'	→	makapagpadasal
	mang- + X → makapang- + X	
mamangka (mang- + bangka) 'go boating'	→	makapamangka
manggulo (mang- + gulo) 'cause trouble'	→	makapanggulo
manood (mang- + -nood) 'watch'	→	makapanood
	X (+ -in) → ma- + X	
gamitin (gamit + -in) 'use'	→	magamit
patulugin (pa- + tulog + -in) 'have...sleep'	→	mapatulog
ibili (i- + bili) 'buy for'	→	maibili
bigyan (bigay + -an) 'give'	→	mabigyan
pakiusapan (paki- + usap + -an) 'request'	→	mapakiusapan

In ability and involuntary–action verbs derived from *mag-* verbs expressing reciprocal actions (e.g., *mag-usap* 'converse,' *magsulatan* 'write to each other' – cf. §5.6, class G), the regular affix, *makapag-*

alternates freely with the affix *magka-/magka'*. Thus: *makapag-usap* ~ *magka-usap* 'be able/happen to converse,' *makapagsulatan* ~ *magkasulatan* 'be able/happen to write to each other.'

There are some types of verbs that do not have ability/involuntary–action counterparts. These include:

- (1) verbs formed with the major affixes *maka-* and *ma-*;
- (2) pluralized verb formations involving the prefix *magsi-* (cf. §5.15): thus there is, for example, no **makapagsigamit* corresponding to *magsigamit* 'use (plural).' (as is noted in §5.15, however, actor–focus ability and involuntary–action verbs are themselves pluralizable by the addition of the infix *-nga-*. Thus: *makagamit* 'be able to use, accidentally use' → *mangakagamit* 'be able to use (plural), accidentally use (plural).')
- (3) a number of verbs that in themselves express involuntary or non-volitional actions; these include *-um-* verbs of becoming (cf. §5.6, class J); verbs of accidental result (cf. §5.16, subsection (5)); intensive *magka-* + *dup₂* verbs (cf. §5.16, subsection 1(d)), and intransitive *mang-* verbs whose bases also occur as unaffixed adjectives or as *ma-* adjective bases (cf. §5.6, class H). The following, for example, do not occur: **makatanda* (cf. *tumanda* 'grow old'); **makapagkandasira*, **makapagkansisira* (cf. *magkandasira*, *magkansisira* 'get damaged (as a result)'); **makapagkasira-sira* (cf. *magkasira-sira* 'get thoroughly broken'); **makapamula* (cf. *mamula* 'redden').

Ability verbs are usually translatable by the English equivalent of the underlying verb preceded by a form of 'be able to' or 'can/could.' Perfective–aspect ability verbs are, however, often better translated by English verbs preceded by 'got to' or 'managed to,' since the Tagalog verb in these cases denotes that the ability to perform the action has been demonstrated, and that the action has actually been performed. Thus a sentence like:

Nakapag–Hamlet si Bob.

is closer in meaning to 'Bob got/managed to play Hamlet' than to 'Bob was able to play Hamlet,' since the latter is noncommittal about whether or not the action has actually been performed.

There are also contexts in which a perfective–aspect ability verb is more or less identical in meaning with the verb that underlies it. This is usually the case when the verb is followed by the enclitic particle *na*. Thus both:

Nagamit na niya ang manggang hilaw.

and:

Ginamit na niya ang manggang hilaw.

may be translated: He has (already) used the green mango.'

Involuntary–action verbs are usually translatable by the English equivalent of the underlying verb accompanied by some such expression as 'accidentally,' 'unintentionally,' or 'without meaning to,' or preceded by 'happen(ed) to.'

In addition to the verbs presented above, which may express either ability or involuntary action, there are certain verbs that express involuntary action alone. These verbs, which are formed with the prefix *mapa-* /ma:pa/, are all actor–focus, and are derived from a limited set of intransitive and directional *-um-* verbs. Some examples of correspondences between underlying and involuntary–action *mapa-* verbs are:

Underlying Verb
dumapa 'lie face down'
sumigaw 'shout'
tumingin 'look at'

Involuntary–Action *mapa-* Verb
mapadapa 'fall face down'
mapasigaw 'shout unintentionally'
mapatingin 'look at unintentionally'

There are, in addition, at least two irregular formations that express involuntary action alone. These are:

magising /ma'gisiŋ/ 'happen to wake up'
(cf. gumising /gumi'siŋ/ 'wake up')

makatulog /ma'katulog/ 'happen to fall asleep'
(cf. matulog /matu'log/ 'sleep')

The *-um-* → *ma-* correspondence is irregular in the case of the verbs formed with *gising*; so also is the lack of vowel length in the bases of both derived verbs, as compared with the bases of their major-verb counterparts.

§5.14. Social verbs.

Derived verbs formed with the prefix *maki-* (plus; in some cases, other affixes – see below) express actions that are performed together with another person or other people; these verbs may be called SOCIAL VERBS. All social verbs are actor-focus, selecting as topic the performer(s) of the action denoted by the verb; a *sa* phrase is used to express the one(s) together with whom the action is performed. For example, in the sentence:

Nakikikain ng hapunan si Ben sa Nanay.
'Ben is eating supper with Mother.'

the performer of the action is expressed by *si Ben*, the person together with whom the action is performed, by *sa Nanay*.

Social verbs are derived from other AF verbs, major and derived. A sentence with a social verb in the predicate may be said to be derived from a sentence with the underlying non-social verb in the predicate, and with a coordinate nominal topic (cf. §3.10). The derivation involves the replacement of one of the coordinate nominals with a *sa* phrase. Thus the sentence *Nakikikain ng hapunan si Ben sa Nanay* may be said to be derived from:

Kumakain ng hapunan si Ben at ang Nanay.
'Ben and Mother are eating supper.'

Note that any complement(s) accepted by the underlying verb (such as *ng hapunan* in the example) are also accepted by the social verb.

On the basis of both meaning and rules of formation, social verbs may be divided into two subclasses: SIMPLE SOCIAL VERBS AND RECIPROCAL SOCIAL VERBS. Simple social verbs may be derived from *ma-*, *-um-*, *mag-*, *magpa-* (indirect action – cf. §5.12, subsection (1)) or *mang-* verbs. (The *mag-* verbs from which simple social verbs are derived are those that do not express reciprocal action. Of the *-um-* and *ma-* verbs, only those expressing voluntary actions have social verb counterparts.) The affix correspondences between the underlying and derived verbs are shown in Chart 17.

CHART 17 AFFIX CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN UNDERLYING AND SIMPLE SOCIAL VERBS

Underlying Affix	Simple Social Affix
ma-	maki-
-um-	maki-
mag-	maki(pag)-
magpa-	makipagpa-
mang-	makipang-

Examples are:

Underlying Verb	Simple Social Verb
(a) maupo 'sit' matulog 'sleep'	makiupo 'sit with, share the seat of' makitulog 'sleep with, share the sleeping facilities of'
(b) kumain 'eat' uminom 'drink'	makikain 'eat with, share the food of' makiinom 'drink with, share the drink of'
(c) magdalahati 'grieve' magluto 'cook'	maki(pag)dalahati 'grieve with, share in the grief of' maki(pag)luto 'cook with, share the cooking facilities of'
(d) magpadala 'send' magpagawa 'get (something) done'	makipagpadala 'share in the sending of' makipagpagawa 'share in getting something done'
(e) mamili (base: bili) 'go shopping' mangisda 'go fishing'	makipamili 'go shopping with, share in the shopping activities of' makipangisda 'go fishing with, share in the fishing activities of'

Note that simple social verbs derived from *mag-* verbs may be formed with either *maki-* or *makipag-*. The *maki-* formation is preferred in most cases.

As the English translations with 'share (in)' indicate, simple social verbs often carry the implication that the performer (expressed by the sentence topic) is taking part in an activity in which another person (expressed by the *sa* phrase) has, in some sense, a prior or more direct involvement. Some pertinent illustrations are:

Uminom sila ng alak; nakiinom ako sa kanila.
'They drank wine; I drank along with them.'

Napag-alaman ko ang pagkamatay ng inyong ama; nakikidalamhati ako sa inyo.
'I heard about your father's death; I share in your grief.'

Reciprocal social verbs are derived from intransitive *mag-* verbs that express reciprocal actions (cf. §5.6, class G). The reciprocal social verbs are formed by replacing the *mag-* of the underlying verb with *makipag-*. Examples are:

Underlying Verb	Reciprocal Social Verb
magbigayan 'exchange gifts'	makipagbigayan 'exchange gifts with'
magbuntalan 'exchange blows'	makipagbuntalan 'exchange blows with'
magkamay 'exchange handshakes'	makipagkamay 'shake hands with'
maghiwalay 'separate'	makipaghiwalay 'separate from'
magsagutan 'quarrel'	makipagsagutan 'quarrel with'
mag-usap 'converse'	makipag-usap 'converse with'

Note that, while simple social verbs derived from *mag-* verbs are formed with either *maki-* or *makipag-*, reciprocal social verbs derived from *mag-* verbs are always formed with *makipag-*.

§5.15. Pluralized verbs.

In English there is often an obligatory distinction between the form of a verb occurring with a singular subject and that of a verb occurring with a plural subject: thus, 'He sings' vs. 'They sing.' There are also, however, many cases in which the forms of verbs occurring with singular and plural subjects are not distinguished: e.g., 'He/they sang,' 'He/They can sing,' etc. In Tagalog there is never any obligatory

distinction between the forms of verbs occurring with singular and plural topics: thus, *Kumakanta siya/sila* 'He sings'/ 'They sing.' In the case of all actor-focus verbs, however, regardless of aspect, Tagalog allows of an optional PLURALIZED VERB formation that occurs only with a plural topic. Thus the pluralized verb *magsikanta* 'sing (pl.)' (imperfective form: *nagsisikanta*) may occur with a topic like *sila* - *Nagsisikanta sila* 'They sing' - but not with a topic like *siya*: There is no **Nagsisikanta siya*.

Pluralized verb formations include either or both the prefix *magsi-* and the infix *-nga-*. *Magsi-* occurs in the pluralized counterparts of *-um-*, *mag-*, *ang mang-* verbs. It also occurs in the pluralized counterparts of derived verbs formed with affixes that include *mag-*. The correspondences between the underlying and pluralized affixes are shown in Chart 18.

CHART 18
CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN UNDERLYING AND
PLURALIZED (MAGSI-) AFFIXES

<p>Underlying Affix -um- mag- (+ X) mang-</p>	<p>Pluralized (magsi-) Affix magsi- magsipag- (+ X) magsipang-</p>
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Examples are:

<p>Underlying Verb kumanta 'sing' lumaki 'grow' mag-aral 'study' magluto 'cook' magpalinis 'permit/cause to clean' mangailangan 'need' mangisda 'go fishing'</p>	<p>Pluralized (magsi-) Verb magsikanta 'sing (pl.)' magsilaki 'grow (pl.)' magsipag-aral 'study (pl.)' magsipagluto 'cook (pl.)' magsipagpalinis 'permit/cause to clean (pl.)' magsipangailangan 'need (pl.)' magsipangisda 'go fishing (pl.)'</p>
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The infix *-nga-* may occur in a pluralized formation corresponding to any underlying AF formation that includes a prefix, other than *mang-*, beginning with /m/. Thus *-nga-* may occur in pluralized formations corresponding to AF *ma-* verbs, to major or derived verbs that include *maka-*, and to major or derived verbs that include *mag-*. In this last group are included pluralized formations with *magsi-*, *magsipag-*, and *magsipang-*. The addition of *-nga-* to such pluralized formations does not affect the meaning. In all the formations in which it occurs, *-nga-* is added immediately after the first consonant and vowel of the prefix. Examples are:

<p>Underlying Verb mabulok 'get rotten' mawala 'disappear' makakita 'see' makapagbili 'be able to sell' mag-aral 'study' magluto 'cook' magpalinis 'permit/cause to clean' magsikanta 'sing (pl.)' magsipangisda 'go fishing (pl.)'</p>	<p>Pluralized (-nga-) Verb mangabulok 'get rotten (pl.)' mangawala 'disappear (pl.)' mangakakita 'see (pl.)' mangakapagbili 'be able to sell (pl.)' mangag-aral 'study (pl.)' mangagluto 'cook (pl.)' mangagpalinis 'permit/cause to clean (pl.)' mangagsikanta 'sing (pl.)' mangagsipangisda 'go fishing (pl.)'</p>
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Some examples of the use of pluralized verbs in sentences are:

<p>Mabuting</p>	<p>{ magsikanta } { mangagsikanta }</p>	<p>ang mga bata.</p>
<p>'The children sing well.'</p>		

Nagsisipag-aral	}	na silang lahat ng Ingles.
Nangag-aaral		
Nangagsisipag-aral		
'They're all studying English now.'		
Nagsipangisda	}	na sina Ben.
Nangagsipangisda		
'Ben and the others have gone fishing.'		
Hindi raw mangabubulok ang mga ito.		
'They say these won't get rotten.'		
Mangakapagbibili tayo ng ating kalakal sa palengke.		
'We'll be able to sell our merchandise in the market.'		

§5.16. Other derived verbs.

This section presents various types of derived verbs not dealt with in previous sections. The presentation of these derived-verb types is preceded by an explanation of certain symbols used in identifying some of the formations to be discussed. These symbols are: dup_1 -, dup_2 -, and (-L).

Dup_1 - and dup_2 - represent duplicating prefixes, respectively monosyllabic and disyllabic. The formation of dup_1 - is presented in detail in §3.7. (Dup_1 - occurs in derived-noun, as well as in derived-verb, formations.) As is noted in that section, dup_1 - normally consists of a duplication of the first consonant and first vowel of the syllable before which it occurs, except that the vowel of dup_1 - is always short. (Often it is vowel length that distinguishes dup_1 - from the aspectual-duplication prefix, dup_A -, whose formation is presented in detail in §5.19. As is noted in that section, the vowel of dup_A - is always long. Compare: *maglalakbay* /maglakbay/ 'travel (repeatedly, etc.)' (the basic form of a derived verb) and *maglalakbay* /magla·lakbay/ 'will travel' (the contemplated form of a major verb).)

Dup_2 - normally consists of a duplication of the first two syllables of the base before which it occurs, except that: (1) before a base that has more than two syllables, the vowel of the second syllable of dup_2 - is always long, whether the vowel of the second syllable of the base is long or short, and any final consonant of this syllable is lost in dup_2 -; (2) before a disyllabic base that has undergone length shift as a result of suffixation (cf. §1.12), both vowels of dup_2 - are short; (3) before a base and suffix coalesced into two syllables (e.g., *tingnan* /tiŋnan/ 'look at,' an irregular formation consisting of the base *tingin* and the suffix *-an*), dup_2 - consists of a duplication of these two syllables. (The usual automatic consonant and vowel changes that characterize forms in medial position also occur in the case of dup_2 -: e.g., replacement of /o/ by /u/, loss of syllable-final /h/, replacement of syllable-final /' / by vowel length.)

(-L) represents the absence of penultimate vowel length in the formation. The loss of penultimate vowel length in the verb base is characteristic of a number of types of derived verbs. For example, the formation of intensive *mag-* verbs (cf. subsection (1.a), below) may be stated formulaically as follows:

-um- + Base → mag- + Base (-L)

That is, intensive *mag-* verbs are derived from *-um-* verbs by: (1) the replacement of *-um-* by *mag-*; (2) the shortening of the penultimate vowel of the base, if this is long in the *-um-* verb. Thus: *lumakad* /luma·kad/ 'walk' → *maglakad* /maglakad/ 'walk (repeatedly, etc.)'. There are also cases in which the syllable affected by (-L) is the last syllable of the base, when this is followed by a suffix. Compare, for example, the derived verb *pagtatapakan* /pagtatapakan/ 'step on (repeatedly, etc.)', which shows (-L), and the major verb from which it is derived, *tapakan* /tapa:kan/ 'step on' (cf. subsection (1.b), below).

When dup_2 - precedes a base that shows (-L), it too lacks penultimate vowel length. Note, for example, the absence of vowel length in the second syllable of *maglakad-lakad* /maglakadlakad/ 'do a little walking.' (*Maglakad-lakad* is a moderative verb derived from *lumakad* /luma·kad/. The formation of the moderative verb may be summarized: *mag-* + dup_2 - + Base (-L) — cf. subsection (2.a), below.)

The various types of derived verbs to be discussed are presented below in the following order: (1) intensive verbs; (2) moderative verbs; (3) relational verbs; (4) multiple reciprocal and relational verbs; (5) verbs of accidental result; (6) derived *mang-* verbs. Unless otherwise specified, the derived verbs are identical in focus and complement class with the verbs from which they are derived.

(1) INTENSIVE VERBS. Five types of intensive-verb formations may be distinguished, according to the affixes that characterize the formations: (a) intensive *mag-* verbs; (b) intensive *mag-* + *dup₁-* and *pag-* + *dup₁-* verbs; (c) intensive *mag...-um-* verbs; (d) intensive *magka-* + *dup₂-* verbs; (e) intensive *magpaka-* (+ *dup₂-*) verbs.

(a) Intensive *mag-* verbs express frequent, prolonged, or purposeful performance of an activity. They are derived from certain *-um-* verbs, according to the formula:

$$-um- + \text{Base} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{mag-} + \text{Base} (-L)$$

(See the explanation of (-L) above.) Some examples are:

<p>-um- Verb kumain /kuma'in/ 'eat' lumakad /luma'kad/ 'walk' tumawa /tuma'wah/ 'laugh'</p>	<p>Intensive mag- Verb magkain /magka'in/ 'eat (repeatedly, etc.)' maglakad /maglakad/ 'walk (repeatedly, etc.)' magtawa /magtawah/ 'laugh (repeatedly, etc.)'</p>
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(All of the *-um-* verbs from which intensive *mag-* verbs may be derived have bases with penultimate vowel length.)

(b) Intensive *mag-* + *dup₁-* and *pag-* + *dup₁-* verbs have the same connotation as intensive *mag-* verbs (cf. (1.a), above), but suggest a somewhat greater degree of frequency, etc., of activity than do the *mag-* verbs. They are derived from certain major actor-focus verbs formed with the affixes *-um-*, *mag-*, *ma-*, and *mang-*, and certain major goal-focus verbs formed with the affixes *-an*, *-in* and *i-*. The relation of the intensive formations to those of the underlying verbs is shown in Chart 19. The symbol B in the chart represents the verb base.

CHART 19
CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN UNDERLYING FORMATIONS AND
INTENSIVE MAG- + DUP₁ - AND PAG- + DUP₁ - FORMATIONS

<p>Underlying Formation</p> <p>-um- } } + B mag- }</p> <p>ma- + B mang- + B</p> <p>B + { } -an } -in</p> <p>i- + B</p>	<p>Intensive Formation</p> <p>mag- + dup₁ - + B (-L)</p> <p>mag- + dup₁ - + pa- + B (-L) mag- + dup₁ - + pang- + B (-L)</p> <p>pag- + dup₁ - + B + { } -an } -in } (-L)</p> <p>i- + pag- + dup₁ - + B (-L)</p>
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Some examples of the correspondences shown in the chart are:

<p>Underlying Verb lumakad /luma'kad/ 'walk'</p> <p>umiyak /'umiyak/ 'cry'</p>	<p>Intensive Verb maglalakad /maglalakad/ 'walk (repeatedly, etc.)'</p> <p>mag-iiyak /mag'i'iyak/ 'cry (repeatedly, etc.)'</p>
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Underlying Verb maglakbay /maglakbay/ 'travel'	Intensive Verb maglalakbay /maglalakbay/ 'travel (repeatedly, etc.)'
magluto /maglu'to/ 'cook'	magluluto /magluluto/ 'cook (repeatedly, etc.)'
makinig /makinig/ 'listen'	magpapakinig /magpapakinig/ 'listen (repeatedly, etc.)'
maligo /mali'go/ 'bathe'	magpapaligo /magpapaligo/ 'bathe (repeatedly, etc.)'
manood /manu'od/ 'watch'	nagoaobiid /magpapanu'od/ 'watch (repeatedly, etc.)'
maniwala /maniwa'la/ 'believe'	magpapaniwala /magpapaniwala/ 'believe (repeatedly, etc.)'
buksan /buksan/ 'open'	pagbubuksan /pagbubuksan/ 'open (repeatedly, etc.)'
tapakan /tapa'kan/ 'step on'	pagtatapakan /pagtatapakan/ 'step on (repeatedly, etc.)'
basagin /basa'gin/ 'break'	pagbabasagin /pagbabasagin/ 'break (repeatedly, etc.)'
tupitin /gupitin/ 'cut'	paggugupitin /paggugupitin/ 'cut (repeatedly, etc.)'
ibagsak /'ibagsak/ 'drop'	ipagbabagsak /'ipagbabagsak/ 'drop (repeatedly, etc.)'
itapon /'ita'pon/ 'throw'	ipagtatapon /'ipagtatapon/ 'throw (repeatedly, etc.)'

(c) Intensive *mag...-um-* verbs have the same connotations as intensive *mag-* verbs (cf. subsection (1.a), above). They are derived from certain major intransitive *mag-* and *-um-* verbs. Some examples are:

Underlying Verb magpilit 'strive to'	Intensive mag...-um- Verb magpumilit 'strive (repeatedly, etc.) to'
magsigasig 'strive to'	magsumigasig 'strive (repeatedly, etc.) to'
umiyak 'cry'	mag-umiyak 'cry (repeatedly, etc.)'
sumigaw 'shout'	magsumigaw 'shout (repeatedly, etc.)'
pumiglas 'struggle against bonds'	magpumiglas 'struggle against bonds (repeatedly, etc.)'

(d) Intensive *magka-* /*magka-*/ + *dup₂*- verbs are derived from certain intransitive *ma-* and *mag-* verbs. (Underlying *ma-* verbs are generally verbs of 'becoming' – cf. §5.6, class D.) The intensive verbs express the thorough attainment of the state, etc., expressed by the underlying verb. The relation between the formation of the underlying and derived verbs is shown in the following formula:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ma-} \\ \text{mag-} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Base} \rightarrow \text{magka-} + \text{dup}_2\text{-} + \text{Base (-L)}$$

Some examples are:

<p>Underlying Verb <i>mabasag</i> /<i>maba'sag</i>/ 'get broken'</p> <p><i>masira</i> /<i>masi'ra</i>/ 'get damaged'</p> <p><i>maghiwalay</i> /<i>maghiwalay</i>/ 'separate from one another'</p> <p><i>magsugat</i> /<i>magsu'gat</i>/ 'have sores, get a wound'</p>	<p>Intensive <i>magka-</i> (+ <i>dup_B</i>-) Verb <i>magkabasag-basag</i> /<i>magka'basagbasag</i>/ 'get thoroughly broken'</p> <p><i>magkasira-sira</i> /<i>magka'sira'sira</i>/ 'get thoroughly damaged'</p> <p><i>magkahiwa-hiwalay</i> /<i>magka'hiwa'hiwalay</i>/ 'get thoroughly separated from one another'</p> <p><i>magkasugat-sugat</i> /<i>magka'sugatsugat</i>/ 'be thoroughly covered with sores or wounds.'</p>
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(At least one *magka-* + *dup_B*- verb, *magkahalu-halo* /*magka'ha'lu'ha'lo*/ 'get thoroughly mixed together' (cf. *maghalo* /*magha'lo*/ 'get mixed together') – does not show loss of penultimate vowel length.) (Most of the duplicated formations that occur in intensive *magka-* + *dup₂*- verbs also occur as intensive adjectives – cf. §4.12.)

(e) Intensive *magpaka-* (+ *dup₂*-) verbs are derived from certain *ma-* and *-um-* verbs of 'becoming' (cf. §5.6, classes D and J). They express the deliberate effort to attain, in a high degree, the quality expressed by the verb base. (The verbal prefix *magpaka-* is probably related to the adjectival prefix *napaka-* that occurs in intensified adjectives – cf. §4.12.) Formations that include *dup₂*- express the effort to attain a relatively higher degree of the pertinent quality than do those that lack *dup₂*-. *Magpaka-* has a long final vowel when followed by *dup₂*; the final vowel is short otherwise; compare, for example: *magpakabait-bait* /*magpaka'ba'itba'it*/ and *magpakabait* /*magpakaba'it*/ '(try to) be very kind, good.' The relation between the formation of the underlying and derived verbs is shown in the following formula:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ma-} \\ \text{-um-} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Base} \rightarrow \text{magpaka- (+ dup}_2\text{-) + Base}$$

Some examples are:

<p>Underlying Verb <i>magutom</i> 'become hungry'</p> <p><i>matahimik</i> 'become quiet'</p> <p><i>bumait</i> 'become kind, good'</p> <p><i>yumaman</i> 'become rich'</p>	<p>Intensive <i>magpaka-</i> (+ <i>dup₂</i>-) Verb <i>magpaka(gutom-)gutom</i> '(try to) become very hungry'</p> <p><i>magpaka(tahi-)tahimik</i> '(try to) be very quiet'</p> <p><i>magpaka(bait-)bait</i> '(try to) be very kind/good'</p> <p><i>magpaka(yaman-)yaman</i> '(try to) become very rich'</p>
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(2) **MODERATIVE VERBS.** Moderative verbs express activities performed perfunctorily, occasionally, at random, etc. They are often equivalent to English verbs accompanied by such phrases as 'a little,' 'a bit,' 'now and then,' 'here and there,' etc. One of their most common uses is to soften a request, as in:

Magwalis-walis ka nga ng bakuran.
'Please sweep the yard a little.'

(cf. Magwalis ka nga ng bakuran.
'Please sweep the yard.')

Two types of moderative verbs may be distinguished: (a) moderative *mag-* + *dup₂*- verbs; (b) moderative *dup₂*- verbs. They are presented in turn below.

(a) Moderative *mag-* + *dup₂*- verbs are derived from certain *-um-* verbs in accordance with the following formula:

-um- + Base → *mag-* + *dup₂*- + Base (-L)

Examples are:

<i>-um-</i> Verb humanap /huma·nap/ 'search for'	Moderative <i>mag-</i> + <i>dup_B</i> Verb maghanap-hanap /maghanaphanap/ 'do a little searching for'
lumakad /luma·kad/ 'walk'	maglakad-lakad /maglakadlakad/ 'do a little walking'
umisip /'umi·sip/ 'think'	mag-isip-isip /mag'isip'isip/ 'do a little thinking'

(Apparently all of the *-um-* verbs from which moderative *mag-* + *dup_B*- verbs may be derived have bases with penultimate vowel length.)

(b) Moderative *dup₂*- verbs are formed by adding *dup₂*- to certain major verbs formed with the actor-focus affixes *ma-*, *mag-*, *mang-*, and *-um-* or the goal-focus affixes *-an*, *-i*, and *-in*. Penultimate vowel length in the base is optionally but preferably deleted. Some examples of correspondences between underlying and moderative *dup₂*- verbs are:

Underlying Verb mahiya /mahiya'/ 'be ashamed'	Moderative <i>dup₂</i> - Verb mahiya-hiya /mahiya:hiya'/ 'be a little ashamed'
mag-ayos /mag'a'yos/ 'put in order'	mag-ayos-ayos /mag'a'yus'a'yos/ 'put in order a little'
magwalis /magwalis/ 'sweep'	magwalis-walis /magwaliswalis/ 'sweep a little'
mamula /mamulah/ 'redden'	mamula-mula /mamulamulah/ 'redden a little'
umurong /'umu·ronʔ/ 'go back'	umurung-urong /'umu·ruŋ`u·ronʔ/ 'go back a little'

<p>Underlying Verb tingnan /tiŋnan/ 'look at'</p>	<p>Moderative dup₂- Verb tingnan-tingnan /tiŋnantiŋnan/ 'look at a little'</p>	
		/i'u'ruŋ'u'roŋ/
<p>iurong /i'u'roŋ/ 'move back'</p>	<p>iurung-urong 'move back a little'</p>	/i'uruŋ'uroŋ/
<p>linisin /lini'sin/ 'clean'</p>	<p>linis-linisin 'clean a little'</p>	/linislini'sin/ /linislininis/

(There is a subclass of moderative dup₂- verbs related in form and meaning to intermittent-activity adjectives of the shape *pa-* + dup₂- + base. The verbs in this subclass are all directional *-um-* verbs. Examples are given in §4.7.)

(3) **RELATIONAL VERBS.** Relational verbs express actions that establish a relation shared by two or more objects. They are derived from certain major object-focus verbs belonging to the double-object-verb complement class. The major affix, in all cases *-*, is replaced in the relational verb by the affix *pag-...in*. Thus, for example, the relational verb that corresponds to the major verb *isama* 'put in with' is *pagsamahin* 'put together.' Relational verbs do not take the directional complements taken by the underlying verbs. Instead, they take topics that express two or more objects. Compare, for example, the following two sentences, which have in predicate position the relational verb *pagsamahin* and the underlying double-object verb *isama* respectively:

Pagsamahin mo ang karne at gulay.
'Put the meat and the vegetables together.'

Isama mo ang karne sa gulay.
'Put the meat in with the vegetables.'

Some further examples of correspondences between underlying and relational verbs are:

<p>Underlying Verb idugtong 'join to' idikit 'stick/paste onto' ilapit 'put near'</p>	<p>Relational Verb pagdugtungin 'join together' pagdikitin 'stick/paste together' paglapitin 'put near one another'</p>
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(4) **MULTIPLE RECIPROCAL AND RELATIONAL VERBS.** Multiple reciprocal verbs are derived from certain intransitive *mag-* verbs (cf. §5.6, class G); the *mag-* verbs from which the multiple reciprocal verbs are derived are those that express reciprocal actions, and whose bases do not include the suffix *-an*. (*Mag-* verbs that express reciprocal action, but whose bases do include the suffix *-an* – e.g., *magkamayan* 'exchange handshakes' – do not occur as the source of multiple reciprocal verbs.) Multiple relational verbs are derived from relational verbs (cf. subsection (3), above).

Multiple reciprocal verbs express reciprocal actions involving more than two actors: e.g.,

Nagkita-kita	}	sina Rosa, Nene, at Fely. sila.	
'Rosa, Nene, and Fely	}		saw one another.'
'They (more than two)	}		

Multiple relational verbs express actions that establish a relation shared by more than two objects: e.g.,

Pinagdugtong-dugtong ko ang	}	tatlong	}		tali.
		limang			
‘I joined the	}	three	}		pieces of string together.’
		five			

Multiple reciprocal and relational verbs are formed by adding *dup₂*- to the underlying verbs. Examples are:

Underlying Verb	Multiple Verb
magkita ‘see one another (two or more actors)’	magkita-kita ‘see one another (more than two actors)’
maghiwalay ‘separate from one another (two or more actors)’	maghiwa-hiwalay ‘separate from one another (more than two actors)’
mag-usap ‘converse (two or more actors)’	mag-usap-usap ‘converse (more than two actors)’
pagdugtungin ‘join (two or more objects) together’	pagdugtung-dugtungin ‘join (more than two objects) together’
pagdikitin ‘stick/paste (two or more objects) together’	pagdikit-dikitin ‘stick/paste (more than two objects) together’
pagtabihin ‘put (two or more objects) beside one another’	pagtabi-tabihin ‘put (more than two objects) beside one another’

(5) VERBS OF ACCIDENTAL RESULT. Certain verbs derived from intransitive *ma*- verbs (or, in a few cases, intransitive *-um*- verbs) express events viewed as accidents or involuntary acts resulting from conditions expressed in the preceding linguistic context. The use of such verbs generally suggests censure, the implication being ‘It need not have happened.’ One example is:

Itinulak niya ako;	}	nagkanghuhulog	}		tuloy ang mga dala ko.
		nagkandahulog			

‘He pushed me; as a result, the things I was carrying fell down.’

In verbs of accidental result, the major affix is replaced either by *magkang-* + *dup₁*- or by *magkanda-*: e.g., *mahulog* ‘fall’ → *magkanghuhulog* ~ *magkandahulog* ‘fall accidentally (as a result).’ The two affixes are generally in free alternation. (*Magkang-* has one of three forms: *magkam-* /*magkam*/ if the following consonant is labial; *magkan-* /*magkan*/ if the following consonant is dental or alveolar; *magkang-* /*magkan*/ in other cases.) Further examples of the correspondence between underlying verbs and verbs of accidental result are:

Underlying Verb	Verb of Accidental Result	
mapunit 'get torn'	magkampungunit	} 'get torn accidentally (as a result)'
	magkandapunit	
masira 'get damaged'	magkansisira	} 'get damaged accidentally (as a result)'
	magkandasira	
mawala 'get lost'	magkangwawala	} 'get lost (as a result)'
	magkandawala	
umiyak 'cry'	magkang-iiyak	} 'cry involuntarily (as a result)'
	magkandaiyak	

(6) DERIVED *mang-* VERBS. Derived *mang-* verbs are formed from certain major transitive *-um-* and (in a few cases) *mag-* verbs by replacement of the major affix with *mang-*. The *mang-* verbs express the basic meaning of the underlying major verb plus some additional element of meaning. This additional element is normally either: (a) deliberately harmful or destructive activity; or (b) activity directed toward multiple objects. In a few cases, the additional element of meaning is: (c) intensive or repeated activity directed toward a single object. Some examples of the correspondence between underlying verbs and derived *mang-* verbs are:

Underlying Verb	Derived <i>mang-</i> Verb
(a) kumain 'eat'	mangain 'devour (applied especially to man-eating or predatory animals)'
sumugat 'wound'	manugat 'wound (deliberately)'
tumaga 'cut'	managa 'slash (with intent to hurt or destroy)'
magwalis 'sweep, use a broom'	mangwalis 'hit with a broom'
(b) kumuha 'get'	manguha 'gather'
pumitas 'pick'	mamitas 'pick (a number of things)'
tumahi 'sew'	manahi 'sew (a number of things, or professionally)'
tumakot 'frighten'	manakot 'frighten (a number of people)'
(c) dumikit 'get stuck to'	manikit 'get thoroughly stuck to'
sumuyo 'curry favor with'	manuyo 'curry favor with (repeatedly):'
umibig 'love'	mangibig 'pay court to'

§5.17. Inventory of verbal affixes.

The various verbal affixes presented in §§5.2 through 5.16 are listed below in alphabetical order. The following notes pertain to the listing:

- (1) *k* is the third letter of the Tagalog alphabet; therefore, for example, *maka-* precedes *mag-*;
- (2) the symbols + and . . . do not affect the alphabeticization; therefore, for example, *i-* + *dup₂-* is alphabeticized as it is began with *id*, and *pag...-an* as it it were *pagan*;
- (3) the prefix *dup₁-* precedes the prefix *dup₂-*;
- (4) verbs formed with prefixes listed as ending in *ng-* (e.g., *mang-*) may show assimilatory changes either in the prefix alone or in both the prefix and the base, according to conditions that are summarized in §5.2, subsection (12);
- (5) verbs formed with prefixes listed as ending in *ng¹-* (e.g., *magkang¹-*) may show assimilatory changes in the prefix (but not in the base), according to conditions that are summarized in the sections in which these prefixes are presented.

Each listed affix is followed by one or more examples of basic forms in which it occurs. One example is presented for each different verb type that involves the affix. The examples are in most cases preceded by symbols representing the focus of the verb (see below for exceptions). The symbols used are:

AF	actor–focus	IF	instrumental–focus
A2F	secondary–actor–focus	LF	locative–focus
BF	benefactive–focus	MF	measurement–focus
CF	causative–focus	OF	object–focus
DF	directional–focus	RF	reservational–focus
RF	referential–focus		

In the case of major transitive verbs, the symbols representing the focus of the verb are immediately followed by symbols in parentheses representing the verb's complement class. (Where an affix occurs in major verbs representing two or more complement classes, each of these classes is exemplified.) The symbols used to represent complement classes are:

D	directional verb
DO	double–object verb
O	object verb

In the listing of major intransitive verbs, a distinction is made between, on the one hand, simple–intransitive and adjunctive verbs and, on the other, pseudo–transitive and adjunctive–pseudo–transitive verbs (cf. §5.6). The simple–intransitive and adjunctive verbs are listed as AF(I): that is, actor–focus intransitive. The pseudo–transitive and adjunctive–pseudo–transitive verbs are preceded by the symbols PT, no focus being specified.

In the listing of derived verbs, the symbols representing the focus of the verb are immediately followed by symbols in parentheses representing the type of derived verb illustrated (cf. §§5.12 through 5.16). The symbols used are:

a	ability–involuntary–action verb
ar	verb of accidental result
d	derived <i>mang-</i> verb, or AF verb derived from a derived <i>mang-</i> verb
i	intensive verb
ia	indirect–action verb
in	involuntary–action verb
m	moderative verb
mr	multiple–reciprocal or multiple–relational verb
p	pluralized verb with one pluralizing affix component
p ₂	pluralized verb with two pluralizing affix components
r	relational verb
s	social verb

Where two or more different types of derived verbs are simultaneously represented in a single formation, two or more of the above symbols are used, separated by commas. For example, the notation AF(a,ia,p) denotes the ability–involuntary–action form of a pluralized indirect–action actor–focus verb.

Each basic form is followed by an English translation. In the case of ability–involuntary–action verbs (cf. §5.13), only the ‘ability’ meaning is shown in the translation. The translation of all pluralized verbs (cf. §5.15) include the symbol p in parentheses; this is to be understood as signifying that the verb requires a plural topic. The translations of certain intensive verbs (cf. §5.16, subsection (1)) include the symbol i in parentheses; this is to be understood as signifying that the verbs connote actions performed, repeatedly, frequently, intensively, etc.

-an

AF(I):	kilabutan ‘be terrified’
DF(D):	lapitan ‘approach’
DF(DO):	abutan ‘hand to’
OF(O):	buksan ‘open’
PT:	bagalan ‘make slow’

ka- . . . -an

DF(D):	katuwaan ‘be delighted with’
LF:	kamatayan ‘die ie’

dup₂- . . . -an

DF(m):	tingnan-tingnan ‘look at a little’
OF(m):	sulsi-sulsihan ‘do a little mending of’

dup₂- . . . -in

DF(m):	dalaw-dalawin ‘visit a few times’
OF(m):	linis-lininis ‘clean a little’

i-

BF:	ikuha ‘get for’
CF:	iyaman ‘cause to become rich’
IF:	ipanggupit ‘cut with’
MF:	ilaki ‘grow’
OF(DO):	ialok ‘offer’
OF(O):	ihanda ‘prepare’
PT:	ikaway ‘wave (the hand)’
RF:	ipang-opisina ‘wear in the office’

ika-

CF:	ikagalit ‘cause to become angry’
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ikapag-

CF:	ikapag-alis ‘cause to remove’
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ikapagpa-

CF(ia):	ikapagpabunot ‘cause to have . . . pull’
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ikapang-

CF:	ikapaniwala ‘cause to believe’
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ikapapang-

CF(ia):	ikapapaniwala ‘cause to have . . . believe’
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i- + dup₂-

OF(m):	itaas-taas ‘raise a little’
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-in	AF(I): antukin 'feel sleepy'
	DF(D): pasukin 'enter'
	DF(DO): pakulin 'throw at'
	OF(D)): dalhin 'bring/take to'
	OF(O): tadtarin 'chop'
	PT: hintayin 'wait for . . . to'
ipa-	
	OF(O): ipaligo 'bathe'
	OF(ia): ipaalis 'permit/cause to remove'
ipag-	
	BF: ipaglaba 'launder for'
	CF: ipag-away 'cause to fight one another'
	IF: ipagsuklay 'comb with'
	OF(DO): ipagbili 'sell'
	OF(O): ipagkanulo 'betray'
ipag- + dup ₁ -	
	OF(i): ipagbabagsak 'drop (i)'
ipagpa-	
	BF(ia): ipagpagawa 'permit/cause to do for'
ipang-	
	BF: ipanguha 'gather for'
	CF: ipanging 'cause to tremble'
	OF(O): ipanganak 'give birth to'
ipapang-	
	BF(ia): ipapamingwit 'permit/cause to go fishing for'
ma- (/ma/)	
	AF(D): magulat 'be surprised at'
	AF(I): mabingi 'become deaf'
	AF(O): matuto 'learn'
ma- (/ma/ ~ /ma:/)	
	DF(a): maakyat 'be able to climb'
	OF(O): makita 'see'
	OF(a): mabili 'be able to buy'
	PT: mahuli 'catch (someone doing something)'
ma . . . -an	
	AF(I): malamigan 'feel cold'
	DF(a): mabigyan 'be able to give'
	OF(O): maramdaman 'feel'
	OF(a): mahugasan 'be able to wash'
maka-	
	AF(I): makaraos 'be over'
	AF(O): makahalata 'notice'
	AF(a): makarating 'be able to arrive'

maka- + dup ₂ - AF(a,m):	makaurong-urong 'be able to go back a little'
makapag- AF(a): AF(a,i):	makapagbus 'be able to ride a bus' makapaglakad 'be able to walk (i)'
makapag- + dup ₁ - AF(a,i):	makapagluluto 'be able to cook (i)'
makapag- + dup ₁ - + pa- AF(a,i):	makapagpapakinig 'be able to listen (i)'
makapag- + dup ₁ - + pang- AF(a,i):	makapagpapanood 'be able to watch (i)'
makapag- + dup ₂ - AF(a,m): AF(a,mr):	makapaghanap-hanap 'be able to search for a little' makapaghati-hati 'be able to share with one another (more than two actors)'
makapagpa- AF(a,ia):	makapagpahintay 'be able to permit/cause to wait'
makapagpaka- AF(a,i):	makapagpakabait 'be able to (try to) be very kind'
makapagpaka- + dup _B - AF(a,i):	makapagpakatapang-tapang 'be able to (try to) be very brave'
makapag- . . . -um- AF(a,i):	makapagsumigaw 'be able to shout (i)'
makapang- AF(a): AF(a,d):	makapangusina 'be able to do the cooking' makapanaga 'be able to slash (maliciously)'
maki- AF(s):	makiinom 'drink together with'
makipag- AF(s):	makipagbili 'sell together with'
makipagpa- AF(ia,s):	makipagpadala 'send together with, share in the sending of'
makipang- AF(s):	makipamili 'go shopping with'
ma- + dup ₂ - AF(m) DF(a,m) OF(a,m)	mahiya-hiya 'be a little ashamed' mabiru-biro 'be able to tease now and then' malinin-linis 'be able to clean a little'

ma- + dup ₂ - . . . -an DF(a,m) OF(a,m)	malapit-lapitan 'be able to approach a little' masulsi-sulsihan 'be able to mend a little'
mag- AF(D): AF(DO): AF(I): AF(O): AF(i):	magdusa 'suffer (as a punishment) for' magbigay 'give' mag-abogado 'become a lawyer' magluto 'cook' magkain 'eat (i)'
mag- + dup ₁ - AF(i):	magluluto 'cook (i)'
mag- + dup ₁ - + pa- AF(i):	magpapakinig 'listen (i)'
mag- + dup ₁ - + pang- AF(i):	magpapanood 'watch (i)'
mag- + dup ₂ - AF(m): AF(mr):	maglakad-lakad 'walk a little' maghiwa-hiwalay 'separate from one another (more than two actors)'
maging (cf. §5.26)	
magka- /magka/ (cf. §5.28)	
magka- /magka:/ AF(a):	magkausap 'be able to converse'
magka- + dup ₂ - AF(i):	magkabasag-basag 'get thoroughly broken'
magkanda- AF(ar):	magkandasira 'get damaged accidentally (as a result)'
magkang ¹ + dup ₁ - AF(ar):	magkampupunit 'get torn accidentally (as a result)'
magpa- AF(ia):	magpasulat 'permit/cause to write'
magpaka- AF(i):	magpakabanal '(try to) be very virtuous'
magpaka- + dup ₂ - AF(i):	magpakaingat-ingat '(try to) be very careful'
magpati- AF(ia):	magpatihulog 'make oneself fall down'
magsi- AF(p):	magsikanta 'sing (p)'

magsi- + dup ₂ - AF(m,p):	magsilapit-lapit 'approach a little (p)'
magsipag- AF(i,p): AF(p):	magsipagbasa 'read (i,p)' magsipag-akyat 'take/bring up to (p)'
magsipag- + dup ₁ - AF(i,p):	magsipaglalakbay 'travel (i,p)'
magsipag- + dup ₁ - + pa- AF(i,p):	magsipagpapaligo 'bathe (i,p)'
magsipag- + dup ₁ - + pang- AF(i,p):	magsipagpapanood 'watch (i,p)'
magsipag- + dup ₂ - AF(m,p):	magsipag-isip-isip 'think a little (p)'
magsipagka- + dup ₂ - AF(i,p):	magsipagkabasag-basag 'get thoroughly broken (p)'
magsipagkanda- AF(ar,p):	magsipagkandapunit 'get torn accidentally (as a result)(p)'
magsipagkang ¹ - + dup ₁ - AF(ar,p):	magsipagkangwawala 'get lost (as a result) (p)'
magsipagpa- AF(ia,p):	magsipagpapunta 'permit/cause to go (p)'
magsipagpaka- AF(i,p):	magsipagpakabuti '(try to) be very good (p)'
magsipagpaka- + dup ₂ - AF(i,p)	magsipagpakalinis-linis '(try to) be very clean (p)'
magsipagpati- AF(ia,p):	magsipagpatirapa 'make oneself fall face down (p)'
magsipag- . . . -um- AF(i,p):	magsipag-umiyak 'cry (i,p)'
magsipang- AF(d,p): AF(p):	magsipamili 'go shopping (p)' magsipangabayo 'go horseback riding (p)'
magsipang- + dup ₂ - AF(m,p):	magsipamura-mula 'reddden a little (p)'
mag- . . . -um- AF(i):	magsumigaw 'cry (i)'

mai-	
BF(a):	maikuha 'be able to get for'
CF(a):	maiyaan 'be able to cause to get rich'
IF(a):	maipanggupit 'be able to cut with'
MF(a):	mailaki 'be able to grow'
OF(a):	maihanda 'be able to prepare'
RF(a):	maipang-opisina 'be able to wear in the office'
maika-	
CF(a):	maikamatay 'be able to cause to die'
maikapag-	
CF(a):	maikapag-away 'be able to cause to fight one another'
maikapagpa-	
CF(a,ia):	maikapagpakain 'be able to cause to feed'
maikapang-	
CF(a):	maikapaniwala 'be able to cause to believe'
maikapapang-	
CF(a,ia):	maikapapangisda 'be able to cause to have . . . go fishing'
mai- + dup₂ -	
OF(a,m):	maibaba-baba 'be able to lower a little'
maipa-	
OF(a):	maipaligo 'be able to bathe with'
OF(a,ia):	maipasulat 'be able to permit/cause to write'
maipag-	
BF(a):	maipagluto 'be able to cook for'
CF(a):	maipag-aral 'be able to cause to study'
IF(a):	maipagsuklay 'be able to comb with'
OF(a):	maipagtapat 'be able to confess'
maipag- + dup₁ -	
OF(a,i):	maipagtatapon 'be able to throw (i)'
maipagpa-	
BF(a,ia):	maipagpasaing 'be able to permit/cause to cook rice for'
maipang-	
BF(a):	maipanahi 'be able to sew for'
CF(a):	maipamula 'be able to cause to redden'
OF(a):	maipanganak 'be able to give birth to'
maipapang-	
BF(a,ia):	maipapamingwit 'be able to permit/cause . . . to go fishing for'
mang-	
AF(D):	manghinayang 'regret the loss of'
AF(I):	mamangka 'go boating'
AF(O):	mangailangan 'need'
AF(d):	mangain 'devour'

manga- AF(p):	mangagalit 'be angry with (p)'
mangaka- AF(a,p): AF(p):	mangakagawa 'be able to do (p)' mangakarinig 'hear (p)'
mangaka- + dup _B - AF(a,m,p):	mangakalayo-layo 'be able to go a little farther away (p)'
mangakapag- AF(a,i,p): AF(a,p):	mangakapagkain 'be able to eat (i,p)' mangakapaghanda 'be able to prepare (p)'
mangakapag- + dup ₁ - AF(a,i,p):	mangakapaglalakad 'be able to walk (i,p)'
mangakapag- + dup ₁ - + pa- AF(a,i,p):	mangakapagpaligo 'be able to bathe (i,p)'
mangakapag- + dup ₂ - AF(a,m,p):	mangakapaghanap-hanap 'be able to search for a little (p)'
mangakapagpa- AF(a,ia,p):	managakapaghugas 'be able to permit/cause to wash (p)'
mangakapagpaka- AF(a,i,p):	mangakapagpakaingat 'be able to (try to) be very careful (p)'
mangakapagpaka- + dup ₂ - AF(a,i,p):	mangakapagpakabanal 'be able to (try to) be very virtuous (i,p)'
mangakapag- . . . -um- AF(a,i,p):	mangakapagpumiglas 'be able to struggle against bonds (i,p)'
mangakapang- AF(a,d,p): AF(a,p):	mangakapangibig 'be able to pay court to (p)' mangakapamangka 'be able to go boating (p)'
mangaki- AF(p,s):	mangakikain 'go eat together with (p)'
mangakipag- AF(p,s):	mangakipagbili 'sell together with (p)'
mangakipagpa- AF(ia,p,s):	mangakipagpainom 'give a drink together with (p)'
mangag- AF(i,p): AF(p):	mangagbasa 'read (i,p)' mangagtsinelas 'wear slippers (p)'
mangag- + dup ₁ - AF(i,p):	mangagluluto 'cook (i,p)'

mangag- + dup ₁ - + pa- AF(i,p):	mangagpakinig 'listen (i,p)'
mangag- + dup ₁ - + pang- AF(i,p):	mangagpapaniwala 'believe (i,p)'
mangag- + dup ₂ - AF(m,p):	mangagwalis-walis 'sweep a little (p)'
mangagka- + dup ₂ - AF(i,p):	mangagkabasag-basag 'get thoroughly broken (p)'
mangagkanda- AF(ar,p):	mangagkandasira 'get damaged accidentally (as a result) (p)'
mangagkang ¹ - + dup ₁ - AF(ar,p):	mangagkansusuka 'vomited (as a result) (p)'
mangagpa- AF(ia,p):	mangagpakuha 'permit/cause to get (p)'
mangagpaka- AF(i,p):	mangagpaka tanggi '(try to) be very negative (p)'
mangagpaka- + dup ₂ - AF(i,p):	mangagpakaingat-ingat '(try to) be very careful (p)'
mangagpati- AF(ia,p):	mangagpatihiga 'throw oneself to the ground (p)'
mangagsi- AF(p2):	mangagsisama 'accompany (p)'
mangagsi- + dup ₂ - AF(m,p2):	mangagsiurung-urong 'go back a little (p)'
mangagsipag- AF(i,p2): AF(p2):	mangagsipagsulat 'write (i,p)' mangagsipagmakinyala 'type (p)'
mangagsipag- + dup ₁ - AF(i,p2):	mangagsipagluluto 'cook (i,p)'
mangagsipag- + dup ₁ - + pa- AG(i,p2):	mangagsipagpakinig 'listen (i,p)'
mangagsipag- + dup ₁ - + pang- AF(i,p2):	mangagsipagpapaniwala 'believe (i,p)'
mangagsipag- + dup ₂ - AF(m,p2):	mangagsipag-isip-isip 'think a little (p)'
mangagsipagka- + dup ₂ - AF(i,p2):	mangagsipagkabasag-basag 'get thoroughly broken (p)'

mangagsipagkanda- AF(ar,p2):	mangagsipagkandasira 'get damaged accidentally (as a result) (p)'
mangagsipagkang ¹ - + dup ₁ - AF(ar,p2):	mangagsipagkangawala 'get lost (as a result) (p)'
mangagsipagpaka- + dup ₂ - AF(i,p2):	mangagsipagpakatali-talino '(try to) be very intelligent (p)'
mangagsipagpati- AF(ia,p):	mangagsipagpatira 'make oneself fall face down (p)'
mangagsipag- . . . -um- AF(i,p2):	mangagsipag-umiyak 'cry (i,p)'
mangagsipang- AF(d,p2): AF(p2):	mangagsipanguha 'gather (p)' mangagsipangupas 'fade (p)'
mangagsipang- + dup ₂ - AF(m,p2):	mangagsipamuti-muti 'blanch a little (p)'
mangag- . . . -um- AF(i,p):	mangagpumiglas 'struggle against bonds (i,p)'
mangapa- AF(in,p):	mangapatingin 'look at unintentionally (p)'
mang- + dup ₂ - AF(m):	mamula-mula 'redden a little'
mapa- (/mapa/ ~ /ma:pa/) A2F(a,ja):	mapatulog 'be able to permit/cause to sleep'
mapa- (/ma:pa/) AF(in):	mapadapa 'fall face down'
mapa- . . . -an DF(a): DF(a,ja): OF(a): OF(a,ja):	mapakialaman 'be able to meddle with' mapahiraman 'be able to permit/cause to borrow from' mapakinggan 'be able to listen to' mapabuksan 'be able to permit/cause to open'
mapag- OF(a,r):	mapagtabi 'be able to put (two or more objects) next to one another'
mapag- . . . -an DF(a): LF(a): OF(a): RfF(a):	mapaghigantihan 'be able to have revenge on' mapagsulatan 'be able to write in/on' mapag-aralan 'be able to study' mapag-usapan 'be able to talk about'
mapag- + dup ₁ - DF(a,i): OF(a,i):	mapagbabato 'be able to stone (i)' mapagsusuntok 'be able to punch (i)'

mapag- + dup ₁ . . . -an DF(a,i): OF(a,i):	mapagbabagsakan 'be able to drop on (i)' mapaghuhugasan 'be able to wash (i)'
mapag- + dup ₂ - OF(a,mr):	mapaghiwa-hiwalay 'be able to separate (more than two objects) from one another'
mapagpa- . . . -an LF(a,ja):	mapagpalaruan 'be able to permit/cause to play in/on'
mapang- OF(a):	mapanood 'be able to watch'
mapang- . . . -an DF(a): LF(a):	mapanghimasukan 'be able to meddle in' mapamangkaan 'be able to go boating in/on'
mapapag- A2F(a,ja):	mapapasalita 'be able to permit/cause to speak'
mapapag- . . . -an LF(a,ja): RfF(a,ja):	mapapagturuan 'be able to permit/cause to teach at/in' mapapag-usapan 'be able to permit/cause to talk about'
mapapang- A2F(a,ja):	mapapanguha 'be able to permit/cause to gather'
mapapang- . . . -an LF(a,ja):	mapapangisdaan 'be able to permit/cause to go fishing in/on'
pa- . . . -an DF(D): DF(ja): OF(O): OF(ja):	pakialaman 'meddle with' papasukan 'permit/cause to enter' pakinggan 'listen to' pahugasan 'permit/cause to wash'
pag- . . . -an DF(D): DF(DO): LF: OF(O): RfF:	pagsawaan 'be tired of' pagbilinan 'entrust with' pag-awitan 'sing at/in' pag-aralan 'study' pag-usapan 'talk about'
pag- + dup ₁ - . . . -an DF(i): OF(i):	pagtatapakan 'step on (i)' pagbubuksan 'open (i)'
pag- . . . -in OF(r):	pagdugtungin 'join (two or more objects) together'
pag- + dup ₁ - . . . -in DF(i): OF(i):	pagbabatuhin 'stone (i)' paggugupitin 'cut (i)'

pag- + dup ² - . . . -in OF(mr):	pagdikít-dikítin 'stick/paste (more than two objects) together'
pagpa- . . . -an LF(ia):	pagpaturuan 'permit/cause to teach at/in'
pa- . . . -in A2F(ia):	patuyuin 'permit/cause to get dry'
pang- . . . -an AF(I): DF(D): LF:	panginigan 'have a tremor in (e.g., the knees)' pamitaganan 'respect' pangisdaan 'go fishing in/on'
pang- . . . -in OF(O):	panoorin 'watch'
papag- . . . -an LF(ia): RF(ia):	papagtaniman 'permit/cause to plant in/on' papag-usapan 'permit/cause to talk about'
papag- . . . -in A2F(ia):	papagsapatusin 'permit/cause to wear shoes'
papang- . . . -an LF(ia):	papangusinaan 'permit/cause to do cooking in/on'
papang- . . . -in A2F(ia):	papangibigin 'permit/cause to pay court to'
-um- AF(D): AF(DO): AF(I): AF(O):	tumulong 'help' humingi 'ask for' tumanda 'become old' tumugtog 'play (an instrument)'
-um- + dup ₂ - AF(m):	umurung-urong 'go back a little'

§5.18. Base formations.

On the basis of their internal structure, Tagalog verb bases may be divided into the following classes: (1) SIMPLE BASES; (2) DERIVED BASES; (3) COMPOUND BASES; (4) PHRASAL BASES; These classes are presented in turn below.

(1) SIMPLE BASES. Simple bases are those that consist of only one meaningful element. The majority of simple bases also occur as independent words and/or as bases of formations not derived from verbs (e.g., as *ma-* adjective bases – cf. §4.3); a smaller number occurs only in verbs and in formations derived from verbs (e.g., gerunds – cf. §3.26). The following further points may be noted:

(a) Various subclasses of simple bases may be identified on the basis of the occurrence of the members of the subclasses with particular verbal affixes, and of the similarity of the members of the subclasses with respect to meaning or distribution. For example, there is a subclass of simple bases that occur independently as unmarked nouns designating articles of clothing, and that serve as the bases of intransitive *mag-* verbs (cf. §5.6, class G) expressing the wearing of these articles of clothing: e.g., *kurbata* 'tie,' in *magkurbata* 'wear a tie'; *tsinelas* 'slippers,' in *magtsinelas* 'wear slippers.' Similarly, there is a

subclass of simple bases that occur in *ma-* adjectives (cf. §4.3), and that serve as the bases of *-um-* verbs of 'becoming' (cf. §5.6, class J): e.g., *ganda* 'beauty,' in *gumanda* 'become beautiful' (cf. *maganda* 'beautiful'); *hirap* 'difficulty,' in *humirap* 'become difficult' (cf. *mahirap* 'difficult'). (Various other such subclasses are noted in connection with the presentation of the major affixes and verb classes in §5.2 through 5.6).

(b) Most of the bases that occur only in verbs and in formations derived from verbs form intransitive *mang-* verbs (cf. §5.6, class H). Examples are:

-mitig in mamitig	'feel numb'	(cf. pamimitig 'feeling numb')
-nibugho in manibugho	'become jealous'	(cf. paninibugho 'becoming jealous')
-nganay in manganay	'deliver one's first child'	(cf. panganganay 'delivering one's first child')

(Bases that never occur word-initially are written with a preceding hyphen.) At least one such base occurs in an intransitive *ma-* verb: *-matay* in *mamatay* 'die' (cf. *pagkamatay* 'dying'); and at least one occurs in each of the *ma-/ipa*, *ma/-ma-* . . . *-an* and *mang-/pang-* . . . *-in* object verb classes (cf. §5.3, classes A.1, A.2, and D.5):

-ligo in maligo/ipaligo 'bathe with'.
 -tuto in matuto/matutuhan 'learn'
 -nood in mannod/panoorin 'watch' (cf. panonood 'watching')

(c) Many simple bases occur in irregular verb formations (cf. §5.24).

(d) The interrogative word *ano* 'what' can occur with almost any verbal affix to form interrogative verbs (cf. §7.8).

Some further examples of simple verb bases are:

alinlangan 'doubt' in mag-alinlangan/pag-alinlanganan 'doubt'
 anawanser 'announcer' in mag-anawanser 'be an announcer'

(Borrowed bases that are analyzable into two or more elements in the language of origin, but that function as unanalyzable units in Tagalog, are classified as simple.)

asikaso 'manage' in mag-asikaso/asikasuhin 'manage; take care of'
 araw 'sun, day' in umaraw 'be day, be sunshine'
 aray 'ouch!' in umaray 'say "ouch" '
 asawa 'spouse' in mag-asawa 'get married'
 bagabag 'worry' in bumagabay/bagabagin 'worry'
 balahibo 'feather(s)' in magbalahibo/balahibuhan 'remove the feathers of'
 baluktot 'bent' in bumaluktot 'bend (oneself)'; magbaluktot/baluktutin 'bend (an object)'; ibaluktot 'put in a bent position'
 bigay 'gift' in magbigay/ibigay/bigyan 'give'
 kuha 'get' in kumuha/kunin/kunan 'get'
 dahilan 'cause' in magdahilan 'give an excuse'
 Disyembre 'December' in mag-Disyembre 'be December'
 diri 'disgust' in mandiri/pandirihan 'be disgusted with'
 dugo 'blood' in magdugo 'bleed'
 gulumihan 'confusion' in magulumihan 'get confused'
 hagulgol 'sob' in humagulgol 'sob'
 hinagpis 'grief' in maghinagpis 'grieve'
 hiwalay 'separate' in maghiwalay 'separate (from each other)'; humiwalay/hiwalayan 'be separated from'
 ingat 'care' in mag-ingat/pag-ingatan 'be careful of'
 martsa 'march' in magmartsa 'march'

mina 'mine' in magmina/minahin 'mine'
 payat 'thin' in pumayat 'get thin'
 plantsa 'flatiron' in magplantsa/plantsahin 'press with a flatiron'
 pili 'choice' in pumili/piliin 'choose'
 sipon 'head cold' in sipunin 'be afflicted with a head cold'
 telegrama 'telegram' in tumelegrama/telegramahan 'send a telegram to'
 tuka 'bill' in tumuka/tukain 'peck'
 usap 'talk' in mag-usap 'talk'

(2) DERIVED BASES. Derived bases consist of a simple base plus one or more affixes. In most cases the derived base also occurs as a derived noun or adjective (cf. § 3.7 and 4.3 through 4.10); in a few cases the derived base occurs only in verbs and related formations.

(a) Derived nouns serving as verb bases. Some examples of derived nouns that occur as verb bases are:

bahay-bahayan 'doll house/house (the game)' in magbahay-bahayan 'play house' (cf. bahay 'house')
 bigayan 'act of giving one another' in magbigayan 'give one another' (cf. bigay 'gift')
 bulung-bulungan 'repeated whispers to one another, gossip' in magbulung-bulungan 'whisper repeatedly to one another, gossip' (cf. bulong 'whisper')
 kahulugan 'meaning' in mangahulugan 'mean' (cf. hulog 'fall')
 katwiran 'reason' in mangatwiran 'reason out' (cf. tuwid 'straight')
 higanti 'revenge' in maghiganti/paghigantihan 'seek revenge' (cf. ganti 'return, reward')
 himutok 'sigh' in maghimutok 'sigh' (cf. putok 'explosion')
 hinanakit 'hurt feelings' in maghinanakit/paghinanaktan 'feel hurt by' (cf. sakit 'pain')
 pagandahan 'beauty contest' in magpagandahan 'compete in a beauty contest' (cf. ganda 'beauty')
 patayan 'killing one another' in magpatayan 'kill one another' (cf. patay 'dead')
 pari-parian 'pretense of being a priest' in magpari-parian 'pretend to be a priest' (cf. pari 'priest')
 tag-araw 'hot season' in magtag-araw 'be the beginning of the hot season' (cf. araw 'sun')
 tag-ulan 'rainy season' in magtag-ulan 'be the beginning of the rainy season' (cf. ulan 'rain')
 tirahan 'place of residence' in manirahan 'have one's residence (in)' (cf. tumira 'reside')

(Certain of the derived-noun formations illustrated above –

e.g., those that begin with *hi-* – are not presented in § 3.7, since the formation-type is relatively rare, and § 3.7 is concerned primarily with the more productive derived-noun classes.)

(b) Derived adjectives serving as verb bases. Derived adjectives of various types occur as verb bases, among them: (b.1) *ma-* adjectives (cf. § 4.3); (b.2) ordinal numbers and distributive and grouping numerals (cf. §§ 4.4 and 4.5); (b.3) *pa0-* intermittent-activity adjectives (cf. § 4.7); (b.4) *pang-* reservational and instrumental adjectives (cf. § 4.5); (b.5) *ma...-an* adjectives (cf. § 4.10, subsection (5)). The *pang-* adjectives form reservational-focus and instrumental-focus verbs with the prefix *i-* (cf. § 5.11). The other types of derived adjectives all occur with the prefix *mag-*, forming, in the case of *ma-* adjectives, either intransitive *mag-* verbs (cf. § 5.6, class G) or *mag-/pag-...-an* directional verbs (cf. § 5.4, class B.2), and forming in the other cases intransitive *mag-* verbs only.

(b.1) Verbs in which *ma-* adjectives occur as bases express the pretended or deliberate assumption of the quality expressed by the adjective. Examples are:

mabait 'kind' in magmabait/pagmabaitan 'pretend to be kind to'
 madali 'fast' in magmadali 'hurry'
 marunong 'wise' in magmarunong 'pretend to be wise'

A long penultimate vowel in the adjective is shortened in the verb: compare *marunong* /maru:non/ and *magmarunong* /magmarunon/.

(b.2) Ordinal numbers formed with *ika-* occur in *mag-* verbs expressing clock time and dates. The verbs are inflectable only for the contemplated aspect (cf. § 5.19). The same *ng* phrases that occur after the

ordinal numbers (cf. §4.4, subsections (6) and (2)) occur as adjuncts after the verbs (cf. §5.26). Examples are:

ikalabindalawa (ng tanghali) 'twelve o'clock (noon)' in mag-ikalabindalawa
(ng tanghali) 'be twelve o'clock (noon)'
ikatatumpu (ng Disyembre) 'the thirtieth (of December)' in mag-ikatatumpu
(ng Disyembre) 'be the thirtieth (of December)'

Mag- verbs with distributive numerals serving as bases take as adjuncts the same *ng* phrases or constructions introduced by *na/-ng* as are taken by the numerals (cf. §4.5, subsection (a)). Examples are:

tigi-tigisa (nito) 'one each (of these)' in magtigi-tigisa (nito) 'take one each (of these)'
tiga-tigalawa (ng piraso ng kendi) 'one (piece) each (of the candy)' in magtiga-tigalawa (ng piraso ng kendi) 'take one (piece) each (of the candy)'

Examples of grouping numerals serving as verb bases are:

dala-dalawa 'by twos, in pairs' in magdala-dalawa 'go/be in pairs'
lima-lima 'by fives, in groups of five' in maglima-lima 'go/be in groups of five'

(b.3) Examples of *pa-* intermittent-activity adjectives serving as verb bases are:

pabalik-balik 'going back and forth' in magpabalik-balik 'go back and forth'
palipad-lipad 'flying intermittently' in magpalipad-lipad 'fly intermittently'

(b.4) Examples of *pang-* adjectives serving as bases of reservational–focus and instrumental–focus *i-* verbs are:

pambahay 'for use/wear in the house' in ipambahay 'use/wear in the house'
pambili 'for buying' in ipambili 'buy with'
pampanood 'for watching' in ipampanood 'watch with'
pangkape 'for use in coffee' in ipangkape 'use in coffee'

(b.5) Examples of *ma- . . . -an* adjectives serving as verb bases are:

mahigpitan 'close (in fighting)' in magmahigpitan 'be close (in fighting)'
matagalan 'prolonged' in magmatagalan 'be prolonged'

(c) Other derived bases. Derived bases that occur only in verbs and related formations (such as gerunds) consist of a single base preceded by *ki-*, *maka-*, *paka-*, or *sa-*. Except for the bases that include *ki-* (see below), all occur in intransitive *mag-* verbs (cf. §5.6, class G).

(c.1) Bases that include the prefix *ki-* occur in the *ma-/pa- . . . -an* directional–verb class – cf. the discussion under class A.3, §5.4. Examples are:

-kibagay in makibagay/pakibagayan 'adapt oneself to' (cf. bagay 'suitable')
-kiisa in makiisa/pakiisahan 'cooperate with' (cf. isa 'one')
-kiramdam in makiramdam/pakiramdaman 'observe secretly' (cf. damdam 'feeling')

(c.2) *Maka-* occurs in a very few derived bases. Examples are:

-makaamo in magmakaamo 'be very docile' (cf. -amo in maamo 'docile')
-makaawa in magmakaawa 'beseech mercy' (cf. awa 'mercy')

(c.3) In most cases, verbs in which *mag-* is followed by *paka-* plus a simple base are regarded as intensive *magpaka-* verbs (cf. §5.16, subsection (1.e)), derived from *ma-* or *um-* verbs of 'becoming'. In a

few cases, however, there is no underlying *ma-* or *-umi-* verb, and the *paka-* may most simply be regarded as part of a derived base. Examples are:

- pakasakit in magpakasakit/magpakasa:kit/ 'make a sacrifice' (cf. sakit /sakit/ 'pain' (vowel length added in verb base))
- pakatao in magpakatao 'act in a civilized manner' (cf. tao 'human being')

(c.4) In most cases, *sa-* occurring as part of a verb base is related to the *sa* that marks locative and possessive phrases, and the base is regarded as a phrasal base (see (4), below). There is, however, a set of bases that include *sa-* and that are apparently unrelated to phrases. These bases consist of *sa-* plus a noun that designates a person or animal. The verbs in which the bases occur express the assumption of the behavior of the person or animal denoted by the noun. Examples are:

- sa-Kastila in magsa-Kastila 'behave like a Spaniard' (cf. Kastila 'Spaniard')
- sa-Hamlet in magsa-Hamlet 'behave like Hamlet' (cf. Hamlet 'Hamlet')
- sa-pagong in magsa-pagong 'behave like a turtle' (cf. pagong 'turtle')

(3) COMPOUND BASES. These bases consist of two simple bases (or, in a few cases, one simple base and one derived base) joined by the linker *-ng* (which, according to the context, shows either the form /*ŋ*/ or a zero form – cf. §3.8). Most compound bases also occur independently as nominal or adjectival compounds. (Nominal compounds are presented in §3.8. As is noted in that section, adjectival compounds are similar to nominal compounds in the types of relations that obtain between the constituents, and are not given separate treatment in this text.) A few compound bases occur only in verbs and related formations. The great majority of compound bases occur in intransitive *mag-* verbs; a few occur in verbs of other types.

(a) Nominal compounds serving as verb bases. Some examples of nominal compounds that occur as verb bases are:

- basag-ulo 'fight' in magbasag-ulo 'engage in a fight' (cf. basag 'break'; ulo 'head')
- bukang-liwayway 'dawn' in magbukang-liwayway 'be dawn' (cf. buka 'open'; liwayway 'dawn')
- buntung-hininga 'sigh' in magbuntung-hininga 'sigh' (cf. buntung 'heap'; hininga 'breath')
- hunasdili 'self-control' in maghunasdili 'show self-control' (cf. hunos 'storm'; dili (negator))
- laglag-luksa 'ritual of ending a mourning period' in maglaglag-luksa 'end a mourning period' (cf. laglag, base of malaglag 'fall'; luksa 'mourning')

(b) Adjectival compounds serving as verb bases. Some examples of adjectival compounds serving as verb bases are:

- agaw-buhay 'near death' in mag-agaw-buhay 'be near death' (cf. agaw, base of umagaw 'snatch'; buhay 'life')
- amuy-sibuyas (/bawang, etc.) 'smelling of onions (/garlic, etc.)' in mag-amuy-sibuyas (/bawang, etc.) 'smell of onions (/garlic, etc.)' (cf. amoy 'smell'; sibuyas 'onion(s)'; bawang 'garlic')
- lakas-loob 'daring' (often used as adverb, 'daringly') in maglakas-loob 'be daring' (cf. lakas 'strength'; loob 'inside')
- lasang-kape (/mansanas, etc.) 'tasting of coffee (/apples, etc.)' in maglasang-kape (/mansanas, etc.) 'have a taste of coffee (/apples, etc.)' (cf. lasa 'taste'; kape 'coffee'; mansanas 'apple(s)')
- mukhang-bata (/pulubi, etc.) 'looking young (/like a beggar, etc.)' in magmukhang-bata (/pulubi, etc.) 'look young (/like a beggar, etc.)' (cf. mukha 'face'; bata 'young'; pulubi 'beggar')

(c) Other compound bases. Compound bases that do not occur as nominal or adjectival compounds may be divided into two groups: (c.1) those that form directional *mag-/an* verbs (cf. §5.4, class B.1); (c.2) those that form intransitive *mag-* verbs.

(c.1) Compound bases in this class consist of the base *bigay* (cf. *magbigay/ibigay/bigyan* 'give') plus the linker *-ng* plus another base. In the case of the *-an* verbs, *-an* precedes the linker. (The linker and the

base that follows it are, however, inseparable from the rest of the verb, and hence differ from base adjuncts of similar shape – cf. §5.26.) Examples are:

bigay-halaga in magbigay-halaga/bigyang-halaga 'give value to' (cf. halaga 'value')
bigay-pag-asa in magbigay-pag-asa/bigyang-pag-asa 'give hope to' (cf. pag-asa 'hope')

(c.2) Examples of compound bases that do not occur as nominal or adjectival compounds and that form intransitive *mag-* verbs are:

-akyat-panaog in mag-akyat-panaog 'go up and down' (cf. akyat in umakyat 'go up'; panaog in pumanaog 'go down')
-bayad-utang in magbayad-utang 'pay a debt' (cf. bayad 'payment'; utang 'debt')
-dalantao in magdalantao 'be pregnant' (cf. dala in magdala 'carry'; tao 'human being')
-urong-sulong in mag-urong-sulong 'be indecisive' (cf. urong in umurong 'retreat'; sulong in sumulong 'advance')

(4) PHRASAL BASES. These bases contain sequences of independently meaningful elements that also occur as phrases (i.e., word sequences that constitute grammatical units). Some include, in addition to the elements that occur in the phrases themselves, the prefix *pa-* (and hence may be called *derived phrasal bases*). Among the phrase types that may occur as verb bases are: (a) *sa* phrases; (b) *wala* phrases; (c) modification constructions and other phrases.

(a) *Sa* phrases serving as bases. *Sa* phrases preceded by the prefix *pa-* occur as bases of *-um-* verbs. (In most cases, these *-um-* verbs are intransitive (cf. §5.6, class T); in at least one case, the *-um-* verb is directional and corresponds to a DF *-an* verb: *pumaroon/paroonan* 'go (there)'. The *pa-* that precedes the *sa* phrase may be considered a replacement of the *na-* that occurs in locative adjective phrases introduced by *nasa* (cf. §4.19). Any locative adjective phrase other than those that include *kay* may serve as the source of the verb base. The verb expresses motion toward the location expressed by the locative phrase, or motion that results in the state (of temporary possession) expressed by the locative phrase. Examples are:

pasa-akin in pumasa-akin 'come into my possession' (cf. nasa akin 'in my possession')
pasabata in pumasabata 'come into the child's possession' (cf. nasa bata 'in the child's possession')
pasaloob in pumasaloob 'go/come inside' (cf. nasa loob 'inside')
pasa-Maynila in pumasa-Maynila 'go to Manila' (cf. nasa Maynila 'in Manila')
parito in pumarito 'come here' (cf. narito 'here')
paroon in pumaroon 'go (there)' (cf. naroon 'there')

Parito and *paroon* also occur as bases of adjunctive pseudo-transitive *-an* verbs (cf. §5.26, class III.B.1): *paritulan* 'come to . . . for' and *paroonan* 'go to . . . for.' (The latter is homonymous with the DF verb *paroonan* 'go (there)' – see above.)

Possessive *sa* phrases of the shape *sa* plus *sa-* form personal pronoun (cf. §4.22) also occur as bases of intransitive *-um-* verbs: e.g.,

sa akin 'mine' in suma-akin 'be mine'
sa iyo 'yours' in suma-iyoy 'be yours'
sa kaniya 'his/hers' in suma-kaniya 'be his/hers'

(These verbs occur primarily in writing and formal speech.)

Certain locative adverbial phrases of the shape *sa* plus unmarked noun (cf. §6.9) occur as bases of *mag-/i-* object verbs (cf. §5.3, class C.2). The phrases express a position or state, the verbs the putting of something into that position or state. Examples are:

sa ayos 'in(to) order' in magsaayos/isaayos 'put in order'
sa dula 'in(to) a play' in magsadula/isadula 'put into dramatic form'
sa ulo 'in(to) the head' in magsaulo/isaulo 'memorize (i.e., 'put into one's head')

(b) *Wala* phrases serving as bases. Certain *wala* phrases preceded by the prefix *pa-* occur as bases of *mag-/an* directional verbs (cf. §5.4, class B.1). The *wala* phrase itself consists of the negator *wala* plus the linker *-ng* plus a base (cf. §7.14). As in the case of compound bases with *bigay* (see (3.c), above), *-an* precedes the linker. (*Wala + -an* forms the irregular verb *walan* – cf. §5.24 – which combines with the linker to form *walang*.)

pawalang-bisa in *magpawalang-bisa/pawalang-bisa* ‘render ineffective’ (cf. *walang bisa* ‘having no effect’)

pawalang-halaga in *magpawalang-halaga/pawalang-halaga* ‘render valueless’ (cf. *walang halaga* ‘having no value’)

Certain *wala* phrases (without a preceding *pa-*) also occur as bases of intransitive *mag-* verbs: e.g.,

walang kibo ‘without speech’ in *magwalang-kibo* ‘be silent’

walang hiya ‘without shame’ in *magwalang-hiya* ‘be shameless’

(c) Modification constructions and other phrases serving as bases. Examples of modification constructions (cf. §3.11 ff.) serving as bases are:

ibang bayan ‘another country’ in *mangibang-bayan* ‘go abroad’

mabuting asal ‘good manners’ in *magmabuting-asal/pagmabutihang-asal* ‘be courteous to’

magandang gabi ‘good evening (the greeting)’ in *magmagandang-gabi* ‘wish (someone) good evening’

masamang ugali ‘bad custom’ in *magmasamang-ugali/pagmasamaang-ugali* ‘behave selfishly toward’

tininti sa nayon ‘barrio lieutenant’ (an optional contraction of *tininting nasa nayon* – cf. §3.14) in *magtininti-sa-nayon* ‘be barrio lieutenant’

(Note that in the case of *pag- . . . -an* verbs, the *-an* occurs before the linker *na/-ng*. Cf. the discussion under (3.c) above.)

At least one phrase of a type not discussed above occurs as a verb base:

baka sakali ‘perhaps’ in *magbaka-sakali* ‘take a chance’

§5.19 The contemplated aspect.

Tagalog verbs are inflectable for three basic aspects: CONTEMPLATED, IMPERFECTIVE, and PERFECTIVE. Certain tagalog verbs are inflectable as well for a fourth, derived aspect: the RECENT PERFECTIVE. The meanings typically associated with the basic aspects are summarized in §2.7. (In certain derived structures – e.g., certain types of adverbial clauses (cf. §6.14, ff.) – the basic aspects may carry meanings that differ to some extent from those typically associated with them.) The present section and those that immediately follow it are concerned with the ways in which verbs marked for one of the three basic aspects are formed. Contemplated–aspect formations are discussed in the present section, imperfective–aspect formations in §5.20, and perfective–aspect formations in §5.21. The basic–aspect formations are summarized in §5.22. Then, in §5.23, recent–perfective formations, their meanings, and the constructions in which they occur are presented.

All contemplated–aspect formations are marked by the presence of a monosyllabic duplicating prefix that does not occur in the basic form of the verb. This prefix may be symbolized dup_A . Dup_A , the aspectual–duplication prefix, occurs in imperfective–aspect and recent–perfective–aspect formations (cf. §§5.20 and 5.23, respectively) as well as in contemplated–aspect formations. It differs both in use and in form from the other duplicating prefixes that occur in verb formations, dup_1 and dup_2 . The latter are used to form derived verbs, and occur in the basic form, as well as in the aspect–marked forms, of such verbs. Dup_A , on the other hand, occurs in both major–verb and derived–verb formations, but, since it is an aspectual marker, never occurs in a basic form. The rules governing the form of dup_1 and dup_2 are presented in §§3.7 and 5.16 respectively; those governing the form of dup_A are presented immediately below. (These rules are to be understood as applying to the form of dup_A in all the aspect–marked

formations in which it occurs: i.e., in imperfective–aspect and recent–perfective–aspect formations; as well as in contemplated–aspect formations.)

(1) dup_A - normally consists of a duplication of the first consonant and first vowel of the syllable before which it occurs. The vowel of dup_A - is, however, always long, whether the vowel of the syllable it precedes is long or short. Note the following examples of contemplated–aspect formations in which dup_A - precedes a syllable with a short vowel (dup_A - is capitalized in the examples): *Bilihin* /bi·bilhin/ ‘will buy,’ *Luhutuin* /lu·lutu·in/ ‘will cook,’ *Wawalisin* /wa·wali·sin/ ‘will sweep.’

(2) When dup_A - precedes a syllable that begins with a consonant cluster the second member of which is /w/ or /y/, it consists of the first consonant of the cluster plus the long–vowel counterpart of /w/ or /y/ – /u/ in the case of /w/, /i/ in the case of /y/. Examples are: *magKukwento* /magku·kwe·ntoh/ ‘will tell a story,’ *magPipiano* /magpi·pya·noh/ ‘will play the piano.’

(3) When dup_A - precedes a syllable that begins with a consonant cluster the second member of which is /r/ or /l/, it may optionally include the /r/ or /l/ as well as the first consonant of the cluster. Examples are: *magT(R)Atrabaho* /magt(r)a·traba·hoh/ ‘will work,’ *magP(l)Aplantsa* /magg(l)a·pla·ntsah/ ‘will iron.’ The formations without the /r/ or /l/ are, however, preferred.

Dup_A - in some cases must immediately precede the verb base, in others must immediately precede a component of the verbal affix, and in still others may immediately precede either the verb base or a component of the verbal affix. The following generalizations can be made about the position of dup_A -. (The generalizations apply, once more, to all formations in which dup_A - occurs.)

(1) Certain affixes and affix components are never immediately preceded by dup_A -. These affixes are:

- (a) the major monosyllabic prefixes: e.g., *i-*, *ma-*, *mag-*;
- (b) derived affixes and initial components of derived affixes that are identical in shape to major monosyllabic prefixes: e.g., *i-* as a benefactive–focus affix, or as the initial component of *ika-*, *ipa-*, *ipag-*, etc.; *ma-* as an ability–verb affix, or as the initial component of *maka-*, *makapag-*, *mai-*, etc.
- (c) the suffixes *-an* and *-in*;
- (d) the affix components *pag-* and *pang-* when preceded by *ka-*, *ki-*, or *si-*, as in *makapag-*, *makapang-*, *mangakipag-*, *magsipang-*, etc.
- (e) the recent–perfective affix component *ka-* (cf. §5.23), the pluralizing affix component *-nga-* (cf. §5.15), and the deliberate reflexive affix component *ti-* (cf. §5.12).

(2) A verb base is never immediately preceded by dup_A - if the formation includes one of the following affixes or affix components: dup_1 -, dup_2 -, *ki-*, *magpa-*, *pagka-*, *pagpa-*, *pampa-*, *si-*. Dup_1 - and dup_2 - are never immediately preceded by dup_A - if the formation includes one of the other listed affixes or affix components.

(3) Any affix component not specified under (1) above may be immediately preceded by dup_A -. Thus dup_A - may precede the following affix components: dup_1 - and dup_2 - except as specified under (2) above, *ka-* except as specified under (1.e) above, *ki-*, *i-* occurring as a non-initial affix component, *pa-*, *pag-* and *pang-* except as specified under (1.d) above, *si-*.

(4) Any verb base not preceded by the affixes and affix components specified under (2) above may be immediately preceded by dup_A -.

As generalizations (3) and (4) indicate, dup_A - is in some cases capable of occurring in one of two or more different positions in formations corresponding to a single basic form. Thus the contemplated–aspect form of the verb *maipabili* ‘be able to have (someone) buy’ may be any of the following: *malipabili*, *maiPApabili*, *maipABIbili*. No general rule can be given as to which of two or more alternative positions of dup_A - is likely to be preferred in any given case.

As is noted in §5.2, subsection (12), the initial base consonant of verbs formed with the prefix *mang-*, and of most other verbal prefixes ending in *-ng*, is in certain specifiable cases replaced by its

homorganic nasal counterpart, the final nasal of the prefix being simultaneously lost. In such cases, it is the nasal that replaces the first base consonant that is duplicated in dup_A -. Thus, for example, the contemplated–aspect form that corresponds to the basic form *mamili* (*mang-* + *bili*) ‘go shopping’ is *maMmili* /*mami·milih/* ‘will go shopping,’ the contemplated–aspect form that corresponds to *manaksak* (*mang-* + *saksak*) ‘stab’ is *maNAnaksak* /*mana·naksak/* ‘will stab,’ and the contemplated–aspect form that corresponds to *mangailangan* (*mang-* + *kailangan*) ‘need’ is *maNGAngailangan* /*maŋa·ŋa·ila·ŋan/* ‘will need.’

The contemplated–aspect form of an *-um-* verb is differentiated from the basic form in two ways: (1) the presence of dup_A -; (2) the absence of the infix *-um-*. Examples are:

Basic Form	Contemplated–Aspect Form
<i>lumakad</i> / <i>luma·kad/</i> ‘walk’	<i>Lalakad</i> / <i>la·la·kad/</i> ‘will walk’
<i>tumakbo</i> / <i>tumakboh/</i> ‘run’	<i>TAtakbo</i> / <i>ta·takboh/</i> ‘will run’
<i>umalis</i> / <i>·umalis/</i> ‘leave’	<i>Aalis</i> / <i>·a·alis/</i> ‘will leave’

In most other cases, the contemplated–aspect form is differentiated from the basic form only by the presence of dup_A -. Any affix other than *-um-* that occurs in the basic form of a verb is, in other words, normally retained in the corresponding contemplated–aspect form. (However, cf. §5.22 for a discussion of the optimal deletion of *i-* in the contemplated–aspect forms of *mai-* verbs, etc.) Some examples are:

Basic Form	Contemplated–Aspect Form
<i>bigyan</i> / <i>bigyan/</i> ‘give to’	<i>Blbigyan</i> / <i>bi·bigyan/</i> ‘will give to’
<i>iabot</i> / <i>·i·abot/</i> ‘hand to’	<i>iAabot</i> / <i>·i·a·abot/</i> ‘will hand to’
<i>ikagalit</i> / <i>·ikaga·lit/</i> ‘make angry’	<i>iKAgalit</i> / <i>·ikaka·ga·lit/</i>
	<i>ikaGAgalit</i> / <i>·ikaga·ga·lit/</i> ‘will make angry’
<i>makita</i> / <i>ma(·)ki·tah/</i> ‘see’	<i>maKIkita</i> / <i>ma(·)ki·ki·tah/</i> ‘will see’
<i>mangagsikain</i> / <i>maŋagsika·in/</i> ‘eat (pl.)’	<i>mangagSIsikain</i> / <i>maŋagsi·sika·in/</i> ‘will eat (pl.)’
<i>pag-aralan</i> / <i>pag·ara·lan/</i> ‘study’	<i>PAPag-aralan</i> / <i>pa·pag·ara·lan/</i>
	<i>pag-Aaralan</i> / <i>pag·a·ara·lan/</i> ‘will study’
<i>pangisdaan</i> / <i>paŋisda·an/</i> ‘go fishing in’	<i>PAPangisdaan</i> / <i>pa·paŋisda·an/</i>
	<i>paNGIngisdaan</i> / <i>paŋi·ŋisda·an/</i> ‘will go fishing in’
<i>tapusin</i> / <i>tapu·sin/</i> ‘finish’	<i>TAtapusin</i> / <i>ta·tapu·sin/</i> ‘will finish’

§5.20. The imperfective aspect.

All imperfective–aspect formations are marked by the presence of: (1) the aspectual–duplication prefix dup_A -; (2) an aspect–marking element that may be symbolized as N. The formation and position of

dup_A have been presented in detail in §5.19. The forms of the aspect-marking element N are presented in the present section. N occurs in perfective-aspect formations as well as in imperfective-aspect formations, and the generalizations made below apply to N in formations of both types.

(1) When present in a formation whose basic form begins with a prefix with initial /m/, N is realized as a replacement of this /m/ by /n/. Thus, N + *ma-D na-* /na(·)/, N + *mag-* /mag/ → *nag-* /nag/, etc. Some examples of verbs whose basic forms begin with a prefix with initial /m/, and of the imperfective-aspect forms of the verbs, are:

Basic Form	Imperfective–Aspect Form
mahalata 'notice'	nahalalata 'is/are noticing'
makarinig 'hear'	nakakarinig } nakaririnig } 'is/are hearing'
maglinis 'clean'	naglilinis 'is/are cleaning'
mangakaalis 'be able to leave (pl.)'	nangakakaalis } nangakaaalis } 'are able to leave'
mangisda 'go fishing'	nangingisda 'is/are going fishing'

(As is noted in §2.7, the imperfective aspect may be used to express habitual actions or incomplete actions in the present or the past. Thus a form like *nangingisda* may, according to context, correspond to English 'go(es) fishing,' 'is/are going fishing,' 'was/were going fishing,' etc. Only the translations that indicate incomplete action in the present are given in the examples.)

(2) In the case of *-um-* verbs, N is realized as the retention of the infix *-um-*. Put formulaically: N + *-um-* → *-um-*. (As is noted in §5.19, the contemplated-aspect forms of *-um-* verbs, which lack N, are marked by the absence of the infix *-um-*.) Note that, in imperfective-aspect formations, *-um-* always occurs after the initial consonant of dup_A. Examples are:

Basic Form	Imperfective–Aspect Form
kumain /kuma·in/ 'eat'	kumakain /kuma·ka·in/ 'is/are eating'
sumakay /sumakay/ 'ride'	sumasakay /suma·sakay/ 'is/are riding'
umiyak /'umiyak/ 'cry'	umliyak /'umi·iyak/ 'is/are crying'

(3) In all cases not covered by (1) or (2) above, the realization of N involves the prefix *ni-* /ni/ or the infix *-in-* /in/. (In the case of verbs whose basic form includes the suffix *-in*, the realization of N also involves loss of this suffix – cf. (4), below.) The following formulas summarize the realization of N as *ni-* or *-in-*:

(a)	N + (/i/ +) /L/	→	(/i/ +)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /niL/ \\ /Lin/ \end{array} \right.$
(b)	N + /i/ + /H/	→	/i/ + /niH/	
(c)	N + (/i/ +) /C/	→	(/i/ +) /Cin/	

In all three formulas, /i/ represents the prefix or prefix component *i-*. /L/ in formula (a) represents one of four consonants: /l/, /r/, /w/, and /y/; /H/ in formula (b) represents one of two consonants: /h/ and /ʔ/;

/C/ in formula (c) represents any consonant other than /l/, /r/, /w/, or /y/ if the formation does not include the prefix or prefix component *i-*, and any consonant other than /l/, /r/, /w/, /y/, /h/, or /ʔ/ if the formation does include *i-*. The formulas are to be interpreted as follows:

(a) When N is present in a formation that would, in the absence of N, begin with /l/, /r/, /w/, or /y/, or with the prefix *i-* plus one of these consonants, N may be realized in either of two ways: as *ni-* preceding the /l/, /r/, /w/, or /y/, or as *-in-* following it. The forms with *ni-* are preferred to those with *-in-*. (In imperfective–aspect formations covered by formula (a), /L/ is the initial consonant of dup_A.) Examples are:

Basic Form	Imperfective–Aspect Form
lagyan ‘put in/on’	nilalagyan
	linalagyan
ilapit ‘bring near’	inilalapit
	ilinalapit
regaluhan ‘give a present to’	nireregaluhan
	rineregaluhan
iregalo ‘give as a present’	inireregalo
	irineregalo
walisan ‘sweep’	niwawalisan
	winawalisan
iwagayway ‘wave’	iniwawagayway
	iwinawagayway
yapakan ‘step on’	niyayapakan
	yinayapakan
iyuko ‘bend’	iniyuyuko
	iyiniyuko

(Cf. also §5.22 for a discussion of the optimal deletion of the prefix or prefix–component *i-*, in certain formations that involve N.)

(b) When N is present in a formation that would, in the absence of N, begin with the prefix *i-* plus /h/ or /ʔ/, it is realized as *ni-* preceding the /h/ or /ʔ/. Examples are:

Basic Form	Imperfective–Aspect Form
ihatid ‘deliver’	inihatid ‘is/are delivering’
iabot /‘i’abot/ ‘hand to’	iniaabot /‘ini’a’abot/ ‘is/are handing to’

(c) When N is present in a formation that begins with a consonant other than /l/, /r/, /w/, or /y/, or that would in the absence of N, begin with the prefix *i-* plus a consonant other than /l/, /r/, /w/, /y/, /h/ or /ʔ/, it is realized as *-in-* following this consonant. Examples are:

Basic Form

hiraman 'borrow from'
 utusan /'utu'san/ 'order'
 bigyan 'give to'
 ibigay 'give'

Imperfective–Aspect Form

hinihiraman 'is/are borrowing from'
 inuutusan /'inu'utu'san/ 'is/are ordering'
 binibigyan 'is/are giving to'
 ibinibigay 'is/are giving'

pabigyan 'have (someone) give to'

pinapabigyan }
 pinabibigyan } 'is/are having
 (someone) give to'

(As the last example shows, the position of /in/ is not affected by the position of dup_A -.)

(Cf. §5.21 for a note on formations that involve the addition of *-in-* after the first consonant of a consonant cluster the second member of which is /l/ or /r/.)

(4) In formations whose basic form includes the suffix *-in* (i.e., *in-in* verbs, and *in* verbs formed with complex affixes that include *-in*), the realization of N involves: (1) the addition of *ni-* or *-in-* in accordance with the formulas presented under (3), above; (2) the deletion of the suffix *-in*. Examples are:

Basic Form

lutuin 'cook'

yayain 'invite'

awitin 'sing'

unatin 'stretch'

basahin 'read'

papaglabahin 'have (someone) launder'

Imperfective–Aspect Form

niluluto }
 linuluto } 'is/are cooking'

niyayaya }
 yinayaya } 'is/are inviting'

inaawit 'is/are singing'

inuunat 'is/are stretching'

binabasa 'is/are reading'

pinapapaglaba }
 pinapaglalaba } 'is/are having
 (someone) launder'

As is noted in §5.2, subsection (4), the addition of the suffix *-in* to a verb base with penultimate vowel length normally effects a length shift in the base. Compare: *luto* /lu'to/ and *lutuin* /lutu'in/, *awit* /a'wit/ and *awitin* /awi'tin/, *basa* /ba'sah/ and *basahin* /basa'hin/. When the suffix *-in* is deleted as part of the realization of the aspect-marking element N, the length shift does not occur. Thus: *linuluto* /linu'lu'to/, *inaawit* /ina'a'wit/, *binabasa* /bina'ba'sah/. (Note that conventional spelling represents the distinction between base-final /' / and base-final /h/ in forms in which the base is followed by *-in* – /h/ being represented by /h/, /' / being unwritten – but does not represent this distinction in unsuffixed forms.)

§5.21. The perfective aspect.

Perfective–aspect formations like imperfective–aspect formations (cf. §5.20), are marked by the presence of the aspect-marking element N. The perfective formations differ from the imperfective

formations in that they lack the aspectual–duplication prefix dup_A -. The same rules govern the realization of N in perfective and imperfective formations. Thus N in perfective formations is realized in one of the following four ways, the particular realization that occurs in any given case depending upon the structure of the basic form of the verb, as specified in §5.20:

- (1) the replacement of prefix–initial /m/ by /n/;
- (2) the retention of the infix -um-;
- (3) the addition of ni- or -in-;
- (4) the addition of ni- or -in- plus the deletion of the suffix -in.

(Cf. also §5.22 for the optional deletion of *i*- in certain formations that involve N.) Examples are:

Basic Form	Perfective–Aspect Form				
(1) makagawa ‘be able to do’	nakagawa ‘was/were able to do’				
mag-aral ‘study’	nag-aral ‘studied’				
maintindihan ‘understand’	naintindihan ‘understood’				
(2) dumating ‘arrive’	dumating ‘arrived’				
sumulat ‘write’	sumulat ‘wrote’				
tumanggap ‘receive’	tumanggap ‘received’				
(3) ligawan ‘pay court to’	<table border="0" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr> <td>niligawan</td> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td rowspan="2" style="vertical-align: middle;">‘paid court to’</td> </tr> <tr> <td>linigawan</td> </tr> </table>	niligawan	}	‘paid court to’	linigawan
niligawan	}	‘paid court to’			
linigawan					
iyaman ‘cause to get rich’	<table border="0" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr> <td>iniyaman</td> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td rowspan="2" style="vertical-align: middle;">‘caused to get rich’</td> </tr> <tr> <td>iyinaman</td> </tr> </table>	iniyaman	}	‘caused to get rich’	iyinaman
iniyaman	}	‘caused to get rich’			
iyinaman					
iuwi ‘take home’	iniuwi ‘took home’				
pagturuan ‘teach at’	pinagturuan ‘taught at’				
ikamatay ‘cause to die’	ikinamatay ‘caused to die’				
(4) lagutin ‘snap’	<table border="0" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr> <td>nilagot</td> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td rowspan="2" style="vertical-align: middle;">‘snapped’</td> </tr> <tr> <td>linagot</td> </tr> </table>	nilagot	}	‘snapped’	linagot
nilagot	}	‘snapped’			
linagot					
ubusin ‘use up’	inubos ‘used up’				
pabalikin ‘have (someone) return’	pinabalik ‘had (someone) return’				

(Note that, as the examples under (2) show, the imperfective–aspect form of an *-um-* verb is identical with the basic form.)

In perfective–aspect formations in which *-in-* is inserted after the first consonant of a consonant cluster the second member of which is /l/ or /r/, a short vowel is optionally but preferably inserted between the /n/ of *-in-* and the /l/ or /r/. The particular short vowel that occurs is determined by the vowel that follows the /r/ or /l/. If this vowel is /i(·)/ or /e(·)/, the added short vowel is /i/; if it is /u(·)/, the added short vowel is /u/; if it is /a(·)/, the added short vowel is /a/. Examples are:

Basic Form	Perfective–Aspect Form
iprito /'ipri·toħ/ 'fry'	ipin(i)rito /'ipin(i)ri·toħ/ 'fried'
iprenda /'ipre·ndaħ/ 'pledge as security'	ipin(i)renda /'ipin(i)re·ndaħ/ 'pledged as security'
krusan /kru·san/ 'cross'	kin(u)rusan /kin(u)ru·san/ 'crossed'
idrowing /'idro·wiŋ/ 'draw'	idin(u)rowing /'idin(u)ro·wiŋ/ 'drew'
plantsahin /pla·ntsahin/ 'iron'	pin(a)lantsa /pin(a)la·ntsah/ 'ironed'

§5.22. Summary of basic aspect formations.

A detailed treatment of the formations that mark the three basic aspects has been presented in §§5.19 through 5.21. As is noted in these sections, each of the three basic aspects is marked by certain modifications of the basic form of the verb. The contemplated aspect is marked by the addition to the basic form of the aspectual–duplication prefix, dup_A - (cf. §5.19). (The contemplated aspect of *-um-* verbs is also marked by the deletion of *-um-*.) The imperfective aspect is marked both by the addition of dup_A - and the presence of the aspect–marking element N. (The various realizations of N are presented in §§5.20 and 5.21.) And the perfective aspect is marked by the presence of N. Stated formulaically:

Contemplated Aspect	=	dup_A - + Basic Form*
Imperfective Aspect	=	N + dup_A - + Basic Form
Perfective Aspect	=	N + Basic Form

(*For *-um-* verbs, the formula must be changed to: Contemplated Aspect = dup_A - + Base.)

Since the position of dup_A - is to some extent variable, and the realizations of N are quite diverse, a more detailed summary than is provided by the above formulas may be useful: a summary in which are specified the position(s) of dup_A - and the realization(s) of N that characterize the aspect–marked counterparts of basic forms of various given structures. Such a summary is presented in Chart 20. The first column of the chart formularizes the structure of twelve types of basic forms, each formed with a different common affix. (The formulas are listed alphabetically, according to the first letter of the affix.) The second, third, and fourth columns of the chart formularize, respectively, the contemplated–aspect, imperfective–aspect, and perfective–aspect forms that correspond to the basic forms in the first column. The symbol B in the chart represents a verb base, and d- represents the aspectual–duplication prefix dup_A -. Affixes are shown in the position in which they occur in the given formation, except that it is to be understood that, in actual verb forms, infixes (*-in-* and *-um-*) follow the first consonant of the element listed after them in the chart. The chart does not take account of alternation between the *-in-* and *ni-* realizations of the aspect–marking element N; the symbol *-in-* in the chart is to be understood as representing *ni-* as well in appropriate cases.

CHART 20
BASIC FORMS AND CORRESPONDING BASIC-ASPECT FORMATIONS

Basic Form	Contemplated-Aspect	Imperfective-Aspect Form	Perfective-Aspect Form
B + -an	d- + B + -an	-in- + d- + B + -an	-in- + B + -an
i- + B	i- + d- + B	i- + -in- + d- + B	i- + -in- + B
ika- + B	i- + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} d- + ka- \\ ka- + d- \end{array} \right\} + B$	i- + -in- + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} d- + ka- \\ ka- + d- \end{array} \right\} + B$	i- + -in- + ka- + B
B + -in	d- + B + -in	-in- + d- + B	-in- + B
ipag- + B	i- + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} d- + pag- \\ pag- + d- \end{array} \right\} + B$	i- + -in- + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} d- + pag- \\ pag- + d- \end{array} \right\} + B$	i- + -in- + pag- + B
ma- + B	ma- + d- + B	na- + d- + B	na- + B
maka- + B	ma- + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} d- + ka- \\ ka- + d- \end{array} \right\} + B$	na- + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} d- + ka- \\ ka- + d- \end{array} \right\} + B$	naka- + B
mag- + B	mag- + d- + B	nag- + d- + B	nag- + B
magpa- + B	mag- + d- + pa- + B	nag- + d- + pa- + B	nagpa- + B
mang- + B	mang- + d- + B	nang- + d- + B	nang- + B
pag- + B + -an	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} d- + pag- \\ pag- + d- \end{array} \right\} + B + -an$	-in- + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} d- + pag- \\ pag- + d- \end{array} \right\} + B + -an$	-in- + pag- + B + -an
-um- + B	d- + B	-um- + d- + B	-um- + B

Examples of the correspondences and formations shown in Chart 20 are:

Basic Form	Contemplated–Aspect Form	Imperfective–Aspect Form	Perfective–Aspect Form
bigyan 'give to'	bibigyan 'will give to'	binibigyan 'is/are giving to'	binigyan 'gave to'
ibili 'buy for'	ibibili 'will buy for'	ibinibili 'is/are buying for'	ibinili 'bought for'
ikatakbo 'cause to run'	{ ikakatakbo } { ikatatakbo } 'will cause to run'	{ ikinakatakbo } { ikinatatakbo } 'is/are causing to run'	ikinatakbo 'caused to run'
awitin 'sing'	aawitin 'will sing'	inaawit 'is/are singing'	inawit 'sang'
ipaglinis 'clean for'	{ ipapaglinis } { ipaglilinis } 'will clean for'	{ ipinapaglinis } { ipinaglilinis } 'is/are cleaning for'	ipinaglinis 'cleaned for'
masira 'get damaged'	masisira 'will get damaged'	nasisira 'is/are getting damaged'	nasira 'got damaged'
makahalata 'notice'	{ makakahalata } { makahahalata } 'will notice'	{ nakakahalata } { nakahahalata } 'is/are noticing'	nakahalata 'noticed'
magluto 'cook'	magluluto 'will cook'	nagluluto 'is/are cooking'	nagluto 'cooked'
magpakain 'feed'	magpapakain 'will feed'	nagpapakain 'is/are feeding'	nagpakain 'fed'
mangyari 'happen'	mangyayari 'will happen'	nangyayari 'is/are happening'	nangyari 'happened'
pag-aralan 'study'	{ papag-aralan } { pag-aaralan } 'will study'	{ pinapag-aralan } { pinag-aaralan } 'is/are studying'	pinag-aralan 'studied'
umalis 'leave'	aalis 'will leave'	umaalis 'is/are leaving'	umalis 'left'

Not shown in Chart 20, and not presented in detail in §§5.19 through 5.21, are certain optional variants of basic–aspect–marked forms of verbs whose basic forms involve the prefix or prefix component *i-*. These optional variants lack the *i-* that occurs in the basic form of the verb, but otherwise generally follow the previously presented rules for basic–aspect–marked forms. *i-* is optionally deletable in:

(1) imperfective–aspect and perfective–aspect forms (i.e., forms that include the aspect–marking element N) of most verbs whose basic forms include the prefix, either alone or as part of a complex prefix: e.g.,

Basic Form	Imperfective—Aspect Form		Perfective—Aspect Form	
lbigay 'give'	(i)binibigay	'is/are giving'	(i)binigay	'gave'
ihatid 'deliver'	inihahatid*	'is/are delivering'	inihatid*	'delivered'
	hinahatid		hinatid	
iwagayway 'wave'	(i)winawagayway	'is/are waving'	(i)winagayway	'waved'
	(i)niwawagayway		(i)niwagayway	
ipagluto 'cook for'	(i)pinagluluto	'is/are cooking for'	(i)pinagluto	'cooked for'
	(i)pinapagluto			

(*When the formation with *i-* shows the initial sequence /'i/ + /nill/ (cf. §5.20), the formation without *i-* shows the initial sequence /Hin/.)

(2) All basic–aspect–marked forms of most verbs in whose basic forms *i-* follows the ability–involuntary–action prefix *ma-* (cf. §5.13): e.g.,

Basic Form	Aspect—Marked Forms	
maibigay 'be able to give'	ma(i)bibigay	'will be able to give'
	na(i)bibigay	'is/are able to give'
	na(i)bigay	'was/were able to give'
maipagluto 'be able to cook for'	ma(i)pagluluto	'will be able to cook for'
	ma(i)papagluto	
	maiipagluto*	
	na(i)pagluluto	'is/are able to cook for'
	na(i)papagluto	
naipagluto*		
	na(i)pagluto	'was/were able to cook for'

(*When *i-* is immediately preceded by dup_A-, it is not deletable.)

i- is never deleted from causative–focus formations (cf. §5.8) or measurement–focus formations (cf. §5.10): thus no deletion of *i-* is possible in the imperfective–aspect and contemplated–aspect forms that correspond to *ikapagbigay* 'cause to give' and *itaas* 'grow,' or in the basic–aspect–marked forms that correspond to *maikapagbigay* 'be able to cause to give.' *i-* is also obligatorily retained in instrumental–focus formations that do not include *pang-* (cf. §5.11): thus no deletion of *i-* is possible in the imperfective–aspect and contemplated–aspect forms that correspond to IF *isuklay* and *ipagsuklay* 'comb with.'

§5.23. The recent–perfective aspect.

Verbs inflected for the recent–perfective aspect express actions completed just before the moment of speaking or just before some other specified time. Sentences with recent–perfective formations in predicate

position are equivalent to English sentences that include 'has/have just' or 'had just' plus a past participle: e.g.,

Kakakain ko lamang.
'I have just eaten.'

Kaaalis pa lamang ni Pedro (nang dumating ako).
'Pedro had just left (when I arrived).'

While all verbs are inflectable for the three basic aspects presented in §§5.19 through 5.22, only actor-focus verbs are inflectable for the recent-perfective aspect, and then only if the verbal affix is one of the following: *-um-*, *ma-*, *maka-*, *mag-*, *magpa-*, *mang-*. In the case of *maka-*, only major verbs formed with the affix have recent-perfective forms: thus there is a recent-perfective form corresponding to the major verb *makarinig* 'hear,' but there is no recent-perfective form corresponding to the ability verb *makabili*, 'be able to buy.'

All recent-perfective formations are marked by the presence of: (1) the prefix *ka-* /*ka*/; (2) the aspectual-duplication prefix *dup_A-*. (The formation of *dup_A-*, and the positions in which it occurs, are presented in detail in §5.19.) Certain recent-perfective formations include other prefix components as well. The correspondences that obtain between the affixes that occur in basic and recent-perfective forms are shown in Chart 21.

CHART 21
CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN BASIC-FORM AND
RECENT-PERFECTIVE-FORM AFFIXES

Basic-Form Affix	Recent-Perfective-Form Affix
-um-, ma-, maka-	ka- + dup _A -
mag-	ka- + dup _A - { ka- + dup _A - + pag- } { kapag- + dup _A - }
magpa-	{ ka(pag)- + dup _A - + pa- } { kapa- + dup _A - }
mang-	{ ka- + dup _A - + pang- } { kapang- + dup _A - }

As the chart shows, the recent-perfective forms of *mag-* and *magpa-* verbs in some cases include the prefix component *pag-*. *Pag-* is obligatory in the case of recent-perfective forms of all derived *mag-* verbs (cf. §5.16), and of certain major *mag-* verbs whose bases also occur as the bases of *-um-* verbs. Thus *pag-* is obligatory in the recent-perfective forms of the derived verbs *magbasa* 'read (intensively)' (cf. *bumasa* 'read') and *maglakad* 'walk (intensively)' (cf. *lumakad* 'walk'), and of the major verb *magbili* 'sell' (cf. *bumili* 'buy'). In the case of most other *mag-* verbs, and of all *magpa-* (indirect-action) verbs, *pag-* is optional, and the forms without it are preferred. Some examples of the correspondences shown in Chart 21 are:

Basic Form	Recent-Perfective Form
kumain 'eat'	kakakain 'has/have/had just eaten'
umalis 'leave'	kaaalis 'has/have/had just left'
mabasag 'break'	kababasag 'has/have/had just broken'

Basic Form	Recent-Perfective Form	
mahinog 'ripen'	kahihinog	'has/have/had just ripened'
makakita 'see'	kakikita	'has/have/had just seen'
makarinig 'hear'	karirinig	'has/have/had just heard'
magbasa 'read (intensively)'	kapapagbasa	'has/have/had just read (intensively)'
	kapagbabasa	
magbili 'sell'	kapapagbili	'has/have/had just sold'
	kapagbibili	
magluto 'cook'	kaluluto	'has/have/had just cooked'
	kapapagluto	
	kapagluluto	
magtrabaho 'work'	kat(r)atrabaho	'has/have/had just worked'
	kapapagtrabaho	
	kapagt(r)atrabaho	
magpagupit 'have (someone) cut'	kapapagupit	'has/have/had just had (someone) cut'
	kapagugupit	
	kapagpapagupit	
magpasulat 'have (someone) write'	kapapasulat	'has/have/had just had (someone) write'
	kapasusulat	
	kapagpasulat	
manganak 'give birth'	kapapanganak	'has/have/had just given birth'
	kapangananak	
manguha 'gather'	kapapanguha	'has/have/had just gathered'
	kapangunguha	

There is also a set of INTENSIVE RECENT-PERFECTIVE formations that involve, in addition to the affixes shown in Chart 21, the duplicating prefix *dup*₂- (cf. §5.16). These intensive formations express extremely recent actions, and are equivalent to English expressions that involve 'just this minute,' 'just a short time ago,' etc. The positions occupied by *dup*₂- in intensive recent-perfective formations may be

summarized as follows: in the case of *-um-*, *ma-*, *maka-*, and *mag-* verbs, *dup₂* - immediately precedes the verb base; in the case of *magpa-* verbs, *dup₂* - may either precede the verb base or occur between *dup_A* - and *pa-*, the latter position being preferred; in the case of *mang-* verbs, *dup₂* - occurs between *dup_A* - and *pang-*. Some examples are:

Recent-Perfective	Intensive Recent-Perfective
kakakain	kakakain-kain
kapapagbasa } kapagbabasa }	{ kapapagbasa-basa { kapagbabasa-basa
kapapagupit } kapagugupit } kapagpapagupit }	{ kapapagu-pagupit { kapapagupit-gupit { kapagugupit-guit { kapagpapagu-pagupit { kapagpapagupit-gupit
kapapanganak } kapanganganak }	kapapanga-panganak

Recent-perfective-aspect formations are optionally but frequently followed by the enclitic particle *pa* (cf. §6.3), and are obligatorily followed by the enclitic particle *lamang/lang* (cf. §6.4, subsection (d)). The formations never occur with topics, but take instead an actor complement in the form of a *ng* phrase, plus any other complement(s) taken by the other forms of the same verb. Some examples of sentences with recent-perfective predicates are:

Kakakain ko (pa) l(am)ang ng karne.
'I have just eaten some/the meat.'

(cf. Kumain ako ng karne.
'I ate some meat.')

Kapapasulat }
Kapasusulat } (pa) l(am)ang ng Tatay kay Jose ng liham sa diyaryo.
Kapagpasulat }
'Father has just had Jose write a/the letter to the newspaper.'

(cf. Nagpasulat ang Tatay kay Jose ng liham sa diyaryo.
'Father had Jose write a letter to the newspaper.')

Kapapanguha }
Kapangunguha } (pa) l(am)ang ng bata ng mga mangga.
'The child has just gathered some/the mangoes.'

(cf. Nanguha ang bata ng mga mangga.
'The child gathered some mangoes.')

As the English translations of the examples show, a *ng*-phrase object complement after a recent-perfective formation may be either indefinite or definite in reference. (*Ng*-phrase object complements in other cases are normally indefinite in reference - cf. §5.25.) If it is wished to make the

definite reference explicit, a *sa*-phrase object complement may replace the *ng*-phrase object complement: e.g.,

Kakakain ko (pa) l(am)ang sa karne.
'I have just eaten the meat.'

(In other cases, *sa*-phrase object complements may occur only after nominalized verbs.)

§5.24. Irregular verb formations.

Certain verbs formed with the suffixes *-an* and *-in*, or with complex affixes that include these suffixes (e.g., *ka* . . . *-an*, *pa* . . . *-in*), are irregular. In irregular verb formations, the shape of the verb base shows certain differences from the shape of the same base in citation or in formations that do not include a suffix. (The differences referred to are differences other than those that reflect the regular process of length shift – cf. §1.12 – or the regular phonemic interchanges of /o/ and /u/, /d/ and /r/ – cf. §§1.10 and 1.20.) The most common type of irregular formation involves elision of the vowel in the final syllable of a base that lacks inherent vowel length. Thus, for example, the base *bukas* /bukas/ forms, with *-an*, the irregular verb *buksan* /büksan/ 'open.' (This may be compared with the regular formation *wakasan* /wakasan/ 'put a stop to,' formed with the base *wakas* /wakas/.) Elision of this type, which characterizes a number of the most common *-an* and *-in* verbs in the language, occurs very rarely in cases where the penultimate syllable of the base ends in a consonant: thus, *punta* /puntah/ + *-an* → *puntahan* /puntahan/ 'go to.' (Note, however, the form *hintin* /hintin/ 'wait for,' formed with the base *hintay* /hintay/, which does show elision of the vowel in the final syllable of the base, as well as elision of the base – final consonant.) When the citation form of the base ends in /' and the vowel of the base–final syllable is deleted in an irregular verb formation, the /' is also deleted. An example is *gawin* /gawin/ 'make, do,' an *-in* verb formed with the base *gawa* /gawa'.

The occurring irregular *-an* and *-in* formations are listed below in alphabetical order. Only the basic forms of the irregular verbs are shown, but it is to be understood that the inflected forms generally show the same irregularities. Thus the inflected forms of the irregular verb *bigyan* /bigyan/ 'give to' (base: *bigay* /bigay/): are: *bibigyan* /bi'bigyan/ 'will give to,' *binibigyan* /bini'bigyan/ 'is/are giving to,' *binigyan* /binigyan/ 'gave to.' In the case of irregular verbs whose basic form includes the suffix *-in*, however, the imperfective and perfective forms of the verb are regular, since the suffix does not occur in these forms (cf. §§5.20 and 5.21). Thus, the imperfective and perfective forms of the irregular verb *hingin* /hinqin/ 'ask for' (base: *hingi* /hinqi') are, respectively, the regular formations *hinihingi* /hini'hinqi'/ 'is/are asking for' and *hinihingi* /hinihinqi'/ 'asked for.'

In most cases, the listed irregular formations are *-an* or *-in* verbs. It is to be understood, however, that any verbs formed with the same base and with complex affixes that include the suffix *-an* or the suffix *-in* show the same irregularities of formation. Thus, while only *bigyan* 'give to' appears on the list, such derived verbs as *mabigyan* 'be able to give to,' *pabigyan* 'permit/cause to give to,' *pagbigyan* 'give (to) at/in,' etc., are also irregular. In cases where the base forms irregular verbs with complex affixes that include *-an* or *-in*, but either does not occur with *-an* or *-in* alone, or does not form irregular verbs with them, a pertinent formation that includes a complex affix is listed.

In some cases, a base occurs with *-an* or *-in* in both regular and irregular formations. In some cases, if the two formations have the same meaning, only the irregular formation is given, and an asterisk is placed after it. Thus the notation *dakpin** (/dakpin/ 'arrest' – base: *dakip* /dakip/) indicates that, in addition to the irregular formation, there is a regular formation with the same meaning (*dakipin* /dakipin/ 'arrest'). If the regular formation is considerably more common than the irregular one, the asterisk is immediately preceded by the letter *r* (for 'rare') in parenthesis. Thus the notation *alsan* (r)* (/alsan/ 'leave' – base: *alis* /alis/) indicates that there is a regular formation that has the same meaning and is of considerably more common occurrence (*alisan* /alisan/ 'leave'). If the regular and irregular formations differ in meaning, a note on the occurrence and meaning of the regular formation appears below the listing of the irregular formation. Notes of various other kinds may also follow the listing in some cases.

Irregular Verb Formations

Base	-an Formation	-in Formation
alaala /ʼalaʼaʼlah/ (The imperfective and perfective forms that correspond to <i>alalahanin</i> are, respectively, <i>inaalala</i> /ʼinaʼalaʼlah/ and <i>inaala</i> /inalaʼlah/.)		alalahanin 'remember, worry about' /ʼalalahaʼnin/
alis /ʼalis/	alsan (r)* 'leave' /ʼalsan/	
ano /ʼanoh/		anhin 'what . . . do with?' /ʼanhin/
		(There is a regular <i>-in</i> verb, <i>anuhin</i> /ʼanuhin/ 'what . . . do to?', that is normally used with topics that designate persons: e.g., <i>Aanuhin nila si Juan?</i> 'What will they do to Juan?' The irregular verb, <i>anhin</i> is normally used with topics that designate things: e.g., <i>Aanhin nila ang pera?</i> 'What will they do with the money?')
asin /ʼasin/	asnan 'salt' /ʼasnan/	
atip /ʼatip/	aptan* 'put a roof on' /ʼaptan/	
bata /batah/		bathin 'endure' /bathin/
bigay /bigay/	bigyan 'give to' /bigyan/	
bili /bilih/	bilhan 'buy from' /bilhan/	bilhin 'buy' /bilhin/
buka /bukah/		bukhin 'open' /bukhin/
bukas /bukas/	buksan 'open' /buksan/	
buhos /buhos/	busan 'pour on' /busan/	
kain /kaʼin/	kanan* 'eat from' /kaʼnan/	kanin* 'eat' /kaʼnin/
kalabit /kalabit/		kalbitin* 'tap with the fingertip' /kalbitin/
kamit /kamit/	kamtan 'obtain' /kamtan/	kamtin 'obtain' /kamtin/
	(Kamtan and kamtin are free alternants.)	
kinig /kinig/	pakinggan 'listen to' /pakingan/	

Base	-an Formation	-in Formation
kitil /kitil/	kitlan 'take (life) /kitlan/ away from'	kitlin 'take away (one's life) /kitlin/
kuha /ku'hah/	kunan 'get from' /ku'nan/	kunin 'get' /ku'nin/
dakip /dakip/		dakpin* 'arrest' /dakpin/
dala /dalah/	dalhan 'carry to' /dalhan/	dalhin 'carry' /dalhin/
dama /damah/		damhin* 'feel' /damhin/
damit /damit/	damtan* 'put clothes on' /damtan/	damtin* 'use as clothing' /damtin/
dating /datin/	datnan 'find on arrival' /datnan/	datnin 'find on arrival' /datnin/
	(Datnan and datnin are free alternants.)	
dikit /dikit/	diktan (r)* 'stick onto' /diktan/	
dinig /dinig/	karinggan 'hear from' /karingan/	dinggin 'hear' /dingin/
dumi /dumih/	dumhan* 'make dirty' /dumhan/	
dura /dura'/	duran* 'spit on' /duran/	
	(See also <i>lura</i> , below.)	
gawa /gawa'/	gawan 'make in, do in' /gawan/	gawin 'make, do' /gawin/
halik /halik/	hagkan* 'kiss' /hagkan/	
halili /hali'lih/	halinhan 'change' /halinhan/	
hatid /hatid/	hatdan 'deliver to' /hatdan/	
higa /higa'/	higan* 'lie on' /higan/	
higit /higit/	higtan 'exceed' /higtan/	

Base	-an Formation	-in Formation
(h)ipip /hi·hip/ /'i·hip/	hipan 'blow on' /hi·pan/	
hingi /hiŋi'/	hingan 'ask of' /hiŋan/	hingin 'ask for' /hiŋin/
hintay /hintay/		hintin* 'wait for' /hintin/
hubad /hubad/	hubdan* 'strip (of clothes)' /hubdan/	hubdin* 'strip off (clothes)' /hubdin/
ibis /'ibis/	ibsan 'get down to' /'ibsan/	
ihip (See (h)hip, above.)		
iwan /'i·wan/	iwan* 'leave' /'i·wan/	
lakas /lakas/	laksan (r)* 'strengthen' /laksan/	
laki /lakah/	lakhan (r)* 'enlarge' /lakhan/	
lagay /lagay/	lagyan 'put in/on' /lagyan/	
laman /laman/	lamnan 'put filling in' /lamnan/	lamnin (r)* 'use as filling' /lamnin/
lugod /lugod/	kalugdan* 'be delighted with' /kalugdan/	
lura /lura'/	luran* 'spit on' /luran/	
(See also <i>dura</i> , above.)		
mali /mali'/	pagkamalan 'mistake for' /pagkamalan/	
masid /masid/	masdan 'stare at' /masdan/	
mula /mula'/	mulan 'originate from' /mulan/	
patid /patid/	patdan* 'cut out' /patdan/	patdin* 'cut out of' /patdin/
pawis /pa·wis/	pagpusan* 'sweat' /pagpu·san/	

(There is a regular *-an* verb, *pawisan* /pawi'san/ 'sweat.' Only the *pag...-an* verb and its derivatives – e.g., *mapaggpusan* /ma(·)pagpu'san/ 'be able to sweat, involuntarily sweat' – show the irregularity noted.)

Base	<i>-an</i> Formation	<i>-in</i> Formation
piga /piga'/	pigan* 'squeeze juice on' /pigan/	
pukol /pukol/		puklin (r)* 'throw' /puklin/
puno /puno'/	punan 'add to' /punan/	punin* 'fill' /punin/
pusod /pusod/	pusdan* 'arrange a hair bun on' /pusdan/	pusdin* 'arrange (hair) into a bun' /pusdin/
putol /pu'tol/	putlan* 'cut off from' /putlan/	putlin* 'cut off' /putlin/
sakay /sakay/	sakyan 'ride in/on' /sakyan/	
sakit /sakit/	saktan 'injure' /saktan/	
sagip /sagip/		sagpin* 'save from drowning' /sagpin/
sapin /sapin/	sapnan* 'line' /sapnan/	
sara /sarah/	sarhan 'close' /sarhan/	
sigá /sigá'/	sigan 'make into a bonfire' /sigan/	
silid /silid/	sidlan 'fill' /sidlan/	
sunod /sunod/	sundan 'follow' /sundan/	sundin 'obey' /sundin/
taban /ta'ban/	tabnan (r)* 'hold on to' /tabnan/	
takip /takip/	takpan 'put a cover on' /takpan/	
taga /taga'/		tagin (r)* 'cut' /tagin/
tahi /tahi'/		tahin* 'sew' /tahin/

Base	-an Formation	-in Formation
talab /talab/	tablan 'penetrate' /tablan/	
talikod /talikod/	talikdan* 'turn (one's) back on' /talikdan/	
talo /ta'lo'/	panalunan 'win as a prize' /panalu'nan/	
tanim /tanim/	tamnan* 'plant in' /tamnan/	
tangan /ta'ŋan/	tangnan* 'hold' /taŋnan/	
taya /taya'/	tayan* 'place a bet on' /tayan/	
tikim /tikim/	tikman 'taste' /tikman/	
tingin /tiŋin/	tingnan 'look at' /tiŋnan/	
tira /tirah/	tiran 'leave (something) for' /tiran/	
tira /tirah/	tirhan* 'live in' /tirhan/	
tungo /tuŋoh/	tunghan 'look down on' /tuŋhan/	
tupad /tupad/		tupdin* 'fulfill' /tupdin/
turing /tu'riŋ/	turan* 'declare' /turan/	
upo /'upo'/	upan* 'sit on' /'upan/	
wala /wala'/	mawalan 'lose' /ma(·)walan/	

(Phrasal bases involving *wala* – cf. §5.18, subsection (4) – also form irregular verbs with *-an*: e.g., *pawalang-bisa* 'render ineffective'.)

§5.25. Summary of verbal complements.

Tagalog has verbal complements of four types: actor complements, object complements, directional complements, and secondary-actor complements. A detailed presentation of secondary-actor complements is to be found in §5.12, subsection (1), and no further information about them is presented

in the present section. The three types of complements that occur in basic sentences – actor, object, and directional complements – have been introduced in §2.11; the present section summarizes the information previously given about these complement types, and presents certain additional details.

(1) THE ACTOR COMPLEMENT. The actor complement is in most cases expressed by a *ng* phrase: *ng* plus an unmarked noun, *ni* plus a personal noun, the *ng* form of a personal or deictic pronoun: e.g.,

Binili $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ng babae} \\ \text{ni Helen} \\ \text{niya} \\ \text{noon} \end{array} \right\}$ ang baro.

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'The/A woman} \\ \text{'Helen} \\ \text{'She} \\ \text{'That one} \end{array} \right\}$ bought the dress.'

An actor complement consisting of *ng* plus an unmarked noun is usually equivalent to a definite noun phrase in English (e.g., 'the woman'), but may occasionally be translated by an indefinite noun phrase as well (e.g., 'a woman'). The connotation of definiteness is least clear when the unmarked noun is explicitly pluralized (cf. §3.9). Thus in the sentence:

Binili ng mga babae ang mga baro.
'The/Some women bought the dresses.'

the indefinite noun phrase 'some women' is as likely a translation equivalent of *ng mga babae* as is the definite noun phrase 'the women.'

When the nominal within an actor complement is a personal pronoun, a *sa*-form pronoun may in some cases be used instead of the *ng*-form pronoun. Unlike the *ng*-form pronoun, the *sa*-form pronoun precedes the verb and is linked to it by the linker *na/-ng* (cf. §3.11). Any enclitic pronouns and/or particles (cf. §§3.29 and 6.2 through 6.6) occur between the *sa* pronoun and the linker. The following are some examples of sentences with *sa* pronouns serving as actor complements. (The equivalent sentences with *ng*-pronoun actor complements are cited in parentheses.)

Aking gagawin ito.
'I'll do this.'
(cf. Gagawin ko ito.)

Amin siyang tatawagin.
'We'll call him.'
(cf. Tatawagin namin siya.)

Kanila din bang dadaluhan ang pulong?
'Will they attend the meeting too?'
(cf. Dadaluhan din ba nila ang pulong?)

Sa-pronoun actor complements do not occur in negated sentences. Thus there is no:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{*Aking hindi} \\ \text{*Hindi aking} \end{array} \right\}$ gagawin ito.

corresponding to:

Hindi ko gagwin ito.
'I won't do this.'

(The alternation between *ng*-pronoun and *sa*-pronoun actor complements is comparable to that between *ng*-pronoun and *sa*-pronoun possessive modifiers – cf. §3.20.)

(2) THE OBJECT COMPLEMENT. In basic sentences the object complement is expressed by a *ng* phrase, which must be either *ng* plus an unmarked noun or the *ng* form of a deictic pronoun: e.g.,

Nakakita $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ng aksidente} \\ \text{noon} \end{array} \right\}$ ang bata.

'The child saw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{an accident.} \\ \text{some of that.} \end{array} \right\}$

Object complements in basic sentences are normally translated by indefinite noun phrases in English.

Within a nominalized verbal (cf. §3.24), an object complement is in some cases expressed by a *ng* phrase, in others by a *sa* phrase, and in still others may be expressed by either a *ng* phrase or a *sa* phrase. Only a *ng* phrase may be used if the verb within the nominalized verbal is a double-object verb. Once more the *ng* phrase must be either *ng* plus an unmarked noun or the *ng* form of a deictic pronoun: e.g.,

Siya ang nagbigay $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ng premyo} \\ \text{nito} \end{array} \right\}$ kay Ben.

'He's the one who gave $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a/the prize} \\ \text{(some of) that} \end{array} \right\}$ to Ben.'

As the above translations show, a *ng*-phrase object complement within a nominalized verbal may be either definite or indefinite in reference.

If the verb within the nominalized verbal is an object verb, and if the nominal within the object complement is a personal noun or a personal pronoun, only a *sa* phrase (*kay* plus personal noun, *sa* plus *sa*-form personal pronoun) may be used to express the object complement: e.g.,

Siya ang nakakita $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kay Jose.} \\ \text{sa kanila.} \end{array} \right\}$

'He's the one who saw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Jose.} \\ \text{them.} \end{array} \right\}$

(Note that there is no equivalent construction if the verbal is not nominalized. Thus there is no:

*Nakakita siya $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kay Jose.} \\ \text{sa kanila.} \end{array} \right\}$

If the verb within the nominalized verbal is an object verb, and if the nominal within the object complement is an unmarked noun or a deictic pronoun, either a *ng* phrase or a *sa* phrase may be used to

express the object complement. The *ng* phrase may, as was noted above, be either definite or indefinite in reference; the *sa* phrase is always definite in reference. Examples are:

Siya ang nakakita	}	ng aksidente. sa aksidente. noon. doon.
'He's the one who saw	}	an/the accident.' the accident.' (some of) that.' that.'

(There is some tendency to prefer *ng* to *sa* before an unmarked noun that does not designate an animate creature. Thus *ng aksidente* is preferred to *sa aksidente* in the above example. Before an unmarked noun that designates an animate creature, *ng* and *sa* are equally common, as in the following example:

Siya ang nakakita	}	ng sa	duktor
'He's the one who saw	}	a/the the	doctor.'

(3) THE DIRECTIONAL COMPLEMENT. The directional complement is normally expressed by a *sa* phrase: *sa* plus an unmarked noun, *kay* plus a personal noun, *sa* plus the *sa* form of a personal pronoun, or the *sa* form of a deictic pronoun: e.g.,

Dumalaw ako	}	sa alkalde. kay Marcos. sa kaniya. doon.
'I visited	}	the/a mayor.' Marcos.' him.' there (that one).'

A directional complement consisting of *sa* plus an unmarked noun may be either definite or indefinite in reference.

In a limited set of cases, a *ng*-phrase directional complement may occur as an alternant of a *sa*-phrase directional complement. The alternation occurs only when the following conditions are met:

- (a) The verb is a directional (rather than a double-object) *-um-* verb, belonging to either the *-um/-an* or the *-um/-in* class (cf. §5.4, classes D.1 and D.2), and is one that expresses movement from place to place. (Thus *-um/-an* directional verbs such as *bumalik* 'return to' and *pumunta* 'go to' allow the alternation, while those such as *pumanig* 'take sides with' do not. Similarly, *-um/-in* directional verbs such as *pumasok* 'enter' and *umakyat* 'climb' allow the alternation, while those such as *humarap* 'face' do not.)

- (b) The nominal within the directional complement is an unmodified unmarked noun designating a place (rather than, e.g., a movable object or a person). Thus:

Pumunta siya ng opisina.
'He went to the/an office.'

occurs as an alternant of:

Pumunta siya sa opisina.

but *ng* cannot replace *sa* in cases such as the following:

Pumunta siya sa { opisina niya.
bagong opisina.
eroplano.
Nanay.

'He went to { his office.'
the/a new office.'
the/an airplane.'
Mother.'

Some further examples of alternation between *ng*-phrase and *sa*-phrase directional complements are:

Bumalik siya { ng } Maynila.
{ sa }
'He returned to Manila.'

Pumasok siya { ng } silid.
{ sa }
'He entered the/a room'

Umakyat siya { ng } puno.
{ sa }
'He climbed the/a tree.'

§5.26. Verb adjuncts.

As is noted in §5.6, certain intransitive verbs occur with adjuncts. The adjuncts are structures of various types that occur in a non-focus relation to the verb. Some adjuncts are similar in form and/or meaning to the complements of transitive verbs. The adjuncts differ from the complements, however, in that they do not directly correspond to the topic of a related verb formed with the same base. (For a discussion of the correspondence between complements and topics of related transitive verbs, cf. §§2.9 and 5.1.) Other adjuncts are similar to components of compound or phrasal bases (cf. §5.18, subsections (3) and (4)), but differ from these base components in that they may be separated from the verb.

Intransitive verbs that accept adjuncts may be divided into three classes on the basis of the types of adjuncts they accept: PSEUDO-TRANSITIVE (PT) VERBS, ADJUNCTIVE (A) VERBS, and ADJUNCTIVE PSEUDO-TRANSITIVE (APT) VERBS. A PT verb is one that accepts an ACTOR ADJUNCT only; and A verb is one that accepts some one adjunct that is not an actor adjunct; and an APT verb is one that accepts both an actor adjunct and an adjunct of some other type.

The actor adjunct is a structure that is similar in form and meaning to the actor complement that occurs with a GF (goal–focus) transitive verb (cf. §5.25): i.e., it is normally expressed by a *ng* phrase, and it designates the performer of the action. But while, for every sentence involving an actor complement of a GF transitive verb there is an exactly corresponding sentence involving the actor topic of an AF verb formed with the same base, for sentences with actor adjuncts no such exactly corresponding sentence occurs. Thus, for example, the actor complement (*ni Rosa*) in the sentence:

Kinawayan ni Rosa ang kaibigan niya.
'Rosa waved to her friend.'

corresponds exactly to the actor topic (*si Rosa*) in:

Kumaway si Rosa sa kaibigan niya.
'Rosa waved to her friend.'

But no such correspondence can be found between the actor adjunct (*ni Rosa*) in the sentence:

Ikinaway ni Rosa ang kanang kamay niya.
'Rosa waved her right hand.'

and the topic of a related sentence with *si Rosa* serving as the actor topic of an AF verb formed with the base *kaway*. (That is, while the GF transitive verb *kawayan* (perfective: *kinawayan*) has an exact AF counterpart *kumaway* (perfective: *kumaway*) the pseudo–transitive verb *ikaway* (perfective: *ikinaway*) lacks such a counterpart, there being no **magkaway*; and *kumaway* being the AF counterpart of *kawayan* rather than *ikaway*. It would be possible to classify verbs like *ikaway* as defective transitive verbs – i.e., GF transitive verbs whose AF counterparts happen not to be in use – rather than as PT intransitive verbs, but the latter treatment of these verbs seems on the whole preferable.)

The various types of adjuncts that occur with A verbs, and the types, in addition to actor adjuncts, that occur with APT verbs may be subdivided, on the bases of form, into: adjuncts introduced by *ng*; adjuncts introduced by *sa*; and adjuncts introduced by the linker *na/ng*. Within each of these classes certain further subdivisions can be made on the basis of form, meaning, or the relation of the adjuncts to structures that occur in other contexts.

In the following presentation, verbs that accept adjuncts are arranged into classes on the basis of the types of adjuncts they accept and the affixes with which they are formed. Wherever possible, four examples are given for each class. If fewer than four examples are given, the listed verbs may be the only members of the class. (There are a few transitive verbs that accept adjuncts in addition to complement. These are presented at the end of the section, under IV.)

I. PT CLASSES. The following classes of verbs accept actor adjuncts only.

1. *-an* classes

a. Verbs whose bases also occur as bases of *ma-* adjectives (cf. §4.3):

bagalan 'make slow' (cf. mabagal 'slow')
paitan 'make bitter' (cf. mapait 'bitter')
tamisan 'make sweet' (cf. matamis 'sweet')
tapangan 'make strong' (cf. matapang 'strong')

Bagalan mo ang lakad mo.
'Walk slowly.' (Literally: 'Make your walking slow.')

(b) Others

abutan 'find (upon arrival)
 datnan 'find (upon arrival)
 iw(an)an 'abandon'
 tandaan 'remember'

Inabutan ko siya sa opisina.
 'I found him in the office (upon my arrival).'

As members of this class, *abutan*, *datnan*, and *iw(an)an* are normally followed by locative adverbs as well as actor adjuncts. (These three verbs also occur as APT verbs – cf. III.C.1.b, below.)

2. *t*-class

ikaway 'wave (the hand)
 igalaw 'move (a part of the body)
 ilakad 'put in a walking motion'
 iyuko 'bow (the head)'

Ikaway mo ang kanang kamay mo.
 'Wave your right hand.'

Most of the verbs in this class express the movement of a part of the body.

3. *-in* class

agarin 'do without delay'
 araw-arawin 'do every day'
 datnin 'find (upon arrival)
 isa-isahin 'sort through one by one'

Agarin mo ang kampanya.
 'Campaign without delay.'
 (Literally: 'Do the campaigning without delay.')

(*Dating* also occurs as the base of a PT *-an* verb of identical meaning – cf. I.1.b, above.)

II. A CLASSES. The following classes of verbs accept some one adjunct that is not an actor adjunct.

A. Verbs with adjuncts introduced by *ng*1. *-an* class

saktan 'have a pain in'
 Sinaktan ng tiyan ang bata.
 'The child had a pain in the stomach.'

(*Sakit* also occurs as the base of an A verb formed with *pang* . . . *-an* – cf. II.A.6, below.)

2. *-in* classes

a. Verbs whose bases also occur as unaffixed adjectives (cf. §4.2)

kapusin 'run short of' (cf. *kapos* 'short of')
 kulangin 'run short of' (cf. *kulang* 'short of')

Kinapos ako ng pera.
'I ran short of money.'

The *ng* phrases that occur as adjuncts with these verbs correspond to those that occur as complements with the adjectives (cf. §4.17, subsection (3)): e.g.,

kapos ng pera 'short of money.'

b. Verbs whose bases express an 'attack' or 'fit'

atakin 'have an attack of' (cf. atake 'attack')
sasalin 'have a fit of' (cf. asal 'fit')
sumpungin 'have an attack of' (cf. sumpong 'attack')

Inatake ng malarya si Juan.
'Juan had an attack of malaria.'

In the case of *atakin* and *sumpungin* (but apparently not that of *sasalin*) the *ng* phrases that occur as adjuncts correspond to *ng* phrases of specification (cf. §3.23) that occur with the base nouns: e.g.,

atake ng malarya 'attack of malaria.'

c. Verbs whose bases express times of day

gabihin 'not do . . . until night' (cf. gabi 'night')
hatinggabihin 'not do . . . until midnight' (cf. hatinggabi 'midnight')
tanghaliin 'not do . . . until mid-day' (cf. tanghali 'mid-day')
umagahin 'not do . . . until morning' (cf. umaga 'morning')

Ginabi kami ng $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{alis.} \\ \text{pag-alis.} \end{array} \right.$

'We left late.' (Literally: 'We didn't leave until night.')

The adjunct that occurs with these verbs is of the shape *ng* plus nominalized verb base (cf. §3.27) or gerund (cf. §3.26).

3. *Ma-* class

mahuli 'be the last to'
mauna 'be the first to'

Mahuhuli ng $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dating} \\ \text{pagdating} \end{array} \right.$ ang alkalde.

'The mayor will be the last to arrive.'

The adjunct that occurs with these verbs is of the shape *ng* plus nominalized verb base or gerund.

4. *Ma- . . . -an* class

mabawasan 'get a reduction in'
 madagdagan 'get an increase in'
 maubusan 'run out of'
 mawalan 'suffer loss of'

Nabawasan siya ng suweldo.
 'He got a reduction in pay.'

5. *Mag-* classesa. Verbs whose bases also occur as *ma-* adjectives (cf. §4.3)

magmabagal 'be slow (in)' (cf. mabagal 'slow')
 magmadali 'be quick (in), hurry (in)' (cf. madali 'quick')
 magmarahan 'be slow (in)' (cf. marahan 'slow')
 magmayumi 'be demure (in)' (cf. mayumi 'demure')

Nagmabagal siya ng $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{lakad.} \\ \text{paglakad.} \end{array} \right.$

'He walked slowly.' (Literally: 'He was slow in walking.')

b. Verbs whose bases also occur as *ika-* ordinal numbers (cf. §4.4)

mag-ikalawa 'be the second (of), be two o'clock (in)' (cf. ikalawa 'second')
 mag-ikalima 'be the fifth (of), be five o'clock (in)' (cf. ikalima 'fifth')
 mag-ikalabindalawa 'be the twelfth (of), be twelve o'clock (in)' (cf. ikalabindalawa 'twelfth')
 mag-ikadalwampu't-isa 'be the twenty-first of' (cf. (cf. ikadalwampu't-isa 'twenty-first')

Mag-iikalawa na ng $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Disyembre.} \\ \text{hapon.} \end{array} \right.$

'It will soon be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the second of December.} \\ \text{two o'clock in the afternoon.} \end{array} \right.$

The adjuncts are the same *ng* phrases that occur after the ordinal numbers in dates and expressions of clock time (cf. §4.4, subsections (2) and (6)).

c. Others

magkahalaga 'be valued at'

Nagkahalaga ng sandaang piso ito.
 'This is valued at one hundred pesos.'

The adjunct is of the shape *ng* plus an expression of cost (cf. §4.4, subsection (b)).

6. *Pang- . . . -an* class

pamulahan 'have a reddening of'
 panaktan 'have a pain in'
 panghinaan 'feel weakness in'
 panginigan 'have a tremor in'

Pinamulahan ng bisig ang maysakit.
 'The invalid had a reddening of the arms.'

Apparently all the bases that occur in verbs of this class also occur in intransitive *mang-* verbs (cf. §5.6, class H) that do not accept a complement: e.g.,

mamula 'redden,' manakit 'have a pain.'

7. *-um-* classes

a. Verbs whose bases also occur as unaffixed adjectives (cf. §4.2)

bumukod 'be at/in a separate . . . , do . . . separately' (cf. bukod 'separate')
 humiwalay 'be at/in a separate . . . , do . . . separately' (cf. hiwalay 'separate')

Bubukod ng $\left. \begin{array}{l} \{ \text{bahay} \\ \{ \text{kain} \\ \{ \text{pagkain} \} \} \end{array} \right\}$ ang bagong-kasal.

'The newly-weds will $\left. \begin{array}{l} \{ \text{be at/in a separate house.} \\ \{ \text{eat separately.} \} \end{array} \right\}$

The *ng* phrases that occur as adjuncts with these verbs correspond to those that occur as complements with the adjective (cf. §4.17, subsection (3)). Thus *bumukod* and *humiwalay* take adjuncts of the shape *ng* plus unmarked noun, nominalized verb base, or gerund.

b. Others

sukat 'measure'
 tumimbang 'weigh'
 Sumusukat ng tatlong ektarya ang lupa.
 'The land measures three hectares.'

The adjunct is of the shape *ng* plus an expression of measurement compatible with the meaning of the verb.

B. Verbs with adjuncts introduced by *sa*

1. *i-*class

ikasal 'get married to'
 Ikinasal si Pedro kay Maria.
 'Pedro got married to Maria.'

2. *ma-...-an* class

maanghangan 'find . . . biting in taste'
 maalatan 'find . . . salty'
 mainitan 'find . . . hot'
 malamigan 'find . . . cold'

Naanghangan siya sa sili.
 'He found the pepper biting in taste.'

The bases that occur in this class also occur as bases of *ma-* adjectives (cf. §4.3): thus: *maanghang* 'biting in taste,' *maalat* 'salty,' etc. Some of the verbs are homonymous with simple intransitive verbs that occur without adjuncts (cf. §5.6, class E). Thus *mainitan* and *malamigan* also occur as simple intransitive verbs, meaning, respectively, 'feel hot' and 'feel cold.'

3. *maka-* class

makasulit 'pass'
 Nakasulit siya sa iksamen.
 'He passed in the examination.'

4. *-um-* class

bumaba 'be lower/less than'
 dumami 'be greater/more than'
 sumobra 'be greater/more than'
 tumaas 'be higher/more than'

Hindi bababa sa sampung piso ang halaga niyan.
 'The value of that will not be less than ten pesos.'

The bases of many of these verbs also occur in *ma-* adjectives. The adjuncts that accompany the verbs correspond to *sa* phrases in comparisons of inequality involving the adjectives (cf. §4.15): e.g., *mas mababa (kay)sa sampung piso* 'less than ten pesos'

C. Verbs with adjuncts introduced by *na/ng*

In most cases A-verb adjuncts introduced by *na/ng* include the basic form of a verb (cf. §2.8). AF basic forms may be accompanied by any complements the verb accepts. GF basic forms may be accompanied by a topic and by any complements the verb accepts other than an actor complement. Compare the adjuncts (*na/ng bumili . . .*, *na/ng bilhin . . .*) in:

Natukso si	{	Manuel na	}	bumili ng kotse.	
		Beng		bilhin ang kotse.	
'Manuel	}	was tempted to buy	{	a	car.'
'Ben	}		}	the	

and the sentences:

Bumili ng kotse si Manuel/Ben.
'Manuel/Ben bought a car.'

Binili ni Manuel/Ben ang kotse.
'Manuel/Ben bought the car.'

If the basic form in the adjunct is AF, and the topic of the A verb is not an enclitic pronoun, the topic may occur either before the linker or after the basic form or its complement(s). Thus, also:

Natuksong bumili ng kotse si Manuel/Ben.
'Manuel/Ben was tempted to buy a car.'

If the basic form in the adjunct is GF, or if the basic form is AF and the topic is an enclitic pronoun, the topic always precedes the linker.

(Constructions involving *na/ng* plus an adjunct that includes a basic form are often similar in shape to constructions involving nominalized basic forms (cf. §3.25) or imperative nominal clauses. In the case of nominalized basic forms, the introductory linker is usually *-ng* rather than *na/ng*, and the basic-form construction occurs as an expansion of a nominal; often there is also alternation between the linker and the topic marker *ang*. For a discussion of imperative nominal clauses, cf. §3.28, subsection (2).)

Na/ng also introduces certain adjuncts that do not include the basic form of a verb. In the presentation that follows, it is to be understood, unless otherwise specified, that the occurring adjuncts involve a basic form.

1. *-in* class

sipagin 'feel like'
tamarin 'not feel like'

Sinisipag akong mag-aral ngayon.
'I feel like studying today.'

2. *Ma-* class

matukso 'be tempted to'

Natukso si Mariang bilhin ang kuwintas.
'Maria was tempted to buy the necklace.'

3. *Ma- . . . -an* class

mapilitan 'be forced (by circumstances) to'
matagalan 'take a long time to'

Napilitan akong manghiram ng pera sa bangko.
'I was forced (by circumstances) to borrow money from the bank.'

4. *Mag-* classes

- a. Verbs that take
- na/-ng-plus-basic-form*
- adjuncts

mag-atubili 'hesitate to'
 magbakasakali 'take a chance on'
 magpilit 'strive to'
 magsigasig 'strive to'

Nag-atubili siyang ipagpagawa kay Rosa ng damit ang bata.
 'She hesitated to have Rosa make the child a dress.'

- b. Verb that takes an adjunct of the shape
- na/-ng*
- plus nominal, adjectival, or imperfective verb

magkunwa(ri) 'pretend to be'

Nagkunwa(ri) si Juang { duktur.
galit.
natutulog.

'Juan pretended to be { a doctor.'
angry.'
sleeping.'

(The topic may precede or follow the adjunct. Thus also: *Nagkunwa(ri)ng duktur si Juan*, etc.)

5. *Mang-* classes

- a. Verb that takes
- na/-ng-plus-basic-form*
- adjunct
- mangimi*
- 'be shy about'

Nangingimi silang hingan ng tulong si G. Perez.
 'They are shy about asking Mr. Perez for help.'

- b. Verb that takes an adjunct of the shape
- na/-ng*
- plus nominal, adjectival, or imperfective verb

manatili 'remain, continue'

Nanatili si Pedrong { maestro.
masipag.
nag-aaral.

'Pedro { remained } { a teacher.'
continued } { hard-working.'
studying.'

(The topic may precede or follow the adjunct. Thus, also: *Nanatiling maestro si Pedro*, etc.)

6. ~~um~~ class

umakma 'make a motion to'
 Umakmang aalis ang babae.
 'The woman made a motion to leave.'

The adjunct is of the shape *na/-ng* plus the contemplated form of a verb. (The topic may precede or follow the adjunct. Thus also: *Umakma ang babaeng aalis.*)

III. APT VERBS. The following classes of verbs accept an actor adjunct plus a second adjunct introduced by *ng*, *sa*, or *na/-ng*

A. Verbs with actor adjuncts plus adjuncts introduced by *ng*

1. *-an* class

- a. ayusan 'arrange'
 kulutan 'curl'
 gupitan 'cut'
 putulan 'cut'

Inayusan niya ng buhok si Tina.
 'She arranged Tina's hair.'

The *ng*-phrase adjunct expresses a part of the body of the person referred to by the topic.

- b. kulayan 'color'
 pinta 'paint'

Kinulayan niya ng pula ang labi ng manika.
 'She colored the doll's lips red.'

The adjunct consists of *ng* plus an unaffixed adjective expressing color.

B. Verbs with actor adjuncts plus adjuncts introduced by *sa*.

1. *-an* class

- balikan 'return to ... for ...'
 paroonan 'go to ... for ...'
 puntahan 'go to ... for ...'

Balikan mo sa opisina ang sulat.
 'Return to the office for the letter.'

C. Verbs with actor adjuncts plus adjuncts introduced by *na/-ng*

1. *-an* classes

- a. hayaan 'let'
 (pa)bayaan 'let'
 tulutan 'let'

Hayaan mong bumili ng kendi ang bata.
 'Let the child buy some candy.'

- b. piliin 'choose as'
- tanawin 'view as'
- tuksuhin 'jestingly call'
- Pinili namin siyang lider.
- 'We chose him as leader.'

The adjunct introduced by *na/ng* is a nominal.

- c. gawin 'make (into)'

Ginawa niyang $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{baro ng manika} \\ \text{mahaba} \end{array} \right\}$ ang damit.

'She made the dress $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{into a doll's dress.} \\ \text{long.} \end{array} \right\}$

The adjunct introduced by *na/ng* is either a nominal or an adjectival.

4. *ma-* class

- makita 'see (doing)'
- marinig 'hear (doing)'
- mahuli 'catch (doing)'
- mapansin 'notice (doing)'

Nakita ko ang bahay na $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{masusunog.} \\ \text{nasusunog.} \\ \text{nasunog.} \end{array} \right\}$

'I saw the house $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{about to burn.} \\ \text{burning.} \\ \text{burn.} \end{array} \right\}$

The adjunct introduced by *na/ng* includes an inflected form of a verb. (The bases that form most of the verbs in this class also occur in *maka-/ma-* object verbs of related meaning — cf. §5.3, class B.1. No exact *maka-* verb counterpart, however, occurs for the *ma-* verbs followed by adjuncts.)

IV. TRANSITIVE VERBS THAT ACCEPT ADJUNCTS. There are at least five transitive verbs that accept adjuncts in addition to their regular complements. Four of these are object verbs meaning 'invite': viz., *kumumbida/kumbidahin*, *mag-anyaya/anyayahan*, *mag-imbita/imbitahin*, *yumaya/yaya-in*. The fifth is the directional verb *sumabay/sabayan* 'do together with.'

The adjuncts that occur with verbs meaning 'invite' are introduced by the linker *na/ng* and include the basic form of a verb (cf. discussion under II, above, for details of the formation of basic-form adjuncts). Examples are:

Ako ang $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kumumbida} \\ \text{nag-anyaya} \\ \text{nag-imbita} \\ \text{yumaya} \end{array} \right\}$ sa dalagang $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{tumikim nito.} \\ \text{tikman ito.} \end{array} \right\}$

'It was I who invited the girl to taste this.'

Kinumbida Inanyayahan Inimbita Niyaya	}	ko ang dalagang	{	tumikim nito. tikman ito.
--	---	-----------------	---	------------------------------

'I invited the girl to taste this.'

The AF verbs in this group accept adjuncts only where they occur in nominalized position (cf. §3.24), and only when their object complements are expressed by *sa* phrases. Thus, while there are sentences like:

Kumumbida ako ng dalaga.
'I invited a girl.'

and

Ako ang kumumbida ng dalaga.
'It was I who invited a girl.'

there is no:

*Kumumbida ako ng/sa dalagang tumikim nito.

or:

*Ako ang kumumbida ng dalagang tumikim nito.

Adjuncts that occur with *sumabay/sabayan* are of the shape *ng* plus a gerund or a nominalized verb base. Examples are:

Sumabay ako sa kanila Sinabayan ko sila	}	ng	{	pagkain. kain.
--	---	----	---	-------------------

'I ate together with them.'

§5.27. Maging constructions.

A **MAGING CONSTRUCTION** consists of a form of the verb *maging/magin/* plus an unmarked noun, an adjective, or an expansion of an unmarked noun or adjective. **MAGING CONSTRUCTIONS** are usually translatable by 'become' constructions in English.

Maging is similar to the verbal prefixes in being obligatorily non-pre-enclitic (i.e., it is never immediately followed by an enclitic particle or pronoun – cf. §3.29 and 6.6), and is sometimes written as a prefix in conventional spelling. Thus the Tagalog equivalent of, for example, 'become president' is sometime spelled *maging-presidente*, sometimes *maging presidente*. Analytically, it seems on the whole preferable to regard *maging* as an independent verb rather than as a prefix, in view of the fact that it may occur as one of the two components of a construction whose other component is not a base, but, rather, an expanded construction: e.g.,

maging unang presidente ng samahan
'become the first president of the organization'

maging pinakamabuting presidente sa lahat
'become the best president of all'

Maging is actor–focus, and is inflected for aspect like other actor–focus verbs: i.e., it occurs in a recent–perfective form (cf. §5.23), as well as in forms marked for the three basic aspects. The aspect–marked forms of *maging* are:

contemplated:	<i>magiging</i> / <i>magiˈgiŋ</i> /
imperfective:	<i>nagiging</i> / <i>nagiˈgiŋ</i> /
perfective:	<i>nagiging</i> / <i>nagiˈgiŋ</i> /
recent–perfective:	<i>kapagiging</i> / <i>kapagiˈgiŋ</i> /

Examples in sentences are:

Magiging	}	mayamang-mayaman sila.
Nagiging		
Naging		

They	}	will become are becoming became	} very rich.'

Kapagiging sarhento pa lang ng anak ko.
'My son has just become a sergeant.'

Maging has a pluralized form, *mangagiging*, marked by the infix *-nga-* (cf. §5.15):

Nangagiging mahal ang mga kamatis.
'Tomatoes are becoming expensive.'

There are also two gerunds (cf. §3.26) that correspond to *maging*: the aspectless gerund *pagiging* /*pagiˈgiŋ*/ and the perfective gerund *pag(ka)kapagiging* /*pag(ka)kaˈpagiŋ*/:

Ikinatuwa ko ang	}	pagiging pag(ka)kapagiging	} presidente niya.

'His	}	becoming having become	} president made me happy.'

Finally, there is a causative–focus verb derived from *maging*: *i(ka)pagiging* /*i(ka)paˈgiŋ*/ . (For some speakers *ipagiging* is the preferred form; for others *ipagiging* and *ikapagiging* are free alternants.) An example of the use of the causative–focus verb is:

Ipinaging/Ikinapagiging mahal ng bigas ang nakaraang bagyo.
'The recent typhoon caused rice to become expensive.'

(cf. *Naging mahal ang bigas dahil sa nakaraang bagyo.*
'Rice became expensive because of the recent typhoon.')

(As is the case with other causative–focus verbs (cf. §5.8), *i(ka)pagiging* takes an actor complement that corresponds to the topic of the related actor–focus verb.)

§5.28. Intensive–repetitive verbal constructions.

Any verb, whether major or derived, that expresses an action capable of intensive, repeated, or prolonged performance, may occur in an INTENSIVE–REPETITIVE CONSTRUCTION expressing such a performance of the action. The construction consists of two occurrences of the verb linked by the particle *nang* /*nan*/. Both structurally and semantically, the construction is similar to the English construction in which two occurrences of a verb are linked by 'and'. Thus:

Tumawa nang tumawa si Juan.
'Juan laughed and laughed.'

Siya ang sinulatan nang sinulatan ni Pedro.
'She's the one that Pedro writes and writes to.'

Papagtatrabahuhin nang papagtatrabahuhin ni Miss Reyes ang mga bata.
'Miss Reyes will make the children work and work.'

The construction may also be translated by an English construction of the shape 'keep ___ing,' or by a verb followed by an expression such as 'a lot,' 'continually,' 'repeatedly,' etc.

The verbs that may occur in an intensive–repetitive construction include the various intensive verb formations presented in §5.16, subsection (1). Some examples are:

Nag-iiyak nang nag-iiyak ang babae.
'The woman kept weeping bitterly.'

(cf. Nag-iiyak ang babae.
'The woman wept bitterly.')

Pinagsusuntok nang pinagsusuntok ng mga bantay ang bilanggo.
'The guards kept punching and punching the prisoner.'

(cf. Pinagsusuntok ng mga bantay ang bilanggo.
'The guards kept punching the prisoner.')

Any enclitic pronoun(s) and/or particle(s) (cf. §§3.29 and 6.2 ff.) present in a sentence with an intensive–repetitive construction in predicate position occur between the first verb and the particle *nang*. Thus:

Tumakbo siya nang tumakbo.
'He ran and ran.'

Nag-aaral daw naman nang nag-aaral si Joe.
'They say that Joe, on the other hand, studies and studies.'

In the case of intensive–repetitive construction with imperfective–aspect actor–focus verbs, the verbal affixes and aspect markers are often optionally deletable. The resultant contracted construction, which has the shape base + *nang* + base, is identical in meaning with the full intensive–repetitive construction from which it is derived. Examples are:

Lakad nang lakad ang kartero.
'The postman walks and walks.'

(cf. Lumalakad nang lumalakad ang kartero.
'The postman walks and walks.')

Luto lamang nang luto si Rosa.
 'Rosa just cooks and cooks.'

(cf. Nagluluto lamang nang nagluluto si Rosa.
 'Rosa just cooks and cooks.')

Verb bases that may occur in this contracted intensive–repetitive construction include most *-um-* and *mag-* verb bases that themselves have an 'action' meaning (e.g., *lakad* 'walk' and *luto* 'cook' in the examples above), and a limited number of *-um-*, *mag-*, and *mang-* verb bases that do not themselves have an action meaning (e.g., *haba* 'length,' the base of *humaba* 'become long(er), lengthen'; *bago* 'new,' the base of *magbago* 'change'; *anak* 'child,' the base of *manganak* 'give birth.')

Certain actor–focus indirect–action verbs (cf. §5.12, subsection (1)) occurring in an intensive–repetitive construction may also undergo contraction. In this case, the indirect–action prefix *pa-* is retained together with the verb base, so that the construction has the shape: *pa-* + base + *nang* + *pa-* + base. Examples are:

Palinis nang palinis ng bahay sa akin ang Nanay.
 'Mother makes me clean and clean the house.'

(cf. Nagpapalinis nang nagpapalinis ng bahay sa akin ang Nanay.
 'Mother makes me clean and clean the house.')

Pakain sila nang pakain ng kendi sa kanila.
 'They let them eat and eat candy.'

(cf. Nagpapakain sila nang nagpapakain ng kendi sa kanila.
 'They let them eat and eat candy.')

§5.29. Possessive and existential verbal construction.

Possessive and existential verbal constructions are similar in both form and meaning to possessive and existential adjectival phrases of the shape *may* plus nominal or *mayroon* plus linker (*-ng*) plus nominal. (The *may* and *mayroon* constructions occur as alternants in most contexts – cf. §§4.22 and 4.23.) The formal differences between the adjectival and verbal structures may be described as follows:

(1) If the adjectival phrase is of the shape *may* plus nominal, the corresponding verbal construction shows, in place of *may*, and aspect–marked form of the verbal prefix *magka-* /*magka-*. (Verbs formed with *magka-* are inflected for aspect like other verbs formed with prefixes beginning with /*m-*/ – cf. §5.22.) Compare, for example:

May pera si Juan.
 'Juan has/had some money.'

May giyera sa Europa.
 'There is/was a war in Europe.'

and, respectively:

Magkapera }
 Nagkapera } si Juan.
 Nagkapera }

'Juan { will come }
 { is coming } to have some money.'
 { came }

Magkakagyera	}	sa Europa.
Nagkakagyera		
Nagkagyera		

‘There	}	will be	a war (developing) in Europe.’
		is	
		was	

(2) If the adjectival phrase is of the shape *mayroon* plus *-ng* plus nominal, the corresponding verbal construction shows: (a) in place of the *may* of *mayroon*, an aspect-marked form of *magka-*; (b) in place of *-ng*, the marker *ng* /*naŋ*/. Compare, for example:

Mayroong pera si Juan.
 Mayroong giyera sa Europa.

and, respectively:

Magkakaroon	}	ng pera si Juan.
Nagkakaroon		
Nagkaroon		

Magkakaroon	}	ng giyera sa Europa.
Nagkakaroon		
Nagkaroon		

(Translations are the same as for the corresponding sentences given under (1), above.)

Apart from the replacement of *may* by a form of *magka-* and of the linker *-ng* by the marker *ng*, there are no other formal differences between the adjectival and verbal constructions. Thus, sentences with possessive verbal predicates, like those with possessive adjectival predicates, have the usual predicate-plus-topic structure, while sentences with existential verbal predicates, like those with existential adjectival predicates are topicless.

The differences in meaning between the adjectival and verbal structures are: (1) the adjectival structures are unspecific with respect to aspect, while the verbal structures are specific; (2) the adjectival structures express a state (of ‘possession’ or ‘existence’), while the verbal structures express the development of such a state. (The English equivalents of sentences with possessive verbal predicates often involve a form of ‘come to have,’ ‘acquire,’ or ‘get’; the English equivalents of sentences with existential verbal predicates often involve ‘there is, etc . . . developing,’ ‘there is, etc . . . getting started,’ or a form of ‘occur’.)

In some cases there are verbal constructions formally related to possessive or existential phrases with *mayroon* but no corresponding constructions formally related to phrases with *may*. While, for example, there are verbal constructions related to phrases of the shape *mayroon* plus linker plus modified noun, there are none related to phrases of the shape *may* plus modified noun. Thus there are sentences like:

Magkakaroon ng perang Amerikano si Juan.
 ‘Juan will come to have some American money.’

(cf. Mayroong perang Amerikano si Juan.
 ‘Juan has had some American money.’)

but there is no:

*Magkakaperang Amerikano si Juan.
 (cf. May perang Amerikano si Juan.)

And, while there are, in general, verbal constructions related to all existential phrases with *mayroon*, verbal constructions related to existential phrases with *may* are limited to those cases in which the noun that follows *may* designates an event – e.g., nouns such as *giyera* ‘war,’ *aksidente* ‘accident,’ *handaan* ‘party,’ *laro* ‘game,’ *pulong* ‘meeting.’ Thus there are sentences like:

Nagkakaroon ng prutas sa puno.
‘There is fruit (developing) on the tree.’

(cf. *Mayroong prutas sa puno.*
‘There is/was fruit on the tree.’)

but there is no:

*Nagkakaputas sa puno.
(cf. *May prutas sa puno.*)

Some further examples of possessive verbal constructions are:

Magkakakasama	}	ang bawâ’t isa.
Magkakaroon ng kasama		
‘Each one will get a partner.’		

Nagkakaalupa	}	ang pamilya niya.
Nagkakaroon ng lupa		
‘His family is acquiring land.’		

{ Nagkaperâ din sila.	}	‘They came to have money too.’
{ Nagkaroon din sila ng pera.		

(As the last example illustrates, the position of enclitic particles and pronouns in verbal constructions related to phrases with *may* and *mayroon* corresponds to their position in the related adjectival structures: cf.

{ May pera din sila.	}	‘They have/had money too.’
{ Mayroon din silang pera.		

Some further examples of existential verbal constructions are:

Magkakahandaan ba	}	mamayang gabi?
Magkakaroon ba ng handaan		
‘Will there be a party (occurring) tonight?’		

Nagkakapulog na	}	sa opisina ng prinsipal.
Nagkakaroon na ng pulog		
‘There’s a meeting (getting started) in the principal’s office now.’		

Nagkaaksidente	}	dito kahapon.
Nagkaroon ng aksidente		
‘An accident occurred here yesterday.’		

§5.30. Imperative, hortative, and optative constructions.

An IMPERATIVE CONSTRUCTION expresses a command or a request. Tagalog has imperative constructions of five types, which may be called: the BASIC IMPERATIVE, the EQUATIONAL IMPERATIVE, the IMMEDIATE IMPERATIVE, the ABBREVIATED IMPERATIVE, and the HABITUAL IMPERATIVE. (There are also a few fixed imperative expressions that are not of these types: e.g., *Halika(yo)* 'Come here,' *Madali ka(yo)* 'Hurry up,' *Tuloy ka(yo)* 'Come in'; the forms ending in *ka* are singular, those in *kayo* plural.)

The basic imperative is produced by eliminating the aspect marker (cf. §§5.19 through 5.21) from the predicate verb of a narrational sentence that includes a second-person-pronoun actor. When the aspect marker is thus eliminated, the basic form of the verb remains. (As is explained in §2.8, the basic form of a verb consists of a verb base and the basic form of an affix.) To illustrate:

Narrational Wawalisan Winawalisan Winalisan	}	mo ang sahig. →	Imperative Walisan mo ang sahig.
'You	}	{ will sweep are sweeping swept }	the floor.' → 'Sweep the floor.'

(In the illustration, the aspect marker of the narrational-sentence verbs is double-underscored, and the basic form of the verb is single-underscored. As the illustration shows, it is the basic form – consisting, in this case, of the base *walis* and the suffix *-an-* that occurs in the imperative construction.)

In the Tagalog basic imperative, the second-person-pronoun actor is explicitly expressed. In English imperatives, on the other hand, the explicit subject is not usually present. (The subject 'you,' however, may occur with an emphatic or contrastive meaning: e.g., 'You finish the cake. (I'm too full).') See below for the Tagalog equivalent of such constructions.)

Not every narrational sentence that includes a second-person-pronoun actor may be converted into a basic imperative. Certain verbs – e.g., those that include the ability and involuntary-action affixes *maka-*, *ma-*, etc. (cf. §5.13) – do not normally occur in imperative constructions, their meanings being incompatible with the expression of a command.

Some examples of basic imperative constructions are presented below. The examples represent a variety of verbal affixes and focuses.

Kumain ka.
'Eat.'

Maghintay kayo.
'Wait.'

Manghiram ka ng pera.
'Borrow some money.'

Matulog kayo rito.
'Sleep here.'

Magpaluto ka ng pagkain.
'Have some food cooked.'

Basahin mo rin ito.
'Read this too.'

Ibigay ninyo ito sa kanila.
'Give this to them.'

Lagyan mo ng asin ang sabaw.
'Put some salt in the soup.'

Isulat mo ako sa Nanay.
'Write to Mother for me.'

Ipansimba ninyo ang mga iyon.
'Wear those to church.'

(The initial *sə*-pronoun actor complement, discussed in §5.25, subsection (1), may occur in a goal-focus imperative construction, as in goal-focus constructions of other types. Thus:

Iyo ding basahin	}	ito.
Basahin mo rin		
'Read this too.'		

The equational imperative is produced by eliminating the aspect marker from the nominalized topic verb (cf. §3.24) of an equational sentence that includes a second-person-pronoun actor. For example:

Equational	Imperative
Ito ang BAbasahin mo.	Ito ang basahin mo.
'This is what you'll read.'	'Read <u>this</u> .'

In the equational imperative, the element (usually a noun or pronoun) that occurs in predicate position is emphasized. Compare:

Basic imperative:	Basahin mo ito. 'Read <u>this</u> .'
Equational imperative:	Ito ang basahin mo. 'Read <u>this</u> .'

When the topic verb of an equational imperative is actor-focus, the emphasized predicate is the second-person-pronoun that expresses the actor. This type of equational imperative is translatable by an English imperative with the subject you explicitly expressed: e.g.,

Ikaw ang umubos ng keyk. (Masyado akong busog, e.)
'You finish the cake. (I'm too full.)'

The immediate imperative is used to command (or request – see below) the immediate performance of an action. An immediate-imperative construction consists of an unaffixed verb base, plus, optionally, one or more enclitic particles (notably *na* 'now'), and lacks any explicit expression of the actor. Not all verb bases occur in the immediate imperative construction. The bases that do occur in the construction are roughly the same as those 'action' bases that may be nominalized (cf. §3.27). In the immediate imperative, however, the base is never accompanied by any complement(s). Some examples of the immediate imperative are:

Alis (na)! 'Leave!'	Bili (na)! 'Buy (some).'
Inom (na)! 'Drink!'	Luto (na)! 'Cook (something).'

Kuha (na)!	Tanong (na)!
'Get (some)!	'Ask!'
Lakad (na)!	Tulog (na)!
'Go!'	'Sleep!'

The abbreviated imperative is derived from a basic imperative that includes a predicate secondary-actor-focus (A2F) indirect-action verb formed with *pa-...in* (cf. §5.12, subsection (2)) and a first-person-pronoun topic (*ako* or *kami*): e.g.,

Painumin mo/ninyo ako/kami ng tubig.
'Let me/us have some water.'

In the abbreviated imperative, the suffix *-in* (of the A2F verb) and the actor complement are deleted, and the topic is optionally deleted. Thus the abbreviated imperative derived from the basic imperative given above is:

Painom (ako/kami) ng tubig.
'Let me/us have some water.'

(When the topic is deleted in an abbreviated-imperative construction, either a singular or a plural first-person topic may be understood.)

Some further examples are:

Paupo (ako/kami) dito.
'Let me/us sit here.'
(cf. Paupuin mo/ninyo ako/kami dito.)

Pahiram (ako/kami) ng makinilyang iyon.
'Let me/us borrow that typewriter.'
(cf. Pahiramin mo/ninyo ako/kami ng makinilyang iyon.)

(A2F verbs formed with *papag-...-in* and *papang-...-in* do not occur in abbreviated imperative constructions. As is noted in §5.12, subsection (2), *papag-...-in* and *papang-...-in* A2F verbs are derived, respectively, from *mag-* and *mang-* verbs, while *pa-...-in* A2F verbs are derived from *-um-* or *ma-* verbs.)

The habitual imperative is derived from a basic or equational imperative by replacing the basic form of the verb with the contemplated-aspect form. The habitual imperative expresses a demand or request for habitual or regular action: e.g.,

Mag-aaral ka ng liksyon mo.
'Study your lessons (regularly).'

(cf. Mag-aral ka ng liksyon mo.
'Study your lesson(s).')

Ito ang gagawin mo.
'Do this (regularly).'

(cf. Ito ang gawin mo.
'Do this.')

(When the meaning of habitual or regular action is expressed explicitly elsewhere in the sentence, this meaning may be redundantly expressed through the use of a habitual imperative. In such cases, the habitual imperative alternates freely with the underlying basic or equational imperative: e.g.,

Mag-aaral }
 Mag-aral } ka ng liksyon mo gabi-gabi.
 'Study your lessons every night.'

(In the case of at least one verb, *mag-ingat* 'be careful' the contemplated-aspect form alternates freely with the basic form in imperative constructions, and does not necessarily imply habitual or regular action: e.g.,

Mag-iingat }
 Mag-ingat } ka ngayon.
 'Be careful now.'

Any one of the five types of imperatives described above is changed from a command to a polite request (equivalent to an English imperative with 'please') by the inclusion in the sentence of the enclitic particle *nga* (cf. §6.4, subsection (b)): e.g.,

Kumain ka nga.
 'Please eat.'

Ikaw nga ang umubos ng keyk.
 'You please finish the cake.'

Alis (na) nga!
 'Please leave!'

Painom nga ng tubig.
 'Please let me/us have a drink of water.'

Mag-aaral ka nga ng liksyon mo.
 'Please study your lessons (regularly).'

In the case of basic, abbreviated, and habitual imperatives, politeness may also be expressed by the use of the enclitic particle *naman* – which, however, usually conveys a meaning of mild reproach or complaint in addition to that of politeness. For example:

Kumain ka naman.
 'Please eat. (I'll be hurt if you don't).'

Tulungan mo naman ako.
 'Please help me. (Don't just sit there).'

Paupo naman dito.
 'Please let me/us sit here. (Can't you see I'm/we're tired?)'

Mag-aaral ka naman ng liksyon mo.
 'Please study your lessons (regularly). (Why do I have to keep asking you?)'

Politeness is also expressed by the use of two special request prefixes, *maki-* and *paki-*, which either replace or occur in addition to the verbal affix of a basic imperative sentence. *Maki-* is actor–focus, and replaces *-um-* or *mag-*. (*Mang-*, *ma-*, and *maka-* actor–focus verbs do not accept the request prefix *maki-*.) *Paki-* is goal–focus. It occurs in addition to *-an*, *t-*, *-in*, or a complex affix that includes one of these. In formations that include the request prefix *paki-*, *t-* is optionally deletable in all cases, and *-in* is optionally deletable if it is the only affix in the underlying form: i.e., if the underlying affix is not complex. The correspondences between the request affixes and the affixes that underlie them are summarized in Chart 22. (The symbol X is used in the chart to represent any affix in addition to the one specified.)

CHART 22
CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN UNDERLYING AND REQUEST AFFIXES

Underlying Affix	Request Affix
-um-	maki-
mag- (X)	maki- (x)
(X . . .) -an	paki- (X) . . . -an
i- (X)	(i)paki (X)
-in	paki- (. . . -in)
X . . . -in	paki- X . . . -in

Nga occurs optionally after polite formations with *maki-* and *paki-*, increasing the politeness expressed. Some examples of sentences with the request prefixes, and of the commands that underlie them, are:

Command	Request
Pumunta ka sa palengke. 'Go to the market.'	Makipunta ka (nga) sa palengke. 'Please go to the market.'
Magluto ka ng tinapay. 'Bake some bread.'	Makiluto ka (nga) ng tinapay. 'Please bake some bread.'
Magpabili ka ng tinapay. 'Have (someone) buy some bread.'	Makipabili ka (nga) ng tinapay. 'Please have (someone) buy some bread.'
Hingan mo siya ng piso. 'Ask him for a peso.'	Pakihingan mo (nga) siya ng piso. 'Please ask him for a peso.'
Pasulatan mo ako kay Ben. 'Have Ben write to me.'	Pakipasulatan mo (nga) ako kay Ben. 'Please have Ben write to me.'
Ibot mo ang asin. 'Pass the salt.'	(I)pakiabot mo (nga) ang asin. 'Please pass the salt.'
Ipanghiwa mo ito ng karne. 'Cut some meat with this.'	(I)pakipanghiwa mo (nga) ito ng karne. 'Please cut some meat with this.'
Linisin mo ang bahay. 'Clean the house.'	Pakilinis(in) mo (nga) ang bahay. 'Please clean the house.'
Papag-aralin mo ang bata. 'Let the child study.'	Pakipapag-aralin mo (nga) ang bata. 'Please let the child study.'

(It may be noted that *maki-* plus the base of an *-um-* verb is ambiguous, since *maki-* in such a context may be interpreted as either the basic form of the social–verb prefix *maki-* – cf. §5.14 – or the request prefix.

Thus *makipunta* may mean either 'go with' or 'please go.' In the case of *mag-* bases, on the other hand, there is no ambiguity, since the social-verb prefix that occurs with a *mag-* base is *makipag-* while the request prefix that occurs with such a base is *maki-*. Thus: *makipagluto* 'cook with' but *makihuto* 'please cook.')

A HORTATIVE CONSTRUCTION expresses the speaker's wish that he and the person(s) addressed perform some action. Hortative constructions are equivalent to English constructions introduced by 'let's': e.g., 'Let's eat.' Tagalog has two hortative constructions: the BASIC HORTATIVE and the EQUATIONAL HORTATIVE. Like the basic imperative, the basic hortative has the basic form of a verb in predicate position. Like the equational imperative, the equational hortative has the basic form of a verb in topic position. In the hortative constructions, however, the performer of the action is expressed by a dual plural (inclusive first-person plural) pronoun, rather than the second-person pronoun of the imperative constructions. Some examples of basic hortative constructions are:

Kumain tayo.
'Let's eat.'

Basahin natin ang librong ito.
'Let's read this book.'

Walisan natin ang sahig.
'Let's sweep the floor.'

Some examples of equational hortative constructions are:

Tayo ang lumakad.
'Let's you and me walk.'

Iyon ang gawin natin.
'Let's do that.'

Ang mga bago ang ipang-iskwela natin.
'Let's wear the new ones to school.'

(In addition to basic and equational hortative constructions, Tagalog has at least one fixed expression of hortative meaning: *Tayo na* – frequently contracted to *Tena* – Let's go.)

The enclitic particles *nga* and *naman* may be used to add a meaning of politeness to hortatives as to imperatives (see above). *Nga* is used in this way in both basic and equational hortatives, *naman* only in basic hortatives. As in the case of imperatives, *naman* suggests mild reproach or complaint as well as politeness. Examples are:

Dalawin nga natin ang Lola.
'Please, let's visit Grandmother.'

Tayo nga ang maglinis ng bahay.
'Let's you and me clean house, please.'

Umalis naman tayo.
'Let's leave, please. (We've stayed long enough.)'

OPTATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS, like hortative constructions, express the speaker's wish that an action be performed. In the case of optative constructions, however, the action is to be performed by some person(s) other than the speaker and the person(s) addressed. There are no productive optative constructions in English. In place of such constructions English normally uses constructions introduced by 'I' plus a verb of optative meaning: e.g., 'I want him to go,' 'I hope he wins.' (English does, however, use optative constructions in certain fixed phrases: e.g., 'May the best man win,' 'Long live the King!')

While Tagalog has constructions paralleling the English constructions with 'I' plus a verb of optative meaning (e.g., *Gusto kong pumunta siya* 'I want him to go,' *Umaasa akong mananalo siya* 'I hope he wins'), it also has two productive optative constructions: the BASIC OPTATIVE and the EQUATIONAL OPTATIVE. The basic optative, like the basic imperative and hortative, has the basic form of a verb in predicate position. The equational optative, like the equational imperative and hortative, has the basic form of a verb in topic position.

The enclitic particle *SANA* (cf. §6.5, subsection (e)) is of frequent occurrence in optative constructions. The inclusion of *sana* in such a construction changes the meaning of the construction from the expression of a wish to the expression of a hope. *Sana*, or one of certain other enclitic particles (see below), is obligatory in optative constructions in which the actor is expressed by something other than a third-person pronoun. Thus:

Makita sana	}	(ng katulong ni Maria namin nito)	ang singsing.
'I hope	}	(the maid finds Maria finds we (I and others) find this one finds)	the ring.'

but not:

*Makita	}	(ng katulong ni Maria namin nito)	ang singsing.
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Enclitic particles other than *sana* that may occur in optative constructions include *kaya*, *nga* and – for some speakers – *ba*. These particles differ from one another in meaning, but have in common the expression of some kind of uncertainty about whether the wished-for action is actually to be performed. Some examples are:

Tumawag kaya ng doktor ang Tatay.
'Perhaps Father should call the doctor.'

Dumalaw nga si Manuel sa kaniya (at nang magkausap sila).
'I would like Manuel to visit him (so that they can talk).'

Tingnan ko nga iyon?
'May I see that?'

Hugasan ko ba ang pinggan?
'Should I wash the dishes?'

For some speakers, *sana* or some other enclitic particle is also obligatory when the actor in an optative construction is expressed by a third-person pronoun. Other speakers, however, accept such sentences as:

Walisán $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{niya} \\ \text{nila} \end{array} \right\}$ ang sahig.
 'I want $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{her} \\ \text{them} \end{array} \right\}$ to sweep the floor.'

Some further examples of the basic optative construction are:

Mangisda $\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \end{array} \right\}$ sila.
 Mangisda sana $\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \end{array} \right\}$
 'I $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{want them to} \\ \text{hope they} \end{array} \right\}$ go fishing.'

Makita sana ni Joe iyan.
 'I hope Joe sees that.'

Some examples of the equational optative are:

Si Linda $\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \end{array} \right\}$ ang piliin niya.
 Si Linda sana $\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \end{array} \right\}$
 'I $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{want him to choose} \\ \text{hope he chooses} \end{array} \right\}$ Linda.'

Ako sana ang yumaman.
 'I hope I get rich.'

Si Rosa sana ang magluto.
 'I hope Rosa does the cooking.'

(For a presentation of negative imperatives, hortatives, and optatives, cf. §7.15.)

CHAPTER 6
Adverbials and Their Expansions

§6.1. Introduction.

As was noted in §2.14, two major classes of adverbials occur optionally in basic sentences: ENCLITIC PARTICLES, a class of words that occur only in certain fixed word-order relations to other sentence elements, and MOVABLE ADVERBS, a class of words and phrases that may occupy any of several different sentence positions. In addition to these, Tagalog has three other classes of adverbials: INITIAL ADVERBS, SENTENCE-FINAL PARTICLES, and ADVERBIAL CLAUSES. Initial adverbs, which may be words or phrases, occur only at the beginning of a sentence or clause. Sentence-final particles, a small class of words, occur only at the end of a sentence. Adverbial clauses are distinguished from adverbials of other types by the fact that they have a sentence-like internal structure.

The Tagalog adverbials are presented below as follows: enclitic particles in §§6.2 through 6.6; movable adverbs in §§6.7 through 6.11; initial adverbs in §6.12; sentence-final particles in §6.13; adverbial clauses in §§6.14 through 6.18.

§6.2. Enclitic particles: introduction.

Tagalog has eighteen ENCLITIC PARTICLES (or ENCLITIC ADVERBS): viz.,

ba	/bah/	na	/nah/
kasi	/kasih/	naman	/naman/
kaya	/kaya/	nga	/ŋa/
daw~raw	/daw/~/raw/	pa	/pah/
din~rin	/din/~/rin/	pala	/palah/
ho	/ho/	po	/po/
lamang~lang	/laˈman/~/la(ˈ)ŋ/	sana	/saˈnah/
man	/man/	tuloy	/tuloy/
muna	/muˈnah/	yata	/yaˈta/

(*Daw* and *raw* are free alternants, as are *din* and *rin*, *lamang* and *lang*; vowel length in *lang* is optional.) From the point of view of the meanings they express (cf. §§6.3–5), the enclitic particles constitute a rather heterogeneous grouping. They are similar to one another, however, in that they all manifest ENCLITIC behavior.

As was explained in §3.5, the enclitics of Tagalog are words that, with certain storable exceptions, obligatorily follow the first word of the construction of which they constitute an immediate part. (Cf. §6.6 for an explanation of IMMEDIATE PART with reference to the enclitic pronouns.) Note, for example, the differences in sentence position between the enclitic particle *na* 'now, any longer' and the non-enclitic adverb *ngayon* 'today' in the following sentences:

- (1) Naroon na si Rosa.
'Rosa is there now.'

(cf. Naroon { si Rosa ngayon.
ngayon si Rosa.
'Rosa is there today.')

- (2) Wala na roon si Rosa.
'Rosa isn't there any longer.'

(cf. Wala roon { si Rosa ngayon.
ngayon si Rosa.
'Rosa isn't there today,')

Na – which is an immediate part of the predicate in these examples – follows the first word of the predicate in each case, and can occur in no other position: there are no such sentences as **Naroon si Rosa na*, etc. (In Sentence (1), *na* follows the one-word predicate, *naroon*; in sentence (2), it comes between the two words of the negated predicate.) *Ngayon* on the other hand, shows a range of possible sentence positions in each case (cf. §2.18) and while this range in some cases includes a position after the first word of the predicate (e.g., *Naroon ngayon si Rosa*) in other cases it does not (there is no **Wala ngayon roon si Rosa*).

Tagalog has, in addition to enclitic particles, enclitic pronouns (which are presented in detail in §3.29). When a sentence includes a particle and a pronoun both of which are enclitic to the same word, the following rules of order obtain:

- (1) the monosyllabic pronouns *ka*, *ko*, and *mo* precede any enclitic particle(s);
- (2) all other enclitic pronouns follow any enclitic particle(s).

Examples of the operation of these rules are:

Kumakain ka na.

'You (sg.) are eating now.'

Kumakain na	{	ako. siya. kami. tayo. kayo. sila.
-------------	---	---

'I am 'He is 'We are 'We are 'You (pl.) are 'They are	}	eating now.'
--	---	--------------

Kinakain	{	ko mo	na ang pagkain.
----------	---	----------	-----------------

'I am 'You (sg.) are	}	eating the food now.'
-------------------------	---	-----------------------

Kinakain na	{	niya namin natin ninyo nila	ang pagkain.
-------------	---	---	--------------

'He is 'We are 'We are 'You (pl.) are 'They are	}	eating the food now.'
---	---	-----------------------

The rules also apply to sequences of enclitics that include two enclitic pronouns and one or more enclitic particles. Thus:

Nakikita	{	ka na niya. mo na siya. ko na siya.	
'He sees you (sg.) 'You (sg.) see him 'I see him	}		now.'
Nakikita na	{	niya ako. namin kayo. ninyo sila.	
'He sees me 'We see you (pl.) 'You (pl.) see them	}		now.'

Kita, the composite pronoun that replaces the non-occurring sequence **ko ka*, follows any enclitic particles. Thus:

Nakikita na kita.
'I see you (sg.) now.'

For rules governing the order of enclitic pronouns relative to one another, cf. §3.29.

When two or more particles are enclitic to the same word, their relative order may be described in terms of the following order classes:

Class 1:	na, pa
Class 2:	man
Class 3(a):	ba, din, kasi, ho, lamang, nga, po
(b):	daw, muna, naman
Class 4:	kaya, pala, sana, tuloy, yata

The two particles that belong to class 1 never occur in immediate sequence with one another, and are never preceded by any other enclitic particles. Thus:

Kumain	{	na pa	nga kayo.
'Please eat	}	now.' some more.'	
Nagtatrabaho	{	na pa	pala kayo roon.
'So you're	}	now still	working there.'

etc.

Man, the only particle belonging to class 2, never precedes a particle belonging to class 1 and never follows a particle belonging to class 3 or 4. Thus:

Hindi pa man lamang tuloy nakakapag-almusal si Juan.
'As a result, Juan hasn't even had breakfast yet.'

Class 3 is divided into two subclasses on the basis of the behavior of the two subclasses with respect to particles belonging to class 4. Those class 3 particles listed in subclass 3(a) never follow a class 4 particle; those listed in subclass 3(b) may follow a class 4 particle (see below).

Two of the class 3 particles, *ho* and *po*, never occur in the same sentence. Subject to this restriction, two or more particles belonging to class 3 may occur in any order relative to one another. There are, however, certain preferred orderings that obtain within the class. When two or more class 3 particles occur in sequence, the most common position of any one particle relative to the others is shown in the following formula:

$$\text{nga} + \text{din/rin} + \text{lamang/lang} + \text{daw/raw} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ho} \\ \text{po} \end{array} \right\} + \text{ba} + \text{muna} + \text{naman} + \text{kasi}$$

That is, *nga* preferably precedes any other class 3 particle(s), *din* preferably precedes any class 3 particle(s) other than *nga lamang* preferably precedes any class particle(s) other than *nga* and *din*, etc. Some examples are:

Nagtatrabaho nga rin daw kayo roon.
'They say it's true that you're working there too.'

Nagtatrabaho rin ho ba kayo roon?
'Are you working there too, sir?'

Nagtatrabaho daw ba naman kayo roon?
'Do they say that you're working there instead?'

(It should be noted that the relative positions shown in the above formula are merely preferences, and that other orderings can occur. In a few cases, in fact, some other ordering may be just as common as the one shown in the formula. For example, when *raw*(or *daw*) and *ba* occur as the only enclitics in a sequence, the ordering *ba raw* is quite as normal as the ordering *raw ba*: e.g.,

$$\text{Nagtatrabaho} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ba raw} \\ \text{raw ba} \end{array} \right\} \text{ kayo roon?}$$

'Do they say that you're working there?')

The particles belonging to class 4 never precede particles belonging to classes 1, 2, and 3(a). They may, however, precede a particle belonging to class 3(b), although an ordering in which the class 3(b) particle precedes the class 4 particle is preferred. Thus while both of the following are possible, the first represents a more common ordering:

$$\text{Hindi} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{raw kaya} \\ \text{kaya raw} \end{array} \right\} \text{ mabuti iyon.}$$

'I wonder if they say that's not good.'

Particles belonging to class 4 may occur in any order relative to one another, but *sana* preferably follows any of the others, and *tuloy* preferably follows any of the others except *sana*. Some examples are:

Nabili $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{yata pala} \\ \text{pala yata} \end{array} \right\}$ niya ang damit.
 'Oh, I think he got to buy the clothes.'

Nabili kaya tuloy niya ang damit.
 'I wonder if, as a result, he got to buy the clothes.'

Nabili tuloy sana niya ang damit.
 'I hope that it turns out that he got to buy the clothes.'

The meanings and uses of the enclitic particles are presented in §6.3 through 6.5: class 1 particles in §6.3; class 2 and class 3 particles in §6.4; class 4 particles in §6.5. The order of enclitic particles in relation to non-enclitic sentence elements is presented in §6.6.

§6.3. Class 1 enclitic particles.

The two class 1 enclitic particles, *na* and *pa*, never occur in immediate sequence with one another. They may, however, be used in separate clauses of a single sentence (cf. discussion under (7), below). Their most common uses are the following:

(1) In non-imperative sentences beginning with point-time adverbs expressing future time (cf. §6.8) – e.g., *bukas* 'tomorrow,' *sa Linggo* 'next Sunday,' *sa isang linggo* 'next week' – *na* and *pa* indicate the speaker's attitude toward the length of time between the time expressed by the adverb and the moment of speaking. *Pa* extends the psychological distance between the two points of time; *na* reduces it. After point-time adverbs expressing past time – e.g., *kahapon* 'yesterday,' *noong Linggo* 'last Sunday,' *noong isang linggo* 'last week' – *pa* performs this same function of extending the psychological distance between the time expressed by the adverb and the moment of speaking; *na*, however, does not occur after past point-time adverbs. Examples are:

Sa Linggo pa ang piyesta.
 'The fiesta is next Sunday (and there is plenty of time between now and then).'

Sa Linggo na ang piyesta.
 'The fiesta is next Sunday (and there is little time between now and then).'

Noong Linggo pa ang piyesta.
 'The fiesta was last Sunday (and that was quite a while ago).'

(Compare with the above:

Sa $\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\}$ Linggo ang piyesta.
 Noong $\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\}$
 'The fiesta $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{is next} \\ \text{was last} \end{array} \right\}$ Sunday.'

These sentences are noncommittal about the speaker's attitude toward the length of time between the time expressed by the adverb and the moment of speaking.)

(2) In imperative sentences (cf. §5.30) and with predicate verbs in the contemplated aspect, *na* denotes immediate initiation or performance of the action, *pa* continuation or resumption of the action. In these contexts *na* is usually translatable by 'now,' *pa* by 'some more' or 'go on.' Examples are:

Kumain ka	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} na. \\ pa. \end{array} \right.$	
'Eat	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{now.} \\ \text{some more.} \\ \text{or 'Go on eating.'} \end{array} \right.$	
Iinitin ko	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} na \\ pa \end{array} \right.$	ang pagkain.
'I'll heat the food	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{now.} \\ \text{some more.} \end{array} \right.$	
or 'I'll go on heating the food.'		

With predicate verbs in the contemplated aspect, *pa* may also denote postponement of other actions in favor of the action expressed by the verb, as in:

Hindi ako makaalis ngayon; maglalaba pa ako.
'I can't leave right now; I still have to do the laundry.'

Mahuhuli ako ng kaunti; patutulugin ko pa ang bata.
'I'll be a little late; I must put the baby to bed first.'

(3) With predicate verbs in the imperfective aspect and with non-verbal predicates, *na* suggests that the situation expressed is a relatively new or altered one, *pa* that it is a relatively old or continuing one. In these contexts, *na* is usually translatable by 'now' or 'already,' *pa* by 'still.' Examples are:

Nasa bahay	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} na \\ pa \end{array} \right.$	si Rosa.
'Rosa is	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{now/already} \\ \text{still} \end{array} \right.$	in the house.'
Natutulog	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} na \\ pa \end{array} \right.$	ang bata.
'The child is	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{now} \\ \text{still} \end{array} \right.$	sleeping.'

(4) With predicate verbs in the perfective aspect, *na* indicates performance of the action expressed by the verb at some unspecified time prior to another time. The time prior to which the action is performed

may be the moment of speaking, in which case the English equivalent often involves 'has/have' (plus, optionally, 'already') plus a past participle: e.g.,

Umalis na si Manuel.
'Manuel has (already) left.'

(cf. Umalis si Manuel.
'Manuel left.')

Or the time prior to which the action is performed may be designated by some past or future point–time expression. In this case, if the sentence includes a past time expression, the English equivalent usually involves 'had' (plus 'already') plus a past participle; if the sentence includes a future time expression, the English equivalent usually involves 'will' (plus 'already') plus 'have' plus a past participle: e.g.,

Nakarating na si Manuel nang nangyari iyon.
'Manuel had (already) arrived when it happened.'

Nakarating na si Manuel bago mangyari iyon.
'Manuel will (already) have arrived when it happens.'
(literally: ' . . . before it happens.')

With predicate verbs in the perfective aspect, *pa* indicates performance of the action expressed by the verb in addition to some other action(s), and is usually translatable by English 'also' or 'too': e.g.,

Nagpunta pa ako sa post office.
'I also went to the post office.'

(cf. Nagpunta ako sa post office.
'I went to the post office.')

(5) *Pa* is frequently used with verbs in the recent–perfective aspect (cf. §5.23). The meaning of the sentence is not affected by the presence or absence of *pa*: e.g.,

Kaaalis (pa) lamang ni Pedro.
'Pedro has just left.'

Na does not occur with verbs in the recent–perfective aspect.

(6) *Na* is often used to indicate a change in some previous plan. This meaning is most frequently associated with sentences that have nominalized verbal topics (cf. §3.24), or that have an adverb or complement occurring in initial position in emphatic inversion (cf. §7.2, subsection (3)). *Pa* has no comparable function.

Ikaw na ang mamili.
'You'd better do the shopping (e.g., instead of me, as originally planned).'

Bukas ka na umalis.
'Leave tomorrow (e.g., instead of today).'

Dito ka na matulog ngayong gabi.
'Sleep here tonight (e.g., instead of going home).'

(7) *Pa* may be used to express the meaning 'in addition.' It most frequently occurs in this meaning after an interrogative word (cf. § 7.7 through 7.11) or a cardinal number (cf. § 4.4). With an interrogative word it is usually translatable by 'else;' with a cardinal number it is usually translatable by 'more.' Examples are:

Sino pa ang paparito?
'Who else is coming?'

Saan ka pa pumunta?
'Where else did you go?'

May isa pa akong itatanong.
'I have one more thing to ask.'

Dalawa pa ngang tasang kape.
'Two more cups of coffee, please.'

Na has no comparable function.

(8) *Na* and *pa* are used in successive clauses (cf. § 6.17, subsection (5)) to indicate incompatibility between the actions, conditions, etc. expressed by the clauses. In some cases, the clause that includes *pa* expresses a continuing condition that might have been expected to prevent, but does not prevent, the action expressed by the clause that includes *na*: e.g.,

Hilaw pa ang mangga, pinitas na ni Juan.
'The mango was still unripe, but Juan picked it anyway.'

May sakit pa siya, pumasok na siya sa iskwela.
'He was still sick, but he went to school anyway.'

In other cases, the clause that includes *na* expresses a new condition, or a condition unspecified as to newness or continuity, that might have been expected to prevent, but does not prevent, the action expressed by the clause that includes *pa*: e.g.,

Dumarating na ang mga bisita, maglilinis ka pa ng bahay!
'The guests are already arriving, and you're going to clean house!'

May sakit na siya, pumasok pa siya sa iskwela.
'He was sick, but he went to school anyway.'

(The clauses may occur in either order. Thus, also:

Pinitas ni Juan ang mangga, hilaw pa.
'Juan picked the mango, although it was still unripe.'

Maglilinis ka pa ng bahay, dumarating na ang mga bisita!
'You're going to clean house, and the guests are already arriving!')

(9) In negated constructions (cf. § 7.13 through 7.15), *na* and *pa* together with the negators, express the following meanings:

(a) *hindi na* 'not . . . any more/longer'
Hindi na ako pupunta roon.
'I won't go there any more.'

Hindi ko na kailangan iyon.
'I don't need that any longer.'

- (b) *hindi pa* 'not . . . yet.'
 Hindi pa siya aalis.
 'He won't be leaving yet.'

Hindi pa siya umaalis.
 'He hasn't left yet.'

(Note that the meaning 'has not . . . yet' is expressed by *hindi pa* and a verb in the imperfective aspect – cf. §2.7.)

- (c) *wala na* 'no more/longer, not . . . any more/longer'
 Wala nang tubig sa pitsel.
 'There isn't any more water in the pitcher.'

Wala na rito si Juan.
 'Juan is no longer here.'

- (d) *wala pa* 'no . . . yet, not (any) . . . yet'
 Wala pa siyang kaibigan dito.
 'He has no friends here yet.'

Wala pa rito si Juan.
 'Juan isn't here yet.'

- (e) *huwag na* 'don't . . . any more'
 Huwag na ninyo siyang abalahin.
 'Don't bother him any more.'

(**Huwag pa* does not occur; the meaning 'don't . . . yet' is expressed by *huwag muna*: cf. §6.4, subsection (h.3).)

§6.4. Class 2 and class 3 enclitic particles.

In the following presentation, the class 2 and class 3 particles are presented in the following order: (a) *man*, (b) *nga*, (c) *din/rin*, (d) *lamang/lang*, (e) *daw/raw*, (f) *ho* and *po*, (g) *ba*, (h) *muna*, (i) *naman*, (j) *kasi*. (The one class 2 particle *man*, is presented first; the class 3 particles are presented in the order in which they preferably occur when in sequence with one another – cf. §6.2).

- (a) *Man*
Man does not occur in basic sentences. Its most common uses are the following:

- (1) with the negators *hindi* and *wala* (cf. §§7.13 and 7.14) and the class 3 enclitic *lamang/lang* in sentences equivalent to English sentences with 'not even': e.g.,

Hindi ka man lamang nakapag-almusal.
 'You didn't even get to eat breakfast.'

Wala man lang siya roon.
 'He wasn't even there.'

- (2) in concessive clauses (cf. §6.17, subsection (4)) equivalent to English clauses with 'even if' or 'even though.' (The concessive clause is optionally introduced by *kahit*. The main

clause optionally but commonly includes the class 3 enclitic *din/rin* – in this context ‘still, anyway.’) Examples are:

(Kahit) mahal man ang sapatos, binili ko rin.
‘Even though the shoes were expensive, I bought them anyway.’

Hindi ka rin maniniwala, (kahit) sabihin ko man ang totoo.
‘You still won’t believe it, even if I tell you the truth.’

- (3) in indefinite constructions (cf. §7.18), equivalent to English constructions with ‘whatever,’ ‘whoever,’ etc. (The construction is, once more, optionally introduced by *kahit*.) Examples are:

(Kahit) ano man ang gusto mo, ibibili kita.
‘Whatever you want, I’ll buy it for you.’

Sabihin mo $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sa kahit sino} \\ \text{kanino} \end{array} \right\}$ pa mang dumating na umuwi na ako.
‘Tell whoever else comes that I’ve gone home.’

(Kahit) saan man ako pumunta, nakikita ko siya.
‘Wherever I go, I see him.’

- (4) with an inverted topic followed by *ay* or a pause (cf. §7.2), in which case the inverted predicate obligatorily includes *din/rin*. The sentence expresses an unexpected similarity between the referent of the topic and something or someone else: e.g.,

Ako $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{man ay} \\ \text{man,} \end{array} \right\}$ natakot din.
‘I too was scared (although I might not have been expected to be).’

Ang kalabaw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{man ay} \\ \text{man,} \end{array} \right\}$ napapagod din.
‘(The) carabaos too get tired (although they might not have been expected to).’

When, as in the last example, the inverted topic that precedes *man* is an unmarked noun preceded by *ang*, it may have either a definite or a generic meaning (e.g., ‘the carabaos’ or ‘carabaos’). The *ang* is, however, optionally deletable in this construction, in which case the topic always has a generic meaning. Thus:

Kalabaw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{man ay} \\ \text{man,} \end{array} \right\}$ napapagod din.
‘Carabaos too get tired.’

(While there is normally both a stylistic difference and a difference in meaning between a sentence in which an inverted topic is followed by the inversion marker *ay* and one in which it is followed by a pause – cf. §7.2, subsections (1) and (2) – only the stylistic difference obtains in the case of the construction under discussion. That is, in the *man-din* inversion construction, the only difference between a sentence in which the inversion is marked by *ay* and an otherwise identical sentence in which it is marked by a

- pause is that the former represents the more formal style. This same generalization applies to the *man-din* inverted-adverb construction presented under (5), immediately below.)
- (5) with an inverted adverb followed by *ay* or a pause (cf. §7.2), in which case the following construction obligatorily includes *din/rin*. In this construction *man* is usually translatable by 'even,' *din* by 'still': e.g.,

Sa loob man ng bahay naming	$\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{maliit ay} \\ \text{maliit,} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{makapagsasa-} \\ \text{yaman din} \\ \text{tayo.} \end{array} \right.$
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'Even inside our little house, we can still hold the dance.'

Kung gabi man, mainit din.
'Even at night, it's still hot.'

- (6) in the first of two structures (words, phrases, etc.) joined by the coordinating conjunction *o* 'or' (cf. §7.19, subsection (2)). A coordinate construction that includes *man* and *o* is equivalent to an 'either . . . or' construction in English: e.g.,

Ikaw man o ako ay maaaring gumawa niyon.
'Either you or I can do that.'

Sa loob man o sa labas ay maaari tayong magsayawan.
'We can hold the dance either indoors or outdoors.'

(b) *Nga*

- (1) The addition of *nga* to an imperative sentence (cf. §5.30) changes the imperative from a command to a polite request: e.g.,

Kumain ka nga. 'Please eat.'

(cf. Kumain ka.
'Eat')

(An imperative that includes *nga* may retain the imperative intonation pattern, /34/, or it may receive an intonation used only for requests, /32↑/ – cf. §1.24, pattern I.1 and §1.27, pattern IV.3. The latter intonation pattern makes the request more polite.)

- (2) *Nga* is also commonly used in hortative and optative constructions (cf. §5.30). In a hortative construction, *nga* serves to elicit consent to the suggested course of action: e.g.,

Tingnan nga natin iyon.
'How about our looking at that.'

(cf. Tingnan natin iyon.
'Let's look at that.')

In an optative construction (where some sort of enclitic particle is often obligatory) *nga* is used in expressing a wish of moderate force: e.g.,

Linisin ko nga ang bahay.
'I guess I should clean the house.'

- (3) In sentences other than imperatives and optatives, *nga* usually expresses affirmation or confirmation. Examples are:

Oo nga.
'Yes, indeed.'

Ikaw nga ang matalino, e!
'On the contrary, it's really you who are the intelligent one!'

Pagod nga ako.
'I'm really tired.'

(c) *Din/rin*

Some speakers use *din* and *rin* as free alternants in all phonemic contexts. Others prefer *din* after consonants *rin* after vowels. *Din/rin* is commonly used in the following ways:

- (1) to express similarity between two situations. In this use, *din/rin* is usually translatable by 'too' (in an affirmative sentence) or by 'either' (in a negative sentence). Examples are:

(Umaawit si Linda.) Umaawit din si Carmen.
'(Linda is singing.) Carmen is singing too.'

Hindi marunong ng Kastila si Pedro. Hindi rin siya marunong ng salitang Pranses.
'(Pedro doesn't know Spanish.) He doesn't know French either.'

- (2) to express the achievement of some more-or-less long-desired goal. In this use, *din/rin* is usually translatable by 'finally' or 'at last.' Examples are:

Natapos din ang trabaho.
'We've finally finished the job.'

Salamat sa Diyos, nakita ko rin ang kuwintas kong nawawala.
'Thank God, I've found my missing necklace at last.'

- (3) to express a moderate degree of the quality expressed by an adjective, or to partially negate the adjective. In this use, *din/rin* is usually translatable by 'fairly' or 'not very.' Examples are:

(Kumusta?) '(How are you?)'	Mabuti rin. 'Fairly well.'
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(Maganda ba si Maria?) '(Is Maria pretty?)'	Oo, maganda rin. 'Yes, but not very (pretty).'
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- (4) in association with *man* in various constructions – cf. (a.2), (a.4), and (a.5), above.

(d) *Lamang/lang*

Lamang, or its shortened variant, *lang*, commonly expresses a meaning of limitation (in quantity, extent, importance, etc.) with respect to the construction of which it is an immediate part. It is usually translatable by 'only' or 'just.' Examples are:

Tatlo lamang sila.
'There are only three of them.'

Si Juan lang ang dumating.
'The only one who came was Juan.'

Mangungulot lang ako.
'I'm only a hairdresser.'

Kaninang umaga ko lamang natanggap ito.
'It was just this morning that I received this.'

Maghintay ka sandali; magsusuot lang ako ng sapatos.
'Wait a moment; I'll just put on my shoes.'

(For examples of the use of *lamang/lang* with *man* after the negators *hindi* and *wala*, cf. (a.1), above.)

Lamang or *lang* is obligatory after a verb in the recent–perfective aspect (cf. §5.23): e.g.,

Kakakain ko lamang.
'I have just eaten.'

(e) *Daw/raw*

Some speakers use *daw* and *raw* as free alternants in all phonemic contexts. Others prefer *daw* after consonants, *raw* after vowels. *Daw/raw* is used to mark indirect quotations (cf. §3.28, subsection (2)), or in sentences that report or elicit the content of something said by someone other than the speaker or the person(s) addressed. In some cases it may be translated by 'they say' or '_____ say(s)/said'; in other cases it lacks a common English translation equivalent. Examples are:

Sabi ng Nanay, manguha ka raw ng gulay.
'Mother said that you should pick some vegetables.'

Saan daw pupunta si Juan?
'Where did Juan say he was going?'
(or 'Where did they say Juan was going?')

Mabuti raw ang ani.
'They say that the harvest is good.'

(f) *Ho* and *po*

Ho and *po* are used to express respect for the person or persons being addressed. The social circumstances in which they are used are the same as those in which the second–person plural pronouns *kayo/ninyo/inyo* and third–person–plural pronouns *siya/nila/kanila* replace the second–person–singular pronouns. (In prayers addressed to God or the saints, however, *po* (but not *ho*) is used with *ikaw*, etc.) Neither of these enclitics of respect occurs after the familiar affirmative reply *Oo* 'Yes.' Instead of **Oo po* or **Oo ho*, special polite forms – respectively, *Opo* and *Oho* – are used. *Po* is more formal and respectful than *ho*. *Ho* is the more commonly used of the two especially among younger speakers, except in social formulas (cf. §7.23), where *po* is the more common form. Examples are:

Magandang umaga po, Ginoong Cruz.
'Good morning, Mr. Cruz.'

(cf. Magandang umaga, Carmen.
'Good morning, Carmen.')

Alam $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ho} \\ \text{po} \end{array} \right\}$ ba ninyo kung anong oras ang alis ng bus?
'Do you know, (sir/madam), what time the bus leaves?'

(g) *Ba*

Ba is the question marker (cf. §§7.3 through 7.12). Its use is optional except in the confirmation–question formulas *hindi ba*, *hindi ba't*, and *dili nga ba't*. It is more frequently omitted in information questions (i.e., those with interrogative words like *saan* 'where,' *sino* 'who,' *ilan* 'how many,') than in yes–no questions. Examples are:

Aalis ka na (ba)?
'Are you leaving now?'

Saan ka (ba) nakatira?
'Where do you live?'

Libro mo ito, hindi ba?
'This is your book, isn't it?'

(A variant form, *baga*, occurs in some regional dialects, but is not found in educated Manila Tagalog.)

(h) *Muna*.

Muna adds a meaning of temporariness, or anticipation of change, to the meaning expressed by the rest of the sentence.

- (1) Where the nature of the anticipated change is not expressed, *muna* is often translatable by 'for a while,' 'for the time being,' '(for) a minute,' etc. Examples are:

Magpahinga muna tayo.
'Let's rest for a while (and then . . .)'

Ilagay mo muna doon.
'Put it there for the time being.'

Teka muna.
'Wait a minute.'

Diyan muna kayo.
'So long.'

(Literally: 'You (stay) there for a while': the social formula for temporary leavetaking – cf. §7.23).

- (2) Where the nature of the anticipated change is expressed or clearly implied, *muna* is often translatable by 'first': e.g.,

Bago siya nag-aral ng liksyon, nagbabasa muna siya ng diyaryo.
'Before studying his lessons, he reads the newspapers (first).'

- (3) In negative imperatives and hortatives (cf. §5.30), *muna* is often translatable by 'yet': e.g.,

Huwag ka munang kumain.
'Don't eat yet.'

Huwag muna tayong umalis.
'Let's not leave yet.'

(i) *Naman*

Naman is commonly used in the following ways:

- (1) to express dissimilarity between two situations. In this use, it is sometimes translatable by 'on the other hand' or 'instead,' although these expressions are less common in English than *naman* is in Tagalog. Examples are:

Nag-aaral si Linda.
'Linda is studying.'

Naglalaro naman si Carmen.
Carmen (– on the
other hand –) is playing.'

Bumili ako ng karne kahapon.
'I bought meat yesterday.'

Ngayon, isda naman.
Today, (it will be)
'fish (instead).'

- (2) to express a shift of viewpoint from one person, object, etc. to another, or a shift of role from questioner to responder or vice versa. In these uses, *naman* usually lacks a translation equivalent in English. Examples are:

Juan ang pangalan ko.
'My name is Juan.'

At ang iyo naman?
And yours?'

Kumusta ka?
'How are you?'

Mabuti. Ikaw naman?
'Fine. And you?'

- (3) in imperative sentences (cf. §5.30), to express politeness together with mild reproach. Examples are:

Magpahinga ka naman. 'Do rest.'

Huwag naman kayong maingay. 'Please don't be noisy.'

(Imperative sentences with *naman* do not get the intonation pattern for requests or that for commands, but, rather, the emphatic statement pattern, /231/ – cf. §1.26, pattern III.1.)

- (4) after adjectives used as predicates, and after adjectives or adjective bases in exclamations (cf. §4.24), to express a critical or negative attitude. Examples are:

Marumi }
Mahal } naman ito.

'This is { dirty }
{ expensive } (and I am displeased.)'

(cf. { Marumi }
{ Mahal } ito.

'This is { dirty.' }
{ expensive.' } (statement of fact)

Napakarumi }
Ang dumi } naman nito!
'How dirty this is!'

(j) *Kasi*

Kasi expresses cause. It is used only in informal speech, being replaced in writing and in formal speech by constructions with *dahil* or *sapagka't* 'because.' Examples are:

Nagising ang bata. Maingay kasi kayo, e.
'The baby was awakened. (That's) because you were noisy.'

Nahuli si Juan sa klase. Tanghali na kasi siyang nagising, e.
'Juan was late for class. (That's) because he slept late.'

(*Kasi* is also used as a non-enclitic adverb, as in:

Nahuli si Juan sa klase. Kasi, tanghali na siyang nagising, e.
'Juan was late for class. (That's) because he slept late.')

§6.5. Class 4 enclitic particles.

The class 4 enclitic particles are presented below in the following order: (a) *kaya*, (b) *pala*, (c) *yata*, (d) *tuloy*, (e) *sana*.

(a) *Kaya*

Kaya expresses or elicits speculation. It occurs in: (1) speculative imperatives, optatives, and hortatives; and (2) speculative questions.

- (1) *Kaya* may occur in a basic or equational imperative, a basic or equational optative, or a basic or equational hortative construction (cf. §5.30). The addition of *kaya* to such a construction changes the meaning from that of expressing a command or a wish that an action be performed to that of expressing speculation about the desirability of the action. The English equivalents usually involve: 'Perhaps . . . should.' Examples are:

Maglakad kaya $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kayo} \\ \text{tayo} \\ \text{ako} \\ \text{si Juan} \end{array} \right\}$ doon.

'Perhaps $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{you} \\ \text{we} \\ \text{I} \\ \text{Juan} \end{array} \right\}$ should walk there.'

Ito kaya ang gamitin $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ninyo.} \\ \text{natin.} \\ \text{ko.} \\ \text{ni Juan.} \end{array} \right\}$

'Perhaps $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{you} \\ \text{we} \\ \text{I} \\ \text{Juan} \end{array} \right\}$ should use this.'

(Note that, while the actor in an optative construction without *kaya* (or *sana* – cf. e.1), below) is always expressed by a personal pronoun, the actor in a speculative optative with *kaya* may be expressed by a nominal of some other type as well. Thus while there is no **Maglakad si Juan doon*, the sentence *Maglakad kaya si Juan doon* is perfectly acceptable.)

- (2) *Kaya* occurs in yes–no questions (cf. §7.4), alternative questions (§7.5), and information questions (§§7.7 ff.). When *kaya* is used in a question, the question–marking enclitic *ba* (cf. §6.4, subsection (e)) is usually omitted. In questions, *kaya* elicits the speculative opinion of the person(s) addressed, and is often translatable by ‘do you suppose.’ Examples are:

Mabuti kaya ang ani?
‘Do you suppose the harvest will be good?’

Naglakad kaya sila, o sumakay?
‘Do you suppose they walked, or rode?’

Sino kaya ang mananalo?
‘Who do you suppose will win?’

(Speculative imperatives, optatives, and hortatives may be changed to speculative questions by the use of an interrogative intonation pattern (/2↑/, /31↑/, or /31↑/ – respectively, pattern I.2, §1.24, pattern III.3, §1.26, and pattern IV.4, §1.27): e.g.,

Ito kaya ang gamitin	{	ninyo? natin? ko? ni Juan?	
‘Do you suppose	{	you we I Juan	should use this?’)

(b) *Pala*

Pala is used in expressing mild surprise at new information, or an unexpected event or situation, as in the first and second examples below, or in expressing an afterthought, as in the third and fourth examples.

Ikaw pala ang kapatid ni Pedro.
‘So you’re Pedro’s sister.’

Maganda pala ito, a!
‘Oh, but this is pretty!’

Ano pala ang bibilhin ko para si iyo?
‘By the way, what shall I buy for you?’

Kunin mo pala ang martilyo.
‘(And . . . oh, yes,) get the hammer.’

(c) *Yata*

Yata is used in statements (not in questions or imperatives) to express uncertainty or lack of conviction. Examples are:

Mahal yata iyon.
'That seems expensive.'

Hindi yata tama iyon.
'That doesn't seem right.'

Nagugutom yata ang bata.
'The child seems to be hungry.'

(d) *Tuloy*

Tuloy is used:

(1) to characterize one action or situation as resulting from another. In this use, it is usually translatable by 'as a result.' Examples are:

Maingay kayo. 'You were noisy.'	Nagising tuloy ang bata. 'As a result, the baby was awakened.'
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Naiwanan ako ng bus. 'I missed my bus.'	Nahuli tuloy ako sa klase. 'As a result, I was late for class.'
--	--

(2) to characterize an action as being logically or conveniently performed together with another action. In this use, *tuloy* is often preceded by the enclitic particle *na* (cf. §6.3), and is translatable by such expressions as 'might as well . . . at the same time,' 'while (I'm, etc.) at it, (I, etc.) might as well,' etc. Examples are:

Magwalis ka sa bakuran. Magdilig ka (na) tuloy ng halaman.
'Sweep the yard. You might as well water the plants at the same time.'

Tutungo ako sa kabayanan. Daraan (na) tuloy ako sa opisina.
'I'm going downtown. While I'm at it, I might as well drop in at the office.'

(e) *Sana*

Sana is commonly used in the following ways:

(1) to express a hope: e.g.,

Masasaya sana sila.
'I hope they're happy.'

Nanalo sana ang kandidato ko.
'I hope my candidate won.'

Manalo sana ang kandidato ko.
'I hope my candidate wins.'

(In this use, *sana* does not occur with verbs in the contemplated aspect. When, as in the last example, the hope relates to an event that has not yet occurred, an optative construction – involving the basic form of the verb – is used (cf. §5.30). Note that in an optative construction with *sana* (or *kaya* – cf. (a.1), above), the actor need not be expressed by a personal pronoun.)

(2) with a verb in the contemplated aspect, to express an unrealized intention: e.g.,

Pupunta sana ako sa pulong kahapon pero nagbago ang isip ko.
'I had intended to go to the meeting yesterday, but I changed my mind.'

Bibilhin sana nila ang bahay, pero kulang ang pera nila.
'They would have bought the house, but they didn't have enough money.'

(3) in the main clause of a sentence that includes a conditional clause (cf. §6.15), in which case the main clause expresses a situation that has not occurred, as a result of the condition's being unfulfilled: e.g.,

Kung pumunta siya sa pulong, nakausap sana niya ang Alkalde.
'If he had gone to the meeting, he could have gotten to talk to the Mayor.'

(cf. Kung pumunta siya sa pulong, nakausap niya ang Alkalde.
'If he went to the meeting, he got to talk to the Mayor.')

Nag-aaral	}	na sana ako ngayon, kung hindi ako nagkasakit.
Nasa Unibersidad		
Maestra		
'I would be	} studying at the University a teacher	now, if I had not gotten sick.'

§6.6. Positions of enclitic particles in sentences.

The position of any given enclitic particle in relation to other enclitics (particles or pronouns) within a single enclitic sequence is presented in §6.2. The present section deals with the position of enclitic particles in relation to non-enclitic sentence elements.

As was noted in §6.2, enclitic particles, with certain storable exceptions, follow the first word of the structures of which they constitute an immediate part. From the point of view of the types of structures of which they may constitute an immediate part, the enclitic particles may be divided into four groups, as follows:

- Group A: ba, kasi, kaya, man.
- Group B: daw/raw, din/rin, ho, naman, nga, pala, po, sana, tuloy, yata.
- Group C: lamang/lang, muna.
- Group D: na, pa.

Enclitic particles belonging to group A always constitute an immediate part of the initial component of a sentence or a clause, whether this initial component is a predicate, a topic, or an adverbial. (A clause is a part of a sentence that itself has the internal structure of a sentence.) Note, for example, the position of *ba*, a group A particle, in the following sentences:

(Kung pakikiusapan ko sila,)	} sasayaw ba sila ng pandanggo bukas ng gabi? sila ba'y sasayaw ng pandanggo bukas ng gabi? bukas ba ng gabi 'ysasayaw sila ng pandanggo?
'(If I ask them to,) will they dance a fandango tomorrow night?'	

In each case, *ba* is an immediate part of the sentence – initial or clause – initial component, and follows its first word. In one case, *ba* follows the first word of the predicate (*sasayaw*), in another, the inverted topic (*sila*), in another, the first word of an inverted adverb (*bukas*). (For a discussion of inversion constructions, cf. §7.2.) Regardless of the function of the initial component within the sentence or clause, a group A

particle obligatorily constitutes an immediate part of it, and normally follows its first word. (More precisely, the particle follows the first word other than a non-pre-enclitic – cf. below and §3.29. Thus, within the initial adverb *bukas ng gabi* ‘tomorrow night,’ *bukas* may, in most cases, optionally be treated as a non-pre-enclitic, in which case, since *ng* is obligatorily non-pre-enclitic, *gabi* serves as the pre-enclitic word. Thus, also:

Bukas ng gabi ba’y sasayaw sila ng pandanggo?)

Group B particles may occur in all the same sentence positions as group A particles, but may also occur in a variety of other sentence positions. That is, group B particles may always constitute an immediate part of the sentence–initial component, but need not do so in all cases. In a basic sentence, a group B particle, like a group A particle, must normally constitute an immediate part of the predicate. Thus the group B particle *din/rin* must follow *sasayaw* in the following sentence:

Sasayaw din sila ng pandanggo bukas ng gabi.
‘They will dance a fandango tomorrow night too.’

(The Tagalog sentence involves the same ambiguities as its English equivalent, and may mean: ‘They (as well as someone else) will dance . . .’ ‘They will dance (as well as do something else) . . .’ ‘They will dance a fandango (as well as something else) . . .’ or ‘They will dance a fandango tomorrow night (as well as at some other time).’) When, however, a group B particle occurs in one of certain types of derived sentences (or clauses with the internal structure of derived sentences of these types), it may constitute an immediate part of some non-sentence–initial (or non-clause–initial) component. The types of non-sentence–initial components of which group B particles most frequently constitute an immediate part are: inverted predicates after *ay* or pause (cf. §7.2) and nominalized verbals.

Examples of sentences in which a group B enclitic particle constitutes an immediate part of an inverted predicate are:

Sila’y sasayaw din ng pandanggo bukas ng gabi.
‘They will dance a fandango tomorrow night too.’

(cf. *Sila rin ay sasayaw ng pandanggo bukas ng gabi.*
‘They will dance a fandango tomorrow night.’)

Bukas ng gabi’y sasayaw din sila ng pandanggo.
‘They will dance a fandango tomorrow night too.’

(cf. *Bukas din ng gabi’y* }
 } *sasayaw sila ng pandanggo.*
Bukas ng gabi rin ay }
‘Tomorrow night too they will dance a fandango.’)

(As may be observed by comparing the translations of the sentences in which *din/rin* constitutes an immediate part of the inverted predicate with those in which it constitutes an immediate part of the sentence–initial component, the relative flexibility of group B particles in sentences involving inversion may be used to resolve, or partly resolve, ambiguities that are unavoidable in basic sentences.)

An example of a sentence in which a group B enclitic particle constitutes an immediate part of a nominalized verbal is:

Sila ang sasayaw din ng pandanggo.
‘They are the ones who will dance a fandango too.’

(cf. *Sila rin ang sasayaw ng pandanggo.*
‘They are also the ones who will dance a fandango.’)

(Group B particles may also constitute an immediate part of non-initial sentence—components of certain other types: e.g., some kinds of adverbial phrases, as in:

Ito ang binili ko para rin sa iyo.
'This is the one I bought for you too.')

The group C particles, *lamang/lang* and *muna*, are similar to the group B particles in the range of structures of which they may constitute an immediate part. The major difference between the two classes is that the group C particles cannot normally constitute an immediate part of a sentence—initial (or clause—initial) adverbial followed by *ay* or pause. Thus, there is no:

*Bukas $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{lamang} \\ \text{muna} \end{array} \right\}$ ng gabi ay sasayaw sila ng pandanggo.

but only:

Bukas ng gabi ay sasayaw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{lamang} \\ \text{muna} \end{array} \right\}$ sila ng pandanggo.

'They will $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{just} \\ \text{first} \end{array} \right\}$ dance a fandango tomorrow night.'

Group C particles may, however, constitute an immediate part of an inverted topic before *ay* or pause, or of an inverted predicate after *ay* or pause. Thus:

Sila $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{lamang} \\ \text{muna} \end{array} \right\}$ ay sasayaw ng pandanggo bukas ng gabi.

or:

Sila'y sasayaw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{lamang} \\ \text{muna} \end{array} \right\}$ ng pandanggo bukas ng gabi.

'They will $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{just} \\ \text{first} \end{array} \right\}$ dance a fandango tomorrow night.'

And they may constitute an immediate part of a non-initial nominalized verbal, etc.:

Sila ang sasayaw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{lamang} \\ \text{muna} \end{array} \right\}$ ng pandanggo.

'They're the ones who will $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{just} \\ \text{first} \end{array} \right\}$ dance a fandango.'

The group D particles *na* and *pa* are also similar to group B particles in the range of structures of which they may constitute an immediate part. But group D particles cannot normally constitute an

immediate part of either a topic or an adverbial followed by *ay* or pause. Thus there are no such sentences as:

*Sila $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{na'y} \\ \text{pa'y} \end{array} \right\}$ sasayaw ng pandanggo bukas ng gabi.
 *Bukas $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{na} \\ \text{pa} \end{array} \right\}$ ng gabi'y sasayaw sila ng pandanggo.

but only:

Sila'y sasayaw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{na} \\ \text{pa} \end{array} \right\}$ ng pandanggo bukas ng gabi.
 'They will $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(soon) dance a fandango} \\ \text{dance a fandango some more} \end{array} \right\}$ tomorrow night.'
 Bukas ng gabi'y sasayaw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{na} \\ \text{pa} \end{array} \right\}$ sila ng pandanggo.
 'They will $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(soon) dance a fandango} \\ \text{dance a fandango some more} \end{array} \right\}$ tomorrow night.'

Like group B and group C particles (and unlike group A particles), *na* and *pa* may, however, constitute an immediate part of a non-initial nominalized verbal, etc.:

Sila ang sasayaw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{na} \\ \text{pa} \end{array} \right\}$ ng pandanggo.
 'They're the ones who will $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{now dance} \\ \text{go on dancing} \end{array} \right\}$ a fandango.'

(*Na* and *pa* show certain peculiarities with respect to the treatment of some sentence-initial or clause-initial words as non-pre-enclitics. Specifically, certain words that are optionally non-pre-enclitic with respect to the other enclitic particles – e.g., *bakit* 'why,' *dahil* 'because' *halos* 'almost' – are obligatorily non-pre-enclitic with respect to *na* and *pa*. Thus either:

Bakit $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ba} \\ \text{din} \\ \text{muna} \end{array} \right\}$ hindi nagpahinga ang bata?

or:

Bakit hindi $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ba} \\ \text{rin} \\ \text{muna} \end{array} \right\}$ nagpahinga ang bata?

'Why didn't the child rest $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ? \\ \text{too?} \\ \text{first?} \end{array} \right\}$

but only:

Bakit hindi $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{na} \\ \text{pa} \end{array} \right\}$ nagpapahinga ang bata?

Why $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{isn't the child resting any more?} \\ \text{hasn't the child rested yet?} \end{array} \right\}$

There is no:

*Bakit $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{na} \\ \text{pa} \end{array} \right\}$ hindi nagpapahinga ang bata?)

As was stated in §3.29, enclitics do not always follow the first word of a construction of which they constitute an immediate part. The word that the enclitics follow (the PRE-ENCLITIC WORD hereafter, P) is in some cases preceded by one or more NON-PRE-ENCLITICS (hereafter, N). Certain sentence elements never function as P, and may be called OBLIGATORY NON-PRE-ENCLITICS; other function either as N or as P, and may be called OPTIONAL NON-PRE-ENCLITICS.

An inventory of sentence elements that function as N (either obligatorily or optionally) with respect to enclitic pronouns is presented in §3.29. In general, these same elements function as N with respect to enclitic particles. There are, however, certain differences in the lists of elements that serve as N with respect to the two types of enclitic words. These differences are of the following kinds:

(1) Certain elements that are obligatorily N with respect to enclitic pronouns are never N with respect to enclitic particles: viz., adverbs of which the enclitic particle constitutes an immediate part, and which are followed by pause or by the inversion marker *ay*. Thus:

Bukas ba'y aalis siya?
'Will he leave tomorrow?'

Bukas ba, aalis siya?
'Is it tomorrow that he's leaving?'

(cf. §3.29, inventory, subsection I.C.)

(2) Certain elements that are obligatorily N with respect to enclitic pronouns are optionally N with respect to enclitic particles. These elements include:

(a) The adverb *halos* 'almost' (cf. §3.29, inventory, subsection I.A.7). Thus:

Halos $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nagkasakit daw} \\ \text{daw nagkasakit} \end{array} \right\}$ siya.
'They say he almost got sick.'

(b) The subordinating conjunctions *bukod* 'besides,' (*mag*)*buhat* 'since,' *dahil* 'because,' *dangan* 'were

it not that,' *maliban* 'unless,' (*mag*)*mula* 'since,' *noon* 'when,' *sa sandali* 'the moment that' and (*kung*) *sakali* 'in case,' (subsection I.A.10). Some examples are:

Dahil $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{may sakit po} \\ \text{po may sakit} \end{array} \right\}$ siya, hindi siya makakarating.
 'Because he's sick, sir, he won't be able to come.'

Sa $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sandali bang umalis} \\ \text{sandaling umalis ba} \end{array} \right\}$ siya, sasabihan kita?
 'The moment that he leaves, shall I tell you?'

(Kung) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sakali bang makita mo} \\ \text{sakaling makita mo} \end{array} \right\}$ siya, iimbitahin mo siya?
 'In case you see him, will you invite him?'

(c) Non-final components of coordinate phrases (subsection I.B.5). Thus:

Mabuti, malakas, at masaya daw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\}$ siya.
 Mabuti, malakas daw, at masaya $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\}$ siya.
 Mabuti daw, malakas, at masaya $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\}$ siya.
 'They say he's well, strong, and happy.'

(d) Non-final components of adverbial phrases and directional complements that are not followed by the linker *na/ng* (subsection I.B.6). Thus:

Bukas $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ng gabi ba} \\ \text{ba ng gabi} \end{array} \right\}$ siya aalis?
 'Is it tomorrow night that he's leaving?'

Sa $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{bahay sa probinsya ba} \\ \text{bahay ba sa probinsya} \end{array} \right\}$ siya pupunta?
 'Is it the house in the provinces that he's going to?'

(3) Certain construction—initial elements are obligatorily N with enclitic particles, but do not occur as initial elements of constructions of which enclitic pronouns constitute an immediate part: viz., non-final components of addresses (cf. §4.4, subsection (1)), dates that involve English numbers (cf. §4.4, subsection (2)), and expressions of percentage (cf. §4.4, subsection (4.c)): e.g.,

Dos $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\}$ daang Medel po iyon.
 Two $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\}$ daang Medel po iyon.
 'That's 2 Medel Street, sir.'

July third ba ngayon?
 'Is today July third?'

Anim na }
 Seis } porsyento daw ang buwis.
 'They say the tax is six per cent.'

(Cf. (4.a), below, for the treatment of dates that involve Spanish or Tagalog numbers.)

(4) Certain construction-initial elements are optionally N with enclitic particles, but do not occur as initial elements of constructions of which enclitic pronouns constitute an immediate part. These elements include:

(a) Non-final components of dates that involve Spanish or Tagalog numbers (cf. §4.4, subsection (2)).

A-tres { ng Hulyo ba }
 { ba ng Hulyo } ngayon?
 Ikatlo { ng Hulyo ba }
 { ba ng Hulyo }
 'Is today July third?'

(b) The reservational-phrase, partisanship-phrase, and purpose-phrase marker *para* (cf. §4.20, subsections (1), (2), and (3)): e.g.,

Para { sa iyo ba } ito?
 { ba sa iyo }
 'Is this for you?'

Para { kay Makapagal ba } si Ernesto?
 { ba kay Makapagal }

Para { sa pagluluto ba } iyan?
 { ba sa pagluluto }
 'Is that for cooking?'

(c) The referential-phrase markers *tungkol*, *hinggil*, and *nauukol* (§4.20, subsection (5)): e.g.,

Tungkol }
 Hinggil } { sa giyera ba } ang kuwento?
 { ba sa giyera }
 Nauukol }

'Is the story about war?'

With the above exceptions, the inventory of non-pre-enclitic elements presented in §3.29 generally applies to enclitic particles as well as to enclitic pronouns.

§6.7. Movable adverbs: introduction.

A moveable adverb is an adverb that, in general, has no fixed word–order relation to other sentence elements. In a basic sentence a movable adverb may occur between components of the predicate, after the predicate, or after the topic. The meaning of the sentence is not affected by changing the position of the movable adverb. Thus the following four sentences, which differ from one another in the placement of the movable adverb *kahapon* ‘yesterday,’ are identical in meaning:

{ Sumulat kahapon ng liham kay Maria si Juan. }
 { Sumulat ng liham kahapon kay Maria si Juan. }
 { Sumulat ng liham kay Maria kahapon si Juan. }
 { Sumulat ng liham kay Maria si Juan kahapon. }
 ‘Juan wrote a letter to Maria yesterday.’

Movable adverbs may also occur at the beginning of a sentence or clause in the various inversion constructions described in §7.2. The placement of a movable adverb at the beginning of a sentence or clause usually results in a sentence that differs in meaning or in stylistic level from the same sentence with a non-initial adverb. Thus:

Kahapon ay sumulat ng liham kay Maria si Juan.
 ‘Juan wrote a letter to Maria yesterday.’ (formal style)

Kahapon, sumulat ng liham kay Maria si Juan.
 ‘Yesterday, Juan wrote a letter to Maria.’
 (Possible implication: ‘Today, he will do something else.’)

Kahapon sumulat ng liham kay Maria si Juan.
 ‘It was yesterday that Juan wrote a letter to Maria.’

There is, however, one type of inversion construction – non-emphatic adverb inversion – in which the initial placement of the adverb involves no change of meaning. (Only certain types of adverb – e.g., manner adverbs (cf. §6.10) – occur in this inversion construction.) In non-emphatic adverb inversion, the adverb is linked to the rest of the sentence by the linker *na/-ng* (cf. §3.11). An example is:

Mabilis na naglakad si Pedro.
 ‘Pedro walked quickly.’

(cf. Naglakad si Pedro nang mabilis.
 ‘Pedro walked quickly.’)

When an adverb occurs in initial position, there are, in certain specifiable cases, obligatory changes in the shape of the adverb itself. Specifically, if the adverb in non-initial position would be introduced by the marker *nang* or the linker *na/-ng* this introductory element is deleted before the initial adverb. (The marker spelled *nang* is phonemically identical with the marker spelled *ng*: both spellings represent /*naŋ*/. The spelling *nang* is conventionally used for the marker at the beginning of a time adverb (cf. §6.8), a manner adverb (§6.10), a measurement adverb (§6.11, subsection (3)), or a time clause (§6.16). the spelling *ng* is conventionally used in most other cases.) Thus the *nang* that introduces the time adverb in:

Aalis tayo nang ala-una.
 ‘We’ll leave at one o’clock.’

is absent in:

Ala-una, aalis tayo.
 ‘At one o’clock, we’ll leave.’

Similarly, the linker that introduces the manner adverb in:

Umalis na bigla ang bisita.
'The guest left suddenly.'

is absent in:

Biglang umalis ang bisita.
'The guest suddenly left.'

(The deletion of introductory *nang* or *na/-ng* also applies to cases in which the adverb immediately follows the inversion marker *ay*. Thus:

Tayo ay ala-una aalis.
'It's at one o'clock that we'll leave.' (formal style)

Ang bisita ay biglang umalis.
'The visitor suddenly left.' (formal style)

Such constructions are themselves inversions of inversions: i.e., *ay* inversions of sentences that themselves involve adverb inversion. Thus *Tayo ay ala-una aalis* is an *ay* inversion of:

Ala-una tayo aalis.
'It's at one o'clock that we'll leave.'

and *Ang bisita ay biglang umalis* is an *ay* inversion of:

Biglang umalis ang bisita.
'The guest suddenly left.' (formal style))

The various classes of movable adverbs are presented in subsequent sections as follows: **TIME ADVERBS** in §6.8; **LOCATIVE ADVERBS** in §6.9; **MANNER ADVERBS** in §6.10; other movable adverbs in §6.11.

§6.8. Time adverbs.

Adverbs expressing time may be divided into the following classes: (1) **MARKED TIME ADVERBS**; (2) **UNMARKED TIME ADVERBS**; (3) **TIME GERUND CONSTRUCTIONS**. These classes are presented below in the listed order. Then there is a discussion of: (4) **EXPANSIONS OF TIME ADVERBS**; and (5) **TIME ADVERBS AS PSEUDO-PREDICATES**.

(1) **MARKED TIME ADVERBS**. A marked time adverb is introduced by one of the following markers – (a) *nang*, (b) *sa*, (c) *noon* plus the linker *na/-ng*, (d) *kung*, (*ka*)*pag*, *tuwi* + *na/-ng*, (e) *buhat*, *mula*, *umpisa*, (f) *hanggang* – or by (g) the linker *na/-ng*.

(a) *Nang* introduces time adverbs of two types: **POINT-TIME ADVERBS** (adverbs that refer to a single point in time or to a single delimited period of time) and **FREQUENCY ADVERBS** (see below). Point-time adverbs introduced by *nang* are **tenseless**: that is, they may be used to refer to a point or period of time that is past, present, or future: e.g.,

Bakit siya	}	magtatrabaho nagtatrabaho nagtrabaho	nang Linggo?
‘Why	}	is he going to work is he working did he work	on (a) Sunday?’

In this respect, point–time adverbs introduced by *nang* differ from certain point–time adverbs discussed under (b) and (c) below.

The *nang* of a point–Time adverb may be followed by any of various words and phrases that express points in time or periods of time: e.g., an expression of clock time (cf. §4.4, subsection (6)); *makalampas ng* or *pasado* plus an expression of clock time; a date (cf. §4.4, subsection (2)); the name of a part of the day (e.g., *umaga* ‘morning,’ *hapon* ‘afternoon,’ *gabi* ‘night’); the name of a day of the week; the name of a month, etc. (The names of the days of the week are, in order from Monday through Sunday: *Lunes*, *Martes*, *Miyerkoles*, *Huwebes*, *Biyernes*, *Sabado*, *Linggo*. The names of the months are, in order from January through December: *Enero*, *Pebrero*, *Maso*, *Abril*, *Mayo*, *Hunyo*, *Hulyo*, *Agosto*, *Setyembre*, *Oktubre*, *Nobyembre*, *Disyembre*; English names for months are also occasionally used.)

Phrases consisting of *nang* plus an expression of clock time are translated by English ‘at’ phrases; those consisting of *nang* plus a date are translated by English ‘on’ phrases: e.g.,

<i>nang</i> ala-una	‘at one o’clock’
<i>Nang</i> a-primero ng Enero	‘on the first of January’

Phrases consisting of *nang makalampas ng* or *nang pasado* plus an expression of clock time are translated by English phrases introduced by ‘after,’ thus:

<i>nang</i>	}	makalampas ng pasado	<i>ala-una</i>	‘after one o’clock’
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Phrases in which *nang* is followed by the name of a part of the day involve a meaning of indefiniteness. The phrase *nang umaga*, for example, is closer in meaning to English ‘some morning’ or ‘of a morning’ than it is to ‘in the morning.’ (The latter meaning is expressed by a *saphrase* – see (b), below.)

Phrases in which *nang* is followed by the name of a day of the week or of a month also involve a meaning of indefiniteness. *Nang Lunes* may, for example, be equivalent to English ‘on a Monday’ (or to ‘on Monday’ when this is used with an indefinite meaning), while *nang Enero* may be equivalent to English ‘one January’ (or to ‘in January’ when this is used with an indefinite meaning).

There is a group of *nang* point–time phrases in which *nang* is followed by *buong* (*buo* ‘whole’ plus the linker *na/-ng*) plus a word that designates a period of time. These phrases are equivalent to English time phrases that begin with ‘all’: e.g., *nang buong umaga* ‘all morning,’ *nang buong maghapon* ‘all day (from sunrise to sunset),’ *nang buong magdamag* ‘all night (from sunset to sunrise),’ *nang buong linggo* ‘all week,’ *nang buong taon* ‘all year.’ (In the case of the phrases ending in *maghapon* and *magdamag*, *buong* is redundant, since *nang maghapon* and *nang magdamag* themselves mean ‘all day’ and ‘all night’ respectively.) *Nang* is optionally deletable before *buong* in a time phrase. Thus:

Natulog sila	}	nang buong umaga. buong umaga.
‘They slept all morning.’		

(In the case of phrases ending in *maghapon* and *magdamag*, *nang* is optionally deletable whether or not the phrase also includes *buong*. Thus:

Natulog sila	}	nang (buong) magdamag. (buong) magdamag.
‘They slept all night.’		

Nang frequency adverbs consist of *nang* plus one of the following: *madalas* ‘often’; *minsan-minsan* ‘sometimes’; *paminsan-minsan* ‘occasionally’; a cardinal number plus the linker *na/-ng* plus *beses* or *ulit*

(both of which mean 'times'); a frequentative number (cf. §4.5, subsection (d)) plus, optionally, the linker *na/-ng* plus *beses* or *ulit*. Examples are:

Dumalaw siya sa kanila nang	}	madalas. minsan-minsan. paminsan-minsan. dalawang beses/ulit. makaapat (na beses/ulit).
He visited them	}	'often.' 'sometimes.' 'occasionally.' 'twice.' 'four times.'

(*Madalas*, *minsan-minsan* and *paminsan-minsan* may be preceded by the linker *na/-ng* – see (g), below – instead of *nang*, without change of meaning. Frequency adverbs formed with cardinal numbers and those formed with frequentative numbers are identical in meaning. Thus 'twice' may be either *nang dalawang beses/ulit* or *nang makalawa(ng beses/ulit)* and 'four times' may be either *nang apat na beses/ulit* or *nang makaapat (na beses/ulit)*.)

As is noted in §6.7, *nang* never introduces an adverb in sentence-initial or clause-initial position (or after the inversion marker *ay*). Most *nang* point-time adverbs may occur initially in any of three types of inversion constructions (cf. §7.2): *ay* inversion, contrastive inversion, or emphatic adverb inversion. Each of these constructions involves deletion of *nang*. Compare:

Nagsimba si Maria nang alas otso.
 'Maria went to church at eight o'clock.'

and:

- { Alas otso'y nagsimba si Maria. }
- { Alas otso, nagsimba si Maria. }
- { Alas otso nagsimba si Maria. }

- { 'Maria went to church at eight o'clock.' (formal style) }
- { 'At eight o'clock, Maria went to church.' }
- { 'It was at eight o'clock that Maria went to church.' }

Those *nang* point-time adverbs that include *buong* and/or one of the two words *maghapon* and *magdamag*, as well as all *nang* frequency adverbs, may occur initially in any of four types of inversion constructions: the three mentioned above, plus the non-emphatic adverb inversion construction. In the latter construction, the loss of initial *nang* is accompanied by the addition of the linker *na/-ng* after the adverb: e.g.,

Buong umagang (Buong) maghapon Makalawang Apat na beses na	}	nilinis ng Nanay ang bahay.
---	---	-----------------------------

'Mother cleaned the house

{ all morning.'
all day.'
twice.'
four times.'

(cf. Nilinis ng Nanay ang bahay nang buong umaga, etc.)

(b) *Sa* introduces two types of point-time adverbs: TENSELESS POINT-TIME ADVERBS, and FUTURE POINT-TIME ADVERBS. In the tenseless adverbs, *sa* is followed by the name of a part of the day, by certain formations involving the prefix *k(in)ja-* together with the suffix *-an*, or by one of certain constructions involving nouns that designate periods of time: e.g., *araw* 'day,' *linggo* 'week,' *buwan* 'month.' A phrase consisting of *sa* plus the name of a part of the day involves a meaning of definiteness. In this respect it differs from a phrase consisting of *nang* plus the name of a part of the day. Compare the translations of the following sentences:

Dumating kami roon sa umaga.
'We arrived there in the morning.'

Dumating kami roon nang umaga.
'We arrived there of a morning.'

The *k(in)ja-...-an* formations that occur in tenseless *sa* phrases have as bases the name of a part of the day, the name of a day of the week, or *bukas* 'tomorrow.' (Some speakers use only the full form of the prefix, *kina-*; others use either *kina-* or *ka-*. The final vowel of the prefix shows optional length. Thus: /*kina*(·)/, /*ka*(·)/. If the independent form of the base has an inherently long penultimate vowel, the vowel length is normally shifted to the following syllable in the *k(in)ja-...-an* formations. Thus: *k(in)jabukasan* /*k(in)ja*(·)buka'san/ – cf. *bukas* /bu'kas/. Additionally, there is a replacement of /*e*/ by /*i*/ and /*o*/ by /*u*/ in the syllable receiving the vowel length; thus: *k(in)jalunisan* /*k(in)ja*(·)luni'san/ (cf. *Lunes* /lu'nes/), *kinahapunan* /*k(in)ja*(·)hapu'nan/ (cf. *hapon* /ha'pon/). The base *Biyernes* /bye'rnes/, however, does not undergo length shift in the *k(in)ja-...-an* formation; thus *k(in)jabyernesan* /*k(in)ja*(·)bye'rnesan/ (cf. *Byernes* /bye'rnes/). Bases without inherently long vowels and those with inherently long vowels in syllables preceding the penultimate syllable undergo no change in the *k(in)ja-...-an* formations. Thus: *k(in)gabilhan* /*k(in)ja*(·)gabilhan/ (cf. *gabi* /gabi/); *k(in)jamiyerkolesan* /*k(in)ja*(·)miye'rkolesan/ (cf. *Miyerkoles* /miye'rkoles/).) A phrase consisting of *sa* plus a *k(om)ja-...-an* formation is equivalent to an English phrase introduced by '(on) the following': e.g., *sa kinagabilhan* '(on) the following night,' *sa kinabukasan* '(on) the following day.' (The same meaning may be expressed by a *k(in)ja-...-an* formation without a preceding *sa*: cf. subsection (2), below.)

Some examples of tenseless *sa* phrases involving terms for periods of time are: *sa araw ng piyesta* 'on the day of the fiesta,' *sa ikalawang linggo* 'in the second week,' *sa buwan ng Enero* 'in the month of January,' *sa loob ng ilang taon* 'within a few years,' *sa tag-ulan* 'in the rainy season.' (Note that while 'in the month of January' is expressed by a *sa* phrase, 'in January' with a tenseless meaning must be expressed by a *nang* phrase – see (a), above. As is explained immediately below, a phrase consisting of *sa* plus the name of a month has a future meaning.)

In the future point-time adverbs, *sa* may be followed by any of the following: a date, the name of a day of the week, the name of a month, *nakalawa* 'the second day from today,' or a modification construction consisting of (1) the cardinal number *isa* 'one,' the linker *na/-ng*, and a noun that designates a period of time or (2) one of the two contemplated-aspect verb forms *susunod* 'will follow' and *darating* 'will come,' the linker *na/-ng*, and a noun that designates a period of time. In the case of the constructions with *susunod* and *darating*, the marker *sa* may be followed by *mga* to give a plural meaning to the noun – see the last example in the list below. Future point-time adverbs introduced by *sa* are often

translatable by English phrases with 'next,' or by phrases with 'on' or 'in' where the latter have a future meaning. Some examples are:

sa a-primero ng Enero	}	'next January first'
		'on the first of (next) January'
sa Lunes	}	'next Monday'
		'on Monday (next)'
sa Enero	}	'next January'
		'in January (of next year)'
sa makalawa		'the day after tomorrow'
sa isang linggo	}	'next week'
		'in one week (from now)'
sa (mga)	} susunod darating	na buwan

(To express the equivalent of 'in one week,' 'in four years,' etc., with a tenseless meaning, Tagalog uses a phrase introduced by *sa loob ng*, literally 'within.' Thus:

Tinapos niya ang trabaho sa loob ng

}	isang linggo.
	apat na taon.

'He finished the job (with)in

}	one week.'
	four years.'

There is no:

*Tinapos niya ang trabaho sa

}	isang linggo.
	apat na taon.

(c) *Noong* (which is analyzable as the *ng* form of the deictic pronoun *iyon* (cf. §3.4) plus the linker *-ng*) introduces PAST POINT-TIME ADVERBS; it may be followed by most of the words and phrases that occur after *sa* in future point-time phrases (see (b), above), except that in modification constructions involving verbs, the perfective-aspect verb *nakaraan* 'passed,' rather than *susunod* or *darating* occurs. *Noong* phrases are often translatable by English phrases with 'last' or 'ago,' or by phrases with 'on,' 'in,' or 'during' where the latter have a past meaning. Some examples are:

noong a-primero ng Enero

}	'last January first'
	'on the first of (last) January'

noong Lunes	{ 'last Monday' 'on Monday (last)'
noong Enero	{ 'last January' 'in January (of this year)'
noong makalawa	'the day before yesterday'
noong isang linggo	{ 'last week' 'one week ago'
noong nakaraang taon	{ 'a year ago' 'in the year that (just) passed'
noong (mga) nakaraang linggo	'during the past week(s)'

Noong may also be followed by *panahon* 'time' plus a *ng* phrase, to express the equivalent of English phrases with 'during' or 'at the time of,' where these have past reference: e.g.,

Nagtatrabaho ako sa Maynila noong panahon ng World War II.	
'I was working in Manila	{ during at the time of } World War II.

(d) *Kung*, *(ka)pag*, and *tuwing* are all used to introduce RECURRENT-TIME ADVERBS (adverbs that express a number of points in time or periods of time treated as recurrences of the same point or period in systems of time measurement). They may be followed by various words and phrases that express points of time or periods of time: expressions of clock time, dates, names of parts of the day, etc., *Kung* and *(ka)pag* (*kapag* alternates freely with *pag*) are identical in meaning in time adverbs. (Both words are also used to introduce time clauses – cf. §6.15; in this use, the words have overlapping, rather than identical, meanings.) *Kung* is, however, the more commonly used time-phrase marker in educated Manila Tagalog. In recurrent time adverbs *kung* and *(ka)pag* mean literally 'when.' Their common English equivalents sometimes involve pluralization – e.g., *kung/(ka)pag umaga* 'mornings (i.e., when it's morning),' *kung Linggo* '(on) Sundays (i.e., when it's Sunday)' – but are sometimes indistinguishable from point-time adverbs. Thus 'in August' in the sense of 'when it's August' is translatable by *kung/(ka)pag Agosto*, but in other senses has different English equivalents (see (a), (b), and (c), above). *Kung* (but never *(ka)pag*) also occurs in the frequency adverb *kung minsan* 'sometimes.'

Tuwing phrases are equivalent to English time phrases with 'every': e.g., *tuwing umaga* 'every morning,' *tuwing Linggo* 'every Sunday,' *tuwing Agosto* 'every August.' The noun *taon* 'year' never occurs after *tuwing*, and the nouns *oras* 'hour' and *buwan* 'month' occur after *tuwing* only when they are followed by *ng* phrases of specification (cf. §3.28), thus: *tuwing oras ng panaghalian* 'every dinner time', but never simply **tuwing oras*; and *tuwing buwan ng Agosto* 'every August' (literally, 'every month of August'), but never simply **tuwing buwan*. The English phrases 'every year,' 'every hour,' and 'every month' therefore lack Tagalog equivalents in the form of phrases marked by *tuwing*. (For the equivalents of these phrases, see (2) below.) (There are two synonymous time adverbs used primarily in literature – *tuwina* and *sa tuwi-tuwina* 'always' – that may be regarded as irregular *tuwing* phrases.)

(e) *Buhat*, *mula* (or its less common variant *simula*), and *umpisa* are more or less synonymous as markers of time adverbs; they are equivalent to English 'since' or 'from . . . on.' *Buhat/mula/umpisa* may precede any of the following: expressions of clock time (optionally preceded by *nang* or *sa* – see below); future point–time phrases introduced by *sa* (cf. (b), above); past point–time phrases introduced by *noong* (cf. (c), above); the various point-time words and phrases dealt with under (2) and (4), below (e.g., *kahapon* 'yesterday,' *mamayang hapon* 'this (coming) afternoon').

The *nang* that obligatorily precedes an expression of clock time in a tenseless point–time adverb (cf. (a), above) is optional after *buhat*, *mula* or *umpisa*. Thus:

Mag-aaral	}		sila buhat/mula/umpisa (nang) alas otso.
Nag-aaral			
Nag-aaral			
‘They	}		from eight o'clock on.’
{ will study			
{ study			
{ studied			

For some speakers, *buhat sa*, *mula sa* and *umpisa sa* alternate freely with *buhat nang*, etc., before a clock–time expression where the reference is to recurrent periods of time or to a time in the future. Thus, also, for these speakers:

Mag-aaral	}		sila buhat/mula/umpisa sa alas otso.
Nag-aaral			

Other examples of time adverbs introduced by *buhat*, *mula*, or *umpisa* are: *buhat noong isang buwan* 'since last month,' *mula sa Enero* 'from (next) January on,' *umpisa nang 1950* 'since 1950,' *buhat kahapon* 'since yesterday,' *mula mamayang hapon* 'from this (coming) afternoon on.'

(f) *Hanggang* is equivalent to English 'until' or '(up) to.' It occurs before essentially the same words and phrases as *buhat*, *mula*, and *umpisa* (cf. (e), above). *Nang*, however, never follows *hanggang*. If a point–time phrase that would be introduced by *nang* in other contexts follows *hanggang*, *nang* is obligatorily deleted in the case of adverbs referring to the past, or, in the case of adverbs referring to the future, either deleted or replaced by *sa*. For example:

Tumira ako roon hanggang 1950.
'I lived there until 1950.'

(cf. Tumira ako roon nang 1950.
'I lived there in 1950.')

Magtatrabaho siya hanggang (sa) Lunes.
'He will work until Monday.'

(cf. Magtatrabaho siya sa Lunes.
'He will work on Monday.')

Some further examples of *hanggang* phrases are: *hanggang noong Enero* 'until last January,' *hanggang bukas* 'until tomorrow,' *hanggang kaninang umaga* 'until this (past) morning.'

(g) The time adverbs that are, either optionally or obligatorily, introduced by the linker *na/ng* (when they occur in non-sentence–initial or non-clause–initial position) comprise a small list of frequency adverbs. (Cf. §3.11 for a discussion of the linker *na/ng*.) Words that occur in frequency adverbs introduced by *na/ng* include: *minsan* 'once,' *minsan-minsan* 'sometimes,' *paminsan-minsan* 'occasionally,' *(pa)lagi* 'always,' and *madalas* 'often.' In the case of the three forms that include *minsan*, the linker is optionally deletable; it also alternates freely with the marker *nang* – cf. (a), above. In the case of *(pa)lagi* and *madalas*

the linker is not deletable. Examples are:

Nagbakasyon si $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pedro(ng)} \\ \text{Manuel (na)} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{minsan} \\ \text{minsan-minsan} \\ \text{paminsan-minsan} \end{array} \right\} \text{ sa Baguio.}$

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'Pedro} \\ \text{'Manuel} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{once} \\ \text{sometimes} \\ \text{occasionally} \end{array} \right\} \text{ vacationed in Baguio.}'$

Nagbabakasyon si $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pedrong} \\ \text{Manuel na} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{madalas} \\ \text{palagi} \end{array} \right\} \text{ sa Baguio.}$

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'Pedro} \\ \text{'Manuel} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{often} \\ \text{always} \end{array} \right\} \text{ vacations in Baguio.}'$

When the above adverbs occur in sentence-initial or clause-initial position (or after the inversion-marker *ay*), there is no introductory linker (cf. §6.7): e.g.,

Minsan ay nagbakasyon si Pedro roon.
'Pedro once vacationed there.' (formal style)

If the initial occurrence of the adverb involves non-emphatic adverb inversion (cf. §7.2, subsection (4)), the adverb is followed by the linker *na/ng*: e.g.,

Minsang nagbakasyon si Pedro roon.
'Pedro once vacationed there.'

Palaging nagbabakasyon si Pedro roon.
'Pedro always vacations there.'

(2) UNMARKED TIME ADVERBS. Unmarked time adverbs (i.e., time adverbs that, regardless of sentence position, lack an introductory marker or linker) may be divided into point-time adverbs and recurrent-time adverbs.

Unmarked point-time adverbs include: *kamakalawa* 'the day before yesterday,' *kahapon* 'yesterday,' *kagabi* 'last night,' *ngayon* 'today, now,' *bukas* 'tomorrow,' and the same *k(in)a-...-an* formations that occur in marked point-time adverbs introduced by *sa* (cf. subsection (1.b), above; the marked and unmarked *k(in)a-...-an* adverbs are identical in meaning; the unmarked adverbs are the more common). Also included are (*ka*)*lagad* 'right away,' *kanina* 'earlier (in the day),' *mamaya* 'later (in the day),' *sandali* 'a while, a moment,' and *sanda-sandali* 'for brief periods.' (Some speakers use the form *kangina* /*kaŋi:nah*/ instead of, or in free alternation with *kanina* /*kani:nah*/.)

The unmarked point-time adverbs *kahapon*, *kanina*, and *ngayon* occur with the duplicating prefix *dup*₂ (cf. §5.16) in formations that connote psychological briefness of time between the time expressed by the adverb and the moment of speaking. These duplicated formations are obligatorily followed by the enclitic particle *la(ma)ng* (cf. §6.4, subsection (d)), and occur only sentence-initially, in sentences that

involve *ay* inversion, contrastive inversion, or emphatic inversion (cf. §7.2). Examples of the duplicated formations in sentences are:

Kaha-kahapon lang ay nandito siya.
'He was here only yesterday.'

Kani-kanina lamang, masaya siya.
'Only a while ago, he was happy.'

Ngayon-ngayon lamang natapos ang miting.
'It's just now that the meeting ended.'

(There is also a duplicated formation derived from *mamaya* – viz., *maya-maya* 'in a little while,' as in:

Aalis ako maya-maya.
'I'll be leaving in a little while.')

Unmarked recurrent–time adverbs, like recurrent–time adverbs introduced by *tuwing* (cf. (1.d), above), are equivalent to English time adverbs that begin with 'every'; they are formed by duplication of certain words that express periods of time: e.g., *hapon-hapon* 'every afternoon' (cf. *hapon* 'afternoon'). Some further examples are: *araw-araw* 'every day,' *oras-oras* 'every hour,' *gabi-gabi* 'every night,' *linggo-linggo* 'every week,' *buwan-buwan* 'every month,' *taon-taon* 'every year.' (There is no **umaga-umaga*: 'every morning' is expressible only by *tuwing umaga*.) Any inherently long vowels present in the underlying time word are retained in both parts of the recurrent–time formation. Thus: /ha:punha:pon/ (cf. /ha:pon/).

(3) TIME GERUND CONSTRUCTIONS. The formation of gerunds is presented in detail in §3.26. As is noted in that section, there are two gerund formations corresponding to most actor–focus verbs: an ASPECTLESS GERUND, which designates an action without indicating whether or not it is viewed as completed, and a PERFECTIVE GERUND, which designates an action viewed as completed. *Pag-alis* 'leaving' and *pag(ka)kaalis* 'having left' are, for example, respectively the aspectless gerund and the perfective gerund that correspond to *umalis* 'leave.'

Both aspectless and perfective gerunds occur in time gerund constructions. The form of the aspectless gerund is the same in time gerund constructions as in other contexts; the form of the perfective gerund is modified in the following ways: (a) the duplicating prefix *ka-* (/ka/), which is optional in other contexts, does not occur in time gerund constructions; and (b) the last vowel of the prefix *pagka-*, which is long in other contexts, is generally short in time gerund constructions. Thus, for example, the perfective gerund corresponding to *umalis* 'leave,' which has the form *pag(ka)kaalis* (/pagka·'alis/ or /pagkaka·'alis/) in other contexts, has the form *pagkaalis* /pagka·'alis/ in time gerund constructions.

Time gerund constructions with aspectless gerunds are often equivalent to English constructions that begin with 'when' or 'upon'; those with perfective gerunds, to English constructions that begin with 'when' or 'after.' For example:

pag-alis niya	{ 'when he leaves/left' 'upon his leaving'
pagkaalis niya	{ 'when he has/had left' 'after he leaves/left'

In time adverbs, as in other cases, the performer of the action expressed by the gerund is designated either by a following *ng* phrase (*ng* plus an unmarked noun, *ni/na*) plus a personal noun, the *ng* form of a deictic or personal pronoun) or by a preceding *sa* form of a personal pronoun plus the linker-*ng*. Thus:

pag-alis	}	ng titser ni Maria noon	‘when	}	the teacher Maria that one	leaves/left’
pag-alis niya	}	kaniyang pag-alis	‘when he leaves/left’			

The gerunds may also be followed by any object and/or directional and/or secondary-actor complements (cf. §2.11 and 5.12) taken by the actor-focus verbs to which they correspond: e.g.,

pag-alis niya roon
‘when he leaves/left there’

(cf. Umalis siya roon.
‘He left there.’)

pagpapatigil niya ng kotse sa akin
‘when he has/had me stop the car’

(cf. Nagpatigil siya ng kotse sa akin.
‘He had me stop the car.’)

Some examples of the use of time gerund constructions in sentences are:

Makakatulog	}	ang tatay pagsisimula ng opera.	{	begins.’
Nakakatulog	}		}	begins.’
Nakatulog	}		}	began.’

‘Father { will fall } asleep when the opera { begins.’
falls } begins.’
fell } began.’

Pangingisda ni Juan, sumasama ang kapatid niya.
‘When Juan goes fishing, his brother goes along.’

Huhugasan ng katulong ang pinggan pagka(pag)walis niya ng sahig.
‘The maid will wash the dishes when she has swept the floor.’

The equivalent of an English construction beginning with ‘as soon as,’ ‘immediately upon,’ or ‘immediately after’ is expressed by a time gerund construction in which the gerund is repeated, with the two occurrences of the gerund joined by the linker *na/ng*: e.g.,

pag-alis na pag-alis niya
{ ‘as soon as he leaves/left’ }
{ ‘immediately upon his leaving’ }

pagkaalis na pagkaalis niya
{ ‘as soon as he has/had left’ }
{ ‘immediately after he leaves/left’ }

Some examples in sentences are:

Aalis ako	{	pagdating na pagdating pagkarating na pagkarating	}	nila.
'I'll leave as soon as they	{	arrive.' have arrived.'	}	
Paghinging paghingi	{	ko, ibinigay niya sa akin.	}	
Pagkahinging pagkahingi	{	ko, ibinigay niya sa akin.	}	
'As soon as I	{	asked had asked	}	for it, he gave it to me.'

(4) EXPANSIONS OF TIME ADVERBS. The names of the days of the week (which occur in various marked time adverbs discussed under (1), above) and certain unmarked time adverbs (e.g., *kanina* 'earlier,' *mamaya* 'later,' *bukas* 'tomorrow,' etc. — cf. (2), above) may be expanded by a phrase representing a part of the day, or by a phrase that expresses clock time. After the names of the days of the week and of unmarked time adverbs other than *kanina*, *mamaya* and *ngayon*, a *ng* phrase is used: e.g.,

nang sa noong kahapon bukas	}	Lunes	}	ng { hapon ala-una
'on (a) 'next 'last 'yesterday 'tomorrow	}	Monday	}	{ afternoon' at one o'clock'

After *kanina*, *mamaya*, and *ngayon*, the linker *-ng* precedes the name of the part of the day or the clock-time expression: e.g.,

kaninang mamayang ngayong	}	{ hapon ala-una	}	
'earlier (in the day) 'later (in the day) 'today	}	{ during the afternoon' at one o'clock'	}	

(The English translations given above for the constructions with *kanina*, *mamaya*, and *ngayon* are quite literal. The more usual English equivalents of *kaninang hapon*, *mamayang hapon*, and *ngayong hapon* would, in each case, be 'this afternoon.' The Tagalog constructions are, however, not interchangeable: *kaninang hapon* refers to 'this past afternoon' and *mamayang hapon* to 'this coming afternoon,' while *ngayong hapon* may refer to either of these as well as to 'this current afternoon.')

If both the name of a part of the day and a clock time expression are given, the usual order is: clock--time expression plus name of part of day; the latter is expressed by a *ng* phrase (cf. §4.4, subsection (6)): e.g.,

sa Lunes ng	}	ala-una ng hapon
bukas ng		
ngayong		
'next Monday	}	at one o'clock in the afternoon'
'tomorrow		
'today		

(The reverse order – name of part of day plus clock time expression – is possible but rare. When this order is used, *ng* precedes the clock--time expression: e.g., *ngayong hapon ng ala-una*.)

The addition of the particle *mga* /maŋah/ to a time adverb normally adds a meaning of approximateness – equivalent to English 'about' or 'around' – to the meaning of the adverb itself. (The approximative particle *mga* also occurs with cardinal numbers – cf. §4.4; the particle is homonymous with the pluralizing particle *mga* discussed in §§3.9 and 4.11). As part of a marked time adverb, *mga* appears immediately after the marker: e.g.,

nang mga ala-una	'at about one o'clock'
sa mga isang linggo	'in about one week (from now)'
noong mga Lunes	'about last Monday'

As part of an unmarked time adverb, *mga* is initial: e.g.,

mga kamakalawa	'about the day before yesterday'
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To express the equivalent of an English 'from . . . to . . .' time expression, a phrase introduced by *hanggang* (see (1.f), above) is added to a phrase introduced by *buhat*, *mula*, or *umpisa* (see (1.c)). Some examples are:

buhat (nang) ala-una hanggang alas seis
'from one o'clock to six o'clock'

mula noong isang buwan hanggang ngayon
'from last month to today'

umpisa nang 1950 hanggang 1958
'from 1950 to 1958'

(5) TIME ADVERBS AS PSEUDO-PREDICATES. All of the time adverbs presented above, with the exception of the time gerund constructions, may occur in predicate position. The topic of a sentence with a time adverb in predicate position must be one of the following: an unmarked noun that designates a natural phenomenon (e.g., *bagyo* 'storm,' *lindol* 'earthquake') or an event or activity (e.g., *handaan* 'party,'

trabaho 'work'), a delctic pronoun (cf. §3.4), a gerund (cf. §3.26), or a nominalized verb base (cf. §3.27). For example:

Kung Pasko	}	ang handaan. iyon.
	}	ang pagbibigyan ng regalo. ang alis nila.
The party That The exchanging of gifts 'It's at Christmastime that they leave.'	}	is (i.e., takes place) at Christmastime.'

(As is explained in §3.27, a construction involving a time adverb in predicate position opposite a nominalized verb base alternates freely with a construction involving an emphatic initial adverb (cf. §7.2) plus an inflected form of a verb, and the adverb carries the same emphatic meaning.)

Time adverbs occurring in predicate position are classified as PSEUDO-PREDICATES, rather than as genuine predicates, for two reasons: (1) as modifiers in modification constructions (cf. §3.19), time adverbs function differently from modifiers that are related to genuine predicates: specifically, the linker *na/ng* is not used with time-adverb modifiers, and the modifier occurs in a fixed position after the head. Compare, for example:

handaan kung Pasko 'party at Christmastime'

and:

handang masaya	}	'gay party'
masayang handaan	}	

(2) sentences involving time adverbs in predicate position are often understood as implying a deleted verbal predicate, often a form of *mangyari* 'takes place, occur, happen' or *gawin* 'be done, be held': thus *Kung Pasko ang pagbibigyan ng regalo* is equivalent in meaning to *Nangyayari kung Pasko ang pagbibigyan ng regalo* 'The exchanging of gifts takes place at Christmastime,' and *Kung Pasko ang handaan* is equivalent in meaning to *Ginagawa kung Pasko ang handaan* 'The party is held at Christmastime.' (cf. §6.9 for examples of the functioning of locative adverbs as pseudo-predicates.)

When a time adverb that would be introduced by *nang* or by the linker *na/ng* in non-initial position is used as a pseudo-predicate, the *nang* or *na/ng* is deleted. Thus:

Ala-una	}	ang mga miting.
Minsan-minsan		
'Meetings take place	}	at one o'clock.'
		occasionally.'

cf.	}	Nangyayari nang ala-una	}	ang mga miting.
		Nangyayaring minsan-minsan		

‘Meetings take place { at one o’clock.’
 { occasionally.’

Some further examples of sentences involving time adverbs used as pseudo–predicates are:

Noong isang taon ang lindol.
 ‘The earthquake occurred last year.’

Buong linggo ang piyesta.
 ‘The fiesta lasts all week.’

Mamayang alas dos ng hapon ang komperensya.
 ‘The conference will be held at one o’clock this afternoon.’

§ 6.9. Locative adverbs.

Locative adverbs are *sa* phrases. They represent the place where the action expressed in a sentence occurs, or where the condition expressed in it prevails. The *sa* phrases that commonly occur as locative adverbs include the following: *sa* plus an unmarked noun; *kina* plus a personal noun; *sa* plus the *sa* form of a plural personal pronoun, the *sa* form of a deictic pronoun. Some examples are:

Kumakain {
 Diyanitor { siya { sa iskwela.
 May trabaho } { { kina Ben.
 { { sa kanila.
 { { roon.

eats {
 ‘He is a janitor } { at the school.’
 has a job } { at Ben’s place.’
 { { at their place.’
 { { there.’

A locative adverb consisting of *sa* plus an unmarked noun is usually translated by an English ‘at,’ ‘in,’ or ‘on’ phrase; a locative adverb consisting of *kina* plus a personal noun is usually translated by ‘at _____’s (place)’; a locative adverb consisting of *sa* plus the *sa* form of a plural personal pronoun is usually translated by a phrase of the shape ‘at our/your/their place’; the *sa* form of a deictic pronoun used as a locative adverb is usually translated by ‘here’ (in the case of *dine* and *dito*) or ‘there’ (in the case of *diyan* and *doon*). (*Sa* phrases of the shape *kay* plus a personal noun, or of the shape *sa* plus a singular personal pronoun rarely occur as locative adverbs.)

In a sentence with a verbal predicate, a *sa* phrase is sometimes ambiguously interpretable as a locative adverb or as a directional complement. The sentence *Sumulat siya sa mesa* is an example of this kind of ambiguity: it may be interpreted as meaning ‘He wrote at the table,’ in which case *sa mesa* is interpreted as a locative adverb, or it may mean ‘He wrote (directly) on the table (itself),’ in which case *sa mesa* is interpreted as a directional complement. (It may be noted that *Sumulat siya sa mesa* has two different goal–focus counterparts, each of which is unambiguous: *Pinagsulatan niya ang mesa* ‘He wrote at the table’ and *Sirulatan niya ang mesa* ‘He wrote (directly) on the table (itself).’ The first of these goal–focus constructions involves the locative–focus counterpart of *sumulat* (cf. §5.9 for a treatment of locative focus), while the second involves its directional–focus counterpart.)

There are also cases in which a *sa* phrase may be ambiguously interpreted either as a locative adverb or as a locative adjective phrase (cf. §4.19) modifying a noun. The sentence *Mabait ang bata sa iskwela* is an example of this kind of ambiguity: it may mean 'The child is well-behaved at school,' in which case *sa iskwela* is interpreted as a locative adverb, or it may mean 'The child (who is) at school is well-behaved,' in which case *sa iskwela* is interpreted as a locative adjective phrase modifying *bata*. (In the latter interpretation, *bata sa iskwela* represents an optional abbreviation of *batang nasa iskwela* 'child (who is) at school' – cf. §3.14.)

Like the *nasa* of a locative adjective phrase, the *sa* of a locative adverb may be followed by a positional phrase: a phrase consisting of a positional noun plus a *ng* phrase. (cf. §3.14 for a listing of positional nouns.) A locative adverb that includes a positional phrase has the same English equivalent(s) as the corresponding locative adjective phrase. Some examples are:

Nakita ko siya sa	{	harap labas likod loob	}	ng teatro.
‘I saw him	{	in front of outside in back of inside	}	the theatre.’
May kahon sa	{	gitna ibabaw ilalim tabi	}	ng mesa.
‘There’s a box	{	in the middle of on top of beneath next to	}	the table.’

A locative adverb in which *sa* is followed by *may* plus an unmarked noun, positional phrase, etc., expresses approximate location: e.g.,

Nakita ko sila sa may (harap ng) teatro.
‘I saw them in the vicinity of (the front of) the theater.’

(Cf. §4.19 for the similar use of *may* in locative adjective phrases.)

Like time adverbs (cf. §6.8, subsection (5)), locative adverbs may occur as pseudo-predicates opposite certain types of nouns or nominalizations in topic position. (The topic types that occur opposite pseudo-predicates as well as the nature of the pseudo-predicate construction itself, are discussed in detail in §6.8, q.v.) Some examples are:

Sa Abenida Rizal raw

{

ang parada.
iyon.
ang pagmamartsa.

'They say $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the parade} \\ \text{that} \\ \text{the marching} \end{array} \right\}$ is (i.e., takes place) on Rizal Avenue.'

Dito ba ang dating ng tren?
'Is it here that the train arrives?'

§6.10. Manner adverbs.

Manner adverbs characterize the way in which the action expressed by a verb – or by a formation derived from a verb (e.g., a gerund – cf. §3.26) – is performed. Tagalog manner adverbs may be equivalent to English adverbs ending in '-ly' – e.g., 'loudly,' 'quickly' – or to various other English adverbial expressions.

Manner adverbs may be divided into three classes, on the basis of whether, when they occur in non-initial position, they are introduced by: (1) the marker *nang*; (2) the linker *na/ng*; (3) either the marker *nang* or the linker *na/ng*. (cf. §6.7 for a discussion of the marker *nang*, and §3.11 for a discussion of the linker *na/ng*.)

(1) Included in this class are constructions in which *nang* is followed by: (a) a member of a subclass of unaffixed adjectives (cf. §4.2); (b) a member of a subclass of *ma*- adjectives (cf. §4.3); (c) a grouping numeral (cf. §4.5, subsection (e)); (d) an adjective phrase expressing resemblance of one of the following types: *gaya* plus a *ng* phrase; a contraction derived from *gaya* and the *ng* form of a deictic (i.e., *ganire*, *ganito*, *ganyon*, or *ganoon*); or such a contraction plus a *ka*- adjective formation (cf. §4.18). (The unaffixed adjectives and *ma*- adjectives that occur in manner adverbs are those whose meaning is compatible with characterizing the way in which an action is performed. Most of these same adjectives – or their bases – may occur in a *ka*- adjective formation (after *ganire*, etc.) within a manner adverb. As is noted in §4.18, some speakers use the linker *-ng* before the *ka*- formation, while others do not.) Some examples are:

- (a) Lumakad ang pari nang banayad (na banayad).
'The priest walked at a (very) moderate pace.'
(an adjective within a manner adverb may be expanded in the usual ways – e.g., through the use of an intensive construction, as in the above example.)

Binuksan ni Fred ang pintuan nang bigla.
'Fred opened the door suddenly.'

- (b) Kailangan nating kumain nang mabilis.
'We must eat quickly.'

Bawal ang magsalita nang malakas dito.
'Speaking loudly is forbidden here.'

- (c) Binilang niya ang mangga nang dala-dalawa.
'He counted the mangoes by twos.'

Papasok tayo sa kuwarto nang isa-isa.
'We'll enter the room one by one.'

- (d) Kumanta ang mga bata nang gaya ng mga ruwisenyor.
'The children sang like nightingales.'

Nakakapagod ang pagsayaw nang ganoon.
'Dancing like that makes one tired.'

Hindi ka dapat magmancho nang ganito(ng) kabilis.

'You shouldn't drive $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{this fast.} \\ \text{as fast as this one.} \end{array} \right.$

(The ambiguity of constructions like *ganito(ng) kabilis*, noted in §4.18, is present in manner adverbs that involve the constructions.)

(2) Included in this class are constructions in which the linker *na/-ng* is followed by: (a) an adjective phrase expressing resemblance, consisting of *parang* (*para* plus the linker *-ng*) plus a nominal (cf. §4.18); (b) the imperfective form of an actor-focus verb (cf. §5.21). Some examples are:

- (a) Sumigaw si Manuel na parang luku-luko.
'Manuel shouted like a madman.'

Lumalakad si Neneng parang mananayaw.
'Nene walks like a dancer.'

- (b) Bakit siya umalis na umiiyak?
'Why did she leave crying?'

Lumabas doong tumatakbo ang bata.
'The child came running out of there.'

(3) Included in this class are constructions in which either the marker *nang* or the linker *na/-ng* is followed by a *pa-* manner adjective (cf. §4.7). Some examples are:

Ang alimango'y lumalakad $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nang} \\ \text{na} \end{array} \right.$ patagilid.
'The crab walks sideways.'

Binati niya $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ako nang} \\ \text{akong} \end{array} \right.$ pangiti.
'He greeted me smilingly.'

Manner adverbs do not occur initially in *ay* inversion, contrastive inversion, or emphatic adverb inversion, but do occur initially in non-emphatic adverb inversion, in which case they are linked to what follows by the linker *na/-ng* (cf. §7.2, subsection (4)).

As is noted in §6.7, a *nang* or linker that introduces a non-initial adverb is dropped when the adverb occurs in initial position. Some examples are:

Biglang binuksan ni Fred ang pintuan.
'Fred opened the door suddenly.'

Gaya ng mga ruwisenyor na kumanta ang mga bata.
'The children sang like nightingales.'

§6.11. Other movable adverbs.

In addition to time adverbs, locative adverbs, and manner adverbs (cf. §§6.8, 6.9, and 6.10 respectively), Tagalog has movable adverbs of a number of other kinds. These adverbs are presented below under the following headings: (1) adverbs with non-initial *sa* phrases; (2) *sa . . . ng* adverbs; (3) *nang* measurement adverbs; (4) miscellaneous movable adverbs.

(1) **ADVERBS WITH NON-INITIAL *sa* PHRASES.** Members of this class of adverbs consist of an introductory word followed by a *sa* phrase (*sa* plus an unmarked noun, nominalization, or *sa*-form personal pronoun; *kay* or *kina* plus a personal noun; or a *sa*-form deictic pronoun.) The class includes: (a) **BENEFACTIVE, PURPOSE, and other adverbs introduced by *para***; (b) **CAUSATIVE ADVERBS**; (c) **REFERENTIAL ADVERBS**; (d) other adverbs with non-initial *sa* phrases.

(a) **BENEFACTIVE, PURPOSE and other adverbs introduced by *para*.** In both benefactive and purpose adverbs, the *sa* phrase is preceded by *para*. In benefactive adverbs, the nominal within the *sa* phrase is usually a noun or pronoun; in purpose adverbs, the nominal within the *sa* phrase is a gerund (cf. §3.26). Both types of adverbs are normally translatable by English 'for' phrases, and both are similar in form and meaning to certain adjective phrases (cf. §4.20, subsections (1) to (3)).

Benefactive adverbs may express either the meaning 'for the benefit (or use) of . . . ' or 'acting in place of . . . '. Thus the sentence:

Ginawa niya ang trabaho para sa iyo.
'He did the work for you.'

is capable of being interpreted in either of two ways: 'He did the work for your benefit' or 'He did the work, acting in your place.' And the sentence:

Bibilhin mo ba iyon para sa akin?
'Will you buy that for me?'

may mean either 'Will you buy that for my use?' or 'Will you buy that, acting in my place?'

The nominal within a benefactive adverb often corresponds to the topic of a benefactive-focus verb (cf. §5.7). Some examples are:

{ Sumulat ka ng liham para sa akin. }
{ Isulat mo ako ng liham. }
'Write a letter for me.'

{ Nagluto siya ng adobo para sa mga bisita. }
{ Ipinagluto niya ng adobo ang mga bisita. }
'She cooked adobo for the guests.'

Purpose adverbs express the meanings 'for the purpose' of . . . ', 'for use in . . . ', etc. Some examples are:

Kunin mo ang perang ito para sa pag-aaral mo.
'Take this money for your studies.'
(More literally: 'for your studying')

Bumili siya ng walis para sa paglilinis niya ng bahay.
'She bought a broom to clean the house with.'

Both benefactive and purpose adverbs are sometimes ambiguously interpretable as modifying adjectival phrases. (As is noted in §3.14, the linker *na/ng* is optionally deletable before a modifying phrase introduced by *para*.) Thus in the sentence:

Iniiinit ng Nanay ang pagkain para kay Nene.
'Mother is heating the food for Nene.'

The *para sa* phrase may be interpreted either as a benefactive adverb (in which case it means 'for Nene's benefit' or 'acting in place of Nene') or as an adjectival (in which case it means 'which was for Nene'). Similarly in:

Bumili ako ng alak para sa pagluluto.
'I bought some wine for (the) cooking.'

the *para sa* phrase may be interpreted either as a purpose adverb (in which case it means 'in order to cook') or as an adjectival (in which case it means 'which was for cooking').

In addition to benefactive and purpose adverbs, *para* plus a *sa* phrase forms adverbs of various other types, all of them equivalent to 'for' phrases in English. Some examples are:

Bumalik siya sa opisina para sa sulat.
'He returned to the office for the letter.'

Pumunta sila sa bayan para sa pista.
'They went to town for the fiesta.'

Bumili ako ng karne para sa sopas.
'I bought some meat for the soup.'

(b) CAUSATIVE ADVERBS. In causative adverbs, the *sa* phrase is preceded by *dahil*. The adverbs are translatable by English phrases introduced by 'because of' or 'as a result of.' Some examples are:

Pinili siya dahil sa kakayahan niya.
'He was chosen because of his ability.'

Nagkahiwalay sila dahil sa kaniyang paglalasing.
'They separated because of his drinking.'

The nominal within a causative adverb often corresponds to the topic of a causative—focus verb (cf. §5.8). Some examples are:

{ Namatay siya dahil sa gutom. }
{ Ikinamatay niya ang gutom. }
'He died (as a result) of hunger.'

{ Nainis siya dahil doon. }
{ Ikinainis niya iyon. }
'He was annoyed because of that.'

In addition to nouns, pronouns, and nominalizations, the *sa* of a causative adverb may be followed by certain formations consisting of *ka-* /*ka'*/ plus a duplicating syllable plus a verb base. The formation of the duplicating syllable follows the rules given for dup₁ in §3.7. Inherent length in the verb base is retained: e.g., *kalalakad* /*ka'lala'kad*/ 'walking too much' (cf. *lumakad* /*luma'kad*/ 'walk'). These formations, which express a meaning of excessive performance of the activity denoted by the base, occur only in causative adverbs, and do not occur as topics of causative—focus verbs. Some examples in sentences are:

Napagod siya dahil sa kalalakad.
'He got tired as a result of walking too much.'

Nagkasakit siya dahil sa kabibilad sa araw.
'He became ill as a result of too much exposure to the sun.'

The *dahil* of a causative adverb is optionally deletable before *sa* plus a *ka-* formation of the type just described. Thus, also:

Napagod siya sa kalalakad.
Nagkasakit siya sa kabibilad sa araw.

Dahil is also optionally deletable in some other cases. *Namatay siya sa gutom*, for example, is identical in meaning with *Namatay siya dahil sa gutom* 'He died (as a result) of hunger.' In still other cases, however, *dahil* must be retained. Thus the *dahil* of *Nagkahiwalay sila dahil sa kaniyang paglalasing*. 'They separated because of his drinking' is not deletable.

(In literature, the *dahil* of a causative adverb is sometimes replaced by *sanhi*, as in:

Nagpakamatay ang prinsesa sanhi sa kataksilan ng prinsipe.
'The princess killed herself because of the prince's faithlessness.')

(c) REFERENTIAL ADVERBS. In referential adverbs, the *sa* phrase is preceded by *tungkol*, *hinggil*, or *ukol*. (As in the case of referential adjective phrases – cf. §4.20, subsection (5) – *tungkol* is the most common of the three in ordinary conversation.) The adverbs are normally translatable by English adverbs introduced by 'about,' where 'about' connotes 'on the subject of.' Some examples are:

Nagsinungaling siya $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{tungkol} \\ \text{hinggil} \\ \text{ukol} \end{array} \right\}$ sa mga gawain niya.
'He lied about his activities.'

Nag-usap kami tungkol sa handaan.
'We talked about the party.'

The nominal within a referential adverb often corresponds to the topic of a referential–focus verb (cf. §5.10). Some examples are:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Nagkwento siya tungkol sa giyera.} \\ \text{Ikinuwento niya ang giyera.} \end{array} \right\}$
'He told a story about the war.'

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Nagtanong ako sa kaniya tungkol sa Amerika.} \\ \text{Itinanong ko sa kaniya ang Amerika.} \end{array} \right\}$
'I asked him about America.'

(d) OTHER ADVERBS WITH NON-INITIAL *sa* PHRASES. Adverbs that consist of the words listed below plus a *sa* phrase are normally equivalent to English adverbs introduced by the expressions shown to their right:

alang-alang	'for the sake of'
alinsunod	'in accordance with'
ayon	'according to'
bukod	'as well as, besides'

buhat		'from'
(ma)liban	}	'except (for)'
(ma)tangi		

Examples in sentences follow:

Nagpakasakit siya alang-alang sa kaniyang pamilya.
'He made a sacrifice for the sake of his family.'

Nagbabayad ako ng buwis alinsunod sa patakaran.
'I pay taxes in accordance with the regulation.'

Uulan (daw) bukas, ayon sa diyaryo.
'It's going to rain tomorrow, according to the newspaper.'

(The enclitic particle *daw/raw* 'it is said' – cf. §6.4, subsection (e) – is frequently, but not obligatorily, used in sentences that include adverbs introduced by *ayon*.)

Tumanggap siya ng medalya, bukod sa mga aklat.
'He received a medal as well as the books.'

Maglakad tayo buhat dito.
'Let's walk from here.'

(*Buhat* also occurs in time adverbs – cf. §6.8, subsection (1.e).)

Narito na ang lahat	}	kay Jose.

'Everyone is here now except Jose.'

(2) *Sa . . . ng . . .* ADVERBS.. These adverbs consist of *sa*, plus one of a limited list of words (see below), plus a *ng* phrase (*ng* plus an unmarked noun or nominalization, *ni* or *nina* plus a personal noun, or the *ng* form of a personal or deictic pronoun). Among the common *sa . . . ng . . .* adverbs are the following:

sa	}	ng	'instead of, in place of'
sa pag-iingat ng			'in the care of'
sa pagtataguyod ng			'in the interest of (supporting)'
sa pagtatanggol ng			'in defense of'
sa pamamagitan ng			'through, by means of'
sa pamamahala ng			'under the supervision of'
sa payo ng			'on the advice of'
sa tulong ng			'with the help of'

Some examples in sentences follow:

Maglilinis ako sa $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{halip} \\ \text{lugar} \end{array} \right\}$ ni Tita.
 'I'll do the cleaning instead of Tita.'

Iniwan ang bata sa pag-iingat ng kaniyang lola.
 'The child was left in the care of his grandmother.'

Magtulungan tayo sa pagtataguyod ng kandidato natin.
 'Let's help one another in the interest of our candidate.'

Namatay sila sa pagtatanggol ng bayan.
 'They died in defense of the country.'

Nagtagumpay siya sa pamamagitan ng masikap na paggawa.
 'He succeeded by means of hard work.'

Inilagay niya ang kalakal sa pamamahala ng kapatid niya.
 'He put the business under the supervision of his brother.'

Ipinagbili niya ang lupa niya sa payo ng kaibigan niya.
 'He sold his land on the advice of his friend.'

Nakapag-aral siya sa tulong ng pamilya niya.
 'He was able to go to school with the help of his family.'

(3) *Nang* MEASUREMENT ADVERBS.

Nang measurement adverbs consist of the marker *nang* plus an expression of measurement. Examples are:

nang apat na yarda	'four yards'
nang tatlong oras	'three hours'
nang limang libra	'five pounds'
nang malaki	'a lot'

Nang measurement adverbs occur with a limited set of intransitive *-um-* verbs of 'becoming' (cf. §5.6, class J). The verbs express measurable changes; the *nang* adverbs that occur with them express the extent of the change. Examples in sentences are:

Lumaki siya nang tatlong pulgada.
 'He grew (i.e., became bigger by) three inches.'

Tumagal ang pista nang isang linggo.
 'The feast lasted (i.e., became long) one week.'

Bumigat na nang walang onsa ang sanggol.
 'The baby has already gained (i.e., become heavier by) eight ounces.'

Nang measurement adverbs correspond to predicates that occur opposite nominalized measurement—focus verbs (cf. §5.10).

(4) MISCELLANEOUS MOVABLE ADVERBS. Among the other common movable adverbs of Tagalog may be noted the following: phrases consisting of *bilang* plus a nominal, equivalent to English

adverbs introduced by 'as (a form of)' or 'by way of': the fixed phrases *kung ganoon* 'in that case,' *sa biglang/madaling sabi* 'in short,' *sa wakas* 'in the end'; the words *halos* 'almost,' *marahil* 'probably,' *seguro* 'maybe,' *uli(t)* and *muli* 'again.' (*Uli(t)* and *muli* are optionally preceded by the linker *-ng-* in non-initial position.) Illustrative sentences follow:

Inilabas niya ang liham bilang katibayan.
'He brought out the letter by way of proof.'

Ako mismo ang gagawa, kung ganoon.
'I'll do it myself, in that case.'

Wala kang magagawa kundi umalis, sa $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{biglang} \\ \text{madaling} \end{array} \right\}$ sabi.
'You have no choice but to leave, in short.'

Inihalal nila siyang presidente, sa wakas.
'They elected him president, in the end.'

Namatay siya halos.
'He almost died.'

Hindi sisipot marahil si Totoy.
'Totoy probably won't come.'

Mag-aaral siya seguro mamayang gabi.
'Maybe he'll study tonight.'

Basahin mo(ng) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{uli(t).} \\ \text{muli.} \end{array} \right.$
'Read it again.'

§6.12. Initial adverbs.

Tagalog has a number of adverbs that always occur in sentence-initial or clause-initial position. These adverbs may be divided into four classes. Members of classes (1), (2), and (3) are followed, respectively, by: (1) a pause; (2) either a pause or the inversion marker *ay* (cf. §7.2); (3) the linker *na/ng* (cf. §3.11). Members of class (4) are immediately followed by the rest of the sentence or clause, with no intervening pause, marker, or linker.

(1) The only member of this class is the rhetorical linker *E*, which expresses a sequential or logical connection between the sentence it introduces and some preceding utterance or pre-existing situation. It is often equivalent to English 'and,' 'well,' or 'why.' Some examples of its use are:

E, magkano naman ito?
'And how much is this one?'

Napapagod ka? E, magpahinga ka.
'You're tired? Well, get some rest.'

E, isip ko'y nasa iyo ang mga tiket.
'Why, I thought you had the tickets.'

(As is noted in §1.24, E takes a distinctive intonation pattern (pattern I.4). See below for the use of E with the class (4) initial adverb *di*.)

(2) Initial adverbs that may be followed either by a pause or by *ay* include:

alalaong baga	'in other words'
kasi	}
mangyari	
gayon man	'nevertheless'
samantala	'meanwhile'

Some examples in sentences are:

Alalaong { baga, }
 { baga'y } ayaw mong gawin.

'In other words, you don't want to do it.'

(Hindi ako makakaalis.) { Kasi, }
 { Kasi ay. } may sakit ang anak ko.
 { Mangyari, }
 { Mangyari ay. }

'(I can't leave.) The reason is, my child is sick.'

(Lumang-luma na ang kotse.) Gayon { man, }
 { man ay } bibilhin pa rin niya.

'(The car is already very old.) Nevertheless, he will (still) buy it.'

Samantala, }
 } susuriin ko ito.
Samantala'y }

'Meanwhile, I'll examine this.'

(3) Initial adverbs followed by the linker *na/ng* include:

baka sakali	'perhaps'
(pam)bihira	'seldom'
totoo	'it's true that'

Some examples are:

(Magtanong ka kay Juan). Baka sakaling alam niya ang sagot.
'Ask Juan. Perhaps he knows the answer.'

Pambihirang }
 } umulan dito.
Bihirang }
'It seldom rains here.'

Totoo raw na magiging kandidato siya.
'They say it's true that he will be a candidate.'

(4) Initial adverbs that are immediately followed by the rest of the sentence include:

<i>baka</i>	(expression of conjecture or anxiety)
<i>di</i>	'then'
<i>tila</i>	'it seems'

(*Baka* and *tila* are optionally non-pre-enclitic. *Di* is obligatorily non-pre-enclitic. Cf. §3.29.)

When it introduces a sentence with a nominal or adjectival predicate, or a predicate that includes an aspect-marked verb form, *baka* expresses conjecture. Some examples are:

Baka magkaibigan sila.
'Maybe they're friends.'

Baka mabuti iyon.
'That might be good.'

Baka nabasag ang baso.
'It's possible that the glass got broken.'

Baka also occurs in a special construction in which it is followed by the basic form of a verb (cf. §2.8) used as a predicate. This construction expresses anxiety on the part of the speaker about a possible undesired occurrence. Some examples are:

Baka mabasag ang baso. 'I'm afraid that the glass may get broken.'

Baka umulan bukas. 'I'm afraid it may rain tomorrow.'

The adverb *di* (which is a different word from the negator *di* – cf. §7.13) is commonly preceded by the class (1) initial adverb, *E* (see above): e.g.,

E. di gagawin ko agad.
'Well then, I'll do it right away.'

It may, however, occur without *E*: e.g.,

Di gagawin ko agad.
'Then I'll do it right away.'

An example of the use of *tila* is:

Tila magkakaroon ng parti bukas.
'It seems there's going to be a party tomorrow.'

§ 6.13. Sentence-final particles.

Tagalog has four particles – *a*, *e*, *ha*, and *o* – which occur only in sentence-final position. All four are conventionally written with a preceding comma, but only *ha* and *o* form separate intonation phrases (cf. §1.24, patterns 1.2 through 1.5); *a* and *e* are always included in a single intonation phrase with what precedes them (cf. §1.27, pattern IV.1).

A is used in sentences that express an event or situation that is contrary to expectation: either the speaker's own expectation (in which case the sentence often includes the enclitic particle *pala* – cf. §6.5, subsection (b)) or that of the person(s) addressed. *A* is often equivalent to an initial 'but' in English. Some

examples are:

Ayun (pala) sila, a!
'(Oh,) but there they are!'

Maganda pala ito, a!
'Oh, but this is pretty!'

Hindi na sila nakatira doon, a.
'But they don't live there any more.'

E has three main uses. Accompanying an explanation, it is equivalent to English 'it's because' or 'you see'; accompanying a contradiction of something said by another speaker (in which case the sentence often includes the enclitic particle *nga* – cf. §6.4, subsection (b.3)), it is equivalent to 'on the contrary'; in other cases (particularly in answer to questions), it expresses regret or sympathy, and may be equivalent to 'unfortunately.' Some examples are:

(Bakit hindi ka kumakain?)
'Why aren't you eating?'

Busog pa ako, e.
'It's because I'm still full.'

(Hindi ko nabili.)
'(I couldn't buy it.)'

Kulang ang pera ko, e.
'I didn't have enough money, you see.'

(Matalino ka, hindi ba?)
'(You're intelligent, aren't you?)'

Ikaw (nga) ang matalino, e.
'On the contrary, you're the intelligent one.'

(Mayayaman ang mga Santos.)
'(The Santoses are rich.)'

Mahihirap (nga) sila, e.
'On the contrary, they're poor.'

(Kumusta si Juan?)
'(How is Juan?)'

May sakit siya, e.
'He's sick, unfortunately.'

(Nakabili ka na ba ng kotse?)
'(Have you bought a car?)'

Hindi pa, e.
'Not yet.'

Ha is used only in informal contexts, in utterances directed toward people with whom one uses the second-person-singular pronoun (cf. §3.3). *Ha* may be added to a question, a command or request, or one of several types of social formulas (cf. §7.22). In these uses, *ha* expresses importunity. Examples are:

Aalis ka na ba, ha?
'Well, are you leaving now?' (Implication: 'Do answer me.')

Hintayin mo nga ako, ha?
'Please wait for me, won't you?'

Diyan ka na, ha?
'See you later, huh?'

Salamat, ha?
'Thank you.' (Implication: 'You'll accept my thanks, won't you?')

Sige na, ha?
'Okay?'

(After a question or a request, *ha* always carries a rising intonation pattern (pattern I.3, §1.24: /2↑/); after a command or social formula, it carries either this pattern or a sustained pattern (pattern I.4, §1.24: /2→/). When it carries the rising pattern, *ha* may express different degrees of importunity, according to whether it is spoken at normal speed or slowly, with the vowel diphthong. Mild importunity is expressed when *ha* is spoken at normal speed, a greater degree of importunity when it is spoken slowly.)

Ha is also used to suggest sarcasm or a challenge to an assertion made by the person addressed. (In these uses *ha* carries either a falling intonation pattern (pattern I.2: /2↓/) or one of several sustained patterns (patterns I.4 and I.5: /2→/ and /1→/).) Examples are:

Marunong ka, ha?
'You think you're smart, don't you?'

Hindi ka ba papasok, ha?
'So you're not going to school?' (We'll just see about that!')

O is used in informal situations either after a polite request that includes *nga* (cf. §5.29), in which case it increases the urgency of the request, or to direct the attention of the person(s) addressed, in which case it is equivalent to English 'Look!' (After a request, *o* carries a sustained intonation pattern (pattern I.5: /1→/); as an attention director, it carries either this pattern or a rising pattern (pattern I.3: /2↑/).) Examples are:

Tulongan mo nga ako, o.
'Come on, help me, please.'

Ayusin mo nga ito, o.
'How about fixing this, please.'

Ayun si Juan, o!
'Look, there's Juan!'

Basag ang baso, o.
'Look, the glass is broken.'

§ 6.14. Adverbial clauses: introduction.

A clause is a part of a sentence that itself has essentially the same internal structure as a sentence. An **ADVERBIAL CLAUSE** is a clause that occurs in the same sentence contexts as an adverbial, and that has a similar semantic function. (For a presentation of other clause types that occur in Tagalog, cf. §§3.28 (nominal clauses), 7.19 (coordinate clauses), and 7.20 (explanatory AT clauses).)

Most Tagalog adverbial clauses are introduced by a **SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION**, a word or phrase whose function is to specify the precise adverbial relation of the clause they introduce to the rest of the sentence. (Cf. §6.17, subsections (4) and (5), however, for a presentation of adverbial-clause types that lack a subordinating conjunction, the adverbial relation being expressed, instead, by enclitic particles.)

A sentence that includes an adverbial clause may be called a **COMPLEX SENTENCE**. A complex sentence always includes, in addition to the adverbial clause, a **MAIN CLAUSE**: a clause that is not introduced by a subordinating conjunction, and that, unlike the adverbial clause, is capable of occurring independently as a complete sentence. For example, in the complex sentence:

Pupunta siya sa Maynila kung papayagan siya ng Tatay.
'He will go to Manila if Father gives him permission.'

the main clause is *Pupunta siya sa Maynila* 'he will go to Manila' the subordinate clause, *kung papayagan siya ng Tatay* 'if Father gives him permission.' (In those few complex-sentence types that involve enclitic particles rather than subordinating conjunctions, the distinction between the main clause and the adverbial

clause is not always perfectly clear, since both clauses are usually marked by enclitic particles, and both may in most cases occur independently.)

An adverbial clause may occur either before or after the main clause. Thus, also:

Kung papayagan siya ng Tatay, pupunta siya sa Maynila.
'If Father gives him permission, he will go to Manila.'

If the adverbial clause precedes the main clause, it normally constitutes a separate intonation phrase, and is followed by a pause (represented in conventional writing by a comma). A sentence with an initial adverbial clause followed by a pause involves contrastive inversion (cf. §7.2, subsection (2)), and, potentially at least, carries contrastive meaning. The above sentence, for example, might occur in a context such as:

Kung papayagan siya ng Tatay, pupunta siya sa Maynila.
Kung hindi siya papayagan, mamamalagi siya rito.
'If Father gives him permission, he will go to Manila.
'If he isn't given permission, he will stay here.'

Less commonly, an initial adverbial clause is followed by the inversion marker *ay* (cf. §7.2, subsection (1)):

Kung papayagan siya ng Tatay ay pupunta siya sa Maynila.
'He will go to Manila if Father gives him permission.' (formal style)

Each clause in a complex sentence may be said to be derived from an underlying sentence. The underlying sentences represented in the above illustrations are, for example:

Pupunta siya sa Maynila.
'He will go to Manila.'

and:

Papayagan siya ng Tatay.
'Father will give him permission.'

In cases where the complex sentence includes only one intonation phrase (i.e., in cases where there is no pause between the clauses), the intonation pattern of the sentence underlying the main clause serves as the intonation pattern of the entire complex sentence. Thus *Pupunta siya sa Maynila kung papayagan siya ng Tatay* has the same statement intonation (or the same range of possible statement intonations) as *Pupunta siya sa Maynila*. Similarly, the complex sentences:

Pupunta ba siya sa Maynila kung papayagan siya ng Tatay?
'Will he go to Manila if Father gives him permission?'

and:

Ano ang gagawin niya kung papayagan siya ng Tatay?
'What will he do if Father gives him permission?'

have, respectively, the yes–no–question intonation and information–question intonation of the sentences that underlie their main clauses.

In cases where the adverbial clause is initial and is followed by a pause (i.e., in contrastive inversion), the adverbial clause is given an appropriate non-final intonation pattern, while the main clause retains the intonation pattern of the sentence that underlies it. Thus the final clauses of the following sentences have,

respectively, statement, yes–no–question, and information–question intonation:

Kung papayagan siya ng Tatay, pupunta siya sa Maynila.
'If Father gives him permission, he will go to Manila.'

Kung papayagan siya ng Tatay, pupunta ba siya sa Maynila?
'If Father gives him permission, will he go to Manila?'

Kung papayagan siya ng Tatay, ano ang gagawin niya?
'If Father gives him permission, what will he do?'

(For a summary of the intonation patterns that occur in statements, yes–no questions, and information questions, cf. §1.28. For a more detailed treatment of the intonation of contrastive–inversion constructions, cf. §7.2, subsection (2).)

While main clause normally retains the form of the sentence that underlies it, the adverbial clause may in some cases represent an altered form of the underlying sentence. The most common alteration that occurs in adverbial clauses is a change in the form of a verbal predicate. Some subordinating conjunctions may be followed by basic verb forms (cf. §2.8) as well as by the inflected forms that occur in independent sentences. An example is the subordinating conjunction *bago* 'before,' as in:

Bago $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{matulog} \\ \text{natulog} \end{array} \right\}$ ang mga bata, nagkuwento ako sa kanila.
'Before the children went to bed, I told them a story.'

(cf. Natulog ang mga bata.
'The children went to bed.'
but not: *Matulog ang mga bata.)

Other subordinating conjunctions may be followed only by basic verb forms, never by inflected forms. An example is *para* 'so that,' as in:

Kumain na tayo para makarating ako sa istasyon nang maaga.
'Let's eat now so that I'll be able to get to the station early.'

There is no:

*Kumain na tayo para makakarating ako sa istasyon nang maaga.
(cf. Makakarating ako sa istasyon nang maaga.
'I'll be able to get to the station early.')

There is also a type of alteration that may affect either the adverbial clause or the main clause, whichever happens to be non-initial: viz., the topic of the non-initial clause is commonly deleted when its referent is the same as that of the initial clause. In such cases, if the topic is capable of being expressed by a personal pronoun (i.e., if it represents a human being or pet animal – cf. §3.3), this pronoun may or may not occur in the non-initial clause: e.g.,

Hindi pupunta si Juan sa miting kung pagod (siya).
Kung pagod si Juan, hindi (siya) pupunta sa miting.

'Juan won't go to the meeting if he's tired.'
'If Juan is tired, he won't go to the meeting.'

If the topic is not capable of being expressed by a personal pronoun, the non-initial clause is normally topicless: e.g.,

Hindi ko bibilhin ang damit kung mahal.
Kung mahal ang damit, hindi ko bibilhin.

'I won't buy the dress if it's expensive.'
'If the dress is expensive, I won't buy it.'

(Tagalog has no equivalent of English 'it' for referring pronominally to inanimate objects – cf. §3.3.)

As is noted in §3.29, subsection (I.A.8), the majority of subordinating conjunctions are obligatorily non-pre-enclitic (i.e., are never immediately followed by enclitic pronouns or particles). A small number of subordinating conjunctions are, however, optionally pre-enclitic, and at least two, *bago* 'before' and *kundi* 'if... not,' are obligatorily pre-enclitic (cf. §3.29, subsection (II.A.7)). In subsequent sections special attention is called to those subordinating conjunctions that are optionally or obligatorily pre-enclitic.

Tagalog adverbial clauses are presented in subsequent sections as follows: time and conditional clauses in §6.15; cause, result, and purpose clauses in §6.16; concessive clauses in §6.17; other adverbial clauses in §6.18. (cf. also §7.18 for a presentation of indefinite adverbial clauses.)

§6.15. Time and conditional clauses.

Tagalog time clauses and conditional clauses are conveniently presented together, since there are two subordinating conjunctions, *(ka)pag(ka)* and *kung*, that introduce clauses whose English equivalents are in some cases time clauses (introduced by 'when'), in others conditional clauses (introduced by 'if'), and in still others either time clauses or conditional clauses. In addition to *(ka)pag(ka)* and *kung*, there is one other subordinating conjunction, *(kung) sakali*, that introduces conditional clauses, and there are various other subordinating conjunctions that introduce time clauses. These time clauses are divisible into four main classes on the basis of the types of predicates that may occur within them. One class accepts either verbless (i.e., nominal or adjectival) or inflected-verbal predicates; a second accepts either verbless or basic-form predicates; a third accepts either inflected or basic-form predicates; and a fourth accepts verbless, inflected, or basic-form predicates.

Tagalog time and conditional clauses are presented below under the following headings. (The subordinating conjunctions that introduce clauses belonging to the various classes are listed alphabetically in parentheses after each heading. If a conjunction is analyzable as including a linker (-ng or *na/ng* the linker is written separately, after a plus sign.)

- (1) Time/conditional clauses (*(ka)pag(ka)*, *kung*, *(kung) sakali + na/ng*)
- (2) Clauses with verbless or inflected predicates (*haba + na/ng*, *hangga't*, *miyentras (+ na/ng)*, *noon + -ng or na/ng*, *ngayon at*, *ngayon + na/ng*, *samantala + na/ng*, *tuwi + na/ng*)
- (3) Clauses with verbless or basic-form predicates (*oras na*, *sa sandali + na/ng*)
- (4) Clauses with inflected or basic-form predicates (*bago*, *hanggang (sa)*, *matapos + -ng or na/ng*, *pagkatapos + ng or na/ng*)
- (5) Clauses with verbless, inflected, or basic-form predicates (*(mag)buhat nang*, *(mag)mula nang*, *nang*)

(1) TIME/CONDITIONAL CLAUSES. Clauses in this class are introduced by *(ka)pag(ka)*, *kung*, or *(kung) sakali + na/ng*. (The notation *(ka)pag(ka)* represents any of the following forms: *pag* [*pag*], *kapag* [*kapag*], *pagka* [*pagka'*], *kapagka* [*kapagka'*]. Of these *pag* is the most common. The notation *(kung) sakali* represents *kung sakali* and *sakali*.) *(Ka)pag(ka)* introduces clauses with verbless or inflected predicates; *kung* and *(kung) sakali + na/ng* introduce, in addition to these, clauses with basic-form predicates.

Only *kung* is used in clauses that express a condition that is contrary to fact. The contrary-to-fact clause may have either a verbless or an inflected predicate. The main clause normally includes the enclitic

particle *sana* (cf. §6.5, subsection (e)), which makes the contrary-to-fact meaning of the *kung* clause explicit. Some examples are:

Kung nandito si Rosa, mas masaya sana tayo.
'If Rosa were here, we would be happier.'

Kung ako si Juan, hindi ko sana ginawa iyon.
'If I were Juan, I would not have done that.'

Kung aalis ako bukas, binabalot ko sana ang aking kagamitan ngayon.
'If I were leaving tomorrow, I'd be packing my things today.'

Tumatanggap sana siya ng mabuting marka kung nag-aaral siya.
'He'd be getting a good grade if he were studying.'

Gumaling ka sana agad kung ininom mo ang gamot na ito.
'You'd have recovered right away if you had taken this medicine.'

Kung (hin)di
Kundi } (lamang) napakalayo ng Maynila, papag-aaralin
ko sana siya roon.
'If (only) Manila weren't so far away, I'd send him to school there.'

(In contrary-to-fact clauses, *kundi* 'if . . . not' is an optional contraction of *kung* and *di* (itself an abbreviation of *hindi* 'not' – cf. §7.13). It is often followed by the enclitic particle *lamang* 'only' (cf. §6.4, subsection (d)). The contraction does not occur in *kung* clauses of other types. As is noted in §3.29, subsection (II.A.7), *kundi* is obligatorily pre-enclitic. There is a homonymous coordinating conjunction, *kundi* 'but, except,' which is presented in §7.20.)

Except in the case of clauses that express a condition contrary to fact, *kung* and *(ka)pag(ka)* are interchangeable when the clause they introduce has a verbless or an imperfective-aspect verbal predicate. Such a clause may be equivalent to an English 'when' clause (where the 'when' clause represents a recurrent or repeatable situation or action), or to either an 'if' or a 'when' clause. Whatever the English equivalent, the Tagalog clause expresses a situation or action that is wholly or partly concurrent with that expressed in the main clause. Some examples are:

(Ka)pag(ka)
Kung } hindi mo kailangan ito, itatago ko na.
'If you don't need this, I'll put it away now.'

Maasim ang prutas na ito } (ka)pag(ka)
kung } hilaw.
'This fruit is sour when it's unripe.'

(Ka)pag(ka)
Kung } mabuti ang panahon, pumupunta kami sa tabing-dagat.
'If/When the weather is good, we go to the seashore.'

Hindi ako tutugtog ng piyano $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(ka)pag(ka)} \\ \text{kung} \end{array} \right\}$ natutulog ang Tatay.
 'I won't play the piano if Father is sleeping.'

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(Ka)pag(ka)} \\ \text{Kung} \end{array} \right\}$ nagsasalita ng Tagalog si Juan, natatawa kami.
 'When Juan speaks Tagalog, we laugh.'

Madalas silang dumadalaw sa Lola $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(ka)pag(ka)} \\ \text{kung} \end{array} \right\}$ lumalakad sila buhat sa iskuela.
 'They often visit Grandmother if/when they walk from school.'

(Kung) sakali + na/-ng is not used to introduce a clause with an imperfective—aspect (or a perfective—aspect) verbal predicate, but may introduce a clause with a verbless predicate, provided the main clause has a predicate verb in the contemplated aspect. The *(kung) sakali + na/-ng* clause is equivalent to an English clause introduced by 'if' or 'in case': e.g.,

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(Kung) sakaling mabuti ang panahon, pupunta kami sa tabing-dagat.} \\ \text{'If} \\ \text{'In case} \end{array} \right\}$ the weather is good, we'll go to the seashore.'

A clause in which *(ka)pag(ka)* is followed by a perfective—aspect predicate represents an action to be completed in the future, prior to the action expressed in the main clause. The *(ka)pag(ka)* clause is usually translatable by either an 'if' clause or a 'when' clause. Examples are:

$\text{(Ka)pag(ka) nakita ko siya, sasabihin ko sa kaniya ang nangyari.}$
 'If/When I see him, I'll tell him what happened.'

$\text{Bumili ka ng gatas (ka)pag(ka) nagpunta ka sa palengke.}$
 'Buy some milk if/when you go to the market.'

Essentially the same meaning may be expressed by a *kung* or *(kung) sakali + na/-ng* clause with a contemplated—aspect predicate, except that in these clauses the conditional nature of the action is more explicit, the English equivalent of the *kung* clause normally having 'if,' that of the *(kung) sakali + na/-ng* clause normally having 'in case':

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Kung} \\ \text{(Kung) sakaling} \end{array} \right\}$ makikita ko siya, sasabihin ko sa kanya ang nangyari.
 $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'If} \\ \text{'In case} \end{array} \right\}$ I see him, I'll tell him what happened.'

$\text{Bumili ka ng gatas} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{kung} \\ \text{(kung) sakaling} \end{array} \right\}$ magpupunta ka sa palengke.
 $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'Buy some milk} \\ \text{'if} \\ \text{'in case} \end{array} \right\}$ you go to the market.'

((*Ka*)/*pag*(*ka*)) does not occur in a clause with a contemplated–aspect predicate. When *kung* occurs in a clause with a perfective–aspect predicate, the clause usually expresses a condition contrary to fact (see above), but may also express a simple condition in the past: e.g.,

Kung naabutan niya ang bus, hindi siya mahuhuli.
'If he was able to catch the bus, he won't be late.'

A basic verb form alternates freely with a contemplated form in *kung* and (*kung*) *sakali* + *na/-ng* clauses of the type just illustrated. Thus, also:

Kung	}	makita ko siya, sasabihin ko sa kaniya ang nangyari.
(Kung) sakaling		

'If	}	I see him, I'll tell him what happened.'
'In case		

A basic verb form may also follow *kung* (but not (*kung*) *sakali* + *na/-ng*) in a sentence whose main clause is equational or includes an imperfective verbal predicate. In these cases, the main clause expresses an action or condition characteristically associated with the action or condition expressed in the *kung* clause, and the *kung* clause is normally equivalent to an English 'when' clause. Normally the topic of the *kung* clause and that of the main clause have the same referent in sentences of this type. When this referent is a human being or pet animal, the non-initial clause either has a personal–pronoun topic or lacks an expressed topic. When the referent is not a human being or pet animal, the non-initial clause is topicless. Some examples are:

Kung magsalita ng Ingles si Juan, parang Amerikano (siya).
'When Juan speaks English, he sounds like an American.'

Kung alisin sa tubig ang isdang ito, namamatay agad.
'When this fish is taken out of the water, it dies at once.'

Matamis ang prutas na ito kung mahinog.
'This fruit is sweet when it ripens.'

(As is noted in §3.29, subsection (7), (*ka*)/*pag*(*ka*) is optionally pre-enclitic, while *kung* is obligatorily non-pre-enclitic. Thus:

(Ka)pag(ka)	{	dinadalaw ko siya,	}	palagi akong nagdadala ng regalo.
		ko siya dinadalaw,		
'When I visit him, I always bring a present.'				

but only:

Kung dinadalaw ko siya, palagi akong nagdadala ng regalo.
(Same meaning)

(*Kung*) *sakali* is optionally pre-enclitic with enclitic particles, and obligatorily non-pre-enclitic with personal pronouns.

(2) CLAUSES WITH INFLECTED OR VERBLESS PREDICATES. Clauses in this class are presented below as follows: (a) clauses introduced by *haba* + *na/-ng*, *hangga't miyentras* + (optionally) *na/-ng*, and *samantala* + *na/-ng*; (b) clauses introduced by *noon*; (c) clauses introduced by *ngayon* at and *ngayon* + *na/-ng*; (d) clauses introduced by *tuwi* + *na/-ng*.

(a) *Haba + na/-ng*, *hangga't*, *miyentras*, and *samantala + na/-ng* all introduce clauses equivalent to English 'while' clauses. The clause may have a verbless or an imperfective verbal predicate. Examples are:

Habang narito ako, }	}	dapat akong tumulong.
Haba akong narito, }		
Hangga't narito ako, }		
Miyentras narito ako, }		
Miyentras ako(ng) narito, }		
Samantalang narito ako, }		
Samantala akong narito, }		
'While I'm here, I ought to help.'		

(*Haba*, *miyentras*, and *samantala* are optionally pre-enclitic; *hangga't* is obligatorily non-pre-enclitic – cf. §3.29, subsection (II.A.7).)

Habang }	}	nagtatrabaho si Juan, umaawit siya.
Hangga't }		
Miyentras }		
Samantalang }		
'While Juan works, he sings.'		

Hangga't may also mean 'as long as,' as in:

Hangga't ginagawa niya ang trabaho, wala akong tutol.
'As long as he does the work, I have no objection.'

Miyentras, while common in ordinary conversation, is not used in formal speech or writing.

(b) *Noon + -ng* or *na/-ng* introduces clauses equivalent to English 'when' clauses that refer to situations or actions that are confined to the past, and that are concurrent with the situation or action expressed by the main clause. The *noon* clause may have a verbless or an imperfective verbal predicate. Examples are:

Nakatira siya sa dormitoryo noong istudyante siya. 'He lived in the dormitory when he was a student.'		
Noon daw (na) nagtatrabaho }	}	siya sa pabrika, malaki ang suweldo niya.
Noong nagtatrabaho raw }		
'They say that when he was working in the factory, his pay was large.'		

(The same meanings may be expressed by clauses introduced by *nang* – see (5.c), below.)

As the last example shown, *noon* is optionally pre-enclitic with respect to enclitic particles (cf. §6.6, subsection 2(b)) but obligatorily non-pre-enclitic with respect to pronouns (cf. §3.29, subsection (I.A.10)).

(c) *Ngayon at* and *ngayon + na/-ng* are equivalent to English 'now that.' They introduce clauses with a verbless predicate or with any inflected verbal predicate. Examples are:

Ngayon at }	}	mayaman na siya, hindi na siya dumadalaw sa amin.
Ngayong }		
'Now that he's rich, he no longer visits us.'		

Makakatulong na siya	}	ngayon at	}	magsisimula	}	siya ng paggawa.
		ngayong		nagsisimula		
				nagsimula		

'He'll soon be able to help now that he $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{is about to start} \\ \text{is starting} \\ \text{has started} \end{array} \right\}$ to work.'

(d) *Tuwi + na/-ng* introduces clauses equivalent to English clauses introduced by 'every time (that).' Imperfective–aspect predicates and contemplated–aspect predicates alternate freely within *tuwi + na/-ng* clauses: e.g.,

Tuwing $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nakikita} \\ \text{makikita} \end{array} \right\}$ ko iyon, naaalala ko sila.
'Every time I see that, I remember them.'

Umiiyak ang bata tuwing $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{umaalis} \\ \text{aalis} \end{array} \right\}$ sa bahay ang ina.
'The child cries every time the mother leaves the house.'

Perfective–aspect predicates do not occur within *tuwi + na/-ng* clauses. Examples of *tuwi + na/-ng* clauses with verbless predicates are:

Tuwing narito si Juan, nagkakaroon kami ng pagtatalo.
'Every time Juan is here, we have an argument.'

Tuwing may pera daw siya, naglalasing (siya).
'They say that every time he has some money, he gets drunk.'

(*Tuwi* is optionally pre-enclitic; thus the following also occurs (cf. the last example above):

Tuwi daw siyang may pera, naglalasing siya.
'They say that every time he has some money, he gets drunk.')

(3) CLAUSES WITH BASIC-FORM OR VERBLESS PREDICATES. Clauses in this class are introduced by *oras na* or *sa sandali + na/-ng*. The clauses are equivalent to English clauses introduced by 'the moment (that)' or 'the minute (that),' when these clauses refer to future time. *Oras na* connotes strong emotion; it is used, for example, in warning or threats: e.g.,

Magpapakamatay ako oras na maging di-matapat sa akin ang mangingibig ko.
'I'll kill myself the moment my lover is untrue to me.'

Oras na makita ko siya, itatapon ko ito sa mukha niya.
'The minute I see him, I'll throw this in his face.'

Sa sandali + na/-ng lacks this connotation. Some examples are:

Magpalakpakan kayo sa sandaling iabot ko ito sa kaniya.
'Applaud the moment I hand this to him.'

Sa $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sandali pong dumating siya,} \\ \text{sandaling dumating po siya,} \end{array} \right\}$ teteleponohan ko kayo.
'The minute he arrives, I'll phone you, sir/madam.'

(As the last example shows, *sa sandali* is optionally pre-enclitic with enclitic particles, obligatorily non-pre-enclitic with enclitic pronouns.)

(4) CLAUSES WITH INFLECTED OR BASIC-FORM PREDICATES. Clauses in this class are presented below as follows: (a) clauses introduced by *bago*; (b) clauses introduced by *hanggang (sa)*; (c) clauses introduced by *matapos + -ng* or *na/-ng ang pagkatapos + -ng* or *na/-ng*.

(a) *Bago* is equivalent to English 'before.' A *bago* clause with a basic-form predicate is the most frequent equivalent of an English 'before' clause or of a phrase consisting of 'before' plus the '-ing' form of a verb. A basic-form predicate alternates with, but is preferred to, an imperfective-aspect predicate to express habitual or repeated action in the present or past. In each of the following examples, the first of the two alternative verb forms in the *bago* clause is preferred. (The main clause of a sentence that includes a *bago* clause often includes the enclitic particle *muna* 'first' – cf. §6.4, subsection (h).)

Bago siya $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mag-aral} \\ \text{nag-aaral} \end{array} \right\}$ ng liksyon, nagbabasa muna (siya) ng diyaryo.

'Before studying his lessons, he $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{reads} \\ \text{used to read} \end{array} \right\}$ the newspaper (first).'

Bago $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mahinog} \\ \text{nahuhinog} \end{array} \right\}$ ang prutas na ito, maasim.
'Before this fruit ripens, it's sour.'

Dati, palaging may handaan kina Alkalde Guinto bago $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{magsimula} \\ \text{nagsisimula} \end{array} \right\}$ ang kombensyon.
'Formerly, there was always a party at Mayor Guinto's before the convention started.'

(When, as is often the case, the topic of the *bago* clause and that of the main clause have the same referent, the non-initial clause either optionally or obligatorily lacks an expressed topic: optionally when the topic may be expressed by a personal pronoun (as in the first example above), obligatorily when it may not (as in the second). As is noted in §3.29, subsection (II.A.7), *bago* is obligatorily pre-enclitic – cf. the first example above.)

A basic-form predicate is also used to express contemplated action. If the contemplated action is habitual, the sentence often includes an adverb such as *buhat ngayon* 'from now on,' *(pa)lagi* 'always,' or *gabi-gabi* 'every night.' Examples are:

Bago magsimula ang miting, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{magsasalita ang Alkalde.} \\ \text{nandoon na kami.} \end{array} \right\}$
'Before the meeting starts, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the Mayor will speak.} \\ \text{we will be there (already).} \end{array} \right\}$

Buhat ngayon, lagi nilang isususi ang mga pintuan bago sila matulog.
'From now on, they will always lock the doors before they go to bed.'

A contemplated-aspect predicate occurs in a *bago* clause only in sentences expressing strong requests for future habitual action, as in:

Buhat nga ngayon, lagi mong isususi ang mga pintuan bago ka matutulog.
'From now on, please lock the doors before you go to bed.'

(In all other contexts, the basic-form predicate is used to express future habitual action; thus, for example:

Mag-aaral siya ng liksyon niya bago siya matulog gabi-gabi.
'He will study his lessons before he goes to bed every night.'

but never:

*Mag-aaral siya ng liksyon niya bago siya matutulog gabi-gabi.)

To express completed action, a perfective-aspect predicate is used in the *bago* clause, as in the following:

Bago natulog ang mga bata, uminom sila ng gatas.
'Before the children went to bed, they drank some milk.'

Karpintero siya bago siya nagsimulang magtrabaho dito.
'He was a carpenter before he began to work here.'

A basic-form predicate occurs in the *bago* clause instead of a perfective-aspect predicate where the verb is one that normally forms a topicless phenomenal sentence (cf. §7.21) as in the following:

Dumating sila bago	{	mag-ala-una. mag-Pasko.
'They arrived before	{	one o'clock.' Christmas.'

or where the topic of the *bago* clause is omitted (by reason of having the same referent as the main clause, as noted above), as in the following:

Uminom ng gatas ang mga bata bago matulog.
'The children drank some milk before going to bed.'

Pinitas niya ang mangga bago mahinog.
'He picked the mango before it got ripe.'

Bago does not normally introduce clauses with an equational structure. In most cases the Tagalog equivalent of an English 'before' clause that includes a form of 'be' plus a predicate nominal or adjectival is a *bago* clause with a predicate *maging* construction (cf. §5.26): e.g.,

Mas masaya siya bago siya	{	naging-Presidente. naging-bantog.
'He was happier before he was/became	{	President.' famous.'

There is no **bago siya Presidente* or **bago siya bantog*.

Unlike 'before,' *bago* does not occur before a nominal within an adverbial phrase. The Tagalog equivalent of an English time phrase consisting of 'before, plus a nominal – e.g., 'before one o'clock,' 'before breakfast,' 'before evening' – is normally expressed by *bago* plus a basic-form verb, as in:

Magpasyal tayo bago { mag-ala-una.
mag-almusal.
gumabi.

'Let's take a walk before { (it's) one o'clock.'
(having) breakfast.'
(it's) evening.'

(b) *Hanggang* and *hanggang sa* alternate freely in clauses equivalent to English clauses introduced by 'until.' A *hanggang (sa)* clause with basic-form predicate may occur in a sentence expressing a past, present, or future situation or action. Examples are:

Hanggang (sa) magkaroon din sila ng sariling bahay, { titira
tumitira } sila sa amin.
tumira }

'Until they { get
get } a house of their own (too), they { will live
are living } with us.'
got } lived }

Ibibilad }
Ibinibilad } nila sa araw hanggang (sa) matuyo.
Ibinilad }

'They { will expose
expose } it to the sun until it { dries.'
exposed } dries.'
dried.'

A perfective-aspect predicate alternates freely with a basic-form predicate within a *hanggang (sa)* clause that expressed a completed action. Thus, also:

Ibinilad nila sa araw hanggang (sa) natuyo.
'They exposed it to the sun until it dried.'

Contemplated-aspect and imperfective-aspect predicates do not occur after *hanggang (sa)*.

Hanggang is obligatorily non-pre-enclitic (cf. §3.29, subsection (I.A.10)).

(c) As subordinating conjunctions, *matapos* and *pagkatapos* are both equivalent to English 'after.' (*Matapos* also occurs as the basic form of a verb meaning 'finish,' and *pagkatapos* as the aspectless gerund – cf. §3.26 – related to this verb.) They are followed (when used as subordinating conjunctions) by either the linker *-ng* or the linker *na/-ng*. (Occurring directly after *matapos* or *pagkatapos*, the linker *-ng* has a zero form, the linker *na/-ng* the form /na/ – cf. §§3.8 and 3.11. Since *matapos* and *pagkatapos* are both optionally pre-enclitic – cf. §3.29, subsection (II.A.7) – enclitic personal pronouns and/or particles may occur between them and the linker, in which case the linker, whether *-ng* or *na/-ng*, usually has the form /n/.)

A *matapos* or *pagkatapos* clause with a basic-form predicate is the most frequent equivalent of an English 'after' clause or of a phrase consisting of 'after' plus the '-ing' form of a verb. Examples are:

Matapos }
Pagkatapos } (na) linisin ng katulong ang salas { mag-aaral
nag-aaral } ako roon.
nag-aral }

'After the maid $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{cleans} \\ \text{cleans} \\ \text{cleaned} \end{array} \right\}$ the living room, I $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{am going to study} \\ \text{study} \\ \text{studied} \end{array} \right\}$ there.'

Uuwi $\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \\ \end{array} \right\}$ na siya $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{matapos} \\ \text{pagkatapos} \end{array} \right\}$ $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(na) basahin (niya)} \\ \text{niyang basahin} \end{array} \right\}$ ang mga sulat.

'He $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{will go} \\ \text{goes} \\ \text{went} \end{array} \right\}$ home right after reading the letters.'

If the predicate verb in a *pagkatapos* clause is actor-focus (cf. §2.10), the actor is expressed by a *ng* phrase, rather than an *ang* phrase. In a *matapos* clause with an actor-focus predicate verb, the actor is, as usual, expressed by an *ang* phrase. Compare the *pagkatapos* and *matapos* clauses in the following sentences:

Matapos $\left. \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(na) magtalumpati siya,} \\ \text{siyang magtalumpati,} \end{array} \right\} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(na) magtalumpati niya,} \\ \text{niyang magtalumpati,} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$ kumanta kami ng ilang awit.
 Pagkatapos $\left. \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(na) magtalumpati niya,} \\ \text{niyang magtalumpati,} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$
 'After he spoke, we sang a few songs.'

Aalis kami $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{matapos (na) kumain ng hapunan ang mga bata.} \\ \text{pagkatapos (na) kumain ng hapunan ng mga bata.} \end{array} \right\}$
 'We'll leave after the children eat lunch.'

Contemplated-aspect and imperfective-aspect predicates do not occur after *matapos* and *pagkatapos*. Perfective-aspect predicates are used to imply a contradiction between the expected consequence of the action expressed in the subordinate clause and the actual consequence, as expressed in the main clause: e.g.,

Matapos $\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\}$ ko siyang tinulungan, sinisi pa niya ako.
 Pagkatapos $\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\}$
 '(Even) after I helped him, he still blamed me.'

Like *bago* (cf. (3.2), above), *matapos* and *pagkatapos* do not normally introduce clauses with an equational structure. (The usual equivalent of an English 'after' clause that includes a form of 'be' plus a predicate nominal or adjectival is a *nang* clause (cf. (5.b), below) with a predicate formed by the corresponding Tagalog nominal or adjectival – or by a *maging* construction (cf. §5.17) – followed by the enclitic *na*, thus:

Nang $\left. \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{biyuda} \\ \text{maging biyuda} \end{array} \right\} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{matanda} \\ \text{maging matanda} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$ na ang reyna, pambihira na siyang naglakbay.

'After the queen $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{was} \\ \text{became} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{a widow} \\ \text{old} \end{array} \right\}$, she seldom traveled.'

Again like *bago*, *matapos* does not occur before nominals within adverbial phrases. *Pagkatapos*, however, occurs before *ng* plus a nominal in the time-gerund subclass of adverbial phrases (cf. §6.8, subsection (3).)

(5) CLAUSES WITH VERBLESS, INFLECTED, OR BASIC-FORM PREDICATES. Clauses in this class are presented below as follows: (a) clauses introduced by *(mag)buhat nang* and *(mag)mula nang*; (b) clauses introduced by *nang*.

(a) *(Mag)buhat nang* and *(mag)mula nang* introduce clauses equivalent to English time clauses introduced by 'since.' The clauses may have verbless, basic-form, or perfective-aspect predicates, the latter two alternating freely. (Clauses with verbless predicates normally include the enclitic particle *pa* 'still, yet' – cf. §6.2.) Some examples are:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(Mag)buhat} \\ \text{(Mag)mula} \end{array} \right\} \text{ nang } \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{bata} \\ \text{maliit} \end{array} \right\} \text{ pa si Linda, gusto na niyang maging mang-aawit.}$

'Since Linda was $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{a child} \\ \text{small} \end{array} \right\}$, she has wanted to become a singer.'

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(Mag)buhat} \\ \text{(Mag)mula} \end{array} \right\} \text{ nang } \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{mamatay} \\ \text{namatay} \end{array} \right\} \text{ ang awawa niya, hindi na siya nakagawa ng trabaho.}$
'Since his wife died, he hasn't been able to do any work.'

(Mag)buhat and *(mag)mula* are obligatorily non-pre-enclitic with respect to enclitic pronouns (cf. §3.29, subsection (I.A.10)), but optionally non-pre-enclitic with respect to enclitic particles (cf. §6.6, subsection (2.a)).

(b) *Nang*, like *noon + -ng* or *na/ng* (cf. (2.b), above), introduces clauses equivalent to English 'when' clauses that refer to situations or actions confined to the past. A *nang* clause with a basic-form predicate expresses an action occurring immediately before the action expressed by the main clause; the English equivalent of the clause may often be introduced by either 'as soon as' or 'when.' Examples are:

Nang makita ko siya, nakilala ko siya agad.
'As soon as $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{I saw him, I recognized him at once.} \\ \text{When} \end{array} \right\}$

Natawa siya nang sabihin ko sa kaniya ang nangyari.
'He laughed when I told him what had happened.'

A *nang* clause with a verbless or imperfective-aspect predicate expresses a situation or action concurrent with that expressed in the main clause. (*Nang* and *noon + na/ng* are interchangeable in such cases.) Examples are:

Nang nasa unibersidad ba siya, nakatira siya sa dormitoryo?
'When he was in the university, did he live in the dormitory?'

Nang nagtatrabaho siya sa pabrika, malaki ang suweldo niya.
'When he was working in the factory, his pay was large.'

Contemplated–aspect and perfective–aspect predicates have their usual meanings in *nang* clauses:

Nang aalis na ako, tinawag niya ako.
'When I was about to leave, he called me.'

Nasa Maynila sila nang nagsimula ang World War II.
'They were in Manila when World War II began.'

§6.16. Cause, result, and purpose clauses.

The equivalent of an English clause introduced by 'because' is expressed by a Tagalog clause introduced by one of the following subordinating conjunctions: *dahil (sa)*, *dahilan sa*, *gawa ng*, *porke*, *(sa)pagka't*. *Dahil (sa)*, *dahilan sa*, and *gawa ng* are common in both formal and informal contexts. *Porke* is used only in informal contexts, and expresses an ironic or critical attitude (often expressible in English by 'just because'). *(Sa)pagka't* is more common in formal than in informal contexts. Subordinate clauses expressing cause (and those expressing result – see below) may have verbless or inflected predicates, but not basic–form predicates. Some examples are:

Dahil (sa) Dahilan sa Gawa ng	}	nahuli ako, hindi ko narinig ang takdang aralin.
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'Because I was late, I didn't hear the assignment.'

Hindi siya makakadal sa pulong	{	dahil (sa) dahilan sa gawa ng	marami siyang gawain.
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'He won't be able to go to the meeting because he has a lot to do.'

Porke	{	tumanggap siya siya tumanggap	ng mabuting marka, hindi na siya nakikipag-usap sa atin.
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'Just because he got a good grade, he no longer speaks to us.'

(Sa)pagka't mataba ang lupa, umunlad ang mga dayuhan.
'Because the land was rich, the immigrants prospered.'

(*Porke* is optionally pre-enclitic; the other subordinating conjunctions are obligatorily non-pre-enclitic.)

The equivalent of an English clause introduced by 'since' (in the meaning 'as a result of the fact that') is expressed in Tagalog by a clause introduced by *(ya)yaman* plus the linker *nal-ng*. Examples are:

(Ya)yaman daw na umuulan, ipapagpaliban ang laro.
'They say that since it's raining, the game will be postponed.'

Mag-aaral ako bukas (ya)yamang walang panahon ngayon.
'I'll study tomorrow since there's no time today.'

The subordinating conjunction *kaya* introduces clauses that express the result of the action expressed by the main clause. When the *kaya* clause follows the main clause, it is often translatable by an English clause introduced by 'with the result that' or 'so': e.g.,

Tinukso ni Juan ang bata, kaya umiyak.
'Juan teased the child, with the result that it cried.'

May tipan ako nang alas dos, kaya dapat akong umalis.
'I have an appointment at two o'clock, so I have to leave.'

When the *kaya* clause is sentence-initial, it is often translatable by an English clause introduced by ‘the reason (that),’ with ‘is/was that’ preceding the equivalent of the non-initial clause. The non-initial clause may optionally be preceded by *dahil (sa)*, without change of meaning. Examples are:

Kaya umiyak ang bata, (dahil (sa)) tinukso ni Juan.
 ‘The reason that the child cried was that Juan teased her.’

Kaya dapat akong umalis, (dahil (sa)) may tipan ako nang alas dos.
 ‘The reason I have to leave is that I have an appointment at two o’clock.’

Clauses expressing purpose (equivalent to English clauses introduced by ‘(in order) to,’ ‘in order that,’ ‘so that’) are introduced by *para*, or *upang*. *Para* may be used in either informal or formal contexts, *upang* only in formal contexts. Only basic-form verbal predicates occur in purpose clauses. Some examples are:

Matulog na tayo $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{para} \\ \text{upang} \end{array} \right\}$ makaalis tayo nang maaga bukas.
 ‘Let’s go to bed now so that we can leave early tomorrow.’

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Para} \\ \text{Upang} \end{array} \right\}$ hindi magutom ang mga bata, nagdala kami ng tinapay.
 ‘In order that the children would not get hungry, we took along some bread.’

Nagpunta siya sa bayan $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{para} \\ \text{upang} \end{array} \right\}$ bumili ng mga kasangkapan.
 ‘He went to town to buy some tools.’

(In some cases, purpose may also be expressed by a clause introduced by the coordinating conjunction *at nang* – cf. §7.19, subsection (7).)

§6.17. Concessive clauses.

Tagalog concessive clauses (equivalent to English clauses introduced by ‘(al)though,’ ‘even though,’ ‘even if,’ ‘in spite of the fact that,’ etc.) may be introduced by one of a variety of subordinating conjunctions. A concessive meaning may also be expressed by the use of certain enclitic particles. Concessive clauses introduced by subordinating conjunctions are divisible into three classes on the basis of the types of verbal predicates that may occur within them:

- (1) Clauses with inflected predicates (clauses introduced by *bagaman (at)*, *bagama’t*, *ganoong*, *gayong*)
- (2) Clauses with basic-form predicates (clauses introduced by *(ka)sukdulan + na/-ng*, *matuluyan + na/-ng*, *sukdan + na/-ng*, *huwag (na) (hin)kli*)
- (3) Clauses with either inflected or basic-form predicates (clauses introduced by *kahit (na)*, *maski (na)*)

(Nominal or adjectival predicates may occur in clauses of classes (1) and (3). In clauses of class (2), nominal or adjectival predicates may occur after *huwag (na) (hin)kli*.) Concessive clauses involving enclitic particles constitute two additional classes:

- (4) *Man* clauses
- (5) *na . . . pa* and *pa . . . na* clauses

The classes are presented below in the order listed.

(1) CLAUSES WITH INFLECTED PREDICATES. *Bagaman (at)* and *bagama't* are equivalent to English '(al)though.' Examples are:

Bagaman (at) } Bagama't }	hindi sila	{ mag-aaral, { nag-aaral, { nag-aral, }	umaasa silang pumasa.
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'Although they	{ aren't going to { don't { didn't }	study, they expect to pass.'
----------------	--	------------------------------

Nagmamaneho siya ng kotse	{ bagaman (at) { bagama't }	wala sa hustong gulang.
'He drives a car though he's not of age.'		

Ganoong and *gayong* are equivalent to English 'in spite of the fact that' or 'even though.' Their use implies criticism or disapproval of the action or situation expressed in the main clause. Examples are:

Ganoong } Gayong }	may sakit siya, nagpipilit na pumarito.
'In spite of the fact that he's sick, he insists on coming.'	

Hindi raw nila gagawin ang trabaho	{ ganoong } { gayong }	{ babayaran } { binabayaran } { binayaran }	mo sila.
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'They say they won't do the work even though you	{ are going to pay } { are paying } { paid }	them.'
--	--	--------

Bagaman is obligatorily non-pre-enclitic with respect to pronouns, optionally pre-enclitic with respect to enclitic particles; the other conjunctions are obligatorily non-pre-enclitic.

(2) CLAUSES WITH BASIC-FORM PREDICATES. *(Ka)sukdulan + na/-ng*, *matuluyan + na/-ng*, and *sukdan + na/-ng* introduce clauses that express a hypothetical future action or situation; they are equivalent to English 'even though' or 'even if.' Examples are:

Hindi ko ibibigay ito sa kaniya	{ (ka)sukdulang } { matuluyang } { suk dang }	pagbantaan niya ako.
'I won't give this to him even if he should threaten me.'		

(Ka)sukdulan } Matuluyan } Sukdan }	siyang magalit, ipapasuri nila siya sa doktor.
'Even though he may get angry, they'll have the doctor examine him.'	

The notation *huwag (na) (hin)di* represents any of the following: *huwag na hindi*, *huwag na di*, *huwag hindi*, *huwag di*. These subordinating conjunctions are equivalent to English 'however little,' 'even if . . . just . . . a little.' Examples are:

Huwag (na) (hin)di ako kumain, tumataba ako.
'However little I eat, I still get fat.'

Umiiyak ang bata huwag (na) (hin)di mo tuksuhin.
'The child cries even if you just tease it a little.'

(*Huwag (na)* is non-pre-enclitic; *(hin)di* is obligatorily pre-enclitic.)

(3) CLAUSES WITH EITHER INFLECTED OR BASIC-FORM PREDICATES. Before an inflected predicate, *kahit (na)* and *maski (na)* are similar in meaning to *ganoong* and *gayong* (cf. (1), above), except that their use does not necessarily imply criticism or disapproval of the action expressed in the main clause.

Kahit } Maski }	(na)	<table style="border: none;"> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">babayaran</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">binabayaran</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">binayaran</td></tr> </table>	babayaran	binabayaran	binayaran	mo sila, hindi mo maipapagawa iyon sa kanila.
babayaran						
binabayaran						
binayaran						

'Even though you	<table style="border: none;"> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">are going to pay</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">are paying</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">paid</td></tr> </table>	are going to pay	are paying	paid	} them, you can't ask them to do that.'
are going to pay					
are paying					
paid					

Kausapin ko rin siya	<table style="border: none;"> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">kahit</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">maski</td></tr> </table>	kahit	maski	(na)	<table style="border: none;"> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">magagalit</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">nagagalit</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">nagalit</td></tr> </table>	magagalit	nagagalit	nagalit	sa akin.
kahit									
maski									
magagalit									
nagagalit									
nagalit									

'I'll talk to him anyway, even though he	<table style="border: none;"> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">will get</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">is getting</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">got</td></tr> </table>	will get	is getting	got	} angry with me.'
will get					
is getting					
got					

Before a basic-form predicate, *kahit (na)* and *maski (na)* are similar in meaning to *kasukdulan + na/ng*, etc. (cf. (2), above). Examples are:

Kahit } Maski }	(na)	pagbantaan din niya ako, hindi ko ibibigay ito sa kaniya.
--------------------	------	---

'Even if he should threaten me too, I won't give this to him.'

Hindi mababasag ito	<table style="border: none;"> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">kahit</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">maski</td></tr> </table>	kahit	maski	(na) ibagsak mo.
kahit				
maski				

'This won't break even if you should drop it.'

(*Maski* is optionally pre-enclitic; thus, also: *maski niya ako pagbantaan*; *maski mo ibagsak*. The *na* that frequently follows *maski* is an enclitic particle (cf. §6.3). If both *na* and other enclitics follow *maski*, their order follows the rules given in §6.2. Thus: *maski na niya ako pagbantaan*; *maski mo na ibagsak*.)

(4) *Man* CLAUSES. The enclitic particle *man* occurs in a concessive clause equivalent to an English clause introduced by 'even if' or 'even though' (cf. §6.4, subsection (a.2)). (The main clause optionally but commonly includes the enclitic particle *din/rin*.) Like *kahit (na)* and *maski (na)* clauses (cf. (3), above),

man clauses with basic-form predicates express a hypothetical future situation or action, while those with imperfective, perfective, or verbless predicates express an actual situation or action. *Man* is not used in concessive clauses with predicate verbs in the contemplated aspect. Some examples are:

Sabihin ko *man* ang totoo, hindi ka rin maniniwala sa akin.
'Even if I tell the truth, you still won't believe me.'

Kakausapin ko pa rin siya $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{nagagalit} \\ \text{nagalit} \end{array} \right\}$ *man* siya sa akin.

'I'll talk to him anyway, even though he $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{is getting} \\ \text{got} \end{array} \right\}$ angry with me.'

Mahal *man* ang sapatos, binili ko rin.
'Even though the shoes were expensive, I bought them anyway.'

(5) *Na . . . pa* and *pa . . . na* clauses. Occurring in successive clauses, the enclitic particles *na* and *pa*, or *pa* and *na*, indicate incompatibility between the actions, conditions, etc., expressed by the clauses. The clauses may have verbless or inflected predicates. In some cases it is the *na* clause that is equivalent to an English clause introduced by '(al)though' or 'even though'; in other cases it is the *pa* clause. (A more detailed explanation is given in §6.3, subsection (7).) Some examples are:

Dumarating na ang mga bisita, maglilinis ka pa ng bahay.
'Even though the guests are already arriving, you're going to clean house.'

Umalis na si Juan sa mesa, kumakain pa ang mga iba.
'Juan left the table, even though the others were still eating.'

Mainit na mainit pa ang kape, ininom na niya.
'Although the coffee was still very hot, he drank it anyway.'

Isinuot pa niya ang damit, luma na.
'She wore the dress though it was already worn out.'

(The English equivalents of sentences with *na . . . pa* or *pa . . . na* clauses may often involve 'and' or 'but.' Thus the first of the above examples may also be translated 'The guests are already arriving, and you're going to clean house!' and the third may be translated 'The coffee was still very hot, but he drank it anyway.')

§6.18. Other adverbial clauses.

Subordinating conjunctions not presented in §§6.15 through 6.17 are presented below as follows: (1) *bukod sa*; (2) *dangan at, danga't*; (3) *imbis + na/-ng, (sa) halip + na/-ng, (sa) lugar + na/-ng*; (4) *maliban kung*.

(1) *Bukod sa* is equivalent to English 'besides (the fact that).' A *bukod sa* clause may have a verbless or an inflected predicate. Some examples are:

Nag-aalaga siya ng hayop, *bukod sa* nagtatrabaho siya sa bukid.
'He raises animals, besides working in the field.'

Bukod sa $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{darating} \\ \text{dumarating} \\ \text{dumating} \end{array} \right\}$ na sila, marami pa akong ibang problema.

'Besides the fact that they $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{are arriving soon,} \\ \text{are already arriving,} \\ \text{have already arrived,} \end{array} \right\}$ I have lots of other problems.

Bukod is obligatorily non-pre-enclitic with respect to pronouns, but optionally non-pre-enclitic with respect to enclitic particles.

(2) *Dangan at* and its contracted form *danga't* are equivalent to English 'were it not (for the fact) that.' A *dangan at* (or *danga't*) clause may have a verbless or an inflected predicate; the clause frequently includes the enclitic particles *nga la(ma)ng*. The main clause normally includes the enclitic particle *sana* (cf. §6.5, subsection (e)). Examples are:

Bibilhin ko sana ang bahay, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dangan (nga la(ma)ng) at malayo} \\ \text{danga't malayo (nga la(ma)ng)} \end{array} \right\}$ sa siyudad.
'I would buy the house, were it not for the fact that it's far from the city.'

Dangan at $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{aalís} \\ \text{umaaalis} \end{array} \right\}$
Danga't $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{umalis} \end{array} \right\}$ na ang mga bisita, gagawa pa sana ako ng kape.

'Were it not for the fact that the guests $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{are leaving soon,} \\ \text{are already leaving,} \\ \text{have already left,} \end{array} \right\}$ I'd make some more coffee.'

(3) *Imbis + na/ng*, *(sa) halip + na/ng* and *(sa) lugar + na/ng* are equivalent to English 'instead of.' The clauses they introduce have basic-form predicates. *Imbis*, *halip*, and *lugar* are optionally pre-enclitic. Examples are:

Imbis $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(Sa) halip} \\ \text{(Sa) lugar} \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{na mag-aral siya,} \\ \text{siyang mag-aral,} \end{array} \right\}$ naglalalaro ng besbol.
'Instead of studying, he's playing baseball.'

Umalis sila $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{imbis} \\ \text{sa halip} \\ \text{(sa) lugar} \end{array} \right\}$ na tumulong sa amin.
'They left instead of helping us.'

(4) *Maliban kung* is equivalent to English 'unless' or 'except when.' A *maliban kung* clause may have a verbless, basic-form, or inflected predicate. A basic-form predicate alternates freely with a contemplated-aspect predicate to express a future possibility: e.g.,

Hindi ako pupunta roon maliban kung $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{samahan} \\ \text{sasamahan} \end{array} \right\}$ mo ako.
'I won't go there unless you go with me.'

Examples of imperfective, perfective, and verbless predicates are:

Maliban kung kumakain siya, lagi siyang nakatabako.
'Except when he is eating, he is always smoking a cigar.'

Darating si Linda mamaya, maliban kung hindi siya pinayagan.
'Linda will be coming later, unless she wasn't given permission.'

Maliban kung may pera si Rosa, hindi tayo makakapasok sa sine.
'Unless Rosa has some money, we won't be able to go to the movies.'

Maliban is obligatorily non-pre-enclitic with respect to pronouns but optionally non-pre-enclitic with respect to enclitic particles; *kung* is obligatorily non-pre-enclitic.

CHAPTER 7

Derived and Minor Sentence Structures

§7.1. Introduction.

Many types of DERIVED CONSTRUCTIONS (i.e., constructions that do not themselves occur in basic sentences, but that are related to constructions that do so occur) have been presented in Chapters 3 through 6. The derived constructions presented in these chapters are those that are best understood in relation to a particular class of basic-sentence components: nominals, adjectivals, verbals, or adverbials (cf. §3.1). In addition to derived constructions of these types, Tagalog has a number of derived constructions that are equally related to two or more classes of basic-sentence components. These derived constructions are discussed in the present chapter. Also discussed in this chapter are MINOR SENTENCE STRUCTURES: i.e., sentence structures that lack, and fail to reflect, the predicate-plus-topic structure of basic sentences.

The present chapter is arranged as follows. §7.2 deals with inversion constructions, §§7.3 through 7.12 with questions, and §§7.13 through 7.16 with negation. The remaining sections deal with: the definitized predicate (7.17), indefinite forms and constructions (7.18), coordination (7.19), explanatory at clauses (7.20), topicless phenomenal sentences (7.21), social formulas (7.22), and interjections (7.23).

§7.2. Inversion constructions..

An INVERSION CONSTRUCTION is a construction characterized by the shifting to sentence-initial or clause-initial position of some sentence component that does not occur in this position in basic sentences. Inversion constructions may involve the placement of a topic before a predicate, the placement of an adverbial before a predicate, the placement of a verb complement before a predicate verb, the placement of a phrase introduced by *ni* or *ni . . . ni* before the negator *wala* (cf. §7.14), or one of certain combinations of these. The inversion constructions that occur in Tagalog are dealt with below under the following headings: (1) AY INVERSION; (2) CONTRASTIVE INVERSION; (3) EMPHATIC INVERSION; (4) NON-EMPHATIC INVERSION.

(1) AY INVERSION. Of the four classes of inversion constructions, *ay* inversion permits the widest range of sentence-component types to be shifted to initial position. The initial component in an *ay*-inversion construction may be: (a) the topic; (b) an adverbial; (c) a verb complement; (d) a phrase introduced by *ni* or *ni . . . ni*. The inversion-marking particle *ay* in most cases immediately follows the initial topic, adverbial, etc. As is noted in §6.6, however, certain enclitic particles, if they occur in the sentence, either obligatorily or optionally precede *ay*. *Ay* may also be immediately preceded by a pause. This pause, which is represented in the writing system by a comma, is optional in all cases.

Ay has two forms: a full form, /'ay/, written *ay* in conventional spelling, and a contracted form, /y/, written *y* in conventional spelling. The full form may occur in any context; the contracted form occurs as a variant of the full form if the preceding word, in its independent occurrences, ends in /'/, /h/, /n/, or /w/, and if this word is not followed by a pause. When the contracted form is used, it replaces a final /'/, /h/, or /n/, and either replaces or follows a final /w/. Thus, *bata* /ba'ta/ 'child' plus *y* is /ba'tay/, *ama* /'amah/ 'father' plus *y* is /'amay/, *pinsan* /pinsan/ 'cousin' plus *y* is /pinsay/, and *ikaw* /'ikaw/ 'you' plus *y* is either /'ikay/ or /'ikaw/. The contracted form of *ay* is more commonly used than the full form in the case of words that, in their independent occurrences, end in /' or /h/. In the case of words that end in /n/ in their independent occurrences, the contracted and full forms of *ay* are equally common if the word is of native Tagalog origin: thus, either *pinsan ay* or *pinsa'y*. If the word is a loan-word from English or Spanish, however, the full form is in most cases preferred: thus, *Helen ay*, rather than *Hele'y*, and *Juan ay*, rather than *Jua'y*. In the case of words that end in /w/ in their independent occurrences, the contracted and full forms are equally common in all cases. Whether or not the /w/ is retained in pronunciation, it is always retained in conventional writing: thus *ikaw'y* (never **ika'y*).

A sentence involving *ay* inversion does not differ in denotative meaning from the related sentence without inversion. There is usually, however, a difference in stylistic level, or level of usage, between the two sentences. *Ay* inversion is characteristic of formal style, and is more common in writing, lectures, sermons, etc., than it is in ordinary conversation. In the examples of *ay* inversion given below, the notation "(formal style)" is usually placed after the translations of the sentences. (But see (1.a.3), etc., following.

Some examples of *ay*-inversion constructions involving the placement of the sentence topic in initial position are:

Ang mga anak ay kayamanan ng mga magulang.
'Children are the parents' jewels.' (formal style)

(cf. Kayamanan ng mga magulang ang mga anak.
'Children are the parents' jewels.')

Kayo'y mabait na mabait.
'You are very kind.' (formal style)

(cf. Mabait na mabait kayo.
'You are very kind.')

Ang sulat ay tinanggap ko kahapon.
'I received the letter yesterday.' (formal style)

(cf. Tinanggap ko ang sulat kahapon.
'I received the letter yesterday.')

(a) The following features of constructions involving *ay* inversion of the topic may be noted:

(a.1) When the inverted topic is the second-person-singular pronoun, the form *ikaw* replaces the usual topic form *ka* (cf. §3.3). Thus:

Ikaw ay nakita nila roon.
'They saw you there.' (formal style)

(cf. Nakita ka nila roon.
'They saw you there.')

Similarly, *ikaw...ko* replaces the composite pronoun *kita* (which, as is noted in §3.3, is itself a replacement of the non-occurring sequence **ko ka*.) Thus:

Ikaw ay nakita ko roon.
'I saw you there.' (formal style)

(cf. Nakita kita roon.
'I saw you there.')

(a.2) In *ay* inversion the topic marker *ang* is optionally deletable before the limiters *bawa't* 'each' and *lahat* 'all' (cf. §3.22). Thus:

{ Ang bawa't }
 { Bawa't } bata'y may desk.
'Each child has a desk.' (formal style)

(cf. May desk ang bawa't bata.
'Each child has a desk.')

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Ang lahat} \\ \text{Lahat} \end{array} \right\}$ ng tao'y narito na.
 'All the people are here now.' (formal style)

(cf. Narito na ang lahat ng tao.
 'All the people are here now.')

(a.3) In the case of certain sentence types where nominal-clause predicates occur opposite nominalized-verbal topics (cf. §3.24) or opposite nominalized pseudo-verb or pseudo-verb-phrase topics (cf. §4.21), either *ay* inversion or contrastive inversion of topic and predicate is obligatory. An example of *ay* inversion involving a nominalized-verbal topic is:

Ang narinig ko'y darating siya bukas.
 'What I heard is that he's coming tomorrow.'

Examples involving nominalized pseudo-verb and pseudo-verb-phrase topics are:

Ang $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{dapat} \\ \text{nais ko} \end{array} \right\}$ ay tumira sila dito.
 'What $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{is fitting} \\ \text{I wish} \end{array} \right\}$ is for them to live here.'

(There is no **Darating siya bukas ang narinig ko*, **Tumira sila dito ang dapat*, or **Tumira sila dito ang nais ko*.)

The usual formal connotation of *ay* inversion does not necessarily obtain in such cases. Similarly, when contrastive inversion – cf. (2), below – is used in such cases, the usual contrastive connotation of the construction may be absent.

(a.4) As is noted in §4.12, an *ang*-phrase topic is normally replaced by a *ng* phrase in sentences with predicate adjectives that include the intensive prefix *napaka-*: thus, *Napakatamad ng bata* 'The child is very lazy,' not **Napakatamad ang bata*. If, however, the order of predicate and topic is reversed in *ay* inversion, the topic is expressed by an *ang* phrase: thus,

Ang bata'y napakatamad.
 'The child is very lazy.' (formal style)

(a.5) In a construction involving a pseudo-verb or pseudo-verb phrase plus a linker plus a clause (cf. §4.21), the inverted topic of the clause may occur either before or after the pseudo-verb or pseudo-verb phrase. Examples are:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Sina Ben ay} \\ \text{Kailangang} \\ \text{Kailangan kong} \end{array} \right\} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{kailangang} \\ \text{kailangan kong} \end{array} \right\}$ magtanim ng gulay.
 $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Kailangang} \\ \text{Kailangan kong} \end{array} \right\}$ sina Ben ay
 $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'It is necessary for} \\ \text{'I need} \end{array} \right\}$ Ben and the others to plant vegetables.' (formal style)

(cf. { Kailangang
Kailangan kong } magtanim ng gulay sina Ben.
{ 'It is necessary for
'I need } Ben and the others to plant vegetables.)

(b) Most movable adverbs (cf. §§6.7 through 6.11), and any adverbial clause (§§6.14 through 6.18), may occur in initial position in *ay* inversion. Some examples involving movable adverbs are:

{ Noong Lunes
Doon
Dahil doon } ay ipinagbili niya ang kalabaw niya.

'He sold his carabaw { last Monday.
there.
because of that. } (formal style)

(cf. Ipinagbili niya ang kalabaw niya { noong Lunes.
doon.
dahil doon. }

'He sold his carabaw { last Monday.
there.
because of that. }

The movable adverbs that do not undergo *ay* inversion are: frequency adverbs formed with *beses* or *ulit* (cf. §6.8, subsection (1.a)); *palagi* 'always' (cf. §6.8, subsection (1.g)), point-time adverbs that consist of *nang* and the name of a part of the day (e.g., *umaga* 'morning', *gabi* 'night' – cf. §6.8, subsection (1.a)); referential adverbs (cf. §6.11, subsection (1.c)); and manner adverbs (cf. §6.10). The following, for example, do not occur.

*Dalawang { beses
ulit } ay pumarito siya.

(cf. Pumarito siya nang dalawang { beses.
ulit. }
'He came here twice.')

*Palagi ay namimili sila dito.
(cf. Namimili sila ditong palagi.)
'They always go shopping here.')

*Gabi ay aalis siya.
(cf. Aalis siya nang gabi.
'He will leave at night.')

*Tungkol sa giyera ay nagkwento siya.
(cf. Nagkwento siya tungkol sa giyera.
'He told a story about the war.')

*Paismid ay nilunok niya ang pildoras.
(cf. Nilunok niya ang pildoras nang paismid.
'He swallowed the pill with a grimace.')

As is noted in §6.7, adverbs that in non-initial position are introduced by the linker *na/ng* or the marker *nang* lose this introductory element when they occur initially, thus:

Madalas ay pumupunta siya dito.
'He comes here often.' (formal style)

(cf. Pumupunta siya $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(dito nang)} \\ \text{ditong} \end{array} \right\}$ madalas.
'He comes here often.')

(This loss of introductory *na/ng* or *nang* before inverted adverbials obtains in the case of all inversion constructions, and is not commented on separately in subsections (2), (3), and (4) below.)

Examples of *ay* inversion of adverbial clauses are:

Pagdating ko sa Pilipinas ay nagpunta ako sa Baguio.
'I went to Baguio on arriving in the Philippines.'
(formal style)

(cf. Nagpunta ako sa Baguio pagdating ko sa Pilipinas.
'I went to Baguio on arriving in the Philippines.')

Kung mabuti ang ani'y makakabili ako ng traktor.
'I'll be able to buy a tractor if the harvest is good.'
(formal style)

(cf. Makakabili ako ng traktor kung mabuti ang ani.
'I'll be able to buy a tractor if the harvest is good.')

(In addition to movable adverbs and adverbial clauses, Tagalog has certain adverbs that occur only in sentence-initial or clause-initial position, and that must be followed either by *ay* or by pause (cf. §6.12, subsection (2)). The usual formal connotation of *ay*-inversion constructions does not necessarily obtain in cases where *ay* follows one of these adverbs. An example is:

Alalaong бага'y hindi niya magagawa iyon.
'In other words, he can't do it.'

(There is no **Hindi niya magagawa iyon alalaong бага*.)

It is possible, although not very usual, for a single sentence or clause to show *ay* inversion of both an adverb and a topic. In this case, the sentence or clause includes two inversion markers. The adverb and the topic may occur in either order: e.g.,

Kami'y bukas ay pupunta.
Bukas ay kami'y pupunta.
'We'll go tomorrow.' (formal style)

(cf. Pupunta kami bukas.
'We'll go tomorrow.')

and the sentences:

Bumili ng kotse si Manuel/Ben.
 'Manuel/Ben bought a car.'

Binili ni Manuel/Ben ang kotse.
 'Manuel/Ben bought the car.'

If the basic form in the adjunct is AF, and the topic of the A verb is not an enclitic pronoun, the topic may occur either before the linker or after the basic form or its complement(s). Thus, also:

Natuksong bumili ng kotse si Manuel/Ben.
 'Manuel/Ben was tempted to buy a car.'

If the basic form in the adjunct is GF, or if the basic form is AF and the topic is an enclitic pronoun, the topic always precedes the linker.

(Constructions involving *na/ng* plus an adjunct that includes a basic form are often similar in shape to constructions involving nominalized basic forms (cf. §3.25) or imperative nominal clauses. In the case of nominalized basic forms, the introductory linker is usually *-ng* rather than *na/ng*, and the basic-form construction occurs as an expansion of a nominal; often there is also alternation between the linker and the topic marker *ang*. For a discussion of imperative nominal clauses, cf. §3.28, subsection (2).)

Na/ng also introduces certain adjuncts that do not include the basic form of a verb. In the presentation that follows, it is to be understood, unless otherwise specified, that the occurring adjuncts involve a basic form.

1. *-in* class

sipagin 'feel like'
 tamarin 'not feel like'

Sinisipag akong mag-aral ngayon.
 'I feel like studying today.'

2. *Ma-* class

matukso 'be tempted to'

Natukso si Mariang bilhin ang kuwintas.
 'Maria was tempted to buy the necklace.'

3. *Ma- . . . -an* class

mapilitan 'be forced (by circumstances) to'
 matagalan 'take a long time to'

Napilitan akong manghiram ng pera sa bangko.
 'I was forced (by circumstances) to borrow money from the bank.'

4. *Mag-* classes

- a. Verbs that take
- na/-ng-plus-basic-form*
- adjuncts

mag-atubili 'hesitate to'
 magbakasakali 'take a chance on'
 magpilit 'strive to'
 magsigasig 'strive to'

Nag-atubili siyang ipagpagawa kay Rosa ng damit ang bata.
 'She hesitated to have Rosa make the child a dress.'

- b. Verb that takes an adjunct of the shape
- na/-ng*
- plus nominal, adjectival, or imperfective verb

magkunwa(ri) 'pretend to be'

Nagkunwa(ri) si Juang { duktur.
galit.
natutulog.

'Juan pretended to be { a doctor.'
angry.'
sleeping.'

(The topic may precede or follow the adjunct. Thus also: *Nagkunwa(ri)ng duktur si Juan*, etc.)

5. *Mang-* classes

- a. Verb that takes
- na/-ng-plus-basic-form*
- adjunct
- mangimi*
- 'be shy about'

Nangingimi silang hingan ng tulong si G. Perez.
 'They are shy about asking Mr. Perez for help.'

- b. Verb that takes an adjunct of the shape
- na/-ng*
- plus nominal, adjectival, or imperfective verb

manatili 'remain, continue'

Nanatili si Pedrong { maestro.
masipag.
nag-aaral.

'Pedro { remained } { a teacher.'
continued } { hard-working.'
studying.'

(The topic may precede or follow the adjunct. Thus, also: *Nanatiling maestro si Pedro*, etc.)

6. ~~um~~ class

umakma 'make a motion to'
 Umakmang aalis ang babae.
 'The woman made a motion to leave.'

The adjunct is of the shape *na/-ng* plus the contemplated form of a verb. (The topic may precede or follow the adjunct. Thus also: *Umakma ang babaeng aalis.*)

III. APT VERBS. The following classes of verbs accept an actor adjunct plus a second adjunct introduced by *ng*, *sa*, or *na/-ng*

A. Verbs with actor adjuncts plus adjuncts introduced by *ng*

1. *-an* class

- a. ayusan 'arrange'
 kulutan 'curl'
 gupitan 'cut'
 putulan 'cut'

Inayusan niya ng buhok si Tina.
 'She arranged Tina's hair.'

The *ng*-phrase adjunct expresses a part of the body of the person referred to by the topic.

- b. kulayan 'color'
 pinta 'paint'

Kinulayan niya ng pula ang labi ng manika.
 'She colored the doll's lips red.'

The adjunct consists of *ng* plus an unaffixed adjective expressing color.

B. Verbs with actor adjuncts plus adjuncts introduced by *sa*.

1. *-an* class

- balikan 'return to . . . for . . .'
 paroonan 'go to . . . for . . .'
 puntahan 'go to . . . for . . .'

Balikan mo sa opisina ang sulat.
 'Return to the office for the letter.'

C. Verbs with actor adjuncts plus adjuncts introduced by *na/-ng*

1. *-an* classes

- a. hayaan 'let'
 (pa)bayaan 'let'
 tulutan 'let'

Hayaan mong bumili ng kendi ang bata.
 'Let the child buy some candy.'

The adjunct introduced by *na/-ng* includes a basic form. APT-verb complements that include basic forms show the same characteristics as A-verb complements that include basic forms (cf. discussion under II, above).

- b. abutan 'find (doing, upon one's arrival)
 datnan 'find (doing, upon one's arrival)
 iw(an)an 'see (doing, upon one's departure)'

Inabutan ko si David na $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{natutulog.} \\ \text{lasing.} \end{array} \right.$

'I found David $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'sleeping.}' \\ \text{'drunk.}' \end{array} \right.$

The adjunct introduced by *na/-ng* includes an imperfective verb form or an adjectival. (These verbs also occur as PT verbs – cf. I.1.b, above.)

- c. pangalanan 'name'

Pinangalanan namin siyang Pedro.
 'We named him Pedro.'

The adjunct introduced by *na/-ng* is a name.

2. *t-* classes

- a. ihalal 'elect'

Inihalal $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{namin si Beng presidente.} \\ \text{naming presidente si Ben.} \end{array} \right.$
 'We elected Ben president.'

The adjunct introduced by *na/-ng* is a nominal.

- b. ipalagay 'consider'
 ituring 'consider'

Ipinapalagay ko si Juang $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kaibigan.} \\ \text{matalino.} \end{array} \right.$
 'I consider Juan $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'a friend.}' \\ \text{'intelligent.}' \end{array} \right.$

The adjunct introduced by *na/-ng* is either a nominal or an adjectival.

3. *-in* classes

- a. hintayin 'wait for . . . to'

Hintayin mong kumulo ang tubig.
 'Wait for the water to boil'

The adjunct introduced by *na/-ng* includes a basic form.

- b. piliin 'choose as'
- tanawin 'view as'
- tuksuhin 'jestingly call'
- Pinili namin siyang lider.
- 'We chose him as leader.'

The adjunct introduced by *na/ng* is a nominal.

- c. gawin 'make (into)'

Ginawa niyang $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{baro ng manika} \\ \text{mahaba} \end{array} \right\}$ ang damit.

'She made the dress $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{into a doll's dress.} \\ \text{long.} \end{array} \right\}$

The adjunct introduced by *na/ng* is either a nominal or an adjectival.

4. *ma-* class

- makita 'see (doing)'
- marinig 'hear (doing)'
- mahuli 'catch (doing)'
- mapansin 'notice (doing)'

Nakita ko ang bahay na $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{masusunog.} \\ \text{nasusunog.} \\ \text{nasunog.} \end{array} \right\}$

'I saw the house $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{about to burn.} \\ \text{burning.} \\ \text{burn.} \end{array} \right\}$

The adjunct introduced by *na/ng* includes an inflected form of a verb. (The bases that form most of the verbs in this class also occur in *maka-/ma-* object verbs of related meaning — cf. §5.3, class B.1. No exact *maka-* verb counterpart, however, occurs for the *ma-* verbs followed by adjuncts.)

IV. TRANSITIVE VERBS THAT ACCEPT ADJUNCTS. There are at least five transitive verbs that accept adjuncts in addition to their regular complements. Four of these are object verbs meaning 'invite': viz., *kumumbida/kumbidahin*, *mag-anyaya/anyayahan*, *mag-imbita/imbitahin*, *yumaya/yaya-in*. The fifth is the directional verb *sumabay/sabayan* 'do together with.'

The adjuncts that occur with verbs meaning 'invite' are introduced by the linker *na/ng* and include the basic form of a verb (cf. discussion under II, above, for details of the formation of basic-form adjuncts). Examples are:

Ako ang $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kumumbida} \\ \text{nag-anyaya} \\ \text{nag-imbita} \\ \text{yumaya} \end{array} \right\}$ sa dalagang $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{tumikim nito.} \\ \text{tikman ito.} \end{array} \right\}$

'It was I who invited the girl to taste this.'

Kinumbida Inanyayahan Inimbita Niyaya	}	ko ang dalagang	}	tumikim nito. tikman ito.
--	---	-----------------	---	------------------------------

'I invited the girl to taste this.'

The AF verbs in this group accept adjuncts only where they occur in nominalized position (cf. §3.24), and only when their object complements are expressed by *sa* phrases. Thus, while there are sentences like:

Kumumbida ako ng dalaga.
'I invited a girl.'

and

Ako ang kumumbida ng dalaga.
'It was I who invited a girl.'

there is no:

*Kumumbida ako ng/sa dalagang tumikim nito.

or:

*Ako ang kumumbida ng dalagang tumikim nito.

Adjuncts that occur with *sumabay/sabayan* are of the shape *ng* plus a gerund or a nominalized verb base. Examples are:

Sumabay ako sa kanila Sinabayan ko sila	}	ng	}	pagkain. kain.
--	---	----	---	-------------------

'I ate together with them.'

§5.27. Maging constructions.

A **MAGING CONSTRUCTION** consists of a form of the verb *maging/magin/* plus an unmarked noun, an adjective, or an expansion of an unmarked noun or adjective. **MAGING CONSTRUCTIONS** are usually translatable by 'become' constructions in English.

Maging is similar to the verbal prefixes in being obligatorily non-pre-enclitic (i.e., it is never immediately followed by an enclitic particle or pronoun – cf. §3.29 and 6.6), and is sometimes written as a prefix in conventional spelling. Thus the Tagalog equivalent of, for example, 'become president' is sometime spelled *maging-presidente*, sometimes *maging presidente*. Analytically, it seems on the whole preferable to regard *maging* as an independent verb rather than as a prefix, in view of the fact that it may occur as one of the two components of a construction whose other component is not a base, but, rather, an expanded construction: e.g.,

maging unang presidente ng samahan
'become the first president of the organization'

maging pinakamabuting presidente sa lahat
'become the best president of all'

Maging is actor–focus, and is inflected for aspect like other actor–focus verbs: i.e., it occurs in a recent–perfective form (cf. §5.23), as well as in forms marked for the three basic aspects. The aspect–marked forms of *maging* are:

contemplated:	<i>magiging</i> / <i>magiˈgiŋ</i> /
imperfective:	<i>nagiging</i> / <i>nagiˈgiŋ</i> /
perfective:	<i>nagiging</i> / <i>nagiˈgiŋ</i> /
recent–perfective:	<i>kapagiging</i> / <i>kapagiˈgiŋ</i> /

Examples in sentences are:

Magiging	}	mayamang-mayaman sila.
Nagiging		
Naging		

They	}	will become are becoming became	} very rich.'

Kapagiging sarhento pa lang ng anak ko.
'My son has just become a sergeant.'

Maging has a pluralized form, *mangagiging*, marked by the infix *-nga-* (cf. §5.15):

Nangagiging mahal ang mga kamatis.
'Tomatoes are becoming expensive.'

There are also two gerunds (cf. §3.26) that correspond to *maging*: the aspectless gerund *pagiging* /*pagiˈgiŋ*/ and the perfective gerund *pag(ka)kapaging* /*pag(ka)kaˈpagiŋ*/:

Ikinatuwa ko ang	}	pagiging pag(ka)kapaging	} presidente niya.

'His	}	becoming having become	} president made me happy.'

Finally, there is a causative–focus verb derived from *maging*: *i(ka)paging* /*i(ka)pagiŋ*/. (For some speakers *ipaging* is the preferred form; for others *ipaging* and *ikapaging* are free alternants.) An example of the use of the causative–focus verb is:

Ipinaging/Ikinapaging mahal ng bigas ang nakaraang bagyo.
'The recent typhoon caused rice to become expensive.'

(cf. *Naging mahal ang bigas dahil sa nakaraang bagyo.*
'Rice became expensive because of the recent typhoon.')

(As is the case with other causative–focus verbs (cf. §5.8), *i(ka)paging* takes an actor complement that corresponds to the topic of the related actor–focus verb.)

§5.28. Intensive–repetitive verbal constructions.

Any verb, whether major or derived, that expresses an action capable of intensive, repeated, or prolonged performance, may occur in an INTENSIVE–REPETITIVE CONSTRUCTION expressing such a performance of the action. The construction consists of two occurrences of the verb linked by the particle *nang* /*naŋ*/. Both structurally and semantically, the construction is similar to the English construction in which two occurrences of a verb are linked by 'and'. Thus:

Tumawa nang tumawa si Juan.
'Juan laughed and laughed.'

Siya ang sinulatan nang sinulatan ni Pedro.
'She's the one that Pedro writes and writes to.'

Papagtatrabahuhin nang papagtatrabahuhin ni Miss Reyes ang mga bata.
'Miss Reyes will make the children work and work.'

The construction may also be translated by an English construction of the shape 'keep ___ing,' or by a verb followed by an expression such as 'a lot,' 'continually,' 'repeatedly,' etc.

The verbs that may occur in an intensive–repetitive construction include the various intensive verb formations presented in §5.16, subsection (1). Some examples are:

Nag-iiyak nang nag-iiyak ang babae.
'The woman kept weeping bitterly.'

(cf. Nag-iiyak ang babae.
'The woman wept bitterly.')

Pinagsusuntok nang pinagsusuntok ng mga bantay ang bilanggo.
'The guards kept punching and punching the prisoner.'

(cf. Pinagsusuntok ng mga bantay ang bilanggo.
'The guards kept punching the prisoner.')

Any enclitic pronoun(s) and/or particle(s) (cf. §§3.29 and 6.2 ff.) present in a sentence with an intensive–repetitive construction in predicate position occur between the first verb and the particle *nang*. Thus:

Tumakbo siya nang tumakbo.
'He ran and ran.'

Nag-aaral daw naman nang nag-aaral si Joe.
'They say that Joe, on the other hand, studies and studies.'

In the case of intensive–repetitive construction with imperfective–aspect actor–focus verbs, the verbal affixes and aspect markers are often optionally deletable. The resultant contracted construction, which has the shape base + *nang* + base, is identical in meaning with the full intensive–repetitive construction from which it is derived. Examples are:

Lakad nang lakad ang kartero.
'The postman walks and walks.'

(cf. Lumalakad nang lumalakad ang kartero.
'The postman walks and walks.')

Luto lamang nang luto si Rosa.
 'Rosa just cooks and cooks.'

(cf. Nagluluto lamang nang nagluluto si Rosa.
 'Rosa just cooks and cooks.')

Verb bases that may occur in this contracted intensive–repetitive construction include most *-um-* and *mag-* verb bases that themselves have an 'action' meaning (e.g., *lakad* 'walk' and *luto* 'cook' in the examples above), and a limited number of *-um-*, *mag-*, and *mang-* verb bases that do not themselves have an action meaning (e.g., *haba* 'length,' the base of *humaba* 'become long(er), lengthen'; *bago* 'new,' the base of *magbago* 'change'; *anak* 'child,' the base of *manganak* 'give birth.')

Certain actor–focus indirect–action verbs (cf. §5.12, subsection (1)) occurring in an intensive–repetitive construction may also undergo contraction. In this case, the indirect–action prefix *pa-* is retained together with the verb base, so that the construction has the shape: *pa-* + base + *nang* + *pa-* + base. Examples are:

Palinis nang palinis ng bahay sa akin ang Nanay.
 'Mother makes me clean and clean the house.'

(cf. Nagpapalinis nang nagpapalinis ng bahay sa akin ang Nanay.
 'Mother makes me clean and clean the house.')

Pakain sila nang pakain ng kendi sa kanila.
 'They let them eat and eat candy.'

(cf. Nagpapakain sila nang nagpapakain ng kendi sa kanila.
 'They let them eat and eat candy.')

§5.29. Possessive and existential verbal construction.

Possessive and existential verbal constructions are similar in both form and meaning to possessive and existential adjectival phrases of the shape *may* plus nominal or *mayroon* plus linker (*-ng*) plus nominal. (The *may* and *mayroon* constructions occur as alternants in most contexts – cf. §§4.22 and 4.23.) The formal differences between the adjectival and verbal structures may be described as follows:

(1) If the adjectival phrase is of the shape *may* plus nominal, the corresponding verbal construction shows, in place of *may*, and aspect–marked form of the verbal prefix *magka-* /*magka-*. (Verbs formed with *magka-* are inflected for aspect like other verbs formed with prefixes beginning with /*m-*/ – cf. §5.22.) Compare, for example:

May pera si Juan.
 'Juan has/had some money.'

May giyera sa Europa.
 'There is/was a war in Europe.'

and, respectively:

Magkapera }
 Nagkapera } si Juan.
 Nagkapera }

'Juan { will come }
 { is coming } to have some money.'
 { came }

Magkakagyera	}	sa Europa.	
Nagkakagyera			
Nagkagyera			
‘There	}	a war (developing) in Europe.’	
			will be
			is was

(2) If the adjectival phrase is of the shape *mayroon* plus *-ng* plus nominal, the corresponding verbal construction shows: (a) in place of the *may* of *mayroon*, an aspect-marked form of *magka-*; (b) in place of *-ng*, the marker *ng* /*naŋ*/. Compare, for example:

Mayroong pera si Juan.
Mayroong giyera sa Europa.

and, respectively:

Magkakaroon	}	ng pera si Juan.
Nagkakaroon		
Nagkaroon		
Magkakaroon	}	ng giyera sa Europa.
Nagkakaroon		
Nagkaroon		

(Translations are the same as for the corresponding sentences given under (1), above.)

Apart from the replacement of *may* by a form of *magka-* and of the linker *-ng* by the marker *ng*, there are no other formal differences between the adjectival and verbal constructions. Thus, sentences with possessive verbal predicates, like those with possessive adjectival predicates, have the usual predicate-plus-topic structure, while sentences with existential verbal predicates, like those with existential adjectival predicates are topicless.

The differences in meaning between the adjectival and verbal structures are: (1) the adjectival structures are unspecific with respect to aspect, while the verbal structures are specific; (2) the adjectival structures express a state (of ‘possession’ or ‘existence’), while the verbal structures express the development of such a state. (The English equivalents of sentences with possessive verbal predicates often involve a form of ‘come to have,’ ‘acquire,’ or ‘get’; the English equivalents of sentences with existential verbal predicates often involve ‘there is, etc . . . developing,’ ‘there is, etc . . . getting started,’ or a form of ‘occur’.)

In some cases there are verbal constructions formally related to possessive or existential phrases with *mayroon* but no corresponding constructions formally related to phrases with *may*. While, for example, there are verbal constructions related to phrases of the shape *mayroon* plus linker plus modified noun, there are none related to phrases of the shape *may* plus modified noun. Thus there are sentences like:

Magkakaroon ng perang Amerikano si Juan.
‘Juan will come to have some American money.’

(cf. Mayroong perang Amerikano si Juan.
‘Juan has had some American money.’)

but there is no:

*Magkakaperang Amerikano si Juan.
(cf. May perang Amerikano si Juan.)

And, while there are, in general, verbal constructions related to all existential phrases with *mayroon*, verbal constructions related to existential phrases with *may* are limited to those cases in which the noun that follows *may* designates an event – e.g., nouns such as *giyera* ‘war,’ *aksidente* ‘accident,’ *handaan* ‘party,’ *laro* ‘game,’ *pulong* ‘meeting.’ Thus there are sentences like:

Nagkakaroon ng prutas sa puno.
‘There is fruit (developing) on the tree.’

(cf. *Mayroong prutas sa puno.*
‘There is/was fruit on the tree.’)

but there is no:

*Nagkakaputas sa puno.
(cf. *May prutas sa puno.*)

Some further examples of possessive verbal constructions are:

Magkakakasama	}	ang bawâ’t isa.
Magkakaroon ng kasama		
‘Each one will get a partner.’		

Nagkakilupa	}	ang pamilya niya.
Nagkakaroon ng lupa		
‘His family is acquiring land.’		

{ Nagkaperâ din sila.	}	‘They came to have money too.’
{ Nagkaroon din sila ng pera.		

(As the last example illustrates, the position of enclitic particles and pronouns in verbal constructions related to phrases with *may* and *mayroon* corresponds to their position in the related adjectival structures: cf.

{ May pera din sila.	}	‘They have/had money too.’
{ Mayroon din silang pera.		

Some further examples of existential verbal constructions are:

Magkakahandaan ba	}	mamayang gabi?
Magkakaroon ba ng handaan		
‘Will there be a party (occurring) tonight?’		

Nagkakapulung na	}	sa opisina ng prinsipal.
Nagkakaroon na ng pulong		
‘There’s a meeting (getting started) in the principal’s office now.’		

Nagkaaksidente	}	dito kahapon.
Nagkaroon ng aksidente		
‘An accident occurred here yesterday.’		

§5.30. Imperative, hortative, and optative constructions.

An IMPERATIVE CONSTRUCTION expresses a command or a request. Tagalog has imperative constructions of five types, which may be called: the BASIC IMPERATIVE, the EQUATIONAL IMPERATIVE, the IMMEDIATE IMPERATIVE, the ABBREVIATED IMPERATIVE, and the HABITUAL IMPERATIVE. (There are also a few fixed imperative expressions that are not of these types: e.g., *Halika(yo)* 'Come here,' *Madali ka(yo)* 'Hurry up,' *Tuloy ka(yo)* 'Come in'; the forms ending in *ka* are singular, those in *kayo* plural.)

The basic imperative is produced by eliminating the aspect marker (cf. §§5.19 through 5.21) from the predicate verb of a narrational sentence that includes a second-person-pronoun actor. When the aspect marker is thus eliminated, the basic form of the verb remains. (As is explained in §2.8, the basic form of a verb consists of a verb base and the basic form of an affix.) To illustrate:

Narrational Wawalisan Winawalisan Winalisan	}	mo ang sahig. →	Imperative Walisan mo ang sahig.
'You	}	{ will sweep are sweeping swept } the floor.' →	'Sweep the floor.'

(In the illustration, the aspect marker of the narrational-sentence verbs is double-underscored, and the basic form of the verb is single-underscored. As the illustration shows, it is the basic form – consisting, in this case, of the base *walis* and the suffix *-an-* that occurs in the imperative construction.)

In the Tagalog basic imperative, the second-person-pronoun actor is explicitly expressed. In English imperatives, on the other hand, the explicit subject is not usually present. (The subject 'you,' however, may occur with an emphatic or contrastive meaning: e.g., 'You finish the cake. (I'm too full).') See below for the Tagalog equivalent of such constructions.)

Not every narrational sentence that includes a second-person-pronoun actor may be converted into a basic imperative. Certain verbs – e.g., those that include the ability and involuntary-action affixes *maka-*, *ma-*, etc. (cf. §5.13) – do not normally occur in imperative constructions, their meanings being incompatible with the expression of a command.

Some examples of basic imperative constructions are presented below. The examples represent a variety of verbal affixes and focuses.

Kumain ka.
'Eat.'

Maghintay kayo.
'Wait.'

Manghiram ka ng pera.
'Borrow some money.'

Matulog kayo rito.
'Sleep here.'

Magpaluto ka ng pagkain.
'Have some food cooked.'

Basahin mo rin ito.
'Read this too.'

Ibigay ninyo ito sa kanila.
'Give this to them.'

Lagyan mo ng asin ang sabaw.
'Put some salt in the soup.'

Isulat mo ako sa Nanay.
'Write to Mother for me.'

Ipansimba ninyo ang mga iyon.
'Wear those to church.'

(The initial *sa*-pronoun actor complement, discussed in §5.25, subsection (1), may occur in a goal-focus imperative construction, as in goal-focus constructions of other types. Thus:

Iyo ding basahin	}	ito.
Basahin mo rin		
'Read this too.'		

The equational imperative is produced by eliminating the aspect marker from the nominalized topic verb (cf. §3.24) of an equational sentence that includes a second-person-pronoun actor. For example:

Equational	Imperative
Ito ang BAbasahin mo.	Ito ang basahin mo.
'This is what you'll read.'	'Read <u>this</u> .'

In the equational imperative, the element (usually a noun or pronoun) that occurs in predicate position is emphasized. Compare:

Basic imperative:	Basahin mo ito. 'Read <u>this</u> .'
Equational imperative:	Ito ang basahin mo. 'Read <u>this</u> .'

When the topic verb of an equational imperative is actor-focus, the emphasized predicate is the second-person-pronoun that expresses the actor. This type of equational imperative is translatable by an English imperative with the subject you explicitly expressed: e.g.,

Ikaw ang umubos ng keyk. (Masyado akong busog, e.)
'You finish the cake. (I'm too full.)'

The immediate imperative is used to command (or request – see below) the immediate performance of an action. An immediate-imperative construction consists of an unaffixed verb base, plus, optionally, one or more enclitic particles (notably *na* 'now'), and lacks any explicit expression of the actor. Not all verb bases occur in the immediate imperative construction. The bases that do occur in the construction are roughly the same as those 'action' bases that may be nominalized (cf. §3.27). In the immediate imperative, however, the base is never accompanied by any complement(s). Some examples of the immediate imperative are:

Alis (na)!	Bili (na)!
'Leave!'	'Buy (some).'
Inom (na)!	Luto (na)!
'Drink!'	'Cook (something).'

Kuha (na)!	Tanong (na)!
'Get (some)!	'Ask!'
Lakad (na)!	Tulog (na)!
'Go!'	'Sleep!'

The abbreviated imperative is derived from a basic imperative that includes a predicate secondary-actor-focus (A2F) indirect-action verb formed with *pa-...in* (cf. §5.12, subsection (2)) and a first-person-pronoun topic (*ako* or *kami*): e.g.,

Painumin mo/ninyo ako/kami ng tubig.
'Let me/us have some water.'

In the abbreviated imperative, the suffix *-in* (of the A2F verb) and the actor complement are deleted, and the topic is optionally deleted. Thus the abbreviated imperative derived from the basic imperative given above is:

Painom (ako/kami) ng tubig.
'Let me/us have some water.'

(When the topic is deleted in an abbreviated-imperative construction, either a singular or a plural first-person topic may be understood.)

Some further examples are:

Paupo (ako/kami) dito.
'Let me/us sit here.'
(cf. Paupuin mo/ninyo ako/kami dito.)

Pahiram (ako/kami) ng makinilyang iyon.
'Let me/us borrow that typewriter.'
(cf. Pahiramin mo/ninyo ako/kami ng makinilyang iyon.)

(A2F verbs formed with *papag-...-in* and *papang-...-in* do not occur in abbreviated imperative constructions. As is noted in §5.12, subsection (2), *papag-...-in* and *papang-...-in* A2F verbs are derived, respectively, from *mag-* and *mang-* verbs, while *pa-...-in* A2F verbs are derived from *-um-* or *ma-* verbs.)

The habitual imperative is derived from a basic or equational imperative by replacing the basic form of the verb with the contemplated-aspect form. The habitual imperative expresses a demand or request for habitual or regular action: e.g.,

Mag-aaral ka ng liksyon mo.
'Study your lessons (regularly).'

(cf. Mag-aral ka ng liksyon mo.
'Study your lesson(s).')

Ito ang gagawin mo.
'Do this (regularly).'

(cf. Ito ang gawin mo.
'Do this.')

(When the meaning of habitual or regular action is expressed explicitly elsewhere in the sentence, this meaning may be redundantly expressed through the use of a habitual imperative. In such cases, the habitual imperative alternates freely with the underlying basic or equational imperative: e.g.,

Mag-aaral }
 Mag-aral } ka ng liksyon mo gabi-gabi.
 'Study your lessons every night.'

(In the case of at least one verb, *mag-ingat* 'be careful' the contemplated–aspect form alternates freely with the basic form in imperative constructions, and does not necessarily imply habitual or regular action: e.g.,

Mag-iingat }
 Mag-ingat } ka ngayon.
 'Be careful now.'

Any one of the five types of imperatives described above is changed from a command to a polite request (equivalent to an English imperative with 'please') by the inclusion in the sentence of the enclitic particle *nga* (cf. §6.4, subsection (b)): e.g.,

Kumain ka nga.
 'Please eat.'

Ikaw nga ang umubos ng keyk.
 'You please finish the cake.'

Alis (na) nga!
 'Please leave!'

Painom nga ng tubig.
 'Please let me/us have a drink of water.'

Mag-aaral ka nga ng liksyon mo.
 'Please study your lessons (regularly).'

In the case of basic, abbreviated, and habitual imperatives, politeness may also be expressed by the use of the enclitic particle *naman* – which, however, usually conveys a meaning of mild reproach or complaint in addition to that of politeness. For example:

Kumain ka naman.
 'Please eat. (I'll be hurt if you don't).'

Tulungan mo naman ako.
 'Please help me. (Don't just sit there).'

Paupo naman dito.
 'Please let me/us sit here. (Can't you see I'm/we're tired?)'

Mag-aaral ka naman ng liksyon mo.
 'Please study your lessons (regularly). (Why do I have to keep asking you?)'

Politeness is also expressed by the use of two special request prefixes, *maki-* and *paki-*, which either replace or occur in addition to the verbal affix of a basic imperative sentence. *Maki-* is actor–focus, and replaces *-um-* or *mag-*. (*Mang-*, *ma-*, and *maka-* actor–focus verbs do not accept the request prefix *maki-*.) *Paki-* is goal–focus. It occurs in addition to *-an*, *t-*, *-in*, or a complex affix that includes one of these. In formations that include the request prefix *paki-*, *t-* is optionally deletable in all cases, and *-in* is optionally deletable if it is the only affix in the underlying form: i.e., if the underlying affix is not complex. The correspondences between the request affixes and the affixes that underlie them are summarized in Chart 22. (The symbol X is used in the chart to represent any affix in addition to the one specified.)

CHART 22
CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN UNDERLYING AND REQUEST AFFIXES

Underlying Affix	Request Affix
-um-	maki-
mag- (X)	maki- (x)
(X . . .) -an	paki- (X) . . . -an
i- (X)	(i)paki (X)
-in	paki- (. . . -in)
X . . . -in	paki- X . . . -in

Nga occurs optionally after polite formations with *maki-* and *paki-*, increasing the politeness expressed. Some examples of sentences with the request prefixes, and of the commands that underlie them, are:

Command	Request
Pumunta ka sa palengke. 'Go to the market.'	Makipunta ka (nga) sa palengke. 'Please go to the market.'
Magluto ka ng tinapay. 'Bake some bread.'	Makiluto ka (nga) ng tinapay. 'Please bake some bread.'
Magpabili ka ng tinapay. 'Have (someone) buy some bread.'	Makipabili ka (nga) ng tinapay. 'Please have (someone) buy some bread.'
Hingan mo siya ng piso. 'Ask him for a peso.'	Pakihingan mo (nga) siya ng piso. 'Please ask him for a peso.'
Pasulatan mo ako kay Ben. 'Have Ben write to me.'	Pakipasulatan mo (nga) ako kay Ben. 'Please have Ben write to me.'
Ibot mo ang asin. 'Pass the salt.'	(I)pakiabot mo (nga) ang asin. 'Please pass the salt.'
Ipanghiwa mo ito ng karne. 'Cut some meat with this.'	(I)pakipanghiwa mo (nga) ito ng karne. 'Please cut some meat with this.'
Linisin mo ang bahay. 'Clean the house.'	Pakilinis(in) mo (nga) ang bahay. 'Please clean the house.'
Papag-aralin mo ang bata. 'Let the child study.'	Pakipapag-aralin mo (nga) ang bata. 'Please let the child study.'

(It may be noted that *maki-* plus the base of an *-um-* verb is ambiguous, since *maki-* in such a context may be interpreted as either the basic form of the social–verb prefix *maki-* – cf. §5.14 – or the request prefix.

Thus *makipunta* may mean either 'go with' or 'please go.' In the case of *mag-* bases, on the other hand, there is no ambiguity, since the social-verb prefix that occurs with a *mag-* base is *makipag-* while the request prefix that occurs with such a base is *maki-*. Thus: *makipagluto* 'cook with' but *makihuto* 'please cook.')

A HORTATIVE CONSTRUCTION expresses the speaker's wish that he and the person(s) addressed perform some action. Hortative constructions are equivalent to English constructions introduced by 'let's': e.g., 'Let's eat.' Tagalog has two hortative constructions: the BASIC HORTATIVE and the EQUATIONAL HORTATIVE. Like the basic imperative, the basic hortative has the basic form of a verb in predicate position. Like the equational imperative, the equational hortative has the basic form of a verb in topic position. In the hortative constructions, however, the performer of the action is expressed by a dual plural (inclusive first-person plural) pronoun, rather than the second-person pronoun of the imperative constructions. Some examples of basic hortative constructions are:

Kumain tayo.
'Let's eat.'

Basahin natin ang librong ito.
'Let's read this book.'

Walisan natin ang sahig.
'Let's sweep the floor.'

Some examples of equational hortative constructions are:

Tayo ang lumakad.
'Let's you and me walk.'

Iyon ang gawin natin.
'Let's do that.'

Ang mga bago ang ipang-iskwela natin.
'Let's wear the new ones to school.'

(In addition to basic and equational hortative constructions, Tagalog has at least one fixed expression of hortative meaning: *Tayo na* – frequently contracted to *Tena* – Let's go.)

The enclitic particles *nga* and *naman* may be used to add a meaning of politeness to hortatives as to imperatives (see above). *Nga* is used in this way in both basic and equational hortatives, *naman* only in basic hortatives. As in the case of imperatives, *naman* suggests mild reproach or complaint as well as politeness. Examples are:

Dalawin nga natin ang Lola.
'Please, let's visit Grandmother.'

Tayo nga ang maglinis ng bahay.
'Let's you and me clean house, please.'

Umalis naman tayo.
'Let's leave, please. (We've stayed long enough.)'

OPTATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS, like hortative constructions, express the speaker's wish that an action be performed. In the case of optative constructions, however, the action is to be performed by some person(s) other than the speaker and the person(s) addressed. There are no productive optative constructions in English. In place of such constructions English normally uses constructions introduced by 'I' plus a verb of optative meaning: e.g., 'I want him to go,' 'I hope he wins.' (English does, however, use optative constructions in certain fixed phrases: e.g., 'May the best man win,' 'Long live the King!')

While Tagalog has constructions paralleling the English constructions with 'I' plus a verb of optative meaning (e.g., *Gusto kong pumunta siya* 'I want him to go,' *Umaasa akong mananalo siya* 'I hope he wins'), it also has two productive optative constructions: the BASIC OPTATIVE and the EQUATIONAL OPTATIVE. The basic optative, like the basic imperative and hortative, has the basic form of a verb in predicate position. The equational optative, like the equational imperative and hortative, has the basic form of a verb in topic position.

The enclitic particle *SANA* (cf. §6.5, subsection (e)) is of frequent occurrence in optative constructions. The inclusion of *sana* in such a construction changes the meaning of the construction from the expression of a wish to the expression of a hope. *Sana*, or one of certain other enclitic particles (see below), is obligatory in optative constructions in which the actor is expressed by something other than a third-person pronoun. Thus:

Makita sana	}	(ng katulong ni Maria namin nito)	ang singsing.
'I hope	}	(the maid finds Maria finds we (I and others) find this one finds)	the ring.'

but not:

*Makita	}	(ng katulong ni Maria namin nito)	ang singsing.
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Enclitic particles other than *sana* that may occur in optative constructions include *kaya*, *nga* and – for some speakers – *ba*. These particles differ from one another in meaning, but have in common the expression of some kind of uncertainty about whether the wished-for action is actually to be performed. Some examples are:

Tumawag kaya ng doktor ang Tatay.
'Perhaps Father should call the doctor.'

Dumalaw nga si Manuel sa kaniya (at nang magkausap sila).
'I would like Manuel to visit him (so that they can talk).'

Tingnan ko nga iyon?
'May I see that?'

Hugasan ko ba ang pinggan?
'Should I wash the dishes?'

For some speakers, *sana* or some other enclitic particle is also obligatory when the actor in an optative construction is expressed by a third-person pronoun. Other speakers, however, accept such sentences as:

Walisan	}	niya nila	ang sahig.
‘I want	}	her them	to sweep the floor.’

Some further examples of the basic optative construction are:

Mangisda	}	sila.	
Mangisda sana	}		
‘I	}	want them to hope they	go fishing.’

Makita sana ni Joe iyan.
‘I hope Joe sees that.’

Some examples of the equational optative are:

Si Linda	}	ang piliin niya.	
Si Linda sana	}		
‘I	}	want him to choose hope he chooses	<u>Linda</u> .’

Ako sana ang yumaman.
‘I hope I get rich.’

Si Rosa sana ang magluto.
‘I hope Rosa does the cooking.’

(For a presentation of negative imperatives, hortatives, and optatives, cf. §7.15.)

CHAPTER 6

Adverbials and Their Expansions

§6.1. Introduction.

As was noted in §2.14, two major classes of adverbials occur optionally in basic sentences: ENCLITIC PARTICLES, a class of words that occur only in certain fixed word-order relations to other sentence elements, and MOVABLE ADVERBS, a class of words and phrases that may occupy any of several different sentence positions. In addition to these, Tagalog has three other classes of adverbials: INITIAL ADVERBS, SENTENCE-FINAL PARTICLES, and ADVERBIAL CLAUSES. Initial adverbs, which may be words or phrases, occur only at the beginning of a sentence or clause. Sentence-final particles, a small class of words, occur only at the end of a sentence. Adverbial clauses are distinguished from adverbials of other types by the fact that they have a sentence-like internal structure.

The Tagalog adverbials are presented below as follows: enclitic particles in §§6.2 through 6.6; movable adverbs in §§6.7 through 6.11; initial adverbs in §6.12; sentence-final particles in §6.13; adverbial clauses in §§6.14 through 6.18.

§6.2. Enclitic particles: introduction.

Tagalog has eighteen ENCLITIC PARTICLES (or ENCLITIC ADVERBS): viz.,

ba	/bah/	na	/nah/
kasi	/kasih/	naman	/naman/
kaya	/kaya'/	nga	/ŋa'/
daw~raw	/daw/~/raw/	pa	/pah/
din~rin	/din/~/rin/	pala	/palah/
ho	/ho'/	po	/po'/
lamang~lang	/la'maŋ/~/la(ˈ)ŋ/	sana	/sa'nah/
man	/man/	tuloy	/tuloy/
muna	/mu'nah/	yata	/ya'ta'/

(*Daw* and *raw* are free alternants, as are *din* and *rin*, *lamang* and *lang*; vowel length in *lang* is optional.) From the point of view of the meanings they express (cf. §§6.3–5), the enclitic particles constitute a rather heterogeneous grouping. They are similar to one another, however, in that they all manifest ENCLITIC behavior.

As was explained in §3.5, the enclitics of Tagalog are words that, with certain storable exceptions, obligatorily follow the first word of the construction of which they constitute an immediate part. (Cf. §6.6 for an explanation of IMMEDIATE PART with reference to the enclitic pronouns.) Note, for example, the differences in sentence position between the enclitic particle *na* 'now, any longer' and the non-enclitic adverb *ngayon* 'today' in the following sentences:

- (1) Naroon na si Rosa.
'Rosa is there now.'

(cf. Naroon { si Rosa ngayon.
ngayon si Rosa.
'Rosa is there today.')

- (2) Wala na roon si Rosa.
'Rosa isn't there any longer.'

(cf. Wala roon { si Rosa ngayon.
ngayon si Rosa.
'Rosa isn't there today,')

Na – which is an immediate part of the predicate in these examples – follows the first word of the predicate in each case, and can occur in no other position: there are no such sentences as **Naroon si Rosa na*, etc. (In Sentence (1), *na* follows the one-word predicate, *naroon*; in sentence (2), it comes between the two words of the negated predicate.) *Ngayon* on the other hand, shows a range of possible sentence positions in each case (cf. §2.18) and while this range in some cases includes a position after the first word of the predicate (e.g., *Naroon ngayon si Rosa*) in other cases it does not (there is no **Wala ngayon roon si Rosa*).

Tagalog has, in addition to enclitic particles, enclitic pronouns (which are presented in detail in §3.29). When a sentence includes a particle and a pronoun both of which are enclitic to the same word, the following rules of order obtain:

- (1) the monosyllabic pronouns *ka*, *ko*, and *mo* precede any enclitic particle(s);
- (2) all other enclitic pronouns follow any enclitic particle(s).

Examples of the operation of these rules are:

Kumakain ka na.

'You (sg.) are eating now.'

Kumakain na	{	ako. siya. kami. tayo. kayo. sila.
-------------	---	---

'I am 'He is 'We are 'We are 'You (pl.) are 'They are	}	eating now.'
--	---	--------------

Kinakain	{	ko mo	na ang pagkain.
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'I am 'You (sg.) are	}	eating the food now.'
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Kinakain na	{	niya namin natin ninyo nila	ang pagkain.
-------------	---	---	--------------

'He is 'We are 'We are 'You (pl.) are 'They are	}	eating the food now.'
---	---	-----------------------

The rules also apply to sequences of enclitics that include two enclitic pronouns and one or more enclitic particles. Thus:

Nakikita	{	ka na niya. mo na siya. ko na siya.	
'He sees you (sg.) 'You (sg.) see him 'I see him	}		now.'
Nakikita na	{	niya ako. namin kayo. ninyo sila.	
'He sees me 'We see you (pl.) 'You (pl.) see them	}		now.'

Kita, the composite pronoun that replaces the non-occurring sequence **ko ka*, follows any enclitic particles. Thus:

Nakikita na kita.
'I see you (sg.) now.'

For rules governing the order of enclitic pronouns relative to one another, cf. §3.29.

When two or more particles are enclitic to the same word, their relative order may be described in terms of the following order classes:

Class 1:	na, pa
Class 2:	man
Class 3(a):	ba, din, kasi, ho, lamang, nga, po
(b):	daw, muna, naman
Class 4:	kaya, pala, sana, tuloy, yata

The two particles that belong to class 1 never occur in immediate sequence with one another, and are never preceded by any other enclitic particles. Thus:

Kumain	{	na pa	nga kayo.
'Please eat	{	now.' some more.'	
Nagtatrabaho	{	na pa	pala kayo roon.
'So you're	{	now still	working there.'

etc.

Man, the only particle belonging to class 2, never precedes a particle belonging to class 1 and never follows a particle belonging to class 3 or 4. Thus:

Hindi pa man lamang tuloy nakakapag-almusal si Juan.
'As a result, Juan hasn't even had breakfast yet.'

Class 3 is divided into two subclasses on the basis of the behavior of the two subclasses with respect to particles belonging to class 4. Those class 3 particles listed in subclass 3(a) never follow a class 4 particle; those listed in subclass 3(b) may follow a class 4 particle (see below).

Two of the class 3 particles, *ho* and *po*, never occur in the same sentence. Subject to this restriction, two or more particles belonging to class 3 may occur in any order relative to one another. There are, however, certain preferred orderings that obtain within the class. When two or more class 3 particles occur in sequence, the most common position of any one particle relative to the others is shown in the following formula:

$$\text{nga} + \text{din/rin} + \text{lamang/lang} + \text{daw/raw} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ho} \\ \text{po} \end{array} \right\} + \text{ba} + \text{muna} + \text{naman} + \text{kasi}$$

That is, *nga* preferably precedes any other class 3 particle(s), *din* preferably precedes any class 3 particle(s) other than *nga lamang* preferably precedes any class particle(s) other than *nga* and *din*, etc. Some examples are:

Nagtatrabaho nga rin daw kayo roon.
'They say it's true that you're working there too.'

Nagtatrabaho rin ho ba kayo roon?
'Are you working there too, sir?'

Nagtatrabaho daw ba naman kayo roon?
'Do they say that you're working there instead?'

(It should be noted that the relative positions shown in the above formula are merely preferences, and that other orderings can occur. In a few cases, in fact, some other ordering may be just as common as the one shown in the formula. For example, when *raw* (or *daw*) and *ba* occur as the only enclitics in a sequence, the ordering *ba raw* is quite as normal as the ordering *raw ba*: e.g.,

$$\text{Nagtatrabaho} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ba raw} \\ \text{raw ba} \end{array} \right\} \text{ kayo roon?}$$

'Do they say that you're working there?')

The particles belonging to class 4 never precede particles belonging to classes 1, 2, and 3(a). They may, however, precede a particle belonging to class 3(b), although an ordering in which the class 3(b) particle precedes the class 4 particle is preferred. Thus while both of the following are possible, the first represents a more common ordering:

$$\text{Hindi} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{raw kaya} \\ \text{kaya raw} \end{array} \right\} \text{ mabuti iyon.}$$

'I wonder if they say that's not good.'

Particles belonging to class 4 may occur in any order relative to one another, but *sana* preferably follows any of the others, and *tuloy* preferably follows any of the others except *sana*. Some examples are:

Nabili $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{yata pala} \\ \text{pala yata} \end{array} \right\}$ niya ang damit.
 'Oh, I think he got to buy the clothes.'

Nabili kaya tuloy niya ang damit.
 'I wonder if, as a result, he got to buy the clothes.'

Nabili tuloy sana niya ang damit.
 'I hope that it turns out that he got to buy the clothes.'

The meanings and uses of the enclitic particles are presented in §6.3 through 6.5: class 1 particles in §6.3; class 2 and class 3 particles in §6.4; class 4 particles in §6.5. The order of enclitic particles in relation to non-enclitic sentence elements is presented in §6.6.

§6.3. Class 1 enclitic particles.

The two class 1 enclitic particles, *na* and *pa*, never occur in immediate sequence with one another. They may, however, be used in separate clauses of a single sentence (cf. discussion under (7), below). Their most common uses are the following:

(1) In non-imperative sentences beginning with point-time adverbs expressing future time (cf. §6.8) – e.g., *bukas* 'tomorrow,' *sa Linggo* 'next Sunday,' *sa isang linggo* 'next week' – *na* and *pa* indicate the speaker's attitude toward the length of time between the time expressed by the adverb and the moment of speaking. *Pa* extends the psychological distance between the two points of time; *na* reduces it. After point-time adverbs expressing past time – e.g., *kahapon* 'yesterday,' *noong Linggo* 'last Sunday,' *noong isang linggo* 'last week' – *pa* performs this same function of extending the psychological distance between the time expressed by the adverb and the moment of speaking; *na*, however, does not occur after past point-time adverbs. Examples are:

Sa Linggo pa ang piyesta.
 'The fiesta is next Sunday (and there is plenty of time between now and then).'

Sa Linggo na ang piyesta.
 'The fiesta is next Sunday (and there is little time between now and then).'

Noong Linggo pa ang piyesta.
 'The fiesta was last Sunday (and that was quite a while ago).'

(Compare with the above:

Sa $\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\}$ Linggo ang piyesta.
 Noong $\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\}$
 'The fiesta $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{is next} \\ \text{was last} \end{array} \right\}$ Sunday.'

These sentences are noncommittal about the speaker's attitude toward the length of time between the time expressed by the adverb and the moment of speaking.)

(2) In imperative sentences (cf. §5.30) and with predicate verbs in the contemplated aspect, *na* denotes immediate initiation or performance of the action, *pa* continuation or resumption of the action. In these contexts *na* is usually translatable by 'now,' *pa* by 'some more' or 'go on.' Examples are:

Kumain ka	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} na. \\ pa. \end{array} \right.$	
'Eat	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{now.} \\ \text{some more.} \\ \text{or 'Go on eating.}' \end{array} \right.$	
Iinitin ko	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} na \\ pa \end{array} \right.$	ang pagkain.
'I'll heat the food	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{now.} \\ \text{some more.} \end{array} \right.$	
or 'I'll go on heating the food.'		

With predicate verbs in the contemplated aspect, *pa* may also denote postponement of other actions in favor of the action expressed by the verb, as in:

Hindi ako makaalis ngayon; maglalaba pa ako.
'I can't leave right now; I still have to do the laundry.'

Mahuhuli ako ng kaunti; patutulugin ko pa ang bata.
'I'll be a little late; I must put the baby to bed first.'

(3) With predicate verbs in the imperfective aspect and with non-verbal predicates, *na* suggests that the situation expressed is a relatively new or altered one, *pa* that it is a relatively old or continuing one. In these contexts, *na* is usually translatable by 'now' or 'already,' *pa* by 'still.' Examples are:

Nasa bahay	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} na \\ pa \end{array} \right.$	si Rosa.
'Rosa is	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{now/already} \\ \text{still} \end{array} \right.$	in the house.'
Natutulog	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} na \\ pa \end{array} \right.$	ang bata.
'The child is	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{now} \\ \text{still} \end{array} \right.$	sleeping.'

(4) With predicate verbs in the perfective aspect, *na* indicates performance of the action expressed by the verb at some unspecified time prior to another time. The time prior to which the action is performed

may be the moment of speaking, in which case the English equivalent often involves 'has/have' (plus, optionally, 'already') plus a past participle: e.g.,

Umalis na si Manuel.
'Manuel has (already) left.'

(cf. Umalis si Manuel.
'Manuel left.')

Or the time prior to which the action is performed may be designated by some past or future point–time expression. In this case, if the sentence includes a past time expression, the English equivalent usually involves 'had' (plus 'already') plus a past participle; if the sentence includes a future time expression, the English equivalent usually involves 'will' (plus 'already') plus 'have' plus a past participle: e.g.,

Nakarating na si Manuel nang nangyari iyon.
'Manuel had (already) arrived when it happened.'

Nakarating na si Manuel bago mangyari iyon.
'Manuel will (already) have arrived when it happens.'
(literally: ' . . . before it happens.')

With predicate verbs in the perfective aspect, *pa* indicates performance of the action expressed by the verb in addition to some other action(s), and is usually translatable by English 'also' or 'too': e.g.,

Nagpunta pa ako sa post office.
'I also went to the post office.'

(cf. Nagpunta ako sa post office.
'I went to the post office.')

(5) *Pa* is frequently used with verbs in the recent–perfective aspect (cf. §5.23). The meaning of the sentence is not affected by the presence or absence of *pa*: e.g.,

Kaaalis (pa) lamang ni Pedro.
'Pedro has just left.'

Na does not occur with verbs in the recent–perfective aspect.

(6) *Na* is often used to indicate a change in some previous plan. This meaning is most frequently associated with sentences that have nominalized verbal topics (cf. §3.24), or that have an adverb or complement occurring in initial position in emphatic inversion (cf. §7.2, subsection (3)). *Pa* has no comparable function.

Ikaw na ang mamili.
'You'd better do the shopping (e.g., instead of me, as originally planned).'

Bukas ka na umalis.
'Leave tomorrow (e.g., instead of today).'

Dito ka na matulog ngayong gabi.
'Sleep here tonight (e.g., instead of going home).'

(7) *Pa* may be used to express the meaning 'in addition.' It most frequently occurs in this meaning after an interrogative word (cf. § 7.7 through 7.11) or a cardinal number (cf. § 4.4). With an interrogative word it is usually translatable by 'else;' with a cardinal number it is usually translatable by 'more.' Examples are:

Sino pa ang paparito?
'Who else is coming?'

Saan ka pa pumunta?
'Where else did you go?'

May isa pa akong itatanong.
'I have one more thing to ask.'

Dalawa pa ngang tasang kape.
'Two more cups of coffee, please.'

Na has no comparable function.

(8) *Na* and *pa* are used in successive clauses (cf. § 6.17, subsection (5)) to indicate incompatibility between the actions, conditions, etc. expressed by the clauses. In some cases, the clause that includes *pa* expresses a continuing condition that might have been expected to prevent, but does not prevent, the action expressed by the clause that includes *na*: e.g.,

Hilaw pa ang mangga, pinitas na ni Juan.
'The mango was still unripe, but Juan picked it anyway.'

May sakit pa siya, pumasok na siya sa iskwela.
'He was still sick, but he went to school anyway.'

In other cases, the clause that includes *na* expresses a new condition, or a condition unspecified as to newness or continuity, that might have been expected to prevent, but does not prevent, the action expressed by the clause that includes *pa*: e.g.,

Dumarating na ang mga bisita, maglilinis ka pa ng bahay!
'The guests are already arriving, and you're going to clean house!'

May sakit na siya, pumasok pa siya sa iskwela.
'He was sick, but he went to school anyway.'

(The clauses may occur in either order. Thus, also:

Pinitas ni Juan ang mangga, hilaw pa.
'Juan picked the mango, although it was still unripe.'

Maglilinis ka pa ng bahay, dumarating na ang mga bisita!
'You're going to clean house, and the guests are already arriving!')

(9) In negated constructions (cf. § 7.13 through 7.15), *na* and *pa* together with the negators, express the following meanings:

(a) *hindi na* 'not . . . any more/longer'
Hindi na ako pupunta roon.
'I won't go there any more.'

Hindi ko na kailangan iyon.
'I don't need that any longer.'

- (b) *hindi pa* 'not . . . yet.'
 Hindi pa siya aalis.
 'He won't be leaving yet.'

Hindi pa siya umaalis.
 'He hasn't left yet.'

(Note that the meaning 'has not . . . yet' is expressed by *hindi pa* and a verb in the imperfective aspect – cf. §2.7.)

- (c) *wala na* 'no more/longer, not . . . any more/longer'
 Wala nang tubig sa pitsel.
 'There isn't any more water in the pitcher.'

Wala na rito si Juan.
 'Juan is no longer here.'

- (d) *wala pa* 'no . . . yet, not (any) . . . yet'
 Wala pa siyang kaibigan dito.
 'He has no friends here yet.'

Wala pa rito si Juan.
 'Juan isn't here yet.'

- (e) *huwag na* 'don't . . . any more'
 Huwag na ninyo siyang abalahin.
 'Don't bother him any more.'

(**Huwag pa* does not occur; the meaning 'don't . . . yet' is expressed by *huwag muna*: cf. §6.4, subsection (h.3).)

§6.4. Class 2 and class 3 enclitic particles.

In the following presentation, the class 2 and class 3 particles are presented in the following order: (a) *man*, (b) *nga*, (c) *din/rin*, (d) *lamang/lang*, (e) *daw/raw*, (f) *ho* and *po*, (g) *ba*, (h) *muna*, (i) *naman*, (j) *kasi*. (The one class 2 particle *man*, is presented first; the class 3 particles are presented in the order in which they preferably occur when in sequence with one another – cf. §6.2).

- (a) *Man*
Man does not occur in basic sentences. Its most common uses are the following:

- (1) with the negators *hindi* and *wala* (cf. §§7.13 and 7.14) and the class 3 enclitic *lamang/lang* in sentences equivalent to English sentences with 'not even': e.g.,

Hindi ka man lamang nakapag-almusal.
 'You didn't even get to eat breakfast.'

Wala man lang siya roon.
 'He wasn't even there.'

- (2) in concessive clauses (cf. §6.17, subsection (4)) equivalent to English clauses with 'even if' or 'even though.' (The concessive clause is optionally introduced by *kahit*. The main

clause optionally but commonly includes the class 3 enclitic *din/rin* – in this context ‘still, anyway.’) Examples are:

(Kahit) mahal man ang sapatos, binili ko rin.
‘Even though the shoes were expensive, I bought them anyway.’

Hindi ka rin maniniwala, (kahit) sabihin ko man ang totoo.
‘You still won’t believe it, even if I tell you the truth.’

- (3) in indefinite constructions (cf. §7.18), equivalent to English constructions with ‘whatever,’ ‘whoever,’ etc. (The construction is, once more, optionally introduced by *kahit*.) Examples are:

(Kahit) ano man ang gusto mo, ibibili kita.
‘Whatever you want, I’ll buy it for you.’

Sabihin mo $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sa kahit sino} \\ \text{kanino} \end{array} \right\}$ pa mang dumating na umuwi na ako.
‘Tell whoever else comes that I’ve gone home.’

(Kahit) saan man ako pumunta, nakikita ko siya.
‘Wherever I go, I see him.’

- (4) with an inverted topic followed by *ay* or a pause (cf. §7.2), in which case the inverted predicate obligatorily includes *din/rin*. The sentence expresses an unexpected similarity between the referent of the topic and something or someone else: e.g.,

Ako $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{man ay} \\ \text{man,} \end{array} \right\}$ natakot din.
‘I too was scared (although I might not have been expected to be).’

Ang kalabaw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{man ay} \\ \text{man,} \end{array} \right\}$ napapagod din.
‘(The) carabaos too get tired (although they might not have been expected to).’

When, as in the last example, the inverted topic that precedes *man* is an unmarked noun preceded by *ang*, it may have either a definite or a generic meaning (e.g., ‘the carabaos’ or ‘carabaos’). The *ang* is, however, optionally deletable in this construction, in which case the topic always has a generic meaning. Thus:

Kalabaw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{man ay} \\ \text{man,} \end{array} \right\}$ napapagod din.
‘Carabaos too get tired.’

(While there is normally both a stylistic difference and a difference in meaning between a sentence in which an inverted topic is followed by the inversion marker *ay* and one in which it is followed by a pause – cf. §7.2, subsections (1) and (2) – only the stylistic difference obtains in the case of the construction under discussion. That is, in the *man-din* inversion construction, the only difference between a sentence in which the inversion is marked by *ay* and an otherwise identical sentence in which it is marked by a

- pause is that the former represents the more formal style. This same generalization applies to the *man-din* inverted-adverb construction presented under (5), immediately below.)
- (5) with an inverted adverb followed by *ay* or a pause (cf. §7.2), in which case the following construction obligatorily includes *din/rin*. In this construction *man* is usually translatable by 'even,' *din* by 'still': e.g.,

Sa loob man ng bahay naming	$\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{maliit ay} \\ \text{maliit,} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{makapagsasa-} \\ \text{yaman din} \\ \text{tayo.} \end{array} \right.$
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'Even inside our little house, we can still hold the dance.'

Kung gabi man, mainit din.
'Even at night, it's still hot.'

- (6) in the first of two structures (words, phrases, etc.) joined by the coordinating conjunction *o* 'or' (cf. §7.19, subsection (2)). A coordinate construction that includes *man* and *o* is equivalent to an 'either . . . or' construction in English: e.g.,

Ikaw man o ako ay maaaring gumawa niyon.
'Either you or I can do that.'

Sa loob man o sa labas ay maaari tayong magsayawan.
'We can hold the dance either indoors or outdoors.'

(b) *Nga*

- (1) The addition of *nga* to an imperative sentence (cf. §5.30) changes the imperative from a command to a polite request: e.g.,

Kumain ka nga. 'Please eat.'

(cf. Kumain ka.
'Eat')

(An imperative that includes *nga* may retain the imperative intonation pattern, /34/, or it may receive an intonation used only for requests, /32↑/ – cf. §1.24, pattern I.1 and §1.27, pattern IV.3. The latter intonation pattern makes the request more polite.)

- (2) *Nga* is also commonly used in hortative and optative constructions (cf. §5.30). In a hortative construction, *nga* serves to elicit consent to the suggested course of action: e.g.,

Tingnan nga natin iyon.
'How about our looking at that.'

(cf. Tingnan natin iyon.
'Let's look at that.')

In an optative construction (where some sort of enclitic particle is often obligatory) *nga* is used in expressing a wish of moderate force: e.g.,

Linisin ko nga ang bahay.
'I guess I should clean the house.'

- (3) In sentences other than imperatives and optatives, *nga* usually expresses affirmation or confirmation. Examples are:

Oo nga.
'Yes, indeed.'

Ikaw nga ang matalino, e!
'On the contrary, it's really you who are the intelligent one!'

Pagod nga ako.
'I'm really tired.'

(c) *Din/rin*

Some speakers use *din* and *rin* as free alternants in all phonemic contexts. Others prefer *din* after consonants *rin* after vowels. *Din/rin* is commonly used in the following ways:

- (1) to express similarity between two situations. In this use, *din/rin* is usually translatable by 'too' (in an affirmative sentence) or by 'either' (in a negative sentence). Examples are:

(Umaawit si Linda.) Umaawit din si Carmen.
'(Linda is singing.) Carmen is singing too.'

Hindi marunong ng Kastila si Pedro. Hindi rin siya marunong ng salitang Pranses.
'(Pedro doesn't know Spanish.) He doesn't know French either.'

- (2) to express the achievement of some more-or-less long-desired goal. In this use, *din/rin* is usually translatable by 'finally' or 'at last.' Examples are:

Natapos din ang trabaho.
'We've finally finished the job.'

Salamat sa Diyos, nakita ko rin ang kuwintas kong nawawala.
'Thank God, I've found my missing necklace at last.'

- (3) to express a moderate degree of the quality expressed by an adjective, or to partially negate the adjective. In this use, *din/rin* is usually translatable by 'fairly' or 'not very.' Examples are:

(Kumusta?) Mabuti rin.
'(How are you?) Fairly well.'

(Maganda ba si Maria?) Oo, maganda rin.
'(Is Maria pretty?) Yes, but not very (pretty).'

- (4) in association with *man* in various constructions – cf. (a.2), (a.4), and (a.5), above.

(d) *Lamang/lang*

Lamang, or its shortened variant, *lang*, commonly expresses a meaning of limitation (in quantity, extent, importance, etc.) with respect to the construction of which it is an immediate part. It is usually translatable by 'only' or 'just.' Examples are:

Tatlo lamang sila.
'There are only three of them.'

Si Juan lang ang dumating.
'The only one who came was Juan.'

Mangungulot lang ako.
'I'm only a hairdresser.'

Kaninang umaga ko lamang natanggap ito.
'It was just this morning that I received this.'

Maghintay ka sandali; magsusuot lang ako ng sapatos.
'Wait a moment; I'll just put on my shoes.'

(For examples of the use of *lamang/lang* with *man* after the negators *hindi* and *wala*, cf. (a.1), above.)

Lamang or *lang* is obligatory after a verb in the recent–perfective aspect (cf. §5.23): e.g.,

Kakakain ko lamang.
'I have just eaten.'

(e) *Daw/raw*

Some speakers use *daw* and *raw* as free alternants in all phonemic contexts. Others prefer *daw* after consonants, *raw* after vowels. *Daw/raw* is used to mark indirect quotations (cf. §3.28, subsection (2)), or in sentences that report or elicit the content of something said by someone other than the speaker or the person(s) addressed. In some cases it may be translated by 'they say' or '_____ say(s)/said'; in other cases it lacks a common English translation equivalent. Examples are:

Sabi ng Nanay, manguha ka raw ng gulay.
'Mother said that you should pick some vegetables.'

Saan daw pupunta si Juan?
'Where did Juan say he was going?'
(or 'Where did they say Juan was going?')

Mabuti raw ang ani.
'They say that the harvest is good.'

(f) *Ho* and *po*

Ho and *po* are used to express respect for the person or persons being addressed. The social circumstances in which they are used are the same as those in which the second–person plural pronouns *kayo/ninyo/inyo* and third–person–plural pronouns *siya/nila/kanila* replace the second–person–singular pronouns. (In prayers addressed to God or the saints, however, *po* (but not *ho*) is used with *ikaw*, etc.) Neither of these enclitics of respect occurs after the familiar affirmative reply *Oo* 'Yes.' Instead of **Oo po* or **Oo ho*, special polite forms – respectively, *Opo* and *Oho* – are used. *Po* is more formal and respectful than *ho*. *Ho* is the more commonly used of the two especially among younger speakers, except in social formulas (cf. §7.23), where *po* is the more common form. Examples are:

Magandang umaga po, Ginoong Cruz.
'Good morning, Mr. Cruz.'

(cf. Magandang umaga, Carmen.
'Good morning, Carmen.')

Alam $\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{ho} \\ \text{po} \end{array} \right\}$ ba ninyo kung anong oras ang alis ng bus?
'Do you know, (sir/madam), what time the bus leaves?'

(g) *Ba*

Ba is the question marker (cf. §§7.3 through 7.12). Its use is optional except in the confirmation–question formulas *hindi ba*, *hindi ba't*, and *dili nga ba't*. It is more frequently omitted in information questions (i.e., those with interrogative words like *saan* 'where,' *sino* 'who,' *ilan* 'how many,') than in yes–no questions. Examples are:

Aalis ka na (ba)?
'Are you leaving now?'

Saan ka (ba) nakatira?
'Where do you live?'

Libro mo ito, hindi ba?
'This is your book, isn't it?'

(A variant form, *baga*, occurs in some regional dialects, but is not found in educated Manila Tagalog.)

(h) *Muna*.

Muna adds a meaning of temporariness, or anticipation of change, to the meaning expressed by the rest of the sentence.

- (1) Where the nature of the anticipated change is not expressed, *muna* is often translatable by 'for a while,' 'for the time being,' '(for) a minute,' etc. Examples are:

Magpahinga muna tayo.
'Let's rest for a while (and then . . .)'

Ilagay mo muna doon.
'Put it there for the time being.'

Teka muna.
'Wait a minute.'

Diyan muna kayo.
'So long.'

(Literally: 'You (stay) there for a while': the social formula for temporary leavetaking – cf. §7.23).

- (2) Where the nature of the anticipated change is expressed or clearly implied, *muna* is often translatable by 'first': e.g.,

Bago siya nag-aral ng liksyon, nagbabasa muna siya ng diyaryo.
'Before studying his lessons, he reads the newspapers (first).'

- (3) In negative imperatives and hortatives (cf. §5.30), *muna* is often translatable by 'yet': e.g.,

Huwag ka munang kumain.
'Don't eat yet.'

Huwag muna tayong umalis.
'Let's not leave yet.'

(i) *Naman*

Naman is commonly used in the following ways:

- (1) to express dissimilarity between two situations. In this use, it is sometimes translatable by 'on the other hand' or 'instead,' although these expressions are less common in English than *naman* is in Tagalog. Examples are:

Nag-aaral si Linda.
'Linda is studying.'

Naglalaro naman si Carmen.
Carmen (– on the
other hand –) is playing.'

Bumili ako ng karne kahapon.
'I bought meat yesterday.'

Ngayon, isda naman.
Today, (it will be)
'fish (instead).'

- (2) to express a shift of viewpoint from one person, object, etc. to another, or a shift of role from questioner to responder or vice versa. In these uses, *naman* usually lacks a translation equivalent in English. Examples are:

Juan ang pangalan ko.
'My name is Juan.'

At ang iyo naman?
And yours?'

Kumusta ka?
'How are you?'

Mabuti. Ikaw naman?
'Fine. And you?'

- (3) in imperative sentences (cf. §5.30), to express politeness together with mild reproach. Examples are:

Magpahinga ka naman. 'Do rest.'

Huwag naman kayong maingay. 'Please don't be noisy.'

(Imperative sentences with *naman* do not get the intonation pattern for requests or that for commands, but, rather, the emphatic statement pattern, /231/ – cf. §1.26, pattern III.1.)

- (4) after adjectives used as predicates, and after adjectives or adjective bases in exclamations (cf. §4.24), to express a critical or negative attitude. Examples are:

Marumi }
Mahal } naman ito.

'This is { dirty }
{ expensive } (and I am displeased.)'

(cf. { Marumi }
{ Mahal } ito.

'This is { dirty.' }
{ expensive.' } (statement of fact)

Napakarumi }
Ang dumi } naman nito!
'How dirty this is!'

(j) *Kasi*

Kasi expresses cause. It is used only in informal speech, being replaced in writing and in formal speech by constructions with *dahil* or *sapagka't* 'because.' Examples are:

Nagising ang bata. Maingay kasi kayo, e.
'The baby was awakened. (That's) because you were noisy.'

Nahuli si Juan sa klase. Tanghali na kasi siyang nagising, e.
'Juan was late for class. (That's) because he slept late.'

(*Kasi* is also used as a non-enclitic adverb, as in:

Nahuli si Juan sa klase. Kasi, tanghali na siyang nagising, e.
'Juan was late for class. (That's) because he slept late.')

§6.5. Class 4 enclitic particles.

The class 4 enclitic particles are presented below in the following order: (a) *kaya*, (b), *pala*, (c) *yata*, (d) *tuloy*, (e) *sana*.

(a) *Kaya*

Kaya expresses or elicits speculation. It occurs in: (1) speculative imperatives, optatives, and hortatives; and (2) speculative questions.

- (1) *Kaya* may occur in a basic or equational imperative, a basic or equational optative, or a basic or equational hortative construction (cf. §5.30). The addition of *kaya* to such a construction changes the meaning from that of expressing a command or a wish that an action be performed to that of expressing speculation about the desirability of the action. The English equivalents usually involve: 'Perhaps . . . should.' Examples are:

Maglakad kaya $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kayo} \\ \text{tayo} \\ \text{ako} \\ \text{si Juan} \end{array} \right\}$ doon.

'Perhaps $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{you} \\ \text{we} \\ \text{I} \\ \text{Juan} \end{array} \right\}$ should walk there.'

Ito kaya ang gamitin $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ninyo.} \\ \text{natin.} \\ \text{ko.} \\ \text{ni Juan.} \end{array} \right\}$

'Perhaps $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{you} \\ \text{we} \\ \text{I} \\ \text{Juan} \end{array} \right\}$ should use this.'

(Note that, while the actor in an optative construction without *kaya* (or *sana* – cf. e.1), below) is always expressed by a personal pronoun, the actor in a speculative optative with *kaya* may be expressed by a nominal of some other type as well. Thus while there is no **Maglakad si Juan doon*, the sentence *Maglakad kaya si Juan doon* is perfectly acceptable.)

- (2) *Kaya* occurs in yes–no questions (cf. §7.4), alternative questions (§7.5), and information questions (§§7.7 ff.). When *kaya* is used in a question, the question–marking enclitic *ba* (cf. §6.4, subsection (e)) is usually omitted. In questions, *kaya* elicits the speculative opinion of the person(s) addressed, and is often translatable by ‘do you suppose.’ Examples are:

Mabuti kaya ang ani?
‘Do you suppose the harvest will be good?’

Naglakad kaya sila, o sumakay?
‘Do you suppose they walked, or rode?’

Sino kaya ang mananalo?
‘Who do you suppose will win?’

(Speculative imperatives, optatives, and hortatives may be changed to speculative questions by the use of an interrogative intonation pattern (/2↑/, /31↑/, or /31↑/ – respectively, pattern I.2, §1.24, pattern III.3, §1.26, and pattern IV.4, §1.27): e.g.,

Ito kaya ang gamitin	{	ninyo? natin? ko? ni Juan?	
‘Do you suppose	{	you we I Juan	should use this?’)

(b) *Pala*

Pala is used in expressing mild surprise at new information, or an unexpected event or situation, as in the first and second examples below, or in expressing an afterthought, as in the third and fourth examples.

Ikaw pala ang kapatid ni Pedro.
‘So you’re Pedro’s sister.’

Maganda pala ito, a!
‘Oh, but this is pretty!’

Ano pala ang bibilhin ko para si iyo?
‘By the way, what shall I buy for you?’

Kunin mo pala ang martilyo.
‘(And . . . oh, yes,) get the hammer.’

(c) *Yata*

Yata is used in statements (not in questions or imperatives) to express uncertainty or lack of conviction. Examples are:

Mahal yata iyon.
'That seems expensive.'

Hindi yata tama iyon.
'That doesn't seem right.'

Nagugutom yata ang bata.
'The child seems to be hungry.'

(d) *Tuloy*

Tuloy is used:

(1) to characterize one action or situation as resulting from another. In this use, it is usually translatable by 'as a result.' Examples are:

Maingay kayo. 'You were noisy.'	Nagising tuloy ang bata. 'As a result, the baby was awakened.'
------------------------------------	---

Naiwanan ako ng bus. 'I missed my bus.'	Nahuli tuloy ako sa klase. 'As a result, I was late for class.'
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(2) to characterize an action as being logically or conveniently performed together with another action. In this use, *tuloy* is often preceded by the enclitic particle *na* (cf. §6.3), and is translatable by such expressions as 'might as well . . . at the same time,' 'while (I'm, etc.) at it, (I, etc.) might as well,' etc. Examples are:

Magwalis ka sa bakuran. Magdilig ka (na) tuloy ng halaman.
'Sweep the yard. You might as well water the plants at the same time.'

Tutungo ako sa kabayanan. Daraan (na) tuloy ako sa opisina.
'I'm going downtown. While I'm at it, I might as well drop in at the office.'

(e) *Sana*

Sana is commonly used in the following ways:

(1) to express a hope: e.g.,

Masasaya sana sila.
'I hope they're happy.'

Nanalo sana ang kandidato ko.
'I hope my candidate won.'

Manalo sana ang kandidato ko.
'I hope my candidate wins.'

(In this use, *sana* does not occur with verbs in the contemplated aspect. When, as in the last example, the hope relates to an event that has not yet occurred, an optative construction – involving the basic form of the verb – is used (cf. §5.30). Note that in an optative construction with *sana* (or *kaya* – cf. (a.1), above), the actor need not be expressed by a personal pronoun.)

(2) with a verb in the contemplated aspect, to express an unrealized intention: e.g.,

Pupunta sana ako sa pulong kahapon pero nagbago ang isip ko.
'I had intended to go to the meeting yesterday, but I changed my mind.'

Bibilhin sana nila ang bahay, pero kulang ang pera nila.
'They would have bought the house, but they didn't have enough money.'

(3) in the main clause of a sentence that includes a conditional clause (cf. §6.15), in which case the main clause expresses a situation that has not occurred, as a result of the condition's being unfulfilled: e.g.,

Kung pumunta siya sa pulong, nakausap sana niya ang Alkalde.
'If he had gone to the meeting, he could have gotten to talk to the Mayor.'

(cf. Kung pumunta siya sa pulong, nakausap niya ang Alkalde.
'If he went to the meeting, he got to talk to the Mayor.')

Nag-aaral	}	na sana ako ngayon, kung hindi ako nagkasakit.
Nasa Unibersidad		
Maestra		
'I would be	}	now, if I had not gotten sick.'
studying		
at the University a teacher		

§6.6. Positions of enclitic particles in sentences.

The position of any given enclitic particle in relation to other enclitics (particles or pronouns) within a single enclitic sequence is presented in §6.2. The present section deals with the position of enclitic particles in relation to non-enclitic sentence elements.

As was noted in §6.2, enclitic particles, with certain storable exceptions, follow the first word of the structures of which they constitute an immediate part. From the point of view of the types of structures of which they may constitute an immediate part, the enclitic particles may be divided into four groups, as follows:

- Group A: ba, kasi, kaya, man.
- Group B: daw/raw, din/rin, ho, naman, nga, pala, po, sana, tuloy, yata.
- Group C: lamang/lang, muna.
- Group D: na, pa.

Enclitic particles belonging to group A always constitute an immediate part of the initial component of a sentence or a clause, whether this initial component is a predicate, a topic, or an adverbial. (A clause is a part of a sentence that itself has the internal structure of a sentence.) Note, for example, the position of *ba*, a group A particle, in the following sentences:

(Kung pakikiusapan ko sila,)	}	sasayaw ba sila ng pandanggo bukas ng gabi?
		sila ba'y sasayaw ng pandanggo bukas ng gabi?
		bukas ba ng gabi 'ysasayaw sila ng pandanggo?
'(If I ask them to,) will they dance a fandango tomorrow night?'		

In each case, *ba* is an immediate part of the sentence – initial or clause – initial component, and follows its first word. In one case, *ba* follows the first word of the predicate (*sasayaw*), in another, the inverted topic (*sila*), in another, the first word of an inverted adverb (*bukas*). (For a discussion of inversion constructions, cf. §7.2.) Regardless of the function of the initial component within the sentence or clause, a group A

particle obligatorily constitutes an immediate part of it, and normally follows its first word. (More precisely, the particle follows the first word other than a non-pre-enclitic – cf. below and §3.29. Thus, within the initial adverb *bukas ng gabi* ‘tomorrow night,’ *bukas* may, in most cases, optionally be treated as a non-pre-enclitic, in which case, since *ng* is obligatorily non-pre-enclitic, *gabi* serves as the pre-enclitic word. Thus, also:

Bukas ng gabi ba’y sasayaw sila ng pandanggo?)

Group B particles may occur in all the same sentence positions as group A particles, but may also occur in a variety of other sentence positions. That is, group B particles may always constitute an immediate part of the sentence–initial component, but need not do so in all cases. In a basic sentence, a group B particle, like a group A particle, must normally constitute an immediate part of the predicate. Thus the group B particle *din/rin* must follow *sasayaw* in the following sentence:

Sasayaw din sila ng pandanggo bukas ng gabi.
‘They will dance a fandango tomorrow night too.’

(The Tagalog sentence involves the same ambiguities as its English equivalent, and may mean: ‘They (as well as someone else) will dance . . .’ ‘They will dance (as well as do something else) . . .’ ‘They will dance a fandango (as well as something else) . . .’ or ‘They will dance a fandango tomorrow night (as well as at some other time).’) When, however, a group B particle occurs in one of certain types of derived sentences (or clauses with the internal structure of derived sentences of these types), it may constitute an immediate part of some non-sentence–initial (or non-clause–initial) component. The types of non-sentence–initial components of which group B particles most frequently constitute an immediate part are: inverted predicates after *ay* or pause (cf. §7.2) and nominalized verbals.

Examples of sentences in which a group B enclitic particle constitutes an immediate part of an inverted predicate are:

Sila’y sasayaw din ng pandanggo bukas ng gabi.
‘They will dance a fandango tomorrow night too.’

(cf. *Sila rin ay sasayaw ng pandanggo bukas ng gabi.*
‘They will dance a fandango tomorrow night.’)

Bukas ng gabi’y sasayaw din sila ng pandanggo.
‘They will dance a fandango tomorrow night too.’

(cf. *Bukas din ng gabi’y* }
 } *sasayaw sila ng pandanggo.*
Bukas ng gabi rin ay }
‘Tomorrow night too they will dance a fandango.’)

(As may be observed by comparing the translations of the sentences in which *din/rin* constitutes an immediate part of the inverted predicate with those in which it constitutes an immediate part of the sentence–initial component, the relative flexibility of group B particles in sentences involving inversion may be used to resolve, or partly resolve, ambiguities that are unavoidable in basic sentences.)

An example of a sentence in which a group B enclitic particle constitutes an immediate part of a nominalized verbal is:

Sila ang sasayaw din ng pandanggo.
‘They are the ones who will dance a fandango too.’

(cf. *Sila rin ang sasayaw ng pandanggo.*
‘They are also the ones who will dance a fandango.’)

(Group B particles may also constitute an immediate part of non-initial sentence—components of certain other types: e.g., some kinds of adverbial phrases, as in:

Ito ang binili ko para rin sa iyo.
'This is the one I bought for you too.')

The group C particles, *lamang/lang* and *muna*, are similar to the group B particles in the range of structures of which they may constitute an immediate part. The major difference between the two classes is that the group C particles cannot normally constitute an immediate part of a sentence—initial (or clause—initial) adverbial followed by *ay* or pause. Thus, there is no:

*Bukas $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{lamang} \\ \text{muna} \end{array} \right\}$ ng gabi ay sasayaw sila ng pandanggo.

but only:

Bukas ng gabi ay sasayaw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{lamang} \\ \text{muna} \end{array} \right\}$ sila ng pandanggo.

'They will $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{just} \\ \text{first} \end{array} \right\}$ dance a fandango tomorrow night.'

Group C particles may, however, constitute an immediate part of an inverted topic before *ay* or pause, or of an inverted predicate after *ay* or pause. Thus:

Sila $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{lamang} \\ \text{muna} \end{array} \right\}$ ay sasayaw ng pandanggo bukas ng gabi.

or:

Sila'y sasayaw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{lamang} \\ \text{muna} \end{array} \right\}$ ng pandanggo bukas ng gabi.

'They will $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{just} \\ \text{first} \end{array} \right\}$ dance a fandango tomorrow night.'

And they may constitute an immediate part of a non-initial nominalized verbal, etc.:

Sila ang sasayaw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{lamang} \\ \text{muna} \end{array} \right\}$ ng pandanggo.

'They're the ones who will $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{just} \\ \text{first} \end{array} \right\}$ dance a fandango.'

The group D particles *na* and *pa* are also similar to group B particles in the range of structures of which they may constitute an immediate part. But group D particles cannot normally constitute an

immediate part of either a topic or an adverbial followed by *ay* or pause. Thus there are no such sentences as:

*Sila $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{na'y} \\ \text{pa'y} \end{array} \right\}$ sasayaw ng pandanggo bukas ng gabi.
 *Bukas $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{na} \\ \text{pa} \end{array} \right\}$ ng gabi'y sasayaw sila ng pandanggo.

but only:

Sila'y sasayaw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{na} \\ \text{pa} \end{array} \right\}$ ng pandanggo bukas ng gabi.
 'They will $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(soon) dance a fandango} \\ \text{dance a fandango some more} \end{array} \right\}$ tomorrow night.'
 Bukas ng gabi'y sasayaw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{na} \\ \text{pa} \end{array} \right\}$ sila ng pandanggo.
 'They will $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(soon) dance a fandango} \\ \text{dance a fandango some more} \end{array} \right\}$ tomorrow night.'

Like group B and group C particles (and unlike group A particles), *na* and *pa* may, however, constitute an immediate part of a non-initial nominalized verbal, etc.:

Sila ang sasayaw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{na} \\ \text{pa} \end{array} \right\}$ ng pandanggo.
 'They're the ones who will $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{now dance} \\ \text{go on dancing} \end{array} \right\}$ a fandango.'

(*Na* and *pa* show certain peculiarities with respect to the treatment of some sentence-initial or clause-initial words as non-pre-enclitics. Specifically, certain words that are optionally non-pre-enclitic with respect to the other enclitic particles – e.g., *bakit* 'why,' *dahil* 'because' *halos* 'almost' – are obligatorily non-pre-enclitic with respect to *na* and *pa*. Thus either:

Bakit $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ba} \\ \text{din} \\ \text{muna} \end{array} \right\}$ hindi nagpahinga ang bata?

or:

Bakit hindi $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ba} \\ \text{rin} \\ \text{muna} \end{array} \right\}$ nagpahinga ang bata?

'Why didn't the child rest $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ? \\ \text{too?} \\ \text{first?} \end{array} \right\}$

but only:

Bakit hindi $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{na} \\ \text{pa} \end{array} \right\}$ nagpapahinga ang bata?

Why $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{isn't the child resting any more?} \\ \text{hasn't the child rested yet?} \end{array} \right\}$

There is no:

*Bakit $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{na} \\ \text{pa} \end{array} \right\}$ hindi nagpapahinga ang bata?)

As was stated in §3.29, enclitics do not always follow the first word of a construction of which they constitute an immediate part. The word that the enclitics follow (the PRE-ENCLITIC WORD hereafter, P) is in some cases preceded by one or more NON-PRE-ENCLITICS (hereafter, N). Certain sentence elements never function as P, and may be called OBLIGATORY NON-PRE-ENCLITICS; other function either as N or as P, and may be called OPTIONAL NON-PRE-ENCLITICS.

An inventory of sentence elements that function as N (either obligatorily or optionally) with respect to enclitic pronouns is presented in §3.29. In general, these same elements function as N with respect to enclitic particles. There are, however, certain differences in the lists of elements that serve as N with respect to the two types of enclitic words. These differences are of the following kinds:

(1) Certain elements that are obligatorily N with respect to enclitic pronouns are never N with respect to enclitic particles: viz., adverbs of which the enclitic particle constitutes an immediate part, and which are followed by pause or by the inversion marker *ay*. Thus:

Bukas ba'y aalis siya?
'Will he leave tomorrow?'

Bukas ba, aalis siya?
'Is it tomorrow that he's leaving?'

(cf. §3.29, inventory, subsection I.C.)

(2) Certain elements that are obligatorily N with respect to enclitic pronouns are optionally N with respect to enclitic particles. These elements include:

(a) The adverb *halos* 'almost' (cf. §3.29, inventory, subsection I.A.7). Thus:

Halos $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nagkasakit daw} \\ \text{daw nagkasakit} \end{array} \right\}$ siya.
'They say he almost got sick.'

(b) The subordinating conjunctions *bukod* 'besides,' (*mag*)*buhat* 'since,' *dahil* 'because,' *dangan* 'were

it not that,' *maliban* 'unless,' (*magmula* 'since,' *noon* 'when,' *sa sandali* 'the moment that' and (*kung*) *sakali* 'in case,' (subsection I.A.10). Some examples are:

Dahil $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{may sakit po} \\ \text{po may sakit} \end{array} \right\}$ siya, hindi siya makakarating.

'Because he's sick, sir, he won't be able to come.'

Sa $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sandali bang umalis} \\ \text{sandaling umalis ba} \end{array} \right\}$ siya, sasabihan kita?

'The moment that he leaves, shall I tell you?'

(Kung) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sakali bang makita mo} \\ \text{sakaling makita mo} \end{array} \right\}$ siya, iimbitahin mo siya?

'In case you see him, will you invite him?'

(c) Non-final components of coordinate phrases (subsection I.B.5). Thus:

Mabuti, malakas, at masaya daw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Mabuti, malakas daw, at masaya} \\ \text{Mabuti daw, malakas, at masaya} \end{array} \right\}$ siya.

'They say he's well, strong, and happy.'

(d) Non-final components of adverbial phrases and directional complements that are not followed by the linker *na/ng* (subsection I.B.6). Thus:

Bukas $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ng gabi ba} \\ \text{ba ng gabi} \end{array} \right\}$ siya aalis?

'Is it tomorrow night that he's leaving?'

Sa $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{bahay sa probinsya ba} \\ \text{bahay ba sa probinsya} \end{array} \right\}$ siya pupunta?

'Is it the house in the provinces that he's going to?'

(3) Certain construction—initial elements are obligatorily N with enclitic particles, but do not occur as initial elements of constructions of which enclitic pronouns constitute an immediate part: viz., non-final components of addresses (cf. §4.4, subsection (1)), dates that involve English numbers (cf. §4.4, subsection (2)), and expressions of percentage (cf. §4.4, subsection (4.c)): e.g.,

Dos $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{daang Medel po iyon.} \\ \text{Two} \end{array} \right\}$

'That's 2 Medel Street, sir.'

July third ba ngayon?

'Is today July third?'

Anim na }
Seis } porsyento daw ang buwis.
'They say the tax is six per cent.'

(Cf. (4.a), below, for the treatment of dates that involve Spanish or Tagalog numbers.)

(4) Certain construction-initial elements are optionally N with enclitic particles, but do not occur as initial elements of constructions of which enclitic pronouns constitute an immediate part. These elements include:

(a) Non-final components of dates that involve Spanish or Tagalog numbers (cf. §4.4, subsection (2)).

A-tres { ng Hulyo ba }
 { ba ng Hulyo } } ngayon?
Ikatlo { ng Hulyo ba }
 { ba ng Hulyo } }
'Is today July third?'

(b) The reservational-phrase, partisanship-phrase, and purpose-phrase marker *para* (cf. §4.20, subsections (1), (2), and (3)): e.g.,

Para { sa iyo ba } ito?
 { ba sa iyo } }
'Is this for you?'

Para { kay Makapagal ba } si Ernesto?
 { ba kay Makapagal } }
'Is Ernesto for Makapagal?'

Para { sa pagluluto ba } iyan?
 { ba sa pagluluto } }
'Is that for cooking?'

(c) The referential-phrase markers *tungkol*, *hinggil*, and *nauukol* (§4.20, subsection (5)): e.g.,

Tungkol }
Hinggil } { sa giyera ba } ang kuwento?
Nauukol } { ba sa giyera } }
'Is the story about war?'

With the above exceptions, the inventory of non-pre-enclitic elements presented in §3.29 generally applies to enclitic particles as well as to enclitic pronouns.

§6.7. Movable adverbs: introduction.

A moveable adverb is an adverb that, in general, has no fixed word–order relation to other sentence elements. In a basic sentence a movable adverb may occur between components of the predicate, after the predicate, or after the topic. The meaning of the sentence is not affected by changing the position of the movable adverb. Thus the following four sentences, which differ from one another in the placement of the movable adverb *kahapon* ‘yesterday,’ are identical in meaning:

{ Sumulat kahapon ng liham kay Maria si Juan. }
 { Sumulat ng liham kahapon kay Maria si Juan. }
 { Sumulat ng liham kay Maria kahapon si Juan. }
 { Sumulat ng liham kay Maria si Juan kahapon. }
 ‘Juan wrote a letter to Maria yesterday.’

Movable adverbs may also occur at the beginning of a sentence or clause in the various inversion constructions described in §7.2. The placement of a movable adverb at the beginning of a sentence or clause usually results in a sentence that differs in meaning or in stylistic level from the same sentence with a non-initial adverb. Thus:

Kahapon ay sumulat ng liham kay Maria si Juan.
 ‘Juan wrote a letter to Maria yesterday.’ (formal style)

Kahapon, sumulat ng liham kay Maria si Juan.
 ‘Yesterday, Juan wrote a letter to Maria.’
 (Possible implication: ‘Today, he will do something else.’)

Kahapon sumulat ng liham kay Maria si Juan.
 ‘It was yesterday that Juan wrote a letter to Maria.’

There is, however, one type of inversion construction – non-emphatic adverb inversion – in which the initial placement of the adverb involves no change of meaning. (Only certain types of adverb – e.g., manner adverbs (cf. §6.10) – occur in this inversion construction.) In non-emphatic adverb inversion, the adverb is linked to the rest of the sentence by the linker *na/-ng* (cf. §3.11). An example is:

Mabilis na naglakad si Pedro.
 ‘Pedro walked quickly.’

(cf. Naglakad si Pedro nang mabilis.
 ‘Pedro walked quickly.’)

When an adverb occurs in initial position, there are, in certain specifiable cases, obligatory changes in the shape of the adverb itself. Specifically, if the adverb in non-initial position would be introduced by the marker *nang* or the linker *na/-ng* this introductory element is deleted before the initial adverb. (The marker spelled *nang* is phonemically identical with the marker spelled *ng*: both spellings represent /*naŋ*/. The spelling *nang* is conventionally used for the marker at the beginning of a time adverb (cf. §6.8), a manner adverb (§6.10), a measurement adverb (§6.11, subsection (3)), or a time clause (§6.16). The spelling *ng* is conventionally used in most other cases.) Thus the *nang* that introduces the time adverb in:

Aalis tayo nang ala-una.
 ‘We’ll leave at one o’clock.’

is absent in:

Ala-una, aalis tayo.
 ‘At one o’clock, we’ll leave.’

Similarly, the linker that introduces the manner adverb in:

Umalis na bigla ang bisita.
'The guest left suddenly.'

is absent in:

Biglang umalis ang bisita.
'The guest suddenly left.'

(The deletion of introductory *nang* or *na/-ng* also applies to cases in which the adverb immediately follows the inversion marker *ay*. Thus:

Tayo ay ala-una aalis.
'It's at one o'clock that we'll leave.' (formal style)

Ang bisita ay biglang umalis.
'The visitor suddenly left.' (formal style)

Such constructions are themselves inversions of inversions: i.e., *ay* inversions of sentences that themselves involve adverb inversion. Thus *Tayo ay ala-una aalis* is an *ay* inversion of:

Ala-una tayo aalis.
'It's at one o'clock that we'll leave.'

and *Ang bisita ay biglang umalis* is an *ay* inversion of:

Biglang umalis ang bisita.
'The guest suddenly left.' (formal style))

The various classes of movable adverbs are presented in subsequent sections as follows: TIME ADVERBS in §6.8; LOCATIVE ADVERBS in §6.9; MANNER ADVERBS in §6.10; other movable adverbs in §6.11.

§6.8. Time adverbs.

Adverbs expressing time may be divided into the following classes: (1) MARKED TIME ADVERBS; (2) UNMARKED TIME ADVERBS; (3) TIME GERUND CONSTRUCTIONS. These classes are presented below in the listed order. Then there is a discussion of: (4) EXPANSIONS OF TIME ADVERBS; and (5) TIME ADVERBS AS PSEUDO-PREDICATES.

(1) MARKED TIME ADVERBS. A marked time adverb is introduced by one of the following markers – (a) *nang*, (b) *sa*, (c) *noon* plus the linker *na/-ng*, (d) *kung*, (*ka/pag*, *tuwi* + *na/-ng*, (e) *buhat*, *mula*, *umpisa*, (f) *hanggang* – or by (g) the linker *na/-ng*.

(a) *Nang* introduces time adverbs of two types: POINT-TIME ADVERBS (adverbs that refer to a single point in time or to a single delimited period of time) and FREQUENCY ADVERBS (see below). Point-time adverbs introduced by *nang* are tenseless: that is, they may be used to refer to a point or period of time that is past, present, or future: e.g.,

Bakit siya	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{magtatrabaho} \\ \text{magtatrabaho} \\ \text{nagtrabaho} \end{array} \right\}$	nang Linggo?
'Why	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{is he going to work} \\ \text{is he working} \\ \text{did he work} \end{array} \right\}$	on (a) Sunday?'

In this respect, point–time adverbs introduced by *nang* differ from certain point–time adverbs discussed under (b) and (c) below.

The *nang* of a point–Time adverb may be followed by any of various words and phrases that express points in time or periods of time: e.g., an expression of clock time (cf. §4.4, subsection (6)); *makalampas ng* or *pasado* plus an expression of clock time; a date (cf. §4.4, subsection (2)); the name of a part of the day (e.g., *umaga* ‘morning,’ *hapon* ‘afternoon,’ *gabi* ‘night’); the name of a day of the week; the name of a month, etc. (The names of the days of the week are, in order from Monday through Sunday: *Lunes*, *Martes*, *Miyerkoles*, *Huwebes*, *Biyernes*, *Sabado*, *Linggo*. The names of the months are, in order from January through December: *Enero*, *Pebrero*, *Maso*, *Abril*, *Mayo*, *Hunyo*, *Hulyo*, *Agosto*, *Setyembre*, *Oktubre*, *Nobyembre*, *Disyembre*; English names for months are also occasionally used.)

Phrases consisting of *nang* plus an expression of clock time are translated by English ‘at’ phrases; those consisting of *nang* plus a date are translated by English ‘on’ phrases: e.g.,

<i>nang</i> ala-una	‘at one o’clock’
<i>Nang</i> a-primero ng Enero	‘on the first of January’

Phrases consisting of *nang makalampas ng* or *nang pasado* plus an expression of clock time are translated by English phrases introduced by ‘after,’ thus:

<i>nang</i>	}	makalampas ng pasado	<i>ala-una</i>	‘after one o’clock’
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Phrases in which *nang* is followed by the name of a part of the day involve a meaning of indefiniteness. The phrase *nang umaga*, for example, is closer in meaning to English ‘some morning’ or ‘of a morning’ than it is to ‘in the morning.’ (The latter meaning is expressed by a *saphrase* – see (b), below.)

Phrases in which *nang* is followed by the name of a day of the week or of a month also involve a meaning of indefiniteness. *Nang Lunes* may, for example, be equivalent to English ‘on a Monday’ (or to ‘on Monday’ when this is used with an indefinite meaning), while *nang Enero* may be equivalent to English ‘one January’ (or to ‘in January’ when this is used with an indefinite meaning).

There is a group of *nang* point–time phrases in which *nang* is followed by *buong* (*buo* ‘whole’ plus the linker *na/-ng*) plus a word that designates a period of time. These phrases are equivalent to English time phrases that begin with ‘all’: e.g., *nang buong umaga* ‘all morning,’ *nang buong maghapon* ‘all day (from sunrise to sunset),’ *nang buong magdamag* ‘all night (from sunset to sunrise),’ *nang buong linggo* ‘all week,’ *nang buong taon* ‘all year.’ (In the case of the phrases ending in *maghapon* and *magdamag*, *buong* is redundant, since *nang maghapon* and *nang magdamag* themselves mean ‘all day’ and ‘all night’ respectively.) *Nang* is optionally deletable before *buong* in a time phrase. Thus:

Natulog sila	}	nang buong umaga. buong umaga.
‘They slept all morning.’		

(In the case of phrases ending in *maghapon* and *magdamag*, *nang* is optionally deletable whether or not the phrase also includes *buong*. Thus:

Natulog sila	}	nang (buong) magdamag. (buong) magdamag.
‘They slept all night.’		

Nang frequency adverbs consist of *nang* plus one of the following: *madalas* ‘often’; *minsán-minsán* ‘sometimes’; *paminsán-minsán* ‘occasionally’; a cardinal number plus the linker *na/-ng* plus *beses* or *ulit*

(both of which mean 'times'); a frequentative number (cf. §4.5, subsection (d)) plus, optionally, the linker *na/-ng* plus *beses* or *ulit*. Examples are:

Dumalaw siya sa kanila nang	}	madalas. minsan-minsan. paminsan-minsan. dalawang beses/ulit. makaapat (na beses/ulit).
He visited them	}	'often.' 'sometimes.' 'occasionally.' 'twice.' 'four times.'

(*Madalas*, *minsan-minsan* and *paminsan-minsan* may be preceded by the linker *na/-ng* – see (g), below – instead of *nang*, without change of meaning. Frequency adverbs formed with cardinal numbers and those formed with frequentative numbers are identical in meaning. Thus 'twice' may be either *nang dalawang beses/ulit* or *nang makalawa(ng beses/ulit)* and 'four times' may be either *nang apat na beses/ulit* or *nang makaapat (na beses/ulit)*.)

As is noted in §6.7, *nang* never introduces an adverb in sentence-initial or clause-initial position (or after the inversion marker *ay*). Most *nang* point-time adverbs may occur initially in any of three types of inversion constructions (cf. §7.2): *ay* inversion, contrastive inversion, or emphatic adverb inversion. Each of these constructions involves deletion of *nang*. Compare:

Nagsimba si Maria nang alas otso.
 'Maria went to church at eight o'clock.'

and:

- { Alas otso'y nagsimba si Maria. }
- { Alas otso, nagsimba si Maria. }
- { Alas otso nagsimba si Maria. }

- { 'Maria went to church at eight o'clock.' (formal style) }
- { 'At eight o'clock, Maria went to church.' }
- { 'It was at eight o'clock that Maria went to church.' }

Those *nang* point-time adverbs that include *buong* and/or one of the two words *maghapon* and *magdamag*, as well as all *nang* frequency adverbs, may occur initially in any of four types of inversion constructions: the three mentioned above, plus the non-emphatic adverb inversion construction. In the latter construction, the loss of initial *nang* is accompanied by the addition of the linker *na/-ng* after the adverb: e.g.,

Buong umagang (Buong) maghapon Makalawang Apat na beses na	}	nilinis ng Nanay ang bahay.
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'Mother cleaned the house

}	all morning.'
	all day.'
	twice.'
	four times.'

(cf. Nilinis ng Nanay ang bahay nang buong umaga, etc.)

(b) *Sa* introduces two types of point-time adverbs: TENSELESS POINT-TIME ADVERBS, and FUTURE POINT-TIME ADVERBS. In the tenseless adverbs, *sa* is followed by the name of a part of the day, by certain formations involving the prefix *k(in)ja-* together with the suffix *-an*, or by one of certain constructions involving nouns that designate periods of time: e.g., *araw* 'day,' *linggo* 'week,' *buwan* 'month.' A phrase consisting of *sa* plus the name of a part of the day involves a meaning of definiteness. In this respect it differs from a phrase consisting of *nang* plus the name of a part of the day. Compare the translations of the following sentences:

Dumating kami roon sa umaga.
'We arrived there in the morning.'

Dumating kami roon nang umaga.
'We arrived there of a morning.'

The *k(in)ja-...-an* formations that occur in tenseless *sa* phrases have as bases the name of a part of the day, the name of a day of the week, or *bukas* 'tomorrow.' (Some speakers use only the full form of the prefix, *kina-*; others use either *kina-* or *ka-*. The final vowel of the prefix shows optional length. Thus: /*kina*(·)/, /*ka*(·)/. If the independent form of the base has an inherently long penultimate vowel, the vowel length is normally shifted to the following syllable in the *k(in)ja-...-an* formations. Thus: *k(in)jabukasan* /*k(in)ja*(·)buka'san/ – cf. *bukas* /bu'kas/. Additionally, there is a replacement of /*e*/ by /*i*/ and /*o*/ by /*u*/ in the syllable receiving the vowel length; thus: *k(in)jalunisan* /*k(in)ja*(·)luni'san/ (cf. *Lunes* /lu'nes/), *kinahapunan* /*k(in)ja*(·)hapu'nan/ (cf. *hapon* /ha'pon/). The base *Biyernes* /bye'rnes/, however, does not undergo length shift in the *k(in)ja-...-an* formation; thus *k(in)jabyernesan* /*k(in)ja*(·)bye'rnesan/ (cf. *Byernes* /bye'rnes/). Bases without inherently long vowels and those with inherently long vowels in syllables preceding the penultimate syllable undergo no change in the *k(in)ja-...-an* formations. Thus: *k(in)gabihan* /*k(in)ja*(·)gabihan/ (cf. *gabi* /gabih/); *k(in)jamiyerkolesan* /*k(in)ja*(·)miye'rkolesan/ (cf. *Miyerkoles* /miye'rkoles/).) A phrase consisting of *sa* plus a *k(om)ja-...-an* formation is equivalent to an English phrase introduced by '(on) the following': e.g., *sa kinagabihan* '(on) the following night,' *sa kinabukasan* '(on) the following day.' (The same meaning may be expressed by a *k(in)ja-...-an* formation without a preceding *sa*: cf. subsection (2), below.)

Some examples of tenseless *sa* phrases involving terms for periods of time are: *sa araw ng piyesta* 'on the day of the fiesta,' *sa ikalawang linggo* 'in the second week,' *sa buwan ng Enero* 'in the month of January,' *sa loob ng ilang taon* 'within a few years,' *sa tag-ulan* 'in the rainy season.' (Note that while 'in the month of January' is expressed by a *sa* phrase, 'in January' with a tenseless meaning must be expressed by a *nang* phrase – see (a), above. As is explained immediately below, a phrase consisting of *sa* plus the name of a month has a future meaning.)

In the future point-time adverbs, *sa* may be followed by any of the following: a date, the name of a day of the week, the name of a month, *nakalawa* 'the second day from today,' or a modification construction consisting of (1) the cardinal number *isa* 'one,' the linker *na/-ng*, and a noun that designates a period of time or (2) one of the two contemplated-aspect verb forms *susunod* 'will follow' and *darating* 'will come,' the linker *na/-ng*, and a noun that designates a period of time. In the case of the constructions with *susunod* and *darating*, the marker *sa* may be followed by *mga* to give a plural meaning to the noun – see the last example in the list below. Future point-time adverbs introduced by *sa* are often

translatable by English phrases with 'next,' or by phrases with 'on' or 'in' where the latter have a future meaning. Some examples are:

sa a-primerong Enero	}	'next January first'
		'on the first of (next) January'
sa Lunes	}	'next Monday'
		'on Monday (next)'
sa Enero	}	'next January'
		'in January (of next year)'
sa makalawa		'the day after tomorrow'
sa isang linggo	}	'next week'
		'in one week (from now)'
sa (mga) { susunod } na buwan	}	'next month'
{ darating }		'in the month(s) following this one'
		'in the coming month(s)'

(To express the equivalent of 'in one week,' 'in four years,' etc., with a tenseless meaning, Tagalog uses a phrase introduced by *sa loob ng*, literally 'within.' Thus:

Tinapos niya ang trabaho sa loob ng { isang linggo.
} apat na taon.

'He finished the job (with)in { one week.'
} four years.'

There is no:

*Tinapos niya ang trabaho sa { isang linggo.
} apat na taon.

(c) *Noong* (which is analyzable as the *ng* form of the deictic pronoun *iyon* (cf. §3.4) plus the linker *-ng*) introduces PAST POINT-TIME ADVERBS; it may be followed by most of the words and phrases that occur after *sa* in future point-time phrases (see (b), above), except that in modification constructions involving verbs, the perfective-aspect verb *nakaraan* 'passed,' rather than *susunod* or *darating* occurs. *Noong* phrases are often translatable by English phrases with 'last' or 'ago,' or by phrases with 'on,' 'in,' or 'during' where the latter have a past meaning. Some examples are:

noong a-primerong Enero { 'last January first'
} 'on the first of (last) January'

noong Lunes	{ 'last Monday' 'on Monday (last)'
noong Enero	{ 'last January' 'in January (of this year)'
noong makalawa	'the day before yesterday'
noong isang linggo	{ 'last week' 'one week ago'
noong nakaraang taon	{ 'a year ago' 'in the year that (just) passed'
noong (mga) nakaraang linggo	'during the past week(s)'

Noong may also be followed by *panahon* 'time' plus a *ng* phrase, to express the equivalent of English phrases with 'during' or 'at the time of,' where these have past reference: e.g.,

Nagtatrabaho ako sa Maynila noong panahon ng World War II.	
'I was working in Manila	{ during at the time of } World War II.

(d) *Kung*, *(ka)pag*, and *tuwing* are all used to introduce RECURRENT-TIME ADVERBS (adverbs that express a number of points in time or periods of time treated as recurrences of the same point or period in systems of time measurement). They may be followed by various words and phrases that express points of time or periods of time: expressions of clock time, dates, names of parts of the day, etc., *Kung* and *(ka)pag* (*kapag* alternates freely with *pag*) are identical in meaning in time adverbs. (Both words are also used to introduce time clauses – cf. §6.15; in this use, the words have overlapping, rather than identical, meanings.) *Kung* is, however, the more commonly used time-phrase marker in educated Manila Tagalog. In recurrent time adverbs *kung* and *(ka)pag* mean literally 'when.' Their common English equivalents sometimes involve pluralization – e.g., *kung/(ka)pag umaga* 'mornings (i.e., when it's morning),' *kung Linggo* '(on) Sundays (i.e., when it's Sunday)' – but are sometimes indistinguishable from point-time adverbs. Thus 'in August' in the sense of 'when it's August' is translatable by *kung/(ka)pag Agosto*, but in other senses has different English equivalents (see (a), (b), and (c), above). *Kung* (but never *(ka)pag*) also occurs in the frequency adverb *kung minsan* 'sometimes.'

Tuwing phrases are equivalent to English time phrases with 'every': e.g., *tuwing umaga* 'every morning,' *tuwing Linggo* 'every Sunday,' *tuwing Agosto* 'every August.' The noun *taon* 'year' never occurs after *tuwing*, and the nouns *oras* 'hour' and *buwan* 'month' occur after *tuwing* only when they are followed by *ng* phrases of specification (cf. §3.28), thus: *tuwing oras ng panaghalian* 'every dinner time', but never simply **tuwing oras*; and *tuwing buwan ng Agosto* 'every August' (literally, 'every month of August'), but never simply **tuwing buwan*. The English phrases 'every year,' 'every hour,' and 'every month' therefore lack Tagalog equivalents in the form of phrases marked by *tuwing*. (For the equivalents of these phrases, see (2) below.) (There are two synonymous time adverbs used primarily in literature – *tuwina* and *sa tuwi-tuwina* 'always' – that may be regarded as irregular *tuwing* phrases.)

(e) *Buhat*, *mula* (or its less common variant *simula*), and *umpisa* are more or less synonymous as markers of time adverbs; they are equivalent to English 'since' or 'from . . . on.' *Buhat/mula/umpisa* may precede any of the following: expressions of clock time (optionally preceded by *nang* or *sa* – see below); future point–time phrases introduced by *sa* (cf. (b), above); past point–time phrases introduced by *noong* (cf. (c), above); the various point-time words and phrases dealt with under (2) and (4), below (e.g., *kahapon* 'yesterday,' *mamayang hapon* 'this (coming) afternoon').

The *nang* that obligatorily precedes an expression of clock time in a tenseless point–time adverb (cf. (a), above) is optional after *buhat*, *mula* or *umpisa*. Thus:

Mag-aaral } Nag-aaral } Nag-aaral }	sila buhat/mula/umpisa (nang) alas otso.	
'They	{ will study } { study } { studied }	from eight o'clock on.'

For some speakers, *buhat sa*, *mula sa* and *umpisa sa* alternate freely with *buhat nang*, etc., before a clock–time expression where the reference is to recurrent periods of time or to a time in the future. Thus, also, for these speakers:

Mag-aaral } Nag-aaral }	sila buhat/mula/umpisa sa alas otso.
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Other examples of time adverbs introduced by *buhat*, *mula*, or *umpisa* are: *buhat noong isang buwan* 'since last month,' *mula sa Enero* 'from (next) January on,' *umpisa nang 1950* 'since 1950,' *buhat kahapon* 'since yesterday,' *mula mamayang hapon* 'from this (coming) afternoon on.'

(f) *Hanggang* is equivalent to English 'until' or '(up) to.' It occurs before essentially the same words and phrases as *buhat*, *mula*, and *umpisa* (cf. (e), above). *Nang*, however, never follows *hanggang*. If a point–time phrase that would be introduced by *nang* in other contexts follows *hanggang*, *nang* is obligatorily deleted in the case of adverbs referring to the past, or, in the case of adverbs referring to the future, either deleted or replaced by *sa*. For example:

Tumira ako roon hanggang 1950.
'I lived there until 1950.'

(cf. Tumira ako roon nang 1950.
'I lived there in 1950.')

Magtatrabaho siya hanggang (sa) Lunes.
'He will work until Monday.'

(cf. Magtatrabaho siya sa Lunes.
'He will work on Monday.')

Some further examples of *hanggang* phrases are: *hanggang noong Enero* 'until last January,' *hanggang bukas* 'until tomorrow,' *hanggang kaninang umaga* 'until this (past) morning.'

(g) The time adverbs that are, either optionally or obligatorily, introduced by the linker *na/ng* (when they occur in non-sentence–initial or non-clause–initial position) comprise a small list of frequency adverbs. (Cf. §3.11 for a discussion of the linker *na/ng*.) Words that occur in frequency adverbs introduced by *na/ng* include: *minsan* 'once,' *minsan-minsan* 'sometimes,' *paminsan-minsan* 'occasionally,' *(pa)lagi* 'always,' and *madalas* 'often.' In the case of the three forms that include *minsan*, the linker is optionally deletable; it also alternates freely with the marker *nang* – cf. (a), above. In the case of *(pa)lagi* and *madalas*

the linker is not deletable. Examples are:

Nagbakasyon si $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pedro(ng)} \\ \text{Manuel (na)} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{minsan} \\ \text{minsan-minsan} \\ \text{paminsan-minsan} \end{array} \right\} \text{ sa Baguio.}$

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'Pedro} \\ \text{'Manuel} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{once} \\ \text{sometimes} \\ \text{occasionally} \end{array} \right\} \text{ vacationed in Baguio.}'$

Nagbabakasyon si $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pedrong} \\ \text{Manuel na} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{madalas} \\ \text{palagi} \end{array} \right\} \text{ sa Baguio.}$

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'Pedro} \\ \text{'Manuel} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{often} \\ \text{always} \end{array} \right\} \text{ vacations in Baguio.}'$

When the above adverbs occur in sentence-initial or clause-initial position (or after the inversion-marker *ay*), there is no introductory linker (cf. §6.7): e.g.,

Minsan ay nagbakasyon si Pedro roon.
'Pedro once vacationed there.' (formal style)

If the initial occurrence of the adverb involves non-emphatic adverb inversion (cf. §7.2, subsection (4)), the adverb is followed by the linker *na/ng*: e.g.,

Minsang nagbakasyon si Pedro roon.
'Pedro once vacationed there.'

Palaging nagbabakasyon si Pedro roon.
'Pedro always vacations there.'

(2) UNMARKED TIME ADVERBS. Unmarked time adverbs (i.e., time adverbs that, regardless of sentence position, lack an introductory marker or linker) may be divided into point-time adverbs and recurrent-time adverbs.

Unmarked point-time adverbs include: *kamakalawa* 'the day before yesterday,' *kahapon* 'yesterday,' *kagabi* 'last night,' *ngayon* 'today, now,' *bukas* 'tomorrow,' and the same *k(in)k-...-an* formations that occur in marked point-time adverbs introduced by *sa* (cf. subsection (1.b), above; the marked and unmarked *k(in)k-...-an* adverbs are identical in meaning; the unmarked adverbs are the more common). Also included are (*ka*)*lagad* 'right away,' *kanina* 'earlier (in the day),' *mamaya* 'later (in the day),' *sandali* 'a while, a moment,' and *sanda-sandali* 'for brief periods.' (Some speakers use the form *kangina* /*kaŋi:nah*/ instead of, or in free alternation with *kanina* /*kani:nah*/.)

The unmarked point-time adverbs *kahapon*, *kanina*, and *ngayon* occur with the duplicating prefix *dup*₂ (cf. §5.16) in formations that connote psychological briefness of time between the time expressed by the adverb and the moment of speaking. These duplicated formations are obligatorily followed by the enclitic particle *la(ma)ng* (cf. §6.4, subsection (d)), and occur only sentence-initially, in sentences that

involve *ay* inversion, contrastive inversion, or emphatic inversion (cf. §7.2). Examples of the duplicated formations in sentences are:

Kaha-kahapon lang ay nandito siya.
'He was here only yesterday.'

Kani-kanina lamang, masaya siya.
'Only a while ago, he was happy.'

Ngayon-ngayon lamang natapos ang miting.
'It's just now that the meeting ended.'

(There is also a duplicated formation derived from *mamaya* – viz., *maya-maya* 'in a little while,' as in:

Aalis ako maya-maya.
'I'll be leaving in a little while.')

Unmarked recurrent–time adverbs, like recurrent–time adverbs introduced by *tuwing* (cf. (1.d), above), are equivalent to English time adverbs that begin with 'every'; they are formed by duplication of certain words that express periods of time: e.g., *hapon-hapon* 'every afternoon' (cf. *hapon* 'afternoon'). Some further examples are: *araw-araw* 'every day,' *oras-oras* 'every hour,' *gabi-gabi* 'every night,' *linggo-linggo* 'every week,' *buwan-buwan* 'every month,' *taon-taon* 'every year.' (There is no **umaga-umaga*: 'every morning' is expressible only by *tuwing umaga*.) Any inherently long vowels present in the underlying time word are retained in both parts of the recurrent–time formation. Thus: /ha:punha:pon/ (cf. /ha:pon/).

(3) TIME GERUND CONSTRUCTIONS. The formation of gerunds is presented in detail in §3.26. As is noted in that section, there are two gerund formations corresponding to most actor–focus verbs: an ASPECTLESS GERUND, which designates an action without indicating whether or not it is viewed as completed, and a PERFECTIVE GERUND, which designates an action viewed as completed. *Pag-alis* 'leaving' and *pag(ka)kaalis* 'having left' are, for example, respectively the aspectless gerund and the perfective gerund that correspond to *umalis* 'leave.'

Both aspectless and perfective gerunds occur in time gerund constructions. The form of the aspectless gerund is the same in time gerund constructions as in other contexts; the form of the perfective gerund is modified in the following ways: (a) the duplicating prefix *ka-* (/ka/), which is optional in other contexts, does not occur in time gerund constructions; and (b) the last vowel of the prefix *pagka-*, which is long in other contexts, is generally short in time gerund constructions. Thus, for example, the perfective gerund corresponding to *umalis* 'leave,' which has the form *pag(ka)kaalis* (/pagka·'alis/ or /pagkaka·'alis/) in other contexts, has the form *pagkaalis* /pagka·'alis/ in time gerund constructions.

Time gerund constructions with aspectless gerunds are often equivalent to English constructions that begin with 'when' or 'upon'; those with perfective gerunds, to English constructions that begin with 'when' or 'after.' For example:

pag-alis niya	{ 'when he leaves/left' 'upon his leaving'
pagkaalis niya	{ 'when he has/had left' 'after he leaves/left'

In time adverbs, as in other cases, the performer of the action expressed by the gerund is designated either by a following *ng* phrase (*ng* plus an unmarked noun, *ni/na*) plus a personal noun, the *ng* form of a deictic or personal pronoun) or by a preceding *sa* form of a personal pronoun plus the linker-*ng*. Thus:

pag-alis	}	ng titser ni Maria noon	‘when	}	the teacher Maria that one	leaves/left’
pag-alis niya	}	kaniyang pag-alis	‘when he leaves/left’			

The gerunds may also be followed by any object and/or directional and/or secondary-actor complements (cf. §2.11 and 5.12) taken by the actor-focus verbs to which they correspond: e.g.,

pag-alis niya roon
‘when he leaves/left there’

(cf. Umalis siya roon.
‘He left there.’)

pagpapatigil niya ng kotse sa akin
‘when he has/had me stop the car’

(cf. Nagpatigil siya ng kotse sa akin.
‘He had me stop the car.’)

Some examples of the use of time gerund constructions in sentences are:

Makakatulog	}	ang tatay pagsisimula ng opera.	asleep when the opera	}	begins.’ begins.’ began.’
Nakakatulog	}				
Nakatulog	}				
‘Father	}	will fall falls fell			
Pangingisda ni Juan, sumasama ang kapatid niya. ‘When Juan goes fishing, his brother goes along.’					

Huhugasan ng katulong ang pinggan pagka(pag)walis niya ng sahig.
‘The maid will wash the dishes when she has swept the floor.’

The equivalent of an English construction beginning with ‘as soon as,’ ‘immediately upon,’ or ‘immediately after’ is expressed by a time gerund construction in which the gerund is repeated, with the two occurrences of the gerund joined by the linker *na/ng*: e.g.,

pag-alis na pag-alis niya	}
‘as soon as he leaves/left’	
‘immediately upon his leaving’	}
pagkaalis na pagkaalis niya	}
‘as soon as he has/had left’	
‘immediately after he leaves/left’	}

Some examples in sentences are:

Aalis ako	}	pagdating na pagdating pagkarating na pagkarating	}	nila.
'I'll leave as soon as they	}	arrive. have arrived.'	}	
Paghinging paghingi	}	ko, ibinigay niya sa akin.	}	
Pagkahinging pagkahingi	}		}	
'As soon as I	}	asked had asked	}	for it, he gave it to me.'

(4) EXPANSIONS OF TIME ADVERBS. The names of the days of the week (which occur in various marked time adverbs discussed under (1), above) and certain unmarked time adverbs (e.g., *kanina* 'earlier,' *mamaya* 'later,' *bukas* 'tomorrow,' etc. — cf. (2), above) may be expanded by a phrase representing a part of the day, or by a phrase that expresses clock time. After the names of the days of the week and of unmarked time adverbs other than *kanina*, *mamaya* and *ngayon*, a *ng* phrase is used: e.g.,

nang	}	Lunes	}	ng	}	hapon ala-una
sa	}		}		}	
noong	}		}		}	
kahapon	}		}		}	
bukas	}		}		}	
'on (a)	}	Monday	}		}	afternoon'
'next	}		}		}	at one o'clock'
'last	}		}		}	
'yesterday	}		}		}	
'tomorrow	}		}		}	

After *kanina*, *mamaya*, and *ngayon*, the linker *-ng* precedes the name of the part of the day or the clock-time expression: e.g.,

kaninang	}	hapon	}
mamayang	}	ala-una	}
ngayong	}		}
'earlier (in the day)	}	during the afternoon'	}
'later (in the day)	}	at one o'clock'	}
'today	}		}

(The English translations given above for the constructions with *kanina*, *mamaya*, and *ngayon* are quite literal. The more usual English equivalents of *kaninang hapon*, *mamayang hapon*, and *ngayong hapon* would, in each case, be 'this afternoon.' The Tagalog constructions are, however, not interchangeable: *kaninang hapon* refers to 'this past afternoon' and *mamayang hapon* to 'this coming afternoon,' while *ngayong hapon* may refer to either of these as well as to 'this current afternoon.')

If both the name of a part of the day and a clock time expression are given, the usual order is: clock--time expression plus name of part of day; the latter is expressed by a *ng* phrase (cf. §4.4, subsection (6)): e.g.,

sa Lunes ng	}	ala-una ng hapon
bukas ng		
ngayong		
'next Monday	}	at one o'clock in the afternoon'
'tomorrow		
'today		

(The reverse order – name of part of day plus clock time expression – is possible but rare. When this order is used, *ng* precedes the clock--time expression: e.g., *ngayong hapon ng ala-una*.)

The addition of the particle *mga* /maŋah/ to a time adverb normally adds a meaning of approximateness – equivalent to English 'about' or 'around' – to the meaning of the adverb itself. (The approximative particle *mga* also occurs with cardinal numbers – cf. §4.4; the particle is homonymous with the pluralizing particle *mga* discussed in §§3.9 and 4.11). As part of a marked time adverb, *mga* appears immediately after the marker: e.g.,

nang mga ala-una	'at about one o'clock'
sa mga isang linggo	'in about one week (from now)'
noong mga Lunes	'about last Monday'

As part of an unmarked time adverb, *mga* is initial: e.g.,

mga kamakalawa	'about the day before yesterday'
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To express the equivalent of an English 'from . . . to . . .' time expression, a phrase introduced by *hanggang* (see (1.f), above) is added to a phrase introduced by *buhat*, *mula*, or *umpisa* (see (1.c)). Some examples are:

buhat (nang) ala-una hanggang alas seis
'from one o'clock to six o'clock'

mula noong isang buwan hanggang ngayon
'from last month to today'

umpisa nang 1950 hanggang 1958
'from 1950 to 1958'

(5) TIME ADVERBS AS PSEUDO-PREDICATES. All of the time adverbs presented above, with the exception of the time gerund constructions, may occur in predicate position. The topic of a sentence with a time adverb in predicate position must be one of the following: an unmarked noun that designates a natural phenomenon (e.g., *bagyo* 'storm,' *lindol* 'earthquake') or an event or activity (e.g., *handaan* 'party,'

trabaho 'work'), a delctic pronoun (cf. §3.4), a gerund (cf. §3.26), or a nominalized verb base (cf. §3.27). For example:

Kung Pasko	}	ang handaan. iyon.
	}	ang pagbibigyan ng regalo. ang alis nila.
The party That The exchanging of gifts It's at Christmastime that they leave.	}	is (i.e., takes place) at Christmastime.'

(As is explained in §3.27, a construction involving a time adverb in predicate position opposite a nominalized verb base alternates freely with a construction involving an emphatic initial adverb (cf. §7.2) plus an inflected form of a verb, and the adverb carries the same emphatic meaning.)

Time adverbs occurring in predicate position are classified as PSEUDO-PREDICATES, rather than as genuine predicates, for two reasons: (1) as modifiers in modification constructions (cf. §3.19), time adverbs function differently from modifiers that are related to genuine predicates: specifically, the linker *na/ng* is not used with time-adverb modifiers, and the modifier occurs in a fixed position after the head. Compare, for example:

handaan kung Pasko 'party at Christmastime'

and:

handang masaya	}	'gay party'
masayang handaan	}	

(2) sentences involving time adverbs in predicate position are often understood as implying a deleted verbal predicate, often a form of *mangyari* 'takes place, occur, happen' or *gawin* 'be done, be held': thus *Kung Pasko ang pagbibigyan ng regalo* is equivalent in meaning to *Nangyayari kung Pasko ang pagbibigyan ng regalo* 'The exchanging of gifts takes place at Christmastime,' and *Kung Pasko ang handaan* is equivalent in meaning to *Ginagawa kung Pasko ang handaan* 'The party is held at Christmastime.' (cf. §6.9 for examples of the functioning of locative adverbs as pseudo-predicates.)

When a time adverb that would be introduced by *nang* or by the linker *na/ng* in non-initial position is used as a pseudo-predicate, the *nang* or *na/ng* is deleted. Thus:

Ala-una	}	ang mga miting.
Minsan-minsan		
'Meetings take place	}	at one o'clock.'
		occasionally.'
cf.	}	ang mga miting.
Nangyayari nang ala-una		
Nangyayaring minsan-minsan	}	

'Meetings take place' } at one o'clock.'
 } occasionally.'

Some further examples of sentences involving time adverbs used as pseudo-predicates are:

Noong isang taon ang lindol.
 'The earthquake occurred last year.'

Buong linggo ang piyesta.
 'The fiesta lasts all week.'

Mamayang alas dos ng hapon ang komperensya.
 'The conference will be held at one o'clock this afternoon.'

§ 6.9. Locative adverbs.

Locative adverbs are *sa* phrases. They represent the place where the action expressed in a sentence occurs, or where the condition expressed in it prevails. The *sa* phrases that commonly occur as locative adverbs include the following: *sa* plus an unmarked noun; *kina* plus a personal noun; *sa* plus the *sa* form of a plural personal pronoun, the *sa* form of a deictic pronoun. Some examples are:

Kumakain }
 Diyanitor } siya { sa iskwela.
 May trabaho } { kina Ben.
 } { sa kanila.
 } { roon.

eats }
 'He is a janitor } { at the school.'
 has a job } { at Ben's place.'
 } { at their place.'
 } { there.'

A locative adverb consisting of *sa* plus an unmarked noun is usually translated by an English 'at,' 'in,' or 'on' phrase; a locative adverb consisting of *kina* plus a personal noun is usually translated by 'at _____'s (place)'; a locative adverb consisting of *sa* plus the *sa* form of a plural personal pronoun is usually translated by a phrase of the shape 'at our/your/their place'; the *sa* form of a deictic pronoun used as a locative adverb is usually translated by 'here' (in the case of *dine* and *dito*) or 'there' (in the case of *diyan* and *doon*). (*Sa* phrases of the shape *kay* plus a personal noun, or of the shape *sa* plus a singular personal pronoun rarely occur as locative adverbs.)

In a sentence with a verbal predicate, a *sa* phrase is sometimes ambiguously interpretable as a locative adverb or as a directional complement. The sentence *Sumulat siya sa mesa* is an example of this kind of ambiguity: it may be interpreted as meaning 'He wrote at the table,' in which case *sa mesa* is interpreted as a locative adverb, or it may mean 'He wrote (directly) on the table (itself),' in which case *sa mesa* is interpreted as a directional complement. (It may be noted that *Sumulat siya sa mesa* has two different goal-focus counterparts, each of which is unambiguous: *Pinagsulatan niya ang mesa* 'He wrote at the table' and *Sirulatan niya ang mesa* 'He wrote (directly) on the table (itself).' The first of these goal-focus constructions involves the locative-focus counterpart of *sumulat* (cf. §5.9 for a treatment of locative focus), while the second involves its directional-focus counterpart.)

There are also cases in which a *sa* phrase may be ambiguously interpreted either as a locative adverb or as a locative adjective phrase (cf. §4.19) modifying a noun. The sentence *Mabait ang bata sa iskwela* is an example of this kind of ambiguity: it may mean 'The child is well-behaved at school,' in which case *sa iskwela* is interpreted as a locative adverb, or it may mean 'The child (who is) at school is well-behaved,' in which case *sa iskwela* is interpreted as a locative adjective phrase modifying *bata*. (In the latter interpretation, *bata sa iskwela* represents an optional abbreviation of *batang nasa iskwela* 'child (who is) at school' – cf. §3.14.)

Like the *nasa* of a locative adjective phrase, the *sa* of a locative adverb may be followed by a positional phrase: a phrase consisting of a positional noun plus a *ng* phrase. (cf. §3.14 for a listing of positional nouns.) A locative adverb that includes a positional phrase has the same English equivalent(s) as the corresponding locative adjective phrase. Some examples are:

Nakita ko siya sa	{	harap labas likod loob	}	ng teatro.
‘I saw him	{	in front of outside in back of inside	}	the theatre.’
May kahon sa	{	gitna ibabaw ilalim tabi	}	ng mesa.
‘There’s a box	{	in the middle of on top of beneath next to	}	the table.’

A locative adverb in which *sa* is followed by *may* plus an unmarked noun, positional phrase, etc., expresses approximate location: e.g.,

Nakita ko sila sa may (harap ng) teatro.
‘I saw them in the vicinity of (the front of) the theater.’

(Cf. §4.19 for the similar use of *may* in locative adjective phrases.)

Like time adverbs (cf. §6.8, subsection (5)), locative adverbs may occur as pseudo-predicates opposite certain types of nouns or nominalizations in topic position. (The topic types that occur opposite pseudo-predicates as well as the nature of the pseudo-predicate construction itself, are discussed in detail in §6.8, q.v.) Some examples are:

Sa Abenida Rizal raw

{	ang parada.
	iyon.
}	ang pagmamartsa.

'They say $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the parade} \\ \text{that} \\ \text{the marching} \end{array} \right\}$ is (i.e., takes place) on Rizal Avenue.'

Dito ba ang dating ng tren?
'Is it here that the train arrives?'

§6.10. Manner adverbs.

Manner adverbs characterize the way in which the action expressed by a verb – or by a formation derived from a verb (e.g., a gerund – cf. §3.26) – is performed. Tagalog manner adverbs may be equivalent to English adverbs ending in '-ly' – e.g., 'loudly,' 'quickly' – or to various other English adverbial expressions.

Manner adverbs may be divided into three classes, on the basis of whether, when they occur in non-initial position, they are introduced by: (1) the marker *nang*; (2) the linker *na/ng*; (3) either the marker *nang* or the linker *na/ng*. (cf. §6.7 for a discussion of the marker *nang*, and §3.11 for a discussion of the linker *na/ng*.)

(1) Included in this class are constructions in which *nang* is followed by: (a) a member of a subclass of unaffixed adjectives (cf. §4.2); (b) a member of a subclass of *ma*- adjectives (cf. §4.3); (c) a grouping numeral (cf. §4.5, subsection (e)); (d) an adjective phrase expressing resemblance of one of the following types: *gaya* plus a *ng* phrase; a contraction derived from *gaya* and the *ng* form of a deictic (i.e., *ganire*, *ganito*, *ganyon*, or *ganoon*); or such a contraction plus a *ka*- adjective formation (cf. §4.18). (The unaffixed adjectives and *ma*- adjectives that occur in manner adverbs are those whose meaning is compatible with characterizing the way in which an action is performed. Most of these same adjectives – or their bases – may occur in a *ka*- adjective formation (after *ganire*, etc.) within a manner adverb. As is noted in §4.18, some speakers use the linker *-ng* before the *ka*- formation, while others do not.) Some examples are:

- (a) Lumakad ang pari nang banayad (na banayad).
'The priest walked at a (very) moderate pace.'
(an adjective within a manner adverb may be expanded in the usual ways – e.g., through the use of an intensive construction, as in the above example.)

Binuksan ni Fred ang pintuan nang bigla.
'Fred opened the door suddenly.'

- (b) Kailangan nating kumain nang mabilis.
'We must eat quickly.'

Bawal ang magsalita nang malakas dito.
'Speaking loudly is forbidden here.'

- (c) Binilang niya ang mangga nang dala-dalawa.
'He counted the mangoes by twos.'

Papasok tayo sa kuwarto nang isa-isa.
'We'll enter the room one by one.'

- (d) Kumanta ang mga bata nang gaya ng mga ruwisenyor.
'The children sang like nightingales.'

Nakakapagod ang pagsayaw nang ganoon.
'Dancing like that makes one tired.'

Hindi ka dapat magmancho nang ganito(ng) kabilis.

'You shouldn't drive $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{this fast.} \\ \text{as fast as this one.} \end{array} \right.$

(The ambiguity of constructions like *ganito(ng) kabilis*, noted in §4.18, is present in manner adverbs that involve the constructions.)

(2) Included in this class are constructions in which the linker *na/-ng* is followed by: (a) an adjective phrase expressing resemblance, consisting of *parang* (*para* plus the linker *-ng*) plus a nominal (cf. §4.18); (b) the imperfective form of an actor–focus verb (cf. §5.21). Some examples are:

- (a) Sumigaw si Manuel na parang luku-luko.
'Manuel shouted like a madman.'

Lumalakad si Neneng parang mananayaw.
'Nene walks like a dancer.'

- (b) Bakit siya umalis na umiiyak?
'Why did she leave crying?'

Lumabas doong tumatakbo ang bata.
'The child came running out of there.'

(3) Included in this class are constructions in which either the marker *nang* or the linker *na/-ng* is followed by a *pa-* manner adjective (cf. §4.7). Some examples are:

Ang alimango'y lumalakad $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nang} \\ \text{na} \end{array} \right.$ patagilid.
'The crab walks sideways.'

Binati niya $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ako nang} \\ \text{akong} \end{array} \right.$ pangiti.
'He greeted me smilingly.'

Manner adverbs do not occur initially in *ay* inversion, contrastive inversion, or emphatic adverb inversion, but do occur initially in non-emphatic adverb inversion, in which case they are linked to what follows by the linker *na/-ng* (cf. §7.2, subsection (4)).

As is noted in §6.7, a *nang* or linker that introduces a non-initial adverb is dropped when the adverb occurs in initial position. Some examples are:

Biglang binuksan ni Fred ang pintuan.
'Fred opened the door suddenly.'

Gaya ng mga ruwisenyor na kumanta ang mga bata.
'The children sang like nightingales.'

§6.11. Other movable adverbs.

In addition to time adverbs, locative adverbs, and manner adverbs (cf. §§6.8, 6.9, and 6.10 respectively), Tagalog has movable adverbs of a number of other kinds. These adverbs are presented below under the following headings: (1) adverbs with non-initial *sa* phrases; (2) *sa . . . ng* adverbs; (3) *nang* measurement adverbs; (4) miscellaneous movable adverbs.

(1) ADVERBS WITH NON-INITIAL *sa* PHRASES. Members of this class of adverbs consist of an introductory word followed by a *sa* phrase (*sa* plus an unmarked noun, nominalization, or *sa*-form personal pronoun; *kay* or *kina* plus a personal noun; or a *sa*-form deictic pronoun.) The class includes: (a) BENEFACTIVE, PURPOSE, and other adverbs introduced by *para*; (b) CAUSATIVE ADVERBS; (c) REFERENTIAL ADVERBS; (d) other adverbs with non-initial *sa* phrases.

(a) BENEFACTIVE, PURPOSE and other adverbs introduced by *para*. In both benefactive and purpose adverbs, the *sa* phrase is preceded by *para*. In benefactive adverbs, the nominal within the *sa* phrase is usually a noun or pronoun; in purpose adverbs, the nominal within the *sa* phrase is a gerund (cf. §3.26). Both types of adverbs are normally translatable by English 'for' phrases, and both are similar in form and meaning to certain adjective phrases (cf. §4.20, subsections (1) to (3)).

Benefactive adverbs may express either the meaning 'for the benefit (or use) of . . . ' or 'acting in place of . . . '. Thus the sentence:

Ginawa niya ang trabaho para sa iyo.
'He did the work for you.'

is capable of being interpreted in either of two ways: 'He did the work for your benefit' or 'He did the work, acting in your place.' And the sentence:

Bibilhin mo ba iyon para sa akin?
'Will you buy that for me?'

may mean either 'Will you buy that for my use?' or 'Will you buy that, acting in my place?'

The nominal within a benefactive adverb often corresponds to the topic of a benefactive-focus verb (cf. §5.7). Some examples are:

{ Sumulat ka ng liham para sa akin. }
{ Isulat mo ako ng liham. }
'Write a letter for me.'

{ Nagluto siya ng adobo para sa mga bisita. }
{ Ipinagluto niya ng adobo ang mga bisita. }
'She cooked adobo for the guests.'

Purpose adverbs express the meanings 'for the purpose' of . . . ', 'for use in . . . ', etc. Some examples are:

Kunin mo ang perang ito para sa pag-aaral mo.
'Take this money for your studies.'
(More literally: 'for your studying')

Bumili siya ng walis para sa paglilinis niya ng bahay.
'She bought a broom to clean the house with.'

Both benefactive and purpose adverbs are sometimes ambiguously interpretable as modifying adjectival phrases. (As is noted in §3.14, the linker *na/ng* is optionally deletable before a modifying phrase introduced by *para*.) Thus in the sentence:

Iniiinit ng Nanay ang pagkain para kay Nene.
'Mother is heating the food for Nene.'

The *para sa* phrase may be interpreted either as a benefactive adverb (in which case it means 'for Nene's benefit' or 'acting in place of Nene') or as an adjectival (in which case it means 'which was for Nene'). Similarly in:

Bumili ako ng alak para sa pagluluto.
'I bought some wine for (the) cooking.'

the *para sa* phrase may be interpreted either as a purpose adverb (in which case it means 'in order to cook') or as an adjectival (in which case it means 'which was for cooking').

In addition to benefactive and purpose adverbs, *para* plus a *sa* phrase forms adverbs of various other types, all of them equivalent to 'for' phrases in English. Some examples are:

Bumalik siya sa opisina para sa sulat.
'He returned to the office for the letter.'

Pumunta sila sa bayan para sa pista.
'They went to town for the fiesta.'

Bumili ako ng karne para sa sopas.
'I bought some meat for the soup.'

(b) CAUSATIVE ADVERBS. In causative adverbs, the *sa* phrase is preceded by *dahil*. The adverbs are translatable by English phrases introduced by 'because of' or 'as a result of.' Some examples are:

Pinili siya dahil sa kakayahan niya.
'He was chosen because of his ability.'

Nagkahiwalay sila dahil sa kaniyang paglalasing.
'They separated because of his drinking.'

The nominal within a causative adverb often corresponds to the topic of a causative-focus verb (cf. §5.8). Some examples are:

{ Namatay siya dahil sa gutom. }
{ Ikinamatay niya ang gutom. }
'He died (as a result) of hunger.'

{ Nainis siya dahil doon. }
{ Ikinainis niya iyon. }
'He was annoyed because of that.'

In addition to nouns, pronouns, and nominalizations, the *sa* of a causative adverb may be followed by certain formations consisting of *ka-* /*ka'*/ plus a duplicating syllable plus a verb base. The formation of the duplicating syllable follows the rules given for dup₁ in §3.7. Inherent length in the verb base is retained: e.g., *kalalakad* /*ka'lala'kad*/ 'walking too much' (cf. *lumakad* /*luma'kad*/ 'walk'). These formations, which express a meaning of excessive performance of the activity denoted by the base, occur only in causative adverbs, and do not occur as topics of causative-focus verbs. Some examples in sentences are:

Napagod siya dahil sa kalalakad.
'He got tired as a result of walking too much.'

Nagkasakit siya dahil sa kabibilad sa araw.
'He became ill as a result of too much exposure to the sun.'

The *dahil* of a causative adverb is optionally deletable before *sa* plus a *ka-* formation of the type just described. Thus, also:

Napagod siya sa kalalakad.
Nagkasakit siya sa kabibilad sa araw.

Dahil is also optionally deletable in some other cases. *Namatay siya sa gutom*, for example, is identical in meaning with *Namatay siya dahil sa gutom* 'He died (as a result) of hunger.' In still other cases, however, *dahil* must be retained. Thus the *dahil* of *Nagkahiwalay sila dahil sa kaniyang paglalasing*. 'They separated because of his drinking' is not deletable.

(In literature, the *dahil* of a causative adverb is sometimes replaced by *sanhi*, as in:

Nagpakamatay ang prinsesa sanhi sa kataksilan ng prinsipe.
'The princess killed herself because of the prince's faithlessness.')

(c) REFERENTIAL ADVERBS. In referential adverbs, the *sa* phrase is preceded by *tungkol*, *hinggil*, or *ukol*. (As in the case of referential adjective phrases – cf. §4.20, subsection (5) – *tungkol* is the most common of the three in ordinary conversation.) The adverbs are normally translatable by English adverbs introduced by 'about,' where 'about' connotes 'on the subject of.' Some examples are:

Nagsinungaling siya $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{tungkol} \\ \text{hinggil} \\ \text{ukol} \end{array} \right\}$ sa mga gawain niya.
'He lied about his activities.'

Nag-usap kami tungkol sa handaan.
'We talked about the party.'

The nominal within a referential adverb often corresponds to the topic of a referential–focus verb (cf. §5.10). Some examples are:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Nagkwento siya tungkol sa giyera.} \\ \text{Ikinuwento niya ang giyera.} \end{array} \right\}$
'He told a story about the war.'

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Nagtanong ako sa kaniya tungkol sa Amerika.} \\ \text{Itinanong ko sa kaniya ang Amerika.} \end{array} \right\}$
'I asked him about America.'

(d) OTHER ADVERBS WITH NON-INITIAL *sa* PHRASES. Adverbs that consist of the words listed below plus a *sa* phrase are normally equivalent to English adverbs introduced by the expressions shown to their right:

alang-alang	'for the sake of'
alinsunod	'in accordance with'
ayon	'according to'
bukod	'as well as, besides'

buhat		'from'
(ma)liban	}	'except (for)'
(ma)tangi		

Examples in sentences follow:

Nagpakasakit siya alang-alang sa kaniyang pamilya.
'He made a sacrifice for the sake of his family.'

Nagbabayad ako ng buwis alinsunod sa patakaran.
'I pay taxes in accordance with the regulation.'

Uulan (daw) bukas, ayon sa diyaryo.
'It's going to rain tomorrow, according to the newspaper.'

(The enclitic particle *daw/raw* 'it is said' – cf. §6.4, subsection (e) – is frequently, but not obligatorily, used in sentences that include adverbs introduced by *ayon*.)

Tumanggap siya ng medalya, bukod sa mga aklat.
'He received a medal as well as the books.'

Maglakad tayo buhat dito.
'Let's walk from here.'

(*Buhat* also occurs in time adverbs – cf. §6.8, subsection (1.e).)

Narito na ang lahat	}	kay Jose.

'Everyone is here now except Jose.'

(2) *Sa . . . ng . . .* ADVERBS.. These adverbs consist of *sa*, plus one of a limited list of words (see below), plus a *ng* phrase (*ng* plus an unmarked noun or nominalization, *ni* or *nina* plus a personal noun, or the *ng* form of a personal or deictic pronoun). Among the common *sa . . . ng . . .* adverbs are the following:

sa	}	ng	'instead of, in place of'
sa pag-iingat ng			'in the care of'
sa pagtataguyod ng			'in the interest of (supporting)'
sa pagtatanggol ng			'in defense of'
sa pamamagitan ng			'through, by means of'
sa pamamahala ng			'under the supervision of'
sa payo ng			'on the advice of'
sa tulong ng			'with the help of'

Some examples in sentences follow:

Maglilinis ako sa $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{halip} \\ \text{lugar} \end{array} \right\}$ ni Tita.
 'I'll do the cleaning instead of Tita.'

Iniwan ang bata sa pag-iingat ng kaniyang lola.
 'The child was left in the care of his grandmother.'

Magtulungan tayo sa pagtataguyod ng kandidato natin.
 'Let's help one another in the interest of our candidate.'

Namatay sila sa pagtatanggol ng bayan.
 'They died in defense of the country.'

Nagtagumpay siya sa pamamagitan ng masikap na paggawa.
 'He succeeded by means of hard work.'

Inilagay niya ang kalakal sa pamamahala ng kapatid niya.
 'He put the business under the supervision of his brother.'

Ipinagbili niya ang lupa niya sa payo ng kaibigan niya.
 'He sold his land on the advice of his friend.'

Nakapag-aral siya sa tulong ng pamilya niya.
 'He was able to go to school with the help of his family.'

(3) *Nang* MEASUREMENT ADVERBS.

Nang measurement adverbs consist of the marker *nang* plus an expression of measurement. Examples are:

nang apat na yarda	'four yards'
nang tatlong oras	'three hours'
nang limang libra	'five pounds'
nang malaki	'a lot'

Nang measurement adverbs occur with a limited set of intransitive *-um-* verbs of 'becoming' (cf. §5.6, class J). The verbs express measurable changes; the *nang* adverbs that occur with them express the extent of the change. Examples in sentences are:

Lumaki siya nang tatlong pulgada.
 'He grew (i.e., became bigger by) three inches.'

Tumagal ang pista nang isang linggo.
 'The feast lasted (i.e., became long) one week.'

Bumigat na nang walang onsa ang sanggol.
 'The baby has already gained (i.e., become heavier by) eight ounces.'

Nang measurement adverbs correspond to predicates that occur opposite nominalized measurement—focus verbs (cf. §5.10).

(4) MISCELLANEOUS MOVABLE ADVERBS. Among the other common movable adverbs of Tagalog may be noted the following: phrases consisting of *bilang* plus a nominal, equivalent to English

adverbs introduced by 'as (a form of)' or 'by way of': the fixed phrases *kung ganoon* 'in that case,' *sa biglang/madaling sabi* 'in short,' *sa wakas* 'in the end'; the words *halos* 'almost,' *marahil* 'probably,' *seguro* 'maybe,' *uli(t)* and *muli* 'again.' (*Uli(t)* and *muli* are optionally preceded by the linker *-ng-* in non-initial position.) Illustrative sentences follow:

Inilabas niya ang liham bilang katibayan.
'He brought out the letter by way of proof.'

Ako mismo ang gagawa, kung ganoon.
'I'll do it myself, in that case.'

Wala kang magagawa kundi umalis, sa $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{biglang} \\ \text{madaling} \end{array} \right\}$ sabi.
'You have no choice but to leave, in short.'

Inihalal nila siyang presidente, sa wakas.
'They elected him president, in the end.'

Namatay siya halos.
'He almost died.'

Hindi sisipot marahil si Totoy.
'Totoy probably won't come.'

Mag-aaral siya seguro mamayang gabi.
'Maybe he'll study tonight.'

Basahin mo(ng) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{uli(t).} \\ \text{muli.} \end{array} \right.$
'Read it again.'

§6.12. Initial adverbs.

Tagalog has a number of adverbs that always occur in sentence-initial or clause-initial position. These adverbs may be divided into four classes. Members of classes (1), (2), and (3) are followed, respectively, by: (1) a pause; (2) either a pause or the inversion marker *ay* (cf. §7.2); (3) the linker *na/ng* (cf. §3.11). Members of class (4) are immediately followed by the rest of the sentence or clause, with no intervening pause, marker, or linker.

(1) The only member of this class is the rhetorical linker *E*, which expresses a sequential or logical connection between the sentence it introduces and some preceding utterance or pre-existing situation. It is often equivalent to English 'and,' 'well,' or 'why.' Some examples of its use are:

E, magkano naman ito?
'And how much is this one?'

Napapagod ka? E, magpahinga ka.
'You're tired? Well, get some rest.'

E, isip ko'y nasa iyo ang mga tiket.
'Why, I thought you had the tickets.'

(As is noted in §1.24, E takes a distinctive intonation pattern (pattern I.4). See below for the use of E with the class (4) initial adverb *di*.)

(2) Initial adverbs that may be followed either by a pause or by *ay* include:

alalaong baga	'in other words'
kasi	}
mangyari	
gayon man	'nevertheless'
samantala	'meanwhile'

Some examples in sentences are:

Alalaong { baga, }
 { baga'y } ayaw mong gawin.
'In other words, you don't want to do it.'

(Hindi ako makakaalis.) { Kasi,
 { Kasi ay. } may sakit ang anak ko.
 { Mangyari,
 { Mangyari ay. }
'(I can't leave.) The reason is, my child is sick.'

(Lumang-luma na ang kotse.) Gayon { man, }
 { man ay } bibilhin pa rin niya.
'(The car is already very old.) Nevertheless, he will (still) buy it.'

Samantala, }
 } susuriin ko ito.
Samantala'y }
'Meanwhile, I'll examine this.'

(3) Initial adverbs followed by the linker *na/ng* include:

baka sakali	'perhaps'
(pam)bihira	'seldom'
totoo	'it's true that'

Some examples are:

(Magtanong ka kay Juan). Baka sakaling alam niya ang sagot.
'Ask Juan. Perhaps he knows the answer.'

Pambihirang }
 } umulan dito.
Bihirang }
'It seldom rains here.'

Totoo raw na magiging kandidato siya.
'They say it's true that he will be a candidate.'

(4) Initial adverbs that are immediately followed by the rest of the sentence include:

<i>baka</i>	(expression of conjecture or anxiety)
<i>di</i>	'then'
<i>tila</i>	'it seems'

(*Baka* and *tila* are optionally non-pre-enclitic. *Di* is obligatorily non-pre-enclitic. Cf. §3.29.)

When it introduces a sentence with a nominal or adjectival predicate, or a predicate that includes an aspect-marked verb form, *baka* expresses conjecture. Some examples are:

Baka magkaibigan sila.
'Maybe they're friends.'

Baka mabuti iyon.
'That might be good.'

Baka nabasag ang baso.
'It's possible that the glass got broken.'

Baka also occurs in a special construction in which it is followed by the basic form of a verb (cf. §2.8) used as a predicate. This construction expresses anxiety on the part of the speaker about a possible undesired occurrence. Some examples are:

Baka mabasag ang baso. 'I'm afraid that the glass may get broken.'

Baka umulan bukas. 'I'm afraid it may rain tomorrow.'

The adverb *di* (which is a different word from the negator *di* – cf. §7.13) is commonly preceded by the class (1) initial adverb, *E* (see above): e.g.,

E. di gagawin ko agad.
'Well then, I'll do it right away.'

It may, however, occur without *E*: e.g.,

Di gagawin ko agad.
'Then I'll do it right away.'

An example of the use of *tila* is:

Tila magkakaroon ng parti bukas.
'It seems there's going to be a party tomorrow.'

§ 6.13. Sentence-final particles.

Tagalog has four particles – *a*, *e*, *ha*, and *o* – which occur only in sentence-final position. All four are conventionally written with a preceding comma, but only *ha* and *o* form separate intonation phrases (cf. §1.24, patterns 1.2 through 1.5); *a* and *e* are always included in a single intonation phrase with what precedes them (cf. §1.27, pattern IV.1).

A is used in sentences that express an event or situation that is contrary to expectation: either the speaker's own expectation (in which case the sentence often includes the enclitic particle *pala* – cf. §6.5, subsection (b)) or that of the person(s) addressed. *A* is often equivalent to an initial 'but' in English. Some

examples are:

Ayun (pala) sila, a!
'(Oh,) but there they are!'

Maganda pala ito, a!
'Oh, but this is pretty!'

Hindi na sila nakatira doon, a.
'But they don't live there any more.'

E has three main uses. Accompanying an explanation, it is equivalent to English 'it's because' or 'you see'; accompanying a contradiction of something said by another speaker (in which case the sentence often includes the enclitic particle *nga* – cf. §6.4, subsection (b.3)), it is equivalent to 'on the contrary'; in other cases (particularly in answer to questions), it expresses regret or sympathy, and may be equivalent to 'unfortunately.' Some examples are:

(Bakit hindi ka kumakain?)
'Why aren't you eating?'

Busog pa ako, e.
'It's because I'm still full.'

(Hindi ko nabili.)
'(I couldn't buy it.)'

Kulang ang pera ko, e.
'I didn't have enough money, you see.'

(Matalino ka, hindi ba?)
'(You're intelligent, aren't you?)'

Ikaw (nga) ang matalino, e.
'On the contrary, you're the intelligent one.'

(Mayayaman ang mga Santos.)
'(The Santoses are rich.)'

Mahihirap (nga) sila, e.
'On the contrary, they're poor.'

(Kumusta si Juan?)
'(How is Juan?)'

May sakit siya, e.
'He's sick, unfortunately.'

(Nakabili ka na ba ng kotse?)
'(Have you bought a car?)'

Hindi pa, e.
'Not yet.'

Ha is used only in informal contexts, in utterances directed toward people with whom one uses the second-person-singular pronoun (cf. §3.3). *Ha* may be added to a question, a command or request, or one of several types of social formulas (cf. §7.22). In these uses, *ha* expresses importunity. Examples are:

Aalis ka na ba, ha?
'Well, are you leaving now?' (Implication: 'Do answer me.')

Hintayin mo nga ako, ha?
'Please wait for me, won't you?'

Diyan ka na, ha?
'See you later, huh?'

Salamat, ha?
'Thank you.' (Implication: 'You'll accept my thanks, won't you?')

Sige na, ha?
'Okay?'

(After a question or a request, *ha* always carries a rising intonation pattern (pattern I.3, §1.24: /2↑/); after a command or social formula, it carries either this pattern or a sustained pattern (pattern I.4, §1.24: /2→/). When it carries the rising pattern, *ha* may express different degrees of importunity, according to whether it is spoken at normal speed or slowly, with the vowel diphthongized. Mild importunity is expressed when *ha* is spoken at normal speed, a greater degree of importunity when it is spoken slowly.)

Ha is also used to suggest sarcasm or a challenge to an assertion made by the person addressed. (In these uses *ha* carries either a falling intonation pattern (pattern I.2: /2↓/) or one of several sustained patterns (patterns I.4 and I.5: /2→/ and /1→/).) Examples are:

Marunong ka, ha?
'You think you're smart, don't you?'

Hindi ka ba papasok, ha?
'So you're not going to school?' (We'll just see about that!')

O is used in informal situations either after a polite request that includes *nga* (cf. §5.29), in which case it increases the urgency of the request, or to direct the attention of the person(s) addressed, in which case it is equivalent to English 'Look!' (After a request, *o* carries a sustained intonation pattern (pattern I.5: /1→/); as an attention director, it carries either this pattern or a rising pattern (pattern I.3: /2↑/).) Examples are:

Tulungan mo nga ako, o.
'Come on, help me, please.'

Ayusin mo nga ito, o.
'How about fixing this, please.'

Ayun si Juan, o!
'Look, there's Juan!'

Basag ang baso, o.
'Look, the glass is broken.'

§ 6.14. Adverbial clauses: introduction.

A clause is a part of a sentence that itself has essentially the same internal structure as a sentence. An **ADVERBIAL CLAUSE** is a clause that occurs in the same sentence contexts as an adverbial, and that has a similar semantic function. (For a presentation of other clause types that occur in Tagalog, cf. §§3.28 (nominal clauses), 7.19 (coordinate clauses), and 7.20 (explanatory AT clauses).)

Most Tagalog adverbial clauses are introduced by a **SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION**, a word or phrase whose function is to specify the precise adverbial relation of the clause they introduce to the rest of the sentence. (Cf. §6.17, subsections (4) and (5), however, for a presentation of adverbial-clause types that lack a subordinating conjunction, the adverbial relation being expressed, instead, by enclitic particles.)

A sentence that includes an adverbial clause may be called a **COMPLEX SENTENCE**. A complex sentence always includes, in addition to the adverbial clause, a **MAIN CLAUSE**: a clause that is not introduced by a subordinating conjunction, and that, unlike the adverbial clause, is capable of occurring independently as a complete sentence. For example, in the complex sentence:

Pupunta siya sa Maynila kung papayagan siya ng Tatay.
'He will go to Manila if Father gives him permission.'

the main clause is *Pupunta siya sa Maynila* 'he will go to Manila' the subordinate clause, *kung papayagan siya ng Tatay* 'if Father gives him permission.' (In those few complex-sentence types that involve enclitic particles rather than subordinating conjunctions, the distinction between the main clause and the adverbial

clause is not always perfectly clear, since both clauses are usually marked by enclitic particles, and both may in most cases occur independently.)

An adverbial clause may occur either before or after the main clause. Thus, also:

Kung papayagan siya ng Tatay, pupunta siya sa Maynila.
'If Father gives him permission, he will go to Manila.'

If the adverbial clause precedes the main clause, it normally constitutes a separate intonation phrase, and is followed by a pause (represented in conventional writing by a comma). A sentence with an initial adverbial clause followed by a pause involves contrastive inversion (cf. §7.2, subsection (2)), and, potentially at least, carries contrastive meaning. The above sentence, for example, might occur in a context such as:

Kung papayagan siya ng Tatay, pupunta siya sa Maynila.
Kung hindi siya papayagan, mamamalagi siya rito.
'If Father gives him permission, he will go to Manila.
'If he isn't given permission, he will stay here.'

Less commonly, an initial adverbial clause is followed by the inversion marker *ay* (cf. §7.2, subsection (1)):

Kung papayagan siya ng Tatay ay pupunta siya sa Maynila.
'He will go to Manila if Father gives him permission.' (formal style)

Each clause in a complex sentence may be said to be derived from an underlying sentence. The underlying sentences represented in the above illustrations are, for example:

Pupunta siya sa Maynila.
'He will go to Manila.'

and:

Papayagan siya ng Tatay.
'Father will give him permission.'

In cases where the complex sentence includes only one intonation phrase (i.e., in cases where there is no pause between the clauses), the intonation pattern of the sentence underlying the main clause serves as the intonation pattern of the entire complex sentence. Thus *Pupunta siya sa Maynila kung papayagan siya ng Tatay* has the same statement intonation (or the same range of possible statement intonations) as *Pupunta siya sa Maynila*. Similarly, the complex sentences:

Pupunta ba siya sa Maynila kung papayagan siya ng Tatay?
'Will he go to Manila if Father gives him permission?'

and:

Ano ang gagawin niya kung papayagan siya ng Tatay?
'What will he do if Father gives him permission?'

have, respectively, the yes–no–question intonation and information–question intonation of the sentences that underlie their main clauses.

In cases where the adverbial clause is initial and is followed by a pause (i.e., in contrastive inversion), the adverbial clause is given an appropriate non-final intonation pattern, while the main clause retains the intonation pattern of the sentence that underlies it. Thus the final clauses of the following sentences have,

respectively, statement, yes–no–question, and information–question intonation:

Kung papayagan siya ng Tatay, pupunta siya sa Maynila.
'If Father gives him permission, he will go to Manila.'

Kung papayagan siya ng Tatay, pupunta ba siya sa Maynila?
'If Father gives him permission, will he go to Manila?'

Kung papayagan siya ng Tatay, ano ang gagawin niya?
'If Father gives him permission, what will he do?'

(For a summary of the intonation patterns that occur in statements, yes–no questions, and information questions, cf. §1.28. For a more detailed treatment of the intonation of contrastive–inversion constructions, cf. §7.2, subsection (2).)

While main clause normally retains the form of the sentence that underlies it, the adverbial clause may in some cases represent an altered form of the underlying sentence. The most common alteration that occurs in adverbial clauses is a change in the form of a verbal predicate. Some subordinating conjunctions may be followed by basic verb forms (cf. §2.8) as well as by the inflected forms that occur in independent sentences. An example is the subordinating conjunction *bago* 'before,' as in:

Bago $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{matulog} \\ \text{natulog} \end{array} \right\}$ ang mga bata, nagkuwento ako sa kanila.
'Before the children went to bed, I told them a story.'

(cf. Natulog ang mga bata.
'The children went to bed.'
but not: *Matulog ang mga bata.)

Other subordinating conjunctions may be followed only by basic verb forms, never by inflected forms. An example is *para* 'so that,' as in:

Kumain na tayo para makarating ako sa istasyon nang maaga.
'Let's eat now so that I'll be able to get to the station early.'

There is no:

*Kumain na tayo para makakarating ako sa istasyon nang maaga.
(cf. Makakarating ako sa istasyon nang maaga.
'I'll be able to get to the station early.')

There is also a type of alteration that may affect either the adverbial clause or the main clause, whichever happens to be non-initial: viz., the topic of the non-initial clause is commonly deleted when its referent is the same as that of the initial clause. In such cases, if the topic is capable of being expressed by a personal pronoun (i.e., if it represents a human being or pet animal – cf. §3.3), this pronoun may or may not occur in the non-initial clause: e.g.,

Hindi pupunta si Juan sa miting kung pagod (siya).
Kung pagod si Juan, hindi (siya) pupunta sa miting.

'Juan won't go to the meeting if he's tired.'
'If Juan is tired, he won't go to the meeting.'

If the topic is not capable of being expressed by a personal pronoun, the non-initial clause is normally topicless: e.g.,

Hindi ko bibilhin ang damit kung mahal.
Kung mahal ang damit, hindi ko bibilhin.

'I won't buy the dress if it's expensive.'
'If the dress is expensive, I won't buy it.'

(Tagalog has no equivalent of English 'it' for referring pronominally to inanimate objects – cf. §3.3.)

As is noted in §3.29, subsection (I.A.8), the majority of subordinating conjunctions are obligatorily non-pre-enclitic (i.e., are never immediately followed by enclitic pronouns or particles). A small number of subordinating conjunctions are, however, optionally pre-enclitic, and at least two, *bago* 'before' and *kundi* 'if... not,' are obligatorily pre-enclitic (cf. §3.29, subsection (II.A.7)). In subsequent sections special attention is called to those subordinating conjunctions that are optionally or obligatorily pre-enclitic.

Tagalog adverbial clauses are presented in subsequent sections as follows: time and conditional clauses in §6.15; cause, result, and purpose clauses in §6.16; concessive clauses in §6.17; other adverbial clauses in §6.18. (cf. also §7.18 for a presentation of indefinite adverbial clauses.)

§6.15. Time and conditional clauses.

Tagalog time clauses and conditional clauses are conveniently presented together, since there are two subordinating conjunctions, *(ka)pag(ka)* and *kung*, that introduce clauses whose English equivalents are in some cases time clauses (introduced by 'when'), in others conditional clauses (introduced by 'if'), and in still others either time clauses or conditional clauses. In addition to *(ka)pag(ka)* and *kung*, there is one other subordinating conjunction, *(kung) sakali*, that introduces conditional clauses, and there are various other subordinating conjunctions that introduce time clauses. These time clauses are divisible into four main classes on the basis of the types of predicates that may occur within them. One class accepts either verbless (i.e., nominal or adjectival) or inflected-verbal predicates; a second accepts either verbless or basic-form predicates; a third accepts either inflected or basic-form predicates; and a fourth accepts verbless, inflected, or basic-form predicates.

Tagalog time and conditional clauses are presented below under the following headings. (The subordinating conjunctions that introduce clauses belonging to the various classes are listed alphabetically in parentheses after each heading. If a conjunction is analyzable as including a linker (-ng or *na/ng* the linker is written separately, after a plus sign.)

- (1) Time/conditional clauses (*(ka)pag(ka)*, *kung*, *(kung) sakali + na/ng*)
- (2) Clauses with verbless or inflected predicates (*haba + na/ng*, *hangga't*, *miyentras (+ na/ng)*, *noon + -ng or na/ng*, *ngayon at*, *ngayon + na/ng*, *samantala + na/ng*, *tuwi + na/ng*)
- (3) Clauses with verbless or basic-form predicates (*oras na*, *sa sandali + na/ng*)
- (4) Clauses with inflected or basic-form predicates (*bago*, *hanggang (sa)*, *matapos + -ng or na/ng*, *pagkatapos + ng or na/ng*)
- (5) Clauses with verbless, inflected, or basic-form predicates (*(mag)buhat nang*, *(mag)mula nang*, *nang*)

(1) TIME/CONDITIONAL CLAUSES. Clauses in this class are introduced by *(ka)pag(ka)*, *kung*, or *(kung) sakali + na/ng*. (The notation *(ka)pag(ka)* represents any of the following forms: *pag* [*pag*], *kapag* [*kapag*], *pagka* [*pagka'*], *kapagka* [*kapagka'*]. Of these *pag* is the most common. The notation *(kung) sakali* represents *kung sakali* and *sakali*.) *(Ka)pag(ka)* introduces clauses with verbless or inflected predicates; *kung* and *(kung) sakali + na/ng* introduce, in addition to these, clauses with basic-form predicates.

Only *kung* is used in clauses that express a condition that is contrary to fact. The contrary-to-fact clause may have either a verbless or an inflected predicate. The main clause normally includes the enclitic

particle *sana* (cf. §6.5, subsection (e)), which makes the contrary-to-fact meaning of the *kung* clause explicit. Some examples are:

Kung nandito si Rosa, mas masaya sana tayo.
'If Rosa were here, we would be happier.'

Kung ako si Juan, hindi ko sana ginawa iyon.
'If I were Juan, I would not have done that.'

Kung aalis ako bukas, binabalot ko sana ang aking kagamitan ngayon.
'If I were leaving tomorrow, I'd be packing my things today.'

Tumatanggap sana siya ng mabuting marka kung nag-aaral siya.
'He'd be getting a good grade if he were studying.'

Gumaling ka sana agad kung ininom mo ang gamot na ito.
'You'd have recovered right away if you had taken this medicine.'

Kung (hin)di }
 } (lamang) napakalayo ng Maynila, papag-aaralin
Kundi } ko sana siya roon.
'If (only) Manila weren't so far away, I'd send him to school there.'

(In contrary-to-fact clauses, *kundi* 'if . . . not' is an optional contraction of *kung* and *di* (itself an abbreviation of *hindi* 'not' – cf. §7.13). It is often followed by the enclitic particle *lamang* 'only' (cf. §6.4, subsection (d)). The contraction does not occur in *kung* clauses of other types. As is noted in §3.29, subsection (II.A.7), *kundi* is obligatorily pre-enclitic. There is a homonymous coordinating conjunction, *kundi* 'but, except,' which is presented in §7.20.)

Except in the case of clauses that express a condition contrary to fact, *kung* and *(ka)pag(ka)* are interchangeable when the clause they introduce has a verbless or an imperfective-aspect verbal predicate. Such a clause may be equivalent to an English 'when' clause (where the 'when' clause represents a recurrent or repeatable situation or action), or to either an 'if' or a 'when' clause. Whatever the English equivalent, the Tagalog clause expresses a situation or action that is wholly or partly concurrent with that expressed in the main clause. Some examples are:

(Ka)pag(ka) }
 } hindi mo kailangan ito, itatago ko na.
Kung }
'If you don't need this, I'll put it away now.'

Maasim ang prutas na ito }
 } (ka)pag(ka) } hilaw.
 } kung }
'This fruit is sour when it's unripe.'

(Ka)pag(ka) }
 } mabuti ang panahon, pumupunta kami sa tabing-dagat.
Kung }
'If/When the weather is good, we go to the seashore.'

Hindi ako tutugtog ng piyano $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(ka)pag(ka)} \\ \text{kung} \end{array} \right\}$ natutulog ang Tatay.
 'I won't play the piano if Father is sleeping.'

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(Ka)pag(ka)} \\ \text{Kung} \end{array} \right\}$ nagsasalita ng Tagalog si Juan, natatawa kami.
 'When Juan speaks Tagalog, we laugh.'

Madalas silang dumadalaw sa Lola $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(ka)pag(ka)} \\ \text{kung} \end{array} \right\}$ lumalakad sila buhat sa iskuela.
 'They often visit Grandmother if/when they walk from school.'

(Kung) sakali + na/-ng is not used to introduce a clause with an imperfective—aspect (or a perfective—aspect) verbal predicate, but may introduce a clause with a verbless predicate, provided the main clause has a predicate verb in the contemplated aspect. The *(kung) sakali + na/-ng* clause is equivalent to an English clause introduced by 'if' or 'in case': e.g.,

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(Kung) sakaling mabuti ang panahon, pupunta kami sa tabing-dagat.} \\ \text{'If} \\ \text{'In case} \end{array} \right\}$ the weather is good, we'll go to the seashore.'

A clause in which *(ka)pag(ka)* is followed by a perfective—aspect predicate represents an action to be completed in the future, prior to the action expressed in the main clause. The *(ka)pag(ka)* clause is usually translatable by either an 'if' clause or a 'when' clause. Examples are:

$\text{(Ka)pag(ka) nakita ko siya, sasabihin ko sa kaniya ang nangyari.}$
 'If/When I see him, I'll tell him what happened.'

$\text{Bumili ka ng gatas (ka)pag(ka) nagpunta ka sa palengke.}$
 'Buy some milk if/when you go to the market.'

Essentially the same meaning may be expressed by a *kung* or *(kung) sakali + na/-ng* clause with a contemplated—aspect predicate, except that in these clauses the conditional nature of the action is more explicit, the English equivalent of the *kung* clause normally having 'if,' that of the *(kung) sakali + na/-ng* clause normally having 'in case':

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Kung} \\ \text{(Kung) sakaling} \end{array} \right\}$ makikita ko siya, sasabihin ko sa kanya ang nangyari.
 $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'If} \\ \text{'In case} \end{array} \right\}$ I see him, I'll tell him what happened.'

$\text{Bumili ka ng gatas} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{kung} \\ \text{(kung) sakaling} \end{array} \right\}$ magpupunta ka sa palengke.

$\text{'Buy some milk} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{if} \\ \text{in case} \end{array} \right\}$ you go to the market.'

((*Ka*)/*pag*(*ka*)) does not occur in a clause with a contemplated–aspect predicate. When *kung* occurs in a clause with a perfective–aspect predicate, the clause usually expresses a condition contrary to fact (see above), but may also express a simple condition in the past: e.g.,

Kung naabutan niya ang bus, hindi siya mahuhuli.
'If he was able to catch the bus, he won't be late.'

A basic verb form alternates freely with a contemplated form in *kung* and (*kung*) *sakali* + *na/-ng* clauses of the type just illustrated. Thus, also:

Kung	}	makita ko siya, sasabihin ko sa kaniya ang nangyari.
(Kung) sakaling		
'If	}	I see him, I'll tell him what happened.'
'In case		

A basic verb form may also follow *kung* (but not (*kung*) *sakali* + *na/-ng*) in a sentence whose main clause is equational or includes an imperfective verbal predicate. In these cases, the main clause expresses an action or condition characteristically associated with the action or condition expressed in the *kung* clause, and the *kung* clause is normally equivalent to an English 'when' clause. Normally the topic of the *kung* clause and that of the main clause have the same referent in sentences of this type. When this referent is a human being or pet animal, the non-initial clause either has a personal–pronoun topic or lacks an expressed topic. When the referent is not a human being or pet animal, the non-initial clause is topicless. Some examples are:

Kung magsalita ng Ingles si Juan, parang Amerikano (siya).
'When Juan speaks English, he sounds like an American.'

Kung alisin sa tubig ang isdang ito, namamatay agad.
'When this fish is taken out of the water, it dies at once.'

Matamis ang prutas na ito kung mahinog.
'This fruit is sweet when it ripens.'

(As is noted in §3.29, subsection (7), (*ka*)/*pag*(*ka*) is optionally pre-enclitic, while *kung* is obligatorily non-pre-enclitic. Thus:

(Ka)pag(ka)	{	dinadalaw ko siya,	}	palagi akong nagdadala ng regalo.
		ko siya dinadalaw,		
'When I visit him, I always bring a present.'				

but only:

Kung dinadalaw ko siya, palagi akong nagdadala ng regalo.
(Same meaning)

(*Kung*) *sakali* is optionally pre-enclitic with enclitic particles, and obligatorily non-pre-enclitic with personal pronouns.

(2) CLAUSES WITH INFLECTED OR VERBLESS PREDICATES. Clauses in this class are presented below as follows: (a) clauses introduced by *haba* + *na/-ng*, *hangga't miyentras* + (optionally) *na/-ng*, and *samantala* + *na/-ng*; (b) clauses introduced by *noon*; (c) clauses introduced by *ngayon* *at* and *ngayon* + *na/-ng*; (d) clauses introduced by *tuwi* + *na/-ng*.

(a) *Haba + na/-ng*, *hangga't*, *miyentras*, and *samantala + na/-ng* all introduce clauses equivalent to English 'while' clauses. The clause may have a verbless or an imperfective verbal predicate. Examples are:

Habang narito ako, } Haba akong narito, } Hangga't narito ako, } Miyentras narito ako, } Miyentras ako(ng) narito, } Samantalang narito ako, } Samantala akong narito, }	}	dapat akong tumulong.
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'While I'm here, I ought to help.'

(*Haba*, *miyentras*, and *samantala* are optionally pre-enclitic; *hangga't* is obligatorily non-pre-enclitic – cf. §3.29, subsection (II.A.7).)

Habang } Hangga't }	}	nagtatrabaho si Juan, umaawit siya.
Miyentras }		
Samantalang }		
'While Juan works, he sings.'		

Hangga't may also mean 'as long as,' as in:

Hangga't ginagawa niya ang trabaho, wala akong tutol.
'As long as he does the work, I have no objection.'

Miyentras, while common in ordinary conversation, is not used in formal speech or writing.

(b) *Noon + -ng* or *na/-ng* introduces clauses equivalent to English 'when' clauses that refer to situations or actions that are confined to the past, and that are concurrent with the situation or action expressed by the main clause. The *noon* clause may have a verbless or an imperfective verbal predicate. Examples are:

Nakatira siya sa dormitoryo noong istudyante siya.
'He lived in the dormitory when he was a student.'

Noon daw (na) nagtatrabaho } Noong nagtatrabaho raw }	}	siya sa pabrika, malaki ang suweldo niya.
'They say that when he was working in the factory, his pay was large.'		

(The same meanings may be expressed by clauses introduced by *nang* – see (5.c), below.)

As the last example shown, *noon* is optionally pre-enclitic with respect to enclitic particles (cf. §6.6, subsection 2(b)) but obligatorily non-pre-enclitic with respect to pronouns (cf. §3.29, subsection (I.A.10)).

(c) *Ngayon at* and *ngayon + na/-ng* are equivalent to English 'now that.' They introduce clauses with a verbless predicate or with any inflected verbal predicate. Examples are:

Ngayon at } Ngayong }	}	mayaman na siya, hindi na siya dumadalaw sa amin.
'Now that he's rich, he no longer visits us.'		

Makakatulong na siya	}	ngayon at	}	magsisimula	}	siya ng paggawa.

'He'll soon be able to help now that he $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{is about to start} \\ \text{is starting} \\ \text{has started} \end{array} \right\}$ to work.'

(d) *Tuwi + na/-ng* introduces clauses equivalent to English clauses introduced by 'every time (that).' Imperfective–aspect predicates and contemplated–aspect predicates alternate freely within *tuwi + na/-ng* clauses: e.g.,

Tuwing $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nakikita} \\ \text{makikita} \end{array} \right\}$ ko iyon, naaalala ko sila.
'Every time I see that, I remember them.'

Umiiyak ang bata tuwing $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{umaalis} \\ \text{aalis} \end{array} \right\}$ sa bahay ang ina.
'The child cries every time the mother leaves the house.'

Perfective–aspect predicates do not occur within *tuwi + na/-ng* clauses. Examples of *tuwi + na/-ng* clauses with verbless predicates are:

Tuwing narito si Juan, nagkakaroon kami ng pagtatalo.
'Every time Juan is here, we have an argument.'

Tuwing may pera daw siya, naglalasing (siya).
'They say that every time he has some money, he gets drunk.'

(*Tuwi* is optionally pre-enclitic; thus the following also occurs (cf. the last example above):

Tuwi daw siyang may pera, naglalasing siya.
'They say that every time he has some money, he gets drunk.')

(3) CLAUSES WITH BASIC-FORM OR VERBLESS PREDICATES. Clauses in this class are introduced by *oras na* or *sa sandali + na/-ng*. The clauses are equivalent to English clauses introduced by 'the moment (that)' or 'the minute (that),' when these clauses refer to future time. *Oras na* connotes strong emotion; it is used, for example, in warning or threats: e.g.,

Magpapakamatay ako oras na maging di-matapat sa akin ang mangingibig ko.
'I'll kill myself the moment my lover is untrue to me.'

Oras na makita ko siya, itatapon ko ito sa mukha niya.
'The minute I see him, I'll throw this in his face.'

Sa sandali + na/-ng lacks this connotation. Some examples are:

Magpalakpakan kayo sa sandaling iabot ko ito sa kaniya.
'Applaud the moment I hand this to him.'

Sa $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sandali pong dumating siya,} \\ \text{sandaling dumating po siya,} \end{array} \right\}$ teteleponohan ko kayo.
'The minute he arrives, I'll phone you, sir/madam.'

(As the last example shows, *sa sandali* is optionally pre-enclitic with enclitic particles, obligatorily non-pre-enclitic with enclitic pronouns.)

(4) CLAUSES WITH INFLECTED OR BASIC-FORM PREDICATES. Clauses in this class are presented below as follows: (a) clauses introduced by *bago*; (b) clauses introduced by *hanggang (sa)*; (c) clauses introduced by *matapos + -ng* or *na/-ng ang pagkatapos + -ng* or *na/-ng*.

(a) *Bago* is equivalent to English 'before.' A *bago* clause with a basic-form predicate is the most frequent equivalent of an English 'before' clause or of a phrase consisting of 'before' plus the '-ing' form of a verb. A basic-form predicate alternates with, but is preferred to, an imperfective-aspect predicate to express habitual or repeated action in the present or past. In each of the following examples, the first of the two alternative verb forms in the *bago* clause is preferred. (The main clause of a sentence that includes a *bago* clause often includes the enclitic particle *muna* 'first' – cf. §6.4, subsection (h).)

Bago siya $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mag-aral} \\ \text{nag-aaral} \end{array} \right\}$ ng liksyon, nagbabasa muna (siya) ng diyaryo.

'Before studying his lessons, he $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{reads} \\ \text{used to read} \end{array} \right\}$ the newspaper (first).'

Bago $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mahinog} \\ \text{nahuhinog} \end{array} \right\}$ ang prutas na ito, maasim.
'Before this fruit ripens, it's sour.'

Dati, palaging may handaan kina Alkalde Guinto bago $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{magsimula} \\ \text{nagsisimula} \end{array} \right\}$ ang kombensyon.
'Formerly, there was always a party at Mayor Guinto's before the convention started.'

(When, as is often the case, the topic of the *bago* clause and that of the main clause have the same referent, the non-initial clause either optionally or obligatorily lacks an expressed topic: optionally when the topic may be expressed by a personal pronoun (as in the first example above), obligatorily when it may not (as in the second). As is noted in §3.29, subsection (II.A.7), *bago* is obligatorily pre-enclitic – cf. the first example above.)

A basic-form predicate is also used to express contemplated action. If the contemplated action is habitual, the sentence often includes an adverb such as *buhat ngayon* 'from now on,' *(pa)lagi* 'always,' or *gabi-gabi* 'every night.' Examples are:

Bago magsimula ang miting, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{magsasalita ang Alkalde.} \\ \text{nandoon na kami.} \end{array} \right\}$
'Before the meeting starts, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the Mayor will speak.} \\ \text{we will be there (already).} \end{array} \right\}$

Buhat ngayon, lagi nilang isususi ang mga pintuan bago sila matulog.
'From now on, they will always lock the doors before they go to bed.'

A contemplated-aspect predicate occurs in a *bago* clause only in sentences expressing strong requests for future habitual action, as in:

Buhat nga ngayon, lagi mong isususi ang mga pintuan bago ka matutulog.
'From now on, please lock the doors before you go to bed.'

(In all other contexts, the basic-form predicate is used to express future habitual action; thus, for example:

Mag-aaral siya ng liksyon niya bago siya matulog gabi-gabi.
'He will study his lessons before he goes to bed every night.'

but never:

*Mag-aaral siya ng liksyon niya bago siya matutulog gabi-gabi.)

To express completed action, a perfective-aspect predicate is used in the *bago* clause, as in the following:

Bago natulog ang mga bata, uminom sila ng gatas.
'Before the children went to bed, they drank some milk.'

Karpintero siya bago siya nagsimulang magtrabaho dito.
'He was a carpenter before he began to work here.'

A basic-form predicate occurs in the *bago* clause instead of a perfective-aspect predicate where the verb is one that normally forms a topicless phenomenal sentence (cf. §7.21) as in the following:

Dumating sila bago	{	mag-ala-una. mag-Pasko.
'They arrived before	{	one o'clock.' Christmas.'

or where the topic of the *bago* clause is omitted (by reason of having the same referent as the main clause, as noted above), as in the following:

Uminom ng gatas ang mga bata bago matulog.
'The children drank some milk before going to bed.'

Pinitas niya ang mangga bago mahinog.
'He picked the mango before it got ripe.'

Bago does not normally introduce clauses with an equational structure. In most cases the Tagalog equivalent of an English 'before' clause that includes a form of 'be' plus a predicate nominal or adjectival is a *bago* clause with a predicate *maging* construction (cf. §5.26): e.g.,

Mas masaya siya bago siya	{	naging-Presidente. naging-bantog.
'He was happier before he was/became	{	President.' famous.'

There is no **bago siya Presidente* or **bago siya bantog*.

Unlike 'before,' *bago* does not occur before a nominal within an adverbial phrase. The Tagalog equivalent of an English time phrase consisting of 'before, plus a nominal – e.g., 'before one o'clock,' 'before breakfast,' 'before evening' – is normally expressed by *bago* plus a basic-form verb, as in:

Magpasyal tayo bago { mag-ala-una.
mag-almusal.
gumabi.

'Let's take a walk before { (it's) one o'clock.'
(having) breakfast.'
(it's) evening.'

(b) *Hanggang* and *hanggang sa* alternate freely in clauses equivalent to English clauses introduced by 'until.' A *hanggang (sa)* clause with basic-form predicate may occur in a sentence expressing a past, present, or future situation or action. Examples are:

Hanggang (sa) magkaroon din sila ng sariling bahay, { titira }
{ tumitira } sila sa amin.
{ tumira }

'Until they { get } a house of their own (too), they { will live }
{ get } { are living } with us.'
{ got } { lived }

Ibibilad }
Ibinibilad } nila sa araw hanggang (sa) matuyo.
Ibinilad }

'They { will expose } it to the sun until it { dries.'
{ expose } { dries.'
{ exposed } { dried.'

A perfective-aspect predicate alternates freely with a basic-form predicate within a *hanggang (sa)* clause that expressed a completed action. Thus, also:

Ibinilad nila sa araw hanggang (sa) natuyo.
'They exposed it to the sun until it dried.'

Contemplated-aspect and imperfective-aspect predicates do not occur after *hanggang (sa)*.

Hanggang is obligatorily non-pre-enclitic (cf. §3.29, subsection (I.A.10)).

(c) As subordinating conjunctions, *matapos* and *pagkatapos* are both equivalent to English 'after.' (*Matapos* also occurs as the basic form of a verb meaning 'finish,' and *pagkatapos* as the aspectless gerund – cf. §3.26 – related to this verb.) They are followed (when used as subordinating conjunctions) by either the linker *-ng* or the linker *na/-ng*. (Occurring directly after *matapos* or *pagkatapos*, the linker *-ng* has a zero form, the linker *na/-ng* the form /na/ – cf. §§3.8 and 3.11. Since *matapos* and *pagkatapos* are both optionally pre-enclitic – cf. §3.29, subsection (II.A.7) – enclitic personal pronouns and/or particles may occur between them and the linker, in which case the linker, whether *-ng* or *na/-ng*, usually has the form /n/.)

A *matapos* or *pagkatapos* clause with a basic-form predicate is the most frequent equivalent of an English 'after' clause or of a phrase consisting of 'after' plus the '-ing' form of a verb. Examples are:

Matapos }
Pagkatapos } (na) linisin ng katulong ang salas { mag-aaral }
{ nag-aaral } ako roon.
{ nag-aral }

'After the maid $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{cleans} \\ \text{cleans} \\ \text{cleaned} \end{array} \right\}$ the living room, I $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{am going to study} \\ \text{study} \\ \text{studied} \end{array} \right\}$ there.'

Uuwi $\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \\ \end{array} \right\}$ na siya $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{matapos} \\ \text{pagkatapos} \end{array} \right\}$ $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(na) basahin (niya)} \\ \text{niyang basahin} \end{array} \right\}$ ang mga sulat.

'He $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{will go} \\ \text{goes} \\ \text{went} \end{array} \right\}$ home right after reading the letters.'

If the predicate verb in a *pagkatapos* clause is actor-focus (cf. §2.10), the actor is expressed by a *ng* phrase, rather than an *ang* phrase. In a *matapos* clause with an actor-focus predicate verb, the actor is, as usual, expressed by an *ang* phrase. Compare the *pagkatapos* and *matapos* clauses in the following sentences:

Matapos $\left. \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(na) magtalumpati siya,} \\ \text{siyang magtalumpati,} \end{array} \right\} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(na) magtalumpati niya,} \\ \text{niyang magtalumpati,} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$ kumanta kami ng ilang awit.
 Pagkatapos
 'After he spoke, we sang a few songs.'

Aalis kami $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{matapos (na) kumain ng hapunan ang mga bata.} \\ \text{pagkatapos (na) kumain ng hapunan ng mga bata.} \end{array} \right\}$
 'We'll leave after the children eat lunch.'

Contemplated-aspect and imperfective-aspect predicates do not occur after *matapos* and *pagkatapos*. Perfective-aspect predicates are used to imply a contradiction between the expected consequence of the action expressed in the subordinate clause and the actual consequence, as expressed in the main clause: e.g.,

Matapos $\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\}$ ko siyang tinulungan, sinisi pa niya ako.
 Pagkatapos
 '(Even) after I helped him, he still blamed me.'

Like *bago* (cf. (3.2), above), *matapos* and *pagkatapos* do not normally introduce clauses with an equational structure. (The usual equivalent of an English 'after' clause that includes a form of 'be' plus a predicate nominal or adjectival is a *nang* clause (cf. (5.b), below) with a predicate formed by the corresponding Tagalog nominal or adjectival – or by a *maging* construction (cf. §5.17) – followed by the enclitic *na*, thus:

Nang $\left. \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{biyuda} \\ \text{maging biyuda} \end{array} \right\} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{matanda} \\ \text{maging matanda} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$ na ang reyna, pambihira na siyang naglakbay.

'After the queen $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{was} \\ \text{became} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a widow} \\ \text{old} \end{array} \right\}$, she seldom traveled.'

Again like *bago*, *matapos* does not occur before nominals within adverbial phrases. *Pagkatapos*, however, occurs before *ng* plus a nominal in the time-gerund subclass of adverbial phrases (cf. §6.8, subsection (3).)

(5) CLAUSES WITH VERBLESS, INFLECTED, OR BASIC-FORM PREDICATES. Clauses in this class are presented below as follows: (a) clauses introduced by *(mag)buhat nang* and *(mag)mula nang*; (b) clauses introduced by *nang*.

(a) *(Mag)buhat nang* and *(mag)mula nang* introduce clauses equivalent to English time clauses introduced by 'since.' The clauses may have verbless, basic-form, or perfective-aspect predicates, the latter two alternating freely. (Clauses with verbless predicates normally include the enclitic particle *pa* 'still, yet' – cf. §6.2.) Some examples are:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(Mag)buhat} \\ \text{(Mag)mula} \end{array} \right\} \text{ nang } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{bata} \\ \text{maliit} \end{array} \right\} \text{ pa si Linda, gusto na niyang maging mang-aawit.}$

'Since Linda was $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a child} \\ \text{small} \end{array} \right\}$, she has wanted to become a singer.'

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(Mag)buhat} \\ \text{(Mag)mula} \end{array} \right\} \text{ nang } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mamatay} \\ \text{namatay} \end{array} \right\} \text{ ang awawa niya, hindi na siya nakagawa ng trabaho.}$
'Since his wife died, he hasn't been able to do any work.'

(Mag)buhat and *(mag)mula* are obligatorily non-pre-enclitic with respect to enclitic pronouns (cf. §3.29, subsection (I.A.10)), but optionally non-pre-enclitic with respect to enclitic particles (cf. §6.6, subsection (2.a)).

(b) *Nang*, like *noon + -ng* or *na/ng* (cf. (2.b), above), introduces clauses equivalent to English 'when' clauses that refer to situations or actions confined to the past. A *nang* clause with a basic-form predicate expresses an action occurring immediately before the action expressed by the main clause; the English equivalent of the clause may often be introduced by either 'as soon as' or 'when.' Examples are:

Nang makita ko siya, nakilala ko siya agad.
'As soon as $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \\ \end{array} \right\}$ I saw him, I recognized him at once.'
'When $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \\ \end{array} \right\}$

Natawa siya nang sabihin ko sa kaniya ang nangyari.
'He laughed when I told him what had happened.'

A *nang* clause with a verbless or imperfective-aspect predicate expresses a situation or action concurrent with that expressed in the main clause. (*Nang* and *noon + na/ng* are interchangeable in such cases.) Examples are:

Nang nasa unibersidad ba siya, nakatira siya sa dormitoryo?
'When he was in the university, did he live in the dormitory?'

Nang nagtatrabaho siya sa pabrika, malaki ang suweldo niya.
'When he was working in the factory, his pay was large.'

Contemplated–aspect and perfective–aspect predicates have their usual meanings in *nang* clauses:

Nang aalis na ako, tinawag niya ako.
‘When I was about to leave, he called me.’

Nasa Maynila sila nang nagsimula ang World War II.
‘They were in Manila when World War II began.’

§6.16. Cause, result, and purpose clauses.

The equivalent of an English clause introduced by ‘because’ is expressed by a Tagalog clause introduced by one of the following subordinating conjunctions: *dahil (sa)*, *dahilan sa*, *gawa ng*, *porke*, *(sa)pagka’t*. *Dahil (sa)*, *dahilan sa*, and *gawa ng* are common in both formal and informal contexts. *Porke* is used only in informal contexts, and expresses an ironic or critical attitude (often expressible in English by ‘just because’). *(Sa)pagka’t* is more common in formal than in informal contexts. Subordinate clauses expressing cause (and those expressing result – see below) may have verbless or inflected predicates, but not basic–form predicates. Some examples are:

Dahil (sa) Dahilan sa Gawa ng	}	nahuli ako, hindi ko narinig ang takdang aralin.
-------------------------------------	---	--

‘Because I was late, I didn’t hear the assignment.’

Hindi siya makakadalo sa pulong	{	dahil (sa) dahilan sa gawa ng	}	marami siyang gawain.
---------------------------------	---	-------------------------------------	---	-----------------------

‘He won’t be able to go to the meeting because he has a lot to do.’

Porke	{	tumanggap siya siya tumanggap	}	ng mabuting marka, hindi na siya nakikipag-usap sa atin.
-------	---	----------------------------------	---	--

‘Just because he got a good grade, he no longer speaks to us.’

(Sa)pagka’t mataba ang lupa, umunlad ang mga dayuhan.
‘Because the land was rich, the immigrants prospered.’

(*Porke* is optionally pre-enclitic; the other subordinating conjunctions are obligatorily non-pre-enclitic.)

The equivalent of an English clause introduced by ‘since’ (in the meaning ‘as a result of the fact that’) is expressed in Tagalog by a clause introduced by *(ya)yaman* plus the linker *nal-ng*. Examples are:

(Ya)yaman daw na umuulan, ipapapagpaliban ang laro.
‘They say that since it’s raining, the game will be postponed.’

Mag-aaral ako bukas (ya)yamang walang panahon ngayon.
‘I’ll study tomorrow since there’s no time today.’

The subordinating conjunction *kaya* introduces clauses that express the result of the action expressed by the main clause. When the *kaya* clause follows the main clause, it is often translatable by an English clause introduced by ‘with the result that’ or ‘so’: e.g.,

Tinukso ni Juan ang bata, kaya umiyak.
‘Juan teased the child, with the result that it cried.’

May tipan ako nang alas dos, kaya dapat akong umalis.
‘I have an appointment at two o’clock, so I have to leave.’

The classes are presented below in the order listed.

(1) CLAUSES WITH INFLECTED PREDICATES. *Bagaman (at)* and *bagama't* are equivalent to English '(al)though.' Examples are:

Bagaman (at) } Bagama't }	hindi sila	{ mag-aaral, nag-aaral, nag-aral, }	umaasa silang pumasa.
------------------------------	------------	---	-----------------------

'Although they	{ aren't going to don't didn't }	study, they expect to pass.'
----------------	--	------------------------------

Nagmamaneho siya ng kotse	{ bagaman (at) bagama't }	wala sa hustong gulang.
'He drives a car though he's not of age.'		

Ganoong and *gayong* are equivalent to English 'in spite of the fact that' or 'even though.' Their use implies criticism or disapproval of the action or situation expressed in the main clause. Examples are:

Ganoong } Gayong }	may sakit siya, nagpipilit na pumarito.
'In spite of the fact that he's sick, he insists on coming.'	

Hindi raw nila gagawin ang trabaho	{ ganoong gayong }	{ babayaran binabayaran binayaran }	mo sila.
------------------------------------	-----------------------	---	----------

'They say they won't do the work even though you	{ are going to pay are paying paid }	them.'
--	--	--------

Bagaman is obligatorily non-pre-enclitic with respect to pronouns, optionally pre-enclitic with respect to enclitic particles; the other conjunctions are obligatorily non-pre-enclitic.

(2) CLAUSES WITH BASIC-FORM PREDICATES. *(Ka)sukdulan + na/-ng*, *matuluyan + na/-ng*, and *sukdan + na/-ng* introduce clauses that express a hypothetical future action or situation; they are equivalent to English 'even though' or 'even if.' Examples are:

Hindi ko ibibigay ito sa kaniya	{ (ka)sukdulang matuluyang sukdang }	pagbantaan niya ako.
'I won't give this to him even if he should threaten me.'		

(Ka)sukdulan } Matuluyan } Sukdan }	siyang magalit, ipapasuri nila siya sa doktor.
'Even though he may get angry, they'll have the doctor examine him.'	

The notation *huwag (na) (hin)di* represents any of the following: *huwag na hindi*, *huwag na di*, *huwag hindi*, *huwag di*. These subordinating conjunctions are equivalent to English 'however little,' 'even if . . . just . . . a little.' Examples are:

Huwag (na) (hin)di ako kumain, tumataba ako.
'However little I eat, I still get fat.'

Umiiyak ang bata huwag (na) (hin)di mo tuksuhin.
'The child cries even if you just tease it a little.'

(*Huwag (na)* is non-pre-enclitic; *(hin)di* is obligatorily pre-enclitic.)

(3) CLAUSES WITH EITHER INFLECTED OR BASIC-FORM PREDICATES. Before an inflected predicate, *kahit (na)* and *maski (na)* are similar in meaning to *ganoong* and *gayong* (cf. (1), above), except that their use does not necessarily imply criticism or disapproval of the action expressed in the main clause.

Kahit } Maski }	(na)	<table style="border: none;"> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">babayaran</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">binabayaran</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">binayaran</td></tr> </table>	babayaran	binabayaran	binayaran	mo sila, hindi mo maipapagawa iyon sa kanila.
babayaran						
binabayaran						
binayaran						

'Even though you	<table style="border: none;"> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">are going to pay</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">are paying</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">paid</td></tr> </table>	are going to pay	are paying	paid	} them, you can't ask them to do that.'
are going to pay					
are paying					
paid					

Kausapin ko rin siya	<table style="border: none;"> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">kahit</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">maski</td></tr> </table>	kahit	maski	(na)	<table style="border: none;"> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">magagalit</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">nagagalit</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">nagalit</td></tr> </table>	magagalit	nagagalit	nagalit	sa akin.
kahit									
maski									
magagalit									
nagagalit									
nagalit									

'I'll talk to him anyway, even though he	<table style="border: none;"> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">will get</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">is getting</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">got</td></tr> </table>	will get	is getting	got	} angry with me.'
will get					
is getting					
got					

Before a basic-form predicate, *kahit (na)* and *maski (na)* are similar in meaning to *kasukdulan + na/ng*, etc. (cf. (2), above). Examples are:

Kahit } Maski }	(na)	pagbantaan din niya ako, hindi ko ibibigay ito sa kaniya.
--------------------	------	---

'Even if he should threaten me too, I won't give this to him.'

Hindi mababasag ito	<table style="border: none;"> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">kahit</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">maski</td></tr> </table>	kahit	maski	(na) ibagsak mo.
kahit				
maski				

'This won't break even if you should drop it.'

(*Maski* is optionally pre-enclitic; thus, also: *maski niya ako pagbantaan*; *maski mo ibagsak*. The *na* that frequently follows *maski* is an enclitic particle (cf. §6.3). If both *na* and other enclitics follow *maski*, their order follows the rules given in §6.2. Thus: *maski na niya ako pagbantaan*; *maski mo na ibagsak*.)

(4) *Man* CLAUSES. The enclitic particle *man* occurs in a concessive clause equivalent to an English clause introduced by 'even if' or 'even though' (cf. §6.4, subsection (a.2)). (The main clause optionally but commonly includes the enclitic particle *din/rin*.) Like *kahit (na)* and *maski (na)* clauses (cf. (3), above),

man clauses with basic-form predicates express a hypothetical future situation or action, while those with imperfective, perfective, or verbless predicates express an actual situation or action. *Man* is not used in concessive clauses with predicate verbs in the contemplated aspect. Some examples are:

Sabihin ko man ang totoo, hindi ka rin maniniwala sa akin.
'Even if I tell the truth, you still won't believe me.'

Kakausapin ko pa rin siya $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nagagalit} \\ \text{nagalit} \end{array} \right\}$ man siya sa akin.

'I'll talk to him anyway, even though he $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{is getting} \\ \text{got} \end{array} \right\}$ angry with me.'

Mahal man ang sapatos, binili ko rin.
'Even though the shoes were expensive, I bought them anyway.'

(5) *Na . . . pa* and *pa . . . na* clauses. Occurring in successive clauses, the enclitic particles *na* and *pa*, or *pa* and *na*, indicate incompatibility between the actions, conditions, etc., expressed by the clauses. The clauses may have verbless or inflected predicates. In some cases it is the *na* clause that is equivalent to an English clause introduced by '(al)though' or 'even though'; in other cases it is the *pa* clause. (A more detailed explanation is given in §6.3, subsection (7).) Some examples are:

Dumarating na ang mga bisita, maglilinis ka pa ng bahay.
'Even though the guests are already arriving, you're going to clean house.'

Umalis na si Juan sa mesa, kumakain pa ang mga iba.
'Juan left the table, even though the others were still eating.'

Mainit na mainit pa ang kape, ininom na niya.
'Although the coffee was still very hot, he drank it anyway.'

Isinuot pa niya ang damit, luma na.
'She wore the dress though it was already worn out.'

(The English equivalents of sentences with *na . . . pa* or *pa . . . na* clauses may often involve 'and' or 'but.' Thus the first of the above examples may also be translated 'The guests are already arriving, and you're going to clean house!' and the third may be translated 'The coffee was still very hot, but he drank it anyway.')

§6.18. Other adverbial clauses.

Subordinating conjunctions not presented in §§6.15 through 6.17 are presented below as follows: (1) *bukod sa*; (2) *dangan at, danga't*; (3) *imbis + na/-ng, (sa) halip + na/-ng, (sa) lugar + na/-ng*; (4) *maliban kung*.

(1) *Bukod sa* is equivalent to English 'besides (the fact that).' A *bukod sa* clause may have a verbless or an inflected predicate. Some examples are:

Nag-aalaga siya ng hayop, bukod sa nagtatrabaho siya sa bukid.
'He raises animals, besides working in the field.'

Bukod sa $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{darating} \\ \text{dumarating} \\ \text{dumating} \end{array} \right\}$ na sila, marami pa akong ibang problema.

'Besides the fact that they $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{are arriving soon,} \\ \text{are already arriving,} \\ \text{have already arrived,} \end{array} \right\}$ I have lots of other problems.

Bukod is obligatorily non-pre-enclitic with respect to pronouns, but optionally non-pre-enclitic with respect to enclitic particles.

(2) *Dangan at* and its contracted form *danga't* are equivalent to English 'were it not (for the fact) that.' A *dangan at* (or *danga't*) clause may have a verbless or an inflected predicate; the clause frequently includes the enclitic particles *nga la(ma)ng*. The main clause normally includes the enclitic particle *sana* (cf. §6.5, subsection (e)). Examples are:

Bibilhin ko sana ang bahay, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dangan (nga la(ma)ng) at malayo} \\ \text{danga't malayo (nga la(ma)ng)} \end{array} \right\}$ sa siyudad.
'I would buy the house, were it not for the fact that it's far from the city.'

Dangan at $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{aalís} \\ \text{umaalis} \end{array} \right\}$
Danga't $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{aalís} \\ \text{umaalis} \end{array} \right\}$ na ang mga bisita, gagawa pa sana ako ng kape.

'Were it not for the fact that the guests $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{are leaving soon,} \\ \text{are already leaving,} \\ \text{have already left,} \end{array} \right\}$ I'd make some more coffee.'

(3) *Imbis + na/ng*, *(sa) halip + na/ng* and *(sa) lugar + na/ng* are equivalent to English 'instead of.' The clauses they introduce have basic-form predicates. *Imbis*, *halip*, and *lugar* are optionally pre-enclitic. Examples are:

Imbis $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{na mag-aral siya,} \\ \text{siyang mag-aral,} \end{array} \right\}$ naglalalaro ng besbol.
(Sa) halip $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{na mag-aral siya,} \\ \text{siyang mag-aral,} \end{array} \right\}$
(Sa) lugar $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{na mag-aral siya,} \\ \text{siyang mag-aral,} \end{array} \right\}$
'Instead of studying, he's playing baseball.'

Umalis sila $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{imbis} \\ \text{sa halip} \\ \text{(sa) lugar} \end{array} \right\}$ na tumulong sa amin.
'They left instead of helping us.'

(4) *Maliban kung* is equivalent to English 'unless' or 'except when.' A *maliban kung* clause may have a verbless, basic-form, or inflected predicate. A basic-form predicate alternates freely with a contemplated-aspect predicate to express a future possibility: e.g.,

Hindi ako pupunta roon maliban kung $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{samahan} \\ \text{sasamahan} \end{array} \right\}$ mo ako.
'I won't go there unless you go with me.'

Examples of imperfective, perfective, and verbless predicates are:

Maliban kung kumakain siya, lagi siyang nakatabako.
'Except when he is eating, he is always smoking a cigar.'

Darating si Linda mamaya, maliban kung hindi siya pinayagan.
'Linda will be coming later, unless she wasn't given permission.'

Maliban kung may pera si Rosa, hindi tayo makakapasok sa sine.
'Unless Rosa has some money, we won't be able to go to the movies.'

Maliban is obligatorily non-pre-enclitic with respect to pronouns but optionally non-pre-enclitic with respect to enclitic particles; *kung* is obligatorily non-pre-enclitic.

CHAPTER 7

Derived and Minor Sentence Structures

§7.1. Introduction.

Many types of DERIVED CONSTRUCTIONS (i.e., constructions that do not themselves occur in basic sentences, but that are related to constructions that do so occur) have been presented in Chapters 3 through 6. The derived constructions presented in these chapters are those that are best understood in relation to a particular class of basic-sentence components: nominals, adjectivals, verbals, or adverbials (cf. §3.1). In addition to derived constructions of these types, Tagalog has a number of derived constructions that are equally related to two or more classes of basic-sentence components. These derived constructions are discussed in the present chapter. Also discussed in this chapter are MINOR SENTENCE STRUCTURES: i.e., sentence structures that lack, and fail to reflect, the predicate-plus-topic structure of basic sentences.

The present chapter is arranged as follows. §7.2 deals with inversion constructions, §§7.3 through 7.12 with questions, and §§7.13 through 7.16 with negation. The remaining sections deal with: the definitized predicate (7.17), indefinite forms and constructions (7.18), coordination (7.19), explanatory at clauses (7.20), topicless phenomenal sentences (7.21), social formulas (7.22), and interjections (7.23).

§7.2. Inversion constructions..

An INVERSION CONSTRUCTION is a construction characterized by the shifting to sentence-initial or clause-initial position of some sentence component that does not occur in this position in basic sentences. Inversion constructions may involve the placement of a topic before a predicate, the placement of an adverbial before a predicate, the placement of a verb complement before a predicate verb, the placement of a phrase introduced by *ni* or *ni . . . ni* before the negator *wala* (cf. §7.14), or one of certain combinations of these. The inversion constructions that occur in Tagalog are dealt with below under the following headings: (1) AY INVERSION; (2) CONTRASTIVE INVERSION; (3) EMPHATIC INVERSION; (4) NON-EMPHATIC INVERSION.

(1) AY INVERSION. Of the four classes of inversion constructions, *ay* inversion permits the widest range of sentence-component types to be shifted to initial position. The initial component in an *ay*-inversion construction may be: (a) the topic; (b) an adverbial; (c) a verb complement; (d) a phrase introduced by *ni* or *ni . . . ni*. The inversion-marking particle *ay* in most cases immediately follows the initial topic, adverbial, etc. As is noted in §6.6, however, certain enclitic particles, if they occur in the sentence, either obligatorily or optionally precede *ay*. *Ay* may also be immediately preceded by a pause. This pause, which is represented in the writing system by a comma, is optional in all cases.

Ay has two forms: a full form, /'ay/, written *ay* in conventional spelling, and a contracted form, /y/, written *y* in conventional spelling. The full form may occur in any context; the contracted form occurs as a variant of the full form if the preceding word, in its independent occurrences, ends in /'/, /h/, /n/, or /w/, and if this word is not followed by a pause. When the contracted form is used, it replaces a final /'/, /h/, or /n/, and either replaces or follows a final /w/. Thus, *bata* /ba'ta'/ 'child' plus *y* is /ba'tay/, *ama* /'amah/ 'father' plus *y* is /'amay/, *pinsan* /pinsan/ 'cousin' plus *y* is /pinsay/, and *ikaw* /'ikaw/ 'you' plus *y* is either /'ikay/ or /'ikaw/. The contracted form of *ay* is more commonly used than the full form in the case of words that, in their independent occurrences, end in /' or /h/. In the case of words that end in /n/ in their independent occurrences, the contracted and full forms of *ay* are equally common if the word is of native Tagalog origin: thus, either *pinsan ay* or *pinsa'y*. If the word is a loan-word from English or Spanish, however, the full form is in most cases preferred: thus, *Helen ay*, rather than *Hele'y*, and *Juan ay*, rather than *Jua'y*. In the case of words that end in /w/ in their independent occurrences, the contracted and full forms are equally common in all cases. Whether or not the /w/ is retained in pronunciation, it is always retained in conventional writing: thus *ikaw'y* (never **ika'y*).

A sentence involving *ay* inversion does not differ in denotative meaning from the related sentence without inversion. There is usually, however, a difference in stylistic level, or level of usage, between the two sentences. *Ay* inversion is characteristic of formal style, and is more common in writing, lectures, sermons, etc., than it is in ordinary conversation. In the examples of *ay* inversion given below, the notation "(formal style)" is usually placed after the translations of the sentences. (But see (1.a.3), etc., following.

Some examples of *ay*-inversion constructions involving the placement of the sentence topic in initial position are:

Ang mga anak ay kayamanan ng mga magulang.
'Children are the parents' jewels.' (formal style)

(cf. Kayamanan ng mga magulang ang mga anak.
'Children are the parents' jewels.')

Kayo'y mabait na mabait.
'You are very kind.' (formal style)

(cf. Mabait na mabait kayo.
'You are very kind.')

Ang sulat ay tinanggap ko kahapon.
'I received the letter yesterday.' (formal style)

(cf. Tinanggap ko ang sulat kahapon.
'I received the letter yesterday.')

(a) The following features of constructions involving *ay* inversion of the topic may be noted:

(a.1) When the inverted topic is the second-person-singular pronoun, the form *ikaw* replaces the usual topic form *ka* (cf. §3.3). Thus:

Ikaw ay nakita nila roon.
'They saw you there.' (formal style)

(cf. Nakita ka nila roon.
'They saw you there.')

Similarly, *ikaw...ko* replaces the composite pronoun *kita* (which, as is noted in §3.3, is itself a replacement of the non-occurring sequence **ko ka*.) Thus:

Ikaw ay nakita ko roon.
'I saw you there.' (formal style)

(cf. Nakita kita roon.
'I saw you there.')

(a.2) In *ay* inversion the topic marker *ang* is optionally deletable before the limiters *bawa't* 'each' and *lahat* 'all' (cf. §3.22). Thus:

{ Ang bawa't }
{ Bawa't } bata'y may desk.
'Each child has a desk.' (formal style)

(cf. May desk ang bawa't bata.
'Each child has a desk.')

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Ang lahat} \\ \text{Lahat} \end{array} \right\}$ ng tao'y narito na.
 'All the people are here now.' (formal style)

(cf. Narito na ang lahat ng tao.
 'All the people are here now.')

(a.3) In the case of certain sentence types where nominal-clause predicates occur opposite nominalized-verbal topics (cf. §3.24) or opposite nominalized pseudo-verb or pseudo-verb-phrase topics (cf. §4.21), either *ay* inversion or contrastive inversion of topic and predicate is obligatory. An example of *ay* inversion involving a nominalized-verbal topic is:

Ang narinig ko'y darating siya bukas.
 'What I heard is that he's coming tomorrow.'

Examples involving nominalized pseudo-verb and pseudo-verb-phrase topics are:

Ang $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{dapat} \\ \text{nais ko} \end{array} \right\}$ ay tumira sila dito.
 'What $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{is fitting} \\ \text{I wish} \end{array} \right\}$ is for them to live here.'

(There is no **Darating siya bukas ang narinig ko*, **Tumira sila dito ang dapat*, or **Tumira sila dito ang nais ko*.)

The usual formal connotation of *ay* inversion does not necessarily obtain in such cases. Similarly, when contrastive inversion – cf. (2), below – is used in such cases, the usual contrastive connotation of the construction may be absent.

(a.4) As is noted in §4.12, an *ang*-phrase topic is normally replaced by a *ng* phrase in sentences with predicate adjectives that include the intensive prefix *napaka-*: thus, *Napakatamad ng bata* 'The child is very lazy,' not **Napakatamad ang bata*. If, however, the order of predicate and topic is reversed in *ay* inversion, the topic is expressed by an *ang* phrase: thus,

Ang bata'y napakatamad.
 'The child is very lazy.' (formal style)

(a.5) In a construction involving a pseudo-verb or pseudo-verb phrase plus a linker plus a clause (cf. §4.21), the inverted topic of the clause may occur either before or after the pseudo-verb or pseudo-verb phrase. Examples are:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Sina Ben ay} \\ \text{Kailangang} \\ \text{Kailangan kong} \end{array} \right\} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{kailangang} \\ \text{kailangan kong} \end{array} \right\}$ magtanim ng gulay.
 $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Kailangang} \\ \text{Kailangan kong} \end{array} \right\}$ sina Ben ay
 $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'It is necessary for} \\ \text{'I need} \end{array} \right\}$ Ben and the others to plant vegetables.' (formal style)

(cf. { Kailangang
Kailangan kong } magtanim ng gulay sina Ben.
{ 'It is necessary for'
'I need } Ben and the others to plant vegetables.)

(b) Most movable adverbs (cf. §§6.7 through 6.11), and any adverbial clause (§§6.14 through 6.18), may occur in initial position in *ay* inversion. Some examples involving movable adverbs are:

{ Noong Lunes
Doon
Dahil doon } ay ipinagbili niya ang kalabaw niya.
'He sold his carabaw { last Monday.'
there.'
because of that.' } (formal style)
(cf. Ipinagbili niya ang kalabaw niya { noong Lunes.
doon.
dahil doon. }
'He sold his carabaw { last Monday.'
there.'
because of that.' }

The movable adverbs that do not undergo *ay* inversion are: frequency adverbs formed with *beses* or *ulit* (cf. §6.8, subsection (1.a)); *palagi* 'always' (cf. §6.8, subsection (1.g)), point-time adverbs that consist of *nang* and the name of a part of the day (e.g., *umaga* 'morning', *gabi* 'night' – cf. §6.8, subsection (1.a)); referential adverbs (cf. §6.11, subsection (1.c)); and manner adverbs (cf. §6.10). The following, for example, do not occur.

*Dalawang { beses
ulit } ay pumarito siya.

(cf. Pumarito siya nang dalawang { beses.
ulit. }
'He came here twice.')

*Palagi ay namimili sila dito.
(cf. Namimili sila ditong palagi.)
'They always go shopping here.')

*Gabi ay aalis siya.
(cf. Aalis siya nang gabi.
'He will leave at night.')

*Tungkol sa giyera ay nagkwento siya.
(cf. Nagkwento siya tungkol sa giyera.
'He told a story about the war.')

*Paismid ay nilunok niya ang pildoras.
(cf. Nilunok niya ang pildoras nang paismid.
'He swallowed the pill with a grimace.')

As is noted in §6.7, adverbs that in non-initial position are introduced by the linker *na/ng* or the marker *nang* lose this introductory element when they occur initially, thus:

Madalas ay pumupunta siya dito.
'He comes here often.' (formal style)

(cf. Pumupunta siya $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(dito nang)} \\ \text{ditong} \end{array} \right\}$ madalas.
'He comes here often.')

(This loss of introductory *na/ng* or *nang* before inverted adverbials obtains in the case of all inversion constructions, and is not commented on separately in subsections (2), (3), and (4) below.)

Examples of *ay* inversion of adverbial clauses are:

Pagdating ko sa Pilipinas ay nagpunta ako sa Baguio.
'I went to Baguio on arriving in the Philippines.'
(formal style)

(cf. Nagpunta ako sa Baguio pagdating ko sa Pilipinas.
'I went to Baguio on arriving in the Philippines.')

Kung mabuti ang ani'y makakabili ako ng traktor.
'I'll be able to buy a tractor if the harvest is good.'
(formal style)

(cf. Makakabili ako ng traktor kung mabuti ang ani.
'I'll be able to buy a tractor if the harvest is good.')

(In addition to movable adverbs and adverbial clauses, Tagalog has certain adverbs that occur only in sentence-initial or clause-initial position, and that must be followed either by *ay* or by pause (cf. §6.12, subsection (2)). The usual formal connotation of *ay*-inversion constructions does not necessarily obtain in cases where *ay* follows one of these adverbs. An example is:

Alalaong бага'y hindi niya magagawa iyon.
'In other words, he can't do it.'

(There is no **Hindi niya magagawa iyon alalaong бага.*)

It is possible, although not very usual, for a single sentence or clause to show *ay* inversion of both an adverb and a topic. In this case, the sentence or clause includes two inversion markers. The adverb and the topic may occur in either order: e.g.,

Kami'y bukas ay pupunta.
Bukas ay kami'y pupunta.
'We'll go tomorrow.' (formal style)

(cf. Pupunta kami bukas.
'We'll go tomorrow.')

(c.3) Examples of inverted indefinite nominal clauses serving as (a) object and (b) directional complements are:

(a) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Kahit (na)} \\ \text{Anuman} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ano} \\ \text{anuman} \end{array} \right\} \text{ ang hingin mo sa kaniya ay bibigyan ka niya.}$
 'He'll give you whatever you ask him for.' (formal style)

(cf. $\text{Bibigyan ka niya} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kahit (na)} \\ \text{anuman} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ano} \\ \text{anuman} \end{array} \right\} \text{ ang hingin mo sa kaniya.}$)

(b) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Kahit (na) saan(man)} \\ \text{Saanman} \end{array} \right\} \text{ tayo pumunta ay pupunta siya.}$
 'He'll go wherever we go.' (formal style)

(cf. $\text{Pupunta siya} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kahit (na) saan} \\ \text{saanman} \end{array} \right\} \text{ tayo pumunta.}$
 'He'll go wherever we go.')

(For a discussion of the deletion of *ng* before an indefinite-object-complement clause, cf. §7.18.)

Inversion is obligatory in the case of indefinite nominal clauses serving as actor complements. Thus, for example:

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Kahit (na)} \\ \text{Sinuman} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sino} \\ \text{sinuman} \end{array} \right\} \text{ ang pumasok dito ay makikita iyan.}$
 'Anyone who enters this place can see that.'

but not:

* $\text{Makikita iyan ng} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kahit (na) sino} \\ \text{sinuman} \end{array} \right\} \text{ ang pumasok dito.}$

(c.4) As is noted in §7.16, *ay* inversion is obligatory where the nominal in an object complement introduced by *ni* is a deictic pronoun. Thus, for example:

$\text{Ni ito ay hindi umiinom si Rosa.}$
 'Rosa does not drink even this.'

but not:

* $\text{Hindi umiinom si Rosa ni ito.}$

Ay inversion is optional in the case of other object–complement phrases introduced by *ni* and of coordinate object–complement phrases introduced by *ni . . . ni*. Some examples are:

Ni { lapis
 } ay hindi nagdala si Rosa.
 { anuman }

'Rosa did not bring { even a pencil.'
 } (formal style)
 { anything at all. }

(cf. Hindi nagdala si Rosa ni { lapis.
 })
 { anuman. }

Ni damit ni sapatos ay hindi nakakabili ang taong iyon.
'That man is able to buy neither clothes nor shoes.' (formal style)

(cf. Hindi nakakabili ni damit ni sapatos ang taong iyon.)

Ay inversion is obligatory in the case of actor complements introduced by *ni* or *ni . . . ni*. (Cf. §7.16 for a discussion of the replacement of *ng* forms by *ang* forms after *ni*.) Examples are:

Ni { ang Tatay
 } ay hindi mabubuhat ito.
 { si Pedro
 }
 { iyon
 }
 { siya }

'Not even { Father
 } can lift this.'
 { Pedro
 }
 { that one
 }
 { he }

(but not, for example:

*Hindi mabubuhat ni ang Tatay ito.)

Ni si Juan ni si Ben ay hindi bibilhin iyan.
'Neither Juan nor Ben will buy that.'

(d) Examples of *ay* inversion of phrases introduced by *ni* or *ni . . . ni* and the negator *wala* are:

Ni { lapis
 } ay wala siya.
 { lapis ni papel }

'He doesn't have { even a pencil.'
 } (formal style)
 { either pencil or paper. }

(cf. Wala siya ni $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{lapis.} \\ \text{lapis ni papel.} \end{array} \right\} \text{)}$

(Cf. §7.16 for a discussion of the replacement by *ni* of the linker *-ng* that usually occurs after *wala*.)

As in the case of *ay* inversion of verb complements (cf. (c), above), *ay* may be replaced by a pause with no resultant change in meaning.

(2) **CONTRASTIVE INVERSION.** Contrastive inversion involves the shifting to initial position of the topic or of an adverbial. In contrastive inversion, the initial topic or adverbial (plus, possibly, one or more enclitic particles – cf. §6.6) constitutes a separate intonation phrase, and is followed by a pause, which is represented in conventional writing by a comma. In statements involving contrastive inversion, the intonation pattern of the initial phrase is one of the following: /21/, /23→/, /23̄/ (respectively, pattern I.3 (§1.24), pattern II.3 (§1.25), and pattern IV.2 (§1.27)); the use of the last of these patterns emphasizes the contrastive significance of the sentence – see below. In questions involving contrastive inversion, the initial phrase takes the intonation pattern /31/ (pattern I.1, §1.24). The non-initial intonation phrase of a contrastive inversion construction takes any intonation pattern appropriate to the sentence type.

In statements with contrastive inversion, both the element before the pause (i.e., the topic or the adverb) and the element after the pause (i.e., the predicate plus any other sentence component(s) that may accompany it) normally carry contrastive meaning. Each element is contrasted – at least implicitly – with a structurally similar element in a second sentence. For example, the sentence:

Kami, magpapahinga.
'We will rest.'

implies a contrast between *kami* and some other topic, and between *magpapahinga* and some other predicate. A possible context in which the sentence might occur is:

Kami, magpapahinga. Kayo, magtatrabaho.
'We will rest. You will work.'

(cf. Magpapahinga kami. Magtatrabaho kayo.
'We will rest. You will work.')

Similarly the sentence:

Bukas, magpapahinga kami.
'Tomorrow, we'll rest.'

implies a contrast between *bukas* and some other time adverb, and between *magpapahinga kami* and some other predicate–plus–topic structure. A possible context in which the sentence might occur is:

Bukas, magpapahinga kami. Ngayon, dapat kaming magtrabaho.
'Tomorrow, we'll rest. Today, we've got to work.'

(cf. Magpapahinga kami bukas. Dapat kaming magtrabaho ngayon.
'We'll rest tomorrow. We've got to work today.')

As the translations of the above sentences show, the English equivalents of sentences with contrastive inversion normally involve contrastive intonation (indicated in writing by underscoring or italicizing the words that receive special pitch prominence). In cases where the initial element of the Tagalog sentence is an adverbial, the English equivalent may also involve inversion.

(In certain cases the contrastive meaning of a sentence with an initial adverbial followed by pause may not be clear unless a specifically contrastive non-final intonation pattern – the pattern /23̄4/ – is used for the adverbial. This is particularly true in cases where the initial adverbial is a clause. Thus the sentence:

Kung mabuti ang panahon, magpipiknik kami.
'If the weather is good, we'll have a picnic.'

need not imply a contrast if some non-contrastive non-final intonation pattern is used for the initial clause.)

In questions with contrastive inversion, only the prepausal element normally carries contrastive meaning. For example, a sentence like:

Si Juan, kumusta?
{ '(And) how is Juan?' }
{ '(And) Juan, how is he?' }

(cf. Kumusta si Juan?
'How is Juan?')

would be likely to occur in a situation where one had already asked after the health of some other person(s). Similarly, a sentence like:

Kung Mayo, mainit ba?
{ '(And) is it hot in May?' }
{ '(And) in May, is it hot?' }

(cf. Mainit ba kung Mayo?
'Is it hot in May?')

would be likely to occur in a situation where one had already been told that it was hot at some other time of year.

A single sentence or clause cannot have contrastive inversion of both the topic and an adverbial. Contrastive inversion may, however, be combined with *ay* inversion (cf. (1), above), as in the following examples:

Bukas, kami'y magpapahinga.
'Tomorrow, we'll rest.' (formal style)

Kami, bukas ay magpapahinga.
'We will rest tomorrow.' (formal style)

Some further examples of contrastive–inversion constructions with initial topics are:

Ang asawa ni Jose, mayamang mayaman.
{ 'Jose's wife' }
{ 'Jose's wife' } is very rich.'

(cf. Mayamang mayaman ang asawa ni Jose.
'Jose's wife is very rich.')

Ang panganay, opisyal sa hukbo.

'The eldest (child) is an { officer in the army.'
 { officer in the army.'

(cf. Opisyal sa hukbo ang panganay.

'The eldest (child) is an officer in the army.')

(As the translations of these sentences show, there may be ambiguity about which element within an inverted topic or predicate carries contrastive meaning. Thus in the first sentence the topic *ang asawa ni Jose* 'Jose's wife' may contrast with such phrases as *ang asawa ni Juan* 'Juan's wife' or *ang ina ni Jose* 'Jose's mother,' as well as with any other word or phrase that designates a person: e.g., *si Helen* 'Helen.' Similarly, in the second sentence the predicate *opisyal sa hukbo* 'an officer in the army' may contrast with such phrases as *praybet sa hukbo* 'a private in the army' or *opisyal sa hukbong-dagat* 'an officer in the navy,' as well as with any other word or phrase that designates an occupation: e.g., *abogado* 'a lawyer.' The contrastive-inversion construction indicates that there is contrast between some element within each intonation phrase and a structurally similar element of another sentence, either expressed or implied, but it does not necessarily indicate exactly which element carries contrastive meaning.)

With one exception, all of the features of *ay* inversion of the topic discussed in subsection (1.a), above, obtain equally in the case of contrastive inversion of the topic. Those features common to both types of inversion constructions are not given separate treatment in the present subsection. The exception is a construction involving inversion of the topic of a clause following a pseudo-verb or pseudo-verb phrase plus a linker (cf. §4.21). As is noted in subsection (1.a.5), the inverted topic in the *ay*-inversion construction may either precede or follow the pseudo-verb or pseudo-verb phrase. In contrastive inversion, on the other hand, the topic always precedes the pseudo-verb. Thus:

Sina Ben, { kailangang
 { kailangan kong } magtanim ng gulay.

{ 'It is necessary for
 { 'I need } Ben and the others to plant vegetables.'

but not:

{ *Kailangang
 { Kailangan kong } sina Ben, magtanim ng gulay.

Some further examples of contrastive-inversion constructions with initial adverbials are:

Para sa iyo, binili ko ito.

'For you, I bought this.'

(cf. Binili ko ito para sa iyo.

'I bought this for you.')

Bago ka kumain, kailangan mong hugasan ang kamay mo.

'Before you eat, you should wash your hands.'

(cf. Kailangan mong hugasan ang kamay mo bago ka kumain.

'You should wash your hands before you eat.')

(The same types of adverbials occur initially in contrastive inversion as in *ay* inversion – cf. (1), above.)

(3) **EMPHATIC INVERSION** Emphatic inversion involves the shifting to initial position of an adverbial or a directional complement (cf. §2.13). Emphatic inversion differs formally from contrastive inversion (cf. (2), above) in that the elements whose basic–sentence order is reversed are not separated from one another by pause. From the point of view of meaning, emphatic inversion differs from contrastive inversion in that only the initial element is given special semantic prominence. In some cases the initial element is contrasted, either implicitly or explicitly, with some structurally similar element in another sentence; in other cases the initial element is merely emphasized, without any implication of contrast. Thus a sentence like:

Dito magtatayo ng bahay si Juan.
'It's here that Juan will build a house.'

(cf. Magtatayo ng bahay si Juan dito.
'Juan will build a house here.')

may occur either in a context such as:

Dito magtatayo ng bahay si Juan – hindi doon.
'It's here that Juan will build a house – not there.'

or in a context such as:

Dito magtatayo ng bahay si Juan. Maganda ang tanawin, ano?
'It's here that Juan will build a house. The view is beautiful, isn't it?'

In emphatic inversion enclitic pronouns (cf. §3.29) follow the initial adverb or complement: e.g.,

Bukas ng gabi siya aalis.
'It's tomorrow night that he's leaving.'

(cf. Aalis siya bukas ng gabi.
'He's leaving tomorrow night.')

Enclitic particles (cf. §6.6) may also follow the initial adverbial or complement, but may, if this initial structure has two or more components, optionally follow one of the non-final components as well. Thus:

Bukas $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ng alas otso ng gabi daw} \\ \text{ng alas otso daw ng gabi} \\ \text{daw ng alas otso ng gabi} \end{array} \right\}$ siya aalis.
'It's tomorrow night at eight that he's leaving, they say.'

(cf. Aalis daw siya bukas ng gabi ng alas otso.
'He's leaving tomorrow night at eight, they say.')

As the translations of the above sentences show, sentences with emphatic inversion are often equivalent to English sentences with 'It's . . . that' (or 'It was . . . that'). They may also be equivalent to English sentences in which special pitch prominence is given to the word or phrase that translates the initial element (the adverbial or complement) of the Tagalog structure. Thus, *Dito magtatayo ng bahay si Juan* may be translated 'Juan will build a house here' as well as 'It's here that Juan will build a house.'

There are certain movable adverbs that do not occur initially in *ay*-inversion or contrastive–inversion constructions (cf. subsection (1.b) above) but that do occur initially in emphatic–inversion constructions. These are point–time adverbs that, in non-inverted position, consist of *nang* plus the name of a part of the day. (*Nang* is, as usual, absent from the inverted construction.) Thus, for example:

Umaga { siya aalis. }
 { aalis si Juan. }

{ 'He }
{ 'Juan } will leave in the morning.'

(cf. Aalis { siya } nang umaga.
 { si Juan }

{ 'He }
{ 'Juan } will leave in the morning.'

(The other movable adverbs mentioned in (1.b) above as failing to occur in *ay* inversion also fail to occur in emphatic inversion. They occur, however, in non-emphatic inversion – cf. subsection (4) below.)

Some further examples of emphatic–inversion constructions with initial adverbials are:

Dahil sa iyo ako nahuli.
'It was because of you that I was late.'

(cf. Nahuli ako dahil sa iyo.
'I was late because of you.')

Para kay Pedro ba binili ng Nanay ang laruan?
'Was it for Pedro that Mother bought the toy?'

(cf. Binili ba ng Nanay ang laruan para kay Pedro?
'Did Mother buy the toy for Pedro?')

Nang nakita ko siya ko napaghulo kung ano ang nangyari.
'It's when I saw him that I realized what had happened.'

(cf. Napaghulo ko kung ano ang nangyari nang nakita ko siya.
'I realized what had happened when I saw him.')

Some examples of emphatic–inversion constructions with initial directional complements are:

Sa kantong ito umaalis ang bus.
'It's this corner that the bus leaves from.'

(cf. Umaalis ang bus sa kantong ito.
'The bus leaves from this corner.')

Kay Maria siya sumulat.
'It's Maria that he wrote to.'

(cf. Sumulat siya kay Maria.
'He wrote to Maria.')

Sa akin nila ibinigay ang premyo.
'It's me they gave the prize to.'

(cf. Ibinigay nila ang premyo sa akin.
'They gave the prize to me.')

Emphatic inversion may be combined with *ay* inversion or contrastive inversion in a single sentence or clause, as in the following examples:

Kami'y dito kakain.
'It's here that we'll eat.' (formal style)

Kami, dito kakain.
'It's here that we'll eat.'

(cf. Kakain kami dito.
'We'll eat here.')

(4) **NON-EMPHATIC INVERSION.** Non-emphatic inversion involves the shifting of an adverbial to initial position, and the insertion of the linker *na/ng* immediately before the first word of the predicate. The linker is optional where the initial element is a frequency adverb formed with *beses* or *ulit* (cf. §6.8, subsection (1.g)), obligatory in all other cases. (Any enclitic pronouns or particles that constitute an immediate part of the predicate or of the sentence as a whole – cf. §3.29 and 6.6 – occur between the initial adverbial and the linker. For a description of the linker *na/ng* cf. §3.11.) Only a few types of adverbials occur in non-emphatic inversion. These include manner adverbs (cf. §6.10) and a limited set of time adverbs (cf. §6.8). (The time adverbs that occur in non-emphatic inversion are those that fail to occur in inversion constructions of other types – cf. subsections (1.b) and (3), above.)

Non-emphatic inversion has no effect upon the meaning of a sentence. Some examples are:

Mabilis na lumalapit ang bagyo sa Maynila.
'The storm is rapidly approaching Manila.'

(cf. Lumalapit ang bagyo sa Maynila nang mabilis.
'The storm is rapidly approaching Manila.')

Bigla nilang pinasok ang silid.
'They suddenly entered the room'

(cf. Pinasok nila ang silid nang bigla.
'They suddenly entered the room.')

Parang langgam daw siyang nagtatrabaho.
'They say he works like an ant.'

(cf. Nagtatrabaho daw siyang parang langgam.
'They say he works like an ant.')

(cf. Hindi pumunta si Juan doon.
'Juan didn't go there.')

Hindi palaging nagsusumbrero si Juan.
'Juan doesn't always wear a hat.'
(i.e., 'Juan sometimes wears a hat – but not always.')

vs.:

Palaging hindi nagsusumbrero si Juan.
'Juan always goes hatless.'
(Literally, 'Juan always doesn't wear a hat.')

(cf. Hindi nagsusumbrero si Juang palagi.
'Juan $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{doesn't always} \\ \text{always doesn't} \end{array} \right\}$ wear a hat.')

Hindi never occurs initially in a construction involving *ay* inversion or contrastive inversion.

§7.3. Questions: introduction.

Tagalog questions may be divided into five classes, according to the types of answers they normally elicit. These five classes are: YES-NO QUESTIONS; ALTERNATIVE QUESTIONS; CONFIRMATION QUESTIONS; INFORMATION QUESTIONS; and PLEASE-REPEAT QUESTIONS. A YES-NO QUESTION is a question to which the expected answer is some equivalent of 'yes' or 'no': e.g.,

Pupunta ka ba?
'Are you going?'

(Expected answers: $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{Oo.} & \text{'Yes.'} \\ \text{Hindi.} & \text{'No.'} \end{array} \right\}$)

An ALTERNATIVE QUESTION is a question to which the expected answer is one of two or more alternatives given in the question itself: e.g.,

Pupunta ka ba, o mamamalagi rito?
'Are you going, or staying here?'

(Expected answers: $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{Pupunta ako.} & \text{'I'm going.'} \\ \text{Mamamalagi ako rito.} & \text{'I'm staying here.'} \end{array} \right\}$)

A CONFIRMATION QUESTION is one to which the expected answer is assent to a proposition made by the questioner: e.g.,

Pupunta ka, hindi ba?
'You're going, aren't you?'
(Expected answer: Oo. 'Yes.')

An **INFORMATION QUESTION** is one to which the expected answer is information that falls within a semantic (and, to some extent, structural) category indicated by the questioner: e.g.,

Sino ang pupunta?
 'Who's going?'
 (Expected answers: { Ikaw. 'You.'
 Si Juan. 'Juan.'
 etc. })

A **PLEASE-REPEAT QUESTION** is one to which the expected answer is a complete or partial repetition of something already said by the person addressed: e.g.,

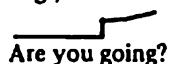
Pupunta si Juan.
 (Previous utterance: 'Juan is going.')

Sino 'kamo ang pupunta?
 'Who did you say is going?'
 (Expected answer: Si Juan. 'Juan.')

These five classes of questions are presented below as follows: yes-no questions in §7.4; alternative questions in §7.5; confirmation questions in §7.6; information questions in §§7.7 through 7.11; and please-repeat questions in §7.12.

§7.4. Yes-no questions.

In English, yes-no questions are marked by a rising intonation pattern, by interrogative word order (which consists in placing part of the predicate verb phrase before the subject), or, most often, by both: e.g.,


 Are you going?

In Tagalog too, yes-no questions are marked by characteristic rising intonation patterns (cf. §§1.24, 1.26, and 1.27, intonation patterns I.3, III.3, and IV.4), but there is no special interrogative word order. Tagalog does, however, have a second way of marking yes-no questions: namely, the inclusion in the question of the enclitic particle *ba*, a word whose "meaning" is precisely this interrogative marking of a sentence in which it occurs. (The uses of *ba* are summarized in §6.4, subsection (g); the position of *ba* in relation to other sentence elements is discussed in §§6.2 and 6.6.)

Ba is optional in yes-no questions. Provided that the appropriate intonation is used, a yes-no question is understood as such whether or not it includes *ba*. But in spite of its optionalness, *ba* actually does occur in yes-no questions more often than not, especially when the question is a long one. (In a long question, speakers evidently choose not to defer too long some indication that the question is in fact a question. *Ba*, being an enclitic, occurs early in a sentence, while interrogative intonation in some cases becomes unambiguous only in the last two syllables of a sentence.)

Any Tagalog statement may be converted into a yes-no question through the use of interrogative intonation (reflected in conventional orthography by a question mark), and, optionally, the enclitic particle *ba*. A few examples are:

Statement	Question
Mabait si Pilar.	Mabait (ba) si Pilar?
'Pilar is kind.'	'Is Pilar kind?'

Statement	Question
May tubig sa baso. 'There's water in the glass.'	May tubig (ba) sa baso? 'Is there water in the glass?'
Bumili ng karne ang Nanay. 'Mother bought some meat.'	Bumili (ba) ng karne ang Nanay? 'Did Mother buy some meat?'

(*Baga* /*bagah*/ occurs as an alternant of *ba* in some dialect areas, but is not common in educated Manila Tagalog.)

Most yes–no questions are answerable either by *oo* /'o·'oh/ 'yes' (or its polite variants, *opo* /'o·'po'/ and *oho* /'o·'ho'/) or *hindi* /'hindi/' 'no'. Yes–no questions whose predicate is a possessive, existential, or indefinite *may(roon)* phrase (cf. §§4.22 and 4.23), however, are normally answered by *mayroon* 'yes' or *wala* 'no.' Thus:

Sa iyo ba ang bola? 'Does the ball belong to you?'	{ Oo. Hindi.	{ 'Yes.' 'No.'
---	-----------------	-------------------

but

{ May bola ka ba? Mayroon ka bang bola? 'Do you have a ball?' }	{ Mayroon. Wala.	{ 'Yes.' 'No.'
{ May bola ba sa mesa? Mayroon bang bola sa mesa? 'Is there a ball on the table?' }		
{ May paglalaruan ba? Mayroon bang paglalaruan? }		

§7.5. Alternative questions.

The structure of Tagalog alternative questions is quite similar to that of English alternative questions. In each language, most alternative questions are analyzable into two parts, the first of which is a normal yes–no question (including normal interrogative intonation) and the second of which begins with an ALTERNATIVE CONJUNCTION ('or' in English, *o* 'or' in Tagalog) and has statement intonation. Some examples of alternative questions are:

Pilipino (ba) si Bob, o Amerikano?
'Is Bob a Filipino, or an American?'

Gusto (ba) ninyo ng mangga, o papaya?
'Do you want a mango, or a papaya?'

Magpapasyal (ba) tayo sa Dewey, o sa Luneta?
'Shall we take a walk on Dewey, or in the Luneta?'

If more than two alternatives are given – e.g.,

Gusto (ba) ninyo ng mangga, papaya, o mansanas? –
'Do you want a mango, a papaya, or an apple?'

the interrogative intonation pattern is repeated for each alternative but the last, which retains the statement intonation.

O, like English 'or,' is also used in coordinate constructions. This use of *o* is discussed in §7.19, subsection (2).

§7.6. Confirmation questions.

In English, confirmation questions (sometimes called TAG QUESTIONS) differ in form according to whether the proposition to be confirmed is affirmative or negative, according to the tense or auxiliary of the verb in the proposition to be confirmed, and according to the antecedent of the pronoun in the confirmation question. Thus:

'John worked, didn't he?'
 'John didn't work, did he?'
 'John's working, isn't he?'
 'You worked, didn't you?'

In Tagalog, the form of confirmation questions does not vary in these ways. Thus:

Nagtrabaho si John, ano?
 'John worked, didn't he?'

 Hindi nagtrabaho si John, ano?
 'John didn't work, did he?'

 Nagtatrabaho si John, ano?
 'John's working, isn't he?'

 Nagtrabaho ka, ano?
 'You worked, didn't you?'

Tagalog does, however, have a number of different formulas that are used in confirmation questions. These formulas are: *ano*, *dili nga ba't*, *diyata't*, *diyata*, *hindi ba't*, and *hindi ba*. The formulas may be classified as follows, according to whether they follow the proposition to be confirmed, precede it, or may occur in either position:

after the proposition:	<i>ano</i>
before the proposition:	<i>dili nga ba't</i> , <i>diyata't</i> , <i>diyata</i> , <i>hindi ba't</i>
either position:	<i>hindi ba</i>

Confirmation questions with *ano* (see examples above) consist of two intonation phrases. The proposition to be confirmed takes a rising intonation pattern (pattern 1.3, §1.24), while *ano* itself takes a low level intonation pattern (pattern 1.5, §1.24).

Diyata and the three initial confirmation-question formulas ending in 't (which is a contraction of *at*) are used in what may be called strong confirmation questions. *Diyata't*, *diyata*, and, for some speakers, *dili nga ba't*, are used to introduce propositions of whose truth the speaker has just had evidence: e.g.,

{	Dili nga ba't	}	magkakilala kayo?
	Diyata't		
	Diyata,		
	'Then you know one another?'		

Hindi ba't is used to introduce propositions whose truth is assumed to be obvious:

Hindi ba't malamig sa Alaska?
 'Isn't it obvious that it's cold in Alaska?'

Some speakers also use *dili nga ba't* in this sense.

Strong confirmation questions with *diyata* have the intonation of two juxtaposed yes–no questions (cf. §7.4), with the first rise at the end of *diyata*, the second at the end of the sentence. Strong confirmation questions that include ' have the intonation of a single yes–no question.

Hindi ba, which may occur either before or after the proposition to be confirmed, is similar in meaning to *ano*. Examples of confirmation questions with *hindi ba* are:

{ Ikaw ang bunso, hindi ba? }
 { Hindi ba, ikaw ang bunso? }
 'You're the youngest child, aren't you?'

{ Titser na si Maria, hindi ba? }
 { Hindi ba, titser na si Maria? }
 'Maria's a teacher now, isn't she?'

Some speakers avoid using *hindi ba* with proposition negated by *hindi*, always using *ano* under these circumstances. Other speakers, however, use such sentences as:

{ Hindi pa titser si Maria, hindi ba? }
 { Hindi ba, hindi pa titser si Maria? }
 'Maria isn't a teacher yet, is she?'

as well as:

Hindi pa titser si Maria, ano?

Hindi ba always takes a rising intonation pattern. When it precedes the proposition to be confirmed, this proposition also takes a rising intonation pattern. Where *hindi ba* follows the proposition to be confirmed, the proposition may either take a rising intonation pattern or retain its normal statement intonation.

In some cases, confirmation questions with initial *hindi ba* have the same form as negative yes–no questions, only intonation clarifying the intended meaning. Thus,

Hindi ba umulan kahapon?

may mean either 'It rained yesterday, didn't it?' (confirmation question) or 'Didn't it rain yesterday?' (yes–no question). In other cases, word order distinguishes the confirmation questions from the yes–no questions. Thus:

Hindi ba, titser na si Maria?
 'Maria's a teacher now, isn't she?'
 Hindi na ba titser si Maria?
 'Isn't Maria a teacher now?'

(For a discussion of certain peculiarities in the use of *oo* and *hindi* in answering negative confirmation questions, cf. §7.13.)

§7.7. Information questions: introduction.

As was stated in §7.3, an information question is a question to which the expected answer is information that falls within a semantic – and, to some extent, structural – category indicated by the questioner. In Tagalog as in English, the category within which the expected information falls is indicated by the use of one of a relatively small group of INTERROGATIVE WORDS: e.g., *kailan* 'when', *nassan* 'where', *sino* 'who.' The answer to a *kailan* question, for example, is normally a time adverbial, the answer

to a *nasaan* question a locative adjectival, the answer to a *sino* question a nominal that represents a human being.

From the point of view of grammatical function, as well as that of meaning, the several interrogative words function as interrogative substitutes for the class of structures they normally elicit. Thus *kailan* has grammatical functions similar to those of such time expressions as *ngayon* 'today', *sa Lunes* 'next Monday', or *tuwing Sabado* 'every Saturday' (cf. §7.8), and may occur as:

- (1) a pseudo-predicate: e.g.,
Kailan ang miting?
'When is the meeting?'

(cf. { Ngayon
Sa lunes
Tuwing Sabado } ang miting.

'The meeting is { today.
next Monday.
every Saturday. })

- (2) an adverbial: e.g.,
Kailan siya mangingisda?
'When will he go fishing?'

(cf. { Ngayon
Sa Lunes
Tuwing Sabado } siya mangingisda.

'He will go fishing { today.
next Monday.
every Saturday. })

Tagalog interrogative words generally occur at or near the beginning of sentences. In this position they substitute for predicates or pseudo-predicates, as in the first example above, or for adverbs occurring initially in emphatic inversion constructions (cf. §7.2, subsection (3)), as in the second. Interrogative words occasionally occur in other sentence positions – e.g., non-emphatic adverb position:

Mangingisda siya kailan?
(cf. Mangingisda siya ngayon.)

Sentences with interrogative words in such positions are, however, at least as uncommon as their English equivalents: e.g., 'He'll go fishing when?' (The English sentence, with appropriate intonation, might be used as a response indicative of surprise. The Tagalog sentence would generally indicate only that the speaker had decided to ask a question after the sentence had begun.)

Any Tagalog interrogative word may be accompanied, optionally, by the interrogative enclitic particle *ba*. Thus:

Kailan (ba) siya mangingisda?

Regardless of the presence or absence of *ba*, information questions have their own characteristic intonation patterns (patterns I.1, II.1, and III.3, presented in §§1.24, 1.25, and 1.26 respectively), which differ from those of yes-no questions.

Just as most English interrogative words have partially similar phonemic shapes (i.e., most of them begin with /hw/, indicated in conventional English spelling by *wh*), so do most Tagalog interrogative words, all except *bakit* 'why' and *kumusta* 'how' having an /n/ in the last syllable. An alphabetical listing of the Tagalog interrogative words, with their phonemic shapes and frequent English equivalents, follows:

alin	/ˈalin/	'which'
ano	/ˈano/	'what'
bakit	/baˈkit/	'why'
kailan	/kaˈilan/	'when'
kanino	/kaniˈnoh/	'whose, who(m)'
kumusta	/kumustah/	'how (quality)'
gaano	/gaˈaːnoh/	'how much (quantity)'
ilan	/ˈilan/	'how many'
magkano	/magkaˈnoh/	'how much (price)'
nakanino	/naˈkaniˈnoh/	'with whom'
nasaan	/naˈsaːan/	'where (location)'
nino	/niˈnoh/	'whose, who(m)'
paano	/paˈaːnoh/	'how (manner)'
saan	/saˈan/	'where (direction)'
sino	/siˈnoh/	'who(m)'

Each of the Tagalog interrogative words except *bakit*, *kumusta*, and *nasaan* is pluralizable. The plural formations are used optionally if the questioner anticipates a plural answer. Except in the case of *nakanino*, the plurals are formed by duplicating the first two syllables of the singular (or the entire singular if it is disyllabic); the duplicating syllables precede the full form of the interrogative. The pluralized form of *nakanino*, which does not conform to these rules, is *nakani-kanino*. Inherent length, if any, is retained in the duplicating syllables. In the case of the second duplicating syllable of *kai-kailan* /kaˈiːkaˈilan/, length is added (cf. *kailan* /kaˈilan/). The following is a list of nonpluralized and pluralized interrogative words, with phonemic transcriptions of the latter:

alin	→	alin-alin /ˈalinˈalin/
ano	→	anu-ano /ˈanuˈano/
kailan	→	kai-kailan /kaˈiːkaˈilan/
kanino	→	kani-kanino /kaniˈkaniˈnoh/
gaano	→	gaa-gaano /gaˈaːgaˈaːnoh/
ilan	→	ilan-ilan /ˈilanˈilan/
magkano	→	magka-magkanoh /magkaˈmagkaˈnoh/
nakanino	→	nakani-kanino /naˈkaniˈkaniˈnoh/
nino	→	ninu-nino /niˈnuniˈnoh/
paano	→	paa-paano /paˈaːpaˈaːnoh/
saan	→	saan-saan /saˈansaˈan/
sino	→	sinu-sino /siˈnusiˈnoh/

The uses of the various interrogative words of Tagalog are presented in detail in the immediately following sections: uses of *ano* and *alin* in §7.8; uses of *sino*, *nino*, *kanino*, and *nakanino* in §7.9; uses of *nasaan*, *bakit*, *kailan*, and *saan* in §7.10; and uses of *kumusta*, *paano*, *gaano*, *ilan*, and *magkano* in §7.11.

§7.8. Uses of *ano* and *alin*.

Ano 'what' is the most versatile of all the Tagalog interrogative words. It may serve as the interrogative substitute for any of the following: an unmarked noun; an adjective; the base of a *ma*-adjective; a verb base.

As a substitute for an unmarked noun, *ano* frequently occurs as the predicate of an equational sentence: e.g.,

Ano iyon?
'What's that?'

Ano ba siya? Duktur?
'What's he? A doctor?'

Ano ba ang punong-lunsod ng Pilipinas?
'What's the capital of the Philippines?'

Ano ang binili mo?
'What did you buy?'

Like the nouns for which it substitutes, *ano* may be definitized by a preceding *ang* (cf. §7.17): e.g.,

Ang ano ba ang nasunog?
'What was the thing that got burned?'

Ano may also serve as the interrogative substitute for an unmarked noun within a variety of adjectival or adverbial phrases: e.g.,

Dahil sa ano siya namatay?
'What did he die (because) of?'

May ano ka ba?
'What have you got?'

Nasa ano na ba ang pusa?
'What's the cat on now?'

Nasa hilaga ng ano ang Estados Unidos?
'What's the United States north of?'

Para sa ano ba ito?
'What's this for?'

Sa ano mo ibabalot ang regalo?
'What will you wrap the gift in?'

Tungkol sa ano ang kuwento?
'What's the story about?'

Ano does not ordinarily replace a noun within a time adverb – *kallan* 'when', which replaces the entire phrase, being used instead; and certain of the above examples, although grammatical, are less usual than would be the appropriate interrogative substitutes for the entire adjectival or adverbial phrases (cf. §7.10). Thus *bakit* 'why' is more common than *dahil sa ano* 'because of what', *nasaan* 'where' than *nasa ano* 'on/in what', etc.

As an interrogative substitute for an adjective, *ano* may be used either as a predicate or as a modifier: e.g.,

Ano ba ang panahon ngayon?
'What's the weather (like) today?'

Anong panahon ang gusto mo?
'What (kind of) weather do you like?'

When *ano* is used as a modifier, it always precedes the linker *na/-ng* (cf. §3.11). Thus there is no: **panahong ano*.

As a modifier *ano* may serve as a substitute for a noun as well as an adjective. The noun that *ano* replaces may occur in one of several different modification or compound constructions, but the construction with *ano* is always of the shape *ano* + linker + head. Thus:

punong-mangga
'mango tree'

anong puno
'what tree'

bayan ng Maynila
'city of Manila'

anong bayan
'what city'

Abenida Rizal
'Rizal Avenue'

anong abenida
'what avenue'

Among the common modification constructions that include *ano* are: *anong klase* and *anong uri* 'what kind,' both of which may be followed either by a *ng* phrase or by the linker *-ng*, and *anong oras* 'what time,' which functions as the interrogative counterpart of an expression of clock time (cf. §4.4, subsection (6), and §6.8). Examples of these constructions are:

Ano bang $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{uri ng} \\ \text{uring} \\ \text{klaseng} \\ \text{klase ng} \end{array} \right\}$ selyo ang kailangan mo?
'What kind of stamp do you need?'

Anong oras siya dumating?
'What time did he arrive?'

As a substitute for the base of a *ma-* adjective, *ano* may occur in most of the same expanded constructions as the *ma-* adjective bases themselves: e.g., the intensified construction with *napaka-* (cf. §4.12) and the duplicated moderative construction (cf. §4.13). Thus:

Maano sila?
'What are they (like)?'

Napakaano nila?
'What are they very much (like)?'

Maanu-ano sila?
'What are they rather (like)?'

(Note that, while *anu-ano* is a plural formation – see §7.7 – *maanu-ano* is moderative. The plural of *maano* is *maano*, which follows the rules for the pluralization of *ma-* adjectives – cf. §4.11.)

As a substitute for a verb base, *ano* may occur with any verbal affix and in any one of the verbal aspects. The verbs formed with *ano* have the same focus (or the same range of focuses) as other verbs formed with the given affix (cf. Chapter 5). Some examples are:

AF:	Nag-ano } Umano }	ka ba?	'What did you do?'
	Nang-ano ka ba?		'What did you do?'
	Naano ka?		'What happened to you?'
OF:	Inano mo ba ito?		'What did you do with this?'
	Iniano mo ba ito?		'What did you do to this?'
DF:	Inanuhan mo ito?		'What did you do in/on this?'
BF:	Iniano } Ipinag-ano }	mo ba siya?	'What did you do for him?'
CF:	Ikinaano mo ba ito?		'What did this cause you to do?'
IF:	Ipinang-ano mo ito?		'What did you use this to do?'

In addition to its uses as an interrogative word, *ano* has several other uses. The use of *ano* in confirmation questions is discussed in §7.6, in exclamations in §4.24. *Ano* is also used as an indefinite substitute for a word the speaker cannot remember, equivalent to English 'thingamabob,' 'thingamajig,' 'whatsisname,' etc. For example:

Nasira ang ano sa kamera.
'The thingamabob on the camera is broken.'

Nasaan si ano?
'Where's whatsisname?'

(The word *kuwan* is an equally common indefinite substitute of this type.) Finally, *ano* occurs as an exclamation of mild surprise, mild annoyance, etc., similar in meaning to certain uses of 'well': e.g.,

Ano, kumusta?
'Well, hello there.'

Ano, hindi ka pa ba pumapasok?
'Well, haven't you gone to work yet?'

*MANG-ANO, like certain other *mang* verbs (cf. §5.16), carries an implication of destructive and/or multiple action.

Alin 'which' has somewhat the same distribution as the interrogative *ano*, occurring as a substitute for an unmarked noun or an adjective. *Alin* differs in meaning from *ano* in much the same way that English 'which' differs from 'what': namely, *alin* elicits a choice between specific alternatives, either stated or implied, while *ano* may elicit any response whatever that falls within the appropriate semantic and grammatical category. *Alin* has a somewhat narrower range of meanings than 'which,' however, since it is not normally used in reference to a human being, *sino* (cf. §7.9) being used instead in such sentences as:

Sino si Pedro, ang matangkad o ang pandak?
'Which is Pedro, the tall one or the short one?'

Sinong propesor ang magsasalita?
'Which professor will speak?'

Sino sa mga bata ang pinakamatanda?
'Which of the children is the oldest?'

Like *ano*, *alin* in predicate position may be preceded by *ang*. The use or non-use of *ang* before *alin* seems to involve no change of meaning, since *alin* itself expresses considerable definiteness. Thus:

{ Alin }
{ Ang alin } ang nasunog?
'Which the thing that burned?'

{ Alin }
{ Ang alin } ba ang punong-lunsod ng Pilipinas, ang Maynila o ang Quezon?
'Which is the capital of the Philippines, Manila or Quezon?'

When *alin* is used as a modifier, it always precedes the linker:

(Ang) aling bahay ang inyo?
'Which house is yours?'

Sa aling parti ka ba pupunta?
'Which party are you going to?'

Nasa aling kalye ang simbahan?
'Which street is the church on?'

As an alternative to an attributive construction of the shape *alin* + linker + head, there is a construction in which *alin* is followed by a *sa* phrase (usually explicitly pluralized) that expresses the group from which a choice is to be made. This construction is similar to the English 'which of' construction. For example:

Alin sa mga bahay ang inyo?
'Which of the houses is yours?'

Alin ba sa tatlong maleta ang pinakamabigat?
'Which of the three bags is the heaviest?'

This *sa*-phrase construction is the only one that occurs where the group from which a choice is to be made is expressed by a deictic. Thus:

Alin sa mga ito ang mas gusto nila?
'Which of these do they like best?'

but not:

*Aling ito ang mas gusto nila?

§7.9. Uses of *sino*, *nino*, *kanino*, and *nakanino*.

Sino 'who, whom' is the interrogative substitute for an *ang*-form personal pronoun, *si* plus a personal noun, or an *ang* phrase that represents a specific human being:

Sino ba ang	{	gumawa noon? tinanong niya?	}		{	Ikaw? Si Pedro? Ang abogado?	}
{'Who did that? 'Who(m) did he ask?'	}		{	You? Pedro? The lawyer?'	}		

As was mentioned in §7.8, *sino*, rather than *alin*, is used as the equivalent of an English 'which' that refers to a specific human being. In this use, *sino* may occur as a modifier, followed by the linker *na/-ng*:

Sinong babae ang pinakamaganda?
'Which woman is the prettiest?'

Nino, *kanino*, and *nakanino* are, respectively, the *na*, *sa* and *nasa* counterparts of *sino*. Some examples of their use are:

Libro nino ito?
'Whose book is this?'

Kanino ba ang librong ito?
'Who does this book belong to?'

Nakanino ang libro?
'Who's got the book?'

Nino is most frequently used as an interrogative substitute for a possessive *ng* phrase (cf. §3.20) as illustrated above. It also occurs in various adjectival and adverbial phrases: e.g.,

Nasa tabi nino si Rudy?
'Who is Rudy next to?'

Sa harap ba nino nakaupo si Rudy?
'Who is Rudy sitting in front of?'

Nino occasionally occurs as the interrogative substitute for a *ng*-phrase actor with a goal–focus verb:

Ginawa nino ang sapatos na iyon?
‘Who made those shoes?’

Far more often, however, where the actor is being questioned, it is expressed by *sino* in predicate position, a nominalized actor–focus verb (cf. §3.24) appearing in topic position:

Sino ang gumawa ng sapatos na iyon?
‘Who made those shoes?’

Kanino (which, for some speakers, has an alternative form *kangino* /kaŋiˈnoh/) is the interrogative substitute for any *sa* phrase expressing a specific human being. (Unlike the *sa*-form personal pronouns, the interrogative *kanino* replaces the entire *sa* phrase, including *sa* itself. But cf. §7.18 for the optional use of *sa* before an indefinite expression involving *kanino*.) Further examples of its uses are:

Kanino mo ibinigay ang pera?
‘Who did you give the money to?’

Para kanino ba ang regalo?
‘Who is the present for?’

Ayon daw kanino darating siya bukas?
‘According to whom is he coming tomorrow?’

Kanino is also used as a possessive modifier, with the linker *na/ng*. For example:

Kaninong sombrero iyan?
‘Whose hat is that?’

(The *kanino* and *nino* possessive–modifier constructions are equally common.)

Nakanino, like the *nasa* + human noun constructions for which it is a substitute (cf. §4.19), differs in meaning according to whether the topic with which it occurs represents an object or a person. In the former case, *nakanino* means ‘in whose possession’; in the latter case, it means ‘in whose care’ or ‘at whose place.’

Nakanino ba ang kotse?
‘Who’s got the car?’

Nakanino ba ang sanggol?
‘Who’s looking after the baby?’

§7.10. Uses of *nasaan*, *bakit*, *kailan*, and *saan*.

The four interrogative words to be presented in this section all function as substitutes for phrases: adjectival phrases in the case of *nasaan*; adverbial phrases in the case of *bakit* and *kailan*; and adjectival, adverbial, or directional–complement phrases in the case of *saan*. All of them except *kailan* alternate with phrases that include *ano* (cf. §7.8): *nasaan* with *nasa ano*; *bakit* with *dahil sa ano*; and *saan* with *sa ano*. The one–word interrogatives are more often used than the *ano* phrases.

Nasaan ‘where’ is the interrogative counterpart of an adjectival *nasa* phrase (cf. §4.19), except where the noun in the phrase represents a human being, in which case *nakanino* is used (cf. §7.9). Examples of

the use of *nasaan* are:

Nasaan ba ang makinilya ko?
'Where is my typewriter?'

Nasaan si Pedro?
'Where is Pedro?'

The phrase *saan naroon* occurs as a free alternant of *nasaan*:

Saan naroon si Pedro?
'Where is Pedro?'

Bakit 'why' is the interrogative counterpart of a *dahil sa* causative adverb (cf. §6.11, subsection (1.b)):

Bakit ba siya umuwi?
'Why did he go home?'

Bakit mo sinulat iyong liham?
'Why did you write that letter?'

Kailan 'when' is the interrogative counterpart of various time adverbs, including time adverbs used as pseudo-predicates (cf. §6.8):

Kailan ba ang tag-ulan?
'When is the rainy season?'

Kailan ka pupunta sa Maynila?
'When are you going to Manila?'

Mula kailan siya nagtrabaho?
'Since when has he been working?'

Hanggang kailan ka ba mamamalagi rito?
'Until when will you remain here?'

(Specific times of day may be questioned by the *ano* phrase *anong oras* 'what time' (cf. §7.8):

Anong oras na?
'What time is it now?')

Saan 'where' may substitute for various types of *sa* phrases: e.g., possessive *sa* phrases (cf. §4.22), directional complements (cf. §2.13), and locative adverbs (cf. §6.9). (*Kanino* is, however, used instead of *saan* as the interrogative counterpart of a *sa* phrase that refers to a human being – cf. §7.9). Some examples of the use of *saan* are:

Saan ba ang mesa?
'Where does the table belong?'

Taga-saan ka ba?
'Where are you from?'

Saan ka pupunta?
‘Where are you going?’

Buhat saan ang mga talabang ito?
‘Where are these oysters from?’

Saan ba nangingisda ang mga lalaki?
‘Where do the men go fishing?’

Both *saan* and *nasaan* may be used as modifiers, in which case they are linked to the rest of the modification construction by the linker *na/ng* (cf. §3.11):

Nasaan bang aparador ang mga panyolito?
‘Which dresser are the handkerchiefs in?’

Saan daw na lugar sila magbabakasyon?
‘Which place did they say they’ll vacation in?’

The *saan naroon* alternant of *nasaan*, however, is preferred to *nasaan* itself in modification constructions. Where *saan naroon* is used as a modifier, the linker *na/ng* follows *saan*, while *naroon* follows the word or construction that *saan naroon* modifies:

Saang maliit na kahon naroon ang singsing?
‘Which little box is the ring in?’

§7.11. Uses of *kumusta*, *paano*, *gaano*, *ilan*, and *magkano*.

Kumusta, *paano*, and *gaano* are all translatable by English ‘how’ (*gaano* sometimes by ‘how much’ as well – see below). *Kumusta*, which is derived from Spanish *cómo está* ‘how is’, is used as the interrogative substitute for an adjective of quality: e.g.,

Kumusta ba ang ani? Malaki?
‘How is the harvest? Big?’

It is also used as a conventional greeting (cf. §7.22), with or without a second–person pronoun:

Kumusta { ka }
 { kayo } ?
‘How are you?’

(Some speakers pronounce *kumusta* /kamustah/, but /kumustah/ is probably the standard pronunciation in Manila.)

Paano is the interrogative counterpart of a *pa-* adjective or adverb of manner (cf. §§4.7 and 6.10). Used adverbially, *paano* is optionally but preferably followed by the linker *na/ng*. As the first element of an adjective–plus–basic–form–complement construction (cf. §4.17), *paano* is optionally but preferably followed by the linker *-ng* or the particle *kung*. Some examples of uses of *paano* are:

Paano ang lakad niya?
‘How does he walk?’

Paano raw (na) nakarating ang mga Cruz?
‘How did they say the Cruzes came?’

Paano mo ba(ng) sinasabi iyon sa Inggles?
 'How do you say that in English?'

Paano $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{siya(ng)} \\ \text{siya kung} \end{array} \right\}$ magsayaw?
 'How does he dance?' ('in what manner?')

Gaano occurs as the interrogative counterpart of *ganire*, *ganito*, *ganyan*, and *ganoon* before a formation consisting of *ka-* plus an adjective base (cf. §4.18), in constructions that are equivalent to English 'how'—plus—adjective and 'how'—plus—adverb constructions: e.g., 'how big,' 'how far,' 'how fast.' As in the case of *ganire*, etc., some speakers use the linker *-ng* before the *ka-* formation while others do not. Some examples are:

Gaano(ng) kalayo ang ilog?
 'How far is the river?'

Gaano ba(ng) kahinog ang prutas?
 'How ripe is the fruit?'

Gaano(ng) kabilis tumakbo si Juan?
 'How fast does Juan run?'

Gaano(ng) kabuti siyang nagsalita ng Tagalog?
 'How well did he speak Tagalog?'

Duplicated plurals of adjective bases may occur in the *gaano(ng) ka-* construction, as in constructions with *ganire(ng) ka-*, etc.: e.g.,

Gaano(ng) katatanda ang mga anak mo?
 'How old are your children?'

Gaano ba(ng) kamamahal ang mga bulaklak na ito?
 'How expensive are these flowers?'

Gaano is also used as an interrogative quantifier, equivalent to English 'how much.' In this use it may occur as predicate opposite a mass—noun topic or referring to an implied mass noun, or as a modifier of a mass noun. (Cf. §3.9 for a discussion of the distinction between mass and count nouns.) When it is used as a modifier, *gaano* is followed by the linker *na/-ng*. Some examples of the use of the interrogative quantifier *gaano* are:

Gaano ang natitirang adobo?
 'How much adobo is left?'
 (Literally: 'How much is the remaining adobo?')

Gaano ba ang kailangan mo?
 'How much do you need?'

Gaanong tela ang binili niya?
 'How much cloth did he buy?'

Gaano raw na asukal ang dapat kong ilagay sa kaniyang kape?
 'How much sugar did he say I should put in his coffee?'

Ilan is the count–noun counterpart of the quantifier *gaano*, and is equivalent to English ‘how many.’ Like *gaano*, it may be used as a predicate or as a modifier:

Ilan ba kayo?
‘How many are you?’

Ilang selyo ang kailangan ninyo?
‘How many stamps do you need?’

(For a discussion of the uses of *gaano* and *ilan* as limiters, cf. §3.22.)

Magkano, like *gaano*, is translatable by English ‘how much.’ *Magkano*, however, refers to price rather than to quantity. It has a distributive form, involving duplication of the second syllable – *magkakano* /*magkaka’noh*/ – which is translatable by English ‘how much each’ or ‘how much apiece.’ Some examples of the use of *magkano* and *magkakano* are:

Magkano ba ang pasahe?
‘How much is the fare?’

Magkakano iyang bayabas?
‘How much each are those guavas?’

Magkanong bigas ang bibilhin ko?
‘How much shall I spend on rice?’
(Literally: ‘How much (worth of) rice shall I buy?’)

§7.12. Please–repeat questions.

A please–repeat question is, as was noted in §7.3, a question to which the expected answer is a complete or partial repetition of something already said by the person addressed. Please–repeat questions always carry a /2↑/ intonation pattern (pattern I.3, §1.24). This pattern differs from the patterns carried by information questions (/3↓/, /33↓/, and /31↓/ – respectively patterns I.1 (§1.24), II.1 (1.25), and III.3 (1.26)). The question particle *ba* is not used in please–repeat questions.

The most common way of requesting a complete repetition of something said by the person addressed is simply:

Ano?
‘What?’

This may be extended in various ways: e.g.,

Ano ang	}	(sinabi)	}	(mo?)
	}	(sabi)	}	(ninyo?)
	}	(wika)		

‘What did you say?’

In informal contexts, one may also say:

Ha?
‘Huh?’

Questions that ask for a partial repetition of something said by the person addressed may begin with any interrogative word (cf. §7.7), the choice depending upon the particular item the speaker wants repeated. Thus, if the person with whom one is speaking has said:

Kakanta si Rosa sa iskwela mamayang gabi.
'Rosa is singing at school tonight.'

one might ask any of the following please-repeat questions:

Aano siya (sa iskwela mamayang gabi)?
'What is she doing (at school tonight)?'

Sino (ang kakanta sa iskwela mamayang gabi)?
'Who (is singing at school tonight)?'

Saan (siya kakanta mamayang gabi)?
'Where (is she singing tonight)?'

Kailan (siya kakanta sa iskwela)?
'When (is she singing at school)?'

The contracted quotation tags *'kamo* and *'kaninyo* (cf. §3.28, subsections (1.d) and (2.d)) are of fairly frequent occurrence in please-repeat questions. They do not occur initially in such questions, but may occur either medially or finally. Thus:

Sino	{	'kamo ang kakanta? ang kakanta, 'kamo?
'Who	{	did you say is singing? is singing, did you say?'

(Cf. the yes-no questions:

'Kamo, "Sino ang kakanta?"
'Did you say/ask, "Who is singing?"')

§7.13. Negation with *hindi* and *di*.

Tagalog has at least seven negators. Listed in approximate order of frequency, they are: *hindi* (and its contraction, *di*), *wala*, *huwag*, *ayaw*, *aywan*, *dili*, and *ni*. The uses of these negators are presented in this and the immediately following sections: *hindi* and *di* in the present section; *wala* in §7.14; *huwag* in §7.15; *ayaw*, *aywan*, *dili*, and *ni* in §7.16.

Hindi is the most common and versatile of the Tagalog negators. It is used to negate a great variety of constructions: all constructions, in fact, that are not specifically enumerated in §§7.14 through 7.16.

Hindi may occur in either the predicate or the topic. It is followed by the word or phrase that it negates, either directly or after one or more enclitics. Some examples of the use of *hindi* are:

Hindi biro ang buhay.
'Life isn't a joke.'

Hindi tama iyon.
'That isn't right.'

When *hindi* is used to negate an ability verb (cf. §5.13), the basic form of the verb may occur as a free alternant of the imperfective form. Thus:

Hindi $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(nakakapagsalita)} \\ \text{(makapagsalita)} \end{array} \right\}$ ang bata.
 'The child can't speak.'

Hindi $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(naiinom)} \\ \text{(mainom)} \end{array} \right\}$ ng bata ang gamot.
 'The child can't swallow the medicine.'

(If the verb is not an ability verb, the basic form is not used in this way. Thus there is no:

*Hindi magsalita ang bata.

occurring as an alternant of:

Hindi nagsasalita ang bata.
 'The child doesn't speak.'

In addition to its uses in negating a following word or phrase, *hindi* – plus, optionally, one or more enclitic particles other than *ba* – occurs as the short negative answer to all 'yes–no' questions except those few answered negatively by *wala* (cf. §7.14). *Hindi* in short answers is roughly equivalent to English 'no,' and is the negative counterpart of *oo* 'yes.' In answer to yes–no questions and affirmative confirmation questions (cf. §§7.4 and 7.6), the correspondence of *hindi* and *oo* to 'no' and 'yes' respectively is quite close:

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Darating (ba) si Pedro?} \\ \text{'Is Pedro coming?'} \\ \\ \text{Hindi (ba) darating si Pedro?} \\ \text{'Isn't Pedro coming?'} \\ \\ \text{Darating si Pedro, ano?} \\ \text{'Pedro's coming, isn't he?'} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Hindi. 'No. (He isn't coming.)'} \\ \\ \\ \text{Oo. 'Yes. (He's coming.)'} \end{array} \right\}$
---	--

In answer to negative confirmation questions, however, *hindi* and *oo* correspond more closely to English 'you're wrong' and 'you're right' respectively:

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Hindi darating si Pedro, ano?} \\ \text{'Pedro isn't coming, is he?'} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Hindi. 'You're wrong. (He's coming.)'} \\ \\ \\ \text{Oo. 'You're right. (He isn't coming.)'} \end{array} \right\}$
---	---

(Frequently, however, the negative reply to a negative confirmation question is not *hindi*. Thus:

Hindi darating si Pedro, ano?
'Pedro isn't coming, is he?'

Darating.
'(He's) coming.'

Hindi also occurs in the confirmation--question formulas *hindi ba* and *hindi ba't*, as in:

{ Hindi ba, dumarating na si Pedro? }
{ Dumarating na si Pedro, hindi ba? }
'Pedro's coming now, isn't he?'

Hindi ba't malamig sa Alaska?
'Isn't it obvious that it's cold in Alaska?'

(For a detailed discussion of confirmation questions, cf. §7.6.)

(An intensified form of *hindi*, *hinding-hindi* 'not at all, certainly not,' etc., occurs in most of the same contexts as *hindi* itself. The intensified form, however, does not occur before *ba* or *ba't* in confirmation questions.)

(For a treatment of limiters that include *hindi* – *hindi (ka)kaunti* and *hindi gagaano* 'quite a lot,' *hindi gaano* 'not much,' and *hindi iilan* 'quite a few' – cf. §3.22.)

A contracted form of *hindi*, *di*, occurs as a free alternant of *hindi* in a number of different constructions, among them:

- a. in yes--no questions:

{ Hindi }
{ Di } ka pa ba sumusulat kay Maria?
'I haven't you written to Maria yet?'

- b. in initial confirmation--question formulas:

{ Hindi }
{ Di } ba't ginawa ko na iyon.
'Isn't it obvious that I've done that already.'

- c. before comparisons of equality (cf. §4.14):

{ Hindi }
{ Di } kasingganda ni Rosa si Aurora.
'Aurora isn't as pretty as Rosa.'

- d. after *kung*, (*ka*)*pag(ka)*, and certain other subordinating conjunctions:

Kung { hindi } siya darating, aalis ako.
 { di }
'If he doesn't come, I'll leave.'

- e. in the phrase *huwag (na) (hin)kli*, used in intensified affirmative imperatives (cf. §5:30);

Huwag (na) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{hindi} \\ \text{di} \end{array} \right\}$ mo hugasan ang mga pinggan.
 'Be sure to wash the dishes.'

- f. after *nang* or the linker *na/ng* in a coordinate clause (cf. §7.19, subsection (7)):

Nakakapagbisikleta si Manuel nang/na $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{hindi} \\ \text{di} \end{array} \right\}$ humahawak sa manibela.
 'Manuel can ride a bicycle without holding on to the handlebars.'

§7.14. Negation with *wala*.

Wala is the negative counterpart of *mayroon* and *may*, and of the *na-* that occurs in locative *nasa* phrases. As the negative counterpart of *mayroon* and *may*, *wala* replaces these words in all the constructions in which they occur: possessive (cf. §4.22); indefinite and existential (cf. §4.23); and short answers or questions. (Both *mayroon* and *may* occur in possessive, indefinite and existential constructions, only *mayroon* in a short answer or question.)

In possessive, indefinite, and existential constructions, *wala*, like *mayroon* (and unlike *may*), is normally followed by the linker *-ng*. (The linker follows *wala* directly if there are no enclitic particles and/or pronouns present, but follows the enclitics themselves if any occur. In possessive constructions, if the thing possessed is expressed by a deictic pronoun, the *ng* form of the deictic is used after *wala* as after *mayroon*), with no linker occurring between *wala* and the deictic. *Wala* translates English 'doesn't/don't have (any)' in possessive constructions, 'there isn't/aren't (any)' in existential constructions. Some examples are:

Affirmative May pera si Mr. Ruiz. 'Mr. Ruiz has money.'	→	Negative Walang pera si Mr. Ruiz. 'Mr. Ruiz doesn't have any money.'
Mayroon ka bang kotse? 'Do you have a car?'	→	Wala ka bang kotse? 'Don't you have a car?'
May singsing sa daliri niya. 'There's a ring on his finger.'	→	Walang singsing sa daliri niya. 'There isn't any ring on his finger.'
Mayroon ngang bahay doon. 'There really is a house there.'	→	Wala ngang bahay doon. 'There really isn't a house there.'

Indefinite constructions with *wala* are usually equivalent to English constructions with 'no one/not . . . anyone,' 'nothing/not . . . anything,' or 'nowhere/not . . . anywhere.' Some examples are:

Affirmative Mayroon akong dadalawin ngayon. 'I have someone to visit today.'	→	Negative Wala akong dadalawin ngayon. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'I have no one} \\ \text{'I don't have anyone} \end{array} \right\}$ to visit today.'
May dumating kahapon. 'Someone came yesterday.'	→	Walang dumating kahapon. 'No one came yesterday.'

May ginagawa si Jose.	→	Walang ginagawa si Jose.	
'Jose is doing something.'		'Jose	{ is doing nothing.' isn't doing anything.' }
May nangyari kaninang umaga.	→	Walang nangyari kaninang umaga.	
'Something happened this morning.'		'Nothing happened this morning.'	
Mayroon kaming pupun tahan.	→	Wala kaming pupuntahan.	
'We have somewhere to go.'		'We	{ have nowhere don't have anywhere }
			to go.'

The *wala* possessive and existential constructions may be intensified to express meanings like 'doesn't have any . . . at all,' 'there isn't any . . . at all,' provided that the word following the linker *-ng* is an unmarked noun. In the intensified construction, the linker is followed by the prefix *ka-* /*ka*/, which is in turn followed by a duplicating prefix, then by the (underlying) noun. In the case of monosyllabic underlying nouns, the duplicating prefix is identical with the noun (except that a final /*r*/ or /*h*/ in the noun does not appear in the prefix). In the case of longer underlying nouns, the formation of the duplicating prefix follows the rules given for *dup*₂ in §5.16. Some examples of intensified *wala* constructions are:

Wala akong katsok-tsok. /katʃoːktʃoːk/
'I don't have any chalk at all.'

Wala akong katsa-tsa. /katʃaːtʃaːh/
'I don't have any tea at all.'

Wala akong kapera-pera. /kapeːrapeːrah/
'I don't have any money at all.'

Wala akong kadamit-damit. /kadamitdamit/
'I don't have any clothes at all.'

Wala akong katina-tinapay. /katinaːtinaːpay/
'I don't have any bread at all.'

Wala akong katsoko-tsokolate. /katʃokoːtʃokolaːteh/
'I don't have any chocolate at all.'

As the negative counterpart of *na-* in locative *nasa* phrases (cf. §4.19), *wala* translates English 'isn't/aren't in/on,' etc. Examples are:

Affirmative		Negative
Nasa tokador ang kamsadentro.	→	Wala sa tokador ang kamsadentro.
'The shirt is in the dresser.'		'The shirt isn't in the dresser.'
Nasa ilalim ng silya ang mga pusa.	→	Wala sa ilalim ng silya ang mga pusa.
'The cats are under the chair.'		'The cats aren't under the chair.'
Nasa kaniya ba ang manyika?	→	Wala ba sa kaniya ang manyika?
'Does she have the doll?'		'Doesn't she have the doll?'
Narito na ang Nanay.	→	Wala na rito ang Nanay.
'Mother is here now.'		'Mother isn't here now.'

(Note that, as in the last two examples, any enclitics directly follow *wala*.)

Wala (plus, optionally, one or more enclitic particles other than *ba*) occurs as a negative short answer to a question beginning with *may*, *mayroon*, or *wala* itself:

May itatanong ka ba? 'Do you have anything to ask?'	Wala. 'No.'
Mayroon ba kayong bigas? 'Do you have any rice?'	Wala po. 'No, sir.'
Wala rito si Bob? 'Isn't Bob here?'	Wala pa raw. 'They say he isn't yet.'

With *ba* (plus, optionally, one or more other enclitic particles), *wala* is used in short questions to mean 'isn't/aren't there any?': e.g.,

Humahanap ako ng gatas. Wala (na) ba?
'I'm looking for some milk. Isn't there any (more)?'

(There is an intensified form of *wala*, *walang-wala* 'doesn't/don't have any . . . at all' etc., which occurs in most of the same contexts as *wala* itself.)

§7.15. Negation with *huwag*.

Huwag expresses a negative desire. It has two main uses: to negate imperatives, hortatives and optatives (cf. §5.30); and to add the meaning of negative desire to statements. In constructions of both types, *huwag* is frequently followed by one or more enclitic particles and/or pronouns. Under these circumstances, the linker *-ng* (cf. §3.11) normally precedes the first non-enclitic word.

Some examples of the use of *huwag* in negating imperatives, hortatives, and optatives are:

Affirmative Basahin mo iyang liham. 'Read that letter.'	→	Negative Huwag mong basahin iyang liham. 'Don't read that letter.'
Magsayaw kayo ng pandanggo. 'Dance a fandango.'	→	Huwag kayong magsayaw ng pandanggo. 'Don't dance a fandango.'
Umalis tayo. 'Let's leave.'	→	Huwag tayong umalis. 'Let's not leave.'
Tawagin ko kaya ang doktor. 'Perhaps I should call the doctor.'	→	Huwag ko kayang tawagin ang doktor. 'Perhaps I shouldn't call the doctor.'

The enclitic particles *nga* and *naman* frequently occur with *huwag* in negative imperatives and hortatives; the enclitic particle *sana* frequently occurs with *huwag* in negative optatives. The function of *nga* in the negative constructions differs from its function in the corresponding affirmative constructions. In the affirmative constructions *nga* is equivalent to 'please,' but with *huwag* it serves to intensify the negation. Thus:

Magsayaw nga kayo ng pandanggo.
'Please dance a fangango.'

but:

Huwag nga kayong magsayaw ng pandanggo.
'Don't (by any means) dance a fandango.'

Naman is equivalent to 'please' (plus an implication of mild reproach or complaint) in negative, as in affirmative, imperatives and hortatives. Thus:

Umalis naman tayo.	→	Huwag naman tayong umalis.
'Let's leave, please.		'Let's not leave, please.
(We've stayed long enough.)'		(Why do you suggest that we leave?)'

As was noted in §5.30, *sana* adds the meaning 'I hope' to an affirmative optative construction. It is used in the same way in negative optatives:

Pumarito sana siya.	→	Huwag sana siyang pumarito.
'I hope he comes here.'		'I hope he doesn't come here.'

As in the case of affirmative optatives, the actor may be expressed by a noun or nominalization, as well as a pronoun, if *sana* is present;

Pumarito sana si Juan.	→	Huwag sanang pumarito si Juan.
'I hope Juan comes here.'		'I hope Juan doesn't come here.'

In the case of negative optatives, however, the presence of *sana* (or one of certain other enclitics – cf. §5.30) with a noun or nominalization as actor is not strictly obligatory, as it is in the case of affirmative hortatives. Thus, while there is no **Pumarito si Juan*, a sentence like *Huwag pumarito si Juan* 'I don't want Juan to come here' is acceptable to many speakers.

In addition to its occurrence in negative imperatives, hortatives and optatives, *huwag* may be used to add the meaning of negative desire to virtually any statement, including those in which another negative is already present, e.g.:

Huwag kang walang pera.
'Don't be without money.'

Huwag tayong hindi mabait.
'Let's not be unkind.'

When *huwag* precedes a statement that includes a verbal predicate or a nominalized verbal topic (cf. §3.24) in the perfective aspect, the enclitic particle *sana* must be used. Thus:

Huwag sanang nagdala ng bigas si Juan.
'I hope Juan didn't bring any rice.'

Huwag sanang siya ang nakatanggap ng sulat.
'I hope he isn't the one who got the letter.'

but not:

*Huwag nagdala ng bigas si Juan, etc.

In all other cases the use of *sana* is optional. However, either *sana* or *nga* is normal after *huwag* in narrational sentences that have a non-pronoun actor or in equational sentences that have a non-pronoun topic. Thus, normally:

Huwag sanang ginagamit ni Pedro ang kotse.
'I hope Pedro isn't using the car.'

Huwag ngang walang pera si Ben.
'I don't want Ben to be without money.'

But sentences like *Huwag ginagamit ni Pedro ang kotse* and *Huwag walang pera si Ben* are acceptable to many speakers.

Two further uses of *huwag* remain to be mentioned. The word occurs in short sentences, either alone or in combination with one or more enclitic particles, to express the meaning 'Don't do that,' 'I don't want that to happen,' etc. (In such short sentences no linker occurs: e.g., *Huwag (muna)* 'Don't do that (yet).') *Huwag* also occurs in the sequence *huwag (na) (hin)kli*, a double negative, which is used to intensify an affirmative imperative: e.g.,

Huwag na hindi ka magpahinga.
'Be sure to rest.'

The *na* in this construction is an optional linker. The *hindi* in the construction may be contracted to *di* – cf. §7.13. *Huwag (na) (hin)kli* also occurs as a subordinating conjunction, meaning 'however little,' in concessive adverbial clauses. This use of the sequence is dealt with in §6.17, subsection (2).

§7.16. Negation with *ayaw*, *aywan*, *dili*, and *ni*.

Each of the four remaining negators – *ayaw*, *aywan*, *dili* and *ni* – has a relatively restricted distribution and range of meanings. *Ayaw*, the negative counterpart of the pseudo-verbs *gusto*, *ibig*, and *nais*, has the meaning 'doesn't/don't want/like.' The various constructions in which *ayaw* occurs are dealt with in detail in §4.21. While *ayaw* is the usual negative of *gusto*, *ibig*, and *nais*, these affirmative pseudo-verbs may also be negated by *hindi*. *Hindi* plus an affirmative pseudo-verb is not always freely substitutable for *ayaw*, however, since the *hindi* constructions occur in exactly the same contexts as the affirmative pseudo-verbs themselves, while *ayaw* and the affirmative pseudo-verbs have somewhat different distributions.

Aywan may be literally translated as 'not known.' It alternates with *hindi alam* 'not known' (cf. §3.28, subsection (3)) when the following conditions are met:

(1) the actor is expressed by a first-person or dual *ng* pronoun (*ko*, *namin*, *nita*, *natin*) unless the sentence includes the enclitic *daw/raw* 'it is said,' (in which case any *ng*-phrase actor may occur) or unless no actor is expressed (in which case the actor *ko* 'I' is understood):

(2) what is not known is either expressed by a *kung* clause or unexpressed.

Examples of alternation between *aywan* and *hindi alam* are:

}	Hindi namin alam	} kung saan siya pumunta.
}	Aywan namin	

'We don't know where he went.'

}	Hindi raw alam	} ng bata kung nasaan ang nanay niya.
}	Aywan daw	

'The child says he doesn't know where his mother is.'

(The above sentence with *hindi raw alam* is ambiguous. It can mean either 'The child says he doesn't know . . .' or 'Somebody says the child doesn't know . . .' The sentence with *aywan daw*, on the other hand, means only 'The child says . . .')

Sino ba siya?	}	Hindi ko alam.
'Who is he?'		Aywan (ko).
		'I don't know.'

Examples of contexts in which *hindi alam* occurs, but *aywan* does not, are:

Hindi ko alam iyon.
'I don't know that.'

Hindi namin alam na umuwi na siya.
'We didn't know that he had already gone home.'

Hindi alam ng bata kung nasaan ang nanay niya.
'The child doesn't know where his mother is.'

Dili occurs in constructions of three types: in confirmation questions, followed by (*nga*) *ba't* (cf. §7.6); in *o dili kaya*, a literary variant of *o kaya* 'or else' (cf. §7.19, subsection (2)); and after the basic form of an actor–focus verb, the construction expressing the meaning of 'hardly,' or 'rarely' performing the action of the verb. An example of the use of *dili* in a confirmation question is:

Dili nga ba't titscr siya?
'Isn't it obvious he's a teacher?'

An example of *o dili kaya* is:

Paparito kami sa Linggo, o dili kaya sa Lunes.
'We shall come on Sunday, or else on Monday.'

Some examples of the use of *dili* after the basic form of an actor–focus verb are:

Magsalita-dili ang bata.
'The child hardly speaks.'

Pumasok-dili siya sa iskwela.
'He rarely attends school.'

Kumain-dili ka ng pagkain mo.
'You hardly touch your food.'

Ni occurs only in sentences that include some other negator as well. It has two uses. Preceding each element of a coordinate construction (cf. §7.19), *ni . . . ni*, in combination with the other negator in the sentence, expresses the equivalent of English 'neither . . . nor,' 'not . . . either . . . or.' Some examples are:

Hindi dumating ni si Juan ni si Pedro.
'Neither Juan nor Pedro came.'

Walang kasangkapan ni rito ni roon.
'There isn't any furniture either here or there.'

Ayaw nilang magtrabaho ni ngayon ni bukas.
'They don't want to work either today or tomorrow.'

In other than coordinate constructions, *ni* together with the other negator in the sentence expresses the meaning 'not even': e.g.,

Hindi siya nagdala ni lapis.
'He did not bring even a pencil.'

(cf. Hindi siya nagdala ng lapis.
'He did not bring a pencil.')

As the last example shows, *ni* replaces the *ng* of a *ng* phrase serving as object complement. Further examples of the replacement are:

Ayaw niyang uminom	{ ni kape ni tsa. ni kape. }
'He doesn't want	{ to drink either tea or coffee.' even coffee.' }

(cf. Ayaw niyang uminom ng kape.
'He doesn't want to drink coffee.')

Ni also replaces the linker *-ng* after *wala*, thus:

Wala siya	{ ni pontimpen ni lapis. ni pontimpen. }
'He	{ has neither a fountain pen nor a pencil.' doesn't even have a fountain pen.' }

(cf. Wala siyang pontimpen.
'He doesn't have a fountain pen.')

Where the nominal that would occur in an object complement or after *wala* is the *ng* form of a deictic pronoun, the corresponding *ang* form of the pronoun is used after *ni*, thus:

{ Hindi bumabasa Wala }	ni ito ni iyon si Jose.
'Jose	{ reads has } neither this nor that.'

(cf. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Hindi bumabasa} \\ \text{Wala} \end{array} \right\}$ nito si Jose.
 'Jose doesn't $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(read)} \\ \text{(have)} \end{array} \right\}$ this.')

A phrase introduced by *ni* or a coordinate construction with *ni...ni* normally occurs in sentence-initial or clause-initial position, in a construction that shows *ay* inversion (cf. §7.2, subsection (1)). Thus, in preference to the last example:

Ni ito ni iyon ay $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{hindi bumabasa} \\ \text{wala} \end{array} \right\}$ si Jose.

Inversion is normally obligatory in the case of the following:

- (a) topics introduced by *ni* (but not coordinate topics introduced by *ni...ni*): e.g.,

Ni si Juan ay hindi nakapunta doon.
 'Not even Juan was able to go there.'

but not, for most speakers:

*Hindi nakapunta doon ni si Juan.

- (b) object complements of the shape *ni* plus deictic pronoun: e.g.,

Ni ito ay hindi sila nagtitinda.
 'They don't sell even this.'

but not:

*Hindi sila nagtitinda ni ito.
 (cf. Hindi sila nagtitinda nito.
 'They don't sell this.')

(c) actor complements introduced by *ni*, or coordinate actor complements introduced by *ni...ni*. If the nominal in an actor complement introduced by *ni* (or *ni...ni*) is a marked noun (cf. §3.2), an *ang* form is used: e.g.,

Ni $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{siya} \\ \text{si Juan} \\ \text{ito ni iyon} \end{array} \right\}$ ay hindi magagawa ang trabaho.

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'Not even} \\ \text{'Neither this one nor that one} \end{array} \right\} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(he)} \\ \text{(Juan)} \end{array} \right\} \text{ can do the work.}'$

(cf. Hindi { niya magagawa } ang trabaho.
 { magagawa } { ni Juan }
 { nito at noon }

{ 'He }
 { 'Juan } can't do the work.'
 { 'This one and that one }

If the nominal in the actor complement is an unmarked noun (cf. §3.6), *ni* is followed by *ang* if a meaning of definiteness is intended; otherwise no marker is used: e.g.,

Ni { ang karpintero ay } hindi magagawa ang trabaho.
 { karpintero ay }

'Not even { the } carpenter can do the work.'
 { a }

(cf. Hindi magagawa ng karpintero ang trabaho.

{ 'The } carpenter can't do the work.'
 { 'A }

§7.17. The definitized predicate.

An unmarked noun occurring in predicate position is given a meaning of definiteness if it is preceded by the marker *ang*. (Without the preceding marker, an unmarked noun in predicate position normally expresses either an indefinite or a generic meaning – cf. §3.6.) The English equivalent of a definitized unmarked–noun predicate is normally 'the' plus the translation equivalent of the noun.

Definitized predicates often occur in answers to information questions introduced by *sino* 'who' (cf. §7.9), *ang ano* 'what (particular thing),' or (*ang*) *alin* 'which' (cf. §7.8): e.g.,

Sino ang titser?	→	Ang Amerikana ang titser.
'Who's the teacher?'		{ 'The <u>American</u> is the teacher.' 'The teacher is the <u>American</u> .'
Ang ano ang nasunog?	→	Ang karne ang nasunog.
'What got burned?'		{ 'The <u>meat</u> got burned.' 'What got burned is the <u>meat</u> .'
(Ang) alin ang pinakamahal?	→	Ang singsing ang pinakamahal.
'Which is the most expensive?'		{ 'The <u>ring</u> is the most expensive.' 'The most expensive is the <u>ring</u> .'

As these examples show, definitized predicates, like other predicates, express relatively new information. But while Tagalog consistently expresses the new information in the predicate, English, in the case of sentences equivalent to Tagalog sentences with definitized predicates, may express the new information in either the subject or the predicate, indicating by intonation which item represents the new information. (Hereafter, Tagalog sentences with definitized predicates are translated by English sentences in which the subject expresses the new information. This represents the more common English translation equivalent.)

A nominalized adjectival or verbal may occur instead of an unmarked noun in definitized–predicate position, as in most other positions (cf. §3.24). Some examples are:

Ang maganda ang dumating kahapon.
'The pretty one is the one that came yesterday.'

Ang naroon ang para sa iyo.
'The one over there is the one for you.'

Ang mga nagtatrabaho sa pabrika ang kumikita ng maraming pera.
'The ones who work in the factory are the ones who make lots of money.'

Ang binili ko sa Maynila ang pinakamabuti.
'The one I bought in Manila is the best.'

Definitized predicates are more restricted than indefinite predicates with regard to the types of topics opposite which they occur. Specifically, a definitized unmarked–noun predicate may occur opposite another unmarked noun or a nominalization, but not, normally, opposite a marked noun. Thus:

Ang Amerikana ang {titser.
mayaman.
nakita ko.}

'The American is the {teacher.'
rich one.'
one I saw.'}

but not:

*Ang Amerikana {si Helen.
siya.
iyon.}

And a definitized adjectival or verbal predicate may occur opposite a nominalized topic but not, normally, opposite a nominal topic. Thus:

Ang {naroon } ang {gusto ko.
nakita ko }

'The one {over there } is the one {I like.'
I saw } {that came yesterday.'}

but not:

*Ang { naroon } { ang singsing. }
 { nakita ko } { si Helen. }
 { siya. }
 { iyon. }

§7.18. Indefinite expressions and constructions.

INDEFINITE EXPRESSIONS are usually equivalent to English expressions that involve 'any,' 'no,' or 'ever.' The English equivalent varies with the construction in which the indefinite expression occurs. Note, for example, the translations of the indefinite expression *kahit na saan* in the following sentences:

Pumupunta sila kahit na saan.

'They go anywhere.'

Hindi sila pumupunta kahit na saan.

'They { go nowhere. }
 { don't go anywhere. }

Kahit na saan sila pumunta, hinahangaan sila.

{ 'Wherever } they go, they are admired.'
 { 'Anywhere }

The indefinite expressions to be discussed in the present section are those that include an interrogative word (cf. §7.7). (For a discussion of indefinite *may* phrases, cf. §4.23.) Any interrogative word other than *bakit* 'why' and *kumusta* 'how (quality)' may occur in an indefinite expression of this type. The occurring interrogative words are thus: *alin*, *ano*, *kanino*, *gaano*, *ilan*, *magkano*, *nakanino*, *nasaan* (= *saan naroon* – cf. §7.10), *nino*, *paano*, *saan*, *sino*. (The English equivalents of the interrogative words are given in §7.7. For English equivalents of indefinite expressions in which the words occur, see the examples below.)

The structure of an indefinite expression may be any of the following:

- (1) *kahit (na)* + interrogative word
- (2) interrogative word + *man*
- (3) *kahit (na)* + interrogative word + *man*

That is, the interrogative word may be: (1) preceded by *kahit* plus, optionally, the *na* form of the linker *na/ng* (cf. §3.8); (2) followed by the enclitic particle *man* (cf. §6.4, subsection (a)); (3) both preceded by *kahit (na)* and followed by *man*. In the case of any given interrogative word, the indefinite expressions with these three structures are more or less identical in meaning and grammatical function. (The structure that includes both *kahit (na)* and *man* is less common than either of the other structures.)

(Apart from its use in indefinite expressions, *kahit (na)* also occurs in the meaning 'even': e.g.,

Kahit (na) si Ben ay magagawa iyon.

'Even Ben can do that.'

Kahit (na) lumang diyaryo ay binibili nita.

'They even buy old newspapers.'

When an indefinite construction that includes *man* occurs at the beginning of a sentence or clause, *man* functions as a normal enclitic particle, and its position in relation to other enclitic words (particles and pronouns) is as specified in §6.2: e.g.,

Saan ka man pumunta . . .
'Wherever you go . . .'

Saan man sila pumunta . . .
'Wherever they go . . .'

When, however, the indefinite expression is not sentence- or clause-initial, *man* always immediately follows the interrogative word: e.g.,

Hindi ka pumupunta saan man.
'You don't go anywhere.'

If no other enclitic comes between the interrogative word and *man*, the two elements may usually be written as either one or two words. Thus, also:

Saanman sila pumunta . . .
Hindi ka pumupunta saanman.

(The two-word writing is preferred in the case of expressions with *gaano*, *magkano*, and *paano*, the one-word writing in other cases.)

In the case of interrogative words written with a word-final *o*, this *o* is retained if *man* is written as a separate word, but changed to *u* if it is not. Thus:

ano + man	→	}	ano man
		}	anuman
sino + man	→	}	sino man
		}	sinuman

The constructions in which indefinite expressions occur are discussed below under the following headings: (1) INDEFINITE NOMINAL PHRASES; (2) INDEFINITE ADVERBIAL PHRASES; (3) INDEFINITE NOMINAL CLAUSES; (4) INDEFINITE ADVERBIAL CLAUSES.

(1) INDEFINITE NOMINAL PHRASES. An indefinite nominal phrase is a phrase that consists of or includes an indefinite expression, and that occurs in a sentence position and function typical of a nominal. Indefinite nominal phrases thus occur as sentence topics, verb complements, possessive modifiers, etc. The topic marker *ang* is optionally deletable before an indefinite-nominal-phrase topic that includes *kahit*, when the topic occurs in normal non-inverted position:

Gamitin mo (ang) kahit (na)	}	alin(man).
	}	{ ano.
	}	{ anuman.
	}	gaano (man).
	}	ilan(man).
	}	magkano (man).
	}	{ sino.
	}	{ sinuman.

'Use $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{any (thing).} \\ \text{anything.} \\ \text{any quantity.} \\ \text{any number.} \\ \text{any amount (of money).} \\ \text{anyone.} \end{array} \right\}$

Ang is always retained before a non-inverted topic that does not include *kahit*. Thus:

Gamitin mo ang $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{alinman.} \\ \text{anuman.} \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right\}$

Before an inverted indefinite–nominal–phrase topic (in *ay* inversion or contrastic inversion – cf. §7.2) *ang* is obligatorily deleted if the indefinite expression is not part of a modification construction; otherwise, the marker is optional. Thus:

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Kahit (na) alin(man)} \\ \text{Alinman} \end{array} \right\}$ ay gamitin mo.
'Use any.'

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Kahit (na)} \\ \text{Anuman,} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(ano,)} \\ \text{(anuman,)} \end{array} \right\}$ gamitin mo.
'Use anything.'

(Ang) kahit (na) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sinong} \\ \text{sinumang} \end{array} \right\}$ piyanista ay makakatugtog ng ganyang piyesa.
'Any pianist can play a piece like that.'

The marker *ng* is optionally deletable before an indefinite nominal phrase that includes *kahit* when the phrase is used as an object complement and occurs in normal non-inverted position: e.g.,

Magdala ka (ng) kahit (na) ilan(man).
'Bring any number.'

Once more, the marker is retained if the phrase does not include *kahit*:

Magdala ka ng ilanman.

(See below for a discussion of inverted indefinite–nominal–phrase complements.)

The marker *ng* is not deletable before an indefinite nominal phrase serving as an actor complement in normal non-inverted position, or serving as a possessive modifier:

Hindi siya ginigising ng $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kahit (na)} \\ \text{anuman.} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(ano.)} \\ \text{(anuman.)} \end{array} \right\}$
'Nothing awakens him.'

Hindi ko alam ang halaga ng $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kahit (na) alin(man)} \\ \text{alinman} \end{array} \right\}$ sa mga ito.
 'I don't know the price of any one of these.'

Ninuman is in itself a *ng*-phrase equivalent, and is not preceded by a marker. It alternates freely with *ng kahit (na) sino/sinuman* and *ng sinuman*: e.g.,

Hindi siya ginigising $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ng} \\ \text{ninuman.} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kahit (na)} \\ \text{sinuman.} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sino.} \\ \text{sinuman.} \end{array} \right\}$
 'No one awakens him.'

Some examples of indefinite nominal phrases serving as directional complements are:

Huwag kang pumunta $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kahit (na) saan(man).} \\ \text{saanman.} \end{array} \right\}$
 'Don't go anywhere.'

Huwag mong ibigay ito (sa) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kahit (na)} \\ \text{kaninuman.} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kanino.} \\ \text{kaninuman.} \end{array} \right\}$
 'Don't give this to anyone.'

(Indefinite expressions formed with *saan* and *kanino* are in themselves *sa*-phrase equivalents. *Saan* is never preceded by the marker *sa*. In indefinite expressions involving *kanino*, *sa* is optional.)

A modification construction with an indefinite expression serving as its initial component may occur in any of the constructions in which indefinite expressions themselves occur. (As in other cases, the components of the modification construction are linked by the linker *na/ng* – cf. §3.11.) In modification constructions, indefinite expressions of the shape interrogative–word–plus–*man* are more common than those that include *kahit*. Some examples of modification constructions serving as indefinite nominal phrases are:

Gamitin mo $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(ang) kahit (na)} \\ \text{ang anumang} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{anong} \\ \text{anumang} \end{array} \right\}$ pinggan.
 'Use any dish.'

Magdala ka ng ilanmang baro.
 'Bring any number of dresses.'

Huwag mong ibigay ito (sa) kaninumang bata.
 'Don't give this to any child.'

A verb or verbal construction may serve as the final component of a modification construction that begins with an indefinite expression. The basic form of the verb (cf. §2.8) may occur in such a construction, in alternation with either the contemplated–aspect or the imperfective–aspect form; the

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Kahit na} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sino} \\ \text{sinuman} \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{ay} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sino,} \\ \text{sinuman,} \end{array} \right\} \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{l} \text{Kahit na} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sino} \\ \text{sinuman} \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{ay} \end{array}} \right\} \text{magagawa iyan.}$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Sinuman ay} \\ \text{Sinuman,} \end{array} \right\}$$

'Anyone can do that.'

(Cf:

$$\text{Magagawa ng} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kahit (na)} \\ \text{sinuman} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sino} \\ \text{sinuman} \end{array} \right\} \text{ iyan.}$$

'Anyone can do that.'

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Kahit (na)} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{saan(man) ay} \\ \text{saan(man),} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\} \text{ pumupunta sila.}$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Saanman ay} \\ \text{Saanman,} \end{array} \right\}$$

'They go anywhere.'

(Cf:

$$\text{Pumupunta sila} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kahit (na) saan(man).} \\ \text{saanman.} \end{array} \right\}$$

'They go anywhere.'

(2) INDEFINITE ADVERBIAL PHRASES. An indefinite adverbial phrase is a phrase that consists of or includes an indefinite expression and that occurs in a sentence position and function typical of a movable adverb (cf. §§6.7 through 6.11). Indefinite adverbial phrases of time commonly include *kailan*, those of place *saan*, and those of manner *paano*. Some examples are:

$$\text{Matatapos namin ito} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kahit (na) kailan(man).} \\ \text{kailanman.} \end{array} \right\}$$

'We can finish this at any time.'

$$\text{Hindi} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kahit (na) kailan(man)} \\ \text{kailanman} \end{array} \right\} \text{ sinabi ni Pedro iyon.}$$

'Pedro never said that.'

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Kahit na saan(man)} \\ \text{Saanman} \end{array} \right\} \text{ ay hindi sila masasaya.}$$

'They're not happy anywhere.'

Maililipat namin ang bahay $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(kahit (na) paano (man).)} \\ \text{paano man.} \end{array} \right\}$
 'We'll be able to move the house somehow.'

(In cases like the above, where the indefinite expression constitutes the entire adverbial phrase, the *kahit* constructions are more common than those without *kahit*.) Certain other interrogative words may also occur within indefinite adverbial phrases: e.g.,

Huwag kang magtanong tungkol sa $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(kahit (na) } \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(ano.)} \\ \text{(anuman.)} \end{array} \right) \\ \text{anuman.} \end{array} \right\}$
 'Don't ask about anything.'

Hindi ko gagawin iyon para $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(kahit (na) } \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(kanino.)} \\ \text{(kaninuman.)} \end{array} \right) \\ \text{kaninuman.} \end{array} \right\}$
 'I won't do that for anyone.'

Some examples of modification constructions serving as indefinite adverbial phrases are:

Dadalawin namin sila nang $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(kahit (na) } \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(ilang)} \\ \text{(ilanmang)} \end{array} \right) \\ \text{ilanmang} \end{array} \right\}$ ulit.
 'We will visit them any number of times.'

Nagagawa iyon saanmang siyudad.
 'That can be done in any city.'

Sa halip ng anumang suweldo, binigyan siya ng bahay.
 'Instead of any wages, he was given a house.'

(3) INDEFINITE NOMINAL CLAUSES. Like indefinite nominal phrases (cf. (1), above), indefinite nominal clauses occupy typically nominal sentence positions. The clauses are distinguished from the phrases by the fact that they include within themselves a predicate and a topic. The predicate of an indefinite clause is an indefinite expression or a modification construction introduced by an indefinite expression. An indefinite nominal clause thus resembles an information question to which *kahit (na)* and/or *man* has been added. Compare, for example:

Ibibigay ko sa iyo $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(kahit (na) } \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(ano)} \\ \text{(anuman)} \end{array} \right) \\ \text{anuman} \end{array} \right\}$ ang gusto mo.
 'I'll give you whatever you want.'

and:

Ano ang gusto mo?
'What do you want?'

Or:

Ibibigay ko sa iyo $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kahit (na) alin(man)g} \\ \text{alinmang} \end{array} \right\}$ larawan ang gusto mo.
'I'll give you whichever picture you want.'

and:

Aling larawan ang gusto mo?
'Which picture do you want?'

As the above examples illustrate, the topic marker *ang* is not used before an indefinite nominal clause occurring as a sentence topic. This is also true when the topic is inverted:

Kahit (na) ano ang gusto mo, ibibigay ko sa iyo.
'Whatever you want, I'll give (it) to you.'

Indefinite nominal clauses that include *kahit* may serve as object complements in either non-inverted or inverted position. The clauses are not preceded by a marker. Thus:

Bibigyan kita kahit (na) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ano} \\ \text{anuman} \end{array} \right\}$ ang gusto mo.
'I'll give you whatever you want.'

Kahit (na) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ano} \\ \text{anuman} \end{array} \right\}$ ang gusto mo, bibigyan kita.
'Whatever you want, I'll give (it) to you.'

Indefinite clauses that do not include *kahit* occur as object complements only in non-inverted position. The marker *ng* always precedes such a clause. Thus:

Bibigyan kita ng anuman ang gusto mo.

Indefinite nominal clauses serving as directional complements may occur in either non-inverted or inverted position. The clauses are not preceded by a marker. Thus:

Pumupunta siya $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kahit (na) saan(man)} \\ \text{saanman} \end{array} \right\}$ ako $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pumupunta.} \\ \text{pumunta.} \end{array} \right\}$
'He goes wherever I go.'

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Kahit (na) saan(man) ako} \\ \text{Saanman ako} \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pumupunta.} \\ \text{pumunta.} \end{array} \right\}$ pumupunta siya.
'Wherever I go, he goes.'

(See below for a discussion of alternation between inflected and basic forms of verbs – e.g., *pumupunta* ~ *pumunta* – in indefinite clauses.)

Indefinite nominal clauses serving as actor complements occur only in inverted position. No marker is used. Thus:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Kahit (na)} \\ \text{Sinuman} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sino} \\ \text{sinuman} \end{array} \right\} \text{ ang narito, makikita iyan.}$$
 'Whoever is here will see that.'

If the predicate of an indefinite clause is a verbal, or if the topic is a nominalized verbal, the basic form of the verb may be used. As in the case of modification constructions that include indefinite expressions and verbs, (cf. (1), above), the basic verb form alternates with, and is preferred to, either the contemplated–aspect or the imperfective–aspect form. (The preference for the basic form is particularly strong when the indefinite expression is formed with *man*.) Some examples of indefinite nominal clauses with nominalized verbal topics are:

Babayaran nila $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kahit (na) magkano (man)} \\ \text{magkano man} \end{array} \right\} \text{ ang } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hihingin} \\ \text{hingin} \end{array} \right\} \text{ mo.}$
 'They will pay whatever amount you ask.'
 (Hingin is preferred to hihingin.)

Pinasasabihan ako $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kahit (na)} \\ \text{sinuman} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sino} \\ \text{sinuman} \end{array} \right\} \text{ ang } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dumadalaw} \\ \text{dumalaw} \end{array} \right\} \text{ sa kanila.}$
 'I'm told about whoever calls on them.'
 (Dumalaw is preferred to dumadalaw.)

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Kahit (na) alin(man)} \\ \text{Alinman} \end{array} \right\} \text{ ang pinili niya, pipiliin ko rin.}$
 'Whichever he chose, I'll choose (it) too.'

(4) INDEFINITE ADVERBIAL CLAUSES. Indefinite adverbial clauses resemble indefinite nominal clauses in structure, but are optionally introduced by the particle *kung*. Like other adverbial clauses (cf. §6.14), an indefinite adverbial clause may either precede or follow the main clause. Some examples are:

Naglilibang kami (kung) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kahit (na) kailan(man)} \\ \text{kailanman} \end{array} \right\} \text{ siya dumating.}$
 'We have a good time whenever he comes.'

(Kung) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kahit (na)} \\ \text{nasaanman} \\ \text{saanman naroon} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nasaan(man)} \\ \text{saan(man) naroon} \end{array} \right\} \text{ si Ben, nakakakita siya ng kaibigan.}$
 'Wherever Ben is, he finds friends.'

Maaakyat niya ang puno (kung) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kahit (na) gaano (man)} \\ \text{gaano man} \end{array} \right\}$ kataas.
 'He'll be able to climb the tree, however tall it is.'

(Kung) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kahit (na)} \\ \text{nakaninuman} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nakanino} \\ \text{nakaninuman} \end{array} \right\}$ ang bata, tatanggap siya ng pagkain.
 'Whoever the child is with, it will get food.'

Hindi ako aalis (kung) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kahit (na)} \\ \text{anuman} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ano} \\ \text{anuman} \end{array} \right\}$ ang gawin mo.
 'I won't leave, whatever you do.'

§7.19. Coordination.

As was explained in §3.10, coordination is a grammatical device for combining elements of two (or more) underlying sentences into a single resultant sentence. The resultant sentence contains a coordinate construction, consisting of two (or more) coordinates linked by a coordinating conjunction. Certain coordinate constructions, in which the coordinates are nominals, and in which the coordinating conjunction is *at* 'and,' are presented separately in §3.10. (A special coordinate construction consisting of a plural personal pronoun plus a *ng* phrase – e.g., *kayo ng Nanay* 'you and Mother' – is also presented in §3.10.) The present section is concerned with coordinate constructions of other types.

In addition to nominals, elements of a number of other kinds – among them, adjectivals, verbals, adverbials, and clauses – may serve as coordinates. The italicized portions of the following sentences are all coordinate constructions:

Maganda at mayaman si Rosa.
 'Rosa is beautiful and rich.'

Kakanta at saka sasayaw si Rosa.
 'Rosa will sing and then dance.'

Noong Sabado o noong Linggo namin nakita si Rosa.
 'It was last Saturday or last Sunday that we saw Rosa.'

Matalino si Rosa pero hindi mabuti ang mga marka niya.
 'Rosa is intelligent but her grades aren't good.'

A sentence with two coordinate clauses has a certain similarity to a sentence consisting of a main clause followed by an adverbial clause introduced by a subordinating conjunction (cf. §6.14), such as:

Matalino si Rosa bagama't hindi mabuti ang mga marka niya.
 'Rosa is intelligent although her grades aren't good.'

But while a clause introduced by a subordinating conjunction may alternatively precede the main clause, a clause introduced by a coordinating conjunction cannot precede the clause with which it is coordinate. Thus:

Bagama't hindi mabuti ang mga marka niya, matalino si Rosa.
 'Although her grades aren't good, Rosa is intelligent.'

but not:

*Pero hindi mabuti ang mga marka niya, matalino si Rosa.

The major Tagalog coordinating conjunctions are presented below as follows: (1) *at*, *at saka*, and *at nang*; (2) *o*, *o kaya*, and *o dili kaya*; (3) *kung kaya't*; (4) *ni . . . ni*; (5) *kundi*; (6) *pero*, *datapwa't*, *nguni't*, and *subali't*; (7) *nang* (*hin/kli*, *na/-ng + (hin/kli, nang wala*, and *na/-ng + wala*).

(1) *At* /'at/ is equivalent to English 'and.' When the word that precedes it ends, in its independent form, in /', /h/, or /n/, and when there is no intervening pause, *at* is optionally but commonly contracted to 't /t/; the contracted form replaces the final /', /h/, or /n/. For example:

masama /masama'/ + 't 'bad'	→	masama't /masamat/ 'bad and'
maganda /magandah/ + 't 'beautiful'	→	maganda't /magandat/ 'beautiful and'
mayaman /maya'man/ + 't 'rich'	→	mayama't /maya'mat/ 'rich and'

Examples of the use of *at* in coordinate nominal constructions are presented in §3.10. Some examples of its use in coordinate constructions of other types are:

Huhugasa't pupunasan namin ang mga pinggan.
'We'll wash and dry the dishes.'

Huhugasan ko ang mga pinggan, at pupunasan mo.
'I'll wash the dishes, and you'll dry them.'

Huhugasan ko ang mga pinggan ngayon at bukas.
'I'll wash the dishes today and tomorrow.'

At may be used to coordinate more than two words, phrases, or clauses: e.g.,

Kumanta't sumayaw at tumawa't naglaro ang mga bata.
'The children sang and danced and laughed and played.'

As in English, all but the last of the coordinating conjunctions may optionally be replaced by a pause. Thus, also:

Kumanta, sumayaw, tumawa't naglaro ang mga bata.
'The children sang, danced, laughed, and played.'

(For a discussion of the use of *at* in explanatory clauses, cf. §7.20.)

At saka usually means 'and then' when it occurs between coordinate verbals or between clauses with verbal predicates:

Naligo at saka nagbihis si Juan.
'Juan took a bath and then dressed.'

Dumating ang prinsipal at saka nag-umpisa ang palatuntunan.
'The principal arrived and then the program began.'

In most other contexts, *at saka* means ‘and (also)’ or ‘and . . . too’:

Magdadala ako ng tinapay at saka ng matamis.
‘I’ll bring some bread and (also) some sweets.’

Maganda ang bata at saka malusog.
‘The child is beautiful and healthy too.’

A clause introduced by *at saka* plus the enclitic particle *pa* may follow a clause that is introduced by *kung kailan* and that includes the enclitic particle *na*. In such a sentence, the initial clause is equivalent to an English clause introduced by ‘now when,’ and the *at saka* clause expresses an action or situation considered inappropriate because of the action or situation expressed in the initial clause. Examples are:

Kung kailan lumalakad na ang bus, at saka pa hihingi ng inumin ang bata.
‘Now when the bus is moving, the child asks for a drink.’

Kung kailan dumarating na ang mga bisita, at saka ka pa maglilinis ng bahay.
‘Now when the guests are arriving, you clean the house.’

Note that, in this construction, a contemplated–aspect verb in the *at saka* clause expresses present action.

At nang means ‘so that’ or ‘in order that.’ It always connects clauses, and the clause that follows it always has a verbal predicate. When the predicate verb after *at nang* is an imperfective or perfective form, the initial clause normally includes the enclitic particle *sana* (cf. §6.5, subsection (e)), and the sentence expresses an action that should have occurred but did not occur, and the hypothetical result of this action.

Naging mabait ka sana at nang hindi ka niya	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(palaging) nakakagalitan.} \\ \text{nakagalitan.} \end{array} \right\}$	
‘You should have been good so that he would not	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(always) get} \\ \text{have gotten} \end{array} \right\}$	angry with you.’

At nang is never followed by a clause with a contemplated–aspect verbal predicate. It may, however, be followed by a clause with the basic form of a verb (cf. §2.8) in predicate position. The meaning of such a clause is similar to that of an adverbial clause of purpose introduced by *para* or *upang* (cf. §6.16, subsection (c)). An example is:

Matulog tayo nang maaga at nang makaalis tayo nang maaga bukas.
‘Let’s go to sleep early so that we can leave early tomorrow.’

(2) *O* is equivalent to English ‘or’:

Kumuha ka ng lapis o (ng) pontimpen.
‘Get a pencil or a fountain pen.’

Ibibigay ko ito sa Nanay o kay Maria.
‘I’ll give this to Mother or to Maria.’

(Coordinate nominal constructions with *o* follow the same rules as coordinate nominal construction with *at* concerning the deletion or retention of markers before non-initial coordinates – cf. §3.10.)

Like *at* (cf. (1), above), *o* may be used to coordinate more than two words, phrases, or clauses, with all but the last of the coordinating conjunctions being optionally replaced by pause:

Darating ang inspektor sa $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(Lunes o} \\ \text{Lunes, } \end{array} \right\}$ (sa) Martes o (sa) Miyerkoles.

'The inspector will come on $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(Monday or} \\ \text{Monday, } \end{array} \right\}$ (on) Tuesday or (on) Wednesday.'

(For a discussion of the use of *o* in alternative questions, cf. §7.5.)

The equivalent of English 'either . . . or' is expressed by a coordinate construction involving *o* and the enclitic particle *man* (cf. §6.4, subsection (a.6), which occurs as part of the first coordinate. The coordinate that includes *man* must be sentence initial, and consequently the sentence often involves inversion (cf. §7.2). Examples are:

Ikaw man o ako ay maaaring gumawa niyan.
'Either you or I can do that.'

Sa loob man o sa labas ay maari tayong magsayawan.
'We can hold the dance either indoors or outdoors.'

O kaya means 'or else.' It always constitutes a separate intonation phrase. Examples are:

Kumuha ka ng lapis, o kaya, (ng) pontimpen.
'Get a pencil, or else a fountain pen.'

Magniting tayo bukas, o kaya, sa Linggo.
'Let's hold a meeting tomorrow, or else on Sunday.'

O dili kaya is a literary variant of *o kaya*.

(3) *Kung kaya't* is equivalent to English 'so' or 'therefore.' It is used to coordinate clauses. Examples are:

Marami akong gagawin, kung kaya't hindi ako makadadalo sa pulong.
'I've got a lot to do, so I won't be able to attend the meeting.'

Umuulan, kung kaya't pumasok kami sa sine.
'It was raining, so we went to the movies.'

(4) The uses of *ni . . . ni*, which, together with a negator, is equivalent to English 'neither . . . nor,' 'not . . . either . . . or,' are discussed in §7.16. Some further examples are:

Ni ngayon ni bukas ay hindi ako makakaalis.
'I won't be able to leave either today or tomorrow.'

Wala siya ni magulang ni kapatid.
'He has neither parents nor brothers and sisters.'

(5) *Kundi* is equivalent to English 'but' in the sense 'but rather' or 'except (for).' It occurs only in sentences that involve a negator, usually *hindi* or *wala* (cf. §§7.13, 7.14). Some examples of its use are:

Hindi dito kundi sa bayan ang pulong.
'The meeting's not here but (rather) in town.'

Hindi si Juan ang darating kundi si Pedro.
'It's not Juan who's coming but (rather) Pedro.'

Walang tao doon kundi si Ben.
'There's no one there but/except (for) Ben.'

Wala siyang pera kundi sasampung sentimo.
'He has no money but/except (for) ten cents.'

(6) When 'but' does not have the meaning 'but rather' or 'except (for),' its most common Tagalog counterpart is *pero*. In formal contexts, *pero* is often replaced by *datapwa't*, *nguni't*, or *subali't*. Examples are:

Hindi namin magagawa ngayon, pero gagawin namin bukas.
'We can't do it today, but we'll do it tomorrow.'

Gusto kong pumunta sa parti, pero siya, ayaw.
'I want to go to the party, but he doesn't.'

Hinanap niya ang kuwintas $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(datapwa't)} \\ \text{nguni't} \\ \text{subali't} \end{array} \right\}$ hindi na niya nakitang muli.
'She searched for the necklace but she never saw it again.'

(7) *Nang* or the linker *na/ng* (cf. §3.8) plus one of the negators *hindi*, *di*, or *wala* (cf. §§7.13 and 7.14) are equivalent to certain uses of 'without' in English. They are used to coordinate clauses.

Clauses introduced by *nang* or *na/ng* plus *(hin)di* always have imperfective–aspect or perfective–aspect verbal predicates. If the predicate verb is in the imperfective aspect, the English equivalent has 'without' plus the '-ing' form of a verb; if the verb is in the perfective aspect, the English equivalent has 'without' plus 'having' plus a past participle. Examples are:

Nakakapagbisikleta si Manuel $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(nang)} \\ \text{na} \end{array} \right\}$ (hin)di humahawak sa manibela.
'Manuel can ride a bicycle without holding on to the handlebars.'

Umalis $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(siya nang)} \\ \text{(siyang)} \end{array} \right\}$ hindi niya nakita ang prinsipal.
'He left without having seen the principal.'

The sentences underlying clauses introduced by *nang* or *na/ng* plus *wala* may be possessive, existential, or indefinite. Examples are:

Paano siya makakapaglakbay $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(nang)} \\ \text{na} \end{array} \right\}$ wala siyang pera?
'How will he be able to travel without having any money?'

(cf. Wala siyang pera.
'He doesn't have any money.')

Naupo $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{silang nang} \\ \text{silang} \end{array} \right\}$ walang pagkain sa mesa.
'They sat down without there being any food on the table.'

(cf. Walang pagkain sa mesa.
'There is no food on the table.')

Lumaki $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{siyang nang} \\ \text{siyang} \end{array} \right\}$ walang nalalamang trabaho.
'He grew up without knowing any trade.'

(cf. Wala siyang nalalamang trabaho.
'He doesn't know any trade.')

(A clause introduced by *nang hindi* or *nang wala* is sometimes ambiguous, since *nang* may also introduce a time clause (cf. §6.14, subsection (5.c)), and the predicate of this clause may be negated by *hindi* or *wala*. Thus the sentence:

Umalis siya nang hindi niya nakita ang prinsipal.

may mean 'He left when he didn't see the principal,' as well as 'He left without having seen the principal.' In other cases, however, there is no ambiguity, since a *nang* time clause always refers to a situation or action confined to the past, while a *nang (hin)di/wala* clause equivalent to an English 'without' construction is not similarly restricted. A *nang* time clause, furthermore, like other adverbial clauses, may occur sentence-initially, while a coordinate clause introduced by *nang (hin)di/wala* is never sentence-initial.)

§ 7.20. Explanatory *at* clauses.

The use of *at* as a coordinating conjunction, equivalent to English 'and,' is discussed in §3.10, and in §7.19, subsection (1). The present section is concerned with the use of *at* in clauses equivalent to certain English clauses optionally introduced by 'that': e.g., the underlined English clauses in:

Mabuti at pupunta ka.
'It's good (that) you're going.'

Salamat at hindi ako nahuhuli.
'Thank goodness (that) I'm not late.'

Nagagalak ako at narito sila.
'I'm glad (that) they're here.'

While the English clauses that translate these *at* clauses serve several different grammatical functions, the *at* clauses themselves may conveniently be grouped together into a single class of EXPLANATORY CLAUSES, having in common the function of explaining the circumstances that underlie the opinion, attitude, etc., expressed in the first part of the sentence.

Virtually any type of statement structure may occur within an explanatory *at* clause. The words and clauses that may precede an explanatory *at* clause, however, represent a limited set. This set includes: a few adjectives (e.g., *mabuti* 'good,' *magaling* 'wonderful'); a few unmarked nouns (e.g., *malas* 'bad luck,' *milagro* 'miracle,' *suwerte* 'good luck'); a few social formulas and interjections (e.g., *salamat* 'thanks,' *savang* 'too

bad'); and a set of directional *ma-* and *mag-* verbs expressing emotion (e.g., *magalak* 'be glad,' *magnalaki* 'be proud,' *magsisi* 'be regretful,' *magtaka* 'be surprised', *mahiya* 'be embarrassed,' *malungkot* 'be sorry,' *matuwa* 'be happy'), followed by their topics. Some further examples in sentences are:

Magaling at tumulong ang lahat.
'It's wonderful (that) everybody helped.'

Milagro at gumaling ang Lolo.
'It's a miracle (that) Grandfather recovered.'

Sayang at hindi ka sasama sa kanila.
'It's too bad (that) you're not going with them.'

Nagagalak ako at pumasa ako.
'I'm glad (that) I passed.'

Nagtataka sila at si Juan ang pinili namin.
'They're surprised (that) Juan was the one we chose.'

Nahihiya ako at wala akong maihahandog na pagkain.
'I'm embarrassed (that) I have no food to offer.'

Nalulungkot ako at hindi ako makakadalo sa pulong.
'I'm sorry (that) I won't be able to attend the meeting.'

§ 7.21. Topicless phenomenal sentences.

Several types of sentences that lack topic *ang* phrases are presented in other sections: e.g., sentences with existential and indefinite *may-*phrases predicates (§4.23); exclamatory sentences (§4.24); certain social formulas (§7.22); and interjections (§7.23). The present section is concerned with a set of topicless sentences expressing atmospheric, temporal, and other phenomena. The English equivalents of these sentences often begin with the so-called impersonal 'it': e.g., 'It's raining,' 'It's six o'clock.' The Tagalog sentences consist either of a predicate or pseudo-predicate alone, or a predicate or pseudo-predicate plus one or more adverbials.

The predicates that occur in topicless phenomenal sentences are a small group of adjectivals and verbals; the pseudo-predicates that occur are certain time adverbs (cf. §6.8). The adjectivals are divisible into two groups: adjectives expressing atmospheric conditions and adjectives expressing time. The adjectives in the first group are all *ma-* adjectives: e.g., *mainit* 'hot,' *maginaw* 'cold,' *malamig* 'cool,' *maulan* 'rainy,' *maulap* 'cloudy.' These adjectives may constitute sentences by themselves, or may be followed by one or more enclitic particles or other adverbials. Examples are:

Mainit (na).
'It's hot (now).'

Maginaw (pa rin doon).
'It's (still) cold (there too).'

Maulan (kung Agosto).
'It's rainy (in August).'

Adjectives expressing time are *maaga* 'early,' which in its phenomenal use is frequently followed by the enclitic particle *pa*, and *gabi* 'late (in the day)' and *tanghali* 'late (in the morning),' which are normally followed by the enclitic particle *na*:

Maaga pa.
'It's (still) early.'

Gabi na.
'It's late (in the day).'

Tanghali na.
'It's late (in the morning).'

(The adjectives *gabi* and *tanghali* are homonymous with nouns meaning, respectively, 'night' and 'mid-day.' The adjectives, unlike the nouns, may be intensified (cf. §4.12); thus, also:

Gabing-gabi na.
'It's very late (in the day).'

Tanghaling-tanghali na.
'It's very late (in the morning).'

Verbals that occur as predicates of topicless sentences include: a group of *-um-* verbs expressing natural phenomena (*kumidlal* 'be lightning,' *kumulog* 'be thunder,' *gumabi* 'get on towards nighttime,' *humapon* 'get on towards afternoon,' *lumindol* 'be an earthquake,' *umaraw* 'be sunny,' *umulan* 'rain'), at least one *mag-* verb expressing a natural phenomenon (*magbaha* 'be a flood'), a group of *mag-* verbs expressing the beginning of a season (*magtag-araw/magtag-init/magtaglamig/mag-ulan* 'be the beginning of the hot (sunny)/hot/cool/rainy season'), a group of *mag-* verbs expressing time of day (*mag-ala-una* 'be one o'clock,' *mag-hatinggabi* 'be midnight,' *magmadaling-araw* 'be dawn,' *magtanghali* 'be noon,' *mag-umaga* 'be morning,' etc.), and at least one *magka-*verb (*magkagyera* 'be a war'). (The *mag-* verbs expressing time of day have no perfective or imperfective forms. The contemplated form occurs only in topicless sentences; the basic form occurs only after *bago* – cf. §6.15, subsection (4.a).) Examples in sentences are:

Bumagyo kahapon.
'There was a storm yesterday.'

Kumikidlat at kumukulog noong gumagabi na.
'There was lightning and thunder when it was getting on towards nighttime.'

Uulan ba o araw bukas?
'Will it be rainy or sunny tomorrow?'

Lumindol daw at nagbaha sa Mindanaw.
'They say there was an earthquake and a flood in Mindanao.'

{ Magtatag-araw
Magtatag-init } na.
{ Magtataglamig
Magtatag-ulan }

'It will soon be the beginning of the $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{hot} \\ \text{hot} \\ \text{cool} \\ \text{rainy} \end{array} \right\}$ season.'

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Mag-aala-una} \\ \text{Mag-aalas-dos} \end{array} \right\}$ na.

'It will soon be $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{one} \\ \text{two} \end{array} \right\}$ o'clock.'

Nagkagyera nang 1898.
'There was a war in 1898.'

The time adverbs that occur as pseudo-predicates in topicless sentences are mostly a subclass of *nang* point-time adverbs (cf. §6.8, subsections (1.a) and (5); as is noted in subsection (5), the marker *nang* is obligatorily deleted before a *nang* adverb used as a pseudo-predicate.) One of the enclitic particles *na* and *pa* or a point-time adverb more or less obligatorily accompanies the pseudo-predicate. Some examples are:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Alas sais} \\ \text{Ika-lima ng Disyembre} \end{array} \right\}$ na.

'It's $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{six o'clock} \\ \text{the fifth of December} \end{array} \right\}$ (already).'

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Umaga} \\ \text{Panahon ng ani} \end{array} \right\}$ pa.

'It's still $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{morning.} \\ \text{harvest time.} \end{array} \right\}$

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Lunes} \\ \text{Araw ng pista} \end{array} \right\}$ ngayon.

'It's $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Monday} \\ \text{the day of the feast} \end{array} \right\}$ today.'

A few nouns that do not occur in *nang* point-time adverbs are also used as pseudo-predicates in topicless phenomenal sentences: e.g., *giyera* 'war(time)', *bakasyon* 'vacation (time)', as in:

Giyera noon.
'It was wartime then.'

Bakasyon pa sa isang buwan.
'It will still be vacation time next month.'

§7.22. Social formulas.

Tagalog social formulas (fixed expressions of greeting, leavetaking, etc.) in some cases conform structurally to major sentence patterns, basic or derived, in others represent minor sentence patterns. The most common social formulas are presented below, under the following headings: (1) greetings; (2) introductions; (3) thanks; (4) apologies and requests for permission; (5) leavetakings; (6) other social formulas.

(1) Greetings. There is a set of greetings introduced by *magandang* (*maganda* 'beautiful' plus the linker *na/-ng*), which correspond to English greetings introduced by 'good':

Magandang	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{umaga.} \\ \text{tanghali.} \\ \text{hapon.} \\ \text{araw.} \\ \text{gabi.} \end{array} \right\}$
'Good	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'morning.'} \\ \text{'morning/afternoon.'} \\ \text{'afternoon.'} \\ \text{'day.'} \\ \text{'evening.'} \end{array} \right\}$

(*Magandang umaga* is used from sunrise to shortly before noon; *magandang tanghali* is used from shortly before to shortly after noon; *magandang hapon* is used from shortly after noon until sunset; *magandang araw* may be used at any time during daylight; *magandang gabi* is used between sunset and sunrise.) These greetings may be followed by *ho* or *po* (the enclitic particles expressing respect – cf. §6.4, subsection (f)), by the name(s) of the person(s) addressed, by phrases such as *sa inyong lahat* 'to you all,' etc. The response is a repetition of the greeting, plus, optionally, the enclitic particle *din/rin* (§6.4, subsection (c)), plus, obligatorily, the enclitic particle, *naman* (§6.4, subsection (i)):

Magandang	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{umaga} \\ \text{tanghali} \\ \text{hapon} \\ \text{araw} \\ \text{gabi} \end{array} \right\}$	(<i>din/rin</i>) naman.
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The response may also include *ho* or *po* (immediately before *naman*), the name(s) of the person(s) addressed, etc.

A more informal greeting than the above is:

(Ano,) kumusta?
'(Well,) how are you?'

Kumusta (cf. §7.11), optionally followed by *ka* or (*ho/po*) *kayo*, is also the standard way of inquiring after someone's health, and may follow some other exchange of greetings. The usual response is:

Mabuti (<i>ho/po</i>). (At)	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ikaw} \\ \text{kayo (ho/po)} \end{array} \right\}$	naman?
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'Fine. And you?'

to which the reply is:

Mabuti (ho/po) naman.

In addition to the above greetings, which may be used under a wide range of circumstances, there are many other greetings used only in particular contexts. For special occasions, there are such formulas as:

{ Maligayang
Magandang } Pasko.
'Merry Christmas.'

{ Masayang
Manigong
Masaganang } Bagong Taon.
'Happy New Year.'

Maligayang bati.
'Best wishes.' (Literally: 'Joyous greetings,' used on birthdays, anniversaries, etc.)

The conventional response to the Christmas and New Year greetings is:

Gayon din { sa iyo.
(ho/po) sa inyo. }
'The same to you.'

The response to *Maligayang bati* may be *Salamat* 'Thank you' (cf. subsection (3), below).
Greetings often used on the occasion of a chance encounter on the street are:

Saan ka(yo) pupunta?
(Literally: 'Where are you going?')

Saan ang lakad mo/ninyo?
(Literally: 'Where are you walking?')

Saan ka(yo) galing?
(Literally: 'Where are you coming from?')

The conventional response to all of these is:

Diyan lamang/lang.
(Literally: 'Just there.')

A greeting used on the telephone is:

Helo.
'Hello.'

(This borrowed expression is not used in the other contexts in which English uses it.)
A greeting used by a visitor approaching a house when there is no one in sight is:

Tao po.
(Literally: 'A person, sir/madam.')

To this the conventional response is:

Tuloy po (kayo).
'Come in.'

A greeting sometimes given to a relative of an older generation is:

Mano po.
(Literally: 'Hand, sir/madam.')

The conventional response is:

Pagpalain $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(ka)} \\ \text{(kayo)} \end{array} \right\}$ ng Diyos.
'God bless you.'

or

Kaawaan $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(ka)} \\ \text{(kayo)} \end{array} \right\}$ ng Diyos.
'God bless you.'
(Literally: 'God have mercy on you.')

(2) **Introductions.** In formal contexts, a self-introduction consists of one's name, the enclitic particle *po*, and one of the following formulas: *ang inyong lingkod* 'your servant,' *pag-utusan ninyo* 'yours to command.' The person responding gives his own name, followed by *po naman* plus one of the same two formulas. An example of an exchange of self-introductions is:

Pedro Cruz po, ang inyong lingkod.
Juan Reyes po naman, pag-utusan ninyo.

(In informal contexts, one may simply say: *Ako si _____* 'I am _____'.)
Introducing people to one another, one says:

Ipinakilala ko $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(sa iyo)} \\ \text{(ho/po) sa inyo} \end{array} \right\}$ si _____.

'I'd like you to meet _____.'
(Literally: 'I am introducing to you _____'.)

(3) **Thanks.** 'Thank you' is *Salamat (ho/po)*; 'Thank you very much' is *Maraming salamat* or *Marami hong/pong salamat*. The conventional response is:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(Walang)} \\ \text{(Wala hong/pong)} \end{array} \right\}$ anuman.
'You're welcome.'
(Literally: 'There isn't anything.')

Thanks for a favor done may be expressed by:

Salamat (ho/po) sa uulitin.
(Literally: 'Thank you for the next (favor).')

Conventional responses to this are:

Sa lahat (ho/po) ng sandali.
'You can count on me any time.'
(Literally: 'All the time.')

Nahahanda (ho/po) ako sa lahat ng sandali.
'I'm ready (to help) any time.'
(Literally: 'I am ready at all times.')

(4) Apologies and requests for permission. The usual equivalent of English 'Excuse me' is:

{ Patawad }
{ Patawarin } (ho/po)
(Literally: { 'Forgiveness.' }
{ 'Forgive.' })

Passing between people conversing, one may also say one of the following:

{ Makikiraan (ho/po). }
{ Mawalang-galang (na) (ho/po). }
(Literally: { 'Will ask to pass.' }
{ 'To be without respect.' })

(*Mawalang-galang* is also used in requesting permission under various other circumstances: e.g., permission to be heard, permission to leave a group, etc.)

The equivalent of 'I'm sorry' is:

Ikinalulungkot ko (ho/po).
(Literally: '(It) makes me sorry.')

(5) Leavetakings. The standard formal leavetaking formula is: *Paalam na (ho/po)*; the standard response to this is *Adyos (ho/po)*. A less formal leavetaking formula is:

Diyan { ka na. }
{ na (ho/po) kayo. }
(Literally: 'You (stay) there now.')

To this the usual response is: *Oo/Oho/Opo* (Literally: 'Yes' – cf. §7.4). One may also take one's leave by saying:

Aalis na (ho/po) ako.
'I will leave now.'

or:

{ Lalakad }
{ Tutuloy } na (ho/po) ako.

'I will leave now.'

(Literally: 'I will { walk }
{ proceed } now.')

or, if one is going home:

Uuwi na (ho/po) ako.
'I will go home now.'

The response to these may be either *Adyos (ho/po)* or *Oo/Oho/Opo*.

(6) Other social formulas. Other common social formulas include:

Kongratulesyon(s).
'Congratulations.'

Mabuhay.

(Literally: 'Live' – used as a toast, in which case the response is also *Mabuhay*, or as the equivalent of English 'Hurrah.')

{ Maligayang } { paglalakbay. }
{ Maluwalhating } { pagdating. }
'Bon voyage.'

(Literally: { 'Happy } { 'traveling.' }
{ 'Splendid } { 'arrival.' })

Sandali lamang/lang.
'Just a minute.'

Teka muna.

'Wait a minute.' (*Teka* is a contraction of *(Mag)huintay ka* and is used only in addressing people whom one addresses with the second-person-singular pronoun – cf. §3.3).

{ Upo }
{ Maupo } ka(yo).
'Have a seat.'

§7.23. Interjections.

INTERJECTIONS are words and fixed phrases used to express certain attitudes and emotions. They do not conform structurally to major sentence patterns. Some of the more common Tagalog interjections

are listed below, with their approximate English equivalents. The interjections are grouped according to the attitudes and emotions they usually express:

- (1) **Assent:**
- | | | |
|---------------|--|--|
| Buweno. | | 'Very well.' |
| Oo nga. | | 'Yes, indeed.' |
| (O,) sigé. | | 'OK.' |
| Sigé na nga. | | 'Oh, all right.' (Suggests reluctant assent – e.g., at end of bargaining session.) |
| Siyang tunay. | | 'That's the truth.' |
| Siyempre. | | 'Of course.' |
- (2) **Dismay, sympathy:**
- | | | |
|--------------|---|--|
| Ay! | | 'Oh, dear!' |
| (Ay,) buhay! | | 'That's life!' |
| (H)ayan! | | 'There!' ('I knew that would happen.') |
| Kawawa | { naman!
ka(naman)!
(naman) kayo! } | 'Poor you!' |
| Sayang! | | 'Too bad!' 'What a pity/shame/waste!' |
- (3) **Displeasure:**
- | | | |
|------------|-----------------------------|--|
| A, ganoon! | | 'So that's the way things stand!' |
| Akala | { mo yata!
yata ninyo! } | 'That's what you think!' |
| 'Buti nga! | | 'Serves you right!' |
| Heh! | | 'Shut up!' ('That's not a nice thing to say.') |
- (4) **Hesitancy:**
- | | | |
|------------|--|---|
| Este . . . | | 'Uh . . . ' (used while one pauses to collect his thoughts) |
|------------|--|---|
- (5) **Pain:**
- | | | |
|--------------------|--|---------|
| { Aray!
Aruy! } | | 'Ouch!' |
|--------------------|--|---------|
- (6) **Pleasure:**
- | | | |
|----------|--|--------------|
| Sapak! | | 'Great!' |
| Suwerte! | | 'What luck!' |

(7) Surprise:

{ A!
Aha! }

'Oho!'

{ Aba!
(Aba) nuku! }

'Oh!'

Ano!

'What!'

Kaya pala!

'So (that's the reason behind it)!'

Siyanga (ba)?

'Really?'

(8) Uncertainty:

Bahala na!

'Come what may!'

Kahimanawari!

'May it be so!'

(9) Warning:

{ Mag-ingat
Kuwidado }

ka(yo)!

'Careful!'

Hep!

'Watch your step!'

(In addition to interjections, there are also certain adjectives used to express the speakers' attitudes and emotions: e.g., *Magaling!* '(That's) wonderful!'; *Nakakasuya!* '(That's) disgusting!'; *Nakakaturwa* '(That's) funny!'; *Tama!* '(That's) right!'; *Terible* '(That's) awful!').

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