A TAGMEMIC ANALYSIS OF PANGASINAN CLAUSES

Ву

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LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

+ obligatory optional +(+...+) both tagmemes are optional, but the first does not occur without the second, and the second can occur alone +(+...+) the first is optional and the second is obligatory, but both can occur +(+...+) both tagmemes are optional, but the two must occur together Trans. Ind. independent transitive indicative Intrans. Ind. independent intransitive indicative Desc. Ind. independent descriptive indiaative Trans. Imp. independent transitive imperative Intrans. Imp. independent intransitive imperative trans. ind. dependent transitive indicative intrans. ind. dependent intransitive indicative desc. ind. dependent descriptive indicative Ar agent-focussed $G_{\mathbf{f}}$ goal- focussed If instrument-focussed

referent-focussed $R_{\mathbf{f}}$ P predicate S subject agent Α G goal T instrument R referent Sub. subordinator Cl. Rel. clause relator subject identifier Sidentifier Aidentifer agent identifier Gidentifier goal identifier L location Т time Rea. reason М manner Pur. purpose С condition mod. modifier emphatic е appositive appos. particle part. n noun pron. pronoun

adverb

adv.

adj. adjective verb noun phrase nph pronoun phrase pron. ph. adj. ph. adjective phrase verb phrase vph loc. ph. locative phrase demonstrative pronoun demons. det. determiner Ø zero allomorph reduplication Redupl. boundary marks for independent // // clauses boundary marks for dependent) clauses predicate modifier on phrase Pmod. level P_{t} predicate transitive Ptaf predicate of transitive agentfocussed clause $\mathtt{P}_{\texttt{tgf}}$ predicate of transitive goalfocussed clause Ptif predicate of transitive instrumentfocussed clause Ptrf predicate of transitive referentfocussed clause

I. INTRODUCTION

Pangasinan is one of the major languages spoken in the Philippines. It is spoken in the province of that name and in border towns of the neighboring province of Tarlac, both provinces located in the northern part of Luzon island. The speakers are by no means monolingual for geographical as well as historical reasons. To the north and east of the Pangasinan-speaking region lie the Ilocanospeaking provinces; to the south, the Pampango and Tagalog-speaking regions. Pangasinan adult speakers, therefore, can speak at least two of the languages of these polyglot areas. Because of colonization, Spanish and English are just as familiar to most of the speakers, with the latter much more so because of its use as the medium of instruction in all schools from third grade up.

For all the voluminous language studies made of Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilocano, Pampango, Maranao and other exotic Philippine languages, however, by native speakers as well as by teams of linguists from other countries, there is very little definitive and exhaustive investigation made of Pangasinan. Paul Schacter of the University of California at Los Angeles pointed out the unavailability of descriptive literature, necessitating a mere "skeletal"

presentation of Pangasinan" in his contrastive analysis of English and Pangasinan (Schacter, 3).

The Schacter work was aimed at "pointing the shortest route to mastery of the basic structure of English for
native speakers of Pangasinan. Such a route is conceived [af]
as a set of instructions to be given the speaker of Pangasinan, enabling him with least effort to move from the
structure of his language to the structure of English."
(Schacter, 1) This Schacter set out to do with a description of Pangasinan grammatical structures using the
transformational theory of Noam Chomsky.

A more recent linguistic study of Pangasinan is one on the verb system of that language by N. B. Epistola.

Using the transformational theory, she has devised "a set of rules which will explicitly define the role of verbal constructions in the over-all Pg grammar." (Epistola, 4)

The rules are formulated according to the generative-transformational principle: that grammar is "a device for generating all and only the grammatical sentences of the language."

(3) Her thesis is that "the verb which deceptively plays a simple role in Pangasinan . . . can be observed to actually dominate the entire Pg grammar as long as its infinitely varying transmutations can be accounted for as economically as possible." (2)

The present work is an attempt to describe Pangasinan clauses using the technique of tagmemics. The theory of

language on which tagmemics is based has been expounded by Kenneth L. Pike in his Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior. Longacre in his Grammar Discovery Procedures cites Pike's key ideas, "trimodalism" of language and "patterning" as the bases for the relatively new brand of grammar that is tagmemics. On Pike's trimodalism he states "language is structured in three semiautonomous but interlocking modes, phonology, grammar, and lexicon." (1964, 7) Therefore, instead of the old structural point of view of American linguistics that language is structured into successively ascending layers of structure where "phonemes built into morphemes which in turn built into syntactic units" (7), this new point of view allows for a "certain amount of congruence between phonological and grammatical constructions . . . with a certain inevitable incongruence." (8) Descriptions of language may then deal with "the grammatical structure of phonological strings and the phonological structure of grammatical strings." (8)

Patterning is another key point in Pike's theory of language which Longacre cites:

Central to human behavior is PATTERNING. . . . Granted the centrality of patterning in human behavior it follows that we should require that a linguistic theory give centrality to linguistic patterns. . . . The brand of grammar . . . (tagmemics) attempts to present linguistic patterns in straightforward and summary fashion—although elaboration of a pattern is necessarily step—wise and detailed. Such patterns when carefully described for one language may be compared and contrasted with patterns described for another

language. That tagmemics labels linguistic patterns in some fashion is here an advantage; it is difficult to compare things that do not bear names. Patterns thus described and labelled conform to 'the first significant attribute of a pattern' (comparability). (13-14)

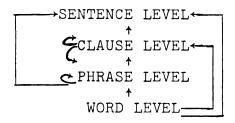
Tagmemics labels the linguistic patterns inherent in language "syntagmeme" for construction and "tagmeme" for the elements of a construction.

The tagmeme is a functional point (not necessarily a point in fixed linear sequence) at which a set of items and/or sequences occur. So intimate is the correlativity of function and set that each is mutually dependent on the other; the function cannot exist apart from the set nor has the set significance apart from the function. (Longacre, 15-16)

Tagmemics also focuses attention on the relationships between the patterns of a language. It assumes that

. . . every language has a grammatical hierarchy discoverable within the framework of that language and applicable to the language as a whole. Tagmemics thus carefully distinguishes emic levels from mere layering tendencies and from multiple nesting of type within type on the same level. (Longacre, 16-17)

Pickett in her work on Isthmus Zapotec (13) illustrates this feature of language with a graph showing the inter-relationships of the different hierarchical levels in a language. A portion of the graph is reproduced here:



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With the tools of tagmemics as outlined above, the present work focuses on the clause as a structural level in the grammatical hierarchy of Pangasinan. Because no attempt is made in this paper to present the other emic levels, it is intuitively assumed that they are existent. Mention will be made in the course of describing the structure of the Pangasinan clause of the phrase and the sentence as structurally relevant to the description.

The data for this study was obtained from four novels, two short stories, and the Pangasinan sections of two issues of a newspaper: Maria C. Magsano's Bales na Kalamangan, a novel published in Dagupan City, Pangasinan by the Pangasinan Review, Inc. in 1952; Samban Agnabenegan, a novel by the same author and published in Dagupan City by the same publisher in 1954; Juan C. Villamil's Ampait ya Pagbabawi and Imis na Kapalaran, two novelettes (place of publication is probably Dagupan, but publisher and dates of publication are not available from the copy whose original cover and prefatory pages have been mutilated); Manuel Biay's "Petang na Aro," a short story published in the July 24, 1966 issue of the Pangasinan Courier, a weekly newspaper published in Dagupan City, Pangasinan by the Pangasinan Review, Inc.; Leonarda C. Carrera's "Zosette," a short humorous sketch published in the June 5, 1966 issue of the Pangasinan Courier; E. M. Macalanda's "Bii Abong Cocina," a column for homemakers in the Pangasinan Courier, June 5, 1966 and July 24, 1966 issues; and the Pangasinan section

of the news "Balbalita" in the June 5, 1966 and July 24, 1966 issues of the <u>Pangasinan Courier</u>. Besides the language texts, self-elicited data was used whenever additional information was needed. The dialect which is made to represent Pangasinan in this paper is that of the town of Binmaley, the hometown of the writer, and that of the neighboring city of Dagupan where the novels, stories and newspapers were published. The idiolect is that of the writer.

Pangasinan Phonology. -- Pangasinan has nineteen segmental phonemes and suprasegmental phonemes of stress and pitch (Schacter's work, from which this paper borrows the phonological description, mentions the phonemic features of pause and open transition but these and other features like clusters, syllabication, and dipthongization are deemed to be insignificant to the subject matter of this paper and will not be delved into). The examples given here to illustrate the phonemes are all taken from the Schacter work (see page 7).

The Suprasegmentals. -- Pangasinan has two degrees of stress, strong and weak. The following minimal pairs illustrate how the placement of stress distinguishes meaning (only the strong is indicated):

/kawanan/ 'a waste' /kawanan/ 'right side'
/tila/ 'let's go' /tila/ 'a lie'
/laki/ 'grandfather' /laki/ 'man'

PANGASINAN CONSCNANT CHART

	bilabial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	back velar	glottal
Stop vl.	p	t				k	
vd.	ъ	đ				g	
nasal	m	n				ŋ	
spirant			s				h
trill		r					
lateral		1					
semi-vowel				У	V!		
Illustration	ns:						
/balás/	'recipro	ocate'	/palás/	• 0	hange of	clothin	g'
/duká/	'poor'	•	/tuk á /	• ,	ineg ar!		
/tamág/	'drowsin	ness'	/təmāk/	*::	ash'		
/manaya/	'really	•	/nanay/	† n	other'		
		/ŋar.ak/	thent				
/hwi̇́bis/	'Thu rs da	uy'	/aru/	' 1	ove!		
/tuluk/	'yield'	/y 0 gy 0g/	'earthqu	ake' /r	agāw/	'chest'	

PANGASINAN VOWEL* CHART

Filia nek separan selahirah 17 Livyah basar keropa	Enert	Central	Back
	Front	central	nack
high	i		· u
mid		9##	
low	a		

Illustrations:

/iba/	'companion'	/bibîi/	'women'
/ubí/	'a sweet tuber'	/ugugaw/	'children'
/abat/	'answer'	/bitáwan/	'star'
/karuman/	'yesterday'	/agaw/	'day, sun'

[#]FollowsSchacter's four-vowel system, with the occurrence of /e,o/ restricted to borrowed Spanish words.

^{**}Schanter has /w/ instead.

There are three pitch levels (Epistola, 7):

/1/ low /2/ mid /3/ high

three terminal contours:

rising, fading, sustained

The normal intonation pattern is a 232 plus one of the terminal contours (Epistola, 7). Pitch is contrastive on a higher structural level (probably a sentence). For example, intonation contour is one of the contrastive—identificational features of the interrogative sentence.

Illustration: /manakan si Nanay/ /manakan si Nanay/ 2 232 2 231 (Mother is eating) (Is Mother eating?)

Pangasinan Orthographic Symbols. -- In this paper, the illustrations for the different clause types are written in ordinary orthographic writing, instead of the usual phonemic writing. To facilitate the reading of Pangasinan data, the following list shows the correspondence between the phonemes and their conventional orthographic symbols (the variations in spelling by the writers of the language texts used are indicated):

Phonemes: p t k b m n n s h d g Orthographic symbol: p,f* t k,c*b,v* ng s,z* h,j* d n g m 1 i Phonemes: У 9 u W O-symbol: y u,w i,e a ue,e u,o r l

^{*}Used in Spanish names and words.

Phonemes: p t k b d g m n n s h Orthographic symbol: p,f* t k,c*b,v* ng s,z*h,j*d g m n 1 i Phonemes: У 9 u W O-symbol: 1 y u,w i,e a ue,e u,o r

^{*}Used in Spanish names and words.

II. PANGASINAN CLAUSE CLASSIFICATION

For a working definition of clause in this paper, the following definition from Elson and Pickett (64) is used:

A clause construction is any string of tagmemes which consists of or includes one and only one predicate or predicate-like tagmeme among the constituent tagmemes of the string, and whose manifesting morpheme sequence typically, but not always. fills slots on the sentence level.

In Pangasinan clauses, the predicate consists of the verb or its equivalent and the modifiers most closely related to it. The deliberate exclusion of "subject" as an identifying tagmeme in the above definition applies equally well to Pangasinan clauses which often contain covert "subjects" (in that third person singular is not expressed in some instances but only occurs as a zero allomorph) as well as overt ones; this omission, however, does not make of the Pangasinan "subject" an optional tagmeme.

Pangasinan clauses are of two major types: independent and dependent. The Pangasinan independent clause occupies a nuclear slot in a sentence and therefore can simultaneously be a sentence as well. The dependent clause, on the other hand, is derived from the independent clause and contains all the features of that type, with the addition of a

dependence-marking introducer; as such it cannot occur as a complete sentence but occupies a peripheral slot on that higher level as well as on the phrase and clause levels.

Cross divisions of this classification further distinguish clauses on the basis of their predicate fillers and the grammatical mode of the predicate. On the basis of the class of fillers that manifests the predicate, Pangasinan independent or dependent clauses are either transitive, intransitive, or descriptive.

The transitive and intransitive predicates are manifested by substantives which are aspect-marked and function like verbs (both Schacter and Epistola recognize this significant characteristic of Pangasinan "verbs"); the descriptive predicate is manifested by substantive and adjective phrases.

On the basis of grammatical mode, Pangasinan clauses are either in the indicative, imperative or interrogative modes. Another possible category, subjunctive, is not dealt with here for lack of data; the interrogative mode, upon analysis of the data on hand, was found to be more appropriately classified and analyzed on the sentence level.

Matrix 1 shows the clause types of Pangasinan, determined after contrastive analysis based on the above criteria and the procedures suggested by Longacre (1964) for identifying and describing clause-level tagmemes and structures. The nuclear or minimum form as well as the

^{*}Will be designated as verbs or verb phrases throughout.

maximum expanded ones of the clause types will be described in the sections devoted to each clause type.

Matrix 1 -- Clause Types

	Indicative	Imperative
Independent		
Transitive	X	X
Intransitive	X	x
Descriptive	X	
Dependent		
transitive	X	
intransitive	X	
descriptive	Х	

Within the structure of the clause, there is a relationship between the predicate and the other constituent tagmemes, resulting in a phenomenon which Pike calls "focus" in his "Syntactic Paradigm" (1963). Focus directs the attention to "one of several relations—without essential emotional overtones—between a predicate and some other part of a clause," (219) these relations being "between the action of the predicate and its actor, or between an action and its goal, or between an action and some other person, thing, or locality relevant to it. In each of these types, the physical event—the etic situation, the denotation—is constant . . . But the emic focus—the

directed attention of the observer (or speaker) to one of the relations of the activity as reported--becomes contrastive. Some one of the substantive components of the clause serves as the FOCUS-COMPLEMENT of this FOCUSSED ACTIVITY-RELATION of the predicate and often is formally marked as such." (217-218)

In Pangasinan clauses, this focussed item is formally marked by verb affixes and particles as well as specific classes of demonstratives and of personal pronouns. A more detailed discussion of focus will be presented later in Section III on the Transitive Indicative clause.

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•

III. THE TRANSITIVE INDICATIVE CLAUSE

Nuclear Form .--

+Pred. Trans. Ind. +Agent Trans. Ind. +Goal +Instrument +Referent

The nuclear formula given here does not show any item in focus, but is a composite of the nuclear formulas for the four subtypes given below.

Slot Fillers. -- Transitive indicative predicate is filled by verb phrases with transitive verbs as head and qualifying words and phrases as immediate modifiers. These immediate modifiers include (1) augmentatives like the negative ag 'not,' adverbial expressions and particles like la 'already,' kari 'please,' lawari 'almost,' met 'also'; and (2) manner phrases so semantically inseparable from the head verb as to function like a unit with it, and therefore is structurally different from the peripheral tagmeme Manner, e.g., sinmegep ya maganat '(he) went up in a hurry,' inmalagey ya angurang '(he) stood up, headed (somewhere)'. Transitive agent, goal, instrument and referent are filled variously by different sub-classes of substantive phrases structurally identifiable by means of contrast in focus. Table 1 shows these structurally contrastive phrases.

<u>Transitive Sub-Types.</u>—On the basis of Focus, the following are the four: sub-types of transitive indicative clause:

Agent focussed (A_f) Goal-focussed (G_f) Instrument-focussed (I_f) Referent-focussed (R_f)

Nuclear Formulas for the Four Sub-Types .--

Af = +Pt:vph* +A:nph1 +G:nph3
manlilinis si Nanay na dingding cleaning Mother the wall

(Mother is scrubbing the wall)

If = +Pt:vph +A:nph₂ +G:nph₃ +I:nph₁

panlilinis nen Nanay na dingding imay escoba
use for by Mother the wall that brush
cleaning

(Mother is using that brush for scrubbing the wall)

R_f = +P_t:vph +A:nph₂ +G:nph₃ +R:nph₁

ililinisan nen Nanay na dingding si Bai
cleaning for by Mother the wall Grandmother

(Mother is scrubbing the wall for Grandmother)

^{*}Predicate tagmemes are undistinguished here; however, they represent contrastive tagmemes and will be discussed later.

Focus and Grammatical Functions. -- On the basis of focus, the clause level nuclear tagmemes filled by substantive (noun and pronoun) phrases in Pangasinan transitive clauses are found to have bipartite grammatical functions when in focus. The "focus" function is equated with and will be termed "Subject" in this paper. That is, whenever a tagmeme is in focus, it has the function of Subject as well as its other basic function, i.e., agent, goal, instrument, referent. Matrix 2 shows the focus and non-focus roles or functions of the clause-level tagmemes of the different transitive clause sub-types.

Matrix 2

Transitive	Tagmemes						
Clause Sub-Types	Agent	Goal	Instrument	Referent			
Af	subject	goal	instrument	referent			
$\mathtt{G}_{\mathbf{f}}$	agent	subject	instrument	referent			
I _f	agent	goal	subject	referent			
Rf	agent	goal	instrument	subject			

Looking down the tagmeme vector columns, the bipartite functions for each tagmeme are the following:

Agent tagmeme

as subject - focus function
as agent - non-focus function

Goal tagmeme

as subject - focus function
as goal - non-focus function

Instrument tagmeme

as subject - focus function as instrument - non-focus function

Referent tagmeme

as subject - focus function as referent - non-focus function

Structural Manifestation and Class Fillers. -- In Table 1, the contrastive substantive phrases are labeled by numbers to identify the functions. Thus, NPh₁ phrases manifest the focus tagmeme, Subject; NPh₂ phrases manifest the agent tagmeme; NPh₃ phrases manifest the goal and instrument tagmemes; NPh₁ phrases manifest the referent tagmeme.

Contrast among these substantive phrases is achieved by the different particles and specific classes of demonstratives and personal pronouns which manifest the included phrase-level tagmemes (Tables 1, 2 and 3). It will be noted that the phrase fillers for goal and instrument clause tagmemes are the same: NPh3; they are contrastive nevertheless by virtue of the obligatory character of the goal and the optional one of the instrument; as well as by virtue of their different functions.

A syntactic paradigm will best show the functions and their fillers:

^{*}In the Af, Gf and Rf clauses.

NPh, manifesting agent-as-subject **p**# A imay akulaw na sira ed bulong na punti amunggos that old woman a fish in leaf of banana wrapped (The old woman wrapped a fish in a banana leaf) NPh, manifesting goal-as-subject Ρ Α G_f pinunggos to ed bulong na punti imay sira wrapped by her in leaf of banana that fish (The fish was wrapped by her in a banana leaf) NPh, manifesting instrument-as-subject Α If amunggosan to na sira imay bulong na punti a fish that leaf of banana used to wrap by her (The banana leaf was used by her to wrap the fish) NPh, manifesting referent-as-subject Ρ Α impunggosan to ed bulong na punti wrapped for by her in leaf of banana $R_{\mathbf{f}}$ na **si**ra imay ugaw that child a fish (She wrapped a fish in a banana leaf for the child) NPh, manifesting agent $G_{\mathbf{f}}$ Ι pinunggos nen akulaw ed bulong na punti imay sira wrapped by old woman in leaf of banana that fish (The fish was wrapped by the old woman in a banana

leaf)

^{*}For contrastive types, see Table 5. Whenever context is clear as to which P is meant, only symbol P is used.

 NPh_{2} manifesting goal

, A

G

Ι

amunggos imay akulaw <u>na sira</u> ed bulong na punti wrapped that old woman a fish in leaf of banana

(The old woman wrapped a fish in a banana leaf)

NPh, manifesting instrument

Ρ

Af

amunggos imay akulaw na sira ed bulong na punti wrapped that old woman a fish in leaf of banana

G

(The old woman wrapped a fish in a banana leaf)

NPh, manifesting referent

Ρ

 $^{\mathsf{A}}_{\mathtt{f}}$

G

Ι

Ι

amunggos imay akulaw na sira ed bulong na punti wrapped that old woman a fish in leaf of banana

R

para samay ugaw for that child

(The old woman wrapped a fish in a banana leaf for the child)

Just as the substantive phrases are formally marked for focus, so are the verbal phrases manifesting the transitive predicate. Transitive verbs are inflected with focusindicating affixes, besides the aspectual affix markers. The following is a list of such focus markers (the complete list of aspect and focus markers are found in Table 4).

in agent-focussed clauses

verb unmarked

Ρ

 $^{\mathsf{A}}\mathbf{f}$

G

mansasalog si Tatay na masitas watering Father the plants

(Father is watering the plants)

in goal-focussed clauses

-en

 $\mathsf{P} \qquad \qquad \mathsf{A} \qquad \qquad \mathsf{G}_{\mathbf{f}}$

sasalogen nen Tatay iramay masitas
being watered by Father those plants

(Those plants are being watered by Father)

in instrument-focussed clauses

impansalog nen Tatay imay nanurasay sira
used for watering by Father that where washed fish
(plants)

(Father used the fish washing for watering plants)

P A I

pansasalog nen Tatay imay nanurasay sira being used for by Father that where washed fish watering

(Father is using the fish washing for watering plants)

P A I_f

impaisalog nen Nanay imay nanurasay sira
asked to be used by Mother that where washed fish
for watering

R

ed si Tatay to Father

(Mother asked that the fish washing be used by Father for watering plants)

P A If
papaisalog nen Nanay imay nanurasay sira
is asking that by Mother that where washed fish
it be used for
watering

R

ed si Tatay to Father

(Mother is asking that the fish washing be used be used by Father for watering plants)

in referent-focussed clauses

-an

P A R G

isasalogan nen Tatay si Nanay na masitas watering for by Father Mother the plants

(Father is watering the plants for Mother)

Emphasis Versus Focus. -- In emphasis, according to Pike (1963, 219) "some one substantive is singled out for a direct isolated overlay of emotional connotation without formal (emic) reference to or dependence upon its relation to the activity to which it is in (etic) fact related." It is "independently applicable to tagmemes without restriction as to their prior involvement in focus." (Pike, 1964, 8) The dichotomy between focus and emphasis, each independent that the other, has resulted in Pangasinan clause, which are either focussed unemphatic, focussed emphatic, or unfocussed unemphatic and unfocussed emphatic. Emphasis in Pangasinan clauses is achieved by changing the more commonly used Predicate-Subject word order into Subject-Predicate, and

by the use of an apposition agent usually a pronoun which is obligatory whenever the agent tagmeme occupies an emphasis position. Suprasegmentals like pitch and intensity also seem to signal emphasis; however, no definitive statement can be made regarding these because there was no access to recorded data to support this hypothesis.

The following are examples of focussed and unfocussed tagmemes with and without the added feature of emphasis:

Focussed unemphatic

(The toy of your brother was destroyed by you)

Focussed emphatic

(It was the toy of your brother which was destroyed by you)

Unfocussed unemphatic

P A
$$G_{f}$$
 dinait $\underbrace{\text{nen Nanay}}_{\text{by Mother}}$ imay kawes ko sewed $\underbrace{\text{by Mother}}_{\text{that dress my}}$

(My dress was sewed by Mother)

Unfocussed emphatic

The Maximum Expanded Form of the Transitive Indicative Clause. -- The maximum expanded form of this clause type includes the following peripheral tagmemes:

Clause Relator, Time, Manner, Location, Reason, Purpose, Condition, Actor identifier, * Goal identifier*

The above list of peripherals is given in an unordered list instead of an occurrence form because or the high degree of variation in permitted order of occurrence. It is possible that two other peripherals can occur as well: instrument identifier and referent identifier; the corpus studied, however, yielded only the two identifier tagmemes above.

<u>Distribution of Peripheral Tagmemes</u>. —The following are the most frequent combinations of nuclear and peripheral tagmemes that were observed:

Nucleus Time

P $A_{\mathbf{f}}$ G

manpipikal si mayaman ya onla ed cine preparing to go the rich (woman) to go to movie

Τ

nen onsabi si Miguel when will arrive Miguel

(The rich woman is preparing to go to the show when Miguel arrives)

^{*}Tentatively classified on the clause level, but very possibly belongs on the phrase level.

Nucleus, Location

P G A_f

manaalagar na luluganan imay laki waiting for a conveyance that man

L

diad silong na kiew in under of tree

(That man is waiting for a ride under a tree)

Agent, Aidentifier, Predicate, Goal, Reason

Αç

sakey ya olup day senadores one of group they senators

Aidentifier

ya ipapangulo nen Sen. R. that headed by Sen. R.

P G

so mannengneng na walan kipapasen na corporaciones investigating what there is situation of corporations

Rea.

lapud kapipirdi na govierno because loss of government

(A group of senators, headed by Sen. R., is investigating the status of the corporations because of the loss incurred by the government)

Nucleus, Reason

P G A_f

mipapayabol na panbilay to si masiken begging a livelihood old man

his

Rea.

ta anggapoy anapan to because work his none

(The old man begs for his livelihood because he does not have a job)

Nucleus, Location, Time

(He will visit you here again in the next few days)

Nucleus, Manner, Location

P A M

tinaynan to ya angurang ya maganat left (him) she walked on hurriedly

L

diman ed arap na abong there in front of house

(She left him in front of the house, walking off in a hurry)

Time, Nucleus

T P_{mod} A P A G_{f} anggan kapigan agto nalinguanan nen Miguel si Fermin until when not he forgotten by Miguel Fermin

(Miguel will never forget Fermin)

Agent, Aidentifier, Time, Nucleus, Reason

Ar Aidentifier

si Marita ya balobalo ni ed Manila Marita who very new still in Manila

T P A P_{mod}

kanengneng to ed simbaan impaitonda to la as soon as she the church asked(it) she already seen to be stopped

R Rea.

ed conductor ta inmepas la to conductor for got off already

(As soon as she saw the church, Marita, who is a stranger in Manila, asked the conductor to stop the bus so she could get off)

Time, Nucleus, Goal identifier

T P A Gf Gidentifier nen nangel toy tawag inggaton to so libron babasaen to when heard he call put down he the book reading he

(When he heard the call, he put down the book he was reading)

Clause Relator, Nucleus, Reason

Cl. Rel. P A

makalanor ed saya pinakna nen Presidente related to this desired by President

G_f Rea.

so panalat ed si Jefe pian napaer iray lames ya nagagawa the replace the Chief so stopped the inequalities that happening

(In addition to this, the President chose to replace the Chief to stop the irregularities)

Agent, Clause Relator, Aidentifier, Nucleus

A Cl.Rel. Aidentifier P A Gf si Maria balet ya manlilinis inggaton toy panis Maria but who cleaning put down she broom

(Maria, on the other hand, who is cleaning, put down her broom)

Nucleus, Goal identifier, Gidentifier2

P A G_f Gidentifier Gidentifier inggaton to so bigao ya awit to ya anggapoy lugan put down she the basket that she that none contents carried

(She put down the empty basket she was carrying)

Nucleus, Condition

 $G_{\mathbf{f}}$ $P_{\mathbf{mod.}}$ A P C siopaman ya ondalan tampol dan nabirbir no kabat da whoever who passes by at once recognize if know they they

(They can readily recognize whoever passes by if they know him)

Nucleus, Purpose

P A R_f

initdan to ray ugugaw na panggalawan da given by him the children a place to play their

Pur.

pian naayat da ray amigos dan ondago so cajole they the friends their to come

(He gave the children a playground so that they can get their friends to come)

Peripheral Slot Fillers. -- The fillers of peripheral slots are the following:

Location is filled by locative phrase/clause; Time and Duration are filled by temporal phrase/clause; Manner is filled by manner phrase/clause; Reason is filled by reason phrase/clause; Purpose is filled by purpose phrase/clause; Condition is filled by condition clause; Identifiers are filled by dependent descriptive clauses, dependent intransitive indicative clauses, and dependent transitive indicative clauses.

Elsewhere in this paper it has been stated that particles play an important role in the structure of clauses.

It is worth repeating at this point that they are an important identificational-contrastive feature of peripherals in that they fill obligatory slots in many of the phrase and clause fillers of peripheral tagmemes; however, they are not the sole basis for contrast because there are others: the functional meaning of each peripheral and the external distribution of each. These particles also act as introducers or markers of dependence in dependent clauses; for this reason, they are listed in the section on Dependent Clause.

One other peripheral-like (and treated as such here) tagmeme is the Clause Relator, which has been so named because it has been observed to connect clauses with one another much like the English conjunctions. It fills the introducer slot of independent clauses, just as the particle fills the introducer slot of dependent clauses. Some examples are naogonoyan 'a little later,' tan 'and,' balet 'but.' Aside from these temporal expressions and conjunctions, various kinds of phrases also fill the Relator slot; but as far as the data analyzed in this paper is concerned, no clauses have been found to fill this slot. An unusual characteristic of this slot is that its fillers also fill, concurrently, the peripheral slots of Time and Manner. Because of this duality of the Relator tagmeme, it might be possible in a more comprehensive study to isolate its purely peripheral function on the clause

level and its relator function on the sentence or possibly discourse level.

IV. THE INTRANSITIVE INDICATIVE CLAUSE

Nuclear Form. --

+Pred. Intrans. Ind. +Subj. Intrans. Ind. +Referent

Slot Fillers. -- Intransitive indicative predicate is filled by verb phrases with intransitive verbs as head and qualifying words and phrases as immediate modifiers. Verbs that fill the head slot are either of the purely intransitive class of verbs that take no object or of the class of verbs which can function either as transitive or intransitive by the transforming feature of affixes. Besides aspect, transitivity or intransitivity is indicated in the affix system of Pangasinan verbs. The class of verbs that take an object (or is transitive) is marked as such by certain affixes which at the same time show aspect; the class of verbs that do not take an object (or is intransitive) is marked as such by certain affixes which at the same time indicate aspect (Table 4). Certain verbs that can either be transitive or intransitive are aspect-marked, but there is no distinction as to their transitivity or intransitivity morphologically.

The tagmeme having an agent function is referred to here as Intransitive Subject because the bipartite functions

of agent and subject have unified into Subject alone for the intransitive clause type. The Intransitive subject slot is filled by NPh₁ (see Table 1).

Statistically, the most frequent word order of the nuclear tagmemes is Predicate Subject.

Illustration

P S S ag akasel imay masiken not answered that old man

(The old man was unable to answer)

The Maximum Expanded Form of the Intransitive

Indicative Clause. -- The Intransitive Indicative clause includes the following peripheral tagmemes in its expanded form, given here in an order formula based on the most frequent linear order:

Clause Relator, Time, Manner, Location, Subject Identifier, Condition, Reason, Purpose

Slot Fillers. -- The peripheral slots of the Intransitive Indicative clause are filled by the same manifesting classes as for the transitive clause.

<u>Distribution of Peripheral Tagmemes</u>. -- Co-occurrences of more than two peripherals are common but the maximum number of such occurrences in this type of clause is four. The following are the most frequent combinations of nuclear and peripheral tagmemes in this clause type:

Time, Nucleus

T

nanlapud inkabalo nen ama to ever since widowed by father her

Ρ

P_{mod}.

ag lan balot angasawa not never got married anymore

(Ever since her father was widowed, he has never married)

Clause Relator, Nucleus, Location

Cl. Rel.S P P_{mod}.

tan saya inmalagey ya linmala ed dokulan to and this stood up went already to bedroom his

(And he stood up, already headed for his bedroom)

Time, Nucleus, Location, Purpose

T P Pmod.

kayari ton inerep so silew amaarap la after he turned off headed already the light

L Pur.

ed dokulan to ya manpainawa to bedroom his will rest

(After turning off his light, he headed for the bedroom to rest)

Subject, Sidentifier, Predicate

S Sidentifier

si Maria ya abayag lan agoonlad sociedad Maria who long already

not go to society

Ρ

nababaingan feeling shy

(Maria, who has not gone to society functions for a long time, feels shy)

Nucleus, Reason

Ρ

Rea.

iretiret ed belat na bayong ya anginan toy niog
walks with at heaviness where put he coconuts
difficulty of bag

(He shambled along because of the heavy bag where he has placed coconuts)

Nucleus, Location, Purpose, Reason

P L S

Pur.

onlad Baguio si Fermin ta manaral ed Academia Militar will go Baguio Fermin for will at Academy Military to study

Rea.

ta sikato so gabay ton panaralan for it is the like he where to study

(Fermin is going to Baguio to study at the Military Academy because that is where he wants to study)

Nucleus, Condition, Reason

P_{mod}, P S

agontonda yan bakal no agonsoko iray communistas not stop this war if not surrender the communists

Rea.

ta yooput met nen Estados Unidos so biskeg to for also by States United the strength her exerting

(This war is not going to end if the communists do not surrender because the United States is exerting her military might)

V. THE DESCRIPTIVE INDICATIVE CLAUSE

Nuclear Form. --

+Pred. Desc. +Subj. Desc.

Slot Fillers. -- The descriptive predicate is filled by adjectives or adjective phrases having adjectives as heads, and by nouns or noun phrases having nouns as heads. The descriptive Subject is called by that term because this tagmeme has only one function (i.e., that of a descriptive subject) in this clause type, and like the intransitive subject, it is manifested by substantive phrases of the nph group (see Table 1).

Illustration:

P A

kayogyogtanan ya anak si Maria youngest child Maria

(Maria is the youngest child)

The most frequent linear order of the nuclear tagmemes is Predicate Subject; however, there are almost as many Subject-Predicate ordered examples. These SP clauses not only differed from the PS clauses in word order but also in the tagmeme fillers. It is also in this clause type where emphasis was most prevalent.

The nuclear form of the Subject-Predicate ordered descriptive clause is

+Subj. Desc. +Pred. Desc. +Appositive Subj. Desc.

The descriptive subject is filled by noun phrases of the nph₁ group and by pronoun phrases with the <u>siak</u> group of personal pronouns as heads (not <u>ak</u> group); the appositive subject is filled only by pronoun phrases, with the <u>ak</u> group as heads. The Subject being preposed to the predicate is in emphasis position, and the appositive subject becomes obligatory.

Illustration

S₋ P

si Maria kayogyogtanan ya anak Maria youngest (she) child

(Maria is the youngest child)

S_p P Sappos.

si Maria tan saray amimiga to makalkalakal ira Maria and the friends her very sensible they

(Maria and her friends are very responsible and sensible)

The Maximum Form of the Descriptive Indicative Clause. -The same peripheral tagmemes observed in the preceding
clause types were also noted in the Descriptive clause.

Clause Relator, Time, Manner, Location, Sidentifier, Condition, Purpose, Reason

Two was the maximum number of peripheral co-occurrences.

The following are the nuclear-peripheral combinations most frequently occurring:

Nucleus, Time

P T

ambetel ed sayan kabuasan cold on this morning

(It is cold this morning)

Nucleus, Time, Location

P S T L

malikeliket si Juan nen kaakseb to ed petek di Maria very gay Juan when as soon he in front they M. as got off

(Juan looked very gay as soon as he got off in front of Maria's house (hers and her parents)

Nucleus, Time, Reason

ambetel so dalin ed saman ya kabuasan cold the earth on that morning

Rea.

ta kasumsumpal na uran for just finished the rain

(The ground was cold that morning for it had just rained)

 \mathbf{T}

Nucleus, Manner

 $P S P_{mod}$

 $\begin{array}{lll} \text{melagak} & \text{nin tuloy} & \text{ya kulang ed kalakal} \\ \text{small } \overline{\textbf{I}} & \text{still} & \text{who lacking in maturity} \end{array}$

(I was young then, quite immature)

Subject, Condition, Predicate

S C P

sa lantiy sugat lalo no aralem mabayag ya onabig a really wound especially long get healed if deep

(A wound, especially if it is deep, really takes a long time to heal)

Clause Relator, Subject, Sidentifier, Predicate

Cl. Rel. S

likud ed ciudad na Angeles saray limaran kabalbaleyan except for city of Angeles the five towns

Sidentifier

ya inggangan nen Presidente ya iyan ed pakaoley na PC which ordered by President which put under of PC jurisdiction

Ρ

so Arayat, Candaba, Magalang, Apalit tan San Luis are A., C., M., A. and S.

(Except for Angeles, the five towns which were ordered put under PC control by the President, were Arayat, . . .)

Nucleus, Reason

S Sappos. Rea.

saray rosas mankirlap ira ed corona ran linaew the flowers sparkling they in crown their dew

(The flowers sparkle because of their crown of dew)

Nucleus, Purpose, Reason

P S

wala ed arap na salming si Alin Dolores there in front of mirror Ali Dolores is Pur.

ya papalitengen to so lupa tan indengan to observing she the face and form her

Rea.

lapud impangisali to na balon kawes to because try on she a new dress her

(Ali D. is in front of the mirror, admiring herself because she has just tried on her new dress)

Nucleus, Location, Reason

S P_{mod}. Sappos. P L saray totoo ag ira masmasel ed simbaan the people not they very talkative in church

Rea.

lapud pasnok ya naawat da nen sermon because scolding received at sermon which they

(The people were very quiet at church because of the reprimand from the priest during the sermon)

Pangasinan Adjectives. -- It has been mentioned that the descriptive clause predicate slot is filled by adjectives or adjective phrases, and nouns or noun phrases. These two classes of fillers are characterized by a system of affixes which act as adjectivizers and nominalizers.

Pangasinan adjectives can be grouped into four kinds: existential, locative, noun + adjectivizers and/or reduplication, and "canonical" adjectives. The terms "existential" and "locative" are borrowed from Epistola's work (13-14).

The existential adjectives are:

wala 'there is'
anggapo 'there is none'

The locatives are:

wadya 'here'
wadtan 'there' (near addressee)
wadman 'there' (far from addresser and addressee)

For want of a better term, the adjectives which take no affixes and are neither the existential nor the locative variety have been called "canonical" in this paper. Some examples are

baleg 'big'
melag 'small'
asul 'blue'

The adjective stems that are formally marked by adjectivizers and/or the process of reduplication are derived from nouns or other adjectives, the "canonical" kind. The following prefixes transform noun roots into adjective stems:

Reduplication is a characteristic feature of Pangasinan morphology. It occurs in verbs as well as in adjectives and nouns. The adjectivizer-marked and "canonical" adjectives are subject to partial reduplication of the stem, with the resultant meaning of intensification. It is relevant to

note here that sometimes, instead of partial reduplication, intensification is achieved by the use of Spanish <u>mas</u> 'more,' as in

mas masamit 'more sweet'

To illustrate reduplication,

matabol 'juicy' +Redupl. = matabotabol 'very juicy'
makapaibeg 'enviable' +Redupl. = makapapaibeg 'very enviable'
andukey 'long' +Redupl. = andukdukey 'very long'

The above adjectives, all four kinds, can be nominalized by the addition of a preposed demonstrative determiner of the saman group + so which then makes the possible filler of a resultant noun phrase into a descriptive clause subject. Thus,

S p
say matabol so gabay ko
the juicy that liked by me

(It is the juicy one that I like)

S P
say sankalinisan so sankaabigan
the cleanest that the best

(The cleanest is the best)

Noun roots take affixes, transforming abstract nouns into other nouns which belong to the same class but which have more specialized meanings. These abstract noun stems are the same stems to which aspect-marking affixes are attached to transform them into "verbs." The following nominalizing affixes have been observed from the data here analyzed, but the list is probably far from complete:

ka-	as i	kakaebat <u>ka</u> bililay	'the way of answering' 'the way of living'
ka- + -an		<u>ka</u> kapuy <u>an</u> <u>ka</u> tatakut <u>an</u>	'weakness' 'source of fear'
paka-	as i	n <u>paka</u> sumpal <u>paka</u> ugip	'the ability to finish' 'the ability to sleep'
<pre>panag- (or panang-)</pre>			'the way to wash clothes' the way of telling'
manag-			'one who farms' 'one who fishes'

Some aspect-marked verbs can be nominalized by changing the placement of stress. Thus,

mipapayabol	'is begging'
mipapayábol	'beggar'
ipapatéy	'have someone killed'
ipapátey	'the way to die'

Another way of nominalizing aspect-marked verbs is the addition of demonstrative pronoun determiners, the resultant noun phrase being a filler of a descriptive clause subject slot or an emphatic agent slot or an intransitive subject slot.

To illustrate,

descriptive clause subject

S Sappos. P say amisag na niog sikatoy mangan the cracked a coconut he will eat

(The one who cracked the coconut is the one who will eat it)

transitive agent emphatic

 $A_{\mathbf{p}}$ P G

samay manpepesak akalmo na cuarta
that washing clothes found some money

L

ed bulsay pantalon in pocket pants

(The one who is washing clothes found some money in the pants pocket)

intransitive subject emphatic

_

samay midadait ontotoktok that asking to knocking sew on someone else's machine

(The one who is asking to sew on our machine is knocking at the door)

Ρ

VI. THE TRANSITIVE IMPERATIVE CLAUSE

Nuclear Form. --

+ Address +Pred. Trans. Imp. + Agent Trans. Imp.
+Goal +Instrument +Referent

The presence of the optional nuclear tagmemes of instrument and referent points to all the possibilities of focus in this clause type.

Slot Fillers. -- Imperative transitive predicate is filled by verb phrases having verbs as heads. Imperative verbs are inflected only with certain affixes marking aspect. Table 4 shows the aspectual affixes and the specified imperative affixes. This difference in fillers is one of the bases for contrast between the indicative and imperative clause types. Another basis for contrast is the kind of aspect expressed by the predicates. The imperative verbs only express the non-perfective aspect, both the durative and non-durative kinds; the indicative verbs express both the non-prefective and perfective aspects.

A third contrast lies in the agent filler of the imperative clauses. The agent tagmeme has a limited class of slot fillers in that it can only be manifested by a

certain group of pronouns: the 2nd person singular and plural, and a 1st-2nd person plural. An optional address tagmeme manifested by nouns is sometimes postposed to the pronoun agent, or preposed to the whole clause for emphasis as in

Address P A_f G L
Maria, manaliw kay belas ed tindaan
Maria, buy you rice in market

(Maria, go buy rice in the market)

The class of pronouns which manifests the agent tagmeme is either of the <u>ak</u> group or the <u>ko</u> group. The <u>ak</u> group occurs if the imperative clause is agent-focussed, as in

P A_f G
mangan ka niyay (na + iya + so) pising
eat you this vegetable

(You eat this vegetable dish)

The <u>ko</u> group occurs if the imperative clause is either goal-focused, instrument-focused, or referent-focused, as in

P A Gf
akan mo yay (iya + so) pising
eat you this vegetable

(You eat this vegetable dish)

Linear order is a significant feature of imperative clauses. Whereas the indicative clauses have a free (more or less) ordering of nuclear tagmemes, the imperative clauses usually have a strict Predicate-Agent word order; however, when negation is introduced as a predicate modifier, the order is slightly changed into

Pred. mod.:negation, Agent Imp., Pred. Imp. head:verb as in

P Af mod. A P mod. A P agka mandadait sew you not you sewing

(You sew) (Don't sew)

The Maximum Form of the Transitive Imperative Clause. -The transitive imperative clause includes the following
peripheral tagmemes given here in an unordered form:

Clause Relator, Condition, Time, Manner, Location Reason, Purpose

The maximum number of peripheral co-occurrences for this clause type observed in the data was two.

<u>Distribution of Peripheral Tagmemes.</u>—The following nuclear-peripheral combinations illustrate the most common occurrences of the transitive imperative clause.

Clause Relator, Nucleus, Reason

Cl. Rel. P_{mod.} A_f P G
balet agka mansalsalita na ag manepeg
but not you speaking a not proper

Rea.

ta pian agka makalmo na kakulkul mo so that not you find an enemy your

(But don't say anything improper so that you'll not make an enemy)

Condition, Nucleus

P Af Pmod. G

no bilbilang mabli so carne manaliw ka lay pising if in case expensive meat buy you vegetables already

(If meat is expensive, just buy vegetables)

Time, Nucleus

T P A G

no kasilonget isegep mo iratay akabalaybay when as soon as dark bring you those hanging in up the laundry line

(As soon as it gets dark, bring up the laundry)

Nucleus, Manner

 $P(\emptyset G)$ A $P_{mod.}$ M

linguanan mo la ya singa ag mon balot akabat forget(him) you now as though not you never known (him)

(Forget him as though you've never known him)

Time, Nucleus, Location

T PAG_f L

naani no ngarem dalaw yo si Maria ed hospital later when afternoon visit you Maria in hospital

(Later in the afternoon, visit your friend, Maria at the hospital)

Nucleus, Reason, Purpose

P A P_{mod}, G_f

laos yo la tay pangakan yo finish you now that eating your

Rea. Pur.

ta pian no onbangoy agi yo et napigalawan yo so that when wake up sister your play with you then

(Finish eating so that when your sister wakes up, you can play with her)

VII. THE INTRANSITIVE IMPERATIVE CLAUSE

Nuclear Form .--

+ Address + Pred. Intrans. Imp. + Subj. Intrans. Imp.

+ Referent

Slot Fillers. -- The optional address tagmeme is filled by a noun. The predicate is filled by a verb phrase, the head of which is a verb of either the intransitive class or the transitive-intransitive class; like the transitive imperative verb, the intransitive imperative verb expresses only certain aspects and can occur only with certain affixes. Table 4 shows the aspectual affixes which can occur with the intransitive imperative (as well as the transitive imperative) verb.

The subject tagmeme is filled by pronouns only of the ak group.

Illustration

Address P S R

anako mitongtong ka ed saratay sankaili
my child talk with you to those visitors

(My child, please talk to the visitors)

The Maximum Form of the Intransitive Imperative

Clause. -- Most of the peripheral tagmemes found in the other

clause types also occur in the intransitive imperative

clause, although the distribution is not as extensive.

The maximum number of peripheral co-occurrences observed

was two. The following are the nuclear-peripheral combinations observed:

Nucleus, Reason

P S P_{mod} .

mandilamos ka lan boker ta sipor ya antam met la wash face you now alone for from that know also already the start you

(Wash your face by yourself because you've known how for a long time now)

Nucleus, Clause Relator, Reason

PSP_{mod}.Cl.Rel. P_{mod}. Rea.

laka la balet ya makauna tapian makala kay irongan go you now but ahead so that can get you seat

(But you go ahead so that you can get seats)

Time, Nucleus, Reason

T P S P_{mod}.

natan laki la ta onggapo la so misa
now go you now for will begin the mass
now

(Better go now for the mass will start soon)

Nucleus, Time

P S R T

mirongo ka ed siak ed sayan agew dine with you with me on this day

(Dine with me today)

Nucleus, Location, Purpose

P S L Pur.

samar ka ed tindaan ta isaliwan mo ak na timbey pass by you in market so buy for you me a thread

(Pass by the marketplace so you can buy thread for me)

Nucleus, Purpose

PS P_{mod}, Pur.

laka la ta abet mo ra go you now for pick up you they

(Go pick them up)

Condition, Nucleus

C P S P_{mod}

no onla kayo ya masaksakbay ugip kayo la sirin if go you very early sleep you now then

(If you're leaving early, then you'd better go to bed now)

Condition, Nucleus, Location Reason

C P S P_{mod}. L

no agyo naabot so train lugan kayo la ed jeepney if not you catch up the train ride you already in jeep

R

ta pian ag kayo nalabian so that not you benighted

(If you don't catch the train, ride the jeep so that you won't be benighted)

VIII. THE DEPENDENT CLAUSE

Pangasinan dependent clauses are of various types distinguished by partially A. their external distribution. The types have a common nuclear form which consists of the nuclear tagmemes present in all of the independent indicative types. The same peripherals found in the independent types are also found in the dependent types, although co-occurrences of more than two are rare. One basis for contrast between the independent and the dependent indicative types is the presence of an obligatory introducer tagmeme in the latter. This tagmeme acts as a dependence marker and at the same time indicates the external distribution of the whole dependent clause.

Paralleling the independent clause types, therefore, the dependent clause types are:

dependent transitive indicative (and each focus
 sub-type and emphatic variant)
dependent intransitive indicative
dependent descriptive indicative

Depending on the dependent markers which indicate their external distribution as well, dependent clauses manifest the different peripheral tagmemes of the independent types such as Time, Manner, Location, Identifiers, Condition, Reason, or Purpose, as well as dependent slots on the

sentence level. Dependent clauses have been observed to manifest one nuclear tagmeme: goal; perhaps a more intensive search will yield more.

Nuclear Form. --

+Subordinator +Nuclear Trans. Ind., Intrans. Ind., Desc. Ind.

Slot Fillers. -- The subordinators or dependence markers are filled by particles. The following is a list of such particles:

nen 'when'

legan 'during'

no 'if'

ya 'who is, which is, that'

'for, because, so that'

pian, piano 'so that'

ta pian, ta piano 'so that'

lapud 'because'

kanian 'that is why'

ta ompan 'for it might'

The second part of the bipartite dependent construction is filled by the nuclear forms of the independent indicative clause types.

Illustrations

dependent transitive indicative clause

Sub. $P A_f$

nen mandadait si Nanay na kawes ko when sewing Mother a dress my

(When Mother was sewing my dress)

dependent intransitive indicative clause

Sub. P P_{mod}. S

lapud sinmabi ya asakbay si Nanay because arrived early Mother

(Because Mother arrived early)

dependent descriptive clause

Sub. P S

ya kayogyogtanan ya anak si Maria that youngest of child Maria

(That Maria is the youngest child)

The Maximum Form of the Dependent Clause. -- The same peripheral tagmemes found in the independent indicative types are found in this clause, so no attempt will be made here to list them individually.

IX. SOME COMMENTS ON TRANSFORMATIONS OF CLAUSE-LEVEL TAGMEMES

Particles have been shown in the various clause types to be identificational-contrastive features of substantive phrases, modifier phrases, and dependent clauses. They also play a role in the transformability of one tagmeme or tagmeme sequence to another. Nuclear portions as well as the peripheral tagmemes of transitive and intransitive indicative clauses transform to descriptive indicative subject with the addition of the particle <u>so</u> preposed to the predicate. For example,

intransitive indicative <u>subject</u>

P S L

linma si Maria ed dayat ed Binmaley went Maria to sea in Binmaley

(Maria went to the seashore in Binmaley)

transforms to descriptive indicative <u>subject</u>

S P

si Maria so linma ed dayat ed Binmaley Maria went to sea in Binmaley

(Maria was the one who went to the seashore in Binmaley)

transitive indicative goal

 $P \qquad \qquad A \qquad \qquad G_{\mathbf{f}}$

dadaiten nen Nanay so kawes ko sewing by Mother the dress my

(My dress is being sewed by Mother)

transforms to descriptive indicative subject

3

samay kawes ko so dadaiten nen Nanay that dress my sewing by Mother

(My dress is the one Mother is sewing)

transitive indicative instrument

P A G I

impanbekal nen Nanay na dalin imay wasay used to cultivate by Mother the soil the axe

(The axe was used by Mother to cultivate the soil)

transforms to descriptive indicative subject

S P

samay wasay so impanbekal nen Nanay na dalin that axe used to cultivate by Mother the soil

(The axe was the one used by Mother to cultivate the soil)

transitive indicative referent

 $P \hspace{1cm} A \hspace{1cm} R_{\mathbf{f}} \hspace{1cm} G$

initdan nen akulaw imay ugaw na sira given by old woman that child a fish

(The child was given fish by the old woman)

transforms to descriptive subject

samay ugaw so angitdan nen akulaw na sira that child given to by old woman the fish

Ρ

(That child was the one to whom the old woman gave the fish)

intransitive indicative <u>locative</u>

P S L

linma si Maria ed dayat ed Binmaley went Maria to sea in Binmaley

transforms to descriptive indicative subject

S P

diad (dia + ed) dayat na Binmaley so nila nen Maria here in sea of Binmaley went by Maria

(It was in the seashore in Binmaley where Maria went)

The resultant descriptive clauses above (containing transformed tagmemes) can be fillers of nuclear tagmemes for transitive, intransitive and descriptive indicative clauses. The particle <u>ya</u> is substituted for the particle <u>so</u>, turning the descriptive predicates into modifier phrases.

To illustrate,

descriptive indicative clause

S P

samay kawes ko so dadaiten nen Nanay (My dress is the one Mother is sewing)

becomes a transitive indicative goal

P A T G_f Gidentifier

isulong ko nabuas imay kawes ko <u>ya</u> dadaiten nen Nanay wear I tomorrow that dress my which sewing by Mother

(Tomorrow, I will wear the dress which Mother is sewing)

descriptive indicative clause

S P

diad dayat na Binmaley <u>so</u> nila nen Maria (It was in the seashore in Binmaley where Maria went)

becomes the <u>subject</u> of another descriptive clause

P S Sidentifier

marakerakep imay dayat na Binmaley <u>ya</u> nila nen Maria very beautiful that sea of Binmaley where went by Maria

(The seashore of Binmaley where Maria went is very beautiful)

descriptive indicative clause

S F

samay ugaw <u>so</u> angitdan nen akulaw na sira (The child was the one to whom the old woman gave the fish)

becomes intransitive indicative subject

P P_{mod}. L S

amawil la ed abong imay ugaw returned to house that child already

Sidentifier

ya angitdan nen akulaw na sira whom given to by old woman the fish

(The child to whom the old woman gave the fish has returned home)

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

SAMPLE PASSAGES ILLUSTRATING PANGASINAN CLAUSES

A. Desc. Ind.

S:nph P:adj.

1.//Sayan laki atagey// tan
this man tall and

Desc. Ind.*

P:adj.ph.

2.//medio mamimistizo chino na daiset.//
quite almost- Chinese a little
mestizo

Trans. Ind.

P:v. A:nph₂ G:nph₁
3.//Sankaagpit toy melag a balkot,// tan
carrying- he small package and
under-hisarm

Trans. Ind.

L:loc.ph. P:v. A:nph₂ G:nph₁
4.//diad sakey a limato sankalibit toy melag a maleta.//
in one of hand carrying he small suitcase

Trans. Ind.

A:nph P:vph A:nph G:nph head mod.

5.//Say sombrero to asaniban ton maong so lupa to the hat his covered it well the face his

^{*}In these clauses, if the 3rd person singular pronoun manifests a focussed tagmeme (i.e., transitive agent-as-subject, intransitive subject, transitive goal-as-subject) it takes the form of a zero allomorph; otherwise, it occurs as to.

^{// //} Independent clauses.

^() Dependent clauses.

trans. ind.

Source: Samban Agnabenegan, p. 6.

B. Intrans. Ind.*

P:vph

head mod.

1.//Nankalkalna ya sinmegep,//
went-quietly went-up

Intrans. Ind.*

P:v 2.//nantondatonda stopping-now-and-then

intrans. ind.

Sub:part. P:vph S:nph mod.

3.(ta ompan nalanor so puso to ya mansakit)
for might will the heart to get sick affect her

intrans. ind.*

Sub:part. P:vph Rea:reason ph.

head mod.

4.(no nakesawan a maong ed pantatatdang to.)//

if will-get- much in climbing- her tired steps

^{*}In these clauses if the 3rd person singular pronoun manifests a focussed tagmeme (i.e., transitive agent-as-subject, intransitive subject, transitive goal-as-subject) it takes the form of a zero allomorph; otherwise, it occurs as to.

^{// //} Independent clauses.

^() Dependent clauses.

Trans. Ind.

C1.Rel. P:vph A:nph₂ G:nph₁ L:loc.ph.

head mod.

5.//"Anganko ipawil toak pa met ed abong mi// tan
maybe take- he really to house our and
back me also

Intrans. Ind.

Loc:adv. S:nph P:vph mod. Head
6.//diman kami la manayam there we already will-live

trans. ind.

G:desc. ind.
Sub:part. P:vph A:nph
head mod. mod. P:nph S:nph
head

7.(ta amta to met ya kabokbokoran kon anak.)//
for knows also the only I child
he that

Source: Samban Agnabenegan, p. 5.

^{*}In these clauses if the 3rd person singular pronoun manifests a focussed tagmeme (i.e., transitive agent-as-subject, intransitive subject, transitive goal-as-subject) it takes the form of a zero allomorph; otherwise, it occurs as to.

^{// //} Independent clauses.

^() Dependent clauses.

TRANSLATIONS

A. 1. This man was tall and 2. looked a little like a Chinese mestizo. 3. Under his arm was a small package and 4. in one hand, he was carrying a small suitcase.

5. His hat completely covered his face 6. so that Evangelina could not tell if he were handsome.

B. 1. She went up the steps slowly 2. stopping now and then 3. for it might affect her heart 4. if she got too tired in climbing the steps. . . . 5. "Maybe he will take me home and 6. there we will live 7. for he knows that I am the only child."

APPENDIX II TABLES

Table 1. Fillers of clause-level slots

	1			
POCUS	1	C L A U S B T A G	N E N E S	
20000	t AGENT	GOAL	INSTRUMENT	REFERENT
A _g	: : det, = <u>+ (+</u> demons, + part,) : : prom.: <u>ak</u> group	i det, = ±(+ demome.+part. ₂); ;	det. ₁ = +part. ₁	: NPh, = +det.1 ± d**.2 : +H:nph/pron.ph. : det.1 = +part.1 : d t.2 = +(+demona.+pa*t.2) : pron.: siak group : part.1: ed/para : demone.: samen group : part.2: si/so
G _g	: +H:nph/prom.ph. : det., = + part., : det., = - (+demons. +part.,) :	demons.: <u>imen</u> group		: NPh, = +det. ₁ ± fet. ₂ : +R:nph/pron.ph. : det. ₁ = + part. ₁ : det. ₂ = ±(+demons.+part. ₂) : pron.: <u>siak</u> group : part. ₁ : <u>ed/para</u> : demons.: <u>samn</u> group : vart. ₂ : <u>si/so</u>
I _f	MPh ₂ = ± det. ₁ ± det. ₂	#Ph ₃ = +det. ₁ *det. ₂ +H:nph det. ₁ = + part. ₁ det. ₂ = *('+demons. +part. ₂) part. ₁ : ma demons.: inan group part. ₂ : so	det, = +(<u>+</u> demons, + part,)	<pre>: RPh, = +det.1 ± det.2 :</pre>
Rg	NPh ₂ = ± det. ₁ ± det. ₂	det. _l = + pert. _l	MPh ₃ = +det. ₁ *det. ₂ +H:nph det. ₁ = + part. ₁ det. ₂ = *((*demons, *part. ₂) : part. ₁ : na demons.: 1man group : part. ₂ : so	: NPh ₁ = +det. +H:nyh/pron.ph : det. = +(+demons. +part.) : pron.: ak group : demons.: isan group : part.: ai/so :

TABLE 2.--Pangasinan personal pronouns.

		Familiar	Honorific
he Ak group	:		
singular	lst	ak	
	2nd	ka	kayo
	3rd	Ø	ira, ra
plural	lst	kami (exclusive)	
	lst	tayo (inclusive)	ti
1	st & 2nd	ita, ta	ti
	2nd	kayo	ki
	3rd	ira, ra	ira, ra
he <u>Ko</u> group	:		
singular	lst	ko, ta*	
	2nd	mo	уo
	3rd	to	da
plural	lst	mi (exclusive)	
	lst	tayo (inclusive)	ti
ls	t & 2nd	ta	ti
	2nd	yo	yo
	3rd	da	da
The si + ak	group:		
plural	lst	siak	
	2nd	sika	sikayo
	3rd	sikato	sikara
plural	lst	sikami (exclusive)	
	lst	sikatayo (inclusive)	sikiti
ls	t & 2nd	sikata	sikiti
	2nd	sikayo	siki
	3rd	sikara	sikara

^{*}When the actor is 1st person singular and the object is 2nd person singular or plural, as in <u>aawiten ta ka</u> 'I am taking you along.'

taking I you along

-			

TABLE 3.--Pangasinan demonstrative pronouns.

The Aman Group	The <u>Saman</u> Group	The <u>Iman</u> Group	Meaning
Singular			
aya	saya	(i)ya	'this, this one'
aman	saman	iman	'that, that one' (object far from speaker and addressee)
atan	satan	itan	'that, that one' (object near the addressee)
Plural			
araya	saraya	iraya	'these'
araman	saraman	iraman	'those' (see aman)
aratan	saratan	iratan	'those' (see atan)

TABLE 4.--Aspect markers in Pangasinan verbs.

Aspect	Affix	Illustrations
Perfective		
continuative	nan-	nandait ak 'I sewed (for a length of time)'
instantaneous	in-, -inm-	<pre>insalog ko may inuras 'I used the rice washing to water (the plants)'</pre>
		tinmekleb imay ugaw 'The baby turned over on his tummy'
	in- + -an	indaitan koy kawes to 'I sewed a dress for her'
	imp a n-	impansalog ko may inuras 'I used the rice washing to water (the plants)'
	impa- + -1-	<pre>impaisalog ko may inuras ed sikato 'I let him use the rice washing to water (the plants)'</pre>
	a-	akarunyas ak 'I slipped'
	<pre>a= + redupli= cated stem</pre>	akarkarunyas ak 'I slipped (repeatedly)'
	ama-	amaalay tambal 'She asked someone to buy medicine'
	an-(- a ŋam-)	<pre>aningkat na alama (singkat) 'She caught a crab (deliberately)'</pre>
	nipa-, ni-	nikalto may lulutoen ko 'The food I was cooking accidentally spilled'
	aki-	akidait ak ed sikara 'I sewed at their place (using their machine;'
	aka-	akapaltog na too 'He unintentionally shot a man'
on-Perfective		
durative**	um- + Redupli- cated stem (- unun-)	umpapawil ya inagewagew 'He comes home everyday'
••	i- + Redupli- cated stem	<pre>ipapawil to 'He is giving it back'</pre>
••	pa- + Redupl. stem + -en	pasusumpalen to may programa 'He is waiting for the program to end'
••	Redupl. pa- + -1-	<pre>papaisumpal to may trabajo to 'He is having his work finished for him by someone'</pre>
••	pan- + Redupl. stem (-pam - ~paŋ-)	pansasalog ko may inuras 'I am using the rice washing to water (the plants)'
••	pi- + Redupl. stem	pidadait ko 'I am having something sewed for me'
**	man- + Redupl. stem (~man -~man-)	

Aspect	Affix	Illustrations
on-Perfective (con't.)		
durative**	mi- + Redupli. stem	midadait ak 'I am sewing (using someone else's machine)'
	na- + Redupl. stem	nasusumpal ko la 'I am almost done with it'
**	Redupl. stem + -an	tetepetan da 'They are asking him questions'
**	Redupl. stem + -en	tetepeten da so agawa They are asking him about what happened'
**	pi- + Redupl. stem + -an	pitotontongan da 'They are talking with him'
••	pi- + Redupl. stem + -en	pipapayungen da 'They are letting him share the umbrella'
**	i- + Redupl. stem + -an	isasalitaan da 'They are talking in his behalf'
**	mang- + -i- + Redupl. stem	mangitatanem na pigaran kamatis 'He is planting a few tomatoes'
**	pang- + -i- + Redupl. stem + -en	pangigagalangen kod si maestra to 'I am asking him to greet his teacher'
non-durative	um-	umpawil ak 'I will return'
•	stem + Ø affix	pawil ka 'Go back'
	-an	bangatan to ak na piano 'She will teach me piano'
•	i-	ipawil ko may sinaliw ko 'I will return what I bought'
•	i- + -an	isaliwan koy kawes to 'I will buy a dress for her'
•	man-	mandait ak
•	mang- + -1-	mangitanem kay kamatis 'Plant tomatoes'
•	mi-	midait ak 'I will sew (using somebody's machine)'
•	na-	na <u>sumpal</u> ko 'I will finish it'
•	pa-	pasumpal mo 'Wait for it to finish'
	pa- + -en	pasumpalen ko 'I will wait for it to end'
•	pa- + -i-	paisumpal ko may trabajok 'I will let someone finish my work'
	pa- + -i- + -an	paisaliwan koy kawes to 'I will ask someone to buy her a dress'
•	pan-	pansalog ko may inuras 'I will use the rice washing to water (the plant
•	pi-	pisalog moy tanaman ko 'Water my plants, too (together with yours)'
•	pi- + -an .	pitongtongan motay sangkaili 'Talk with the visitor'

TABLE 5. -- Summary table of nuclear constructions.

Clause Types		Nucles	Nuclear Form	
Independent				
Trans. Ind.				
$^{ m A}_{ m F}$	+Ptaf:vph	+A:nph ₁ Subf.	+G:nph3	
G.	+Ptgf:vph	+A:nph2	+G:nph ₁ Subj.	
T J	+Pt1f:vph	+A:nph ₂	+G:nph3	+I:nph ₁
Rf	+P _{trf} :vph	+A:nph ₂	+G:ubh3	+R:nph ₁ Subj.
Intrans, Ind.	+Pred. Intrans. Ind.	ans, Ind,	+ Subj. I	+ Subj. Intrans. Ind.
Desc. Ind.	+Pred, Desc	Desc. Ind.	+Subj. Desc. ind.	sc. ind.
Trans. Imp.	-Address +	+Pred. Trans. Imp. +Goal <u>+</u> Instrume	ns, Imp. -Instrument	+Agent Trans. Imp. +Referent
Intrans. Imp.	+Address +	+Pred. Intrans. Imp.	ans, Imp.	+Subj. Intrans. Imp.
Dependent				
intrans. ind.	+Subordinator	or	+Pred,Int	+Pred, Intrans. Ind. + Subj. Intrans. Ind. *

*Each independent clause type has a corresponding dependent type, introduced a subordinate tagmeme. by

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