

TAGALOG CAUSATIVE VERBS

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1. INTRODUCTION

For this paper, I have employed a method described in a recent paper, 'Computers and Tagalog Grammar'.¹ As discussed in that paper, computers can be used not only for 'computing', but also — and more importantly for our purposes — for extracting, grouping and comparing, at high speed, linguistic examples from a text. On the basis of this processing we can do the initial analysis on relatively less well-known languages or linguistic features. Or we can compare the computer output with the results of previously conducted research and analysis. In the present case, Tagalog causative verbs have been analyzed by a number of scholars, and I will be here comparing the computer results with theirs.

I am still, at this time, in the process of building my Tagalog corpus, that is, feeding it into my computer. At present this corpus stands at 14,000 sentences, drawn from the dialog portion of popular written Tagalog. Of this number 5,000 sentences were taken from five short love story novels recently published in the Twin Hearts series. These stories will not be remembered as great literature, but the language in them seems quite colloquial language. 5,000 sentences are from six issues of Liwayway magazine. In each case, I took only the dialog portions, not the narrative portions.²

This is already a respectable number, sufficient to begin getting some answers and raising some questions. However, for some less frequent linguistic features, the corpus is still too small to provide very many examples. For the purposes of this study, I browsed through some supplementary material, namely a book of plays, *Mga Makabagong Dulang Pilipino*, edited by Jose Javier Reyes (1983). Browsing is not as accurate as a computer search, but it did turn up a few more examples of the lower-frequency features.

In the future I hope that I and other scholars will be able to work with a substantially larger corpus and to develop corpuses in other varieties of Tagalog, such as the narrative portions of literature, non-fiction prose, and perhaps actual recorded conversation. As the size and diversity of the corpus increases, we can speak with greater confidence and authority.

¹ In Gonzalez 1984.

² The *Twin Hearts Series* (all Manila, 1983) includes the following five books:

Lualhati Bautista, *Isang Milyong Pisong Babae*
Liza Delcruz, *Sir, Mahal Kita*
Helen Meriz, *Pag-ibig, Paalam na nga ba?*
Gilda Olvidado, *Ano ang Bulong ng Puso?*
Elena Patron, *Bakit Mahal ka sa Akin?*

The comics and issues used were:

TSS Komiks Weekly, Sept. 21, 1983
Nobela Klasik, July 1, 1983 and Sept. 9, 1983
Wakasan Komiks Magasin, Oct. 19, 1983
Silangan Klasiks, Sept. 24, 1983
Kuwento Komiks, Sept. 24, 1983
Teens Weekly, Sept. 23, 1983
Topstar Entertainment Magazine, Sept. 23, 1983
Pinoy Komiks, Sept. 23, 1983
Pioneer, Sept. 22, 1983
Universal Komiks Magasin, Sept. 21, 1983
Pogi Star Cinemagazine, Sept. 21, 1983
Tapusan Komiks, Sept. 19, 1983
Hiwaga Komiks Magasin, Sept. 15, 1983

The issues of *Liwayway* from April 7 to May 12, 1975, were used.

2. ESSENTIALS OF TAGALOG GRAMMAR

Preliminary to dealing with Tagalog causative verbs, it is necessary to run quickly through the basics of Tagalog grammar, especially with regard to the verb inflections. This is necessary, but really impossible, given the richness and complexity of this grammar. I can here present only the major points. Anyone desiring a more detailed discussion should refer to the published presentations of the grammar (Schachter and Otanes, 1972, de Guzman 1978, McFarland 1976, Ramos and de Guzman 1971).

2.1 NOMINAL COMPLEMENTS AND CASE

There are four different types of nominal expression in Tagalog (and other Philippine languages): personal pronouns, deictic pronouns, personal nouns, and common noun expressions. Every nominal expression has three different forms, but their distribution is such that they define four different major nominal complements, which are usually called (1) subject or topic, (2) actor, (3) object, and (4) direction.³ Table 1 exemplifies this distribution.⁴

There are a number of other complements, such as locative, benefactive, instrumental, etc. There are all derived from the direction complement.

³Some linguists, such as Schachter, prefer the term *topic*; others, including myself, use the term *subject* to refer to the same phenomenon.

⁴Data in this paper are transcribed in accordance with the standards of the Institute of National Language. Essentially, these standards follows the International Phonetic Alphabet, but a few explanatory notes are necessary.

- a. The spelling *ng* represents the phoneme /ng/.
 - b. Two standard abbreviations are *ng* (as an independent word) for the article /nang/, and *mga* for the plural marker /manga/.
 - c. Glottal stop /'/ is not represented by a distinctive letter. The following points about glottal stops should be noted:
 - i. Words written with an initial vowel begin with a glottal stop:
ako = /'ako/
 - ii. Two consecutive vowels within a word are separated by a glottal stop:
doon = /do'on/
 - iii. A hyphen within a word represents a glottal stop:
mag-abot = /mag'abot/
 - iv. A glottal stop at the end of a word is expressed together with the accent, to be discussed in d.
 - d. Accent in Tagalog is primarily a matter of vowel length. Vowel length, and final glottal stops, are expressed together in the following manner:
 - i. No accent indicates that the penultimate vowel is long, and there is no final glottal stop:
dito = /di:to/
 - ii. An acute accent on the final syllable indicates that the penultimate vowel is short, and there is no final glottal stop:
kami = /kamí/
 - iii. A grave accent on the final syllable indicates that the penultimate vowel is long, and there is a final glottal stop:
bata = /ba:tá/
 - iv. A circumflex accent on the final syllable indicates that the penultimate vowel is short, and there is a final glottal stop:
upo = /upo?
 - v. A long vowel before the penultimate syllable is marked with an acute accent:
mákita = /ma:kí:ta/
- Vowel length in the final syllable is not distinctive.

2.2 VERBAL ASPECT

Tagalog verbs are inflected to express a basic form and three aspects or tenses: perfective, imperfective, and future.⁵ The basic form of a verb contains a particular affix (prefix, infix, suffix, or circumfix), which identifies the focus (see below) of the verb and determines the rest of the aspect inflection. In this paper the primary affixes that we are concerned with are: *mag-*, *-um-*, *i-*, *-in-*, *-an-*, *ma-*,⁶ and *maka-*. The aspect inflections for these affixes are shown in Table 2.⁷

2.3 VERB FOCUS

Focus is the most complicated and irregular part of Tagalog verbal inflection. In brief, a given verb-root can express a relationship between two or more persons or things, any of which can appear as the sentence subject.⁸ For example the verb-root *bigay* grammatically as an actor complement (the giver), an object complement (the thing given), and a direction complement (the receiver). This relationship can be seen in construction with the gerund form (*pagbibigay*):

- (1) ang pagbibigay ko ng pera sa babae⁹
 giving I money woman
 'the act of my giving money to the woman'

This gerund phrase can be converted into a sentence by making one of the nominal complements the subject and giving the appropriate affix to the verb. For example, the actor complement (*ko*) can become the subject, in which case it is replaced by the subject form (*ako*); the verb has the prefix *mag-* and is said to be in actor focus.

- (2) Nagbigay ako ng pera sa babae.
 'I gave money to the woman'

⁵ Schachter and Otanes used the term *contemplated*. I find this an unfortunate choice; perhaps something like *impending* would have been better. In any case, I prefer the term *future*.

⁶ *Ma-* and *ma-* follow the same inflectional pattern.

⁷ Affixes are indicated in the following ways:

- a. Prefixes are written with a following hyphen (*mag-*).
- b. Suffixes are written with a preceding hyphen (*-in-*).
- c. A circumfix (the combination of a prefix and a suffix) is written with a hyphen in the middle (*ma-an*).
- d. An infix is written with a hyphen before and after (*-um-*). An infix is placed immediately after the first consonant of the base:
 -um- + gawa^â ⇒ gumawa^â
- e. The symbol *-R-* represents reduplication, that is, the doubling of the first consonant and first vowel of the base, usually with lengthening of the vowel:
 -R- + gawa^â ⇒ gagawâ

⁸ This discussion basically follows the discussion of 'Affix-correspondence classes' beginning on p. 293 of *Tagalog Reference Grammar*.

⁹ Most examples in this paper are presented in a trilinear format: the first line is the example, the third line is the translation. In the second line are found words to identify the important lexical items in the example. No attempt is made to identify the form of words in the example, such as aspect, focus, etc. Nor is any identification given to small particles, such as the articles presented in Table 1, or words like *na* 'already' and *pa* 'still'.

Examples with a number beginning with 'C' are actual examples taken from the corpus. Examples with a number beginning with 'X' are actual examples taken from the supplementary materials. Examples without 'C' or 'X' are examples created – for the purpose of illustrating the theory – on the basis of past informant work, my own knowledge of the language, and reference to the literature mentioned earlier.

If the object complement becomes the subject, the verb has the prefix *i-* and is said to be in object focus.

- (3) Ibinigay ko ang pera sa babae.
'I gave the money to the woman'

If the direction complement becomes the subject, the verb has the suffix *-an* and is said to be in direction focus.

- (4) Binigyán ko ng pera ang babae.
'I gave money to the woman'

Other types of nominal complement, such as benefactive and instrumental, can also become sentence subjects — with corresponding verb focuses, but that is beyond the scope of our primary interest here.

2.4 VERB CLASSES

Not all verbs enter into construction with the same types of nominal complements, nor do they use the same affixes to indicate the various focuses. Thus, it is necessary to postulate different classes of verbs on the basis of the nominal complements they combine with, and the focus affixes they take. There are a large number of different classes, the most important of which are summarized below.

Subjectless Verbs. Some verbs — mostly expressing meteorological conditions or acts of nature — never have a subject. These are predominantly *-um-* verbs.

- I. -um-: umulan 'rain'

Intransitive Verbs. Some verbs combine with subjects, but not with actor, object, or direction complements. That is, they have only one form. There are several large classes of intransitive verbs.

- I. -um-: lumakás 'become stronger'
II. mag-: magbihis 'get dressed, change clothes'
III. ma-: magutom 'become hungry'
IV. -in: ginawín 'feel cold'
V. -an: pawisan 'become sweaty'

Transitive Verbs. Some verbs combine with actor and object complements, either of which can become the subject.

- I. mag-(AF)/i-(OF): magtago/itago 'hide'
II. mag-(AF)/-in(OF): mag-isip/isipin 'think'
III. -um-(AF)/-in(OF): humanap/hanapin 'look for'
IV. mag-(AF)/-an(OF): magbukás/buksán 'open'
V. maka-(AF)/ma-(OF): makakita/mákita 'see'
VI. maka-(AF)/ma-an(OF): makalimot/málimutan 'forget'

Ditransitive Verbs. Some verbs combine with actor, object, and direction complements, any of which can become the subject.

- I. mag-(AF)/i-(OF)/-an(DF): maglagáy/ilagáy/lagýán 'put'
II. mag-(AF)/-in(OF)/-an(DF): magdalá/dalhín/dalhán 'carry, bring'
III. -um-(AF)/-in(OF)/-an(DF): bumili/bilhin/bilhán 'buy'

Directional Verbs. Some verbs combine with actor and direction – but not object – complements, either of which can become the subject.

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| I. -um-(AF)/-an(DF): | pumunta/puntahan 'go to' |
| II. -um-(AF)/-in(DF): | dumalaw/dalawin 'visit' |
| III. mag-(AF)/-in(DF): | magtungo/tunguhin "go toward" |

3. CONSTRAINT ON DEFINITE OBJECT COMPLEMENTS

There is another point to be mentioned before going on to causative verbs. It is an important point in the grammar of Philippine languages, but a point usually neglected or avoided by linguists describing those grammars (see McFarland 1978).

In Tagalog – and many other Philippine languages – for the vast majority of transitive and ditransitive verbs, a definite object complement must become the subject in an ordinary sentence. Thus for example we can say:

- (5) Nakita (OF) ko siyá.
 see I he
 'I saw him'

but we cannot say:

- (6) Nakakita (AF) ako sa kanya.

On the other hand, if the object complement is indefinite, then actor focus is quite all right.

- (7) Nakakita ako ng tao.
 see I person
 'I saw a person'

A definite object complement is allowed if the verb is in a relativized environment; that is, if it is relativized, or it is in an existential sentence or a question.

Most Tagalog verbs can be relativized, that is, they can be used to identify a particular referent, rather than say something about him/it. In the simplest form of relativization an article, usually *ang* (meaning 'the one that'), is placed before the verb and the subject is dropped. The focus of the verb is determined by the underlying 'case' of the missing subject. The resulting *ang* construction can be used as a common nominal expression in another sentence:

- (8) Babae ang nákita ko.
 woman see I
 'The one I saw was a woman'

In a similar construction *ang* is replaced by the linker *na*; the resultant *na* clause can be placed in construction with, or in modification of, another nominal expression.

- (9) Babae ang titser na nákita ko.
 woman teacher see I
 'The teacher that I saw was a woman'

In such relativized *ang* and *na* constructions, definite object complements are permissible.

- (10) Babae ang nakakita sa kanya.
 woman see him

'The one that saw him was a woman'

- (11) Babae ang titser na nakakita sa kanya.
 woman teacher see him
 'The teacher that saw him was a woman'

Similarly, in existential sentence, verbs with definite object complements are permissible.

- (12) Mayroong nakakita sa kanya.
 exist see him
 'Someone saw him'

- (13) Walang nakakita sa kanya.
 not-exist see him
 'No one saw him'

Finally, information questions which request the identity of the 'subject' or 'object' – as well as many other information questions – contain relativized constructions.

- (14) Sino ang nakita mo?
 who see you
 'Who did you see?'

- (15) Sino ang nakakita sa kanya?
 who see him
 'Who saw him?'

4. APTATIVE VERBS

We should mention another group of verbs. These are derived verbs with *maka-* and *ma-* prefixes, to be distinguished from verbs like *makita*, which are original and not derived. The derived verbs are called aptative or potential verbs, and express either the possibility of the particular action, the accidental occurrence of that action, or in some cases, simply the completion of the action.¹⁰ The semantic problems of this set of verbs are not of immediate concern to us here.

In general, aptative verbs are derived (1) from *-um-* verbs by replacing *-um-* with *maka-*; (2) from *mag-* verbs by replacing *mag-* with *makapag-*; (3) from *-in* verbs by replacing *-in* with *ma-*; (4) from *i-* and *-an* verbs by adding the prefix *ma-*.

I.	burnili	⇒ makabili	'buy'
II.	magbigay	⇒ makapagbigay	'give'
III.	bilhin	⇒ mabili	'buy'
IV.	ibigay	⇒ maibigay	'give'
V.	bigyan	⇒ mabigyan	'give'

The aspect inflections for these verbs follow the patterns for *maka-* and *ma-* presented earlier.

¹⁰Schachter and Otanes (pp. 338ff.) refer to these as 'ability and involuntary-action verbs'. I follow Howard McKaughan 1958 in using the term *aptative*.

5. BASIC CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTION

A causative or ‘indirect action’¹¹ verb expresses an action carried out or experienced by one person or thing, but motivated in some way — requested, ordered, allowed, etc. — by another person or thing.

- (16) Binigyán ko siya ng pera.
give I she money
'I gave her some money'
- (17) Pinabigyán ko siyá ng pera.
cause-give I she money
'I had someone give her some money'

The formation of causative verbs tends to be fairly regular and systematic, much more so than the formation of ordinary verbs. Causative verbs can be formed from most ordinary verbs by adding the syllable *pa-* to the verb root, with some realignment of the focus affixes and nominal complements.

5.1 CAUSATIVE NOMINAL COMPLEMENTS

Causative verbs usually have one more nominal complement than the corresponding non-causative verbs; that is, the person or thing behind — indirectly causing — the action. Let us call this person or thing ‘actor-1’, and the one actually doing or experiencing the action ‘actor-2’. The actor-1 complement is marked in the same way as the non-causative *actor* complement (*ko*, *ng babae*, etc.). The actor-2 complement is marked in the same way as the non-causative *direction* complement (*sa akin*, *sa babae*, etc.).

- (18) Hinanap ko ang susi.
look-for I key
'I looked for the key'
- (19) Ipinahanap niyá sa akin ang susi.
cause-look she me key
'She told me to look for the key'

Other complements are the same in both causative and non-causative constructions. Thus, in some sentences the actor-1 complement may be indistinguishable from the direction complement.

5.2 FOCUS AFFIXES

For all classes of verb, actor-1 focus is marked by the compound prefix *magpa-*.

- (20) Bumili akó ng saging.
buy I banana
'I bought some bananas'
- (21) Nagpabili akó sa kanyá ng saging.
cause-buy I her banana
'I asked her to buy some bananas'

¹¹Indirect action is Schachter and Otanes' term (pp. 321ff.).

For all classes of verbs except those with *-an* object focus, causative object focus is marked by the prefix *ipa-*.

- (22) Ibinigáy ko sa kanya ang pera.
give I her money
'I gave her the money'
- (23) Ipinabigay ko sa kanya ang pera.
cause-give I her money
'I had someone give her the money'

(See (18) and (19) above for an example for *-in* object focus.)

- (24) Nálamán niyáng lálabás ka.
know she go-out you
'She found out that you were going out'
- (25) Ipinaalám ko sa kanyáng lálabás ka.
cause-know I her go-out you
'I informed her that you were going out'

-An object focus verbs become *pa-an* causative object focus verbs.

- (26) Binuksán niyá ang pintó.
open he door
'He opened the door'
- (27) Pinabuksán niyá ang pintó.
cause-open he door
'He had someone open the door'

Actor-2 focus is the least regular part of the causative inflection, but still relatively well-behaved.

-Um- and *ma-* actor focus verbs become *pa-in* actor-2 focus verbs.

- (28) Umiyák siyá.
cry she
'She cried'
- (29) Pinaiyák ko siyá.
cause-cry I she
'I made her cry'
- (30) Natulog siyá.
sleep he
'He went to sleep'
- (31) Pinatulog ko siyá.
cause-sleep I he
'I put him to sleep' (In boxing, 'I knocked him out')

In theory at least, *mag-* actor focus verbs become *papag-in* actor-2 focus verbs (see Schachter and Otanes 1972: 326 and de Guzman 1978: 340). (But see the discussion below.)

- (32) Nagbayad siyá ng buwíz.

pay he tax
 'He paid a tax'

- (33) Pinapagbayad siyá ng buwís.
 cause-pay he tax
 'He was required to pay a tax'

Only a few *maka-* actor focus verbs form actor-2 focus verbs. The forms that we get have *pa-an*.¹² These forms should perhaps be classified as idioms, rather than the output of any rule.

- (34) Nakarinig kami ng awit.
 hear we song
 'We heard a song'
- (35) Pinaringgán niyá kami ng awit.
 cause-hear she we song
 'She let us hear a song'

Direction focus verbs become *pa-an* causative direction focus verbs (as is (16) and (17) above).

5.3 CAUSATIVE REFLEXIVE VERBS

These verbs are derived from other causative verbs, in cases where the actor-1 complement and the actor-2 complement or the object complement or the direction complement refer to the same person or thing. That person is represented by the subject; the verb has the *magpa-* prefixes and is presumably in actor-1 focus.

- (36) Nilitratuhan niyá kami.
 photograph he we
 'He took our picture'
- (37) Nagpalirato kami sa kanya.
 cause-photograph we him
 'We asked him to take our picture'
- (38) Tumátabâ si Milena.
 get-fat
 'Milena is getting fat'
- (39) Nagpápatabâ si Milena.
 cause-get-fat
 'Milena is trying to gain weight'

5.4 CAUSATIVE ASPECT INFLECTIONS

Causative aspect inflections follow the same patterns as those for non-causative verbs. The only question has to do with the reduplicated forms; that is, whether the reduplication applies to *pa-* or to the first syllable of the verb-root. In the case of actor-1 focus verbs, it is *pa-* that is doubled.

¹²These forms are not mentioned in Schachter and Otanes 1972, but de Guzman 1978 cites them (350-2).

For other focuses reduplication applies either to *pa-* or to the first syllable of the verb-root.

Ramos and de Guzman (1971) offer this comment:

Note that either the first syllable of the affix or the first syllable of the root may be reduplicated. The difference is more of style. The accepted form which is found in the *Balarila*, the official grammar book of the Institute of National Language, is the partially reduplicated root word. But in spoken, conversational forms, the reduplicated affix is more common (606).

6. LOOKING AT THE DATA

The account thus far looks very neat and very satisfying to a linguist. Linguists, language teachers, and language learners have a passion for neat systems, since they are easier to learn and easier to explain. Unfortunately, such neatness does not always agree with what is happening in the language.

When we look at the data on causative verbs, we are quickly impressed with two things. First, we see the tremendous differences in the frequency of different forms. Whereas there may be hundreds of examples of some forms, we are hard put to find even one or two examples of some other forms. *Ipa-*, *pa-in*, and *magpa-* forms are quite abundant. Others are less frequent, and some are downright hard to find. Second, we find a large number of idioms, non-derived forms, in the data.

6.1 IPA-OBJECT FOCUS VERBS

The highest frequency of causative verbs are the object-focus forms with the prefix *ipa-*. These are derived from all types of object-focus verbs, except *-an* object-focus verbs. There were more than 100 examples of such forms in the corpus. It should be noted that the subjects of these verbs all represent underlying definite object complements.

- (C1) Ipaakyát nyó kay Lena sa kuwarto ko.¹³
cause-raise you room my
'Have Lena bring (it) up to my room'
- (Cf. (40) Iáakyát ni Lena sa kuwarto ko.
raise room my
'Lena will bring it up to my room')
- (C2) Ipinakúkuha ko nga sa kapatid ko ang aking kotse.
cause-get I brother my my car
'I'm asking my brother to get my car'
- (CF. (41) Kukunin ng kapatíd ko ang aking kotse.
get brother my my car
'My brother will get my car')
- (C3) Huwág mo nang ipaalala sa akin ang aksidenteng iyon.
don't you cause-remember me accident that
'Don't remind me of that accident'
- (Cf. (42) Lagi kong naáalala ang aksidenteng iyon.
always I remember accident that
'I always remember that accident' (I can't forget it))

¹³As noted in [9], examples whose numbers begin with 'C' are actual examples taken from the corpus.

- (C4) Gusto ko lang ipaalám sa iyó ang nangyari dito.
want I just cause-know you happen here
'I just want to let you know what happened here'
- (Cf. (43) Malalaman mo rin ang nangyari dito.
know you too happen here
'You will know what happened here too')
- (C5) Ipanánakaw ba ulí sa atin ang bangkáy ni Andrea?
cause-steal again us body
'Is (he) asking us to steal Andrea's body again?'
- (Cf. (44) Nánakawin ba natin ang bangkáy ni Andrea?
steal we body
'Will we steal Andrea's body?')

The productivity of this affix is demonstrated by its occurrence with borrowed words, for example, *ipa-annul*, *ipa-finance*, *ipa-frog test*.

- (C6) Iyón hô bang kasál ni Larry ay hindí puwedeng ipa-annul?
that marriage not can
'Can't we have Larry's marriage annulled?'

6.2. PA-IN ACTOR-2 FOCUS VERBS

Examples of actor-2 focus verbs derived from intransitive *-um* and *ma-* verbs are almost as abundant as those for *ipa-* objecti-focus verbs.

- (C7) Evelyn, paupuín mo ang bisita mo.
cause-sit you visitor your
'Evelyn, let your visitor sit down'
- (Cf. (45) Úupô ang bisita mo.
sit visitor your
'Your visitor will sit down')
- (c8) Pinapuntá niyá akó dito kahit gabí na.
cause-go he I here even evening
'He asked me to come here even though it was late'
- (Cf. (46) Pumuntá akó dito kahit gabí na.
go I here even evening
'I cam here even though it was late')
- (C9) Pagágandahín pa kitáng lalò.
cause-be-pretty I+you even-more
'I will make you even more beautiful'
- (Cf. (47) Gágandá ka pang lalò.
become-pretty you even-more
'You will become even more beautiful')
- (C10) Pinagágálit mo kami talagá.
cause-be-angry you we really
'You're really trying to make us angry'
- (Cf. (48) Nagágálit kami talagá.
get-angry we really
'We really get angry?')
- (C11) Pinatuyô ko sa sikat ng araw.
cause-be-dry I light sun

'I dried (it) in the sun'

- (Cf. (49) Natuyô sa sikat ng araw.
 be-dry light sun
 (It) become dry in the sun')

In contrast to the high frequency of actor-1 focus verbs derived from intransitive verbs, those derived from transitive verbs are much less frequent. There were four examples in the corpus. Two of these were in free (un-relativized) environments. Neither of them contained a definite object complement.

- (C12) Pinakuha akó ng Papa ng *management*.
 cause-take I
 'Papa had me take management (in college)'

- (Cf. (50) Kumuha akó ng *management*.
 take I
 'I took management')

- (C13) Kailangang pakainin ko muná ang mga kaibigan ko.
 need cause-eat I first friend my
 'I need to feed my friends first'

- (Cf. (51) Kákain muná ang mga kaibigan ko.
 eat first friend my
 'My friends will eat first')

Sentence (C14) may be interpreted as having either a definite or indefinite object complement. Since it is an existential sentence, either type of complement is allowed.

- (C14) Waláng ibáng taong pinatikím akó niyán.
 not-exist other person cause-taste I that
 'Nobody else has let me taste that'

- (Cf. (52) Tumikím siyá niyán.
 taste he that
 'He tasted that (indefinite)'
 Or (53) Tinikmán niyá iyán.
 taste he that
 'He tasted that (definite)')¹⁴

The fourth example is in a very complex, relativized environment which contributes very little to our discussion.

- (C15) Sino bang tao ang gustong maging pakainin na lang?
 who person want become cause-eat only
 'Who wants to become such that he can do nothing but be fed?)

There were also a number of extraneous examples, which perhaps raised more questions than they answered. One of these involves a *pa-in* actor-2 focus verb derived from a *mag-* actor focus verbs. As discussed above, *mag-* actor focus verbs are supposed to have *papag-in* causative forms. However, there is great irregularity in the forms that actually occur. In this case, we have *pa-in*; below we will discuss other forms that occur.

¹⁴The difference between these two examples is hazy, because of the nature of the meaning of *tikim* 'to taste'. If we substitute *kain* 'to eat,' the difference becomes much clearer. *Kinain siyá niyán*. 'He ate some of that.' *Kinain niyá iyán*. 'He ate (all of) that.'

- (C16) Waláng kuwentang paaralin ang babaé dahil mag-áasawa lang itó.
 not-exist account cause-study girl because marry just this
 'It's no use to send a girl to school because she'll just get married'
 (Cf. (54) Mag-áaral ang babaé.
 study girl
 'The girl will study')

In one example, a *pa-in* actor-2 focus verb is derived from an *-an* intransitive verb.

- (C17) O, Marissa, pinakabá mo akó.
 cause-be-nervous you I
 'Oh, Marissa, you made me nervous'
 (Cf. (55) Kinákahabán akó.
 be-nervous I
 'I'm nervous (about what will happen)')

We also find *pa-in* verbs derived, not from other verbs, but from adjectives.

- (C18) Hindi ko kayang pasayahin ang sarili ko.
 not I able cause-be-happy self my
 'I'm not able to make myself act happy'
 (Cf. (56) Masayá akó.
 happy I
 'I am happy')

- (C19) Bigláang binuksán ang pintó, pinalayaà.
 sudden open door cause-be-free
 'Suddenly (they) opened the door and let (him) go'
 (Cf. (57) Malayà siyá.
 free he
 'He's free')

- (C20) Talagáng pinabibilíb mo akó, Mr. Rodrigo.
 really cause-believe you I
 'You're really trying to impress me, Mr. Rodrigo'
 (Cf. (58) Bilib akó sa iyó.
 believe I you
 'I'm impressed with you')

There is a verb *magsaya*, but its meaning is 'to celebrate'. Thus it seems more reasonable to derive *pasayahin* in (C18) from *masaya* rather than from *magsaya*.

6.3 ACTOR-2 FOCUS VERBS DERIVED FROM MAG- VERBS

There is considerable irregularity in these verbs. In all, there were not many of these verbs in the corpus; I was able to find a few more examples in the supplementary materials. According to the theory laid out earlier, these actor-2 focus verbs are supposed to have a *papag-in* set of affixes. There were no examples of such affixation in the corpus; the following one comes from the supplementary material.

- (X1) Ayaw mo sa amin – kahit bihisán ka't papag-aralin?¹⁵
 not-want us even dress you and cause-study

¹⁵ As noted in [9], examples whose numbers begin with 'X' are actually taken from the supplementary materials.

'You don't want to stay with us — even if we provide you with clothes and an education?'

- (Cf. (59) Mag-aáral ka.
study you
'You will study')

As we saw above, some actor-2 focus verbs derived from *mag-* verbs have the *pa-in* affixes. But more of them have *pag-in* without the initial *pa*. At least in terms of conversational Tagalog, this form should perhaps be taken as the regular, or at least the dominant, form.

- (C21) Paano kung pagtagalín akó dito ng mga doktór na iyán?
how if cause-be-long I here doctor that
'What if those doctors make me stay here a long time?'

- (Cf. (60) Magtátagáí akó dito.
be-long I here
'I'll be here a long time')

- (C22) Ayaw kong paghintayín si Willy.
not-want I cause-wait
'I don't want to make Willy wait'

- (Cf. (61) Maghíhintáy si Willy.
wait
'Willy will wait')

- (C23) Pagdalhín mo ng sulat nang makilala ko.
cause-carry you letter know I
'Have (him) bring a letter to introduce him to me'

- (Cf. (62) Magdádalá siyá ng sulat.
carry he letter
'He will bring a letter')

- (X2) Puweđe raw nilá akóng pag-aralin.
can said they I cause-study
'They said they can pay for my schooling'

- (Cf. (59) above.)

- (X3) Pinagsalitá ngâ nilá akó.
cause-speak they I
'They made me give a speech'

- (Cf. (63) Nagsalitá akó.
speak I
'I spoke')

We also find examples with *pa-an*. (See (C30) below.)

6.4 PA-AN DIRECTION FOCUS VERBS

For some reason causative direction focus verbs were not frequent in the corpus, except for the idiomatic causatives to be discussed below. Even (C24) is suspect; probably *padala* should also be classed as an idiom, with the independent meaning 'send', with a very slight semantic connection to the notion of 'cause to carry'. Two more examples were added from the supplementary materials.

- (C24) Padádalhán ko siyá ng pera pag nároón na akó.
cause-bring I she money when be-there I

- (Cf. (64) Dadalhán ko siyá ng pera.
 bring I she money
 'I'll bring her some money')
- (C25) Palálagyán ko na ng tubig iyóng swimming pool.
 cause-put I water that
 'Now I'll have water put in that swimming pool'
- (Cf. (65) Lálagyán ko na ng tubig iyóng swimming pool.
 put I water that
 'I'll put water in that swimming pool')
- (X5) Pinaulanán ni Flash ng suntók si Joe.
 cause-rain blow
 'Flash rained blows (boxing) on Joe'
- (Cf. (66) Naulanán si Joe.
 rain
 'Joe was caught in the rain')
- (X6) Pinagawán ko pa ang Poón ng bagong andás.
 cause-make I Lord new stand
 'I even had a new pedestal made for the (statue of the) Lord'
- (Cf. (67) Ginawán ko ang Poón ng bagong andás.
 make I Lord new stand
 'I made a new pedestal for the Lord')

6.5 PA-AN OBJECT FOCUS VERBS

Pa-an object focus verbs are not terribly frequent, but this is not totally unexpected in view of the small number of *-an* object focus verbs. I found three examples.

- (C26) Hindí ko na pabábayarán.
 not I cause-pay
 'I won't ask (him) to pay (for it) anymore'
- (Cf. (68) Hindí ko na bábayaran.
 not I pay
 'I won't pay (for it) anymore')
- (C27) Sa iyó ko paháhawakan ang pera.
 you I cause-hold money
 'I'll let *you* look after the money'
- (Cf. (69) Háhawakan ko ang pera.
 hold I money
 'I'll hold the money')
- (C28) Pinalakihán ko ang restawráng ito.
 cause-make-big I restaurant this
 'I had this restaurant enlarged'
- (Cf. (70) Nilakihán ko ang restawráng itó.
 make-big I restaurant this
 'I enlarged this restaurant')

6.6 PA-AN ACTOR-2 FOCUS VERBS

Again there are few examples of *pa-an* actor-2 focus verbs derived from *maka-*

verbs. In view of the fact that *maka-* verbs are all transitive, the low frequency of corresponding actor-2 focus forms is consistent with the overall low frequency of actor-2 focus verbs derived from transitive verbs. One such verb which does have high frequency is *paalalahahan* 'remind.' It also has the irregular double *-anan* suffix.

- (29) Pinaáalalahahan ko hong palagi ang mga batà ko sa bodega.
 cause-remember I sir always boy my warehouse
 'I'm always reminding my boys in the warehouse'
 (Cf. (71) Maaáalala ng mga batà ko sa bodega.
 remember boy my warehouse
 'My boys in the warehouse will remember')

- (X7) Pinaringgán ba ninyó silá ng Pransés ninyó?
 cause-hear you they French your
 'Did you let them hear your French?'
 (Cf. (72) Náriníg ba nilá ang Pransés ninyó?
 hear they French your
 'Did they hear your French?')

Again we have a form *pamanahan* which appears to be an actor-2 focus verb derived from a *mag-* actor focus verb, *magmama* 'inherit'. However, this is probably another case of idiomatization to be discussed below.

- (C30) Pag ako ang nápangasawa mo hindí ka pamámanahan.
 if I marry you not you cause-inherit
 'If I'm the one you marry, you won't get your inheritance'
 (Cf. (73) Siyá ang magmámana nitó.
 he inherit this
 'He is the one who will inherit this')

6.7 MAGPA- ACTOR-1 FOCUS VERBS

When we look at the actor-1 focus verbs we find fairly high frequencies again, but not as high as those for actor-2 focus and object focus verbs. First, we have a number of examples for actor-1 focus verbs with an indefinite object complement, or an indefinite actor-2 complement, or both, or neither.

- (C31) Magpápaakyát na lang akó ng pagkain dito.
 cause-raise just I food here
 'I'll just have food brought up here'
 (Cf. (74) Mag-áakyát na lang akó ng pagkain dito.
 raise just I food here
 'I'll just bring food up here')

- (C32) Magpápagawâ akó ng magandáng *cabinet* na may salamín.
 cause-make I pretty have mirror
 'I'll have someone make a beautiful cabinet with a mirror'
 (Cf. (75) Gágawâ akó ng magandáng *cabinet* na may salamín.
 make I pretty have mirror
 'I'll make a beautiful cabinet with a mirror')

- (C33) Nagpápaandár pa akó ng bulldoser.
 cause-move even I bulldozer
 'I was even driving a bulldozer'
 (Cf. (76) Umáandár ang bulldoser.
 move bulldozer

'The bulldozer was moving')

- (C34) Di ako nagsisisi na nagpaaral akó ng isáng anak na babae.
 not I regret casue-study I one child female
 'I don't regret that I sent a daughter to school'

- (Cf. (77) Nag-arál ang anak na babae.
 study child female
 'The daughter went to school?')

- (C35) Hindí ba kayó magpápainóm.
 not you cause-drink
 'Aren't you going to offer (people) something to drink?'

- (Cf. (78) Uminóm tayo.
 drink we
 'Let's drink')

There were no examples in the corpus of unrelativized actor-1 focus verbs with definite object complements. (One possible example appeared in the supplementary materials – (X7) above. However, *Pransés ninyó* 'your French' seems to be at best marginally definite.) There was one example in the corpus, and two in the supplementary material, of a relativized actor-1 focus verb with a definite object complement. This seems to indicate that the constraint on definite object complements applies to causative as well as non-causative verbs.

- (36) Pero si Bing ang nagpagamót sa kapatid ko.
 but cause-treat brother my
 'But Bing was the one who paid for my brother's treatment'
 (Cf. (79) Si Bing ang gumamót sa kapatid ko.
 treat brother my
 'Bing is the one who treated my brother')

- (X8) Alám ba nyo kung sino ang nagpadala niyán?
 know you who cause-bring that
 'Do you know who sent that?
 (Cf. (80) Sino ang nagdála niyán?
 who bring that
 'Who brought that?')

- (X9) Akó ang nagpalagáy ng sign na iyán.
 I cause-put that
 'I'm the one who had that sign put up'
 (Cf. (81) Akó ang naglagáy ng sign na iyan.
 I put that
 'I'm the one who put up that sign')

We do have a few examples of relativized and unrelativized actor-1 focus verbs with definite actor-2 complements. These are nonetheless greatly outnumbered by examples of actor-2 focus verbs. It would thus appear that, while actor-2 focus is strongly preferred over actor-1 focus when the (underlying) actor-2 complement is definite, this preference is not as total as the constraints on definite object complements.

The following examples contain relativized actor-1 focus verbs with definite actor-2 complements.

- (C37) Kaninang-kanina pa akó nagháhanáp ng magpápakapé sa akin.
 earlier still I look-for cause-drink-coffee me
 'I've been looking for someone to buy me coffee all morning'

(Cf. (82) Magkákape akó.
 drink-coffee I
 'I'll drink some coffee')

(C38) Akó ang nagpalaki sa kanyá.
 I cause-get-big her
 'I'm the one who raised her'

(Cf. (83) Lumakí siyá.
 get-big she
 'She got bigger (grew up)')

(C39) Salamat, dumating din ang magpápabago ng ating lahi.
 thanks come also cause-be-new our race
 'Thank goodness, the one who will renew our race has come'

(Cf. (84) Magbábago ang ating lahi.
 change our race
 'Our race will change')

(C40) Sino ang nagpasimulá ng guló?
 who cause-start trouble
 'Who started the trouble?'

(Cf. (85) Nagsimulá ang guló.
 start trouble
 'The trouble started')

(C41) Pero kung gusto lang nyong tumulóy, may magpápatulóy sa inyo.
 but if want just you enter exist cause-enter you
 'But if you just want to stay with somebody, there are people who will take
 you in'

(Cf. (86) Maáari kayóng tumulóy dito.
 can you enter here
 'You can stay here')

The following examples contain unrelativized actor-1 focus verbs with definite
 actor-2 complements.

(C42) Nagpagawâ ng voucher itóng si Reyes kay Dinampol.
 cause-make this
 'This Reyes had Dinampol make a voucher'

(Cf. (87) Gumawâ ng voucher si Dinampol.
 make
 'Dinampol made a voucher')

(C43) At nagpápaunlád sa kayamanan ang pagkaunlád ng sining.
 cause-progress wealth progress art
 'And progress in the arts promotes prosperity'

(Cf. (88) Uunlád ang kayamanan.
 progress wealth
 '(Our) prosperity will progress')

(C44) Bago tayo magpasimulâ sa ating aralín ay dapat munang magkákila-kilala tayo.
 before we cause-start our lesson should first get-acquainted we
 'Before we begin our lesson, we should get acquainted with each other first'

(Cf. (89) Magsísímulâ ang ating aralín.
 start our lesson
 'Our lesson will start')

6.8 REFLEXIVE MAGPA- VERBS

There are numerous examples of reflexive verbs derived from causative verbs. When we say they are reflexive, essentially we mean that two different complements of the verb refer to the same person. There are two major types of reflexives. One is derived from transitive and direction verbs in which both the actor-1 complement and the object or direction complement refer to the same person. The other is derived from intransitive verbs in which both the actor-1 complement and the actor-2 complement refer to the same person. In both cases, the actor-1 focus form (*magpa-*) is used. Thus the constraints on definite object complements and actor-2 complements do not apply to reflexive verbs.

The following examples contain reflexive *magpa-* verbs; the subject represents both the underlying actor-1 complement and the underlying object or direction complement.

- (C45) Nagpapintá akó sa iyó ng hubád.
 cause-paint I you naked
 'I asked you to paint (my picture) in the nude'
 (Cf. (90) Ipinintá mo akó nang hubád.
 paint you I naked
 'You painted (my picture) in the nude')
- (C46) Magpápaturo ng akó sa iyó e.
 cause-teach indeed I you
 'In fact I'm going to ask you to teach me'
 (Cf. (91) Túturuán mo akó.
 teach you I
 'You will teach me')
- (C47) Magpápasukat na akó ng terno.
 cause-measure I suit
 'Now I'm going to get measured for a suit'
 (Cf. (92) Susukatan niyá akó ng terno.
 measure he I suit
 'He will measure me for a suit')
- (C48) Butí pa'y magpatingín ka na rin sa doktóर.
 good cause-look you also doctor
 'You'd better be examined by a doctor too'
 (Cf. (93) Títignán ka ng doktóर.
 look you doctor
 'A doctor will look at you')
- (C49) Kagabí'y nagpakita sa akin ang Diyós sa panaginip.
 last-night cause-see me God dream
 'Last night God appeared to me in a dream'
 (Cf. (94) Nakita ko ang Diyós sa panaginip.
 see I God dream
 'I saw God in a dream')

The following examples contain reflexive *magpa-* verbs; the subject represents both the underlying actor-1 complement and the underlying actor-2 complement. Some of these reflexive verbs contain an element of meaning 'try to', etc.

- (C50) Dí dapat magpapagod.
 not should cause-be-tired

- '(You) shouldn't let yourself get tired'
 (Cf. (95) *Dî dapat mapagod.*
 not should get-tired
 '(You) shouldn't get tired')

- (C51) *Magpápalamig lang tayo.*
 cause-be-cool just we
 'We'll just get some refreshment (to cool ourselves off)'
 (Cf. (96) *Lálamig lang ang pagkain.*
 get-cool just food
 'The food will just get cold')

- (C52) *Magpagaling ka na, anák.*
 cause-recover you child
 Try to get well, child'
 (Cf. (97) *Gágaling ka na.*
 get-well you
 'You'll get well now')

- (C53) *Kayá palá nagpagandá ay dahil sa Hudas na iyón.*
 so cause-be-pretty because that
 'So that's why you got dressed up; it's because of the Judas'
 (Cf. (98) *Gumandá ka.*
 get-pretty you
 'You've become beautiful')

- (C54) *Nalampásán na ang krisis, kayá nagpápalakás na lamang iyón.*
 pass crisis so cause-be-strong just that
 'The crisis is past, so he is just recuperating'
 (Cf. (99) *Lumálakás na siyá.*
 get-strong he
 'He's getting stronger')

6.9 IDIOMS

Among our data we find many forms which look like and are inflected like causative verbs, but which are difficult or impossible to interpret semantically as causatives. They are simply verbs, usually transitive, which happen to contain the syllable *pa-*. Many of them were probably, historically, causative verbs, but the causative element in their meaning has long since been lost.

In some cases the meaning of the 'causative' verb is still fairly close to that of the non-causative verb. Yet the difference is great enough that we should probably treat them as separate lexical items. Earlier, I mentioned *padalhan* 'to send' from *dalhan* 'to carry, bring.' Some words of this type are:

magpadalá/ipadalá/padálhan 'to send'
 (Cf. *magdalá/dalhín/dalhán* 'to carry, bring.)

magpakita/ipakita/pakitaan 'to show'
 (Cf. *makakita/makita* 'to see')

magpakilala/ipakilala 'to introduce'
 (Cf. *kilala* 'to be acquainted with'; *makakilala/mákilala* 'to recognize')

magpamana/ipamana/pamanahan 'to bequeath'
 (Cf. *mágmana/manahin* 'to inherit')

magpakásá/pakásalán 'to get married'
 (Cf. magkasál/ikasál 'to marry (e.g. said of a priest)')

In some cases the semantic difference is much greater, and there are greater differences in the types of nominal complements with which the respective verbs combine:

magpatawad/patawarin 'to forgive'
 (Cf. tumawad/tawarin/tawaran 'to ask for a discount')

magpahulog/pahulugan 'to pay in installments'
 (Cf. maghulog/ihulog/hulugan 'to drop')

magpaliwanag/ipaliwanag/paliwanagan 'to explain'
 (Cf. maliwanag 'bright'; lumiwanag 'to get bright')

magpalabás/ipalabás 'to present (e.g. a play)'
 (Cf. lumabás 'to go out')

In some cases the underlying root-word is not even a verb. It may be a noun, an adjective, or something else from which a transitive verb has been formed by adding the syllable *pa-*.

magpasalamat/pasalamatan 'to thank'
 (Cf. salamat 'Thank you')

magpahalagá/pahalagahán 'to value, appreciate'
 (Cf. halagá 'value'; mahalagá 'valuable')

magpaket 'to play hard to get'
 (Cf. maket 'narrow')

magpatunay/patunayan 'to prove'
 (Cf. tunay 'real, genuine')

Magpadoktór 'to have a check-up with a doctor' (Cf. *doktór* 'doctor') appears to be an idiomatic shortening of *magpatingín sa doktór* (see (C45) above).

And in some cases there is no underlying root-word. That is, the apparent root-word stripped of the *pa-* syllable expresses no independent meaning.

magpahintulot/pahintulutan 'to permit' ;

magpaubayâ/ipaubayâ 'to leave up to someone'

magpaunlák/paunlakán 'to comply with someone's wishes'

What is the relationship of these words to true causative verbs? They may be historically related; that is, they may have originally been causative verbs. But since their first creation the meanings have changed, and in some cases perhaps, the original underlying root-word has disappeared from the language. In synchronic terms, it is simply important to realize that these are not causative verbs, and that it is not necessary to modify our description of causative verbs in such a way as to be able to interpret them as causative verbs. On the other hand, the morphological behavior of these words (including, for example, the *pa-* forms in the following discussion) tends to parallel that of the true causatives; this factor needs to be kept in mind.

6.10 PA- CAUSATIVE VERBS

In addition to the more or less regular forms discussed so far, we find a large number of examples of causative verbs in which the affix is the *pa-* prefix alone. A few of these examples result from the dropping of the *i-* prefix. I have noticed that the *i-* prefix — regardless of its function — is frequently dropped in conversation, especially at the beginning of a phrase. In the same way we find perfective and imperfective forms with a *pina-* prefix instead of the expected *ipina-*.

- (C55) Paháhatíd kitá sa *driver* ko.
 cause-escort I-you my
 'I'll have my driver take you home'
 (*Paháhatíd* = *ipaháhatíd*)

- (C56) Pakilala mo namán kamí sa suki mo, Rico.
 introduce you we regular-customer your
 'Introduce us to your regular customer, Rico'
 (*Pakilala* = *ipakilala*)

- (C57) Año ang pinainóm mong gamót?
 what cause-drink you medicine
 'What medicine did you have (him) take?'
 (*Pinainóm* = *ipinainóm*)

- (C58) Pinatáta wag nyo raw akó, sir.
 cause-call you said I
 'They said you wanted to see me'
 (*Pinatáta wag* = *ipinatáta wag*)

- (X10) Pinápabigáy niyá sa iyó.
 cause-give he you
 'He wants (me) to give it to you'
 (*Pinápabigáy* = *ipinápabigáy*)

In many more examples the *pa-* causative verb is an alternate form of a *magpa-* verb. And in the majority of these cases, it is a reflexive verb. In a few cases — e.g. *pakasal* — the *pa-* form seems to be preferred over the *magpa-* form, again indicating a degree of idiomatization. It should be observed, however, that the *pa-* forms occur only in the basic form and the future aspect. In perfective and imperfective aspects, *nagpa-* is used. In fact, it is hard to imagine what the perfective form of *pa-* would be. On the other hand, we should not consider this as simply a case of dropping *mag-*. The future aspect of *magpa-* is *magpapa-*; dropping *mag-* would leave *papa-*. But what actually occurs as the future aspect is *pa-* plus reduplication of the first syllable of the root.

- (C59) Kayá patingín ka sa doktó, okey?
 so cause-look you doctor okay
 'So go to see a doctor, okay?'

(*Patingín* = *magpattingin*)

- (C60) Maari tayong pakásál doón.
 can we get-married there
 'We can get married there'
 (*Pakásál* = *magpakásál*)

- (C61) Kung paliligaw ka habang nag-áaral, magúguló ang pag-áaral mo.

if cause-court you while study upset study your
 'If you let someone court you while you're going to school, your studies will
 be disrupted'
 (*Paliligaw* = *magpápaligaw*)

(C62) *Pakúkuha* ako' ng mainit na *soup*.
 cause-get I hot
 'I'll send someone to get some hot soup'
 (*Pakúkuha* = *magpápakuha*)

(C63) *Pasalamat* ka't tagarito ka, Philip.
 thank you live-here you
 'Be thankful that you live around here, Philip'
 (*Pasalamat*-*magpasalamat*)

Forms with *pa-* also occur as abbreviated request forms. In most cases we can interpret these forms as actor-2 focus. For example, *pasakay* stands for *pasakayin mo ako* 'Please give me a ride'. As a general rule, though, these forms occur without subject, actor-1, or actor-2 complements, although they may have an object complement, as in (C65).

(C64) *Patingín*.
 cause-look
 'Let me see it'

(C65) *Fidela*, pautang ng ulam.
 cause-owe food
 'Fidela, let me have some food on credit'

(C66) *Pasakáy*, ha?
 cause-ride
 'Give me a ride, okay?'

(C67) *Patawad*, boss.
 forgive
 'Forgive me, boss'

(X11) *Pabasa pagkatapos mo*.
 read after you
 'Let me read (it) when you're finished'

(X12) *Pahirám munà ng apat*.
 cause-borrow first four
 'Could you lend me four (pesos)'

6.11 APTATIVE CAUSATIVE VERBS

In general, aptative verbs are formed from causative verbs in a very regular manner. Thus:

magpa-	⇒	makapagpa-
pa-in	⇒	mapa-
ipa-	⇒	maipa-

pa-an ⇒ mapa-an

- (C68) Ikáw lang daw yata ang makapagpapatubo ng camellas.
 you only said seem able-cause-grow
 'They say you seem to be the only one able to grow camellias'

- (C69) Ipinatipon ko na para mapadali ang bentahan natin.
 cause-gather I so can-cause-fast sale our
 'I had (these papers) collected in order to speed up our sale'

- (C70) Maipagágamót ko na pô kayó, Ináy.
 can-cause-treat I you Mother
 'I can pay for your treatment now, Mother'

- (C71) Mapatútubigan ang may 100,000 ektaryang palayan.
 can-cause-water about hectare rice-field
 '(We) will be able to have about 100,000 hectares of rice fields irrigated'

There is one slightly irregular form. Some verbs with a *mapa-* prefix are derived from intransitive verbs; the meaning of these verbs is not really causative; rather they express an involuntary action, something the subject 'couldn't help' doing. Thus *magpa-* seems to be an alternate form of the *ma-* prefix, rather than an indicator of causative action.

- (C72) Nápahawak akó nang mahigpit sa isáng kamay ni Nestor.
 hold I tight one hand
 'I clutched one of Nestor's hands tightly'

- (C73) Akala`ko'y may nápaligáw na artista dito.
 think I exist get-lost actor here
 'I thought there was a movie star who wandered here by accident'

- (C74) Nápatanáw akó sa harapán.
 look I front
 'I looked toward the front'

- (C75) Anó ba ang nangyari at nápainóm yata kayo' ni Tommy kahapon.
 what happen drink seem you yesterday
 'How did it happen that you and Tommy went drinking yesterday?'

- (C76) Nápamahál na sa akin ang Pilipinas.
 dear me Philippines
 'The Philippines has become dear to me'

6.12 BENEFACTIVE CAUSATIVE VERBS

So far I have said nothing about causative verbs derived from the minor focuses – benefactive, instrumental, etc. These forms are of extremely low frequency, particularly in ordinary conversation. Thus this study has little to say about them, one way or another. Future studies of other styles, such as formal prose, may reveal more data on these forms. There was one example in the supplementary materials of a benefactive causative verb.

- (C77) Sa súsunód na linggó, ipagpágawá kitá ng I.D.
 next week cause-make I-you
 'Next week, I'll have an I.D. made for you'

(Cf. (100) Igágawâ kita'ng I.D.
 make I-you
 'I'll make an I.D. for you')

6.13 NEGATIVE CAUSATIVE VERBS

Most examples of causative verbs are positive, but they can also be used negatively, in the sense of 'not allow' or 'prevent', as in the following example from the supplementary materials.

(X13) Buóng gabí kaming hindí pinatulog ng ubó ni Teroy.
 whole night we not cause-sleep cough
 'Teroy's coughing kept us from sleeping all night'

7. CONCLUSIONS

The most significant factor revealed in this type of study is the tremendous difference in the frequencies of the various types of forms and constructions. And this difference in frequencies leads us to different kinds of conclusions.

We can conclude that those forms with very high frequencies — *ipa-*, *pa-in*, *magpa-* — represent highly productive linguistic processes. That is, a native speaker is likely to produce new forms of this type in accordance with rules even if he has never heard or seen the particular form in question. The conclusion is supported by (1) the occurrence of borrowed words with the *ipa-* prefix, such as *ipa-annul*, and (2) the occurrence of *pa-in* forms in competition with 'expected' *pa-in* or *papag-in* forms, such as *paaralin*/ *papag-aralin*. In regard to these forms, the theoretical model presented at the beginning of this paper is confirmed.

The forms with low frequencies, including non-occurring forms, present more difficulties, since a variety of explanations are available. There may be problems with the corpus or with the style of language. The forms may be regular but of genuinely low frequency. There may be constraints blocking or inhibiting the occurrence of such forms.

The compilation of a corpus which is truly representative of a given language is always a problem. This is especially a problem in a 'developing' language like Tagalog or Pilipino, where there is still a high degree of variability, and a fairly low degree of standardization. In addition, the Pilipino that is taught in schools and used in much of Pilipino literature, including traditional Tagalog novels, is still quite different from everyday spoken Tagalog. For my corpus I have taken popular literature, because it is targeted for ordinary readers who have a moderate level of education and who are basically monolingual in Tagalog. Nonetheless there may still be important discrepancies between this corpus and actual spoken language.

I have attempted to confine this study to one style of language namely colloquial spoken Tagalog as it is reflected in popular literature. There are many other styles of Tagalog — narrative literary style, formal expository style, journalistic and academic prose, etc. It will be found that many forms which are of low frequency in spoken Tagalog will be of higher frequency in other styles, and vice versa.

On the other hand, the particular form may be genuinely of low frequency. It should also be remembered that frequency is relative: an item which occurs, say, once in every 5000 sentences, is sufficiently frequent to be quite familiar to all speakers of the language, yet it will appear to distinguish several possible causes of low frequency. May I propose some names for three kinds of low frequency resulting from different causes: semantic low frequency, constrained low frequency, and selectional law frequency.

By semantic low frequency I mean that the occasions in which it is semantically appropriate to use a particular word or apply a particular rule may arise infrequently, even though it will be used quite naturally whenever the occasion arises. By constrained low frequency I mean that although the semantic opportunities may be quite frequent,

there is some contravening rule operating to block the application of the rule in question.

By selectional low frequency, I have something in mind that is rather harder to explain. Within a language, whatever it is that you want to say, you usually have a choice of two or more different ways of saying the same thing. For example, causative verbs express — economically, to be sure — rather complex relationships or interactions. These same interactions can be expressed more explicitly with words meaning 'tell,' 'order,' 'ask,' etc. From working with this data, I get the feeling not only that some paradigms are preferred over others, but also that the choice between paradigms will vary with particular cases or types of cases. Thus, insofar as the interactions expressed by causative verbs are fairly clear and straightforward — as in the case of object focus, causative from intransitives, reflexives, etc. — the causative verbs are preferred, and they have high frequency. On the other hand when the causative verbs express more complex and perhaps harder to decipher interactions, then the more explicit, non-causative constructions seem to be preferred, resulting in lower frequencies for the causative verbs.

How do we choose among these various possibilities? One way is to get a larger corpus. My experience in working with English corporuses is that many phenomena which are fragmentary or puzzling in a small corpus tend to clarify when a larger corpus is used. And I have plans to increase the size of my Tagalog corpus in the near future.

Another method is to use corporuses from different styles of the language. I have no personal plans to do this, but I hope other scholars will do so.

Of course, a great deal of enlightenment can be obtained by going back to native-speaker informants. Even though I have a strong preference for textual analysis, I certainly have no objection to using informants. However, I find the use of informants much more useful at this stage, with problems more clearly defined, and in possession of real data to seek explanations for, than at an earlier stage when we know little or nothing about the language.

Above all, a little common sense is called for. This includes accepting the fact that language tends to exhibit lots of exceptional behavior, and resisting the desire to force everything into neat paradigms and charts.

Perhaps I am too cautious to offer more final conclusions at this time. However, working with these data has left me with some very strong feelings, which I will offer as preliminary conclusions.

There seems clearly to be an established pecking order in the choice of verb focus. A definite nominal complement is chosen as sentence subject over indefinite complements, with the corresponding verb focus. If there is more than one definite complement, (1) object focus is chosen over all others, (2) actor-2 focus is chosen over actor-1 focus, (3) major focuses — object, actor-2, actor-1, direction — are chosen over minor focuses — benefactive, instrumental, etc.

The preference for object focus seems to take the form of a very strong constraint, although there may be some particular verbs and semantic situations in which this constraint is overridden. The preference for actor-2 over actor-1 focus seems to be quite strong, but not as powerful as the constraint on definite objects. With regard to particular verbs, or in particular constructions, there may be some preferences, as in the choice between actor-1 and direction focus.

There seem to be some areas in which the rules are not clearly defined, or perhaps are not shared by all speakers. One such area concerns the derivation of actor-2 focus forms from *mag-* verbs, in which we find *pag-in*, *papag-in*, *pa-in*, and perhaps even *pa-an*. I would even go so far as to suggest that in many such areas the rules are so poorly defined, that the same speaker may display inconsistent behavior, sometimes applying one rule, sometimes another.

Finally, there is the matter of idiomization, which appears powerfully among the causative and 'pseudo-causative' verbs. This is probably another matter which deserves more attention from linguists than it has received in the past. It seems clear, to me at least, that whenever the same rule is applied to the same form repeatedly, the resultant form tends to acquire an independent lexical existence. When this happens, a speaker is able to use that form — for example, a causative verb — without reference to the under-

lying verb or the rule of formation. Further it becomes possible for that form to acquire semantic and grammatical features independent of the original verb. And it will continue to have these features even when the original verb ceases to be used altogether. I have presented a number of such idiomatic forms earlier. Perhaps some other forms — such as *paalalahanan*, *pakitaan*, and *paringgaan*, theoretically derived from *maka-* verbs — should be classified as idioms as well.

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TABLE I

		Subject	Actor	Object	Direction
Personal Pronouns	I	ako'	ko	sa akin	sa akin
	you (sg)	ikáw/ka	mo	sa iyo'	sa iyo'
	he/she	siya'	niyá	sa kanya'	sa kanya'
	we (incl)	tayo,	natin	sa atin	sa atin
	we (excl)	kami	namin	sa amin	sa amin
	you (pl)	kayó	ninyó/nyo	sa inyo'	sa inyo'
	they	sila'	nilá	sa kanilá	sa kanila'
Deictic Pronouns	this	ító	nító'	nító/dito	dito
	that	iyán	niyán	niyan/diyán	diyán
	that (far)	iyón	niyón/noón	noón/doón	doón

Common Nouns	the dog the dog a dog dogs	ang aso ang mga aso — —	ng aso ng mga aso ng aso ng mga aso	sa aso sa mga aso ng aso ng mga aso	sa aso sa mga aso sa aso sa mga aso
Personal Nouns	Juan Juan et al	si Juan siná Juan	ni Juan niná Juan	kay Juan kiná Juan	kay Juan kiná Juan

TABLE 2

Affix	mag-	-um-	i-	-in
Example root	bigay	gawâ	tanim	gamit
Basic form	mag-	-um-	i-	-in
Perfective	magbigay	gumawâ	itanim	gamitin
Imperfective	nag-	-um-	i-in-	-in-
	nagbigay	gumawa	itinanim	ginamit
Future	nag-R-	-um-R-	i-in-R-	-in-R-
	nagbibigay	gumagawâ	itinátanim	ginagamit
Meaning	mag-R-	-R-	i-R-	-R-in
	magbibigay	gagawâ	itatanim	gágamitin
	'give'	'make'	'plant'	'use'
Affix	-an	ma-	maka-	
Example root	tawag	hulog	kita	
Basic form	-an	ma-	maka-	
Perfective	tawagan	mahulog	makakita	
Imperfective	-in-an	na-	naka-	
	tinawagan	nahulog	nakakita	
Future	-in-R-an	na-R-	naka-R-/nakaka-	
	tináyawagan	nahúhulog	nakakikita/nakákakita	
Meaning	-R-an	ma-R-	maka-R-/makáka-	
	tátawagan	mahúhulog	makakikita/makákakita	
	'call'	'fall'	'see'	

TABLE 3

Basic form	magpa-
Perfective	magpalagay
Imperfective	nagpa-
	nagpalagay
Future	nagpapa-
	nagpápalagay
Meaning	magpapa-
	magpápápalagay
	'put'

TABLE 4

Basic form	pa-in paiyakin	ipa-
Perfective	pina-	ipaalám
Imperfective	pinaiyák pina-R-/pinápa-	ipina-
	pinaiiyák/pinápaiyák	ipináalám
Future	pa-R-in/pápa-in	ipina-R-/ipinápa-
Meaning	páiiyakin/pápaiyakin 'cry'	ipináalam/ipinápaalám ipa-R-/ipapa-
		ipaáalám/ipápaalám 'know'