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GRAMMATICAL CONSPIRACIES IN TAGALOG: FAMILY, FACE  
AND FATE — WITH REGARD TO BENJAMIN LEE WHORF

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1.0 Introduction — Some Questions Concerning Linguistic Relativity

Writing in 1929, Sapir presented a rather eloquent challenge to the common-sense view that humans use language simply as a means of expressing thoughts and reflections which are themselves interpretations of reality arrived at quite independently of the particular language a person speaks:

Language is a guide to 'social reality'. Though language is not ordinarily thought of as an essential interest to the student of social science, it powerfully conditions our thinking about social problems and processes. Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built upon the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached. . . . We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation (Sapir 1949: 162).

This was in fact the quote used by Whorf, a student of Sapir's, to introduce his contribution to the Sapir memorial volume, 'The relation of habitual thought and behaviour to language', published in 1941 (Sapir 1941). The particular interpretation of linguistic relativity adopted by Whorf will be

outlined below in section 2.0. To begin, however, it is worth noting that a number of interpretations are possible; and it is by no means clear which of these Sapir had in mind.

First, there is the question of whether language is a guide to *reality* or to *social reality*. Sapir appears to equivocate in the passage quoted above, not making it clear whether language predisposes ways of seeing and hearing 'the real world', or whether it is the perception of social problems and processes which is predetermined in some way. But it is important to distinguish the two claims. If language is a guide to reality, then there is a need for linguistics to cooperate with natural science to uncover the connection between how we talk and what *we see* (cf. the work of Berlin & Kay 1969 on colour terms). If on the other hand language is a guide to social reality, then linguistics must turn to social science for clarification of the relation between how we talk and what *we do*. Whorf clearly distinguishes between these two hypotheses; and the focus of this paper will be solely on the latter relation — of language to social reality.

The second question which needs to be asked is: How does language do it? What is it about the structure of a language that predisposes certain ways of seeing the world or certain ways of acting in it? Sapir, in his work, considers mainly the influence of lexis and morphology. Whorf, making use of his analysis of covert categories, or cryptotypes, goes further, basing his arguments for the most part on a relatively rich, semantically oriented consideration of the grammatical differences between languages. There are two factors at work here, relating to the influence particular aspects of linguistic structures might have on reality perception, social or otherwise. One has to do with consciousness. The more removed from consciousness a particular category is, the more likely it is to predispose certain choices of interpretation without our realising it. Thus grammar is more likely to be influential than morphology, and morphology to have more impact than lexis. Another has to do with generality. The more general a category is, the more scope it has to affect a wide range of interpretations. Again, grammar is concerned with more general meanings than morphology or lexis, and would thus appear to have more power to build the distinct worlds in which different societies might live.

Whorf himself placed most emphasis on the unconscious and more general categories he uncovered as cryptotypes. In this he appears to have taken the promising tack. Conscious categories are easier to manipulate than unconscious ones. Indeed, it is by making the invisible visible that

humans take the first step towards restructuring their world. Before, for example, feminists can challenge sexism by objecting to the opposition of *Mrs.* to *Miss*, or to the wearing of wedding rings by females, it is necessary that the titles and rings be recognised as signs symbolising a particularly distasteful form of social discrimination. Similarly, specific categories are much more volatile than general ones. Changes in the lexicon are far more common and rapid than changes in morphology, with grammar lagging behind both of these (of course grammatical changes may be brought about by morphological ones; but a language might well change a morphological category like gender, without a consequent change in grammatical structure, as English has done). Lexis represents the flexible side of linguistic structure, constantly adjusting to changes in environmental and social reality as these appear. Thus while the number of words a language has for snow or rice is not meaningless, neither is it crucial to the discussion of linguistic relativity. Skiers, or travellers in Asia, very quickly adjust, adding in the space of hours or a few days such lexical items as are needed. Nothing in their language keeps them from doing this. Clearly, if anything *determines* speakers' particular world views, it is not simply the conscious, specific part of their language—its lexical structure.

We should be careful, however, in ruling out lexis completely. Poynton (1985) demonstrates convincingly that there are a number of lexical conspiracies in English reflecting sexism in our culture: for example—the nature and use of diminutive address forms, the types of adjectives used to characterise men and women, the distribution of attitudinal lexis, and so on. Nevertheless, because lexis is relatively conscious, specific and volatile, it certainly deserves less weight than it has been given in the past in discussions of linguistic relativity.

The third and final question to be considered has to do with whether a single category is responsible for the predispositions languages condition, or whether several different categories, perhaps even a combination of grammatical, morphological and lexical, are involved. Sapir's examples (e.g. 1949: 91 [1931]; 1949: 158 [1924]; 1949: 443-4 [1916]) tend to focus on single categories or sets of lexical items. Whorf on the other hand based his arguments on sets of categories, which cumulatively oriented speakers in certain directions. Once again Whorf's position looks the more promising. Several congruent categories are likely to have a more powerful effect than single isolated ones. For one thing the congruence between the categories will be even more general and unconscious than the categories themselves.

For another, grammatical 'conspiracies' are harder to find counter-examples to than single categories. As far as the question of how language does it goes then, this paper will focus on conspiracies of grammatical categories in Tagalog, making very little use of evidence drawn from lexis or single categories taken on their own.

## 2.0 Whorf's Interpretation of Relativity

### 2.1 Whorf's Hypothesis

As outlined in section 1, Whorf clearly recognised that the relation of language to reality on the one hand and to social reality on the other were separate issues. And he based his arguments in principle upon conspiracies of grammatical (i.e. covert) and morphological (i.e. overt) patterns, for the most part illustrated from English and Hopi. As Whorf's position has tended to be widely misinterpreted, largely through popularisation (for which Whorf himself is partly to blame), it is worthwhile quoting at length from Whorf here. First, the distinction between reality and social reality:

That portion of the whole investigation [i.e. 'a comparison between Hopi and western European languages'] here to be reported may be summed up in two questions: (1) Are our concepts of 'time', 'space', and 'matter' given in substantially the same form by experience to all men, or are they in part conditioned by the structure of particular languages? (2) Are there traceable affinities between (a) cultural and behavioural norms and (b) large-scale linguistic patterns? (1 should be the last to pretend that there was anything so definite as a 'correlation' between culture and language, and especially between ethnological rubrics such as 'agricultural', 'hunting', etc. and linguistic ones like 'inflected', 'synthetic', or 'isolating' (1956: 138-9 [1941]).

Next, the significance he attached to covert systems:

This illustration [Whorf is discussing Hopi verb morphology] will show how the meaning of a form in a language like Hopi is capable of being more deeply analysed by the cryptotypic concept, and how the totality of meaning is a joint product of cryptotypic and phenotypic factors. In many languages the cryptotypic concept would be of little use, but there are languages like Hopi in which much of the influential material of paradigm production lies in this heavily veiled state, just as there are people whose mental life is much less accessible than that of others. Cryptotypes play a much larger part in Hopi than this rather minor problem of inceptive forms, which however yields a neat illustration. I believe I am the first to

point out the existence of this submerged layer of meaning, which in spite of its submergence functions regularly in the general linguistic whole (1956: 110-1 [1937]).

The most impressively penetrating distinctions of this kind ['causation, action, result, dynamic or energetic quality, directness of experience, etc.'] often are those revealed by analysing to the covert or even cryptotypic levels (1956: 80 [circa 1936]).

Third, the importance of congruent systems (cf. Halliday 1977: 17 [1967]):

To sum up the matter, our first question asked in the beginning [as in the first quote of this section] is answered thus: concepts of 'time' and 'matter' are not given in substantially the same form by experience to all men but depend upon the nature of the language or languages through the use of which they have developed. They do not so much depend upon ANY ONE SYSTEM (e.g., tense or noun) within the grammar as upon ways of analysing and reporting experience which have become fixed in the language as integrated 'fashions of speaking' and which cut across the typical grammatical classifications, so that such a 'fashion' may include lexical, morphological, syntactic, and otherwise systemically diverse means coordinated in a certain frame of consistency (1956: 158 [1941]).

Finally, the nature of the relation between language and social reality:

As for our second question [as in the first quote of this section]: There are connections but not correlations or diagnostic correspondences between cultural norms and linguistic patterns. Although it would be impossible to infer the existence of Crier Chiefs from the lack of tenses in Hopi, or vice versa, there is a relation between a language and the rest of the culture of the society which uses it. There are cases where the 'fashions of speaking' are closely integrated with the whole general culture, whether or not this be universally true, and there are connections within this integration, between the kinds of linguistic analyses employed and various behavioural reactions and also the shapes taken by various cultural developments. Thus the importance of Crier Chiefs does have a connection, not with tenaciousness itself, but with a system of thought in which categories different from our tenses are natural. These connections are to be found not so much by focusing attention on the typical rubrics of linguistic, ethnographic, or sociological description as by examining the culture and the language (always and only when the two have been together historically for a considerable time) as a whole in which concatenations that run across these departmental lines may be expected to exist, and, if they do exist, eventually to be discoverable by study (Whorf 1956: 159 [1941]).

### 2.2 Whorf's Orientation

Whorf's interest in relativity had a great deal to do with his orientation

to the goals of linguistic inquiry. As a student of Sapir's, and in the tradition of American anthropological linguistics (cf. Hymes & Fought 1981 [1975]), Whorf felt that the purpose of linguistic analysis was to make statements of meaning:

What needs to be clearly seen by anthropologists, who to a large extent may have gotten the idea that linguistics is merely a highly specialised and tediously technical pigeonhole in a far corner of the anthropological workshop, is that linguistics is essentially the quest for MEANING (Whorf 1956: 73 [1936]).

In this Whorf differed sharply from many of his American contemporaries, particularly those associated with mainstream Bloomfieldian structuralism (as represented for example in the Joos 1957 collection). His views are in fact notably Firthian in character:

In brief, linguistics accepts speech and language texts as related to the living of, and therefore to the 'meaning' of, life, and applies its theory and practice as far as it is able, to the statement of such 'meaning' in strictly linguistic terms (Firth 1968: 169 [1957]).

Underpinning this interest in the semantics of languages was Whorf's approach to grammatical analysis. Consider for example the following passages which illustrate the way in which his analysis of cryptotypes led to the consideration of many aspects of language which linguistics would later come to approach as 'deep grammar':

In English, intransitive verbs form a covert category marked by lack of the passive participle and the passive causative voices; we cannot substitute a verb of this class (e.g. 'go, lie, sit, rise, gleam, sleep, arrive, appear, rejoice') into such sentences as 'It was cooked, It was being cooked, I had it cooked to order' (Whorf 1956: 89 [1945]).

The English intransitive verbs as configuratively defined above [i.e. the immediately preceding quote] are a cryptotype. A similar cryptotype comprises the verbs of 'copulative resolution' ('be, become, seem, stay, remain', etc.), which also lack the passive and causative but may be followed by nouns, pronouns and adjectives. Transitives (a cryptotype which includes 'run, walk, return', etc.—indeed most English verbs) possess the passive and causative and may be followed by nouns and pronouns but not by adjectives alone (Whorf 1956: 92 [1945]).

Thus, in English, verbs referring to the subject's ego-field experience use the simple present tense for momentary present fact, and not the present progressive. Other verbs employ the present progressive for either momentary or continued present fact, and the simple present (except in special locutions like 'here he comes') for the nomic or customary tense

aspect. Foreigners learning English do not know this and hence say 'I am hearing you, he is seeing it' (Whorf 1956: 165 [1940]).

In this connection note the parallels between the latter passage and the following excerpt from Halliday's most recent discussion of TRANSITIVITY in English:

A third distinction between material and mental processes is that of tense . . . . In a mental process, the unmarked present tense is the *simple present* . . . . But in a material process the unmarked present tense is the *present in present* . . . . The simple present with a material process is general or habitual . . . . The present in present with a mental process is a rather highly conditioned kind of inceptive aspect (Halliday 1985: 109).

### 2.3 Whorf's Method

Whorf's approach to cryptotypes was naturally less explicitly formalised than many contemporary approaches to deep grammar. Nevertheless, the approach was a rich, semantically oriented one. Consider the following illustration from Tagalog, whose basic clause and verbal structure will be briefly outlined.

A basic sentence in Tagalog consists of a Predicate, which may be realised by verbal, adjectival and nominal items, followed by a number of participants and circumstances. One of these complements is selected as Topic, as realised through nominative case markings. Non-Topic complements receive objective case markings if participants and oblique case markings if circumstances. This structure is presented abstractly in Figure 1, and illustrated in 1, where Goal, the subversive, has been selected as Topic. The experiential role of the Topic in the clause is signalled by an inflection on the verb — in this case, the infix *-in-* marks the Topic as a Goal.

Predicate	Participant	Topic/Participant	Circumstance
[nominal]	[objective]	[nominative]	[oblique]
[verbal]			
[adjectival]			

Figure 1: Basic clause structure in Tagalog; unmarked sequence

- (1) *Hinuuli ng heneral ang subertsibo sa probinsya*  
 caught NTM<sup>1</sup> general TM subversive CM province  
 'The general caught the subversive in the province'.

As well as signalling the experiential role of the Topic through what is generally referred to as its FOCUS system, Tagalog verbs also realise ASPECT, and a number of modulations having to do with causation, ability, social or reciprocal activity, and so on. FOCUS, ASPECT and MODULATION are realised through a variety of morphological processes: prefixes, infixes, suffixes, and two types of reduplication—one reduplicating the verb stem's first syllable, another its first two syllables. These patterns are outlined in Figure 2 and illustrated by means of the Goal focus forms for the stem *huli* 'catch' in (2). There is no simple relation of FOCUS, ASPECT and MODULATION to morphology. The *-in-* infix in (1) for example is a portmanteau form realising both completed Aspect and Goal focus; and the form itself is conditioned by the affix correspondence class of the stem (for details see Schachter and Orlans 1972, Chapter 5).

[prefix] - S - [infix] - Tem - [suffix]  
 R1  
 R2R2

Figure 2: Basic verb structure in Tagalog (R2R2 symbolises reduplication of the first two syllables of the stem)

- (2) stem = *huli* 'catch' (Goal/Topic)
- |                     |                                 |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>hulihin</i>      | 'to catch'                      |
| <i>hinuli</i>       | 'caught'                        |
| <i>huhuli</i>       | 'will catch'                    |
| <i>mahuli</i>       | 'to be able to catch'           |
| <i>huli-hulihin</i> | 'to catch a little <sup>2</sup> |

Whorf's approach can be illustrated with respect to the covert class or cryptotype which might be glossed along the lines of: mental process verbs of perception (treated as perception verbs in De Guzman 1978: 192, 298 and included under involuntary action verbs by Rafael 1978)—for example *kita* 'see', *dama* 'perceive', *pansin* 'notice', *dinig* 'hear', *masdan* 'observe', *tanaw* 'view', *batid* 'be aware of', *kilala* 'to come to know', etc. Verbs belonging to this cryptotype behave differently from other verbs when prefixed with what would on the surface appear to be straight-forward ability/involuntary action morphemes (i.e. *ma/maka*). Stems not belonging to this class (or to the class of mental process verbs of cognition which behave similarly), such as *huli* 'catch', have to be glossed in terms of 'to be able to/

to happen to' when prefixed with *ma-* or *maka-*. *Ma-* realises Goal focus as in (3); *maka-* Actor focus as in (4) (the *na/naka-* forms in these clauses signal completed aspect).

- (3) *Nahuli ng*            *heneral ang*    *sub ersibo*  
 caught NTM general TM subversive  
 'The general was able to/happened to catch the subversive'.
- (4) *Nakahuli ng*        *subersibo ang*    *heneral*  
 caught NYM subversive TM general  
 'The general was able to/happened to catch a<sup>3</sup> subversive'.

With mental process verbs of perception however, the *ma-* prefix does not carry the expected ability/involuntary action meaning (it is possible that *ma-* may have lost its ability/involuntary action meaning because of the nature of this class of verbs as will be discussed in section 3.3 below). The parallelism with (3) and (4) breaks down, with the Actor focus form changing the meaning of *nakita* in (5) from simply 'saw' to 'was able to/happened to see' as in (6).

- (5) *Nakita ng*            *heneral ang*    *sube rsibo*  
 saw    NTM general TM subversive  
 'The general saw the subversive'.
- (6) *Nakakita ng*        *subersibo ang*    *heneral*  
 saw    NTM subversive TM general  
 'The general was able to/happened to see a subversive'.

Whorf would have referred to this morphological peculiarity of these mental process verbs of perception as a *reactance*. Reactances such as this call covert categories to the attention of the linguist, forcing him to set up cryptotypes alongside the overtly realised categories. Whorf refers to as phenotypes (the ability/involuntary action prefix itself is an example of a phenotype). Whorf's point was that a full description of a language could not rest on phenotypes alone, since cryptotypic categories such as that illustrated above are essential to explaining the use of phenotypic forms. Being by their nature hidden, and more semantically revealing than phenotypes, cryptotypes permitted Whorf to make a stronger case for the influence of language on the perception of reality, both social and otherwise, than would have been possible for any other linguist of his generation.

There is a caveat however. Whorf notes in a guide prepared for ethnological field workers that covert categories require considerable study

of a language to uncover:

- III. Cryptotypes. Covert word categories with subtle meaning marked only by reactances. Skip this in the survey except for obvious cases; as determination of cryptotypes usually requires deep study of a language (Whorf 1956: 132 [1938]).

Readers will perhaps accept this by way of apology for the dependence on phenotypes in the analysis of Tagalog presented in the next section of the paper (note however the cryptotypical nature of the mental process verbs of perception and reaction discussed in section 3.3 below, and the political *ipag-series* in 3.2).

### 3.0 Three Grammatical Conspiracies in Tagalog

Whorf's hypothesis concerning the relation between fashions of speaking and social reality is a very difficult one to 'prove'. Skeptics are not likely to be convinced by the evidence presented in this paper. Nevertheless, in comparing Tagalog and English, from the point of view of both the languages themselves and the cultures they realise, a number of striking patterns emerge. The three most important have to do with cultural values which may be glossed as relevant to *family*, *face* and *fate*. Filipinos differ markedly from most speakers of English (and other northern 'Standard Average European' languages) in their attitudes to aspects of social reality. As far as the family is concerned, Filipinos place a great deal of emphasis on participation, normally in a large extended family group with whom they live, socialise and perhaps even earn their living. In contrast, Westerners place more emphasis on the individual, who is able to stand independent and self-supporting, 'on his own two feet'. With regard to face, Filipinos take great care that position is respected and maintained, with as little disturbance as possible, even where this means that one's true feelings in a given situation cannot be publicly expressed. Westerners on the other hand place a high value on honesty and forthrightness, even when this means stepping on someone's toes—it is better to be what you are than appear to be something you are not. Finally, concerning fate, Filipinos often deny responsibility for what happens to them, whether for better or worse, accepting their fortune somewhat fatalistically. Westerners are rather more concerned with controlling their destiny, try to determine as far as possible what happens in their lives, and develop a keen sense of failure or success measured in terms of taking the future into their own hands. Of course

none of these characteristics is without exception; each simply represents a general trend. The question of how to back up these generalities will be considered in section 4.0. First, the grammatical conspiracies associated with each will be reviewed.

#### 3.1 Family — *pakikisama*

The basic theme of the structures reviewed in this section is that of 'togetherness': doing things together or having things in common. In all cases the meaning which is coded grammatically in Tagalog is coded in a less general way in English. It is not that English *cannot* make the meaning involved. Whorf's hypothesis has nothing to do with being trapped into a particular way of viewing the world. Rather, English has a tendency either not to bother with making the togetherness meaning in contexts where Tagalog is structured to do so, or to make the meaning periphrastically when necessary, through the use of lexical items referring to the meaning encoded in Tagalog structure. This means that in a general and unconscious way, Tagalog predisposes its speakers to a social reality in which participation is a key element in a way English does not.

##### a. social verbs (*maki-*) 'join in/share in an activity with'

The prefix *maki-* (sometimes in conjunction with other affixes — see Schachter & Otnes 1972: 7C 5.14) codes the 'participation' of one participant with another in some activity. Through this prefix, the idea that Gel and Hector are drinking *together*, which is left implicit in (7), can be made explicit, as in (8).

- (7) Uminom sina Gel at Hector  
are drinking TM-pl and  
'Gel and Hector are drinking'.  
(8) Nakikinom si Gel kay Hector  
are drinking-joint action TM CM  
'Gel is drinking with Hector' (or better 'Gel joined Hector for a drink'.)

It might at first appear as if the difference between Tagalog and English here is simply one of an inflecting as opposed to an isolating language: English codes with the preposition *with* what Tagalog codes through the prefix *maki-*. This however does not do justice to the meaning of the *maki-* form. In (8) for example, there is an implication that Hector has some kind of prior or more direct involvement in the drinking than Gel; this implication

is not present in the English translation. To gloss this implication, English would have to make use of periphrastic forms such as *joined in drinking with* or *shared in drinking with*. So more than a typological distinction is at stake. Tagalog is grammaticalising a participational meaning which can only be realised more specifically, through a preposition, or periphrastically, through lexicalisation in English.

b.i. reciprocal verbs: 2 or more actors(*mag-... -an*) 'do an activity to one another' (Schachter & Oranes §5.6G)

The prefix *mag-* in conjunction with the suffix *-an* expresses reciprocal action involving 2 or more actors. Thus (10) contrasts with (9) below:

- (9) Hinalikan niya ang singsing  
kissed NT-pr TM ring  
'She kissed the ring'.

- (10) Naghalikan sila  
kissed-reciprocal T-pr-pl  
'They kissed each other'.

In (10) Tagalog structures the event referred to as involving a plural actor engaging in reciprocal action. English grammar on the other hand analyses the experience as one in which a plural actor acts on a goal which happens to refer (reflexively) to the plural actors as individuals, rather than as a group. Where English looks at the participants both as a group and as individuals, acting on each other, Tagalog views the participants simply as a group, engaging in reciprocal action. The same pattern of difference is found with nominalisations related to reciprocal verbs. For example, *ang kanilang sunukan* (*sunok* 'fight') would have to be glossed as 'their fight with one another'; similarly *ang kanilang biruan* (*biru* 'joke') as 'their joking with one another'. Alternatively English could lexicalise the meaning through glosses such as 'their fighting session' or 'their mutual joking'. In each case the reciprocal nature of process is coded more overtly in English than Tagalog, and attention is drawn to the interaction of **individual** participants.

b.ii. reciprocal verbs: more than 2 actors (*mag-... R2R2*) 'do an activity to one another' (Schachter & Oranes §5.16.4)

Tagalog has a further reciprocal action form which applies to bases not including the suffix *-an*. This is coded through a *mag-* prefix followed by reduplication of the first two syllables of the base (R2R2). This form entails

that more than two actors are involved:

- (11) Nagkitakita ang tatlong sube rsibo  
saw one another TM three subversive  
'The three subversives met one another'.

The difference between the English and Tagalog perspective is the same as for the *mag-... -an* reciprocal action verbs (note that multiple reciprocal action verbs do not have nominal agnates parallel to *sunukan* or *biruan*).

Reciprocal (*mag-... -an*) and social (*maki-*) affixes may both be realised in the same process, in a kind of culmination of joint interaction, as in (12) below. These forms are awkward to translate into English, but might be glossed along the lines of 'joining in mutual action with'. Needless to say, English speakers are not likely to combine reciprocal and social action meanings in a single clause very often, preferring to treat processes as reciprocal or social or neither, where Tagalog naturally combines the togetherness meanings.

- (12) Nakipagbigayan ako sa kanila  
joined in mutual gift giving T-I CM C-them  
'I joined in the mutual giving (of gifts) with them/I shared in exchanging gifts with them'.

c. *ka-* comitative (-mate forms) (Cena 1979: 122)

The prefix *ka-* codes a relation of 'mateship' between two participants. These can often be glossed by means of the English suffix *-mate*, as in (13).

- (13) Kalaro ko siya  
playmate NT-I T-he/she  
'He is my playmate'.<sup>4</sup>

When mateship is expressed between members of a single plural participant, the forms *magka-* (2 mates) and *magkaka-* (more than 2 mates) are used:

- (14) Magkalaro sina Gel at Hector  
playmates TM-pl and  
'Gel and Hector are playmates'.

- (15) Magkakalaro sila  
playmates T-they  
'They (2+) are playmates'.

The comitative *ka-* form may be verbalised, with aspect specified as in (16):

- (16) Kinalaro ko siya  
playmate NT-I T-he/she  
'He was my playmate'.

The *ka-* comitative prefix has a far wider range of distribution in Tagalog than does *-mate* in English. English often makes use of a lexical item, where Tagalog uses a *ka-* form—for example *katulong* ('ulong 'help') 'helper', not *help-mate*; *katalo* (*talo* 'dispute') 'opponent' not \**dispute-mate*; and so on. Because of this wider distribution, Tagalog can again be seen to more fully grammaticalise participation than does English.

- d. *ka* (*sing*)- comparison of equality (like-) (Cena 1979: 123)

Tagalog has a superficially similar structure to code similarity in appearance between two participants. In a sense both *ka-* forms code a meaning of sharing; but here, participants share some feature of their appearance, rather than having an activity in common.

- (17) Kamukha ko siya  
like-face NT-I T-he/she  
'She looks like me'.

Some of these *ka-* resemblance structures can be glossed through the English prefix *like-* (e.g. *like-faced*, *like-eyed*, etc.). However, not only is this process somewhat periphrastic in English (many examples sound archaic, odd, or strained in some way), but again, it does not extend to the range of items open to the *ka-* prefix in Tagalog. For example, in (18), English requires a fully analytic comparison of equality structure to gloss *kasinglaki*.

- (18) Kasinglaki ko siya  
like-big NT-I T-he/she  
'He is as tall as I am'. (\**We are like-tall*.)

Sharing, both in terms of activities and appearances, can thus be seen to be more pervasively grammaticalised in Tagalog than in English.

- e. *maka-* partisanship (pro-) (Schachter & Oranes §4.10.6)

The *maka-* prefix forms adjectives, typically out of the names of people or places. The basic meaning is that of partisanship, which can often be glossed by the English prefix *pro-*.

- (19) Maka-Marcos siya  
partisan of Marcos T-she/he  
'She is pro-Marcos'.

There are however cases where the *pro-* is an ineffective gloss. *Maka-ama* (*ama* 'father') is better glossed as 'fond of/close to father'; similarly, *makabago* (*bago* 'new') would have to be lexicalised as *progressive* or perhaps *trendy*. Again, in terms of distribution, the general meaning of participation, here in the sense of being in favour of someone/thing/place, is more generally coded in Tagalog than in English.

- f. *sina*, *nina*, *kina* plural proper name case markers (Schachter & Oranes §3.9)

When two or more participants are coordinated in clause structure as in (20), Tagalog has the option of using a single plural case marker to introduce the nominal group complex as in (21):

- (20) Dumating si Imelda at si Ferdinand  
arrived TM and TM  
'Imelda and Ferdinand arrived'.

- (21) Dumating sina Imelda at Ferdinand  
arrived TM-pl and  
'Imelda and Ferdinand arrived'.

The plural case marker can also be used when only a single participant is involved; in such cases the nominal group would be glossed as that participant, plus others:

- (22) dumating sina Ed  
arrived TM-pl  
'Ed and company arrived'.

English can also pluralize proper names with a related implication (e.g. *The Martins arrived at 6*). But it can do so only with surnames, and the resultant form refers only to a family group. The Tagalog form is not limited in this way; it can be used with a first name as in (22), and the resulting phrase might well refer to Ed's peer group (his *barkada*) — there is no restriction to family membership. Thus English requires a coordinate construction to gloss *sina Ed* in (22), explicitly dividing the group into Ed and others where Tagalog codes the group as a whole.

- g. special coordinate construction (Schachter & Oranes §3.10)

Tagalog is also able to avoid coordination where English forces it when pronouns and common or proper nouns function as a single participant structure. Tagalog in fact prefers (24) to (23):



- (23) Dumaging siya at si Ed  
arrived T-pr and TM  
'She and Ed arrived'.

- (24) Dumaging sila ni Ed  
arrived T-pr-pl GN  
'She/they and Ed arrived'.

In (24), a plural pronoun is used, followed by a proper noun in the objective/genitive case; the meaning is that she and Ed or they and Ed arrived. The closest English could get to the construction would be the ungrammatical \**Ed's them* (which in any case would restrict the meaning to Ed and more than one other). Again Tagalog is able to fuse the participants involved into a single group, of which Ed is a member, where English is forced to isolate the individuals involved.

h.i. relational verbs: 2 or more objects(*pag-... -in*) 'make things be together' (Schachter & Olanes §5.16.3)

Tagalog makes use of the affix *pag-... -in* to derive relational verbs from certain object focus verbs. The objects conjoined by the process to which this affix is attached are viewed as a group, rather than as related entities. In (25), the lettuce and tomatoes are treated as separate entities, one of which has been put with the other. In (26), on the other hand, the lettuce and tomatoes are being treated as a mixture (a salad as opposed to two separate vegetables).

- (25) Isinama ko ang kamatis sa litsugas  
put in with NT-I TM tomato CM lettuce  
'I put the tomatoes in with the lettuce'.

- (26) Pinagsama ko ang kamatis at litsugas  
put together NT-I TM tomato and lettuce  
'I mixed the tomatoes and lettuce together'.

English achieves the same effect in many cases by making use of the adverb *together*. In some cases, however, an alternative expression must be found:

- (27) Pinagalapit ko ang silya at mesa  
put near NT-I TM chair and table  
'I put the chair and table near one another'.

Here English is forced to make use of two clause participants (*the chair and table* and *one another*) to gloss the Tagalog structure, thereby drawing

attention away from the chair and table as a conjoined product of the process.

h.ii. relational verbs: more than two objects (*mag- R2R2/pag- R2R2 -in*) 'make more than two things be together' (Schachter & Olanes §5.16.4)

These structures have the same meaning as the forms discussed in h.i. above, but are restricted to combinations involving more than two objects. As well, there is an actor focus form available.

- (28) Nagdugtong-dugtong ang letter R's niya  
joining together TM his  
'His letter R's (more than 2) are running together'.

- (29) Pinagtabi-tabi niya ang tatlong silya  
put beside NT-he/she TM three chair  
'He put three chairs beside one another'.

Again, in the last example, the Tagalog structure is a more iconic reflection of the combination of chairs than its English gloss.

- i. implicitness  
i.i. ellipsis

The final aspect of Tagalog's family conspiracy to be considered has to do with implicitness. This general feature can be broken down into two headings: ellipsis and indefinite *may* phrases (Schachter & Olanes §4.23). In this section ellipsis will be discussed.

The most common type of ellipsis in Tagalog is Topic ellipsis. The ellipsed Topic may be recoverable from either the co-text (endophora) or non-verbal context (exophora). For example:

*endophora*

- (30a) Hindi na tumutunog ang kaniyang stereo  
not now sounding TM her/his  
'Her stereo is already not working'.

- (30b) Bakit, inano mo?  
why did do with NT-you-sg  
'Why, what did you do to (it)?' (stereo ellipsed)

- (30c) Wala. Ipinatong ko lang sa mesa  
nothing put over NT-I only CM table  
'Nothing, I just put (it) on the table'. (Flores 1976: 10) (stereo ellipsed)

*exophora*

- (31a) May problema ba?  
 existential problem O  
 'Is anything wrong?' (addressee ellipsed)

- (31b) Wala naman  
 nothing counter  
 'Nothing'.

- (32) Kainin mo nga  
 eat NT-you-sg please  
 'Please eat (it)'. (food ellipsed)

Ellipsis of non-topic complements is also common, especially non-topic Actors. The Actor is ellipsed in (33) and the Goal in (34).

- (33) Kinagalitan ka naman ba?  
 anger because of T-you-sg again O  
 'Did (he) scold you again?'

- (34) Tatawag na lang ako  
 will call now just T-I  
 'I'll call (you)'.

Tagalog even has one construction, the immediate imperative (Schachter & Otanes 7C5.30) which does not allow any complements at all:

- (35) Bili na  
 buy now  
 'Buy (it/some) (now/right away)'.

Ellipsis in basic sentences (paratactic and hypotactic constructions will not be considered here) is somewhat more restricted in English. Subjects are ellipsed exophorically, typically when they refer to the speaker or the addressee.

- (36) Just got home.  
 (37) Feeling tired?

But third person subjects are not easily ellipsed in this way. Moreover, outside of responses to wh questions, Subjects are not ellipsed endophorically in basic sentences. As far as Complements are concerned, again, outside of responses, English does not permit ellipsis of recoverable participants. Transitive clauses require Complements (e.g. *I put it on the table*: not \**I put*

*on the table* — cf. (30c) above).

Ellipsis in Tagalog is a subject which has not been properly studied, but it is clear that there is greater freedom as to the presence or absence of contextually given elements of clause structure than in English. This has in part to do with the fact that the Focus affixes on Tagalog verbs implicate the presence and role of the Topic participant in a clause, whether the participant is actually mentioned or not. English verbs implicate the presence of Actors in the passive but they cannot explicitly implicate the presence of other roles, and 'passives' are used far less frequently than in Tagalog. English is further restricted as far as ellipsis is concerned by having to indicate the mood of clauses through the presence or absence, and position of Subject (*Eat*, *Did you eat?*, *You are*, etc.). The degree of implicitness permitted in the two languages is further affected by the absence of non-human pronouns and of substitution (*do*, *one*, and *so*; see Halliday & Hasan 1976) in Tagalog. Thus where English refers to a participant as *it* (reference) or as *onesome* (substitution), Tagalog generally prefers ellipsis (demonstratives can be used where necessary to refer anaphorically to a given participant; and numeratives can be used when needed in place of substitution). Interference resulting from these factors is a common feature of Filipino English (e.g. *You like?*; *You want?*; *Can have*.) The net result is that Tagalog is structured to elide participants in clause structure far more frequently than is possible in English.

The specification of such a difference in ellipsis potential has been discussed by Hasan (1984), comparing English and Urdu. It is not clear at present whether ellipsis in Tagalog has the scope that it does in Urdu, but Tagalog is certainly towards the Urdu end of any comparison of languages as far as ellipsis is concerned. Hasan makes the further point that not only is ellipsis more fully elaborated in the structure of Urdu than English, but that as well, it is exploited in a wider range of contexts in Urdu than in English culture because of the determinate nature of role systems in Urdu society. Hasan comments on the predominance of the implicit semantic style in Urdu as follows:

To say, then, that one is an Urdu speaker is to largely discount the possibility of being misunderstood. It is to believe that your addressee knows what you are on about; it is to assume that the chances of ambiguity are so low as to be almost negligible (Hasan 1984: 151).

It would be premature to apply these observations directly to Filipino culture. Nevertheless, it is significant that elliptical constructions rely on

shared knowledge for their interpretation. This knowledge may be present in the verbal or non-verbal situational context, or in an utterance's context of culture. As such, the degree of implicitness permitted in Tagalog text points out yet another aspect of the grammaticalisation of family. Who better to know what you are about than the relations with whom you live, socialise and often work as well?

i.ii. indefinite *may* constructions (Schachter & Otnes §4.23)

Indefinite *may* constructions are another major aspect of Tagalog's implicitness potential. In these constructions clause participants are omitted not because they are recoverable from the context, but because they are nonspecific or can simply be taken for granted. As with Topic ellipsis, the FOCUS affix on the verb implicates the presence and specifies the role of the missing participant. An Actor is omitted in (38), a Goal in (39).

- (38) *May dumating*  
 Existential came  
 'Someone came'.

- (39) *May hinhintay ako*  
 Existential waiting T-I  
 'I'm waiting for someone'.

Depending on the reason for not mentioning the omitted participant, this pattern can be interpreted as contributing to either the family or the face conspiracy. If the participant is left out because it is taken for granted — if for example the listener in (39) knows perfectly well who the speaker is waiting for — then the structure reflects the tendency to implicitness and consequent dependence on shared knowledge. If on the other hand the participant is omitted because the speaker either does not know his identity or is being purposefully vague, then the structure is an aspect of face which will be discussed below.

Whatever the case, Tagalog does make use of a structure to avoid mentioning a participant where English is bound to explicitly code its existence at clause rank. English then avoids specifying who it has in mind by using an indefinite pronoun to realise the clause function in question. English has to get even more specific when translating indefinite constructions introduced with *marami* 'many'. Note in (40) that an indefinite pronoun cannot be used in the gloss, which turns to the more specific, though still general item, *people*, to translate the structure.

- (40) *Marami ako -ng susulatán*  
 many T-I LK will write to  
 'I have a lot of people to write to'.

The differences between English and Tagalog as far as the grammaticalisation of the family conspiracy is concerned are summarised in Table 1.

j. pronouns

j.i. inclusive/exclusive distinction (Schachter & Otnes §3.3)

As might be expected given the family conspiracy, Tagalog distinguishes systematically between inclusive and exclusive first person plural pronouns. The *tayo/natin/latin* series contrasts with *kami/namin/amin* as in (41) and (42) below (an earlier distinction within the inclusive pronouns between dual and non-dual has now been lost, the dual *katatatal/kantata* series now being obsolete).

- (40) *Magbeer muna tayo*  
 have beer first you and me  
 'Let's have a beer first'.

- (41) *Nagbeer muna kami*  
 had beer first me and others  
 'We had a beer first'.

In English *we/us/our/ours* are normally ambiguously inclusive or exclusive; only in the first person imperative can an inclusive meaning be unambiguously made (e.g. *Let's go*).

j.ii. fused \**ko`ka (kita)*

Finally Tagalog realises a first person non-Topic Actor followed by second person Topic Goal as the single pronoun *kita* instead of the expected syntagm of pronouns \**ko`ka*. English has no way of realising Subject and Object in a single pronominal form.

- (43) *Makikita kita*  
 will meet I/you  
 'I'll meet you'.

3.2 Face *pagkahya* & *utang na loob*

The unifying meaning of the structures contributing to the face conspiracy has to do with appearances: respecting other persons' positions, possi-

## Family conspiracy

Tagalog (togetherness):

- a. social verbs *maki-*  
*English* (individuality):  
 analytic — 'join in/share in doing,  
 do together'

- b. reciprocal verbs *mag-... -an, mag- R2R2*  
 analytic — 'do to each other'

- c. comitative *ka-*  
 -*mate* (\**helpmate*)

- d. comparison of equality *ka(sing)-*  
*like-* (\**like-walk*)

- e. partisanship *maka-*  
*pro-* (\**pro-new*)

- f. plural case markers *sina, nina, kina*  
*Marinis* (\**Jims*)

- g. genitive coordinate construction e.g. *sila ni Ed*  
 parataxis — *he and Ed*

- h. relational verbs *pag-... -in, mag- R2R2/*  
*together* (\**pai beside together*)

- pag- R2R2 -in*

- i.i. implicitness: Topic (endophoric & exophoric) Subject (exophoric, 1 & 2 person only)  
 ellipsis- non-Topic (endophoric & exophoric)

no non-human pronouns *it, they*

no substitution

i.ii. implicitness: indefinite *may* *do, one, some, so*  
*someone, something*

- j. pronouns: i. inclusive/exclusive forms no morphological distinction; some  
 dependence on MOOD

ii. fused *ko`ka (kita)*

Table 1: Summary of grammatical differences related to the family conspiracy

bly at one's own expense. In a sense this is the least dramatic of the three conspiracies considered in this paper — not because Tagalog is less different from English in this respect than in others, but because even more dramatic codings of face are well known in South East Asian languages (e.g. the face-layered lexicon of Javanese or the complex respect morphology of Japanese verbal affixes). The significance of the conspiracy is not however diminished by its predictability. Once again, in most cases, English can be shown to realise the meanings in question more specifically, and with a more limited distribution than Tagalog.

- a. respect pronouns (Bautista 1979 §2.23)

As with many languages, Tagalog uses second person plural pronouns to refer to a single addressee as a measure of respect. Third person plural pronouns can be used to show extreme respect. At one time of course English used *you* in place of *thou* with the same effect. This however led to the loss of a second person singular/plural distinction, so that English no longer has the pronominal resources to show respect in this way. Schachter & Otanes (7C3.3) suggest that Tagalog lost its singular/plural distinction for inclusive pronouns in the same way. Whatever the case, retention of the

distinction in the second person means that Tagalog has a grammatical resource which English does not for deferring to the position of a superior.

- b. address terms (Bautista 1979 §2.22)

Tagalog's system of address terms is more highly differentiated than that of English. Bautista's (1979: 65) analysis of the Tagalog system, though not completely comparable with that of Ervin-Tripp (1972) does nevertheless reflect a greater differentiation of position. Tagalog has for example address terms for older brother, *kuya*, and older sister, *ate*, for which English has no generic names. VOCATION is thus more sensitive to the position of the addressee in Tagalog than English.

- c. respect enclitics (Bautista 1979 §2.23)

Tagalog also relies on respect enclitics to show politeness. *Ho* is very frequently used this way. *Po* is less common and used to show extreme respect. English has no comparable items whose sole function is to show politeness *per se*. The respect function of pronouns, terms of address and respect enclitic is illustrated in (44) and (45) below:

- (44) Maganda -ng umaga ho, Lola.

beautiful LK morning grandmother

'Good morning Grandmother.'

Ano ang inyo -ng kailangan?

what TM C-you-pl LK need

'What can I do for you?'

- (45) Hi Gel. Saan ka galing

where T-you-sg come from

'Hi Gel. Where've you been?'

Deference is exemplified in (44), as realised through the respect enclitic *ho*, the address term *Lola* for grandmother, and the second person plural pronoun *inyo* (the choice of the greeting, *magandang umaga*, is also a marker of respect; but lexicalised clauses and phrases will not be further considered until 5.0 below). Solidarity is illustrated in (45), realised through the address term *Gel*, the singular second person pronoun *ka*, and the absence of respect enclitics (and by the greeting *Hi* as well).

- d. polite request *maki-* (Actor/Topic), *paki-* (Goal/Topic) (Schachter & Otanes §5.30)

Imperatives are generally a sensitive area as far as face is concerned.

Tagalog softens demands for goods and services in several ways. First, there are the polite affixes *maki-* (for Actor focus) and *paki-* (for Goal focus). These affixes change the command illustrated in (46) into the polite request in (47).

- (46) *Linisin mo ang kuwarto*  
clean NT-you-sg TM room  
'Clean the room'.

- (47) *Pakilinis mo ang kuwarto*  
clean-polite NT-you-sg TM room.  
'Please clean the room'.

English has no special request forms, and tends to soften its commands by using interrogative instead of imperative mood, often modulated (e.g. *Could you clean the room?*). Incongruence between SPEECH FUNCTION and MOOD is also used in Tagalog (see Bautista 1979 §3.5).

- e. moderative R2R2 (Schachter & Otnes §4.16.2)

This structure has the effect of moderating an action in some respect, with English glosses along the lines of 'do a little/a bit/now and then/here and there'. Schachter and Otnes (340) point out that one of its principal functions is to soften a request; thus the distinction between (48) and (49).

- (48) *Magwalis ka nga ng kuwarto*  
sweep T-you-sg please NTM room  
'Please sweep the room'.

- (49) *Magwalis-walis ka nga ng kuwarto*  
sweep-moderative T-you-sg please NTM room  
'Please sweep up the room a little'.

In English, requests can only be moderated analytically, through the use of more specific meanings such as 'a little/a bit'.

- f. politeness request enclitic *nga*

Like English, Tagalog makes use of a special function word to signal politeness in requests: *nga*, equivalent in requests to English *please*.

- (50) *Kumain ka*  
eat T-you-sg  
'Eat'.

- (51) *Kumain ka nga*  
eat T-you-sg please  
'Please eat'.

Reviewing then, as far as demanding goods and services is concerned, Tagalog is able to structure politeness into requests in many cases where English has to rely on indirectness or moderating lexical phrases.

- g. reported speech particle *daw/raw*

The structures considered so far may have made it appear as if the face conspiracy was concerned simply with politeness and status. However, there is more to it than that. Appearances are also crucial: it is not enough to simply defer to superiors—it is important to publicly present oneself in such a way as to maximise social acceptance. This is obviously very important in a culture that places the emphasis on family and participation that Filipino culture does. The remaining structures in the face conspiracy contribute more to this theme than to politeness *per se*.

One way to increase one's acceptability is not to take personal responsibility for what you say in case anyone takes offense. Tagalog's reported speech particle can be effectively used in this way, to in a sense disclaim:

- (52) *Subersibo siya*  
subversive T-he/she  
'She's a subversive'.

- (53) *Subersibo raw siya*  
subversive they say T-she/he  
'They say she's a subversive'.

One commonly noted aspect of maintaining appearances and face is the use of go-betweens to mediate delicate issues. The reported speech particle is often useful to these mediators. Consider for example (54), in which a go-between extends greetings to the listener on behalf of an admirer who need not be named:

- (54) *Greetings daw sa iyo*  
some says CM C-you-sg  
'Someone is saying hi to you'.

English has no special disclaiming structure or particle, and draws attention to statements for which the speaker is not taking responsibility through *they say*, *someone says*, *it is felt*, etc.

h. indefinite *may*

The indefinite *may* constructions discussed in connection with the family conspiracy are also relevant here. The vagueness they involve can be used to avoid offending the listener. The speaker in (55) may be perfectly clear in his mind what he is going to do, but it may be inappropriate to make this information public:

- (55) May gagawin ako  
Existential will do T-I  
'I have something to do'.

Again, English calls attention to the suppressed information, using an analytic structure at clause rank and an indefinite pronoun to fill the necessary, but semantically empty clause function.

Perhaps even more relevant to the face conspiracy than *may* is its negative counterpart *wala*. This is used by Filipinos as a next to knee-jerk response to any question requesting any information about themselves. Bautista (7C3.6) discussed it in the context of a response to probes about someone's problems, where the existence of a problem may be denied several times before confession. This response pattern, which often appears exasperatingly dishonest to an English speaker, is simply a conversational reflex of the importance of playing one's cards very close to the chest. The less information that is publicly available, the easier face is to maintain.

i. pretense R2R2... -*an/magsa-*

Given the significance of appearances, it is perhaps not surprising that Tagalog can grammaticalise pretense, by reduplicating the first two syllables of a nominal or verbal stem adding the suffix *-an*. Thus (56) and (57) where, as the glosses show, English must lexicalise the pretense in order to get the meaning across.

- (56) NagMarcos-Marcosan siya  
pretended to Marcos T-she/he  
'He pretended to be Marcos'.
- (57) Nagtulug-tulugan siya  
pretended to sleep T-he/she  
'She pretended to sleep'.

In addition De Guzman (1978: 285) notes *magsa-* verbalisations of professions, nationalities, animals and so on, as in (58). The meaning pretense is again involved.

- (58) Nagsapari ang subersibo  
pretended to be a priest TM subversive  
'The subversive pretended to be a priest'.

j. *mag-, ipag-, pag-... -an* 'political' verbs

Tagalog has an intriguing covert class of what might be called 'political' verbs, which are relevant to the face conspiracy. This class has two distinctive reactances: it takes *ipag-* (normally a benefactive focus affix) for Goal focus, and it takes *pag-... -an* for direction focus. Some of the verbs in this class are:

- magbili* 'sell out'  
*magmalaki* 'boast'  
*magkaloob* 'offer'  
*magkatiwala* 'entrust'  
*magbawal* 'prohibit'  
*magbilih* 'give orders'  
*magtapat* 'confide'  
*maglilim* 'keep secret'  
*maglingkod* 'serve'  
*magkanulo* 'betray' ('deep' Tagalog — *malalim na Tagalog*; i.e. archaic in Manila)  
*magkaala* 'deny'  
*magdiwang* 'celebrate'  
*magpaliban* 'postpone'  
*magpatuloy* 'continue'  
*magtanggol* 'defend'  
*magbigay-alam* 'inform' ('deep' Tagalog)

Their distinctive focus affixes are illustrated in (59) through (61).

- (59) Nagtapat ako ng problema kay Thelma  
confided T-I NTM problem CM  
'I confided with Thelma about a problem'.
- (60) Ipinagtapat ko ang problema kay Thelma  
confided NT-I TM problem CM  
'I confided with Thelma about the problem'.
- (61) Pinagtapatan ko ng problema si Thelma  
confided NT-I NTM problem TM  
'I confided with Thelma about a problem'.

This series is a classic cryptotype in Whorf's sense, and it is difficult to find a succinct way of expressing the connections between its members. It is probably impossible to lexicalise their common theme in a way that nets them all in. However, it is striking that so many of them relate directly to very sensitive areas of human intercourse, having particularly to do with exchanging information and controlling the behavior of others. Seen in terms of the face conspiracy, the meaning is perhaps easier to grasp. The verbs all refer to activities in which face is very much at stake. There is no corresponding face cryptotype in English, where covert verb classes focusing on appearance are not found.

The face conspiracy is summarised in Table 2, where Tagalog structures are again contrasted with their nearest English equivalents.

<i>Tagalog</i> (appearance):	<i>English</i> (reality):
a. tu/vous	—
b. elaborated address system	less elaborated set of terms of address
c. respect enclitics <i>ho, po</i>	—
d. polite request <i>maki-/paki-</i>	incongruence of MOOD and SPEECH FUNCTION
e. moderate request may R2R2	'a little/a bit/now and then/here and there
f. polite request marker <i>nga</i>	<i>please</i>
g. disclaiming enclitic <i>daw/raw</i>	( <i>they say, it is said, someone says</i> )
h. indefinite <i>may/wala</i>	someone, something specified at clause rank
i. pretence R2R2 ...- <i>an/magsa-</i>	('pretended to')
j. political <i>mag-, ipag-, pag-...-an</i>	—

Table 2: Summary of grammatical differences related to the face conspiracy

### 3.3 Fate *suwerte*

The basic theme of the fate conspiracy is that of events taking place outside of an individual's control — things simply happen; one cannot really determine one's fate. The structures involved emphasize the accidental or uncertain nature of events, equivocate about whether humans make or simply let things happen, and even assign causality for certain events to other than the human participants involved. In Filipino culture, things happen, not so much because you make them, but because they fall to you as your lot in life. To begin, consider three systematic equivocations; in each case Tagalog neutralises a distinction having to do with responsibility for an action taking place that English typically discriminates.

- a. causative (indirect action) *pa-* 'have x do/ask x to do/let x do/make x do' (Schachter & Otnes §5.12)

Tagalog introduces Agents into basic sentences by means of the affix *pa-*. This affix is however ambiguous as to whether the Agent initiated the actions involved, or simply allowed them to happen. No distinction is made between 'making something happen' and 'letting something happen' as in English. Thus (62) can be glossed in several ways:

- (62) Nagpahuli ng subersibo ang heneral sa sundalo  
made catch NTM subversive TM general CM soldier  
'The general let/made/asked/had the soldier catch subversive'.  
b. ability and involuntary action *ma-/maka-* 'able to/happen to' (Schachter & Otnes §5.12)

Similarly, with the ability/involuntary action affixes *ma-* (Goal focus) and *maka-* (Actor focus), no distinction is made between being able to do something (thus being in a position to determine whether it happens or not) and happening to do something (i.e. not determining whether it takes place). Schachter & Otnes (330) report some speakers as consistently distinguishing ability and involuntary action through vowel length, with *ma-/maka-* for ability and *ma:/maka:-* for involuntary action. They note however that others, and particularly younger speakers, do not make the distinction at all, or at least not consistently. It is not clear whether this means that the distinction is currently disappearing or that one of the forms have simply been in free variation for a considerable period of time. Whatever the case, (63) is typically ambiguous between ability and involuntary action, thus neutralising a distinction between determined and non-determined action which English is inclined to make.

- (63) Nahuli lang ng heneral ang mga padre  
able/happened to catch just NTM general TM few  
'The general was only able to/just happened to catch the priests'.

- c. possessive *magka-* 'come to have/get'

Tagalog forms possessive verbal constructions by prefixing *magka-* to nominals. The resulting structure is ambiguous as to whether the object referred to by the nominal was procured deliberately, or simply fell into the possession of the Topic participant. Thus in (64), Rose's getting money may be the result of diligence or of good fortune:

- (64) Nagkakapera si Rose kasi marami siya- ng  
 has money TM because many T-she LK  
 bar-fine noong isang linggo  
 previous one week  
 'Rose has/got/came to have money because she had a lot of bar-  
 fines last week.'

English tends to distinguish between deliberate or accidental possession (in-  
 deed, it was not easy to introduce (64) without biasing the interpretation:  
 cf. *Thus in (64) Rose may have procured/secured money* . . . vs. *Thus in (64)*  
*Rose may have come to have/may have received money* . . .).

- d. accidental result *magkang-* R/*magkanda* (Schachter & Otañes  
 §5.16.5)

With certain verbs Tagalog is able to add a prefix *magkanda* or a prefix  
*magkang-* plus reduplication of the first syllable of the stem to express a  
 process which is the accidental result of another action. Here responsibility  
 for the effect, usually an undesirable one, is disclaimed:

- (65) Napuyat si Gel; nagkandasirasira  
 exhausted from not sleeping TM broke as an accidental  
 ang kotse niya  
 result car his  
 'Gel was rooted: his car ended up smashed as a result.'

English can make this meaning only by explicitly lexicalising both the caus-  
 ality and the accidental nature of the result.

- e. skewing in the enclitic particle system towards possibility

Tagalog has a large system of enclitic particles. One set of these (*kasi*,  
*tuloy*, *muna*, *na*, *pa*, *din/irin*, *na naman*, *pa rin*, *ulitimuli*, *man* and *lang*) has  
 to do with signalling logical relationships between sentences having to do  
 with time, cause, expectancy and so on (see Martin 1981 for discussion).  
 The rest have a general orientation to politeness, modality or attitude.  
 Politeness enclitics have previously been discussed (3.1). Of interest here is  
 the skewing in this system away from certainty and towards possibility as far  
 as modality is concerned. Tagalog's disclaiming or reported speech particle  
*daw/raw* was described in 3.2 and can be used to diminish the certainty with  
 which a statement is made by assigning responsibility for it to another indi-  
 vidual. Beyond this, Tagalog has 4 mood oriented particles, all concerned  
 with uncertainty.

*ba* (polar question particle)

- (66) Subersibo ka ba?  
 subversive T-you-sg  
 'Are you a subversive?'

*kaya* (speculation in imperatives, optatives and hortatives; when used in a  
 speculative question, *ba* is usually omitted)

- (67) Magbeer kaya tayo  
 T-you and me (inclusive)  
 'Perhaps we could have a beer.'

- (68) Subersibo kaya ang pare  
 subversive TM priest  
 'Do you suppose the priest is a subversive?'

*yata* (uncertainty in statements)

- (69) Subersibo yata ang pare  
 subversive TM priest  
 'The priest seems to be a subversive.'

*sana* (volition)

- (70) Masaya sana ang heneral  
 happy TM general  
 'I hope the general is happy.'

In addition there is the particle *pala*, which expresses surprise after receiv-  
 ing new or unexpected information or encountering an unforeseen event.

- (71) Subersibo pala ang pare  
 subversive TM priest  
 'Don't tell me the priest is a subversive.'

Tagalog has only one particle which expresses certainty, *ngay*; and it tends to  
 do so in response to a statement made by someone else. Thus:

- (72) Maganda si Tetchie, hindi ba?  
 beautiful TM not Q  
 'Tetchie is beautiful, isn't she?'  
 -Oo nga c  
 yes  
 'Yes indeed!'

The result of this is that the particle system is skewed dramatically towards



possibility and away from certainty. English has a much more balanced system (skewed if anything in the direction of certainty, containing both [certain] and [virtually certain] options as it does (see Halliday 1976: 191 [1970]) which has been worked out in detail by Halliday (1970; 1985).

- f. mental process:perception and cognition cryptotypes (Rafael 1978; De Guzman 1987: 192, 298)

Tagalog has two covert classes of verbs which participate in the fate conspiracy. One of these has in fact been noted by Rafael (1978) because of the relation of its distinctive reactance to the controversy surrounding the interaction of definiteness and focus in Philippine languages (this reactance was described in 2.3 above in connection with Whorf's approach to cryptotypic analysis). The verbs involved refer to mental processes of perception (Rafael refers to them as *non-volitional* verbs):

kita 'see'  
 puna 'notice'  
 dinig 'hear'  
 amoy 'smell'  
 tikiim 'taste' (in the sense of 'experience')  
 pansin 'notice'  
 masdan 'observe'  
 baid 'beware of'  
 tanaw 'view'

As noted in section 2.3, the verbs are prefixed with an apparently 'dead' ability/involuntary action prefix *ma-* in Goal focus. Thus (73) can be glossed simply as 'we heard the child'; there is no need to make the meaning 'happen to' or 'able to' explicit.

(73) Narinig namin ang bata  
 heard NT-we-exclusive TM child  
 'We heard the child'.

With Actor focus, however, the prefix *maka-* is used — and a sense of ability or involuntary action is conveyed.

(74) Nakarinig kami ng bata  
 happened to hear T-we-exclusive NTM child  
 'We happened to/were able to hear a child'.

The explanation for this may lie in the ambiguous nature of mental process

verbs of perception as far as the involvement of the Senser (perceiver in this class of mental processes) is concerned. This ambiguity is often reflected in cartoon drawings and has to do with who initiates the act of perceiving: does the Senser actively perceive some phenomenon?; or does the phenomenon simply appear and force the Senser to perceive it? Looked at one way the Senser is active, initiating the process; looked at the other way he is passive, a receiver of sensation.

The distinctive reactance of perception verbs appears to reflect this ambiguity. When the Senser is in focus, its involvement in the process is felt to be explicitly marked by the *maka-* prefix. When the Senser is out of focus, playing a 'passive' role in clause structure, its involvement in the process is felt to be unmarked: *ma-* seems to be a 'dead' prefix in Goal focus. Somewhat ironically, when the Senser is in focus and felt to be explicitly involved, Tagalog uses the ambiguous involuntary action/ability prefix discussed above (3.3b) to mark its involvement. The result of this is that in mental process:perception clauses Tagalog treats Senses as dormant and uninvolvement in the passive, and as ambiguously involved (by accident or by being able to perceive) in the active. The phenomenon involved is thus given more prominence than the perceiver of that phenomenon — another reflection of Tagalog's orientation to externally determined events.

The closely related cryptotype of mental process:cognition verbs operates very similarly. When the Phenomenon is in focus, their *ma-* prefix lacks an ability/involuntary action interpretation; but to focus on the Senser, *maka-* and its accompanying ability/involuntary action meaning are required. Verbs in this class include *isip* 'think', *limot* 'forget', *tanda* 'remember', *inindi* 'understand', *tuto* 'learn', *unawa* 'feel out', *alam* 'know', *nuklas* 'discover', *danas* 'experience', *balita* 'receive news' etc. The cognition cryptotype differs from the perception one with respect to the *-an* reactance when the phenomenon is in focus (e.g. *Nalimutan ko ang pera* 'I forgot the money').

The grammar of English also reflects the ambiguous nature of perception verbs as far as the direction of determination is concerned, though in a different way. If responsibility for the act of perceiving is to be uniquely assigned to the perceiver, then a behavioural process is used (e.g. *John looked all/listened to the child*). If responsibility is not uniquely determined, then a mental process may be used (e.g. *John saw/heard the child*). English is less fatalistic than Tagalog in that it can unambiguously assign responsibility for the perception to the perceiver by using a behavioural process. The

best Tagalog can do is mark the Senser as involved in Actor focus, with this involvement potentially accidental in nature (for a discussion of the mental and behavioural processes, see Halliday 1985).

g. mental process:reaction cryptotype

The question of directionality comes up again with mental process verbs of reaction. The distinctive reactance of verbs belonging to this cryptotype is that they call explicit attention to the causal involvement of the phenomenon reacted to when the phenomenon is in focus. They do this by means of the causal affixes *ika-* and *ka-* . . . *-an* (these causative focus affixes can also be used with other than mental process reaction verbs—Schachter & Otnes §5.8; but with these verb classes other affixes can be used to focus on the 'object'). The following verbs fall into this class:

- galit 'anger'  
 gulat 'surprise'  
 inggit 'envy'  
 hiya 'shame'  
 galak 'glad' ('deep' Tagalog)  
 tuwa 'happy'  
 pagod 'tired'  
 inis 'irritate'  
 takot 'fear'  
 hilo 'dizzy'  
 lungkot 'sad'  
 poot 'hate' ('deep' Tagalog)  
 awa 'pity'  
 lito 'confused'

When the Senser (reacter in this class of mental process) is in focus, these verbs take a *mu-* prefix; the phenomenon reacted to appears in oblique case (*kay* or *sa* form). This pattern is illustrated in (75). Contrast (75) with (76) where *dahil sa kanila* is a circumstance of cause, not the phenomenon feared (cf De Guzman 1978: 65-70).

- (75) Natatakot ako sa kanila  
 fearing T-I CM C-them  
 'I am afraid of them'.  
 (76) Natatakot ako dahil sa kanila  
 fearing T-I because CM C-them  
 'I am afraid (of something) because of them'.

When the phenomenon is in focus however, the causal involvement of the phenomenon must be made explicit, as in (77) and (78).

- (77) Kinatakotan ko sila  
 fearing because of NT-I T-they  
 'They are making me feel afraid'.  
 (78) Ikinatakot ko ang ginawa mo  
 fearing because of NT-I TM diding NT-you-sg.  
 'What you did is frightening me'.

By explicitly calling attention to the causal responsibility of the phenomenon for the reaction experienced by the Senser whenever the phenomenon is in focus, Tagalog in a sense exports control of the process from the person reacting to what that person is reacting to. Feelings are thus coded as determined externally, rather than springing from within when the phenomenon is in focus.

Like Tagalog, English can also draw attention to the causal involvement of the phenomenon. It does this through agency—by making the phenomenon Subject as in (79), instead of Complement as in (80).

- (79) The play pleased John.  
 (80) John liked the play.

When the phenomenon is Subject, it functions in an agentive role and is interpreted as prompting a reaction in the Senser. English depends on pairs of closely related mental process verbs to create this effect: *frighten/fear*, *surprise/wonder at*, *puzzle/not understand*, *delight/enjoy*, etc. (see Halliday 1985). This dependence on paired lexical items rather than causative affixes makes focusing on the causal involvement of the phenomenon somewhat less productive in English than in Tagalog. It is hard for example to find 'natural' agentive reaction verbs related to:

- inggit 'envy' (cf. *make x jealous*)  
 galak 'glad' (cf. *gladdened* — now archaic; but cf. *saddened* and *lungkot* 'sad')  
 tuwa 'happy' (cf. *make x happy*)  
 poot 'hate' (cf. piss x off in North America; *it shits me* in Australia)  
 awa 'pity' (cf. *make x feel sorry for*)

Note that the *make* in the periphrastic glosses on several of these verbs is directly related to Tagalog's *pa-* causative affix (3.3a above), not its *ika-*

and *ka-...-an* focus forms. Thus while English can focus on the causal involvement of the phenomenon in a mental process of reaction, it is often much less natural for it to export responsibility for the reaction than in Tagalog.

h. voice: avoiding Actor focus

As noted by Bloomfield (1917:893-94), Tagalog has a strong tendency to avoid focusing on the Actor if another clause constituent is available. Actor focus is thus limited to intransitive clauses, and to clauses in which other focus candidates are nonspecific as far as definiteness and number are concerned. This has the effect of skewing the voice system dramatically towards the passive. Actors are rarely in focus in transitive clauses where they play an agentive role; and when they are in focus in such clauses, the Goal is so low in specificity that it functions more as a Range (a kind of cognate subject, if you will—see Halliday (1985)—an extension of the process rather than a fully fledged participant which is acted upon by the Actor. In ergative terms, Tagalog prefers middle voice, with the Medium in focus (i.e. the intransitive Actor and the transitive Goal), avoiding focus on the Agent (i.e. the transitive Actor) in most cases. Thus structures such as those in (81) and (82) predominate:

(81) Dumating siya kagabi  
came T-he/she previous evening  
'He came last night'.

(82) Kinuha niya ang libro  
took NT-he/she TM book  
'She took the book'.

But much more rarely:

(83) Kumuha siya ng libro  
took T-he/she NTM book  
'He took some book (or other; it doesn't matter which one)'.

This has the effect of drawing attention away from the participant who is responsible for something being done to another participant, and onto the participant who undergoes or simply does an action (not to someone or something else). Tagalog's focus system, in other words, plays down agency, orienting speakers not to the instigator of an event, but to its affected participant. Thus voice mirrors the fatalism discussed with respect to other structures in this section.

English's voice system makes greater use of the passive than that of other western Indo-European languages (see Mathesius 1964: 62-63 [1928]), but it is nowhere near as skewed towards passive as Tagalog's. A large part of the reason for this is that in English, selection of Theme (equivalent to Topic selection in Tagalog for the purpose of this discussion) is relatively independent of the definiteness of participants in clause structure. In Tagalog on the other hand, selection of Topic and definiteness are closely related: definite Goals have a strong tendency to be selected as Topic and non-Topic Goals are normally interpreted as indefinite (cf. the glosses for (73) and (74) above). Thus where English would say *John took the book*, Tagalog would prefer *The book was taken by John*. In general then, although English often uses passives in many contexts where closely related languages would not, it is nowhere near as oriented to middle voice as Tagalog. In English informal counts show only 1 clause in 10 selecting passive<sup>5</sup>, whereas in Tagalog passive predominates in many text types (Bloomfield 1917).

i. aspect

Tagalog verbs inflect for aspect rather than tense. The basic system is set out in Figure 2. Actions are viewed as begun or not; if begun, as completed or not; and if completed, completed recently or simply over with (Schachter & Otanes §5.22).

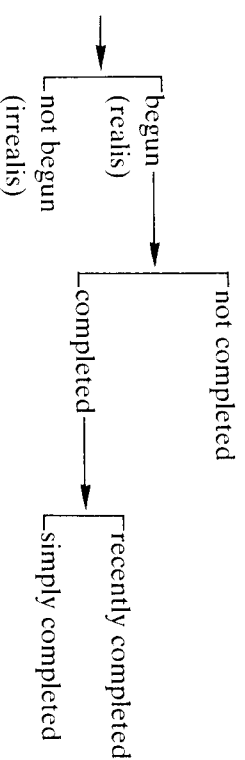


Figure 2: Aspect in Tagalog

This means that events are not tied to the time at which they are spoken about the way they are in a tense system. Tense is a kind of verbal deixis, placing events before, during or after the act of speaking about them. Aspect is not deictic in this sense; it divides events into those which have taken place (realis) and those which have not (irrealis), then comments on whether they are currently going on or not, and if not, how

recently they have stopped. The way in which Tagalog treats unfulfilled intentions clearly illustrates the difference between the two systems. Unfulfilled intentions are irrealis—the events they encode never took place. This is true regardless of whether the intention itself occurred in the past, before the act of speaking, or not. Thus, whereas English's tense system (*would have bought*) situates the event in (84) in the past with respect to the act of speaking, Tagalog selects contemplated aspect, coding the action as not begun. The adverbial *kahapon* 'yesterday' serves to set the clause in time with respect to the past; the verb itself does not place the event in time relevant to the act of speaking.

- (84) Bibilhin ko sana ang libro kahapon, pero  
will buy NT-I optative TM book yesterday but  
wala ako- ng pera  
negative existential NT-I LK money  
'I would have bought the book yesterday, but I didn't have any money'.

Compare (84) with (85), a clause encoding a future event. Tagalog uses the same verb form in (84) and (85).

- (85) Bibilhin ko ang libro bukas  
will buy NT-I TM book tomorrow  
'I'll buy the book tomorrow'.

Or, to take another example, Tagalog uses the same realis, not completed form for events which English tenses structure in terms of the past or present:

- (86) Umuulan noong dumating ako  
was raining when arrived T-I  
'It was raining when I arrived'.
- (87) Ayoko- ng umalis; umuulan  
I-not-want LK leave is raining  
'I don't want to leave; it's raining'.

Thus while English's tense system is speaker oriented, situating the speaker with respect to the events he is talking about (i.e. did the events take place before, during or after the act of speaking), Tagalog's aspect system is event oriented, concerned with the 'reality' of the event involved (i.e. has the event taken place or not, and if so, is it finished), not with the speaker's relation to the event. Something of the flavour of this distinction can be

captured by comparing English's simple and certain of its compound tense forms. The compound tenses are more aspectual in nature:

- I went* vs. *I was going*  
*I go* vs. *I am going*  
*I'll go* vs. *I will be going*.

The simple forms focus on the speaker's relation to the action, whereas the compound forms draw attention in part away from this relation and onto the on-going nature of the act itself.

The significance of this as far as fatalism is concerned is that tense systems orient the speaker towards the past, present or future, thus encouraging him to adopt a perspective in which he views himself as controlling or being controlled by whatever has happened or will happen. Aspect systems do not orient speakers in this way, so do not encourage an orientation to time in which speakers control their destiny. This is a fairly abstract line of argument, and certainly could not be taken as convincing on its own (cf. Whorf 1956, who in several chapters articulates a more detailed argument concerning the relation between Hopi's treatment of time and their world view). However, taken in conjunction with the rest of the fate conspiracy, it would appear to contribute to a fatalistic as opposed to a deterministic perspective on events and individuals' control over what happens to them.

The fate conspiracy is summarised in Table 3, with Tagalog structures aligned to the relevant English structures.

#### Fate conspiracy

<i>Tagalog</i> (fatalistic):	<i>English</i> (deterministic):
a. causative <i>pa-</i> (indirect action)	had <i>x do/made x do/let x do/lasked x to do</i>
b. ability/involuntary action <i>ma-ihinka-</i>	able <i>to/happen to</i>
c. possessive <i>magka-</i>	come <i>to/have/get</i>
d. accidental result <i>magkang- R/Imagkanda</i>	'happen as an accidental result'
e. particles skewed to possibility	balanced modality system
f. perception and cognition verbs — in-active Sensor in passive; equivocally involved via <i>ma-ihinka-</i> (cf. b above)	verbal vs. behavioural (see vs. <i>look at</i> ); unequivocal in behavioural
g. reaction verbs — causal focus on phenomenon ( <i>ka-ka-...-an</i> )	2 way <i>please/like</i> pairs; less productive
h. voice — skewed to passive	passive less common
i. aspect	tense

Table 3. Summary of grammatical differences related to the fate conspiracy

## 4.0 The Relation of Grammatical Conspiracies to Social Reality

Although Whorf took great pains to promote the idea that there was a connection between cultural and behavioural norms and large scale linguistic patterns, he was never very explicit about the nature of this connection. He does suggest the linguistic patterns do not specifically determine the shape of a culture in that one cannot diagnose or infer the existence of a cultural norm on the basis of a pattern or a pattern on the basis of a norm. And his emphasis on the habitual and unconscious nature of the connection suggest that he did not view global linguistic patterns as absolutely pre-determining the behaviour of individuals, nor as preventing individuals from avoiding norms by consciously stepping back and observing their language and their culture (a process in which Whorf himself was constantly engaged). The way in which grammatical conspiracies and social reality were in fact related was never however made clear.

The precise nature of this relation is certainly beyond the scope of this paper. But there are three significant points which can be made. First, it is important to echo Whorf's perspective on the habitual and unconscious nature of the relation. There is no reason why this paper could not in fact be written by a Filipino, any more than the comments made on English language and culture herein are invalidated because the author is a native speaker of English. It is always possible to step back from a language and culture and through a conscious act of semiotic reconstruction transcend the connections Whorf was on about. In addition, there will always be individuals who transcend the connection more often than others, and every individual is likely to contradict the relation between conspiracies and culture from time to time. The point here is that Whorf's hypothesis is about typical behaviour, not about humans as 'helpless prisoners of the categorisation schemes implied' by language (Sampson 1980: 102).

Second, language and culture are distinct levels of abstraction. Language realises a culture, but it does so indirectly. It does not make the meanings which constitute a culture (otherwise there would be no reason to distinguish language and culture); rather, it encodes them. As such the relation between the two levels can perhaps best be understood in terms of phonaesthesia. Just as there is a tendency in many languages for phonological patterns to transcend arbitrariness and reflect lexicogrammatical meanings (for example the [ŋ] 'oral' series in Tagalog—examples from Panganiban 1973; starred items are technical and not used by many Manila speakers:

- ngiti 'smile'
- ngipin 'teeth'
- \*ngisbi 'expression of lips when sobbing'
- ngisi 'grin'
- \*ngisingis 'continued opening of mouth to grin or show teeth when laughing'
- angil 'growl with teeth showing'
- ngalangala 'palate'
- \*ngalot 'crush by chewing'
- nguya 'mastication'
- \*ngasab 'loud smacking of lips while eating'
- \*ngawa 'up and down movement of jaws'
- \*ngidingid 'gum of teeth'
- ngiwi 'crooked mouthed'
- \*ngubngob 'completely toothless with lips sunken' etc.).

Languages vary in terms of the degree to which phonaesthesia is found, just as Whorf suggests that languages may vary in the extent to which grammatical conspiracies are present. And phonology never codes phonaesthetically more than a small portion of the meanings the words and structures of that language make. Phonaesthesia is perhaps best interpreted as a kind of leakage of the lexicogrammatical meanings into phonology. The way in which grammatical conspiracies code a culture probably represents a leakage of a similar degree.

There is another aspect of phonaesthesia which is especially interesting, and this brings up a third point about the nature of the relation between language and culture. This is that phonaesthesia is *symbolic*—phonaesthetic series symbolise lexicogrammatical patterns. It is not just that the phoneme /ŋ/ happens to be found in lots of words having to do with 'orality'; but somehow, Tagalog speakers associate the acoustic and articulatory substance of the velar nasal with oral activity (another example of this kind of symbolic relation between grammar and phonology would be that function words tend to be short and lexical items longer, reflecting the specificity of the meanings they encode). The *ng* series thus acts as a metaphor for eating, chewing, grinning, the parts of the mouth and so on. As such it powerfully reinforces the semantic association that would in any case be felt among the lexical items connected with orality.

The relation between grammatical conspiracies and culture is also of this kind: it is not an accident that the particular series reviewed in section 3.0 are the ones connected to family, face and fate. Rather, these systems symbolise the cultural meanings considered. The structures reviewed are *conventionally* connected to the family, face and fate — another language might use a different set of structures to realise the same cultural values (just as cats *meow* in English but *ngiyaw* or *ingaw* in Tagalog; the relation is conventional but not arbitrary — the substance of all three words is onomatopoeic); but the relation is not arbitrary—the structures involved are predictable vehicles for the more abstract meanings a culture involves.

The grammatical metaphors related to the family conspiracy have to do with joint action, sharing (both qualities and understanding) and grouping. Each of these is relatable to the general theme of togetherness through participation. Both social verbs (3.1a), reciprocal verbs (3.1b) and comitative *ka-* (3.1c) symbolise joint action. *Ka-* (comparison of equality (3.1d) symbolises shared qualities, while the implicitness (3.1h) involved in elliptical and indefinite structures acts as a metaphor for shared understanding. And Tagalog's plural case markers (3.1f), inclusive and fused pronouns (3.1j), and special coordinate construction (3.1g) symbolise an orientation to groups as a collection of individuals.

The metaphors related to face have to do with distance, mitigation and disclaiming. Each of these is related to a general theme of oblique or indirect engagement with others. Distance is symbolised in the use of plural or 3rd person pronominal forms with singular references (3.2c). Moving from the singular to the plural or from the first person to the third has the effect of removing the speaker slightly from the context in which he is speaking, in deference to the person he addresses. Mitigation is most apparent in directives, where requests for goods and services are softened by treating the action involved as a joint one (via *maki-*: 3.2d) or one which simply has to be done now and again (moderative verbs; 3.2e). And both the reported speech particle *daw/raw* (3.2g) and indefinite *mag/wala* (3.2h) structures have the effect of distancing the speaker from what he is saying.

Fate is powerfully symbolised through agency, with powerlessness and irresponsibility the unifying theme. The equivocal causative (*pa-*: 3.3a), abilitative (*ma-*, *maka-*: 3.3b) and possession (*magka-*: 3.3c) structures are all ambivalent about who is actually responsible for initiating an act. And the peculiar reactances of both perception (3.3f) and reaction (3.3g) mental process verbs, along with the middle orientation of voice in general (3.3h)

all draw attention away from the agency associated with a human participant in the clause, and focus on the typically non-human participant involved in the process. Modality (3.3c) also functions as a metaphor for powerlessness, with the system strongly skewed towards possibility. These metaphors are summarised in Table 4.

family	joint action	social and reciprocal verbs; comitative <i>ka-</i>
	sharing: quality	<i>ka-</i> comparison of equality
	sharing: understanding	implicitness
	grouping	plural names; special coordinate construction; relational verbs; inclusive and fused pronouns
face	distance	plural and 3rd person address with singular referent
	mitigation	joint and moderative requests
	disclaiming	reported speech particle and indefinite structures
fate	agency	causative, abilitative and possession
	certainty	equivocation; perception and reaction reactances; voice
		particle system skewed to possibility

Table 4. Summary of grammatical metaphors symbolising family, face and fate values

Grammatical conspiracies can thus be seen not simply to realise or code family, face and fate in Tagalog, but to act as metaphors for the particular interpretation of family, face and fate reflected in Filipino culture. The point is, in Halliday's terms, that language serves 'both as a vehicle and as a metaphor, both maintaining and symbolising the social system.' (1977: 25). Filipinos do use their language as a vehicle—as a means of directly coding cultural values. They write articles about being a good neighbour (famously), discuss shame and debts of gratitude (face) and often explicitly credit fate or God when something goes very right or very wrong. Tagalog, like any language, can be used to directly code cultural values in a purposeful conscious way. But beyond this, in an unconscious and invisible way, Tagalog structures continually symbolise and reinforce these values even when the Filipinos are talking in a literal sense about something else. It is

this indirect expression of culture that fascinated Whorf. What makes it so powerful, alongside its unconscious habitual practices, is its symbolic nature. Tagalog functions as a metaphor for the culture it sustains at the same time as it serves the myriad of more specific and apparently unrelated functions it must serve if the Filipinos are to use it on a day to day basis to live.

Moreover, it is not hard to see that the family, face and fate conspiracies are themselves congruent. Taking the family conspiracy as the point of departure, there are a number of ways in which the social organisation being symbolised leads to a preoccupation with face. Since privacy is at a minimum, many occasions arise in which appearances are more effective than fact. One is constantly surrounded by relatives of different generations, and their status has to be acknowledged. The extended family includes many members whose blood ties are weaker than those of others, from which various sorts of indebtedness and responsibilities arise. And so on.

Similarly fate follows on from family and face. This seems to work as follows. The extended family unit with complex face relationships introduces a very large number of variables into the life of the Filipinos. Obviously an individual has control over only a few of these, so mastering one's fate is a difficult task. On the other hand the family unit introduces considerable flexibility into one's future. One can't plan, but there are always a number of possibilities at hand; and each of these leads on to a number more.

There is no need to complete the circle at this stage. Suffice it to suggest here that the grammatical conspiracies reviewed in this paper harmonise with each other at a cultural level, and that this harmony contrasts with the equally congruent western set of individualism, forthrightness and mastery of one's destiny.

### 5.0 Related Linguistic Evidence

Because of their unconscious nature and symbolic power, grammatical conspiracies clearly constitute the most important piece of evidence relevant to Whorf's interpretation of the relation between language and social reality. However, once established, these conspiracies form a foundation to which further evidence may be added. Three promising additional sources

of evidence in Tagalog have to do with (1) words and lexicalised phrases which somehow *resonate* in the culture; (2) words with an unusually large range of derivationally related forms in the language; and (3) certain types of 'play' with language.

All languages have a number of words and phrases which strike a chord in the culture as it were. They are perhaps easiest to recognise when first learning a language. When first used, they bring a knowing smile to the native speaker, and often prompt a compliment on the progress the language learner is making: *Now you are really talking Filipino*. or *Now you are really starting to talk like us*. Expressions related to the family conspiracy in this way include:

*sige na*

'join — join in'; usually in the context of joining in some group activity

*May asawa ka ba?*

'Are you married?'; usually asked within a few seconds of meeting a Filipino — followed by *May anak ba?* 'Do you have children?'; followed by *Bakit?* 'Why?' and a discussion of contraception if none

*Sino ang kasama mo?*

'Who was/is/will be your companion?'; whenever going out or coming home; followed by pity and some consternation if you have been or are going out alone

*barkada*

'peer group'; who you should have been going out with in the first place

Or, to take another example, fate resonates in the following words or phrases:

*bahala na*

'it's up in the air — undecided'

*mamaya*

'later'; with reference to future plans

*mayamaya*

'soon'

*titingnan ko*

'I'll see'; if pressed to consent to a future event

*wala*

'nothing'; when asked what is wrong, why something is the way it is, when looking for something

To take some English examples — drawing on Australian English and culture — consider the following expressions centering around the theme of 'irreverence':

*chucking a Uey*

'making a u-turn in a road'; normally delighted in, especially if illegal

<i>bludger</i>	'someone exploiting the system through minimal effort'
<i>wanker</i>	'someone who mentally masturbates — to show off — or even for a living'; (e.g. academics)
<i>she'll be right mate</i>	'don't worry'; usually in situations of dire stress
<i>take the piss out of</i>	'criticise'; a person, especially wankers
<i>stir</i>	'tease'; generally through a blunt verbal attack

These resonating words and phrases probably do not stand as conclusive evidence as far as the existence of the underlying cultural values are concerned (they are certainly seriously over-rated in the social anthropological literature); and it is not clear how lists of such items can be empirically established. Nevertheless, native speakers do have clear intuitions about their significance, as lexicalised indices of a culture, and as such they are a valuable source of evidence when taken in conjunction with that proved by grammatical conspiracies.

A second source of evidence relates to the morphological scatter of certain lexical items. The clearest example of this in Tagalog is the word *sama* 'companion', related to the family conspiracy. This term has 40 separate entries in its list of morphological derivatives and idiomatic uses in Pangangiban's *Diksiyunaryo-Tesaurong Pilipino-Ingles* (1973). This scatter is larger than that of any other item in the dictionary, and many times larger than that of the average item, even the average item of core vocabulary. Again, collecting evidence of this kind is problematic. Pangangiban's criteria for including a separate derivational or idiomatic entry are unclear. But it may well be that certain culturally salient items have a far greater morphological scatter in a language than items of other kinds.

Not unrelated to this scatter is McFarland's 1984 report of *sama* as among the 10 most frequent lexical items in his study of some 5,000 sentences, exceeded only by general material, verbal and mental processes: *gawa* 'do', *sabi* 'say', *dima* 'know', *ibig* 'love', *isip* 'think', *gusto* 'like', and *yari* 'happen'.

Finally, the predilection of Filipinos for English acronyms needs to be noted. These are used not simply to refer to institutions and organisations as in English (*UNESCO*, *LSA*, etc.) but in a large variety of more social contexts as well. So we find *S.I.R.* 'smooth interpersonal relationship', *A.I.D.S.* 'acute income deficiency syndrome' and so on. This kind of language play reflects the family conspiracy iconically symbolising through abbreviation and actively realising through the assumption of shared under-

standings the solidarity of those participating in this type of code-switching language game.

Probably the most troublesome kind of evidence as far as Whorf's hypothesis is concerned is lexical. There are two reasons for this. First of all speakers are far more conscious of words than structures, and are thus in a stronger position to adapt them to their own particular ends. Subcultures in any society continually operate in this way, evolving, often quite dynamically, alternative lexicalisations which distinguish them from the rest of society and may even oppose them to it. Slang is an example of this process; the language of homosexuals in Manila, which is not intelligible to outsiders, is an extreme case, and is the source of slang terms in the community at large (see Halliday on anti-languages for further discussion; 1976 [1978]). The second reason for the weakness of lexical evidence is its extreme volatility. Lexis is far more flexible than grammar, adapting more quickly to specific changes in the social environment of a community. Borrowing from Spanish and English in Tagalog clearly illustrates this adaptability. Lexis is simply so unstable that it is hard to demonstrate just how it could determine or somehow condition the view of social reality assumed by some community (however, cf. Poynton 1985).

One problem with lexical evidence can be illustrated with respect to sexism and lexical items referring to humans in the Philippines. Urban Manila society is one of the most sexist in the world, clearly dividing women into two classes: god's police (sisters, mothers, daughters and other female relatives) and 'others' (waitresses, dancers, massage parlour attendants, fashion models, 'bold actresses' and so on). There are so many impoverished women in the city that life as a sex object is the only viable alternative (it needs to be kept in mind in this regard that the vast majority of these women serve the local market, not the tourist trade). Yet Tagalog makes fewer sex differences in its terms referring to people than English:

<i>sanggal</i>	'baby'
<i>anak</i>	'child of'
<i>bata</i>	'young person'
<i>kaibigan</i>	'friend'
<i>kapatid</i>	'sibling'
<i>pinansan</i>	'cousin'

There is no single word for *boy* *orginal*, *son* or *daughter*, or *brother* and *sister*. (In addition Tagalog pronouns do not distinguish sex, which shows the



danger of relying on a single piece of grammatical evidence rather than a conspiracy, and the purely symbolic value of feminists' criticism of the use of *he* in English to refer neutrally to human participants in discourse.) Lexical evidence may be more important as far as the relation of language to reality is concerned (Tagalog does have some 40 words for rice). But as far as social reality is concerned, it would appear that great care must be taken when arguing from lexis in favour of, or against, Whorf's claims.

### 6.0 Related Cultural Evidence

It is admittedly somewhat unseemly in a paper making use of Whorf's interpretation of the relation between language and social reality to turn to non-linguistic evidence related to the discussion of family, face and fate. This problem will be taken up again in section 7.0 below. However, given that the nature of the relation of language to culture is far from understood, it may be instructive to look at what scholars approaching the problem from other points of view have to say about the Filipino way of life. Bautista (1979) is extremely helpful in this respect. In connection with her sociolinguistic analysis of Filipino radio dramas, she makes a number of observations which appear to support the analysis of family, face and fate used here. The following quotations are suggestive.

*family:*

Lynch and Hollsteiner's *Understanding the Philippines* (1967) is instructive. In that coursebook, they view 'social acceptance' as a main goal in Philippine life, with smooth interpersonal relations as intermediate value. The instrumental values for achieving smooth interpersonal relations — *pakikisama* 'going along with the group', euphemism, and go-between — come to life vividly in the dialogues prepared to 'show how ordinary conversations can reflect cultural values.' (Bautista 1979: 141)

*face:*

It would be good to approach the matter from the other end this time. Without being predisposed to any particular values and themes, we can begin with speech acts and then try to see if the speech acts point to certain values or themes in the culture. For example, the patterns for compliments and probes seem to point to modesty and reticence as seemly on the part of the addressee. Why are modesty and reticence valued? To what theme in the culture can modesty and reticence be related? (Bautista 1979: 142)

*face:*

Samson, Piquero, and Banzon (1976) have come to the conclusion that Philippine radio dramas (together with comicbooks and movies) are purveyors of a philosophy of poverty with the following features: (1) Poverty is God's will. (2) Life is like that, that's fate . . .

Notuente (1978) has derived the following values from his analysis: (1) It is fate that decides all things (Bautista 1979: 142).

Another useful source of evidence is found in the cultural notes included by Ramos and Goulet (1981) in their *Intermediate Tagalog: developing cultural awareness through language*. In this book, an attempt is made to teach the grammar and culture of Tagalog hand in hand, with a short dialogue forming the basis of each chapter. Consider the following quotations:

*family:*

Filipinos are usually not inhibited about initiating conversations because talking to a stranger is generally not considered intrusive. If thrown together for almost any reason, someone will break the ice. A common conversation opener is *Taga-saan ka?* 'Where are you from?' (38)

Friendships are very important, and a friend is usually considered to be a part of the family. Note the use of *anak*, 'child', by Meding's mother when addressing Lisa. It is also common to call the older relatives of one's friend by their kinship title. Thus, Lisa may call Meding's mother *luya*, 'mother'. The use of kinship names is one way of extending the family. (74)

Filipinos find it hard to give small parties because they do not want to leave other people out. When it is necessary to limit a party to a few friends, it is kept a secret. (434)

Peer pressure to go along with the group, *makikisama*, is strong. A does not believe Jaime's alleged excuse for not going with the group. (462)

*face:*

Another common greeting in Tagalog is *Saan ka galing?* 'Where have you been?', which is also equivalent to the English 'Hello'. Note the vague response *Diyang lang*, 'There only', *Hayaan mo* or *Bayan mo*, lit., 'Let it be', as a response to the invitation to stop by, is vague and can mean that the person will indeed stop by or is too polite to say he/she cannot. (5)

Kathy uses the polite *po* not only because Rudy is older but also because he is a new acquaintance. Note that she also calls him *Mang Rudy*, *Mang/mama*, an honorific used with males. (The female honorific is *Ale/Aling*.) A young woman who is not interested in a closer relationship with a man uses *po* or *ho* as a cue for him to lay off. (82)

Girls have to be careful not to offend men who ask them for a dance. If a girl refuses to dance with a man, she has to have an excuse or a pretext like *Hindi ako manunong ng sayaw na Lyon*. 'I don't know that kind of dance', or *Napapahinga ho ako sandali*. 'I'm resting'. In addition she has to sit out that particular dance or not dance with any other man until she has danced with the man she has refused earlier. (82)

In general one does not acknowledge a compliment with 'thank-you'. Instead one downgrades what is being complimented and then returns the compliment. (283)

In general, situations involving reprimands are unpleasant for both parties. If they cannot be avoided, one goes about reprimanding another indirectly and hesitantly. Usually, it is justified by laying the blame on a higher authority or external factor.

In general, the lower the status of the person being reprimanded, the more tactfully the reprimand is given. One is careful not to 'pull rank' and to hurt the feelings of a social inferior.

It is important not to prolong the unpleasantness caused by a reprimand. After a reprimand, one tries to restore the previous friendly relationship by such devices as:

1. giving excuses for why the reprimand had to be made,
2. changing the subject,
3. asking about the person's family, or
4. indicating in some other way that the unpleasant situation is over and should be forgotten. (308)

#### *fae:*

A begins to realise that life is not that easy in the United States. In spite of A's qualifications, B is saying that luck might be a factor in A's landing a job. (274)

A is being fatalistic and believes that certain events are inevitable. B believes prayers help. (344)

B believes that the hour of one's death is predetermined. (348)

Many Filipinos firmly believe that God does not give a person a 'cross' he cannot bear, and that one's misfortune won't last. *Bahala na* does not imply passivity but an optimistic acceptance of life's ups and downs. (351)

Filipinos believe that one's fortune, whether good or bad, is transitory; it is like a revolving wheel. (353)

A third source of evidence is anecdotal (the traveller's tale). Most English visitors to the Philippines are able to entertain their friends and col-

leagues with a myriad of stories, most of which illustrate cultural clashes relevant to the general themes of family, face and fate. Visitors soon learn the difficulties involved in doing things on their own instead of going along with the group. The art of bribery without appearing to bribe and of bargaining without losing face must be noted. Filipinos' approach to planning, particularly making dates or appointments, soon distinguishes itself from that of westerners. However, as Bautista cautions (1979: 143-144), although the cultural commentary provided by sociological analyses, cultural notes in language teaching manuals, and anecdotes ring true, they are all at some remove from the linguistically based discourse analysis of the text they are explicitly or implicitly commenting on. The commentary is encouraging; but it has no real empirical validity — particularly if the symbolic relationship between grammatical conspiracies in Tagalog grammar and Filipino attitudes to family, face and fate is as important as Whorf suggests.

#### 7.0 Language and Social Context

Bernstein, in an insightful discussion of the relation of his work to Whorf's, comments as follows:

Although Whorf insists that the 'influence of language upon habitual thought and behaviour does not depend so much on any one system . . . [as quoted in section 2.1]', these fashions of speaking, the frames of consistency are not related to an institutional order, nor are they seen as emerging from the structure of social relations. On the contrary they are seen as determiners of social relations through their role in shaping the culture. . . .

The view to be taken here is different in that it will be argued that a number of fashions of speaking, frames of consistency, are possible in any given language and that these fashions of speaking, linguistic forms, or codes, are themselves a function of the form social relations take. According to this view, the form of the social relation or, more generally, the social structure generates distinct linguistic forms or codes and *these codes essentially transmit the culture and so constrain behaviour* . . .

It [this thesis] shares with Whorf the controlling influence on experience ascribed to 'frames of consistency' involved in fashions of speaking. It differs and perhaps relativises Whorf by asserting that, in the context of a common language in the sense of a general code, there will arise distinct linguistic forms, fashions of speaking, which induce in their speakers *different* ways of relating to objects and persons. It leaves open the question of whether there are features of a *common culture* which all members of a

society share which are determined by the specific nature of the general code or language at its *syntactic* and *morphological* levels. It is, finally, more distinctly sociological in its emphasis on the system of social relations. (1973: 143-4 [1965])

The issue of whether language determines the shape of culture or vice versa is an intriguing one; the relation is presumably symbiotic, rather than directional — but this point will not be pursued here. But Bernstein's work is especially relevant in terms of the emphasis he places on analysing, rather than simply commenting on, the system of social relations which constitute a culture and which must be related to language if Whorf's hypothesis is to be carefully investigated. Whorf himself was not equipped to provide a sociological analysis of this kind; indeed, he visited the Hopi on their reservation only once for a brief period during his research. Thus his analysis of Hopi culture was necessarily somewhat circumscribed by his lack of experience living in it. The analysis of the Filipino system of social relations presented in this paper is if anything even more primitive than that provided by Whorf for the Hopi. Attention is drawn to this gap to make the point that in the long term Whorf's hypothesis will have to be investigated on an interdisciplinary basis, with linguistically oriented sociologists such as Bernstein working in cooperation with sociologically oriented linguists. There is a limit to how far a linguist can go on his own.

There are however schools of linguistics that can go further than others. Halliday for example has suggested as a universal feature of language that grammars are organised paradigmatically into three main metafunctional components: the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual (e.g. Halliday 1978). These components reflect the ways in which language is used and can thus be directly related to the traditional Firthian categories of field (realised mainly through experiential meaning), mode (realised largely through textual meaning) and tenor (realised for the most part through interpersonal meaning). These three register categories, field, mode and tenor, can be characterised in general terms as follows: field refers to what is going on, where this is interpreted institutionally (in terms of what people are doing with their lives: e.g. linguistics, cooking, tennis, music, accounting, etc.); mode means the channel of communication, where this is interpreted in terms of spatial and temporal distance—between speaker and addressee and between language and what it is talking about (e.g. face to face, telephone, television, video, film, book, stream of consciousness writing, etc.); tenor is relevant to the social relations between

the interlocutors where these are analysed in terms of status, frequency of contact and affect (e.g. power or solidarity, love or hate, frequent or occasional contact).

Some kind of register analysis is an essential step in unravelling the nature of the relation between language and social reality. The reason for this is that register skews the probabilities inherent in a language according to the use to which language is put in one situation or another. Unless this skewing is taken into account, texts collected from particular situation types may show people behaving differently than would generally be the case for their language and culture. As far as field is concerned, Halliday has shown (1971 [1973]) that Golding, in *The Inheritors*, systematically skews transitivity selections towards the middle voice when writing from the point of view of the less 'civilised' of the two ancestors of modern man he pits against each other in his novel. Texts written from this point of view will thus resemble those found much more generally in Filipino culture as far as agency and fate are concerned. To take another example from mode, there are contexts, TV commentary on a football match for example, in which context dependent language oriented towards joint action will predominate. Again, English texts in this mode, reflecting probabilities skewed in terms of shared knowledge and cooperation, would resemble Tagalog texts taken from a far wider range of situation types. Similarly with tenor, there are power differentiated situations, an application for a job interview for example, in which deference, variously realised, would reflect a concern with face typifying Filipino culture. The point is that these examples of Filipino orientation to family and face in English culture reflect English being used for particular discourse tasks. The general system bends, and adapts to a particular need. The difference is that in Tagalog, the orientation to family, face and fate discussed above is inherent in the system — either structured into it or included by way of inherent probabilities as far as the selection of particular meaning is concerned; in English, on the other hand, similar orientations are contextually specific, reacting to particular register selections. Distinguishing inherent from noninherent probabilities presents methodological problems which cannot be resolved here. But the distinction between inherent and register specific predispositions to meaning must be maintained if the relation between language and culture is to be investigated on a contrastive basis (the question of how Bernstein's notion of code and the notion of genre are similarly involved is important but will not be pursued here).

In short, then, in the long run any thorough investigation of Whorf's interpretation of the relation between language and social reality must incorporate a model of the social context in which language functions. As far as linguistics is concerned this means developing models of language use — of register, genre and code — that can be related systematically to the grammar and lexis of a language and to the work of linguistically oriented sociologists on the structure of social relations. Needless to say, the discussion of family, face and fate in Tagalog has by no means been *thorough* in this sense. But hopefully, enough evidence has been presented to show something of the promise of inquiry extending along these lines.

### 8.0 Conclusion

Is language a guide to social reality? Taking conspiracies of grammatical categories as evidence, and the difference between English and Filipino cultures as a test case, then the answer to the question would appear to be yes. Tagalog grammar does differ from English grammar and many of these differences are not arbitrary. They fall into at least three general groups, each relateable to an identifiable theme in Filipino culture — a family conspiracy oriented to participation, a face conspiracy concerned with appearances, and a fate conspiracy preoccupied with the external determination of events. Moreover, each of these relations is symbolic; each set of general categories in the grammar functions as a metaphor for one of these cultural themes. As such, these conspiracies function subliminally, unconsciously predisposing Filipinos to ways of saying, meaning and behaving which taken as a whole constitute their culture.

The exact nature of this predisposition is not yet fully understood. Models of register, genre and code have not been sufficiently articulated to distinguish inherent from contextually conditioned orientations to meaning. And a linguistically oriented model of Filipino social structure has not yet been developed. One further problem which needs to be taken into account is the phylogenesis of such predispositions. It is this problem that Whorf alludes to when commenting that language and culture will be seen to be connected only when the two have been together historically for a considerable time' (1956: 159 [1941]). The Philippine languages show considerable lexical evidence of exposure to at least four imperialising languages and cultures: Chinese, Indonesian (Moslem culture), Spanish and American.

The extent to which grammar and culture have also been affected is hard to ascertain. As far as the family, face and fate conspiracies reviewed in this paper are concerned, this contact does not appear to have affected matters greatly. The interpretations of family, face and fate given here are usually referred to in terms of 'traditional' or 'real' Filipino values, representative of the culture (Bautista 1979: 143). And there is considerable grammatical homogeneity among Philippine languages, regardless of contact — so much so that simultaneous grammars have been conceived covering a number of different languages (Constantino 1965), and plans for a common lingua franca amalgamating several languages have been under way for almost two decades. The test case of course involves examining an aboriginal linguistic community in the Philippines, which would have experienced little contact with outsiders, and seeing if the connections between grammar and culture discussed here hold true. If they do, this would mean that the influence of foreign cultures on the Philippines, especially that of Spanish and American colonists, has been rather superficial. There is more to a culture than coca-cola (or coffee), jeans (or dresses), disco music (or guitars) and a few hundred common lexical items — so the superficiality of foreign influence as far as grammar and culture are concerned is hardly surprising.

Whatever the result of these investigations, the systematic relation between language and social reality is not one that can be dismissed lightly. Yes, as Sampson suggests, men do have the ability 'to break conceptual fetters which other men have forged' (1980: 102). Men can stand back from their language and culture, bring them to consciousness, and interpolate whatever changes they see fit. But beyond this, as Halliday points out, 'Society, language and the mind are indissoluble: society creates mind, mind creates society, and language stands as mediator and metaphor for both these processes' (1977: 3). Until both the mediating and metaphorical power of language in relation to culture is better understood, we will indeed remain 'prisoners of the categorisation scheme implied by our language' (Sampson 1980: 102). The luxury of escape is something that only semioticians can afford: and in escaping they incur a debt which is in no measure repaid by means of romantic dismissals of the connections between language, its structure and use, and the social reality in which we live.

## NOTES

1. Abbreviations used in glosses for Tagalog examples:  
 TM — Topic case marker  
 NTM — non-Topic case marker  
 CM — circumstantial marker  
 T — Topic form of pronoun — nominative case  
 NT — non-Topic form of pronoun — objective/genitive case  
 C — circumstantial form of pronoun — oblique case  
 LK — linker.
2. e.g. speaking to your cat:  
 Huhuhuhin mo ang mga daga  
 catch a little you TM some rats  
 'Catch a few rats (why don't you)'.
3. See Martin 1983 for a discussion of the change in definiteness in 4.0.
4. These structures are glossed to note the parallels between Subject and Topic as unmarked Themes in the two languages, thus 'He is my playmate' for (13), not 'I am his playmate' (cf. Kalaro niya ako).
5. Halliday: personal communication; approximation only.

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GENERIC SITUATION AND REGISTER:  
A FUNCTIONAL VIEW OF COMMUNICATION.<sup>1</sup>

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Any language event engages the knowledge of both user and receiver: knowledge of the world and knowledge of a language. These are not, of course, two distinct knowledges. Our knowledge of the world is something which we largely receive, store, and process in terms of language; and the languages we know themselves answer to the worlds in which they are used. It is in terms of this dialectical socio-cognitive view of language that, together with associates at York University, Toronto, I have been revising and developing the framework for describing intra-lingual variety which I first proposed in 1967 and expanded in 1978 (cf. Gregory 1967, Gregory and Carroll 1978).

A socio-cognitive perspective is of necessity a functional perspective: knowledge for the social scientist is knowledge as function, as social fact. Mao Zedong put the matter well:

Start from perceptual knowledge and actively develop it into rational knowledge . . . Practice, knowledge again, practice, and again knowledge. This form repeats itself in endless cycles . . . Such is the whole of the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge, and such is the dialectical-materialist theory of the unity of knowing and doing (Mao 1975: 1, 308).

Our language behaviour is surely a matter of both knowing and doing, of a stored, always ready to be activated knowledge of the code and of its relevance to our lives, and a matter of what J. R. Firth called the noises we make with our faces in order to live. It has been an increasing awareness of