

Transitivity in Tagalog: A Functional Interpretation of Case

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1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper the idea that what are generally known as case relations (Halliday's participant roles) can be usefully approached from the point of view of clause rather than verb classes will be explored with respect to one major Philippine language: Tagalog. In addition, the paper will adopt Halliday's (1976; 1985) strategy of dividing clauses into three major classes (doing, sensing and being) and setting up case relations peculiar to each, rather than building up a general inventory of cases for the language as a whole. In these two respects, the model pursued differs from that assumed in case grammar (Fillmore 1968) and lexibase (Starosta 1988) and provides a complementary perspective to the work done within these frameworks by Ramos (1974) and De Guzman (1978) respectively.

The paper will begin with a discussion of prototypes and the role they play in transitivity analysis, focusing on the work of Whorf, Fillmore and Halliday. Then, in section 3, a number of issues arising from Ramos and De Guzman's work will be considered by way of introduction to the analysis undertaken here. Subsequently, a grammar of doing, sensing and being processes from a systemic

functional perspective will be presented, drawing on Halliday's notions of process types and participant roles. (For further discussion of the relation between Hallidayan and other approaches to case relations see Martin (in press a). (For related work from a Hallidayan perspective on interpersonal and logical meaning in Tagalog, see Martin 1990, 1995.)

2. COVERT CATEGORIES

Tagalog, like other Philippine languages, is rather extravagant in terms of the amount of explicit morphology it devotes to signalling experiential and textual relationships among processes, participants and circumstances in clause structure. In (1) for example, the verbal prefix *na-* indicates experientially that the Topic¹ of the sentence is the participant being observed; at the same time the marker *ang* identifies this participant textually as Topic. The other two markers in the clause, *ng* and *sa* distinguish between the woman and the street as additional participant and circumstance respectively.

- na-halata ng babae ang boyfriend niya sa kalsadaz*
 noticed woman TM her street (1)
 "The woman noticed her boyfriend in the street."

This complex interaction of verbal affixes and markers is complicated by two factors. First, almost all of the participants and circumstances in a Tagalog clause are candidates for Topic (see Cena 1979 for a full review); and verbal affixes are used to distinguish among the different kinds of participant and circumstance that function as Topic. If we take the experiential structure of (1) for example, and vary it textually by making the woman rather than her boyfriend Topic, then the verbal affix has to change: in (2) *naka-* shows that the Topic is the observer, not the observed:

¹Philippinists generally use the term *Topic* to refer to what systemicists would call Theme (following Schachter & Olanes 1972) and the term *focus* to refer to the THEME system organizing Topic choice (following Kerr 196). Throughout this paper the term *Topic* will be used in this way, and verbal affixes described as *focus string* on the Topic.

²The affixes that focus on the Topic will be underlined in all examples, and the *ang* marker will be labelled TM (Topic Marker). To simplify the presentation, all verbs will be presented in completed aspect, only common nouns will be used as participants and circumstances, and textual and interpersonal variations on clause structure will be avoided.

- naka-halata³ ang babae ng boyfriend niya sa kalsada*
 noticed TM woman her street (2)
 "The woman noticed a boyfriend of hers⁴ in the street."

The second complication is that the affixes used to identify the experiential role of the Topic differ from one clause class to another. If we switch from processes of perception as in (1) and (2) to processes of cognition as in (3) or processes of reaction as in (4), new types of affixation appear. In (3) the discontinuous *na-...-an* marks the Topic as the phenomenon understood; in (4) the discontinuous *ka...-an⁵* signals that the Topic is the object of the woman's anger.

- na-unawa-an ng babae ang boyfriend niya*
 understood woman TM her (3)
 "The woman understood her boyfriend."
k-in-a-galit-an ng babae ang boyfriend niya
 was angry at woman TM her (4)
 "The woman was angry at her boyfriend."

To complete the picture, note what happens to the affixes if we focus on the woman instead of the boyfriend: *naka-* in (5) marks the Topic as the participant who understands, while *na-* in (6) shows that the Topic is the participant who reacts.

- naka-unawa ang babae ng boyfriend niya*
 was able to understand TM woman her (5)
 "The woman was able to understand a boyfriend of hers."
na-galit ang babae sa boyfriend niya
 was angry at TM woman her (6)
 "The woman was angry at her boyfriend."

Examples 1-6 illustrate the kind of problem analysts have faced when trying to sort out the interaction of affixes and markers in Philippine languages. If provisionally we refer to the role played by the woman in 1-6 as *senser* and the role of the boyfriend as *phenomenon*, then it would appear that:

³Along with the change in focus, the prefix *naka-* also introduces an ability-the/involuntary action meaning, which will be passed over here; see section 4.1 for discussion.

⁴The change in Topic also leads to a change in definiteness here; see Martin (1983) for discussion.

⁵*Ka-* itself surrounds the aspectual infix *-in-*.

1. both *naka-* and *na-* identify the Topic as senser.⁶
2. all of *na-*, *na-* . . . *-an* and *ka-* . . . *-an* identify the Topic as phenomenon.
3. both *ang* and *ng* are used to mark the senser.
4. all of *ang*, *ng* and *sa* are used to mark the phenomenon.⁷

In the face of these difficulties, linguists have in general adopted two sorts of descriptive strategy. One is to stick closely to the affixes and markers themselves, and list the different ways in which they are used. Bloomfield for example treats each of (7), (8) and (9) as *instrumental passives* with *i-* denoting "an object given forth, participated from, or used as an instrument or the person for whom" (1917: 248).

i-t-in-apon ng babae ang basura
threw out woman TM rubbish
"The woman threw out the rubbish." (7)

i-p-in-utol ng babae ang gunting
cut with woman TM scissors
"The woman cut with the scissors." (8)

i-b-in-ili ng beer ang lalaki
bought TM man
"The man was bought some beer." (9)

This approach contrasts with that of the cases grammarians who instead of listing the uses of affixes and markers set up cases and verb classes on a different level of abstraction from the affixes and markers themselves (eg. Ramos 1974). Ramos stressed the importance of identifying case "without regard to its means of expression. The reason for emphasis upon the relationship without regard to its means of expression comes from the fact that for Philippine lan-

⁶As noted, all examples are in completed aspect: prefixes beginning with *m-* in their aspectless form change *m-* to *n-* to mark completed aspect. These affixes will be cited in their aspectless forms except where specific examples are being discussed.

⁷As noted, only common nouns will be used as participants and circumstances in this paper. Human names have different markers: *si*, *ni* and *kay* corresponding to *ang*, *ng* and *sa* respectively; pronouns, which only refer to humans, come in *ang/ng/sa* forms, taking a marker only if circumstantial—for example, first person singular *ako*, *ko*, *sa akin* ('I/me/to me'); demonstratives also have distinct forms and do not appear with markers—for example, singular proximate *ito*, *nito*, *dito* ('this/this/this here').

guages, surface forms do not always reveal easily underlying case relations" (1974:19). And similarly for verb classes: "It is of interest as an aside to note that when the investigator initially posited semantic features for the verb, no thought was given to a one-to-one correspondence with surface representations" (1974:11).

Cases and verb features are then used to try and generalize across some of the interactions between affixes and markers. Ramos for example treats the rubbish as the Objective case in (7), the scissors as Instrumental in (8) and the man as Benefactive in (9). And the verbs themselves fall into different classes according to their effect on what is thrown out, cut or bought.

Case grammarians pursue their study within a general framework of universal grammar, as part of the search for a set of substantive universals (i.e. cases). Ramos, following Fillmore, treated cases as "universal, presumably innate concepts which identify certain types of judgements human beings are capable of making about events that are going on around them" (1974:7). Within this framework, the purpose of investigating case relations in Tagalog is apparently to test, and if necessary modify, proposals for the neurologically programmed set of cases underlying all human languages. De Guzman (1978:25) summed up this orientation as follows:

Working on Fillmore's hypothesis that there exists a finite and universal set of case relations and Starostia's claim to a corresponding universal set of case forms and, consequently, to the necessity of accounting for the system of case expression to achieve explanatory adequacy (Starostia 1973b), we will identify the case relations which Tagalog distinguishes and, concomitantly, the system it adopts in expressing them.

In the event, both Ramos and De Guzman found Fillmore's proposals wanting as far as transitivity in Tagalog is concerned. Ramos (1974:23) for example adjusted Fillmore's objective case for Tagalog as follows:

The objective case (O) is the most neutral case semantically. According to Fillmore (1968a:25) it is the case of anything representable by a noun whose role in the action or state is identified by the semantic interpretation of the verb, limited probably to things affected by the action or state identified by the verb. Where Fillmore limits the concept to inanimate objects, the objective case in Tagalog includes experienter animate entities too.

But she stopped short of renovating the relevant set of substantive universals on the basis of Tagalog. De Guzman disagreed with

Ramos's interpretation at several points, again usually without taking the step of adjusting the finite and universal set of case relations. Her treatment of Locative was exceptional in this respect. She treated Ramos's Directional and Locative cases as indistinct because "It has been found that there are no discernible syntactic or semantic differences between the supposed [+DAT] and the [+LOC] actant" (De Guzman 1978:52). She cited as evidence the following factors:

1. The [+DAT] and [+LOC] are both marked by *sa*.
2. When Topic, the [+DAT] and [+LOC] are so signalled with the affix *-an*.

This she then pursued as a general claim about Directional and Locative cases in universal grammar (see also Starosta 1978; 1988).

Regardless, both Ramos and De Guzman concentrated on working out a set of case relations for Tagalog, leaving the implications of this language-specific set of cases for universal grammar unclear. This is hardly surprising given the difficulties inherent in motivating case relations at the degree of abstraction necessary for them to be considered universal. Ramos and De Guzman's proposals for Tagalog are themselves abstract enough that what counts as evidence is less than clear. Before proceeding further it is thus appropriate to look more closely at Fillmore's own argumentation as far as motivating cases is concerned.

Fillmore (1968:3), in introducing case grammar, made explicit reference to the work of Whorf, who was the first to stress the importance of categories lacking obvious morphemic realizations. Fillmore treated cases as *covert* categories (following Whorf; see especially 1956:89, 92, 165) with syntactic significance, which helps make it possible "to believe that at bottom all languages are essentially alike" (1968:3); and he is somewhat surprised that they led Whorf to the opposing relativistic position (see Martin (1988) for a Whorfian perspective on Tagalog grammar). But this is hardly surprising when one looks at the nature of Whorf's covert categories and the way in which he motivated them in terms of their grammatical significance (their *reactances*). Whorf was what we would now call a functional grammarian: Covert categories were conceived as part of the grammar of a language and justified in terms of as many reactances as possible. And Whorf considered linguistics as essentially a quest for meaning, with the analysis of covert categories playing a key role in this endeavor (1956:73).

Whorf characterized covert categories and their realization as follows:

A covert category is marked, whether morphemically or by sentence pattern, only in certain types of sentence and not in every sentence in which a word or element belonging to the category occurs. The class membership of the word is not apparent until there is a question of using it or referring to it in one of these special types of sentence, and then we find that the word belongs to a class requiring some sort of distinctive treatment, which may even be the negative treatment of excluding that type of sentence. This distinctive treatment we may call the reactance of the category. In English, intransitive verbs form a covert class marked by the lack of a passive participle and the passive and causative voices; we cannot substitute a verb of this class (eg. "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; first published 1945)

Fillmore's approach is precisely parallel: "The second assumption I wish to make is the importance of covert categories" (1968:3).

One example of a 'covert' grammatical distinction is the one to which traditional grammarians have attached the labels 'affectum' and 'effectum'. . . . The distinction, which is reportedly made overt in some languages, can be seen in Sentences 1 and 2.

1. John ruined the table.
 2. John built the table.
- The distinction does have syntactic relevance, however. The effectum object, for example, does not permit interrogation of the verb with do to, while the affectum object does. (1968:4)

I am going to suggest below that there are many semantically relevant syntactic relationships involving nouns and the structures that contain them, that these relationships—like those seen in 1 and 2—are in large part covert but are nevertheless empirically discoverable, that they form a specific finite set, and that observations made about them will turn out to have considerable cross-linguistic validity. I shall refer to these as 'case' relationships. (1968:5)

Work on covert categories (or cryptotypes as Whorf also referred to them) was developed further by Halliday, whose 1985 functional grammar of English deploys them in large numbers. Like Whorf and Fillmore, Halliday was concerned with the way in which a cryptogrammar is motivated and commented as follows:

The grammar needs to be explicit, if it is to go on being useful: it must generate wordings from the most abstract grammatical categories by some explicit set of intermediate steps . . . the requirement that this should be possible leads to an important principle, namely that all

categories employed must be clearly 'there' in the grammar of the language. They are not set up simply to label differences in meaning. On other words, we do not argue: "these two sets of examples differ in meaning; therefore they must be systematically distinct in the grammar." They may be; but if there is no lexicogrammatical reflex of the distinction they are not. (1985:xx)

This principle he takes as a fundamental characterization of functional grammar:

If we simply took account of differences in meaning, then any set of clauses or phrases could be classified in all kinds of different ways; there would be no way of preferring one scheme over another. The fact that this is a 'functional' grammar means that it is based on meaning; but the fact that it is a 'grammar' means that it is an interpretation of linguistic forms. Every distinction that is recognized in the grammar—every set of options, or 'system' in systemic terms—makes some contribution to the form of the wording. Often it will be a very indirect one, but it will be somewhere in the picture.

(1985:xx)

In this paper an attempt will be made to develop a systemic functional interpretation of case in Tagalog following on from Whorf, Fillmore and Halliday's remarks on covert categories and reactances. Unlike Ramos and De Guzman, this study will not be pursued within the framework of universal grammar. However, based on previous systemic studies of transitivity, the analyst assumed that:

1. The grammar of the Tagalog clause would be organized with respect to experiential, interpersonal and textual meaning.
2. From the point of view of experiential meaning, processes would fall into distinct sets (involving at least doing, sensing and being) with distinctive case relations for each.
3. Again, from the perspective of experiential meaning, the clause would be made up of some combination of process, participant(s) and circumstance(s).
4. Transitive and ergative models of voice might both be relevant, perhaps depending on process type (or possible person and mood).
5. The grammar would be functionally organized in the sense that patterns of affixes and markers would be neither random nor arbitrary.

Of these, the major challenge in Tagalog had to do with 4: accordingly, a different model of voice based on the notion of centrifugality will be proposed below.

In contrast to Bloomfield (who began with markers and affixes) and to Ramos and De Guzman (who began with verb classes), the point of departure for the analysis will be the clause. This reflects the semantic and contextual orientation of systemic functional grammars that try to interface with considerations of meaning and use as sensitively as possible. It also facilitates the integration of experiential structures with interpersonal and textual ones, whose domain is clearly that of the clause and not of the morpheme, word, group or phrase.

3. ISSUES ARISING FROM RAMOS AND DE GUZMAN

It is beyond the scope of this paper to review all of the relevant literature on Tagalog case (for an effective summary see De Guzman 1978:106–128). Instead, five key issues will be highlighted, as they bear critically on the analysis to follow:

3.1. Transitive or Ergative

The issue here has to do with whether Tagalog is basically a transitive or ergative language, or possibly something else altogether. Ramos and De Guzman defined their Agentive and Objective cases in such a way as to disagree fundamentally on this point. Ramos identified the doer in (10) and (11) as realizing the same case, the Agentive, treating the done-to as Objective.⁸ De Guzman, on the other hand, required that every clause contain at least an Objective case, and so treated the doer in (10) as realizing the same case, the Objective, as the done-to in (11).

t-um-akbo ang babae	
ran	TM woman
	Agentive (Ramos)
	Objective (De Guzman)
"The woman ran." (10)	

⁸Ramos does treat certain inanimate unintentional doers as Objective—for example, the water in *k-um-ulo ang tubig* "The water boiled"—so her analysis is really of a mixed transitive and ergative type.

- b-um-ili ang babae ng beer
 bought TM woman
 Agentive Objective (Ramos & De Guzman)
 "The woman bought some beer." (11)

Thus Ramos treated Tagalog as basically transitive, identifying the intransitive and transitive doer as the same role, while De Guzman treated it as basically ergative, identifying the intransitive doer with the transitive done-to. The distinction between agentive and nonagentive clauses is the primary distinction as far as verb sub-classification is concerned for both Ramos and De Guzman and so the treatment of Tagalog as transitive or ergative is at the heart of their analysis. Notably however, neither raised this aspect of their interpretation when defining Agentive and Objective cases (indeed De Guzman 1978:199 used the term *ergative*, somewhat oddly, to refer to verbs that prefer the done-to as Topic when a doer is present).

As far as the affixes and markers are concerned, the affixes support the transitive analysis while the typical pattern of use of markers points to the ergative. Note that in (10) and (11) for example, the same affix *-um-* identifies the Topic as a doer; and a different affix *-in-* would have been used to focus on the done-to in (11) (as in (12)): The affix pattern in other words looks transitive. As far as markers are concerned, however, (11) is in fact less common than (12):

- b-in-ili ng babae ang beer
 bought woman TM
 "The woman bought the beer." (12)

Done-tos must be Topic in Tagalog when definite and in general Tagalog is a "patient-prominent" language (see Cena 1978 for a next to exhaustive discussion of this point). Thus the markers tend to identify the doer of the intransitive with the done-to of the transitive, reflecting an ergative pattern⁹ (for further, albeit rather indirect and analogous, arguments from syntactic patterning that Tagalog is ergative, see Payne (1982)).

⁹It can also be noted that in action processes the typical pattern is for infixes to focus on the doer (*-um-*) and the done-to (*-in-*), prefixes on agents (*mag-*), extra agents (*magpa-*) and beneficiaries (*-ipag-*), and suffixes (*-an*) on circumstances; this differential function of infixes, prefixes and suffixes appears to symbolize the ergative interpretation.

So, it would appear, with evidence pointing in both directions, that Tagalog is a mixed transitive/ergative language—or perhaps something else as will be suggested below.

3.2. Types of Process

The question here has to do with to what extent one can base one's analysis on action clauses. Almost all of Bloomfield's (1917) examples consisted of doing clauses; what little he had to say about mental processes, for example, is scattered through his discussion of secondary as opposed to primary formations. Schachter and Oranes, in their outline of affix correspondence classes, commented that Tagalog has very few bases in the classes realizing perception and cognition (1972:295–296). Ramos recognized 15 major classes of verb, only one of which is non-action. And finally De Guzman, while redressing this imbalance somewhat by taking mental and verbal processes into account, still devoted five out of seven primary verb subcategories to doing clauses (1978:102). And none of these authors treat being clauses as relevant to a discussion of case because in Tagalog relational processes for the most part do not contain verbs.

To begin, it needs to be granted that Tagalog has more action verbs than verbs of any other kind, that these appear with a higher frequency than other verbs averaging across contexts (McFarland 1976) and that they are learned before other verbs by children (Gonzales 1984). However, none of these factors dictates that the grammar of action clauses will be the same as that of other processes nor that they will serve as a useful model. To pursue this point, consider Ramos's and De Guzman's analysis of (13):

- na-gulat ang babae sa ingay
 was surprised TM woman noise
 Objective Instrumental (Ramos)
 Dative Objective (De Guzman)
 "The woman was surprised at the noise." (13)

Ramos treated the senser here as Objective, identifying it with the done-to of an action clause, apparently on the grounds that it is affected by the process but does not initiate it. De Guzman, on the other hand, introduced a Dative role for the senser in mental processes (1978:55–56), arguing that the noise should be treated as Objective and that because only one instance of each case is allowed per clause, a new case is needed for the senser. Ramos treated the

noise as Instrumental (but, because Instrumentals must be Inanimate, would have to analyse (6) above differently: there the phenomenon reacted to was conscious—the boyfriend).

As far as Ramos's analysis is concerned, no insights are gained as far as affixation is concerned: *Ma-* identifies the Topic as Objective only when ablitative in meaning (normally *i-*, *-in-*, or *-an* focus on the Objective case); and the *ka-* . . . *-an*, which would focus on her Instrumental in (13) (cf. (4) above) is unrelated to the *i(pang)-* affixes used to focus on other Instrumentals (see (18) below). The markers as well would mark the Instrumental in (13) differently from other Instrumentals, which are normally marked with *ng* or *sa pamamagitan ng*, not *sa*.

De Guzman treated the phenomenon not as Instrumental but as Objective. Once again it is unusual to have an Objective case focused on with *ka-* . . . *-an* and marked with *sa*. Moreover, De Guzman's analysis of (14) leads to further problems:

- g-in-ulat ng ingay ang babae*
 surprised noise TM woman
 Agentive Objective (De Guzman)
 "The noise surprised the woman." (14)

In this example De Guzman (1978:300) treated the noise as Agentive and the woman as Objective. This fits what might be expected for markers and affixes on the basis of patterns in action clauses. But while bringing out the difference between (13) and (14), it fails to note the similarity: the sener and phenomenon are given quite different analyses in the two clauses (De Guzman does derive the verb in (14) from that in (13), showing a lexical relationship, but this does not bring out the fact that the role of the woman in the two clauses is in some respect the same).

These examples illustrate the difficulty of taking cases such as the Objective and Instrumental, which have been defined primarily with action clauses in mind and applying them directly to processes of other kinds. In the analysis presented below, doing clauses will be treated differently from clauses of sensing and being.

3.3. Types of Participant

Following Fillmore, Ramos and De Guzman distinguished between doer Agentives and Instrumentals on the basis of animacy. Thus, the doer in (15) is taken as Agentive, while that in (16) is Instrumental.

- b-in-asa ng babae ang boyfriend niya*
 wet woman TM her
 Agentive Objective (Ramos & De Guzman)
 "The woman wet her boyfriend" (15)

- b-in-asa ng ulan ang boyfriend niya*
 wet rain TM her
 Instrumental Objective (Ramos & De Guzman)
 "The rain wet her boyfriend." (16)

As far as the affixes and markers are concerned, Tagalog treats (15) and (16) as identical, so the semantic distinctions being made here appear to be grammatically vacuous (nor are there any reactions to bring into play). And, as with the problems raised with respect to Ramos's analysis of the phenomenon in reaction clauses like (13), the distinction weakens any predictions about affixes and markers that could be made from the Instrumental case, because the rain in (16) is not at all like the tool in (17) and (18) (note in passing that if Topic, both the woman in (15) and the rain in (16) would be focused on with the prefix *nag-*; cf. *ipang-* for the tool Topic in (18)).

- g-in-upit ng babae ang tela sa pamamagitan ng gunting*
 cut woman TM cloth with scissors
 "The woman cut the cloth with some scissors." (17)

- ip-in-ang-gupit ng babae ng tela ang gunting*
 cut with ng cloth TM scissors
 woman
 "The woman cut the cloth with the scissors." (18)

Somewhat ironically, while making use of animacy as the basis for distinguishing Agentive from Instrumental buys nothing and simply creates problems here, Ramos made no use of it where it might help. For example, the sener in a mental process clause must be conscious (animacy is not really the relevant grammatical variable for Tagalog; "endowed with human consciousness" is closer to the mark). This means that personal pronouns, which only refer to "human" participants in Tagalog, and proper names for "human" participants, which take distinctive markers (*si, ni, kay*), are much more strongly associated with the sener than with any other case. By collapsing Dative with Objective, Ramos lost the apparatus to focus on this association. De Guzman did not appeal to consciousness when arguing for Dative against Ramos, but it is part of her definition of this case relation.

Pursuing this point, there is also the question of what types of phenomena (people, places and things) and metaphenomena (ideas, locutions and facts) might fit into case frames with Dative. In distinguishing mental and verbal processes from processes of other kinds, De Guzman never appealed to the fact that they can be used to report and quote other clauses (see (34) to (36) below). But reported and quoted clauses are linked to their projecting clause (see Halliday 1985:248–251 for a summary of projection) by the hypotactic linkers *ng/na*, not by the markers *ang*, *ng* and *sa*, and so an important observation about markers is being set aside. In the analysis developed below, both the consciousness and phenomenality of participants will be taken into account.

3.4. Participants and Circumstances

Ramos and De Guzman also disagreed on where to draw the line between participants and circumstances. Their treatment of the ambiguity in (19) illustrates this point.

<i>t-um-akbo ang babae sa Roxas Boulevard</i>	
ran	TM woman
	Direction or Location (Ramos)
	Locative (De Guzman)
"The woman ran to/on Roxas Boulevard."	(19)

Ramos treated the *sa* phrase as realizing either Direction or Location: for De Guzman only a Locative case is recognized, with verbs subclassified to capture the different interpretations of (19). In other words, Ramos divided De Guzman's Locative case into a Direction, which is more participant-like, and a Location, which is more circumstantial. What, in general, do Tagalog's affixes and markers have to say about the distinction between participants and circumstances?

As noted in section 2, Tagalog's markers draw an apparent distinction between participants and circumstances in that participants are marked with *ng* when Topic and circumstances with *sa*.¹⁰ This is easiest to see when clauses are nominalized or in recently completed aspect and so have no Topic:

<i>magaling ang pagka-intindi ng babae ng wika</i>	
clever	TM understanding woman language

¹⁰Note that with pronouns, only circumstantial roles in fact take a marker: for example, *siya, niya, sa kaniya* 'he/him/to him.'

sa biyaha niya
trip her
"The woman's understanding of languages on her trip was clever." (20)

ka-ra-rating ng babae sa probinsiya dahil sa Pasko
has just arrived woman province because of Xmas
"The woman has just arrived from the province for Christmas." (21)

As (21) illustrates, certain of these *sa* markers can be expanded to give more specific meanings. Using an ad hoc semantic classification of circumstances, these can be listed as follows:

Matter	<i>tungkol sa, ukol sa</i> "about"
Accompaniment	<i>kasama ng</i> "with," <i>sa halip na</i> "in place of," <i>bukod sa</i> "besides," <i>maliban sa</i> "except"
Cause	<i>dahil sa</i> "because of"
Benefactive	<i>para sa</i> "on behalf of"
Instrument	<i>sa pamamagitan ng</i> "with"
Location	<i>galing sa</i> "from," <i>patungo sa</i> "to," <i>sa gitna ng</i> "in the middle of," <i>sa harap ng</i> "in front of," etc.

Actually the picture is not quite as neat as the *ng/sa* opposition in (20) and (21) would imply. Not all circumstances are in fact marked with *sa*: eg. *kasama ng* "with" listed under Accompaniment above. In addition, Manner and Extent are marked with *nang*, distinguished orthographically from *ng*, but phonologically identical; and Role is marked with *bilang* "as." What characterizes all circumstances is their inability to be marked simply with orthographic *ng*. More problematic, as far as distinguishing participants and circumstances is concerned, are *sa* phrases that cannot be expanded to make the nature of their relation to the process more specific. These can be listed as follows:

- the receiver of goods in an action clause
i-b-in-igay ng boyfriend niya ang pera sa babae
gave her TM money woman
"Her boyfriend gave the woman some money." (22)

2. the receiver of information in a saying clause
s-in-abi ng boyfriend sa babae na¹¹ uuwi siya
 said woman LK go home he
 "The boyfriend told the woman he'd go home." (23)
3. the phenomenon in a mental process of reaction clause
na-inis ang babae sa boyfriend niya
 was irritated with TM woman her
 "The woman was irritated with her boyfriend." (24)
4. the secondary actor in a causative construction
i-p-in-a-digay ng babae sa boyfriend niya ang pera
 made give woman her TM money
 "The woman made her boyfriend give her the money." (25)
5. the joint actor with a social verb
naki-inom ang babae sa boyfriend niya
 joined to drink with TM woman her
 "The woman joined her boyfriend for a drink." (26)
6. the definite object of an actor focus verb in an embedded clause¹²
p-um-asok ang lalaki-ng naka-halata sa babae
 came in TM man LK happened to notice woman
 "The man who happened to notice the woman came in." (27)

Ramos dealt only with type 1, treating the receiver of goods in (22) as Direction. De Guzman proceeded as follows (the affixes used to focus on each case are shown except for Comitative where topicalization is not possible):

Locative [-*an*]-receiver of goods in (22)

Dative [-*an*]-receiver of information in (23)

Objective [-*an*]-phenomenon reacted to in (24)

¹¹*Na/ŋ* realize the hypotactic relation between a location and its projecting process; they will be referred to as linkers, and labelled LK in examples.

¹²As McFarland (1976:25) pointed out, these definite *sa* phrases are not supposed to occur outside embedded clauses, but do so and are accepted by many speakers when drawn to their attention: in (27) *sa babae* "the woman" contrasts with *ng babae* "a woman."

- Dative [-*in*-]-secondary actor in (25)
 Comitative—joint actor in (26)
 Objective [*na*-]-phenomenon perceived in (27)

As is typical with borderline categories, the evidence is mixed. The last three examples, secondary actor, joint actors and definite embedded *sa* phrases, could perhaps be regarded as "demoted" participants: certainly in directly related non-causative (see Starosta 1978), non-social (see Martin 1988:253–254) and unembedded constructions (see McFarland 1976:25) the roles in question pattern like other participants in every way. This leaves the *sa* phrases in 1, 2 and 3, along with the locations associated with verbs of motion (as in (19) above).

One strategy for handling the problem is to make use of delicacy, subclassifying process first with respect to clear participants, then at a second stage with respect to borderline cases, and finally with respect to clear circumstantial roles. This is, in effect, the strategy adopted by Ramos and De Guzman, who subclassified verbs first on the basis of potential *ng* phrases (contrast Schachter and Otanes 1972:71, whose primary classification of verbs according to complement classes includes direction). De Guzman, for example, treated verbs first as agentive or not (i.e. Agentive plus Objective or Objective only), then as dative or not (i.e. Agentive plus Objective plus Dative addressee or Objective plus Dative experiencer) and then as locative or not. This is the basic strategy that will be adopted in this paper; the dispute over Direction and Location thus resolves itself into a question of delicacy, with Direction (De Guzman's inner locatives) brought into the subclassification of processes earlier than Location (De Guzman's outer locatives).

3.5. Unmotivated Categories

In section 3.1 through 3.4, various aspects of the case inventories of Ramos and De Guzman were criticized because they led to analyses that are unrevealing with respect to affix and marker patterns. Similar problems arise with respect to their verb subclassifications.

Schachter, for example, in his 1977 review of Ramos, noted that while many of Ramos's categories are both semantically and grammatically motivated, a number are largely intuitive and at times conflict with grammatical evidence. If we look at affixation for example, (28) and (29) (focus affix *-in-*) would appear to fall into the same class as opposed to (30) (focus affix *-an*).

in-ipun ng babae ang pera
 saved woman TM money
 "The woman saved the money." (28)

s-in-unog ng babae ang pera
 burned woman TM money
 "The woman burned the money." (29)

p-in-unas-an¹³ ng babae ang pera
 wiped woman TM money
 "The woman wiped the money." (30)

And one might posit some semantic feature such as [+/- surface action] to explain the pattern. Ramos, however, distinguished (28) from (29) and (30) on the grounds that the done-to in (28) does not undergo a change of state, and then distinguishes (29) and (30) in terms of whether the change of state is total or partial. This shows something of the possible danger of placing too much emphasis on giving no thought to a one-to-one relationship between verb features and surface representations (Ramos 1974:11).

4. TRANSITIVITY IN TAGALOG

Unlike case grammar, which attempts to associate a universal inventory of case relations with subclasses of verbs, systemic grammar begins with a subclassification of clause types and attempts to associate with each of these distinctive case frames. As noted above, it was expected following on from previous systemic studies of transitivity (especially Halliday 1985) that an initial division of clauses into action, sensing and being would prove fruitful. Any overt or covert evidence that could be uncovered was taken into account: for the most part this involved:

1. the affixes used to identify the role of Topic
2. the markers used for non-Topic participants and circum-
stances
3. the number and nature of the participants associated with
the process
4. the form of the relevant nominalization

¹³The *-in-* infix here is signalling completed aspect, not focus: it contrasts with the *-in-* in (28) and (29), which is a portmanteau realization of both aspect and focus.

5. the type of general verb used to refer to the process
6. the presence or absence of a process
7. the bidirectionality of the process
8. marked patterns in the process's abilitative, social or causative paradigms

4.1. Mental Processes (De Guzman's 1978:192 Psych Verbs)

In Tagalog, sensing clauses deal with reaction, perception and cognition. They involve two key participants, one endowed with human consciousness and the other admitting a wide range of phenomena, including those realised by clauses. They distinguish themselves from other process types with respect to the following features (cf. Halliday 1985:108-111 on criteria for distinguishing mental and material processes in English):

1. their processes are realized by *ma-* class verbs (eg. (31)-- (33))
2. one key participant may be introduced with a linker (η/na) instead of a marker: where the verb focuses on the participant introduced in this way, the mental process clause will thus lack a Topic marker (eg. (35) below)
3. one key participant must be endowed with human consciousness: the other need not be and may be realized by a clause (coding an act, idea or fact—see Halliday 1985:227-251 for a discussion of macro- and meta-phenomena)
4. they are nominalized with the prefix *pagka-* (eg. (20))
5. they cannot be questioned with a general doing verb (*gawa/mangyari*) or with a wh verb (*ano*)
6. a process is always present and realized by a verb
7. they have defective ability/involuntary action paradigms because their *ma-* prefix is identical to the object focus ability/involuntary action prefix used in action clauses.

Except for De Guzman, analysts have almost completely ignored this process type. Examples of mental process verbs are given below, provisionally grouped into reaction, perception and cognition classes. Grammatical criteria for distinguishing these subclasses will be presented as the analysis unfolds. One example of each subclass is provided to show something of the affix/marker interaction differentiating subclasses.

1. REACTION

na-awa ang babae sa boyfriend niya
 pitied TM women her
 "The woman pitied her boyfriend." (31)

galit "be angry at," *gulat* "be surprised at," *inggit* "envy," *hiya* "be ashamed of," *tuwa* "be happy about," *inis* "be irritated with," *takot* "be afraid of," *lungkot* "be sad about," *awa* "pity," *lita* "be confused about," *inip* "be bored with," *balisa* "be anxious about," *suklam* "be disgusted with," *sabik* "be eager for," *yamot* "be annoyed with," *galak* "be glad about" ("deep"¹⁴ Tagalog), *poot* "hate" (deep Tagalog), *sawa* "be fed up with"

2. PERCEPTION

na-dama ng babae ang kamay niya
 felt woman TM hand his
 "The woman felt his hand." (32)

kita "see," *dirig* "hear," *puna* "notice," *amoy* "smell," *titkim* "taste," *pansin* "notice," *masdan* "observe," *tanaw* "view," *batid* "be aware of," *arinaw* "see through a haze," *aninag* "see through a transparency," *darama* "feel," *dama* "feel," *halata* "notice," *hipo* "feel by touch," *reparo* "notice," *alala* "to have return to the mind"

3. COGNITION

na-limut-an ng babae ang payong
 forgot woman TM umbrella
 "The woman forgot her umbrella." (33)

limot "forget," *tanda* "remember," *intindi* "understand," *tuto* "learn," *alam* "know," *isp* "think," *unawa* "understand (be in sympathy with); tuklas "discover," *danas* "experience," *balita* "receive news," *tagpo* "find out," *gusto* "wish," *usisa* "investigate," *wawa* "get the drift of," *kutob* "have a premonition of," *watas* "understand," *tulos* "catch the point of," *damdam* "feel," *asa* "hope," *mata* "realise," *hula* "guess"

One of the chief differences between mental processes and process of acting and being has to do with the phenomenality of the two

¹⁴The term *deep* is used by Tagalog speakers to refer to words still used in some Tagalog speaking provinces, but not current in Manila.

central participants. To explore this further, consider (34) to (36) below: in each the participant endowed with consciousness is sensing a different order of phenomena from that exemplified in (31) to (33) above—an act (34), an idea (35) and a fact (36):

ACT

na-masdan ng babae ANG ISDA L-UM-ANGCOY¹⁵ SA TUBIG
 observed woman TM fish swimming water
 "The woman observed the fish swimming in the water." (34)

IDEA

na-kutob-an ng pangulo NA TA-TAKAS SIYA
 had a premonition head LK will escape he
 "The president had a premonition he'd escape." (35)

FACT

na-suklam ang tao SA BAGAY NA NAG-DAVA ANG PANGULO
 were disgusted TM people think LK cheated TM head
 "The people were disgusted with the fact that the president cheated." (36)

Example (34) illustrates what Halliday (1985:225–227) referred to as an *act*—a type of nominalized clause: *ang isda l-um-angoy sa tubig* "the fish swimming in the water." The process in acts is aspectless in Tagalog, reflecting the act's downgrading from "clausehood"; and because it is a macro- rather than a meta-phenomenon, it is not linked to *na-masdan ng babae* "the woman observed" with a linker (that is, it is not projected by the process *masdan*)—it functions simply as an embedded clause participant.

In (35), *na ta-takas siya* is linked to *na-kutob-an ng pangulo* (by *na*)—it is projected by the mental process: unlike the act in (34) it selects for aspect (in this case [not begun]). Clauses projected by mental processes in this way are referred to by Halliday (1985:233) as *ideas*. These are characterized as metaphenomena and described as dependent on their projecting clause but not embedded in it.

In (36), a second type of metaphenomenon is illustrated, a *fact* (Halliday 1985:243–248). These he described as embedded clauses that have the feature projected, but are not projected by the mental process in which they may be embedded. In Tagalog, these can all be introduced with (*ang/sa bagay na*) ("the fact that"), although the optionality of *ang/sa bagay na* means that in many cases the distinc-

¹⁵Note that *ang isda* is not linked to *lumangoy sa tubig* and so the latter cannot be read as a relative clause. Compare: *na-kita ng babae bilih-in ng lalaki ang gulay* "The woman saw the man buying vegetables"; *bilhin* is clearly aspectless here, and the absence of a linker between *na-kita ng babae* and *bilih-in ng lalaki ang gulay* along with the position of *ng lalaki* following *bilhin* point clearly to an act.

TABLE 7.1
Mental Processes and Orders of Phenomena

Mental Subclass	Unmarked Order of Phenomena
perception:	phenomena & macro-phenomena (acts)
cognition:	phenomena & meta-phenomena (ideas)
reaction:	phenomena & meta-phenomena (facts)

tion between ideas and facts is not formally marked. It is only by testing the metaphenomenon with the preface *ang/sa bagay* (the relevant reactance) that the distinction can be uncovered.

Only mental processes accept all orders of phenomena as participants, and ideas are peculiar to this process type (acts are found as well in doing and being clauses, and facts as well in being ones). Within mental processes, some orders of phenomena appear more closely associated with one process type than another. Quantitative studies are required to explore this point, but the predictions in Table 7.1 are worth testing.

Turning now to point 5 in the list of criteria for distinguishing mental processes from other process types, the absence of a general verb should be noted. This means that the identifying clause in (37) is unacceptable—*tuto* "learn" is not a kind of *gawa* "do" (the English gloss constructs *learn* as a kind of action process [behavioral]; see Halliday 1985:128–129), an interpretation the morphology blocks in the Tagalog version).

- **ang g-in-awa niya ay na-tutuh-an ang Cebuano*
 did she IM¹⁶ learn TM
 "What he did was learn Cebuano." (37)

Similarly, mental processes cannot be queried with a *wh* verb: the response in the following adjacency pair is thus inappropriate (the natural query for a mental process of reaction is in fact *bakit* "why," which follows from the causative-like affixes used to focus on the phenomenon; see (40) below:

- um-ano ang babae*
whattad TM woman
 "What did the woman do?" (38)

¹⁶The particle *ay* signals that the Topic is being realized in first position in the clause (it signals in other words a marked Theme; see Martin 1983); it is labelled IM (= "inversion marker").

- *-*na-lungkot siya*
 was sad she
 "She was sad."

Finally, with respect to criteria 7 above, note that the pairs *na-rinig/naka-rinig* and *na-gawa/naka-gawa* are not proportional. With doing processes both *na-gawa* ("was able/happened to"; done-to focus) and *naka-gawa* ("was able/happened to"; doer focus) involve an abilitative/involuntary action meaning. On the other hand, with the mentals, only *naka-rinig* ("was able/happened to hear"—senser focus) is associated with the abilitative/involuntary action paradigm. With the phenomenon in focus, *na-rinig* means simply "heard," not "was able/happened to hear" (see Rafael 1978 for discussion).

As far as case is concerned then, two basic roles will be recognized: A participant endowed with human consciousness, which following Halliday (1985) will be referred to as a *Senser*, and a participant realized by all orders of phenomena, which following Halliday (1985) will be referred to as a *Phenomenon*. In order to explore the realization of these roles in more detail, subclassification of mental processes into reaction, perception and cognition will have to be considered.

Within mental processes, the basic distinction is between reaction clauses on the one hand, and perception and cognition on the other. Reaction clauses have the following distinctive features:

1. the prefix *ma-* focuses on the *Senser*, not the *Phenomenon*.
2. causative-like focus affixes are used to focus on the *Phenomenon* (*ika-* and *ka-* . . . -*an*)
3. when not in focus the *Phenomenon* is marked with *sa-*.
4. they are two-way (*ma-takot*—*Senser* fearing *Phenomenon* vs *t-in-akot*—*Phenomenon* frightening *Senser*)
5. they do not allow social (**maki-takot*) or causative (**mag-pa-takot*) affixes
6. their unmarked metaphenomenon is a fact.

These distinctive features are summarized in Table 7.2, which will also be drawn on in contrasting perception with cognition.

Semantically, the features that distinguish reaction processes from the others reflect the fact that a reacting *Senser* is responding to rather than exploring the world. The *ma-* prefix in Tagalog typically focuses on participants undergoing an experience, rather than

TABLE 7.2
Mental Processes Reactions

	Reaction	Perception	Cognition
Senser focus affix	ma-	maKa-	maKa-
Phenomenon focus	ika-/	ma-	ma...-an
affix	ka...-an		
Phenomenon marker	sa	ng	ng
(non-Topic)			
directionality	two-way	one-way	one-way
causative affixes	no	yes	yes
social affixes	no	yes	(if reciprocal)
unmarked clause	fact	act	idea
Phenomenon			
Senser marker	ng	ng	ng
(non-Topic)			

undertaking one. The Senser's response is triggered in one of two ways: (a) by a Phenomenon in a "causal" circumstantial relation to the process as in (39) and (40); or (b) by a Phenomenon in an agentive role as in (41).

na-gulat *ang babae* (dahil) *sa* boyfriend *niya*
was surprised at TM woman because of her
"The woman was surprised at her boyfriend." (39)

*k-in-a-gulat-an*¹⁷ *ng babae* *ang* boyfriend *niya*
was surprised because of woman TM her
"The woman was surprised at her boyfriend." (40)

Note that when the Senser is Topic, the Phenomenon is realized through a *sa* phrase, which can be optionally expanded to *dahil sa*, meaning "because of." This means that Phenomena in this process type are closely related to circumstances of cause and that the distinction between "The woman was surprised at her boyfriend" and "The woman was surprised because of her boyfriend" is grammatically slight. The *ka-* prefix used as part of the affixation to focus on the Phenomenon is also part of the morphology (*ika-*) used in general to focus on circumstances of cause across process types (see Schachter and Otanes 1972:313–314; eg. *ik-in-a-luha ng babae ang boyfriend niya* "Her boyfriend made the woman cry").

¹⁷Nominalized Phenomena tend to be focused on with *ika-* rather than *ka-*. . . . *an: ik-in-a-gulat ng babae ang g-in-awa niya* "The woman was surprised at what he did."

Causality of the agentive kind is illustrated in ((41) below. Here the Senser is being affected (*provoked* is De Guzman's 1978:299 apt characterization) by an agentive *ng* phrase and focused on with *-in-* as a kind of done-to (cf. the use of *-in-* to focus on done-tos in the discussion of action clauses below). This *ng* phrase cannot itself be made Topic: there is thus a restricted focus potential in provocation reaction clauses.

g-in-ulat ng boyfriend *ang* babae
surprised TM woman
"The boyfriend surprised the woman." (41)

The fact that the Phenomenon can trigger a reaction in either way gives rise to the bidirectionality of this process type.

Because the Senser in a reaction clause is responding to rather than exploring the world, reaction clauses are more naturally associated with facts than ideas. Facts are fait accompli—the Senser is not involved in constructing them; whereas with ideas, the Senser is projecting meanings into existence. What is being suggested here as the marked pattern, pending quantitative studies to confirm the point, is illustrated in (42), which on one reading has the reaction process projecting an idea.

na-takot ang babae *na* da-rating *ang* boyfriend *niya*
feared TM woman LK will come TM her
"The woman was afraid her boyfriend would come." (42)

It is presumably this passive role of the Senser that lies behind the unacceptability of social and causative affixes with reaction processes. It is possible to frighten the Senser (41) above) but not to make or let the Senser fear (**p-in-a-takot ng boyfriend niya ang babae* "Her boyfriend made/let the woman fear"); neither is it possible to join in with the Senser in fear (**naki-takot ang boyfriend sa babae sa kidlat* "The boyfriend joined with the woman in fearing the lightning"). Both the causative and social affixes would involve the Senser in deliberate action that contradicts the responsive role of the Senser in reaction clauses (contrast the more active role of the Senser in (45)–(47) below).

With perception and cognition the Senser is more active—exploring rather than responding to the world (though still not acting in or on it). The *ma-* prefix focuses on the Phenomenon as undergoer, not the Senser; and when not in focus the Phenomenon is marked with *ng* as a participant, not with *sa*; *ng* is associated in general with circumstances.

These perception and cognition processes are essentially one way. The effect of the *-in-* affix is to introduce intentionality, not to reverse the process; it maps agentive meaning in other words onto the *Senser*, not onto the *Phenomenon* as with reaction processes. Compare (43) and (44) below with (41) above ((43) cannot be glossed as "The mountain made the woman observe it").

t-in-anaw *ng babae ang bundok*
 tried to observe woman TM mountain
 "The woman tried to observe the mountain." (43)

in-alam *ng babae ang sagot*
 tried to find out woman TM answer
 "The woman tried to find out the answer." (44)

Exploring the world through perception and cognition processes is active enough for causative affixes to be possible:

i-p-in-a-rinig ng babae sa boyfriend niya ang tugtog
 let hear woman her TM music
 "The woman let her boyfriend hear the music." (45)

i-p-in-a-tuto ng babae sa boyfriend niya ang sagot
 made learn woman her TM answer
 "The woman made her boyfriend learn the answer." (46)

Again, unlike reaction processes, perception processes allow an extra participant to join in:

naki-rinig *ang lalaki sa babae ng tugtog*
 join in hearing TM man woman music
 "The man joined the woman in hearing some music." (47)

Cognition processes are also open to joint action, provided they are reciprocal as well: *naki-pag-unawa ang mga babae* "The women joined together in understanding each other."

In addition to this restriction on the use of social affixes, perception processes can also be distinguished from cognitive ones in terms of the affixes used to focus on the *Phenomenon* (perception *ma-* vs cognition *ma-...-an*) and by their proposed unmarked association with acts rather than ideas. This latter point follows from the fact that in general the *Senser* in a perception process is perceiving phenomena (i.e. people, places, things, things happening and people doing things) while in cognitive processes the *Senser* is

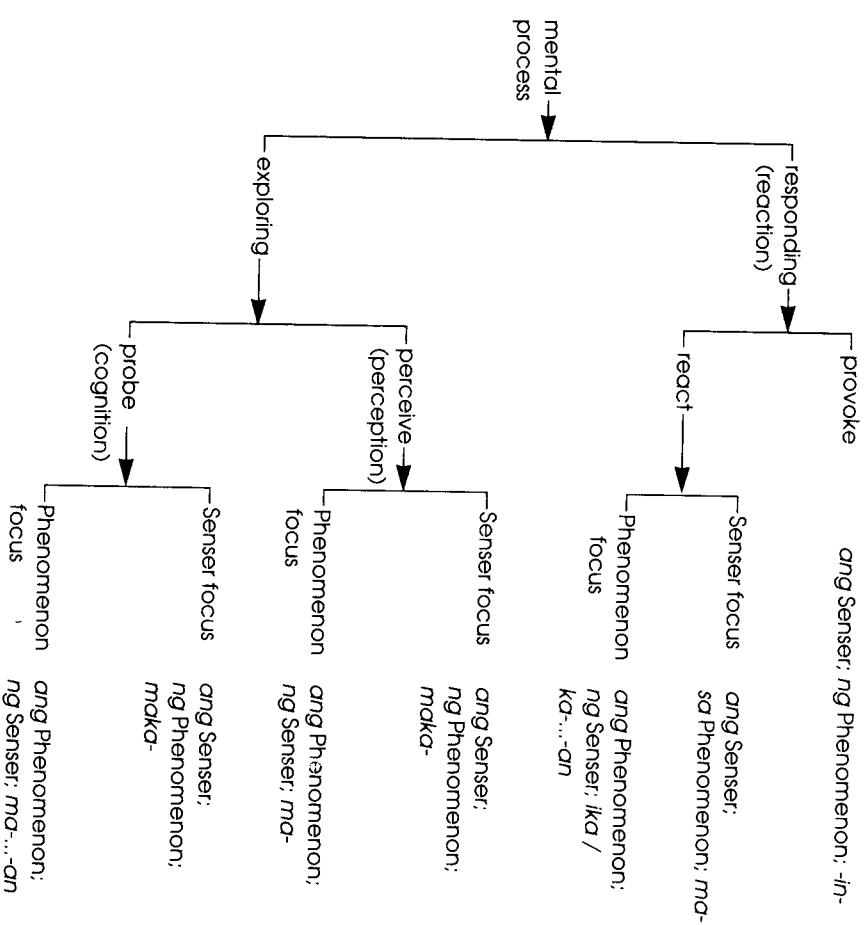


Figure 7.1. Mental processes in Tagalog

constructing (with the mind's eye) meanings. Interestingly the *-an* suffix used in part to focus on the *Phenomenon* in cognitive processes is the affix used by action processes to focus on objects that are only marginally affected rather than created or disposed. So there is a sense in which cognitive processes in Tagalog "probe" phenomena while perception processes "act" on them.

The distinctions outlined above are reformulated systematically in Figure 7.1. As far as mental processes are concerned, a basic distinction is drawn between responding (reaction) and exploring (perception and cognition). Then [responding] is divided into reaction and provocation according to whether the *Phenomenon* is "circumstantial" (eg. (39) and (40) above) or "agentive" (eg. (41) above). Exploring processes, on the other hand, are divided into those that probe (cognition) and those that perceive (perception). The markers

and affixes associated with the Senser and Phenomenon are displayed following the relevant subclass of mental process. (For a summary of the other relevant reactances see Table 7.2 above.)

Before turning to a consideration of action processes, it should be stressed again that networks such as that in Figure 7.1 classify clauses, not verbs. This point is important because many verbs in Tagalog can be used to realize more than one process type or subtype (as a glance through Panganiban 1973 reveals). *Isip* "think," for example, was listed among cognitive processes above, but it is more commonly treated as if it were a process of saying by Tagalog speakers, affixed with *mag-* and *-in-* rather than *ma- . . . -an* and *maka-* (which are also possible). It is as if Tagalog prefers to treat thinking (which are also possible). It is as if Tagalog prefers to treat thinking as "saying to oneself" rather than as "constructing an idea," but allows both interpretations. There is nothing surprising in this. The verb *feel*, for example, is used in English across action, sensing and being clauses: *She felt along the shelf/She feels it must be there/She feels tired*. One advantage of subclassifying clauses into process types is thus to allow verbs to operate in different case frames: marker and affix patterns make it clear which meaning is being meant (cf. De Guzman, whose lexibase framework would involve deriving one *isip* from the other—vacuously as far as any derivational morphology is concerned).

It should also be noted by way of reservation that processes of desire (eg. hoping, wishing, wanting, liking, desiring, etc.) have not been included here (cf. Halliday 1985:111 who groups reaction and desire processes together under the heading affection for English). These meanings are normally realized in Tagalog through productive optative constructions (generally including the particle *sana*) or through modal-like unaffixed verbs (eg. *gusto* "like," *ayaw* "not like," *nais* "wish," *ibig* "love"). For further discussion see 5.2 below.

4.2. Material Processes

Material processes are processes of doing and may involve up to three key participants. Naming these participants involves decisions about whether a language is to be treated as transitive, ergative, a mixture of the two or something else. So to begin traditional labels will be avoided (eg. Medium or Patient or Object plus or minus Agent or Causer from the ergative perspective, and Actor plus or minus Goal or Object from the transitive viewpoint). The terms *doer* and *done-to* will be used as neutrally as possible to begin with respect to decisions of this kind.

As noted above, action clauses have been extensively investigated in Tagalog. They can be distinguished from other processes with respect to the following features:

1. their processes are realized by *-um-* or *mag-* *doer* focus verbs¹⁸; and the affixes *-in-*, *-i-* or *-an* are used to focus on the *done-to* ((54))–(56) below)
2. they may include one, two or three key participants, up to two marked by *ng* when not in focus and one by *sa*
3. the participants may or may not be endowed with human consciousness with no consequences for affixes and markers; but they cannot be metaphenomena (facts, ideas or locutions)
4. they are nominalized through the prefix *pag-* (without reduplication for *-um-* verbs: *pag-sulat* "writing"; with reduplication for *mag-* verbs: *pag-bi-bigay* "giving")
5. they can be questioned with the general verbs *gawa* "do" or *mang-yari* "happen" or a *wh* verb (eg. *in-ano* "whatted to")
6. they have fully productive abilitative/involuntary action paradigms

The differences between material and mental processes are summarized in the following table:

TABLE 7.3
Differences Between Material and Mental Processes

	Material	Mental
verb class	<i>-um-</i> , <i>mag-</i> <i>-in-</i> , <i>-i-</i> , <i>-an</i>	<i>ma-</i> <i>ma</i> , <i>ma- . . . -an</i> , <i>ika-</i> , <i>ka- . . . -an</i>
"undergoer" focus affix		
# key participants	1, 2 or 3	2
metaphenomenon	not possible	possible
participant consciousness	+/- conscious	one conscious possible participant
general verb	<i>ano/gawa/</i> <i>mangyari</i>	—
nominalizing affix	<i>pag-</i>	<i>pogka-</i>
abilitative/involuntary	full	defective
action paradigm		

¹⁸To simplify the presentation *mang-* and *ma-* action processes will be set aside: *mang-* verbs are essentially distributive *-um-* type verbs; and the *ma-* class is very small. See section 7 below.

The basic questions that need to be examined are far as material processes are concerned are:

1. what is the difference between *-um-* and *mag-* processes?
2. when are *-in-*, *-i-* and *-an* used to focus on the done-to?
3. where does one draw the line between participant and circumstantial *sa* phrases?

The *mag-/um-* problem will be treated first because it is central to the treatment of material processes developed here.

Ramos (1974:46) made an important distinction between what she referred to as *centrifugal* verbs, which "portray an action which moves in a direction away from the agentive source," and *non-centrifugal* verbs, which "specify a type of action which goes back towards its source." To illustrate this she contrasted (48) with (49):

1. CENTRIFUGAL
 nag-bili ang babae ng gulay
 sold TM woman vegetables
 "The woman sold some vegetables." (48)
2. CENTRIPETAL (i.e., non-centrifugal)
 b-um-ili ang babae ng gulay
 bought TM woman vegetables
 "The woman bought some vegetables." (49)

Ramos noted as well that *-i-* is used to focus on a done-to "transported away from an agent to a directional goal" (1974:125) but that *-in-* focuses on done-tos gathered in from a directional source. This contrast is illustrated in (50) and (51):

1. CENTRIFUGAL
 i-p-in-ag-bili ng babae ang gulay sa lalaki
 sold woman TM vegetables man
 "The woman sold the vegetables to the man." (50)
2. CENTRIPETAL
 b-in-ili ng babae ang gulay sa lalaki
 bought woman TM vegetables man
 "The woman bought the vegetables from the man." (51)

Very few verb stems take both *mag-/i-* and *-um-/in-* affixes to display this opposition (as does for example *abot*: *um-abot* "reach

for" vs. *mag-abot* "hand to"). However there are large numbers of verbs that pattern like one or the other.

mag-/i- CENTRIFUGAL PATTERN (Ramos 1974:84-86 class 4):
abulog "contribute," *bagsak* "drop," *bigay* "give," *bayad* "pay,"
sabit "hand," *hulog* "drop," *akyat* "carry up," *tali* "tie," etc.
-um-/in- CENTRIPETAL PATTERN (Ramos 1974:87-88 class 6):
hingi "ask for," *dukot* "draw out," *tanggap* "receive," *agaw*
 "snatch," *abot* "reach for," *hila* "pull horizontally," *hanap*
 "search for," etc.

The idea of importing or exporting done-tos can be related to another of Ramos's distinctions. Following Lopez (1941), she distinguished between *external* verbs, which "express an activity or verbal action which occurs outside of the agent" (1974:45) and *internal* verbs, which express "inner motion or an internally induced action by an agent" (1974:45). Lopez himself contrasted (72) with (53) to illustrate this opposition (cf. Ramos's *t-um-ayo* "stand up" vs. *mag-tayo* "build"):

- Ako 'y b-um-angon
 I (Topic) IM got up
 "I got up." (52)
- Ang pari 'y nag-bangon ng bago -ng bahay
 TM priest IM erected new LK house
 "The priest built a new house." (53)

Schachter and Otnes gave the following examples to illustrate this opposition (1972:293):

INTERNAL:	EXTERNAL:
I-um-abas "come out"	mag-labas "take out"
p-um-asok "enter"	mag-pasok "take in"
um-akyat "climb"	mag-akyat "carry up"
um-alis "leave"	mag-alis "remove"
um-uwi "go home"	mag-uwi "take home"

Again, there is a large class of verbs corresponding to each of these series. The external class is the same as the *mag-/i-* class noted above; and corresponding to the *-um-* internal pattern is Ramos's class 7 (1974:88-89):

-um- INTERNAL PATTERN

dapo "alight," *kapit* "hold," *pasok* "enter," *luhod* "kneel," *upo* "sit," *higa* "lie down," *taayo* "stand up," *lakad* "walk," *langoy* "swim"

The challenge appears to be to integrate these two apparently distinct types of opposition (i.e. centrifugal *mag-* vs. centripetal *-um-* and external *mag-* vs. internal *-um-*) into a single model that would explain the *mag-/um-* opposition and something more besides. The traditional transitive/intransitive model will not do since both *b-um-ili* and *mag-bili* involve a doer and a done-to. Neither is the ergative middle/effective (see Halliday 1985:151) appropriate since (54) can be related to "middle" (i.e. one key participant as in (55) and (56); Medium without Agent in Halliday's terms) clauses via either participant.

nag-labas ang babae ng dugo
took out TM woman blood
"The woman took out some blood." (54)

I-um-abas ang babae
went out TM woman
"The woman went out." (55)

I-um-abas ang dugo
went out TM blood
"The blood went out." (56)

Yet there is some sense in which the *-um-* processes "feel" intransitive and middle while the *mag-* processes "feel" transitive and effective.

Pursuing this problem, Ramos noted as well the following opposition between stems allowing both affixes:

p-um-utol ang babae ng kahoy
cut TM woman wood
"The woman cut off a piece of wood." (57)

nag-putol ang babae ng kahoy
cut TM woman wood
"The woman cut some wood." (58)

Ramos (1974:139) noted further examples as follows:

<i>h-um-law</i>	"slice off"	<i>mag-hiwa</i>	"slice"
<i>p-um-unit</i>	"tear off"	<i>mag-punit</i>	"tear"
<i>b-um-ali</i>	"break off"	<i>mag-bali</i>	"break"
<i>t-um-aga</i>	"hack off"	<i>mag-taga</i>	"hack"
<i>g-um-upit</i>	"scissor off"	<i>mag-gupit</i>	"cut with scissors"

This distinction resembles the *b-um-ili/mag-bili* "buy/sell" opposition in that the *-um-* processes refer to actions designed to provide done-tos for the doer; the proportionality is not perfect, however, because done-tos in *mag-* processes are not in motion away from the doer to someone or somewhere else.

One way to generalize these three oppositions is to argue that action clauses in Tagalog are based on two different types of clause nucleus, where the nucleus consists of a Process and a Medium through which that Process is actualized. One of these, the *-um-* type, is basically implosive (or centripetal): It involves events in which the Medium either simply acts, or acts on done-tos in such a way as to draw them into the nucleus. The other, the *mag-* type, is basically explosive (or centrifugal to use Ramos's term): It involves more volatile events in which the Medium acts in a way that has repercussions for other participants—the done-to (Goods) must undergo a change of state or position, and if it undergoes a change of position then a third participant (Direction), who receives the done-to, is implicated.

Given this implosive/explosive distinction, Ramos's action verb classes can be reorganized as follows: the process types are graded from most centripetal to most centrifugal, beginning with meteorological processes where one might argue that the Medium and Process themselves have collapsed into a single constituent nucleus:

IMPLOSIVE CLASSES

- meteorological—Process only; class 13

um-ulán
rained
"It rained." (59)

- intransitives not implying direction—Process + Medium (+/- conscious); classes 9 and 14

g-um-ising ang babae
woke up TM woman
"The woman woke up." (60)

- b-um-ukas ang pinto
opened TM door
"The door opened." (61)
- intransitives implying direction—Process + Medium (+/- conscious) + Direction (to or fro); classes 8, 9 and 15

p-um-asok ang babae sa disco
entered TM woman
"The woman entered the disco." (62)

t-um-akas ang babae sa boyfriend niya
escaped TM woman her
"The woman escaped from her boyfriend." (63)

b-um-aon ang kotse sa putik
sank TM car mud
"The car sank in the mud." (64)

b-um-agsak ang libro sa mesa
fell TM book table
"The book fell from the table." (65)
 - transitives of acquisition—Process + Medium + Goods acquired + Direction source (+/- conscious); class 6

h-um-ingi ang babae ng pera sa boyfriend niya
asked for TM woman money her
"The woman asked for some money from her boyfriend." (66)
 - transitives of ingestion—Process + Medium; class 5

um-inom ang babae ng beer
drank TM woman
"The woman drank some beer." (67)

EXPLOSIVE CLASSES

- transitives in which goods are thoroughly affected (created, disposed of or arranged)—Process + Medium; classes 1 and 3

ni-luto¹⁹ ng babae ang pagkain
cooked woman TM food
"The woman cooked the food." (68)

¹⁹ni- is a morphological variant of infix -*in-*.

w-in-asak ng pangulo ang kaliban niya
destroyed president TM opponent his
"The president destroyed his opponent." (69)

in-ayos ng babae ang kaniyang damit
arranged woman TM her clothes
"The woman arranged her clothes." (70)

- transitives in which the goods are superficially affected—Process + Medium + Goods; class 2

h-in-alik-an ng babae ang boyfriend niya
kissed woman TM her
"The woman kissed her boyfriend." (71)

- transitives implying moving goods—Process + Medium + Goods + Direction towards (+/- conscious); class 4

i-t-in-apon ng babae ang basura sa kalsada
threw out woman TM garbage street
"The woman threw the garbage out into the street." (72)

i-b-in-igay ng babae ang pera sa nanay niya
gave woman TM money mother her
"The woman gave the money to her mother." (73)

The distinction between implusive and explosive processes is hardest to predict, at least for non-native speakers, when the Goods participant is not in motion (as in (67) through (70) above). The *-in-* Goods focus affix effectively neutralizes the distinction; comparing (74) and (75) for example, it is not easy to see where Tagalog will draw the line between *-um-* and *mag-* Medium focus verbs:

h-in-uli ng babae ang manok
caught woman TM chicken
"The woman caught the chicken." (74)

p-in-atay ng babae ang manok
killed woman TM chicken
"The woman killed the chicken." (75)

In fact (74) belongs to the *-um-* series and (75) to the *mag-*; but the processes are borderline. Had people rather than animals been involved as Goods in (75), the appropriate Medium focus affix would have been *-um-*, not *mag-*.

Right on the borderline are what Ramos (1974:139) referred to as destructive processes that take both *-um-* and *mag-* affixes (eg.

basag "break," *durog* "pulverize," *tunaw* "melt," *bayo* "pound"). Semantically these can be read as either providing Goods for the Medium (i.e. implosive) or as completely changing the condition of the Goods (explosive). Tagalog seems to favor the explosive interpretation, because the *-um-* forms are regularly used only in embedded clauses where grammatical downgrading can perhaps be seen as weakening the volatility of the nucleus. Ramos also noted that the *mag-* forms are preferred in imperatives: this follows from the implosive/explosive opposition developed above because imperative clauses act on the world, whereas declaratives and interrogatives simply observe.

The second question raised in the introduction to material processes above had to do with the affixes used to focus on the Goods (*-in-*, *i-* and *-an*). These oppositions are relevant to explosive processes and have to do with the ways in which the Goods are affected by the nucleus. The basic distinctions have to do with Goods that are thoroughly affected by the nucleus (*-in-*), Goods that are only superficially affected (*-an*) and Goods that are being expelled (*i-*). This can be interpreted in terms of degrees of volatility: With the *i-* affix, the nucleus is getting rid of Goods; with *-an* it is affecting them without really getting hold of them; and with *-in-* it has them by the throat, as it were (which in turn borders on consuming them—the general meaning of *-in-* in implosive processes). This scaling is illustrated in (76) through (79) (compare as well: *i-lura* "spit out," *halik-an* "kiss," *sipsip-in* "sip," or *i-tapon* "throw out," *hawak-an* "hold," *yakap-in* "hug"²⁰):

EXPLOSIVE (mag- Medium focus):

i-b-in-ayad ng babae ang 200 pesos
paid woman TM
"The woman paid the 200 pesos." (76)

b-in-ayar-an ng babae ang kuwenta
paid woman TM bill
"The woman paid the bill." (77)

t-in-ipon ng babae ang mga kuwenta
gathered woman TM many bill
"The woman gathered together the bills." (78)

IMPLOSIVE (*-um-* Medium focus):
k-in-ulha ng babae ang pera
took woman TM money
"The woman took the money." (79)

The way in which this *i-/an/-in-* gradation codes the Goods participant is consonant with the more general use of *-in-* to focus on clear participants ("direct objects"), *-an* to focus on borderline participants ("indirect objects") and *i-* to focus on circumstances (eg, beneficiaries, instruments and causes), which was what gave rise to Bloomfield's three types of passive.

The third question raised above had to do with the distinction between participants and circumstances. As noted, Tagalog transitivity patterns are sensitive to the ways in which Goods are affected by the nucleus, especially where the Goods are in motion. This implicates a third key function for material processes, which will be referred to as Direction. With implosive processes, this represents the source of the Goods acquired (eg. (66)) or the direction in which or from which the Medium is moving (eg. (62) and (63)). With explosive processes it represents the direction in which the Goods are moved—to some location or human recipient. As far as markers and affixes are concerned Tagalog does not distinguish among these types of Direction. All are focused on with *-an* and marked by *sa* when not in focus:

ni-lapit-an ng babae ang boyfriend niya
approached woman TM her
"The woman approached her boyfriend." (80)

ni-layas-an ng babae ang boyfriend niya
ran away from woman TM her
"The woman ran away from her boyfriend." (81)

h-in-ing-an ng babae ng pera ang boyfriend niya
asked for woman money TM her
"The woman asked her boyfriend for some money." (82)

b-in-igy-an ng boyfriend niya ng pera ang babae
gave her money TM woman
"Her boyfriend gave the woman some money." (83)

Proceeding along these lines means that the Direction function is being set up as an intermediate category, on the border between

²⁰Aspectless forms have been used in these series.

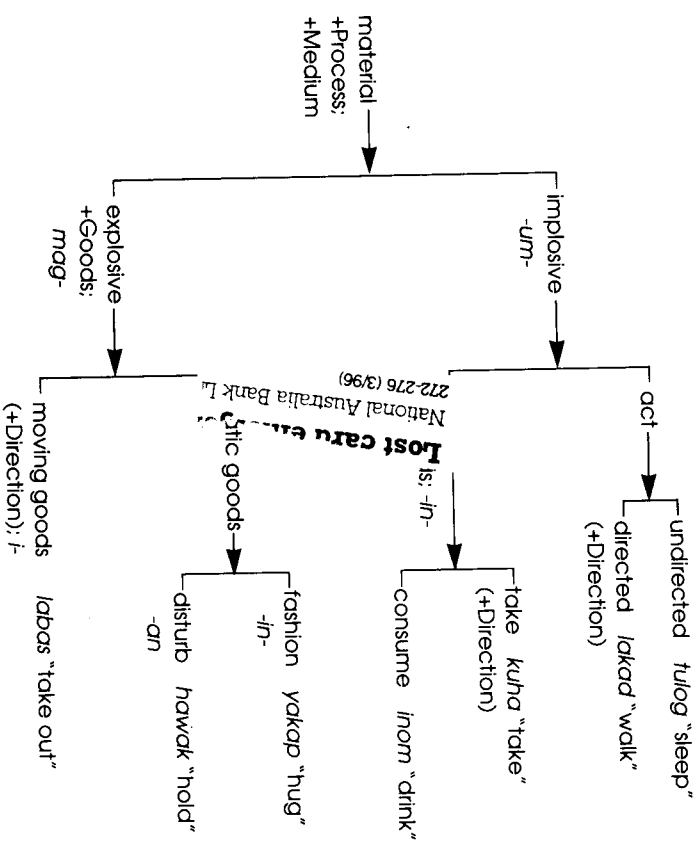


Figure 7.2. Basic material processes

participants and circumstances. Its focus affix and marker, along with the fact that it is optional in (80) through (83), code it as circumstantial. However, whether explicitly realized or not, it is clearly implicated by the meaning of the nucleus in (80) through (83) and is criterial as far as subclassifying implosive and explosive processes beyond primary delicacy. Its "circumstance as participant" status will be reflected through the scale of delicacy in the network for material processes (Figure 7.2).

The line between Direction and Location can be drawn on the basis of the affix used to focus on Location as opposed to Direction: note the contrast between (84) and (85) (from Ramos 1974:127):

DIRECTION

s-in-ulat-an niya ang mesa
wrote he TM table

"He wrote (directly) on the table."

(84)

LOCATION

P-in-ag-sulat-an niya ang mesa
wrote he TM table

"He wrote (something—eg. a letter) on the table."

(85)

In addition, it is important to note following McFarland (1976:18) that Location focus clauses are generally restricted to embeddings, whereas Direction focus is fully productive.

Setting aside meteorological processes for the moment, the oppositions discussed to this point can be formalized systemically as in Figure 7.2. Realization rules for the basic functions Process, Medium, Goods and Direction are provided along with the affixes relevant to focusing on Medium and Goods: note that the Direction function is generated later in delicacy than Process, Medium or Goods. An example process is provided for each terminal feature.

Before expanding this network slightly to handle meteorological processes, one further class of implosive processes needs to be considered. This class is illustrated in (86) and referred to by De Guzman (1978:189) as involving verbs of *affliction*.

in-ulan ang babae

rained TM woman

"The woman got rained on."

(86)

Affliction processes use *-in-* and less commonly *-an* to focus on the Medium as a done-to rather than a doer. The main sources of affliction are weather (as in (86)), times of the day (87), pests (88) and bodily discomforts (normally physiological as in (89) but also psychological as in (90)):

g-in-abi ang babae

benighted TM woman

"The woman was overtaken by night."

(87)

ni-lamok ang babae

mosquitoed TM woman

"The woman was attacked by mosquitos."

(88)

p-in-awis-an ang babae

sweated TM woman

"The woman sweated."

(89)

- s-in-ipag ang babae
 industrialized TM woman
 "The woman got industrial." (90)

As with the *-um/-mag-* oppositions discussed above, affliction processes have no natural analysis from either the transitive or ergative perspective. From the transitive point of view they look like transitive clauses with missing doers; however, it may be argued that the identity of the actor in these clauses is not the same as in the ergative standpoint they look middle, but the focus affixes are different for intransitive doers. The way out seems to be to treat the imploding processes Tagalog is drawing a distinction between Mediums that undertake a Process and Mediums that are taken by one. Instead of the Medium simply acting, the doer is the world closes in on the Medium. Cena (1977:8) argued that affliction clauses should be viewed as having an underlying agent and modelled on (91) (cf. *in-ubo ang babae* "The woman had a cough"):

- in-atake ng ubo ang babae
 attacked cough TM woman
 "The woman came down with a cough." (91)

There is no grammatical trace of this agent in affliction clauses and so this suggestion will not be pursued here. It does, however, raise the question of how to classify De Guzman's *calamity* processes, which resemble (91). Calamity processes have explicit doers afflicting the Medium, but these doers cannot become Topic (cf. Schachter & Otanes's 1972:306 pseudo-transitives). De Guzman (1978:224-225) treated the doer in clauses such as (92), (93) and 94 as an Instrument.

- s-in-unog ng apoy ang babae
 burned fire TM woman
 "The fire burned the woman." (92)
- b-in-uhus-an ng ulan ang babae
 drenched rain TM woman
 "The rain drenched the woman." (93)
- i-ni-lubog ng bagyo ang barko
 sank storm TM ship
 "The storm sank the ship." (94)

The problem here lies in whether to treat the doer as a kind of elaboration of the process (cf. Schachter & Otanes's 1972:306 actor adjuncts) and include calamity processes in the implusive class; or whether to treat them as explosive clauses with a defective focus paradigm. This brings us once again to the borderline between implusive and explosive processes; and once again it is processes of destruction that are at issue.²¹

Calamity processes will be grouped with explosive processes here for three reasons: First, their focus affixes *-in-*, *-an* and *i-* pattern as they do in the explosive processes reviewed above (92-94); they are sensitive to how thoroughly the participant on which the calamity falls is affected by it. Second, if calamity processes were treated as implusive, a special class would have to be set up in which only non-conscious doers could act; this would mean making human consciousness criterial for the first time as far as material processes was concerned. And third, if implusive, the doer would have to be treated as an elaboration of the Process, similar to Halliday's Range function in English (1985:134-137). However, this would mean setting up a Range for just this one subclass of material processes; Tagalog does not systematically elaborate processes into verb plus noun realizations the way English does: *walk/take a walk* for example, corresponds simply to the Tagalog process *l-um-akad* "walk." For these reasons calamity processes will be treated as explosive processes with a defective Topic focus paradigm here (as noted above, their doer cannot be topicalized; calamity processes always focus on the done-to).

Before incorporating meteorological processes and processes of affliction into our material process network, let us review the cases, or to put it systemically, the transitivity functions suggested for material processes:

PROCESS

Medium (including the undertaker/undergoer in implusive processes and the actor in explosive ones)
 Goods (including goods received in implusive processes and those affected in explosive ones)

²¹Because of its borderline nature, the hitting/killing clause type, which often acts as point of departure in case grammar (eg. Fillmore 1968, examples 1, 4, 18-25), would thus be an unfortunate place to start an analysis of Tagalog transitivity.

DIRECTION (including human and non-human directions, with the latter including both source and destination depending on the direction of the moving participant)

Four types of evidence were presented as pointing in the direction of interpreting the *mag/-um-* opposition as an implosive/explosive one:

1. the opposition of centrifugal *mag-/i-* and *no-um-/-in-* verbs; eg. *mag-bili* "sell" versus *b-ibay* "buy"
2. the opposition of external *mag-* and internal *mag-labas* "take out" versus *l-um-abot* "take in"
3. the opposition of affecting *mag-* and taking *mag-taga* "hack" versus *l-um-ay* "hack off"
4. the association between *mag-* and imperative for destruction verbs otherwise affixed with either *mag-* or *-um-*

Aside from affixes and markers it can be noted that the *-um-* class includes verbs that do not implicate Goods and that may not even implicate a Medium (meteorological processes), whereas explosive processes always implicate both Medium and Goods. In addition, *-um-* verbs are nominalized through the prefix *pag-*, whereas explosive processes require reduplication of the first syllable of the stem in addition to *pag-*: *pag-inom* "drinking" versus *pag-bi-bigay* "giving." Reduplication is associated aspectually with processes that are not completed, and so can be interpreted as rendering *mag-* class nominalizations more active than *-um-* ones. Further evidence could certainly be uncovered if the material process network were extended in delicacy so as to account for the types of circumstantial relation associated with implosive and explosive classes (for example the relationship between implosive processes and circumstances of extent and location, or explosive processes and instruments and beneficiaries). This interaction between basic process types and circumstantial relations is unfortunately beyond the scope of this paper.

The expanded network for material processes is presented in Figure 7.3. One subclass of action clause that has not been incorporated is that of "intransitive" *mag-* verbalizations. To illustrate this class, compare (95) and (96).

nag-beer muna ang babae
 beered first TM woman
 "The woman had a beer first."

(95)

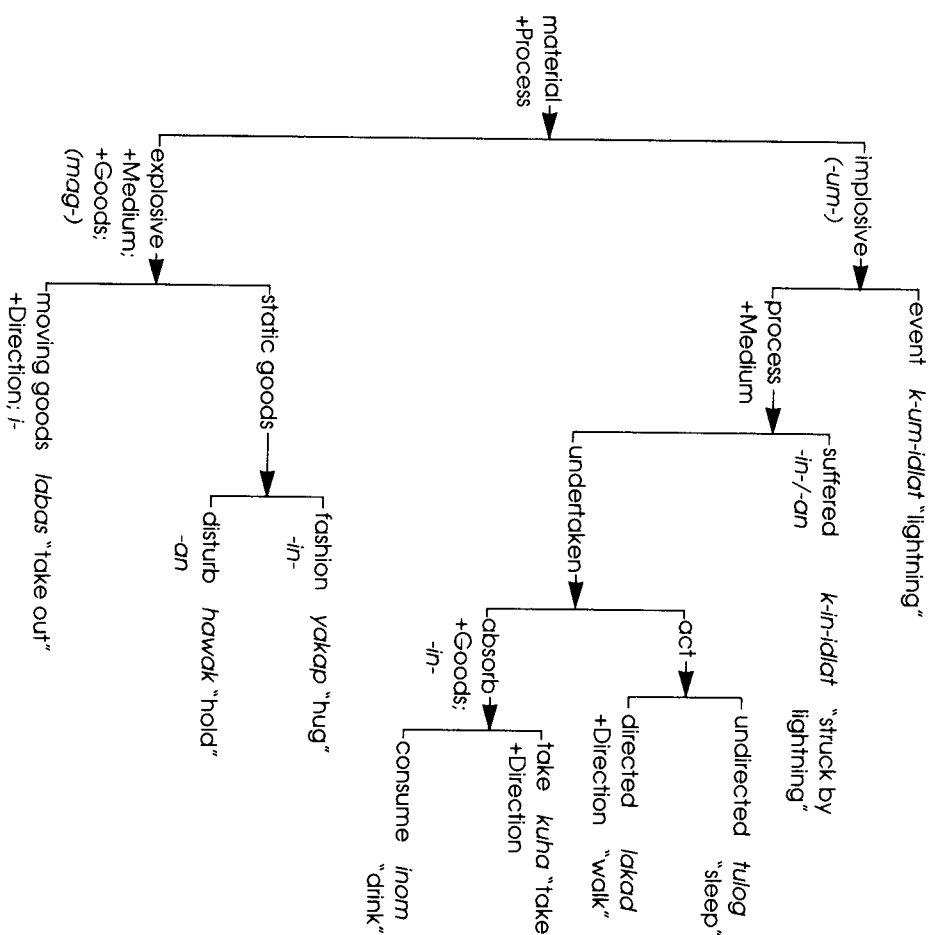


Figure 7.3. Material processes in Tagalog

nag-hintay muna ang babae
 waited first TM woman
 "The woman waited first."

(96)

The second of these, (96), clearly implicates two participants, even though only the Medium is expressed; it is understood that the woman is waiting for someone. This follows as noted above from the basic meaning of explosive processes: a nucleus impinging on the world. The *mag-* in (95) on the other hand is not volatile; it simply represents Tagalog's productive verbalizing affix. As such it is commonly used with borrowings: for example, *mag-tennis* "play tennis," *mag-jogging* "jog," *mag-DunkinDonuts* "go to Dunkin Donuts."

nuts." The *mag*-verbalizations may correspond to either explosive or implosive processes:

implosive: *mag-beer/um-inom ng beer*
 explosive: *mag-tennis/mag-laro ng tennis*

These *mag*-verbalizations will not be further discussed from a historical point of view it would be useful to investigate what impact they may have had on the uncertainty surrounding *mag-/um-* opposition under focus in Figure 7.3 below.

The network in Figure 7.3 distinguishes first between and explosive processes (the basic *-um-* vs. *mag-* opposition) and explosive processes are then subclassified as involving onl (meteorological) or involving both Process and Medium. If Medium and Process are involved, then a distinction is made between Mediums that undergo a Process (affliction clauses) and those that undertake it. Where the Process is undertaken, then the question arises as to whether a further participant, the Goods, is introduced. Simple acts not involving Goods can then be directed or not; where Goods are involved, these may be drawn from some source, or simply consumed.

With explosive processes the basic distinction is between static and moving Goods; if static Goods, then these may be fashioned (covering the senses "created," "disposed of" and "arranged") on the one hand or disturbed on the other. The options for implicit or explicit realization of Goods have not been included (cf. (96) above where the Goods were implicated, but implicit). The features have been arranged from the most centripetal at the top of the network to the most centrifugal at the bottom, with the classes of consuming and fashioning Goods next to each other in the middle reflecting this area of uncertainty with respect to affixation with *-um-* or *mag-*.

As stressed by Ramos and De Guzman, the realization relation ship between process type features and markers and affixes is by no means biunique. Nevertheless, the network represents an attempt to generalize the semantics of the *-um-/mag-* opposition and to scale the *-in-*, *-an-*, *-i-* affixes with respect to centrifugality. In addition, by considering material processes separately from mental ones (itself admittedly a complication in the analysis) the amount of non-biuniqueness between cases, features, markers and affixes has been considerably reduced.

4.3. Congruence between Mental and Material Processes

Halliday (1985:144-145), reflecting on his presentation of English case relations broken down into six process types, commented as follows:

It is true that, from one point of view, all these types of process are different. Material, behavioural, mental, verbal, relational and existential processes each has a grammar of its own. At the same time, looked at from another point of view they are all alike. At another level of interpretation, they all have the same grammar: there is just one generalised representational structure common to every English clause.

This raises the point that having distinguished mental from material processes in Tagalog, it is important to look back and see whether or not there are generalizations that cut across both sensing and doing. These will inevitably be more abstract and harder to motivate than those discussed so far (see Halliday (1984/1988) for a discussion of ineffability and linguistic categories), simply because the grammar is so sensitive to differences between the two kinds of process. Nevertheless, there are systemic parallels that are worth noting.

First, the mental responding/exploring system that opposed reaction processes to perception and cognition is not unlike the implosive/explosive one that separates *-um-* from *mag-* classes. The Senser in reaction clauses is like the Medium in implosive ones: it undergoes feelings much as the Medium undertakes action:

RESPONDING: IMPLOSIVE (undergoing feelings: undertaking action)

na-galit ang babae
 was angry TM woman
 "The woman was angry."
 (97)

l-um-akad ang babae
 walked TM woman.
 "The woman walked."
 (98)

And at the same time both the Senser and the Medium may be overtaken by events:

RESPONDING: IMPROVISIVE (being made to feel: being made to suffer)

g-in-alit ng pangulo ang babae
 angered president TM woman
 "The president angered the woman." (99)

s-in-ipun ang babae (cf. in-atake ng sipon ang bat
 colded TM woman attacked cold TM wc
 "The woman had a cold." ("The cold attacked the woman")

In (97) through (100), then, it is the woman who acts without repercussions for her environment; and in doing and doing clauses, she may either be herself responding or feeling ((97) and (98)) or the initiative may lie beyond her control ((99) and (100)).

The Senser in processes of perception and cognition, on the other hand, is more like the Medium of explosive processes. It acts on experience, either directly by perceiving it or indirectly by thinking about it, much as explosive clauses act on or simply disturb Goods. Compare the following:

EXPLODING: EXPLODING (acting mentally or physically on the world)

na-kita ng babae ang bahay
 saw woman TM house
 "The woman saw the house." (101)

ni-linis ng babae ang bahay
 cleaned woman TM house
 "The woman cleaned the house." (102)

PROBING: DISTURBING (approaching mentally or physically)
 na-isip-an ng babae ang sagot
 thought over woman TM answer
 "The woman thought over the answer." (103)

p-in-unas-an ng babae ang mesa
 wiped woman TM table
 "The woman wiped the table." (104)

There is nothing in mental process clauses corresponding to the ejected Goods (*i-* affix) of the most volatile of explosive action clauses.

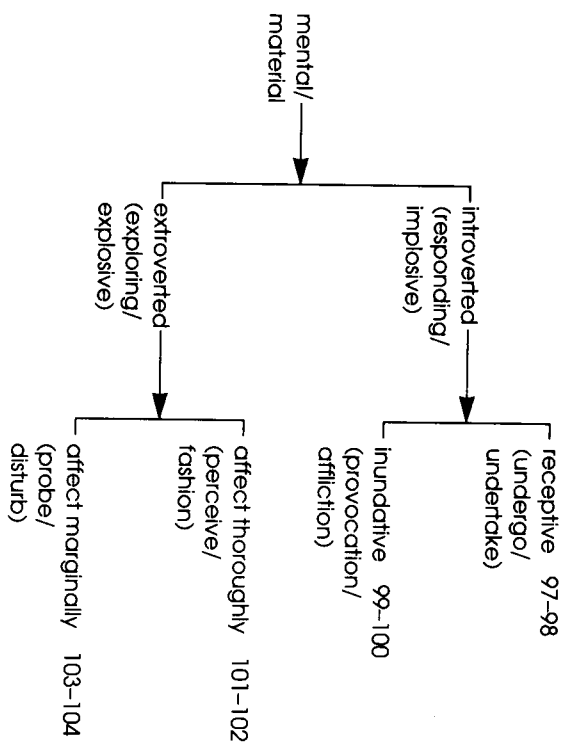


Figure 7.4. Generalized network for material and mental processes

but there is a parallel between *-an* (affecting indirectly) and *na-* or *-in-* (affecting directly) affixes. A generalized network along the lines of Figure 7.4 could be used to further explore these parallels.

4.4. Relational Processes

Relational processes are processes of being. These processes are generally verbless in Tagalog, and so are omitted from case grammarians' analyses. Once clauses rather than verbs are taken as point of departure however, they can be addressed in the same terms as action and sensing clauses. Halliday's 1985 interpretation of relational process in English shows them to be as complex, if not more so, than other process types as far as case relations are concerned. So it is worth considering to what extent Tagalog provides distinctive case relations for being clauses.

Relational processes can be distinguished from material and mental ones with respect to the following features:

1. they typically do not contain a process
2. one of their two key transitivity functions may not be realizing a participant.

Halliday's (1985:112) categories of intensive, possessive and circumstantial provide a useful point of departure for Tagalog as well as English. These are illustrated in (105) to (107) respectively:

INTENSIVE

titser ang babae
teacher TM woman
"The woman is a teacher."
105)

POSSESSIVE

sa kanya ang babae
him TM woman
"The woman is his (with him)."
106)

CIRCUMSTANTIAL

nasa bar ang babae
in TM woman
"The woman is in the bar."
107)

Each of these examples contains two transitivity roles realizing phenomena on the same level of abstraction, but differing in generality. None contain a Process. One participant, the woman, is being assigned to a general class of phenomena: to the class of teachers (105), to belongings (106) and to things in the bar (107).

In the intensive type (105), the general class may be realized by either a noun (as with *titser* "teacher" in (105) above) or an adjective as in (108):

maganda ang babae
beautiful TM woman
"The woman is beautiful."
108)

This realization of the general class to which one participant is assigned distinguishes intensive from other relational clauses. The general class in (106) and (107) is realized by a *sa* phrase: in order to distinguish possessive from circumstantial clauses it is necessary to follow up their distinctive reactances in existential clauses. This reactance reflects the fact that the possessive type contains two participants while the circumstantial is made up of a participant and a circumstance (the existential clause type also underscores the fact that the intensive contains just one participant function). Consider (109) through (111) below (the existential structure is marked by the particle *may*):

EXISTENTIAL INTENSIVE

may titser na babae
teacher LK woman
"There is a woman teacher."
109)

EXISTENTIAL POSSESSIVE

may babae siya
woman he
"He has a woman."
110)

EXISTENTIAL CIRCUMSTANTIAL

may babae sa bar
woman
"There's a woman in the bar."
111)

The effect of the existential structure in (109) is simply to posit the existence of a general class; *titser* does not function as a distinct transitivity role once the particular participant to which it is assigned is existentialized. In (111), on the other hand, the bar does maintain its status as a clause constituent, circumstantially locating the existentialized participant. Note that neither of these types of existentialized relational clause has a Topic.

The possessive type does, however, have a Topic, reflecting the fact that there is still a participant around to topicalize once what is possessed is made existential. In summary, intensive, possessive and circumstantial relations can be distinguished as follows:

Intensive: one participant only (participant plus quality)
Possessive: two participants (possessor plus possessed)
Circumstantial: participant and circumstance

(cf. Ramos and Cena 1980 who derive (110) from (106) and (111) from (107), though not (109) from (105)).

The transitivity roles in relational clauses may differ in abstraction ((112)-(114) below) rather than generality ((105)-(107) above):

ang titser ang babae
teacher woman
"The woman is the teacher."
112)

- ang mayroon²² niya ang babae
 he woman (113)
- "The woman is what he has."
- ang pupuntahan niya ang babae
 will go to he woman (114)
- "The woman is where he is going."

Whereas existential constructions in a sense "weaken" a function by positing someone rather than someone in particular member of a general class, these identifying constructions s en it by asserting that someone in particular and no one el sents that class. In (112) to (114) it is the woman (not some who fills the role of the teacher, what the man has and v man is going respectively. Identifying structures differ fro (105)-(107) and (112)-(114) in that they are reversible without spe cial intonation (eg. *ang titser ang babae* or *ang babae ang titser*) and consist of two *ang* phrases.

The role of the central participant, the woman, in each of these three types of structure ((105)-(107), (109)-(111) and (112)-(114)) will be designated as follows:

- Specifier** (105)-(107)
- Existent** (109)-(111)
- Isolator** (112)-(114)

These labels are oriented to the different functions of this role in making the three types of predication arguable. Specifiers provide a candidate to ground the generality: existents simply propose the existence of a class of candidates without selecting from it; and Isolators suggest one candidate to the exclusion of others.

Further roles are need to distinguish between intensive, possessive and circumstantial clauses. The *titser* in (105) and *maganda* in (108) will be referred to as **Attributes**, whose function is to note the general class to which the Specifier belongs. The *sa kanya* phrase in (106) will be termed **Possessor** and the *nasa bar* in (107) a **Circumstance**. Structural analyses for (105)-(107), (109)-(111) and (112)-(114) are presented below:

- titser* *ang babae*
 Attribute Specifier (105)

- sa kaniya ang babae*
 Possessor Specifier (106)
- nasa bar ang babae*
 Circumstance Specifier (107)
- may titser na babae*
 Existent (109)
- may babae siya*
 Existent Possessor (110)
- may babae sa bar*
 Existent Circumstance (111)
- ang titser ang babae*
 Attribute Isolator (112)
- ang mayroon niya ang babae*
 Possessor Isolator (113)
- ang pupuntahan niya ang babae*
 Circumstance Isolator (114)

The network formalizing these oppositions is outlined in Fig 7.5; the first class of relational clause considered (105)-(109) is referred to as ascriptive.

Note that the network in Fig. 7.5 treats the answer to the question of whether what are traditionally referred to as possessive *may* constructions (eg. (110)) and existential (eg. (109) and (111)) are the same or different as both yes and no (cf. McFarland 1978). All of (109)-(111) realize the feature [existential], meaning that they provide a class of candidates to make their predications arguable, but they differ in that (109) is intensive, (110) possessive and (111) circumstantial.

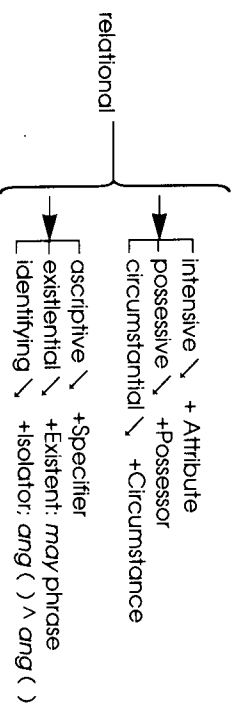


Figure 7.5. Relational processes in Tagalog

²²*Mayroon* is an alternative existential marker to *may*, required in this construction, though a variant in 109-111.

4.5. Congruence between Relational, Material and Mental Processes

As Ramos and Cena (1980) pointed out, the existential option provided in Fig. 7.5 is not limited to relational clauses but applies productively to all types of process. The main difference and complicating factor is that while relational clauses contain just one participant that can be existentialized (i.e. the Specifier if existential clauses are interpreted as deriving from ascriptive ones), material and mental processes allow any participant or circumstance focused on by the verb to be turned into an indefinite class. The Senser for example existentialized in (115) and the Medium in (116):

- may na-galit sa babae
was angry woman
"Someone was angry at the woman." (11)
- may d-um-ating
came
"Someone came." (116)

Note that these examples are Topicless, like (109) and (111) above. When the Phenomenon or Goods are existentialized however, the Senser and Medium take over as Topic, producing the apparently anomalous structures in (117) and (118):

- may k-in-à-galit-an ang babae
was angry at TM woman
"The woman was angry at someone." (117)
- may in-inom ang babae
drank TM woman
"The woman drank something." (118)

The verbs in (117) and (118) focus on the missing class of existentialized participant while the Topic marker falls on the out of focus Senser or Medium. Contrast (119) and (120) with focus affixes and Topic markers in step:

- k-in-à-galit-an ng babae ang tao
was angry at woman TM man
"The woman was angry at the person." (119)

- in-inom ng babae ang inumin
drank woman TM drink
"The woman drank the drink." (120)

What seems to be going on here is that Tagalog clauses prefer to have Topics and if there are inherent participants in the clause that are more agentive than the existentialized participant, then these are selected as Topic in spite of the verbal focus affixes. This appears to be what was going on in the existential possessive relational clauses reviewed above, which unlike the intensive or circumstantial type did turn out to have a Topic in their existential form.

Like existential constructions, identifying structures also apply productively to mental and material processes:

- ang babae ang na-galit sa tao
woman was angry person
"The woman was the one who was angry at the person." (121)
- ang babae ang um-inom ng beer
woman drank
"The woman was the one who drank the beer." (122)

Identifying clauses are in fact preferred for information questions about participants:

- sino ang um-inom ng beer
who drank
"Who (was the one who) drank the beer?" (123)
- sino ang k-in-à-galit-an ng babae
who was angry at woman
"Who was the one the woman was angry at?" (124)

And identifying structures are the normal way of quoting speech:

- "Sino ang um-inom ng beer?" ang tanong niya
who drank question his
"Who (was the one who) drank the beer? (was the question) he asked." (125)

In general these structures are more frequently used than in English, and occur in Filipino English in situations where they sound

odd to a native speaker. The following, for example, is common when two friends are about to go out:

Let's go now. I will be the one to accompany you. (126)

Apparently simply making *I* the Subject does not sound exclusive enough to Filipino ears.

The productivity of both existential and identifying structure²² as far as mental and material processes are concerned, raises the question of whether non-existential non-identifying structures, such as those in (119) and (120), are basically ascriptive. This has been suggested by Naylor (1980) and is clearly implied in the *Journal of Linguistics* (1981), Bloomfield (1917), Lopez (1941) and McFarland (1978). The point these authors make is that non-focus participants in structures are related to verbs by the same morphology that features partitive and possessive constructions in the nominal. In (127)–(129), for example, the morpheme /nang/ (orthographically ng and nang) relates babae to the nominal groups ang damit and titser and to the verb na-kita.

ang damit ng babae
clothes woman
"the woman's clothes" (127)

titser nang babae iyon
teacher woman that
"that teacher of women" (128)

na-kita ng babae ang titser
saw woman TM teacher
"The woman saw the teacher." (129)

Similarly, in (130)–(132), kaniya "her/his" is linked in the same way to both nominal groups and verbs.

ang kaniya-ng damit
her ik clothes
"her clothes" (130)

kaniya-ng titser iyon
her ik teacher that
"That's a teacher of hers." (131)

kaniya-ng na-kita ang titser (cf. Naylor 1980:41)
her ik saw TM teacher
"She saw the teacher." (132)

Bloomfield (1917:170ff) referred to the *ng/nang* phrases in all these examples as expressing disjunctive attribution; similarly, Lopez (1941:271–273) talked of enlarging both Subject and Predicate by attribution in these structures. As far as markers are concerned, they would argue, Tagalog makes no distinction between nominal and verbal predicates as far as their internal structure or relation to the Topic is concerned. Using the terms of reference of this paper, this is to argue that the relationship between the Topic and the rest of the sentence in relational, mental and material processes is identical, with the implication that it is relational ascriptive clauses that provide the clearest model of the relationship between Topic and predicate.

In short then, like relational processes, material and mental processes can be treated as having ascriptive, existential and identifying variants. Let us try to develop this argument once again for non-relational processes, beginning with the nominalization in (133):

ang pag-inom ng babae ng beer
drinking woman
"the drinking by a woman of some beer" (133)

How does one argue with something like this? The necessary step is to pin down the predication, by de-nominalizing and adding focus:

um-inom ang babae ng beer
drank TM woman
"The woman drank some beer." (134)

in-inom ng babae ang beer
drank woman TM
"The woman drank the beer." (135)

But note that this is just one way of tying down the predication. One might want to argue that it was the woman and no one else who drank, or the beer and nothing else that was drunk:

ang babae ang um-inom ng beer
woman drank
"The woman was the one who drank some beer." (136)

ang beer ang in-inom ng babae
 drank woman
 "The beer was what the woman drank." (137)

Or, alternatively, one might wish simply to state that someone, or some woman, drank some beer—or that something, or some beer, was drunk:

may um-inom ng beer
 drank
 "Someone drank some beer."
 may babae- ng um-inom ng beer
 woman lk drank
 "There was some woman drank some beer."
 may in-inom ang babae
 drank TM woman
 "The woman had something to drink."
 may beer na in-inom ang babae
 lk drank TM woman
 "There was some beer the woman drank." (141)

Lost case
 National Australia Bank Ltd. (1978)
 272-276 (3/96)

Unfortunately this brings us to the problem of Subject and Topic in Tagalog—whether or not these two functions are distinct, and if so, what the special meaning of each is. Having set aside interpersonal meaning, in other words, in order to concentrate on experiential transitivity structures, one finds that the metafunctions are not water-tight. Like strata, they leak—and there is no way of pursuing the discussion here without taking interpersonal meaning into account. Such an extension is beyond the scope of this paper. It should be noted in passing, however, that both existential and identifying clauses contain two Topic or Subject-like constituents: the two *ang* phrases of the identifying clause and the Topic and missing focused participant of the existential.²³ The interpretation of existential and identifying options in terms of arguability sketched out here may provide some basis for a distinctive characterization of Subject and Topic (or perhaps better Theme) in Tagalog.²⁴

²³Two such constituents are also found in marked theme constructions, such as *ang babae ay dumating ang nanay niya* "The woman, her mother came."

²⁴Ramos and Cena (1980) also used existential constructions as the basis for distinguishing deep and surface Subjects; see also Cena (1978) on patient primacy.

To this point only verbless relational processes have been considered. Tagalog cannot in fact verbalize circumstantial relationals; but it can verbalize both the intensive and possessive types:

p-um-ula ang bulaklak
 went red TM flower
 "The flower turned red." (142)
 nagka-pera ang babae
 got money TM woman
 "The woman got/came to have some money." (143)

With the intensive type (142) the Process conflates with the Attribute, and inflected with *-um-*;²⁵ with the possessive type the Process conflates with the possession and is inflected with *magka-*.

As noted above, intensive processes contain just one participant, and so the use of *-um-* once again as an intransitive middling affix is predictable.²⁶ The use of *mag-* with possessives is much less clear, since the Possessor is obtaining goods, and gathering is an implusive meaning. Taken within the context of relational processes themselves, however, the possessive type is certainly more extrverted than the intensive: One participant is affecting another and the goods are in motion.

The meaning of causative-like affixation with the intensive type is also revealing. The *magpa-* prefix, which normally introduces an extra agent who then makes or lets the Medium or Senser do something, takes on a purely "reflexive" meaning. Thus *nagpa-ganda ang babae* means "The woman made herself beautiful"; only the woman is involved. These reflexive causatives look like the relational process counterpart of mental processes of provocation and material processes of affliction in that the Topic is affected by the Process. Pushing a point then, relational, material and mental processes are generalized in Fig. 7.5.²⁷

²⁵*Mang-* is also used where the change in intensives is more transient; here again, the *mang-* affixes will be set aside as variants on *-um-*.

²⁶Ramos treats the flowers in (142) as Objective case; note that this fails to bring out the relationship between *pula ang bulaklak* "The flowers are red" and *p-um-ula ang bulaklak* "The flowers turned red"; the flowers would both be treated as Specifier in the analysis developed here.

²⁷Clauses containing verbalized adjectives, such as *ni-laks-an ng babae ang tugtog* "The woman turned up the music" are on the borderline between relational and material processes; predictably they focus with *-an* since they affect the quali-

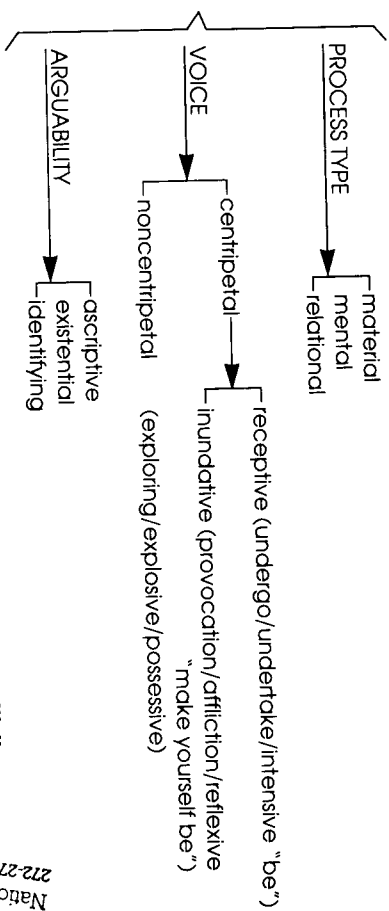


Figure 7.6. Generalized network for Tagalog transitivity

Note in passing that the basic centripetal or not opposite Tagalog is consonant with the parallel ambiguities in causative and acquisitive processes: The causative affixes mean either to make or to let something happen (*magpa-*, *pa-* . . . *-in-*, *ipa-*); the abilitative affixes mean either that someone was able to or happened to do something (*maka-*, *ma-*); and the acquisitive *makka-* (1143) above) means either that someone got deliberately or simply came to have something. It would be interesting to follow this up with distributional studies focusing on correlations between centripetality and letting, happening to and coming to have on the one hand and noncentripetality and making, being able to and deliberately getting on the other.

5. A NOTE ON VERBAL AND AFFECTIVE PROCESSES

5.1. Verbal Processes

Verbal processes are processes of communication that have the ability to project (to quote or report). In Tagalog these are identical to explosive material processes as far as affixes and markers are concerned. Their only distinctive feature as far as action clauses are concerned is their ability to accept a metaphorical phenomenon as complement (eg. (145) below).

ly of the Topic, not its basic structure. Such clauses will be treated at this stage as material, involving a Medium (which cannot become topic) and Goods.

As noted above, when quoting, they typically appear in identifying structures:

"Hu汪 um-uwi, ang sigaw niya sa kaniya-ng boyfriend."
 don't go home shout her her Ik
 "Don't go home" (was what) she shouted to her boyfriend." (144)

When reporting, the metaphorical phenomenon is usually in focus, but linked to the rest of the clause with a linker (signalling hypotaxis) rather than marked with *ang*. Thus, the apparently Topic-less (145):

s-in-abi ng boyfriend niya sa babae na u-uwi siya
 said her woman Ik will go home he
 "Her boyfriend told the woman he would go home." (145)

Answers are often treated as ejected, and focused on with *i-*:

i-s-in-agot ng boyfriend niya na wala²⁸ siya-ng ga-gaw-in
 answered her Ik he will do
 "Her boyfriend answered there was nothing he would do." (146)

5.2. Desire Processes

Desire processes are processes of wishing, wanting, hoping and the like. These resemble verbal and mental processes in that they can project, usually reporting rather than quoting:

gusto ng babae na hu汪 um-alis ang boyfriend niya
 want woman Ik don't leave TM her
 "The woman wished her boyfriend wouldn't go." (147)

As the negative proposal particle *hu汪* in (147) indicates, desire processes typically project in the imperative mode (commands and offers rather than statements and questions as with other mental processes).

Desire processes are distinctive in Tagalog because of their lack of affix marking and lack of choice of Topic as far as markers are concerned. They are closely related to optative constructions like (148):

hu汪 sana siya-ng um-alis
 don't optative he Ik leave
 "Let him not leave/I don't want him to go." (148)

²⁸Wala is the negative counterpart of existential *may*.

They can often simply be treated as modulations in a verbal group complex:

ayaw niya-ng um-alis
 not want he Ik leave
 "He doesn't want to leave."
 (149)

6. A NOTE ON *-AN* AND *I*.

6.1. *-an*

The interpretation of transitivity developed to this point suggested four different roles for the suffix *-an*:

1. focus on superficially affected Goods in material processes
2. focus on the Direction in material processes
3. focus on Location
4. focus on the Phenomenon in mental process clauses of cognition and reaction

When not in focus, the participant in question is marked with *sa* if Direction, Location or the Phenomenon in reaction clauses; otherwise, the participant is marked with *ng*.

Functionally, it would appear then that *-an* is generally used to focus on participants that are circumstance-like in some respect and that some kind of generalized meaning of "place" is involved.

6.2. *i*

A number of different roles have also been noted for *-i*:

1. focus on Goods in explosive material processes
2. focus on Instrument
3. focus on Beneficiary
4. focus on Goods of all kinds in causative material processes and the Phenomenon in causative mental processes

When not in focus, Goods and Phenomena are marked with *ng*, Instruments with *sa pamamagitan ng* and Beneficiaries with *para sa*.

The meaning of this affix is very diverse experientially. However, from the perspective of interpersonal meaning, it seems to be associated with the idea of a service—an action undertaken by someone for someone else, possibly in response to a request. This is clearly the case in the causative constructions, where *i* neutralizes the *-in/-an/i* opposition discussed above. In (150), the woman is making or letting her boyfriend act on her behalf:

i-p-in-a-sulat ng babae sa boyfriend niya ang bilin
 made write woman her TM message
 "The woman made her boyfriend write the message." (150)

Beneficiaries are explicit clients for a service; and moving Goods are offered to conscious Direction participants. It remains to be argued that Instruments are typically focused on in a serving context (for which unfortunately there is as yet no distributional evidence).

The general meaning suggested for *i* here then is an interpersonal, rather than an experiential one: It focuses on a range of participants and circumstances involved in the general meaning of "doing for."

7. LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

Before summing up it is important to note that at least three major affix classes in Tagalog have not been functionally interpreted in this paper.²⁹ These are:

1. *ma-/p-in-a* verbs
 na-nood ang babae ng sine
 watched TM woman film
 "The woman watched some movies." (151)
- p-in-a*
 p-in-a-nood ng babae ang sine
 watched woman TM film
 "The woman watched the movie." (152)

paniwala "believe," paligo "bathe," pakinig "listen," panood "watch," pangako "promise," panaginip "dream in sleep,"

²⁹ I am indebted to Wilfredo Mayargas and Frank Flores of the Inter-Church Language School for drawing these classes to my attention.

pangarap "day-dream," pangaral "teach," panganak "give birth," pakiramdam "feel out," pakisama "get on with," pakialam "meddle," panalangin "pray"

2. *mag-/i-pa* verbs

nag-dala ang babae ng sulat
sent TM woman letter
"The woman sent some letters." (153)

i-p-in-a-dala ng babae ang sulat
sent woman TM letter
"The woman sent the letter."

ipaliwanag "explain," ipahinga "rest," ipatawad
give, " ipalabas "show," ipalam "say good-bye," i
"send," ipangalan "name," ipakilala "introduce," ip
"reveal," ipakita "make known"

3. *mag-/i-pag-/pag* . . . -*an* verbs

nag-bawal ang pangulo ng welga
forbad TM president strikes (155)
"The president forbad strikes."

i-p-in-ag-bawal ng pangulo ang welga
forbad president TM strike (156)
"The president forbad the strike."

P-in-ag-bawal-an ng pangulo ang manggagawa sa pagtitipon
forbad president TM workers assembling (157)
"The president forbad the workers from assembling."

magmalaki "be proud of," magkaloob "offer," magkatiwala
"trust," magbawal "forbid," magbilin "give orders," mag-
tapat "confide," maglihim "keep secret," maglingkod
"serve," magkanulo "betray," magkaila "deny," magdiwang
"celebrate," magtanggol "defend"

As well, circumstances have not been discussed in a principled way. Because most circumstances can in fact be made Topic of a sentence, and so are critically involved in a description of marker and affix interaction, this is a serious shortcoming.

8. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this paper a reinterpretation of Tagalog case relations within the framework of systemic functional linguistics has been proposed. The interpretation is functional in that it starts with the notion of process type (sensing, doing and being) and establishes distinct case frames for each of these different types of experiential meaning. At the same time the interpretation is grammatical in that no semantically oriented categories have been established unless clearly implicated in the grammar. These case frames are reviewed in (158)-(162).

mental—Process + Senser + Phenomenon

na-hiya ang babae sa bahay niya
was ashamed TM woman house her
Process Senser Phenomenon
"The woman was ashamed of her house." (158)

material—Process + Medium (+ Goods) (+ Direction)

k-um-uha ang babae ng pera sa bangko
took TM woman money bank
Process Medium Goods Direction
"The woman took some money from the bank." (159)

relational—Specifier + Attribute or Possessor or Circum-
stance

ma-bait ang babae
nice TM woman
Attribute Specifier
"The woman is nice." (160)

sa kaibigan ko ang babae
friend my TM woman
Possessor Specifier
"The woman belongs to (is with) my friend." (161)

nasa bahay ang babae
in house TM woman
Circumstance Specifier
"The woman is in the house." (162)

In addition it has been suggested that voice in Tagalog functions not in terms of a transitive or ergative model but is organized around centrifugality. Thus, each process type has both introverted and extroverted nuclei depending on whether the nucleus is a kind of "super nova" or "black hole." These oppositions are outlined in (163)–(168).

centripetal

na-inip ang babae
was bored TM woman
"The woman was bored." (163)

t-um-ulog ang babae
slept TM woman
"The woman slept." (164)

p-um-uti ang babae
whitened TM woman
"The woman turned pale." (165)

noncentripetal

i-ni-hulog ng babae ang damit niya sa sahig
let fall woman TM clothes her floor
"The woman let her clothes fall to the floor." (166)

na-tanda-an ng babae ang g-in-awa niya
remembered woman TM did he
"The woman remembered what he did." (167)

nagka-sakit ang babae (cf. nagkaroon ng sakit ang babae)
got sick TM woman
"The woman got sick." (168)

Further, it was noted that within the centripetal type, a distinction could be drawn between nuclei that are simply receptive and those that are actually inundated by the environment. Thus, the oppositions in (169) to (174).

receptive

k-um-ain ang babae ng isda
ate TM woman fish
"The woman ate some fish." (169)

na-inis ang babae sa kapatid niya
got irritated TM woman sibling her
"The woman got irritated with her sister." (170)

g-um-anda ang babae
grew beautiful TM woman
"The woman grew beautiful." (171)

inundative

Lost car! utom ang babae
National Australia Bank Ltd. TM woman
22-276 (396) "I got hungry." (172)

in-inis kapatid niya ang babae
irritated sibling her TM woman
"Her sister irritated the woman." (173)

nagpa-ganda ang babae
made herself beautiful TM woman
"The woman made herself beautiful (put on her make-up)." (174)

Finally it was argued that the ascriptive/identifying/existential oppositions that display themselves most clearly in relational clauses are in fact fully productive in Tagalog throughout the process type paradigm; further, these options are interpretable in terms of the way in which predications are made arguable. The ascriptive type presents one of a number of candidates as Topic to specify the argument; the identifying type presents this candidate to the exclusion of others; and the existential type simply posits the existence of a set of candidates.

ascriptive

na-tanaw ng babae ang anak niya
observed woman TM child her
"The woman observed her child." (175)

identifying

ang anak ang na-tanaw ng babae
child observed woman
"The child was the one the woman observed." (176)

existential

may na-tanaw ang babae
observed woman
"The woman observed someone."³⁰ (177)

In his Introduction to *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* Halliday comments on 20th century linguistics as follows:

Twentieth-century linguistics has produced an abundance of new theories, but it has tended to wrap old descriptions up inside them; what are needed now are new descriptions. Tasks have changed, ideas have changed, and languages have changed. . . . The old interpretations were good, but not good enough to last for all time: even when dressed up in new theoretical clothes. (xxxiv)

While the description presented here does Tagalog up in new (systemic functional) theoretical clothes, it is hoped as well that it has provided some new descriptions of transitivity patterns. Specifically, it has been suggested that:

1. by first dividing clauses into process types a better motivated and more revealing set of cases can be proposed;
2. the central notion as far as voice is concerned is that of centrifugality;
3. ascriptive, identifying and existential options cross-classify process types with respect to arguability.

Finally it may be observed that a functional grammar whose terms are carefully motivated with as many reactances as possible does in fact lead, as Whorf initially suggested, to an interpretation of languages as individuals. Instead of beginning boldly with a comprehensive set of universal categories and testing languages against them, a functional grammar postpones the issue of universals until more languages have been described on their own (not someone else's) terms. It is in this sense that Halliday's systemic functional grammar can be seen to be most clearly Whorfian in design.

³⁰Note that in circumstantial relational processes, either the Specifier or the Circumstance can be existentialized; thus related to *nasa bar ang babae* "The woman is in the bar" one finds both *may babae sa bar* "There is a woman in the bar" and *mayroon ang babae* "The woman is there" (cf. *wala siya* "She not there"; *wala si Ruby* "Ruby's not there"); in the latter a definite Specifier is quite natural.

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A Systemic Functional Approach to Complementatation in English

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1. THE PURPOSE OF THIS CHAPTER

A festschrift is a compliment to a significant figure in some field of study. This chapter is offered as a compliment to the person to whom I owe the most—by far—in developing the understanding of language I now possess. But this chapter is not simply a compliment; it is also offered as a complement: a complement to Halliday's own work in a particular area of the lexicogrammar. It is moreover a complement that concerns complements—or rather, because it is the tradition in Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) to use a capital letter for elements of clause structure, it is a complement that concerns Complements.¹

As with so much of Michael Halliday's writing, his *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985/94) (henceforth IFG) is full of mar-

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