Okuda, Yasuo (1988). "Zyutugo-no imitekina taipu [Semantic types of predicator]". Lecture notes. The University of Ryukyus, Japan. 1–5 February 1998.

Okuda, Yasuo (1986). "Macinozomi-bun (zyoo) [Optative clauses (1)]". *Kyooiku Kokugo [Educational Japanese]*, 85, 21–32. Tokyo: Mugi Publishers.

Okuda, Yasuo (1990). "Setumei (sono 1): noda, nodearu, nodesu [Explanation (1): noda, nodearu, nodesu]". In Gengo Kenkyuukai (Ed.), *Kotoba-no kagaku 4 [Science of Language 4]* (pp. 173–86). Tokyo: Mugi Publishers.

Okuda, Yasuo (1996). "Bun-no koto: sono bunrui-o megutte [Clauses: on their classification]". *Kyooiku Kokugo [Educational Japanese]*, 2(22), 2–14. Tokyo: Mugi Publishers.

Sato, Satomi (1997). "Meisi zyutugobun-no imitekina taipu [Semantic types of nominal predicators]". In Gengogaku Kenkyuukai (Ed.), *Kotoba-no kagaku 8 [Science of Language 8]* (pp. 151–182). Tokyo: Mugi Publishers.

Shibatani, Masayoshi (1990). *The Languages of Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Suzuki, Shigeyuki (1972). *Nihongo bunpoo-keitairon [Japanese grammar-morphology]*. Tokyo: Mugi Publishers.

Suzuki, Sigeyuki (1994). "Gengo-no kihontekina tan'i-to site-no tango-o megutte: Nihongo kenkyuu-no taciba kara [On words as a basic unit of language: from a perspective of Japanese language studies]". A written version of a public lecture given at the 108th Japanese Linguistics Association Conference. 11 June 1994.

Takahasi, Taroo (1974). "Hyoozyungo-no doosi-to Kyootoben-no doosi [Verbs in standard Japanese and in Kyooto dialect]". Gengo Seikatu 270. Reprinted in Takahasi, Taroo (1994). *Doosi-no kenkyuu: doosi-no doosi-rasisa-no hatten-to syoositu [Studies of verbs: the development and disappearance of verbhood]* (pp. 256–276). Tokyo: Mugi Publishers.

Teramura, Hideo (1991). *Nihongo-no sintakusu-to imi III [Japanese syntax and meaning III]*. Tokyo: Kurosio Publishers.

Teruya, Kazuhiro (1998). *An Exploration into the World of Experience: A systemic-functional interpretation of the grammar of Japanese*. Macquarie University: PhD thesis.

Teruya, Kazuhiro (forthcoming). *A systemic Functional Grammar of Japanese*. London & New York: Continuum.

Teruya, Kazuhiro (in press). "Verbal processes in Japanese: A systemic functional interpretation." CIEFL Bulletin. Lucknow & Hydrabad: Central Institute of English & Foreign Languages.

Thomson, Elizabeth (1996). "Thematic Development in Momotaroo: A Japanese fairy tale." An unpublished paper.

Uemura, Yukio (1971). "Naze hoogen-o kenkyuusuru ka [Why do we study dialects?] [Why we study dialects]". *Kyooiku Kokugo [Educational Japanese]*, 26, 27–43. Kyooiku Kagaku Kenkyuukai Kagaku Bukai (Ed.). Tokyo: Mugi Publishers.

Uemura, Yukio (1997). "Nihongo onsei-no rekisitekina hukasa-to ci'ikitekina hirogari [Historical depth of speech sound in Japanese and its regional expansion]." In Miyoko Sugito (Ed.), *Syohoogen-no akusento-to intonesyon: Nihongo onsei 1 [Accent and intonation of Japanese dialects: Japanese Phonetics I]* (pp. 21–61). Sanseido.

Metafunctional profile of the grammar of Tagalog

J. R. Martin
University of Sydney

5.1 Ecosocial context

Tagalog[1] is a member of the Austronesian language family, in the Western Austronesian[2] group. Its relatives in this group include other Philippine languages, Malay/Bahasa Indonesian and other Indonesian languages, Malagasy, certain languages in Kampuchea, Vietnam, Taiwan and the western end of New Guinea, and two Micronesian languages – Chamorro and Palauan. More specifically, Tagalog is a central Philippine language, alongside Bikol and the various Bisayan languages (including Cebuano with 10 million speakers).

Tagalog has about 12 million native speakers, concentrated around Manila, and the island of Mindoro. Historically, it was the Tagalogs who became agents of symbolic control for the Spanish (from the 17th century; Rafael 1988) and then the American colonialists (from the early 20th century) – clergy, educators, administrators, lawyers, artists, writers, politicians and so on. Business on the other hand has tended to be controlled by the Chinese ethnic minority; and Ilocanos (Ferdinand Marcos being the best known) predominate in the police and armed forces. The election of Cory Aquino in the 1980s represented a return to political power by the Tagalogs following the Marcos militarist dictatorship. In general the Tagalogs, like many Filipinos, form a highly positional Catholic society, with social and institutional networks elaborated around the family. Access to their language and culture depends ultimately on marriage or informal 'adoption' into one of these extended family groups.

Tagalog has a controversial role as the basis for the national language of the Philippines, currently termed Filipino (Cruz 1990), with around 30 million speakers. There is a national "academy" to promote the development of Filipino and a keen interest among linguists[3] in what the Prague School termed "intellectualiza-

tion". Filipino is currently propagated through the country's bilingual education program (Filipino/English), and through the print (especially comics and magazines) and electronic media (television, and a prolific movie industry releasing three or four new films every week).

Naturally the language of the agents of symbolic control for an American colony attracted the attention of American linguists. Bloomfield worked with a Tagalog graduate student in Chicago in producing his 1917 classic *Tagalog Texts with Grammatical Analysis*. Schachter and Otanes completed work on their well-known *Tagalog Reference Grammar* around 1960 (published 1972). These treatments have made Tagalog one of the best known non-Indo-European languages in the world, and are both notably self-conscious[4] in their concern to present Tagalog grammar on its own terms, rather than as a variant of what Whorf called Standard Average European (hereafter SAE). For a summary of Spanish, American and other research on Tagalog see Gonzalez (1993).

5.2 Metafunctional preview

I'll begin with a brief orientation[5] to the language, before moving on to consider TRANSITIVITY, MOOD and THEME in more detail.

5.2.1 Basic TRANSITIVITY – action and description

A simple action process is exemplified below, formed around the morphemes *langoy* "swim" and *bata* "child". The infix *-um-* phases the process as completed action, while the pre-position *ang* highlights *bata* as Theme. In Tagalog verbal affixes specify the participant role of the Theme; in this case, alongside marking aspect, *-um-* signals that *bata* is actor in an action process.

(1) *Lumangoy   ang   bata.*
     swam   THEME   child
     "The child swam."

A simple state process is exemplified in (2) below, formed around the morphemes *sarap* "tastiness" and *ulam* "savoury dish". In this case the *ma-* prefix marks *sarap* as a descriptive attribute of the thematic *ulam*.

(2) *Masarap   ang   ulam.*
     tasty   THEME   savoury dish
     "The dish is tasty."

Aspect is not marked in (2), since the clause is descriptive and there is no change of state. To phase dynamic processes, Tagalog uses a range of affixation, including prefixes, infixes and reduplication of the first consonant and vowel of the relevant morpheme. The three principal aspects of the action process *langoy* are outlined in Table 5.1 below.

Table 5.1 Realizations of aspect in action processes in Tagalog

realization	aspect	example	gloss
-um-	begun/completed	lumangoy	"swam"
-um-, reduplication	begun/incomplete	lumalangoy	"is swimming"
reduplication	not begun	lalangoy	"will swim"

The same resources may be drawn on to phase descriptive clauses, as a marked option, as shown in Table 5.2 below.

Table 5.2 Realizations of phase in descriptive clauses in Tagalog

realization	phase	example	gloss
-um-	begun/completed	sumarap	"became tasty"
-um-, reduplication	begun/incomplete	sumasarap	"is becoming tasty"
reduplication	not begun	sasarap	"will become tasty"

5.2.2 Basic MOOD – statement, question, command

Simple declarative mood is exemplified in (3) below (see also examples (1) and (2) above). In this example the process is formed around the morpheme *laro* "game", verbalized with the prefix *mag-* (so *naglaro* "to play"; with aspect *naglaro, maglalaro, maglalaro*).

'declarative'; mid rising-falling tone[6]

(3) *Naglaro   ang   bata.*
     played   THEME   child
     "The child played."

The polar question complementing (3) in (4) below employs an interrogative particle *ba*, which follows and is enclitic to the process; this kind of question is spoken on a rising tone.

'interrogative: polar'; rising tone

(4) *Naglaro   ba   ang   bata.*
     played   INT   THEME   child
     "Did the child play?"

For a command, the aspectless form of the process is deployed; the person undertaking the process is realized explicitly.

'imperative'; high falling tone

(5) Maglaro ka
    play THEME+2SG
    "Play!"

5.2.3 Basic THEME

Tagalog, like many of its neighbours from adjacent but genetically unrelated Asian language families, can be characterized as a Topic prominent language (Schachter 1976, 1977, 1995), and there has been considerable discussion around the proper characterization of the *ang* phrase introduced above (as Subject or Topic; see Martin 1983; Buenaventura-Naylor 1995, for discussion). Bloomfield (1917:§93) describes this phrase as the "definite, known object underlying the predication as starting-point of discourse"; Schachter & Otanes (1972:60) state that it "expresses the focus of attention of the sentence". Martin (1993) (following Fries 1981, 1993) prefers the SFL term Theme, representing the unmarked point of departure in a Tagalog clause – the speaker's angle on what is being talked about. The *ang* phrase is typically realized last in a decontextualized[7] elicited Tagalog clause (conflating with unmarked New, according to Buenaventura-Naylor's (1975) analysis of Tagalog information structure) – as in examples (1) to (5) above. Alternatively, the *ang* phrase may appear initially as marked Theme as in example (6) below, followed by the so-called "inversion" marker *ay*:

'unmarked Theme'

(3) Naglaro ang   bata.
    played THEME child
    "The child played."

'marked Theme'

(6) Ang   bata ay   naglaro.
    THEME child INV played
    "The child played."

5.3 TRANSITIVITY

Philippine languages are well-known for what is often referred to as their "focus" system. Through this system processes are affixed to signal the experiential role of the Theme (*ang* phrase). In examples (1), (3), (4), (5) and (6) above, the processes were affixed (*-um-*, *nag-* and *mag-*)[8] to mark the Theme as Actor in an action process. In Figure 5.1 below the process (*hiram* "borrow") is inflected (*-in-*) to mark the Theme not as Actor (*tao* "man") but as acted upon (*pera* "money"). Virtually
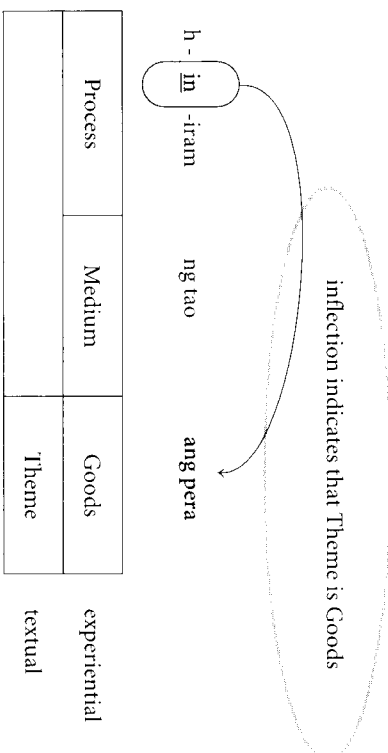
Tagalog focus system:

h - in -iram   ng tao   **ang pera**

inflection indicates that Theme is Goods

Process	Medium	Goods	experiential
		Theme	textual

Figure 5.1 Verbal inflection in relation to TRANSITIVITY and THEME

all participants and circumstances in a Tagalog clause can be made thematic and focused upon in such terms. Comparable systems in SAE, generally referred to as VOICE, might thus be characterized as restricted focus systems – with constraints on how many participants and circumstances can be made Theme (Subject if you will) and limited verbal affixation to mark a change of voice (just active versus passive for example).

In Tagalog, mapping Theme onto the participant most affected by the process is the unmarked choice (see Figure 5.1). A range of focus selections for *hiram* "borrow" is exemplified below, with examples adapted from Ramos' (1974) influential case grammar. In these examples the pre-position *ng* (pronounced/nan/) marks non-Thematic participants and *sa* marks circumstances; in order to simplify the glossing these markers will not be translated.

Medium/Theme

(7) H-um-iram ang   tao   ng pera sa bangko sa pamamagitan ng
    borrowed   THEME man   money   bank   instrumental
    bahay niya.
    house his
    "The man used his house to borrow some money from the bank."

Goods/Theme

(8) H-in-iram ng tao   ang   pera   sa bangko ...
    borrowed   man   THEME money   bank
    "The man borrowed the money from the bank ... "

Direction/Theme

(9) H-in-iram-an ng tao ng pera ang bangko . . .
borrowed man money THEME bank
"The man borrowed some money from the bank . . ."

Instrument/Theme

(10) I-p-in-ang-hiram ng tao ng pera sa bangko ang bahay niya.
borrowed man money bank THEME house his
"The man used his house to borrow some money from the bank."

Distinctive realizations are used to designate participants and circumstances as conscious – proper names for people take the pre-positions si, ni, kay (singular) and sina, nina, kina (plural); pronouns, which refer only to conscious entities, take a pre-position only as circumstances (sa) and otherwise provide distinctive ang and ng forms. These realization patterns are outlined in Table 5.3 below (with pronouns illustrated for first person singular only).

Table 5.3 Marking of participants

Textual/experiential functions	± conscious		conscious
	common nouns (pre-positions)	proper nouns (pre-positions)	pronouns[9]
Theme participant	ang	si/sina	ako "I"
non-Theme participants	ng	ni/nina	ko "me/my"
non-Theme circumstances	sa(+)	kay/kina	sa akin "to me"

Process affixes and participant and circumstance markers are important criteria as far as types of process are concerned. In addition, Martin (1996) takes into account the following factors:

– the number and nature of the participants associated with the process
– the form of the relevant nominalization
– the type of general verb used to refer to the process
– the presence or absence of a process
– the bidirectionality of the process
– marked patterns in the process's abilitative, social or causative paradigms

5.3.1 Mental processes

Mental processes in Tagalog are illustrated in (11) and (12) below for the process halata "notice"; in (11) the phenomenon perceived is Theme, whereas in (12) the Theme is the perceiver.

(11) Na-halata ng babae ang pagbabago sa boyfriend niya.
noticed woman THEME change boyfriend her
"The woman noticed the change in her boyfriend."

(12) Naka-halata[10] ang babae ng pagbabago sa boyfriend niya.
noticed THEME woman change boyfriend her
"The woman noticed a change[11] in her boyfriend."

The features which help distinguish mental processes from other process types are as follows:

i. their processes are generally realized by ma- class verbs (see examples (13) to (15) below);

ii. they may involve a projection, introduced with a linker (ŋ/na) instead of a marker (ang/ng/sa); where the verb focuses on the projection, the mental process clause will thus lack a Theme (as in example (17) below);

iii. one key participant must be endowed with human consciousness; the other need not be and may be realized by a clause (construing an act, idea or fact – i.e. macro- and meta-phenomena);

iv. they are nominalized with the prefix pagka- (pagka-intindi "understanding");

v. they cannot be questioned with a general doing verb (gawa/mangyari) or with a wh verb (ano) – cf. umaano siya "what's he doing?" querying an action process;

vi. a process is always present and realized by a verb;

vii. 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).

Examples of the three main types of mental process (reaction, perception, cognition) are presented as examples (13) to (15) below, along with lists of semantically related processes.

'reaction'

(13) Na-awa ang babae sa boyfriend niya.
pitied THEME woman boyfriend her

Proc: mental: reaction	Senser	Phenomenon

"The woman pitied her boyfriend."

Semantically related processes: 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", lito "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"[12] Tagalog), *poot* "hate" (deep Tagalog), *sawa* "be fed up with".

'perception'

(14)   *Na-dama ng babae ang kamay niya.*
       felt   woman THEME hand his

Process	Senser	Phenomenon

"The woman felt his hand."

Semantically related processes: *kita* "see", *dinig* "hear", *puna* "notice", *amoy* "smell", *tikim* "taste", *pansin* "notice", *masdan* "observe", *tanaw* "view", *batid* "be aware of", *aninaw* "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".

'cognition'

(15)   *Na-limut-an ng babae ang payong.*
       forgot   woman THEME umbrella

Process	Senser	Phenomenon

"The woman forgot her umbrella."

Semantically related processes: *limot* "forget", *tanda* "remember", *intindi* "understand", *tuto* "learn", *alam* "know", *isip* "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", *hula* "guess".

Alongside their association with entities (the concrete phenomena in examples (11) to (15) above), mental processes combine with macrophenomena and metaphenomenon – perception with acts (16), cognition with ideas (17) and reaction with facts (18). Note that in (17) the idea is linked to its process of cognition by the hypotactic dependency marker *na*, and so is arguably a dependent clause; the projecting process (*nakutoban*) however is inflected as if a phenomenon were thematic in the projecting clause.

'perception & act'

(16)   *Na-masdan ng babae ang isda l-um-angoy*[13] *sa tubig.*
       observed   woman THEME fish swimming   water

Process	Senser	Act (embedded macrophenomenon)

"The woman observed the fish swimming in the water."

'cognition & idea'

(17)   *Na-kutob-an ng pangulo na ta-takas siya.*
       had a premonition head DEP will escape THEME+3SG

Process	Senser	Idea (dependent metaphenomenon)

"The president had a premonition he'd escape."

'reaction & fact'

(18)   *Na-suklam ang tao sa bagay na nang-daya ang pangulo.*
       were disgusted THEME people thing DEP cheated THEME head

Process	Senser	Fact (embedded pre-projected metaphenomenon)

"The people were disgusted with the fact that the president cheated."

One distinctive feature of reaction processes is that the phenomenon reacted to may be construed as a kind of causal circumstance (as in examples (19) and (20)) or as an agentive participant (as in example (21))[14] – reflecting the general bi-directionality of this process type.

(19)   *Na-gulat ang babae (dahil) sa boyfriend niya.*
       was surprised at THEME woman (because of) boyfriend her

Process	Senser	Phenomenon

"The woman was surprised at her boyfriend."

(20)   *K-in-a-gulat-an ng babae ang boyfriend niya.*
       was surprised because of woman THEME boyfriend her

Process	Senser	Phenomenon

"The woman was surprised because of her boyfriend."

(21)   *G-in-ulat ng boyfriend ang babae.*
       surprised   boyfriend   THEME woman

Process	Agent/Phenomenon	Senser

"The boyfriend surprised the woman."

The criteria distinguishing sub-types of mental process (reaction, perception and cognition) are outlined in Table 5.4. above Overall, these criteria oppose reaction processes (which in a sense respond to phenomena) to perception and cognition processes (which are more active). An outline of these oppositions is suggested in Figure 5.2 (for further discussion see Martin 1996).

Table 5.4 Criteria distinguishing sub-types of mental process

	reaction	perception	cognition
Senser focus affix	ma-	maka-	maka-
Phenomenon focus affix	ika-/ka-...-an	ma-	ma-...-an
Phenomenon marker (non-Theme)	sa	ng	ng
directionality	two-way	one-way	one-way
causative affixes	no	yes	yes
social affixes	no	yes	(if reciprocal)
unmarked "clause Phenomenon"	fact	act	idea
Senser marker (non-Theme)	ng	ng	ng

mental process

responding — reaction
- provoke: ang Senser; ng Phen; -in-
- react
  - Senser focus: ang Senser; sa Phen; ma-
  - Phenomenon focus: ang Phen; ng Senser; ika/ka-...-an

exploring
- perception
  - Senser focus: ang Senser; ng Phen; maka-
  - Phenomenon focus: ang Phen; ng Senser; ma-
- cognition
  - Senser focus: ang Senser; ng Phen; maka-
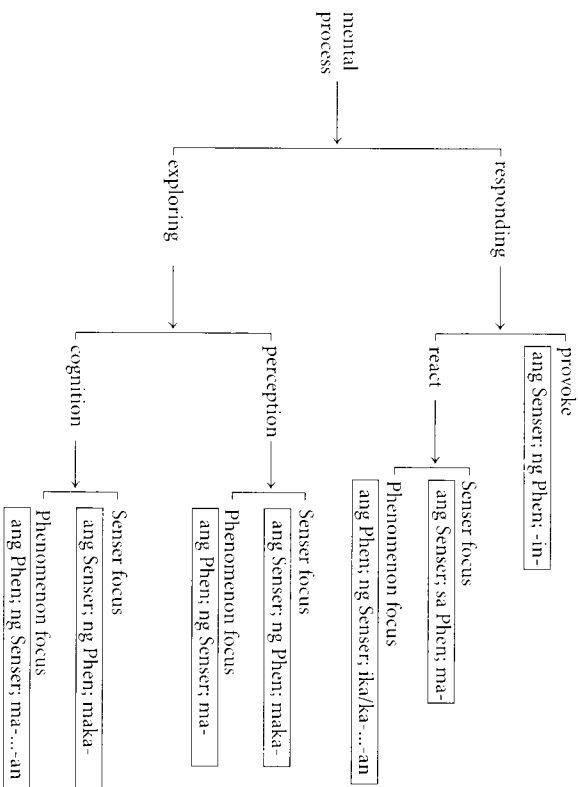 - Phenomenon focus: ang Phen; ng Senser; ma-...-an

Figure 5.2 Basic mental processes in Tagalog

5.3.2 Material processes

Material processes (examples (1) and (3) to (10) above) differ from mental processes in Tagalog in several respects, as summarized in Table 5.5 below. As far as participants are concerned they involve an actor, and optionally an undergoer and a beneficiary.

Table 5.5 Criteria distinguishing material from mental processes

	material	mental
verb class	-um-, mag-	ma-
"undergoer" focus affix	-in-, i-, -an	ma-, ma-...-an, ika-, ka-...-an
# key participants	1, 2 or 3	2
metaphenomenon	not possible	possible
participant consciousness	± conscious	one conscious participant
general verb	anoj gawa/ mangyari	–
nominalizing affix	pag-	pagka-
abilitative/involuntary action paradigm	full	defective

One of the key puzzles as far as material processes are concerned is the significance of -um- and mag- as focus affixes. Very few verbs take both affixes, but when they do the affect on the affected participant is striking. Note the following examples from Ramos (1976) (cf. um-abot "reach for", mag-abot "hand to"), glossed here as centrifugal or centripetal according to the trajectory of the affected goods (gulay "vegetables")).

(22) Nag-bili ang   babae   ng gulay;
      sold   THEME woman   vegetables

Process	Actor	Goods

"The woman sold some vegetables."

'centrifugal'

(23) B-um-ili ang   babae   ng gulay
      bought   THEME woman   ng vegetables

Process	Actor	Goods

"The woman bought some vegetables."

'centripetal'

(24) I-p-in-ag-bili ng babae   ang   gulay   sa lalaki.
      bought   woman THEME vegetables   man

Process	Actor	Goods	Beneficiary

"The woman sold the vegetables to the man."

'centrifugal'

(25) B-in-ili ng babae   ang   gulay   sa lalaki.
      bought   woman THEME vegetables   man

Process	Actor	Goods	Beneficiary

"The woman bought the vegetables from the man."

'centripetal'

In (22) and (23) the Actor is Theme; in (24) and (25) the goods affected is Theme. So *mag*- pairs with *i*- or *ipag*-, and *-um*- with *-in*-. Verbs following the *-um-/-in-* pattern are compared with those following the *mag-/i-* centrifugal pattern below:

centrifugal pattern *mag-/i-* (Ramos 1974:84–86 class 4): *abuloy* "contribute", *bagsak* "drop", *bigay* "give", *bayad* "pay", *sabit* "hand", *hulog* "drop", *akyat* "carry up", *tali* "tie", etc.

centripetal pattern *-um-/-in-* (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.

(26) *B-um-angon ako.*
got up   I

got up	I
Process	Actor

"I got up."

(27) *Nag-bangon ng bago -ng bahay ang pari.*
erected   new DEP house THEME priest

"The priest built a new house."

Schachter & Otanes (1972:293) exemplify the pattern as follows:

l-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"

Pursuing the opposition, Ramos (1974:139) notes one further pattern, exemplified in (28) and (29).

(28) *P-um-utol ang   babae   ng   kahoy.*
cut   THEME woman   wood

"The woman cut off a piece of wood."

(29) *Nag-putol ang   babae   ng   kahoy.*
cut   THEME woman   wood

"The woman cut some wood."

With *-um-*, the verbs involved suggest acquisition, on behalf of the participant undertaking the process; with *mag-* the process is neutral in this respect.

l-um-iwa "slice off"   *mag-hiwa* "slice"
p-um-unit "tear off"   *mag-punit* "tear"
b-um-ali "break off"   *mag-bali* "break"
t-um-aga "hack off"   *mag-taga* "hack"
g-um-upit "scissor off" *mag-gupit* "cut with scissors"

One way to generalize these three oppositions[15] 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-to's 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**) undergoes a change of state or position. A network of oppositions reflecting this perspective is outlined in Figure 5.3 (for details see Martin 1996c), including meteorological processes involving no participants (e.g. *um-ulan* "it rained") and acts which involve just one (*l-um-ayas siya* "s/he went away").

mental
process

implosive [-um-]
  — event [*ulan* "rain"]
  — process
      — act [*layas* "go away"]
      — absorb [*kuha* "take"] -in-

explosive [mag-]
  — static goods
      — fashion [*luto* "cook"] -in-
      — disturb [*walis* "sweep"] -an
  — moving goods [*labas* "put out"] i-
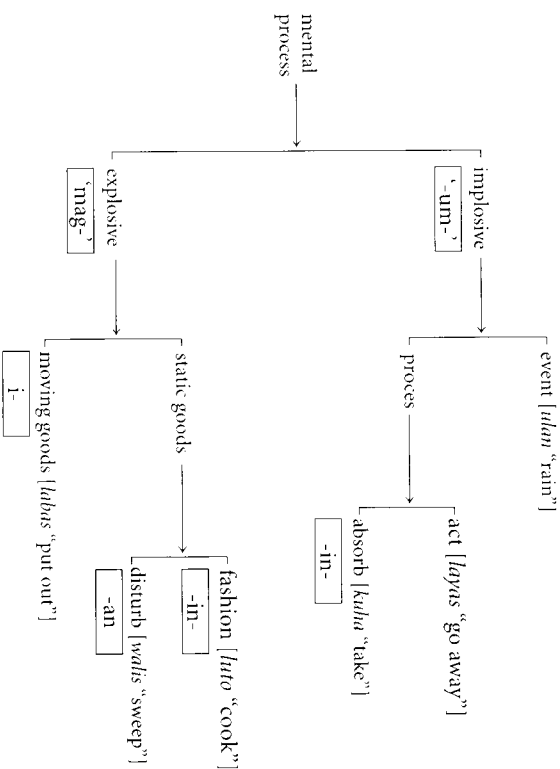
Figure 5.3 Basic material processes in Tagalog

um-ulan
'It rained'

Process
'ulan'

l-um-ayas si Ding
'Ding cleared out'

Process
'ayas'
Medium
'Ding'

k-um-uha si Ding ng beer
k-in-uha ni Ding ang beer
'Ding took some/the beer'

Process
'kuha'
Medium
'Ding'

Goods 'beer'

nag-luto si Ding ng gulay
ni-luto ni Ding ang gulay
'Ding cooked some/the vegies'

Process
'luto'
Medium
'Ding'

Goods 'gulay'

nag-laba si Ding ng damit
ni-lab-han ni Ding ang damit
'Ding washed some/the clothes'

Process
'laba'
Medium
'Ding'

Goods 'damit'

nag-labas si Ding ng basura
i-ni-labas ni Ding ang basura
'Ding put out some/the rubbish'

Process
'labas'
Medium
'Ding'

Goods 'basura'
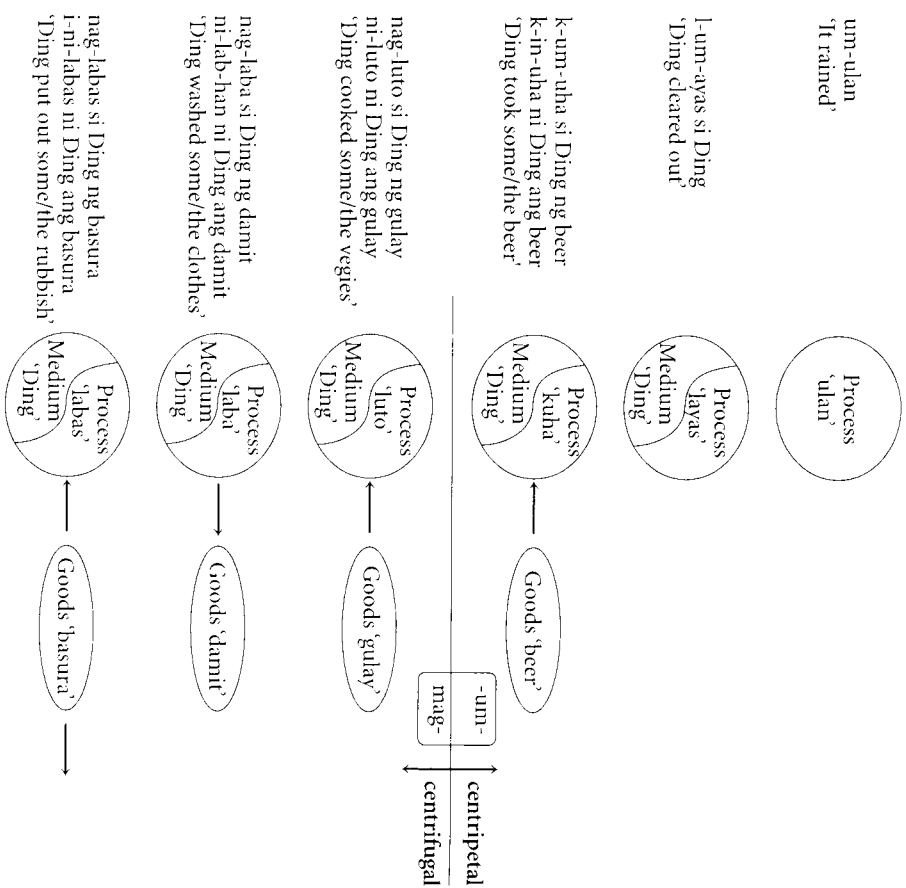
-um-
mag-

centripetal
centrifugal

Figure 5.4 Scale of volatility for material processes in Tagalog

Figure 5.4 arranges Tagalog material processes topologically along a scale from least to most volatile. On the implosive side of the scale meteorological, intransitive behavioural and 'ingestive' transitive processes are aligned; on the explosive side we move through processes according to the degree to which the goods are impacted upon as reflected in the focus affixes -in- (creation and impact), -an (surface disturbance) and i- (ejection).

Martin (1996c) suggests generalizing this 'centripetal/centrifugal' perspective across material and mental process. Figure 5.5 scales mental processes along the lines outlined for material processes in Figure 5.4, beginning with the more introverted reaction processes where phenomena impact emotionally on sensers and moving on to more extroverted perception and cognition processes where sensers
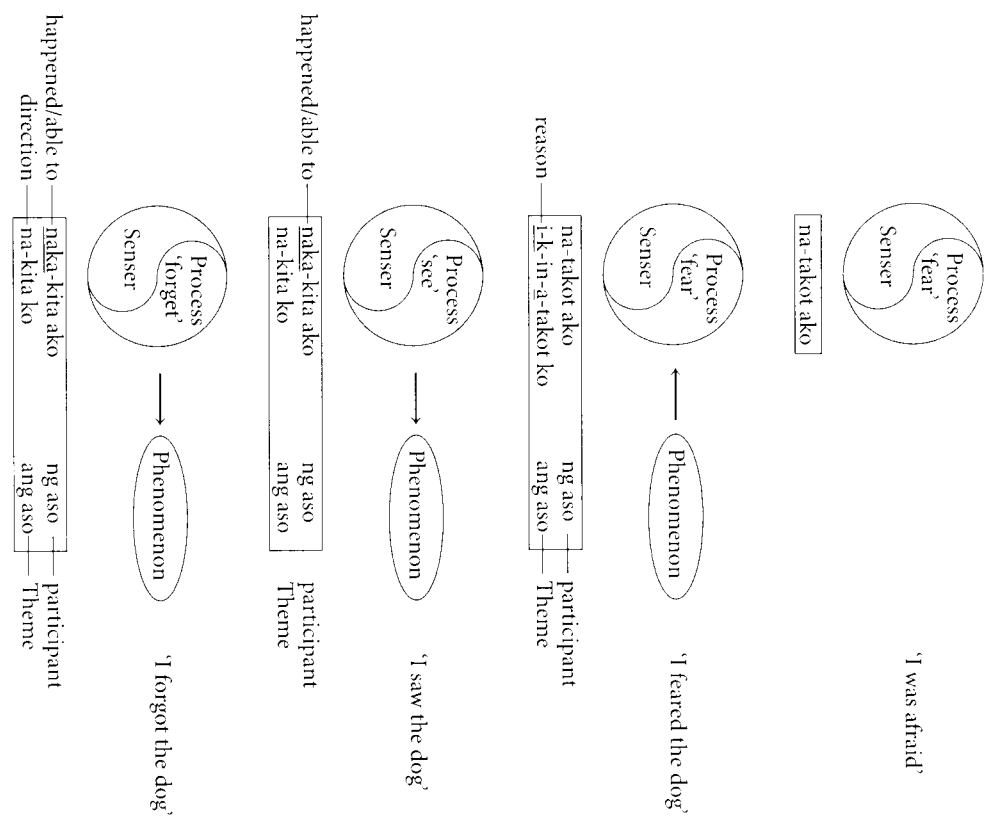
Process
'fear'
Senser

na-takot ako

'I was afraid'

na-takot ako
i-k-in-a-takot ko

reason

Process
'fear'
Senser

Phenomenon

ng aso
ang aso

participant
Theme

'I feared the dog'

naka-kita ako
na-kita ko

Senser

Process
'see'

Phenomenon

ng aso
ang aso

participant
Theme

'I saw the dog'

happened/able to

naka-kita ako
na-kita ko

Process
'forget'
Senser

Phenomenon

ng aso
ang aso

participant
Theme

'I forgot the dog'

happened/able to
direction

grammatically construe phenomena. In taking this step, we are opening up the possibility that transitivity systems might be generalized across process types in other than the familiar transitive and ergative terms (Martin 1996b) – with respect to the volatility of their process plus medium nuclei. This third possibility is outlined in relation to the other two in Figure 5.6 on page 270.
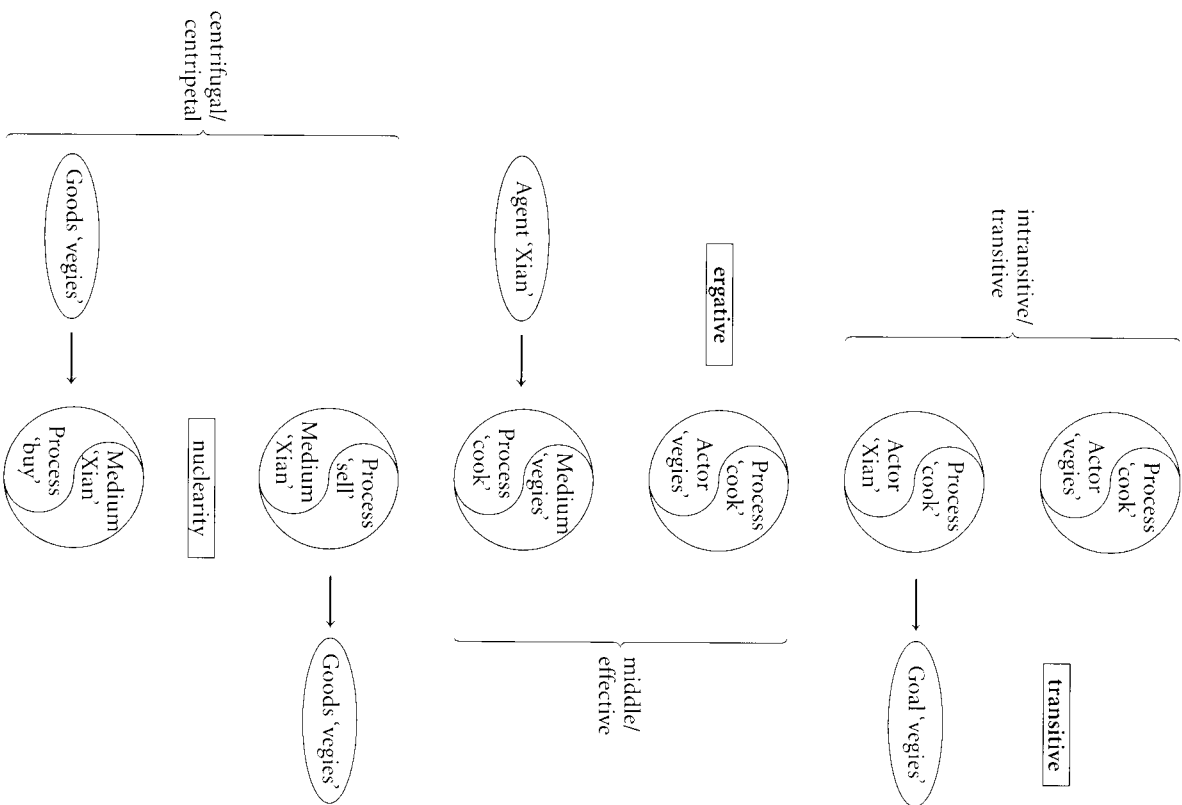
Figure 5.5 Scale of volatility for mental processes in Tagalog

Figure 5.6 Transitive, ergative and nuclear transitivity

intransitive/transitive

- Process 'cook', Actor 'vegies' — **transitive**
- Process 'cook', Actor 'Xian', Goal 'vegies'

ergative

- Agent 'Xian', Process 'cook'
- Process 'cook', Actor 'vegies'

middle/effective

- Medium 'vegies', Process 'cook'
- Medium 'Xian', Process 'sell', Goods 'vegies'

nuclearity

centrifugal/centripetal

- Goods 'vegies', Process 'buy'
- Medium 'Xian'

By way of distinguishing inner from outer roles around these nuclei, Tagalog draws on the *ng/sa* distinction noted above.[16] This is easiest to see when clauses are nominalized or in recently completed aspect and so have no Theme:

---

(30) (magaling ang)   pagka-intindi   ng babae   ng wika   sa biyahe niya.
    clever   THEME understanding   woman   language   trip   her
    "The woman's understanding of languages on her trip was clever."

(31) Ka-ra-rating   ng babae   sa probinsiya   dahil sa   Pasko.
    has just arrived   woman   province   because of   Christmas
    "The woman has just arrived in the province because of Christmas."

As example (31) 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	tungkol sa, ukol sa	"about"		
Cause	dahil sa	"because of"		
Benefactive	para sa	"on behalf of"		
Instrument	sa pamamagitan ng	"with"		
Accompaniment	kasama ng	"with"	sa halip na	"in place of"
	bukod sa	"besides"	maliban sa	"except"
Location	galing sa	"from"	sa gitna ng	"in the middle of"
	patungo sa	"to"	sa harap ng	"in front of" …etc.

Actually the picture is not quite as neat as the *ng/sa* opposition in (30) and (31) would imply. Not all circumstances are in fact marked with *sa*: for example, *kasama ng* "with" listed under Accompaniment above. In addition, Manner (see example (32)) 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*.

(32) Umuwi   ka   nang   mabilis.
    go home   THEME+2sg   CIRC   fast

Process: material	Circumstance: manner

    "Go home quickly!"

5.3.3 Relational processes

Turning to relational processes, attributive processes place a thematic Carrier in relation to an Attribute realized by a noun or adjective, without a pre-position (to classify as in example (33), or describe as in (34)).

(33) Titser   ang   babae.
    teacher   THEME   woman

Attribute	Carrier

    "The woman is a teacher."

(34)   *Matalino   ang   babae.*

clever   Attribute | Carrier

THEME woman

"The woman is clever."

Circumstantial attributive processes use one of the pre-positions noted above to mark the circumstantial relation (e.g. location, as in example (35) below).

(35)   *Nasa babae   ang   babae.*

CIRC house   THEME woman

Attribute: circumstantial | Carrier

"The woman is in the house."

Identifying processes[17] place two *ang* phrases in relation to one another, as in example (36) (at first blush, a clause type with two Themes). Perhaps these clauses can be interpreted as grammatically splitting the functions of thematic orientation and newsworthiness which are realized together on clause final *ang* phrases in mental and material processes (for contextualized examples see text (81) below).

(36)   *Ang   pangulo   ang   babae.*

THEME president   THEME woman

Identifier | Identified

"The woman is the president."

Basic[18] existential clauses on the other hand are one the few clauses types in Tagalog lacking an *ang* phrase. The existential marker *may* (alternatively *mayroon*; for negative *wala*) precedes the Existent as in (37).

(37)   *May babae   sa   bahay.*

EX woman   CIRC house

Existent | Circ: location

"There is a woman in the house."

Possession in Tagalog may be construed either circumstantially or existentially (see Ramos & Cena 1980, for discussion). General possession, including temporary possession, ownership and meronymy (part/whole relations) is realized in clauses with *may* marking the possession (or part) and with the possessor (or whole) as Theme.

(38)   *May lapis   ang   babae.*

EX pencil   THEME woman

Attribute/Possession | Carrier/Possessor

"The woman has a pencil."

Ownership can be alternatively construed circumstantially, with the possessor as a kind of location (with pre-position *sa*) and the possession as Theme.

(39)   *Sa   babae   ang   bahay.*

CIRC woman   THEME house

Identifier/Possessor | Identified/Possession

"The house belongs to the woman."

Temporary possession may be similarly realized, but with pre-position *nasa* in place of *sa*.

(40)   *Nasa babae   ang   lapis.*

CIRC woman   THEME pencil

Identifier/Possessor | Identified/Possession

"The woman has the pencil."

Martin (1996c) suggests that the existential clause type as well as the identifying one has been generalized across process types in Tagalog (*may umalis* "someone left"; *umalis siya* "she left"; *siya ang umalis* "she's the one who left"), and that the motivation for this generalization has to do with arguability (modal responsibility). Note the contrast with English, which prefers to realize nonspecific participants as nominal groups (i.e. *someone*), rather than deploying an existential clause. The existential construal suits Tagalog, which otherwise would have the problem of a non-specific Theme (*umalis si someone* "someone left"); for discussion see Martin (1983) and Section 5.4 below.

5.3.4   Text illustration

Material and relational processes are exemplified in Text 5.1 below, a short biography of the economics professor T. S. Tullao, Jr. (Tullao 1990); for examples of mental processes see Texts 5.3 (clauses (1) and (3)) and 5.4 (clauses (11) and (16)). Text 5.1 outlines Tullao's academic accomplishments and current activities. To clarify the presentation, linkers have been detached and glossed (e.g. orthographic *nasabing* in clause (2) reworked as *nasabi -ng*).

Text 5.1

(1)   *Nagtapos   ng AB in Economics, summa cum laude*

completed   his BA in Economics, summa cum laude

Process | Goods

(2)

sa De La Salle University noong 1972,
at De La Salle University in 1972

| Circ: location | Circ: location (past) |

"Dr Tereso S. Tullao Jr completed his BA in Economics, summa cum laude, at De La Salle University in 1972,"

Si Dr Tereso S. Tullao Jr ay kasalukuyang
Dr T.S. Tullao Jr   INV   presently

| Carrier | |

professor at tagapangulo ng sa nasabi -ng unibersidad.
Departmento ng Ekonomiks
professor and head of the   CIRC aforesaid   DEP university
Department of Economics

| Attribute |

"he is presently professor and head of the Department of Economics at that university."

(3)

Nagtapos din siya ng MA in Development Education
completed also he an MA in Development Education

| Process | Medium | Goods |

noong 1974 sa Stanford University, California.
in 1974 at Stanford University, California.

| Circ: location (past) | Circumstance: location |

"He also completed an MA in Development Education at Stanford University in 1974."

(4)

Magkasunod niya -ng tinapos ang MALD at ang PhD
one after the other he DEP completed an MALD and a PhD

| Circumstance | Med | Process | Goods |

noong 1980 at 1982 sa Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts
in 1980 and 1982 at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy,
University, Massachusets.
Tufts University, Massachusets

| Circ: location (past) | Circumstance: location |

"He completed an MALD and a PhD in succession at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, Massachusetts."

(5)

Napagkalooban siya ng Don Santiago Syjuco Professorial ...
got granted he the Don Santiago Syjuco Professorial ...

| Process | Direction[19] | Goods ... |

Chair sa Ekonomiks at isa sa mga ginawaran
Chair of Economics and one CIRC PL awarded

| ... Goods ... |

ng titulo -ng University Fellow ng DLSU.
title DEP University Fellow of DLSU

| ... Goods ... |

"He has had bestowed on him the Don Santiago Syjuco Professorial Chair of Economics and one of the honorary titles of University Fellow of DLSU."

(6)

Nakapagturo na rin siya sa iba't iba -ng
got to teach mature also he CIRC several DEP

| Process | Medium | Circumstance: ... |

bansa tulad sa Japan, USA, at Tsina.
country including Japan, USA and China

| ... location |

"He has also had the opportunity to teach in several countries, including Japan, the USA and China."

(7)

Bukod sa pagtuturo, abala rin siya sa pagging
besides teaching busy also he CIRC being

| Circ: accompaniment | Attribute | Carrier | Circ: ... |

consultant ng Board of Investments at iba pa -ng
consultant on Board of Investments and other more DEP

| ... location ... |

mga institusyon at pang- ekonomya at pang- edukasyon.
organisasyong
PL institutions and for economic and for education
organisations

| ... location ... |

"Besides teaching, he is also busy as a consultant on the Board of Investments and many other economic and educational institutions and organisations."

(8)

Aktibo rin siya sa pagsusulat ng mga artikulo
active also he CIRC composing CIRC PL articles

| Attribute | Carrier | Circ: location ... |

sa ekonomiks na nalalathala sa loob at labas ng bansa.
CIRC economics DEP getting published inside and outside country

| Carrier |

"He is also actively involved in composing many articles (getting published inside and outside the country."

(9) *Kabilang   sa   iba   pa   niya   -ng   aklat*
    among   CIRC other more he   DEP books

Attribute	
ang	*Three Essays on Trade and Development* (DLSU 1987) *at Understanding Economics in the Philippine Setting* (Phoenix 1986).
Carrier	
THEME	Three Essays … and Understanding Economics …

"Among his many other books are *Three Essays on Trade and Development* (DLSU 1987) and *Understanding Economics in the Philippine Setting* (Phoenix 1986)."

This biographical sketch outlines Professor Tullao's achievements from 1972 to 1987. **It involves eight material processes – six finite (in bold italics below) and two nominalizations (underlined below):**

material processes (action highlighted)

(1) *Nagtapos* "finished" …*ng AB in Economics* …

(3) *Nagtapos* "finished" …*din siya ng MA ng MA in Development Education* …

(4) …*tinapos* "finished" …*ang MALD at ang PhD* …

(5) *Napagkalooban* "granted" …*siya ng* …*Professorial Chair sa Ekonomiks* …

(6) *Nakapagturo* "taught" …*na rin siya sa iba't ibang bansa* …

(7) …*pagtuturo* "teaching" …

(8) … *pagsusulat* "writing" … *ng mga artikulo sa ekonomiks na* **nalalathala** "published" …

There are four relational attributive processes:

relational processes (attribute in bold)

(2) *Si Dr Tereso S. Tullao Jr ay kasalukuyang* **professor** …

(7) …*abala rin siya sa pagiging consultant* …

(8) *Aktibo rin siya sa pagsusulat ng mga artikulo* …

(9) **Kabilang sa iba pa niyang aklat ang Three Essays** …

The material processes are all arguably of the *mag-* type (including *sulat* "write" whose nominalization includes reduplication of the first syllable, a feature of the *mag-* class;[20] although *sulat* is often used as an *-um-* verb, *-um-* verbs do not involve this reduplication). This pattern foregrounds Professor Tullao's enterprise – earning degrees, having honours bestowed, teaching and publishing.

Root	Clauses	Form	Focus
tapos "end"	(clauses (1), (3) & (4))	*mag-tapos*	(finisher focus)
		t-in-apos	(accomplishment focus)
kaloob "gift"	(clause (5))	*mag-kaloob*	(giver focus)
		ipag-kaloob	(gift focus)
		pag-kaloob-an	(receiver focus)
turo "instruction"	(clauses (6) & (7))	*mag-turo*	(teacher focus)
		i-turo	(content focus)
		turu-an	(student focus)
lathala "publication"	(clause (8))	*mag-lathala*	(publisher focus)
		i-lathala	(publication focus)
sulat "writing"	(clause (8))	*mag-sulat*	(author focus)
		i-sulat	(composition focus)

At the same time, three of the finite realizations of these extroverted processes involve what Schachter & Otanes refer to as the ability/involuntary action prefix (*ma-, maka-*); for completed aspect they suggest translating this as "got" to make the point that something has indeed been accomplished:

abilitative/involuntary action
na-pagkalooban "got given"
naka-pagturo "got to teach"
na-lalathala "are getting published"

This suggestion has not however been taken up in the free translation of clauses (5), (6) and (8) in Text 5.1 above (repeated in part below), where glossing the processes with "got" seems as inappropriate as glossing them "was able to" or "happened to" would be.

(5) *Napagkalooban   siya ng Don Santiago Syjuco Professorial Chair* …
    got granted   he   Don Santiago Syjuco Professorial Chair
    "He has had bestowed on him the Don Santiago Syjuco Professorial Chair
    …"

(6) *Nakapagturo   na   rin siya sa   iba't iba -ng   bansa,*
    got to teach   mature   also he CIRC   several   DEP   country
    "He has also had the opportunity to teach in several countries, …"

(8) *Aktibo   rin   siya   sa pagsusulat ng mga artikulo   na   nalalathala* …
    active   also he   CIRC writing   CIRC PL article   DEP   got published
    "He is also actively involved in composing many articles published …"

Taken alongside the two nominalizations which elide Tullao as actor (*pagtuturo* "teaching" in clause (7) and *pagsusulat* "writing" in clause (8)), what seems to be going on here is that the text is mitigating somewhat Tullao's agency – supervention

deflates instigation. Honours get granted, overseas teaching positions get offered and articles get published – with others, or fate, or perhaps divine providence in charge (for further discussion of this fashion of speaking in Tagalog, see Martin 1983). We might say then that Tullao is construed as fortunate, or blessed, as well as highly charged; and that the panegyric is somewhat more effacing than the English translation allows!

The following text from an acclaimed novel by Lualhati Bautista (Bautista 1983:4–5) features -um- class verbs; a mother (Lea) and her young son (Ojie) are arguing about drinks during a primary school beauty pageant. The relevant processes here are in bold in Text 5.2 below, and feature motion away from Mum and towards Ojie's step-father Ding. Note in addition the transitive -um- process *huningi* 'ask for' in clause (4), where the goods (i.e. the money for the drink) are to be acquired by Ojie. Clearly at this stage of life Ojie is constructed materially as much less accomplished than Professor Tullao – and loses the argument with his mother in the process!

Text 5.2 (Bautista 1983:4–5)

(1) *Sumilip* uli sa lens ng camera si Lea.

Sumilip		uli	sa lens	ng camera	si	Lea
peeked		again	lens	camera	THEME	Lea
Process			Location		Medium	

"Lea peeked again through the camera lens."

(2) "*Ano?*" tanong niya.

"*Ano?*"	tanong	niya.
what	question	her
Token	Value	
Process		

"'What?' she asked."

(3) "*Gusto* ko ng soft drinks."

"*Gusto*	ko	ng soft drinks."
want	I	soft drinks
Process	Senser	Phenomenon

"I want a soft drink."

(4) "*Do'n ka huningi* ng pera sa tatay Ding mo.

"*Do'n*	ka	*huningi*	ng pera	sa tatay Ding	mo.
there	TH+2SG	ask for	money	father Ding	your
Loc	Medium	Process	Goods	Direction	

"Ask your father Ding over there for some money."

(5) "*Wala ako* -ng *dala dito.*"

"*Wala*	*ako*	-ng	*dala*	*dito.*"
EX-NEG	TH+1SG	DEP	load	here
	Medium		Process	Location

"I didn't bring anything here."

(6) "*Malayo siya,* e!"

"*Malayo*	*siya,*	e!"
far	TH+3SG	on the contrary
Attribute	Carrier	

"But he's a long way, eh!"

(7) "*Lapitan mo.*"

"*Lapitan*	*mo.*"
approach	you
Process	Medium

"Go over (to him)."

(8) "*Hindi ako makadaan!*"

"*Hindi*	*ako*	*makadaan!*"
NEG	THEME+1SG	can pass
	Medium	Process

"I can't make it!"

(-an construes the elided Theme (Ding) as Direction.)

(9) "*Di mamaya ka* na *mag-soft drinks,*"

"*Di*	*mamaya*	*ka*	na	*mag-soft drinks,*"
NEG	soon	TH+2SG		FRUITION-soft drink
	Loc	Medium		Process

"Listen, you'll soon have your soft drink,"

(maka- is an ability prefix, also seen in clauses (10) and (12) below.)

(10) "*pag makakadaan ka na!*"

"*pag*	*makakadaan*	*ka*	na!"
if	can pass	THEME+2SG	now
	Process	Medium	

"if you start to make your way over now!"

(11) "*Dumadarag* na *lumayo* si Ojie,"

"*Dumadarag*	na	*lumayo*	si	Ojie,"
stamping in anger	DEP	moved off	THEME	Ojie
Pro –		– cess[22]		Medium

"Stamping his feet in anger Ojie moved off,"

(12) at *makadaan papunta* kay Ding.

at	*makadaan*	*papunta*	kay Ding.
and	able to pass	heading towards	Ding
	Process		Location

"and headed over to Ding."

5.4 THEME

5.4.1 The system of THEME

Thematic flexibility in the Tagalog clause was illustrated in examples (7) to (10) in Section 5.3 above. Cena (1979) in fact refers to Tagalog as an "equal opportunity employer" because of the flexibility with which it focuses on participants and circumstances as Theme. With elicited sentences, including fully lexicalized participants, unmarked Theme tends to conflate with unmarked New, at the end of the clause. This supposedly unmarked clause type, is illustrated in (41) below and is presumably the basis for Tagalog's characterization as a VOS language in formalist language typology. Note however that in general, affecting participants tend to precede affected ones; and circumstances tend to follow participants – and these factors may influence word order.

(41) *H-in-iram ng tao ang pera sa bangko.*
      borrowed   man THEME money CIRC bank
      "The man borrowed the money from the bank."

Note as well that pronouns, which are always personal, are clitic to the Process, which in discourse tends to move a "given" unmarked Theme forward in the clause away from unmarked New. Thus the contrasting word order in (42) and (43).

(42) *Na-kita ng Direktor si Brigitte.*
      saw   director THEME Brigitte
      "The Director saw Brigitte."

(43) *Na-kita siya ng Direktor.*
      saw   TH+3SG director
      "The Director saw her."

Pronouns are further clitic to pre-enclitic interpersonal meanings coming first in clause – for example the negative marker *hindi* in (44). In discourse this tends to draw unmarked Themes further forward in the clause to bond with interpersonal Theme (which always comes first).

(44) *Hindi siya na-kita ng Direktor.*
      NEG TH+3SG saw   director
      "The Director didn't see her."

As noted in Section 5.2.3 above, marked Theme is realized by what is referred to as "*ay* inversion". Marked Themes involve *ang* phrases, circumstances and expanding dependent clauses[25] as illustrated in (45) to (47) below.

(45) *Ang pera ay h-in-iram ng tao sa bangko.*
      THEME money INV borrowed man CIRC bank
      "The man borrowed the money from the bank."

Theme	Rheme

(46) *Sa bangko ay h-in-iram ng tao ang pera.*
      CIRC bank INV borrowed man THEME money
      "The man borrowed the money from the bank."

Theme	Rheme

(47) *Nang mag-angat siya ng mukha ay wala si Raffy.*
      when raise a little TH+3SG face INV EX-NEG THEME Raffy
      "When she raised her face a little, there was no Raffy."

Theme	Rheme

Tagalog also makes use of highly marked absolute Themes involving an extra "coreferential" *ang* phrase in first position followed by *ay*.

(48) *Ang bata ay malaki ang pagkagusto niya sa artista.*
      TH child INV big TH love   his CIRC actor
      "As for the child, his love for the actor was big."

5.4.2 Text illustration

A glimpse of the function of Tagalog's THEME system in discourse is presented in Text 5.3[24] below. The text is from the beginning of Lualhati Bautista's *Hinahanap Isang Magmamahal* "Looking for Love", a Valentine Romance (1989:1–2). The heroine, Brigitte (an actor in situation comedy) is being introduced for the first time. Bautista is a renowned feminist novelist, who also writes subversive Mills & Boon style romances. Note in passing the use of English terms[25] (e.g. *utility boy*, *big shot*, *taping*), a common feature of contemporary Manila discourse; this kind of Filipino is referred to by some commentators as "Taglish" or "Engalog" – featuring Tagalog grammar and occasional English lexis.

Text 5.3 (Bautista 1989:1–2)

(1) *Nakakaramdam na ng gutom si Brigitte*
      is feeling   already hunger THEME Brigitte
      "Brigitte is already feeling hungry"

(2) *pero hindi siya makakaing.*
      but NEG THEME+3SG able to complain
      "but she can't complain."

(3)   *Nahihiya*   **siya**   -*ng*   *magsalita kahit   sa   utility boy.*
      is ashamed   TH+3SG   DEP   speak   even   CIRC   utility boy
      "She is too embarrassed to speak to even the utility boy."

(4)   *Ewan*   *ba*   *niya*
      not know   INT   she
      "I don't know why (only she would know)"

(5)   *pero   sa   tinagaltagal ng pagging   artista niya   sa   telebisyon,*
      but   CIRC   enduring   becoming actor   she   CIRC
      "but even though she's been a TV actor for a long time now,

      *nahihiya   pa rin   **siya**   -ng   magsabi*
      is ashamed   even   THEME+3SG   DEP   say
      she is too embarrassed to discuss . . .

      ng   problema niya   sa   mga   kasamahan,
      problem   her   CIRC   PL   associates"
      . . . her problems with her associates"

(6)   *kahit   kasing-simple lang   **iyon**   *ng   isa   -ng   tasa   -ng   kape.*
      though   as simple   only   that+TH   one   DEP   cup   DEP   coffee
      "even if it was just something as simple as a cup of coffee."

(7)   *Nag-aalala   siya*
      is worrying   THEME+3SG
      "She is worrying"

(8)   *na   baka   hindi   **siya**   *pansinin.*
      DEP   maybe   NEG   THEME+3SG   pay attention to
      "that maybe she'd be ignored."

(9)   *Artista nga   rin   **siya***
      actor   EMPH   ako   THEME+3SG
      "She really was an actor"

(10) *pero   hindi   **siya**   big shot.*
      but   NEG   TH+3SG   big shot
      "but she wasn't a big shot."

(11) *At   dahil   hindi   **siya**   big shot*
      and because   NEG   THEME+3SG   big shot
      "And because she wasn't a big shot"

(12) *kaya   dumarating   **siya**   *nang   maaga   sa   mga   taping.*
      so   is coming   TH+3SG   early   CIRC   PL   taping
      "so she is coming early to the taping sessions."

(13) *Kahit   sigurado   **siya***
      although   sure   THEME+3SG
      "Although she's sure"

(14) *na   mapapanis   **siya**   sa   paghihintay,*
      DEP   become stale   THEME+3SG   CIRC   waiting;
      "that she'll get tired of waiting,"

(15) *ayaw   pa rin niya   -ng   sugalan ang   peligro   na . . .*
      not want   still   she   DEP   gamble   THEME   danger   DEP
      "she still doesn't like running the risk that . . .

      *maunahan   **siya**   sa   pagdating*
      be preceded   TH+3SG   CIRC   arrival
      . . . she'll be caught out by the earlier arrival . . .

      *ng   mga   **mas**   importante   -ng   artista.*
      PL   more   important   DEP   actor
      . . . of the more important stars."

(16) *Baka   masulat   pa   **siya**   sa   diyaryo,*
      maybe   able to write   still   THEME+3SG   CIRC   newspapers
      "She might get written up in the newspapers,

(17) *mahirap   na.*
      difficult   already
      "which would be hard."

The romance introduces its heroine in clause (1), at the end of the clause as Theme and New (arguably the only clause in the text with a clear VOS structure). Thereafter Brigitte is referred to pronominally (*siya/niya*), and selected as Theme (*siya*) on 13 occasions. Overwhelmingly then, the orientation of the text to its field in this part of the novel is Brigitte (following Fries (1981), the heroine constitutes the text's method of development). As pronominal Theme, Brigitte is realized towards the beginning of the clause, following verbs or interpersonal pre-enclitics and followed by more newsworthy, less established information, for example *sa diyaryo* "in the newspapers" in clause (16). It's only when clauses run out of news that *siya* comes last, as in (7), (9) and (13).

Although it has been claimed that in Tagalog, Themes must be definite[26] (e.g. Schachter 1976, 1977), Theme can be used to introduce participants[27] – as for *Brigitte* in (1) above (and *ang peligro* in (15)). When common nouns are used to introduce participants in this way, this supposedly categorical association of Theme with definiteness is broken (see Martin 1993 for exemplification). This is hardly surprising given the association of fully lexicalized Themes with final position, and Buenaventura-Naylor's (1975) association of final position with news. Text

5.3 exemplifies the way in which the enclitic properties of pronouns disassociate participants from news once their identity has been established.

A similar pattern of thematic development is found in Text 5.1 above, where Professor Tullao is construed as Theme in seven of the nine clauses. Note that in clause (1) of Text 5.1 an actor Theme is implied by the process affix *nag-*, but Tullao is in fact introduced as a marked Theme, via *ay* inversion, in the second clause. Thereafter he is realized through pronouns (*siya/niya*). This method of development is relaxed on two occasions to foreground Professor Tullao's major academic accomplishments as thematic news in clause final position – his overseas degrees in clause (4) and his major books in clause (9). For ease of reference, Themes are in bold in the abridged version of Text 5.1 below.

Themes in Text 5.1

(1) *Nagtapos (**Si Dr Tereso S. Tullao Jr**) ng AB in Economics ...*

(2) ***Si Dr Tereso S. Tullao Jr** ay kasalukuyang professor ...*

(3) *Nagtapos din **siya** ng MA ...*

(4) *Magkasunod niyang tinapos **ang MALD at ang PhD***

(5) *Napagkalooban **siya** ng Don Santiago Syjuco Professorial Chair ...*

(6) *Nakapagturo na rin **siya** sa iba't ibang bansa ...*

(7) *Bukod sa pagtuturo, abala rin **siya** sa pagiging consultant ...*

(8) *Aktibo rin **siya** sa pagsusulat ng mga artikulo ...*

(9) *Kabilang sa iba pa niyang aklat **ang Three Essays on Trade** ...*

5.5 MOOD

In linguistics, Tagalog's Philippine-style focus system has celebrity status, and has drawn researchers to considerations of TRANSITIVITY and THEME. Mood has tended to be backgrounded (Martin 1990, 2004), although interpersonal meanings play a key role in organizing a Tagalog clause. Basic proposals and propositions in Tagalog were illustrated in Section 5.2.2 above[28] (imperative, interrogative, declarative). To begin, we'll develop proposals in more detail.

5.5.1 Imperative

Tagalog imperatives generally deploy a non-finite form of the verb (affixed to focus on Theme but not marked for aspect). The person to whom the proposal is addressed and who is modally responsible for its undertaking is usually made explicit. First, second and third person proposals are all possible, as illustrated in

examples (49) to (52) below. The first and third person imperatives regularly include the optative enclitic particle *sana*. Martin (1990) discusses imperative options in more detail.

'imperative: speaker' (with "I" or exclusive "we"; oblative)

(49) I-libing sana namin ang bangkay maya-maya.
bury OPTATIVE we-EXCL THEME corpse soon
"We hope to bury the corpse soon."

'imperative: addressee' (with singular or plural "you"; jussive)

(50) I-libing mo ang bangkay maya-maya.
bury you-SG THEME corpse soon
"Bury the body soon."

'imperative: speaker/addressee' (with inclusive "we"; hortative)

(51) I-libing natin ang bangkay maya-maya.
bury we-INCL THEME corpse soon
"Let's bury the body soon."

'imperative: third party' (with "he", "she", "they"; optative)

(52) I-libing sana nila ang bangkay maya-maya.
bury OPTATIVE they THEME corpse soon
"I hope they will bury the body soon (let them bury the body soon)."

5.5.2 Indicative

Propositions, on the other hand, are realized through finite clauses, with verbs, where present, marked for focus and aspect. Rising intonation, with or without the enclitic interrogative marker *ba*, signals interrogative as opposed to informative mood.

'indicative: informative'

(53) t-um-akbo si Lydia nang ma-bilis.
ran THEME Lydia fast
"Lydia ran fast."

'indicative: interrogative'

(54) t-um-akbo ba si Lydia nang ma-bilis.
ran INT THEME Lydia fast
"Did Lydia run fast?"

Informatives include both exclamative and declarative structures. For exclamatives, the attribute or circumstance of manner being intensified is realized in first position, most commonly with pre-position *ang* – as in example (56).

'indicative: informative: declarative'

(55) *Ma-ganda   siya.*
      beautiful   THEME+3SG
      "She's beautiful."

'indicative: informative: exclamative: attribute'

(56) *Ang   ganda   niya.*
      THEME   beautiful   s/he
      "How beautiful she is!"

The most common tag involves the negative marker *hindi* and the interrogative marker *ba*; this tag, *hindi ba*, may either precede or follow the clause. The wh word *ano* ("what") is also used as a tag, following the clause.

'indicative: informative: declarative: tagged'

(57) *Hindi ba,   t-um-akbo siya   nang ma-bilis?*
      NEG   INT   ran   THEME+3SG   fast
      "She ran fast, didn't she?"

'indicative: informative: declarative: tagged'

(58) *Hindi   siya   t-um-akbo nang ma-bilis, ano?*
      NEG   THEME+3SG ran   fast   what
      "She didn't fast, did she?"

'indicative: interrogative: polar' (rising tone)

(59) *T-um-akbo ba   siya   nang ma-bilis?*
              INT THEME+3SG   fast
      ran
      "Did she run fast?"

'indicative: interrogative: wh' (falling tone)

(60) *bakit ba   siya   t-um-akbo nang ma-bilis?*
      why   INT TH+3SG   ran   fast
      "Why did she run fast?"

Content focused interrogatives realize their "wh" word in first position, optionally followed by *ba*:

For "wh" questions about participants (*sino* "who", *ano* "what"), Tagalog uses an identifying structure with the "wh" word as Token and the rest of the clause in effect nominalized as Value.

'indicative: interrogative: wh: participant' (identifying)

(61) *Sino ang   i-ni-libing ninyo?*
      who   THEME   buried-you+PL
      "Who did you bury? (Who is the one that you buried?)"

'indicative: interrogative: wh: circumstance' (non-identifying)

(62) *Nasaan   ninyo   i-ni-libing ang   bangkay?*
      where at   you-PL   buried   THEME   corpse
      "Where did you bury the body?"

Since Tagalog lexical items are so regularly deployed across word classes, "wh" verbs are possible in Tagalog – formed by verbalizing "wh" stems with aspect and focus markers:

'indicative: interrogative: wh: process'

(63) *In-   -ano   mo   ba?*
      COMPLETED what   you-SG   INT
      "What did you do?" (presuming something has happened)

Basic MOOD systems in Tagalog are outlined in Figure 5.7; realizations have been exemplified above. For further discussion see Martin (1990).
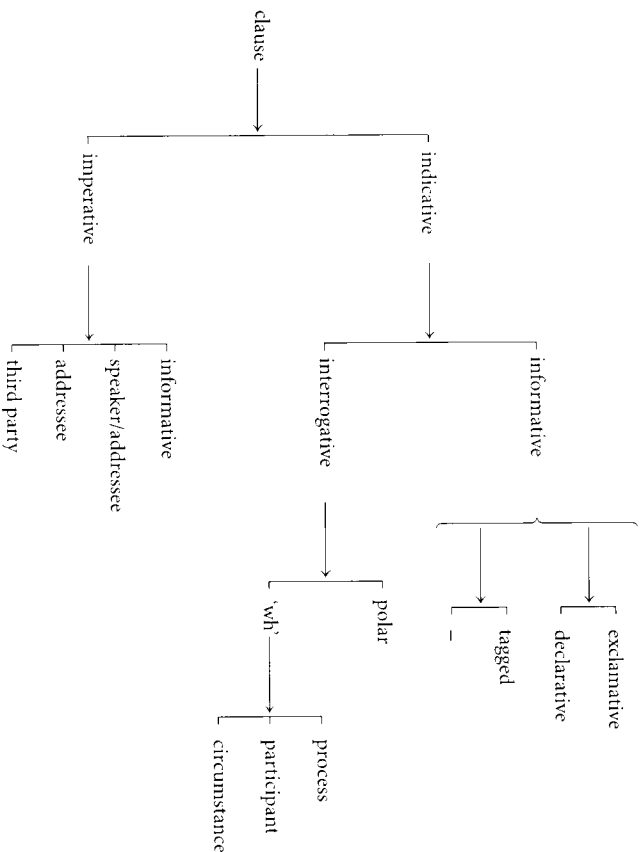

Figure 5.7 Basic MOOD systems in Tagalog

5.5.3 MODALITY

Turning from MOOD to MODALITY, Tagalog deploys a range of modalizing pre-enclitics at the beginning of the clause. These are often related to the rest of the clause by the linking particle -*ng/na*, which in effect constructs modality as Head and scopes the content it is modalizing as dependent (see Martin 1990, 1995a, 2004, for discussion). For proposals, inclination,[29] obligation and ability are all available, as shown in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6 Modalizing pre-enclitics for proposals

	positive	negative
inclination	*gusto, nais, ibig*	
obligation	*kailangan, dapat*	
ability	*puede, maaari, kaya, marunong*	*ayaw, ayoko*

These modulations are treated as "pseudo-verbs" by Schachter & Otanes (for them, a sub-class of adjectival) and have the following properties:

– they do not select for aspect;
– they do not select for voice;
– they link hypotactically to the verbal Predicate they modulate (*na/-ng*);
– the verbal Predicate they modulate does not select for aspect;
– like adjectives, they are intensified by hypotactic repetition (*na/-ng*); and
– like adjectives, they nominalize with *ka-...-an* (*ka-rapat-an* "rights").

(64) **Dapat** *ka*   -*ng* *um-uwi.*
should THEME+2SG DEP go home
"You should go home."

(65) **Hindi** *mo*   *naman*   **kaya**   -*ng* *gawin iyon.*
NEG YOU-SG CONTRAST able DEP do   that
"But you can't do that."

For propositions, realizations for probability, intensity, usuality and appearance are all available. Like modulations, these modalizations tend to be hypotactically linked to the rest of the clause. Except for appearance, they are graded from high values to low ones, as shown in Table 5.7.

(66) **Tiyak** *na mali ka.*
certain DEP wrong THEME-2SG
"You are certainly wrong."

(67) **Lalo** *siya* -*ng magiging kawawa.*
too much TH+3SG DEP becoming pitiful
"She'll become all the more pathetic."

Table 5.7 Modalizing pre-enclitics for propositions

	probability	intensity	usuality	appearance (unscaled)
high	*tiyak na, sigurado-ng*	*lalo-ng, sobra-ng, masyado-ng, labis na; talaga-ng, totoo-ng, tunay na, higit na*	(*pa*)*lagi-ng*	*para-ng, mukha-ng, tila, wari*
median	*siguro*	*repetition (with ng)*	*karaniwan na, madalas*	
low	*baka, marahil, sakali-ng, baka sakali-ng; possible-ng*	(*ka*)*muntik na, bahagyan-ng, halos*	*paminsan-minsan, (pam)bihira-ng*	

(68) **Lagi** *tayo*   -*ng na-ta-talo.*
always TH+1PL-INCL DEP are losing
"We always lose."

(69) **Para** *ka*   -*ng may problema.*
seems TH+2SG DEP EX   problem
"It looks like you've got a problem."

5.5.4 POLARITY

Negation in Tagalog is sensitive to mood and existentiality. Non-existential propositions are negated with the pre-enclitic *hindi*, realized in first position:

(70) *D-um-ating siya.*
came   THEME+3SG
"She came."
'positive non-existential'

(71) **Hindi** *siya*   *d-um-ating*
NEG THEME+3SG came
"She didn't come."
'negative non-existential'

For existential propositions, *wala* functions to negate the existence of the participant implied by the focus affixes on the verb (like modalities, *wala* is linked hypotactically to the rest of the clause):

(72) *May d-um-ating.*
EX   came
"Someone came."
'positive existential'

'negative existential'

(73)   **Wala**   -ng   **d-um-ating.**
       EX-NEG   DEP   came

       "No one came."

With proposals, the pre-enclitic *huwag* is used; it is hypotactically linked to the clause it negates when followed by enclitic particles.

(74)   **Huwag**   sana   kita[30]   -ng   tawagin.
       NEG   OPTATIVE   I/you   DEP   call

       "Let's hope I won't have to call you."

(75)   **Huwag**   mo   ako   -ng   tawagin.
       NEG   you   TH+1SG   DEP   call

       "Don't call me."

5.5.5   Enclitic particles

As noted, Tagalog makes use of a range of enclitic particles, including non-circumstantial pronouns (as outlined in Table 5.8). These particles follow the ex-periential hub of the clause (its process, as in example (76)), unless it is preceded by pre-enclitic meanings (Martin 1990:20–21) which themselves attract these particles (as in example (77)).

(76)   **T-um-akbo**   **siya**   nang   ma-bilis.
       ran   TH+3SG   fast

       "She ran fast."

(77)   **Hindi**   **siya**   t-um-akbo   nang   ma-bilis.
       NEG   TH+3SG   ran   fast

       "She didn't run fast."

Enclitic particles also realize a range of textual and interpersonal meanings, as outlined in Table 5.9. For further discussion of the meaning of these particles and their internal ordering see Martin (1981, 1990, 1993, 1997).

Table 5.8   Enclitic pronouns in Tagalog

	Theme[31]	non-Theme	English gloss
speaker alone	ako	ko	"I"
speaker + others	kami	namin	"we" (inclusive)
speaker + addressee	tayo	natin	"we" (exclusive)
addressee alone	ka	mo	"you" (singular)
addressee + others	kayo	ninyo	"you" (plural)
other alone	siya	niya	"she"/ "he"
other + others	sila	nila	"they"

Table 5.9   Enclitic particles in Tagalog

textual		interpersonal	
na	MATURE	nga	INTENSIVE
pa	IMMATURE	daw/raw	REPORTATIVE
man	CONCESSIVE	ho	DEFERENCE
din/rin	SIMILARITY	po	GREAT DEFERENCE
lang/lamang	REDUCTIVE[32]	ba	INTERROGATIVE
muna	IMPERMANENCE	kaya	SPECULATION
naman	CONTRAST	pala	SURPRISE
kasi	REASON	sana	OPTATIVE
tuloy	RESULT	yata	UNCERTAINTY

5.5.6   Text illustration

Dialogic aspects of interpersonal meaning are illustrated in Text 5.4 below, from one of the radio dramas studied in Bautista[33] 1979: *Flora del Cielo* ("Flowers of Heaven"). In this scene Lucila and her mother are exploring the possibility that an evil spirit[34] is hanging around Lucila's baby daughter Loreta.

Text 5.4 (Bautista 1979)

Lucia   (1)   *Loreta, anak . . .*
        Loreta   child

        "Loreta, my child . . ."

        (2)   *Aba?*
        what

        "What?"

        (3)   *Bakit   nandito   na   sa   duyan   ang   bata?*
        why   here   MATURE   cradle   THEME   child

        "Why is the child here in the cradle now?"

        (4)   *Inay . . . Inay . . .*
        mum . . .   mum . . .

        "Mum . . . Mum . . ."

        (5)   *Kayo   ba   ang   naglagay   ng   bata   sa   duyan?*
        TH+2PL   INT   TH   put   child   cradle

        "Were you the one who put the child in the cradle?"

Nanay   (6)   *Anong[35]   sabi   mo   Lucila?*
        THEME=what   say   you-SG   Lucila

        "What did you say, Lucila?"

        (7)   *Aba?*
        what

        "What?"

Lucila (8) *Kayo   ba ang naglagay ng bata   sa   duyan at*
             TH+2PL INT TH put   child CIRC cradle and
             nagpatulog   sa kanya?
             made sleep   s/he
             "Were you the one who put the child to sleep in the cradle?"

Nanay   (9) *Aba   hindi.*
             DENIAL NEG
             "Why no."

       (10) *Papaano ko -ng patutulugin 'yan*
             how   I DEP make sleep   that
             "How could I put it to sleep"

       (11) *samantalang natatakot nga   ako   -ng humipo diyan.*
             while   am afraid INTENS TH+I DEP touch there
             "when I'm really afraid to touch her."

Lucila (12) *Kung ganon,*³⁶
             if   like that
             "If so,"

       (13) *sinong   naglagay sa kanya sa duyan?*
             TH-who put   s/he   cradle
             "who put her in the cradle?"

       (14) *Nilapag ko lang siya   kanina dito sa sahig sa may*
             put   I just TH+3SG recently here floor   EX
             banig
             woven mat
             "I only just put her here on the mat on the floor"

       (15) *at naglaba   ako   sa labas ah.*
             and did laundry TH-I   outside CONTRARY
             "and did the laundry outside, eh."

Nanay (16) *Ngayon, naniniwala ka   na   ba -ng may nagbantay*
             now   believe   TH+2SG MATURE INT DEP EX guarded
             sa batang 'yan.
             child that
             "Now do you believe that someone is watching over that child?"

Lucila (17) *Nay?*
             mum
             "Mum?"

       (18) *Anong ibig niuyong sabihin?*
             what want you-PL say
             "What are you trying to say?"

Nanay (19) *May impakto -ng nagbabantay sa anak mo,   Lucila.*
             EX evil spirit DEP is guarding   child you-SG Lucila
             "There's an evil spirit watching over your child, Lucila."

             (musical bridge)

crowd (20) *Naku... maniwala kayo diyan.*
             SURPRISE believe   TH+2PL there
             "I'm surprised you believe that."

Nanay (21) *Ay naku... talaga -ng totoo, nga kasama.*
             SURPRISE really DEP true PL friend
             "Alas, it's really true, friends."

       (22) *Ako   na mismo ang nakasaksi*
             TH+1SG DEP myself   able to witness
             "I myself was the one who got to witness it"

       (23) *at ganon din si Dindo na anak ko.*
             and like that also TH Dindo DEP child I
             "and so did my child Dindo."

crowd (24) *Ganon ba?*
             like that INT
             "Is that so?"

       (25) *Pero para -ng hindi naman mangyayari iyan.*
             but seem DEP like that THEME happen   TH-that
             "But it seems that it is not happening."

Nanay (26) *Ay naku   kung ayaw   ninyong maniwala...*
             well SURPRISE if   INCLIN-NEG you-PL believe
             "Well if you don't want to believe it ...,"

       (27) *basta talaga -ng ganon ang   nangyayari.*
             exact INTENS DEP like that THEME happening
             "it's just that that's exactly what's happening."

       (28) *May umuugoy talaga -ng duyan ng bata*
             EX is rocking INTENS DEP cradle   child
             "Someone is really rocking the child's cradle"

       (29) *pero wala naman tao.*
             but EX-NEG CONTRAST person
             "but no one is there."

This text is a proposition oriented one, concerned with who is in fact responsible for moving the baby into the cradle and rocking it. As such it includes a number of exchanges of information. For example, Nanay's clauses (21) to (23) followed by the crowd's clause (34) are a **statement ∧ response**; clauses (8) and (9) exemplify a **polar question ∧ response**; and clauses (18) and (19) **acknowledgement**; clauses (18) and (19) exemplify

an exchange in the form of **wh question** ∧ **response**. In this respect Text 5.4 contrasts with Text 5.2 above, where proposals about soft drinks are being negotiated, including two refusals by the son in response to commands from Mum (which are repeated here with a free translation closer to colloquial English; non-finite verbs are in bold):

command ∧ refusal

L   (4) *Do'n ka **humingi** ng pera sa tatay Ding mo ...*
       "Ask your father for some money."

O   (6) *Malayo o siya, e!*
       "Ah, C'mon, he's too far away."

command ∧ refusal

L   (7) ***Lapitan** mo.*
       "Go over to him."

O   (8) *Hindi ako **makadaan**!*
       "I can't make it!"

Text 5.4 is very concerned with who is responsible for moving the baby and rocking the cradle. So alongside canonical clauses with single Themes, we find eight identifying clauses with two *ang* phrases either present or implied, and in addition three existential clauses with no topical Theme at all.

"canonical" clauses (one topical Theme, underlined)

(3)   *Bakit nandito na sa duyan ang bata?*
(10) *Papaano kong patutulugin 'yan*
(11) *samantalang natatakot nga akong humipo diyan...*
(14) *nilapag ko lang siya kanina dito sa sahig sa may banig*
(15) *at naglaba ako sa labas ah ...*
(16) *ngayon, naniniwala ka na bang may nagbantay sa batang 'yan?*
(20) *Naku ... maniwala kayo diyan*
(25) *pero parang hindi naman mangyayari iyan ...*
(26) *basta talagang ganon ang nangyayari*

"canonical" clauses (topical Theme elided, in parentheses)

(12) *Kung ganon,*
(21) *Ay Naku ... talagang totoo, mga kasama ...*   (iyan)
(24) *ganon ba ...*   (iyan)

identifying clauses (two *ang* phrases, underlined)

(6)   *Ano*   *'ng sabi mo, Lucila ...*
(8)   *Kayo ba*   *ang naglagay sa bata sa duyan ... ?*

---

(13) *sino*
(18) *Ano*   *'ng naglagay sa kanya sa duyan ...*
(22) *Ako na mismo ang nakasaki ...*   *'ng ibig ninyong sabihin?*

identifying clauses (*ang* phrase elision, in parentheses)

(9)   *Aba hindi (ako)*   (ang naglagay sa bata ...)
(23) *ganon din si Dindo na anak ko*   (ang nakasaki)

existential clauses (no topical Theme, existential particle underlined)

(19) *May impaktong nagbabantay sa anak mo, Lucila ...*
(28) *may umuugoy talaga ng duyan ng bata*
(29) *pero wala naman tao*

These selections provide some evidence for Martin's (1996c) association of identification and existentiality in Tagalog with modal responsibility. Identifying clauses have the function of focusing exclusively on the identity of the participant undertaking the process nominalized as Value, making the Token modally responsible for the action; existential clauses on the other hand are much less definite about the identity of those responsible. My point here is that something that is negotiated in languages like English through the choice of Subject, where modal responsibility is invested, is handled differently in a language where the structural function Subject is very difficult to motivate on interpersonal grounds (Schachter 1976, 1977, 1995). This would account for the frequency with which an identifying English clause feels like a very awkward translation for Tagalog identifying structures – English Subject does the work for which identification is required in Tagalog.

The other feature of this text that I would like to draw attention to is the foregrounding of interpersonal meaning at the front of the Tagalog clause in relation to topical Theme. To show this pattern, Text 5.4 is repeated in Table 5.10 below, with topical Themes underlined and interpersonal meanings in bold face (interpersonal meanings include vocatives, interjections, wh items, modality and various enclitic particles). Following on from the discussion of identification and existentiality above, I've also treated modally responsible Tokens and existential markers as interpersonal.

If, following Halliday (1994), we treat the interpersonal meanings foregrounded at the front of the clause as interpersonal Theme, then what we get is a tendency towards a culminative patterning, with interpersonal Theme at the front of the clause and topical Theme following towards the end, especially if fully lexicalized (see Table 5.11). Once pronominalized, of course, topical Themes gravitate towards the front of the clause to bond with interpersonal Themes (e.g. clause (5) in Text 5.2 *wala ako* "NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL I", clauses (2), (10) and (11) in Text 5.3, *hindi siya* "NEGATIVE she", and clause (10) in Text 5.4 *papaano ko* "how I").

Table 5.10 Foregrounding of interpersonal meanings in relation to topical Themes in Text 5.4 (interpersonal meanings in bold, topical Themes underlined)

Lucila	(1)	*Loreta, anak ...*
	(2)	*Aba?*
	(3)	*Bakit nandito na sa duyan ang bata?*
	(4)	*Inay ... Inay ...*
	(5)	*Kayo ba ang naglagay ng bata sa duyan?*
Nanay	(6)	*Anong sabi mo, Lucila ...*
	(7)	*Aba?*
Lucila	(8)	*Kayo ba ang naglagay sa bata sa duyan at nagpatulog sa kanya?*
Nanay	(9)	*Aba hindi ...*
	(10)	*Papaano kong patutulugin 'yan*
Lucila	(11)	*samantalang naatatakot nga akong huinipo diyan ...*
	(12)	*Kung ganon,*
	(13)	*sinong naglagay sa kanya sa duyan ...*
	(14)	*nilapag ko lang siya kanina dito sa sahig sa may bang*
	(15)	*at naglaba ako sa labas, ah ...*
Nanay	(16)	*ngayon, naniwala ka na bang may naghbantay sa batang 'yan?*
Lucila	(17)	*Nay?*
	(18)	*Anong ibig ninyong sabihin?*
Nanay	(19)	*May impaktong nagbabantay sa anak mo, Lucila ...*
crowd	(20)	*Naku ... maniwala kayo diyan*
Nanay	(21)	*Ay Naku ... talagang totoo, mga kasama ...*
	(22)	*Ako na mismo ang nakasaki ...*
	(23)	*at ganon din si Dindo na anak ko ...*
crowd	(24)	*ganon ba ...*
	(25)	*pero parang hindi naman mangyayari iyan ...*
Nanay	(26)	*Ay naku kung ayaw ninyong maniwala ...*
	(27)	*basta talagang ganon ang nangyayari*
	(28)	*may tumugoy talaga ng duyan ng bata*
	(29)	*pero wala naman tao*

Since Tagalog only pronominalizes conscious participants, this forms a natural dialogically charged grouping, since the pronouns refer to speaker, addressee and potential speaker/addressee roles.

5.6 A note on logical meaning

Space does not permit a thorough discussion of logical meaning in Tagalog. Note in passing however that Tagalog explicitly grammaticalizes hypotactic dependency through its linking particle (*na/-ng*). This operates across ranks[38] as illustrated below with examples from Texts 5.3 and 5.4 above. For details see Martin (1995).

Table 5.11 Interpersonal and topical Themes in Text 5.4

speaker	clause	interpersonal Theme	topical Theme
Lucila	(1)		*Loreta, anak ...*
	(2)	*Aba?*	
	(3)	*Bakit*	*ang bata?*
	(4)	*Inay ... Inay ...*	
	(5)	*Kayo ba*	*ang naglagay ng bata sa duyan?*
Nanay	(6)	*Ano*	*(a)ng sabi no*
	(7)	*Aba?*	
Lucila	(8)	*Kayo ba*	*ang naglagay ng/sa bata sa duyan ...*
Nanay	(9)	*Aba hindi ...*	
	(10)	*Papaano ko*	*'yan*
Lucila	(11)		*ako*
	(12)		
	(13)	*sino*	*ng naglagay sa kanya sa duyan ...*
	(14)		*siya*
	(15)		*ako*
Nanay	(16)		*ka*
Lucila	(17)	*Nay?*	
	(18)	*Ano*	*(a)ng ibig ninyong sabihin?*
Nanay	(19)	*May*	
crowd	(20)	*Naku*	*kayo*
Nanay	(21)	*Ay Naku ... talagang*	
	(22)	*Ako na mismo*	*ang nakasaki ...*
	(23)		*si Dindo na anak ko ...*
crowd	(24)		
	(25)	*parang hindi naman*	*iyan ...*
Nanay	(26)	*Ay naku kung ayaw ninyo*	
	(27)	*basta talagang*	*ang nangyayari*
	(28)	*may*	
	(29)	*wala naman*	

submodification

```
5.4, (21)    talaga      -ng    totoo
             INTENSITY    DEP    true
             "really true"
```

modification in the nominal group

```
5.3, (6)    isa    -ng    tasa    -ng    kape
            one    DEP    cup     DEP    coffee
            "one cup of coffee"

5.4, (16)   bata    -ng    'yan
            child   DEP    that
            "that child"

5.4, (19)   impakto      -ng    nagbabantay
            evil spirit  DEP    is guarding
            "evil spirit that is watching over ... "
```

projected reported speech and thought

5.4, (11) natatakot nga ako -ng humipo diyan
am afraid INTENS TH-1 DEP touch there
"I'm really afraid to touch it"

5.4, (16) naniniwala ka na ba -ng may nagbantay
believe TH+2SG MAT INT DEP EX guarded
"do you believe that there's someone watching"

construing interpersonal Themes as Head of the clause

5.4, (18) ibig ninyo -ng sabihin
want you-PL DEP say
"you want to say"

5.4, (26) ayaw ninyo -ng maniwala
not want you-PL DEP believe
"you not want to believe"

5.4, (10) papaano ko -ng patutulugin
how I DEP make sleep
"how could I put it to sleep"

5.7 News from somewhere

By way of closing, I'll raise some issues opened up by the preceding sketch of Tagalog clause grammar. As far as experiential meaning is concerned, the Tagalog clause confirms the productivity of exploring case relations through the notion of process type, giving due acknowledgement to mental and relational processes. While the types of process proposed help clarify the use of focus affixes, it remains to be explored just how much predictability has been achieved. As the following examples from Text 5.3 indicate, there are many verbs which challenge the realization patterns suggested in Section 5.3. In clause (7) from Text 5.3, for example (repeated here as (78)), *nag-a-alala* is conjugated as a *mag-* action verb, where one might expect mental reaction (i.e. *naka-ka-alala siya* or *na-a-alala-an niya*). At the same time, unlike material processes, it projects the following clause (8) (repeated here as (79)), which in turn contains *pansin-in* – which we might predict to pattern as mental perception (i.e. *siya ma-pansin*); but then it would mean "notice" instead of "pay attention to." Perhaps in each case behavioural facets of "worrying about" something and "taking notice of" someone are being foregrounded too (for discussion of behavioural processes in relation to material and mental processing see Halliday 1994).

(78) *Nag-aalala siya*
is worrying TH+3SG
"She is worrying"

(79) *na baka hindi siya pansinin.*
DEP maybe NEG TH+3SG pay attention to
"that maybe she'd be ignored."

This raises the question of regularity[39] in languages with rich verbal affixation related to participant role marking. The more irregular the affixation, the less reliable it will be as evidence for case grammars. Other forms of reasoning about process types, such as those suggested in Table 5.4 and Table 5.5 above, will have to be deployed.

The analysis of process types offered here also raises the question of the extent to which the traditional transitive and ergative models of case relations can be generalized across languages. Is the notion of nuclearity (i.e. centrifugal and centripetal patterns around a process and medium nucleus) also relevant? And how far might it be generalized?

Interpersonally, Tagalog raises the question of how modal responsibility is to be interpreted in a language without a clear-cut Subject function. Here it was suggested that identifying and existential structures might have a dialogic role to play in languages of this kind. In addition, the range of meanings realized through Tagalog's enclitic particles, and their distribution in the clause, raises questions about prosodic forms of realization in grammar; also of interest in this regard is Tagalog's tendency to set up interpersonal Themes as the Head of their clause, with their domain hypotactically dependent upon them.

Textually, Tagalog exemplifies a language in which unmarked Theme conflates with unmarked news towards the end of the clause as far as fully lexicalized participants are concerned. Once introduced, these participants disassociate themselves from news as enclitic pronouns drawn towards the front of the clause, regularly bonding with pre-enclitic interpersonal Themes. In this sense Tagalog's association of Theme with 'definiteness' is accommodated as a text unfolds.

It seems to me that for progress to be made in understanding both interpersonal and textual meaning in Tagalog, systematic research programs involving text analysis need to be undertaken, so that questions of modal responsibility and information flow can be more fully explored. Through text based studies of this kind we can also work on the fashions of speaking in Tagalog discourse that challenge translation – the frequent use of abilitative/ involuntary action prefixes *ma-/maka-*, the frequent use of the phase oriented particles *na* (completedness) and *pa* (ongoingness) in relation to aspect; the frequent use of identifying clauses; the frequent use of existential clauses – and so on. I'd better stop, since the term "frequent" here has a rather ethnocentric ring. Why does English use so few of these meanings anyway, one might well ask? Only contrastive text analysis, across comparable registers, will tell.

Notes

1. The figures used in this report are somewhat dated, based on Crystal (1987) and Gonzales (1993).

2. "Eastern" Austronesian (just 2 million speakers) includes the languages of Polynesia, Micronesia, Melanesia and many New Guinea languages (but not the "Papuan" ones); for more detail see Clark (1990).

3. *See* for example the *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 21:1 Special Issue "Setting a Research Agenda for the Intellectualisation of Filipino".

4. For example, Schachter and Otanes' Predicate ^ Topic analysis of Tagalog clause structure was very innovative for its time, and ultimately quite influential (leading to an interest in so-called Subject prominent and Topic prominent languages; Schachter 1976, 1977).

5. For a complementary sketch, including an overview of Tagalog phonology and morphology, see Schachter (1990).

6. Tone patterns as suggested in Schachter & Otanes (1972), Schachter (1990).

7. For contextualized examples, see Section 5.4 below.

8. Many of these affixes (e.g. -*um*-, *nag*-) function as portmanteau realizations of both focus and aspect; for example -*um*- marks completed aspect and actor focus.

9. Demonstrative pronouns lack the pre-position, including the "oblique" case: e.g. *ito*, *nito*, *dito* "here".

10. Along with the change in focus, the prefix *naka*- also introduces an abilitative/involuntary action meaning which will be passed over here.

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

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

13. Note 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 bili-<u>in</u> ng lalaki ang gulay* "The woman saw the man buying the vegetables"; *bili<u>in</u> is clearly aspectless here, and the absence of a linker between *na-kita ng babae* and *bili-<u>in</u> ng lalaki ang gulay* along with the position of *ng lalaki* following *bili<u>in</u> point clearly to an act.

14. The *ng* phrase in example (21) cannot itself be made Theme; the clause has a restricted focus potential. This clause type is arguably material (behavioural), with *ginulat* glossed as "startled".

15. The following pairs, drawn to my attention by Arwin Vibar, may also be relevant: *l-um-ayas* "run away"/ *mag-layas* "roam"; *l-um-akad* "walk"/ *mag-lakad* "tramp"; *l-um-ibot* "stroll"/ *mag-libot* "rove" – the *mag-* forms have a more open, extroverted sense of motion.

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

17. Identifying structures are commonly used to project quotations (*Ang tanong sa akin ng producer: "Relihiyosa ka ba?"* – "The producer asked me, "Are you religious?""; see also clause (2) in Text 4.2; they are also used for wh interrogatives about participants (see Section 5.5).

18. For discussion of existential clauses with indefinite participants (e.g. *may dumating* "someone came"), see Martin (1996c).

19. Martin (1996c) introduces a Direction function for roles intermediate between participant and circumstance, including recipients of goods and information, and sources and destinations implicated by the process.

20. *mag-sulat* means to write continuously or repeatedly, and thus emphasises Tullao's productivity.

21. The son's step-father, as opposed to his real father, *si tatay Raffy*.

22. *Dumadarag na lumayo* is taken as a verbal group complex here.

23. The possibility of *ay* inversion with dependent clauses appears to confirm Fries's (1981) treatment of such clauses as marked Themes in English.

24. The text has been divided into ranking clauses for ease of reference; in (3) and (5) *nahi-hiyang nagsalita* and *nahihiyang nagsabi* have been taken as verbal group complexes rather than clause complexes, since the two verbs share a common Theme (*siya*).

25. Note that the English words preserve English spellings; contrast assimilated borrowings such as *telebisyon* (television). Taglish involves both the use of specialized English terms in more formal registers and colloquial English words in relatively informal ones.

26. Related to this is the claim (e.g. Keenan & Comrie 1977) that Tagalog can only relativize into so-called Subject position (referred to as Theme here); for counter-examples to this overgeneralization see Cena (1979).

27. Professor Tullao's MALD and PhD degrees were both introduced as *arg* phrases in clause (4) in Text 4.1 above, as were his major publications in clause (9).

28. For discussion of intonation in relation to mood choices see Schachter & Otanes (1972), Schachter (1990).

29. In general, intention in Tagalog is realized through these modal pre-enclitics, in combination or not with the optative enclitic *sana*; there does not appear to be a clearly defined class of desiderative mental processes alongside these resources.

30. *Kita* is used in place of the syntagm *ko^ka*: *ko* "I", *ka* "THEME+2SG".

31. Note that Thematic pronouns involve two syllables, except for *ka* "you-SG." In marked Theme position however, *ikaw* is used instead of *ka*; elsewhere, instead of the syntagm *ko^ka*, the realization *kita* is deployed.

32. Treated as textual in Martin (1981); alternatively it could be taken as the minimizing agnate to *nga* "INTENSIVE"; as far as the sequence of enclitics is concerned it is on the border of the "textual" and "interpersonal" enclitics.

33. I am much indebted to Tish Bautista for making available her soap opera scripts to me.

34. English readers finding this a rather fanciful tale might be well advised to tune in to *Days of our Lives* for some supernaturally oriented soap opera from Salem.

35. *Anong* is a contracted realization of *ano ang* here; also *sinong = sino ang* in Text 4.4, and *anong = ano ang* in clause (13) in Text 4.4.

36. Textual meaning only; no interpersonal or topical Theme.

37. We should also note here that non-Theme Actor and Senser participants can be realized by oblique pronouns hypotactically linked to a following verb; thus as an alternative to *na-kita niya ang titser* "she saw the teacher" we can have *kaniya-ng na-kita ang titser* (Naylor 1980:41). The alternatives are proportional to alternative realizations of "possession" in nominal groups – *titser niya/kaniya-ng titser* "her teacher" and are illustrative of the strong fractal resonance across group and clause ranks in Tagalog, which we have not had space to explore here.

38. This is further complicated by the use of verb stems across process types; *salat* "write" for example can be conjugated as *-um-* or *mag-*, with a predictable shift in meaning.

References

Bautista, L. (1983). *Bata, Bata ... Pa-no Ka Ginawa?* [*Child, child... how'd you get made?*] Manila: Carmelo & Bauermann.

Bautista, L. (1989). *Hindanap Isang Magnanakhal.* [*Hunting for someone to love.*] Manila: Books for Pleasure Inc. & Adriana Publishing Co., Inc. (Valentine Romances).

Bautista, M. L. S. (1979). *Patterns of Speaking in Filipino Radio Dramas: A sociolinguistic analysis.* Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (Monograph Series 13).

Bloomfield, L. (1917). *Tagalog Texts with Grammatical Analysis. Part 1: Texts and translation. Part 2: Grammatical analysis.* (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 2 & 3.) Urbana: University of Illinois.

Buenaventura-Naylor, P. (1975). "Topic, Focus, and Emphasis in the Tagalog Verbal Clause". *Oceanic Linguistics, 14,* 12–79.

Buenaventura-Naylor, P. (1980). "Linking, Relation Marking and Tagalog Syntax". In P. Buenaventura-Naylor (Ed.), *Austronesian Studies: Papers from the second eastern conference on Austronesian languages* (pp. 33–50). Ann Arbor: Centre for South and Southeast Asian Studies (Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia).

Buenaventura-Naylor, P. (1995). "Subject, Topic and Tagalog syntax". In D. Bennett, T. Bynon, & G. B. Hewitt (Eds.), *Subject, Voice and Ergativity* (pp. 161–201). London: SOAS.

Cena, R. (1979). "Tagalog Counterexamples to the Accessibility Hierarchy". *Studies in Philippine Linguistics, 3,* 119–124.

Clark, R. (1990). "Austronesian Languages". Comrie (Ed., pp. 171–184).

Comrie, B. (Ed.). (1990). *The Major Languages of East and South-east Asia.* London: Routledge (The Major Languages).

Cruz, I. (1990). "A Nation Searching for a Language Finds a Language Searching for a Name. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics, 21*(1), 62–66. (Special Issue on the Silver Anniversary of the Language Study Centre of Philippine Normal College 1964–1989, Part 2.)

Crystal, D. (1987). *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

De Guzman, V. (1978). *Syntactic Derivation of Tagalog Verbs* (=*Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication 16*). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Fries, P. H. (1981). "On the Status of Theme in English: Arguments from discourse". *Forum Linguisticum, 6*(1), 1–38. [Republished in J. S. Petöfi & E. Sözer (Eds.), 1983. *Micro and Macro Connexity of Texts* (=*Papers in Textlinguistics 45*) (pp. 116–152). Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.]

Gonzalez, A. (Ed.). (1993). "Linguistics". *Philippine Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (pp. 178–432). Quezon City: Philippine Social Science Council.

Keenan, E. & B. Comrie (1977). "Noun Phrase Accessibility and Universal Grammar". *Linguistic Inquiry, 8,* 63–99.

Martin, J. R. (1981). "CONJUNCTION and CONTINUITY in Tagalog". In M. A. K. Halliday & J. R. Martin *Readings in Systemic Linguistics* (pp. 310–336). London: Batsford.

Martin, J. R. (1983). "Participant Identification in English, Tagalog and Kate". *Australian Journal of Linguistics, 3*(1), 45–74.

Martin, J. R. (1988). "Grammatical Conspiracies in Tagalog: Family, face and fate – with regard to Benjamin Lee Whorf". In J. D. Benson, M. J. Cummings, & W. S. Greaves *Linguistics in a Systemic Perspective* (=*Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 39*) (pp. 243–300). Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Martin, J. R. (1990). "Interpersonal Grammatization: Mood and modality in Tagalog". *Philippine Journal of Linguistics 21.1* (Special Issue on the Silver Anniversary of the Language Study Centre of Philippine Normal College 1964–1989, Part 2), 2–51.

Martin, J. R. (1993). "Clitics". Gonzalez (1993, pp. 237–240).

Martin, J. R. (1995a). "Logical Meaning, Interdependency and the Linking Particle (*-ng/na*) in Tagalog". *Functions of Language, 2*(2), 189–228.

Martin, J. R. (1995b). "More than What the Message is About: English Theme". In M. Ghadessy (Ed.), *Thematic Development in English Texts* (pp. 223–258). London: Pinter (Open Linguistics Series).

Martin, J. R. (1996a). "Types of Structure: Deconstructing notions of constituency in clause and text". In E. H. Hovy & D. R. Scott (Eds.), *Computational and Conversational Discourse: Burning issues – an interdisciplinary account* (=*NATO Advanced Science Institute Series F – Computer and Systems Sciences, Vol. 151*) (pp. 39–66). Heidelberg: Springer.

Martin, J. R. (1996b). "Metalinguistic Diversity: The case from case". In R. Hasan, D. Butt, & C. Cloran *Functional Descriptions: Theory into practice* (pp. 323–372). Amsterdam: Benjamins (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory).

Martin, J. R. (1996c). "Transitivity in Tagalog: A functional interpretation of case". In M. Berry, C. Butler, & R. P. Fawcett (Eds.), *Meaning and Form: Systemic functional interpretations* (pp. 229–296). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Martin, J. R. (1997). "Interpersonal Meaning: Some notes on realisation". In V. Prakasam & K. V. Tirumalesh (Eds.), *Issues in English Grammar, Vol. 1* (pp. 31–49). Hyderabad: Central Institute for English and Foreign Languages.

Martin, J. R. (2004). "Prosodic 'structure': Grammar for negotiation". *Ilha do Desterro: A Journal of English Language, Literatures in English and Cultural Studies* (Special Issue on Studies in Systemic-functional Linguistics).

Rafael, T. (1978). "Topic in Tagalog Revisited". *Studies in Philippine Linguistics*, 2, 36–48.

Rafael, V. L. (1988). *Contracting Colonialism: translation and Christian conversion in Tagalog society under early Spanish Rule.* Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Ramos, T. (1974). *The Case System of Tagalog Verbs* (=Pacific Linguistics Series B 27). Canberra: The Linguistic Circle of Canberra.

Ramos, T. & R. Cena (1980). "Existential, Locative and Possessive in Tagalog". *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, 11(2), 15–26.

Schachter, P. (1976). "The Subject in Philippine Languages: Topic, actor, actor-topic, or none of the above". In C. Li (Ed.), *Subject and Topic* (pp. 491–518). New York: Academic Press.

Schachter, P. (1977). "Reference-related and Role-related Properties of Subjects". In P. Cole & J. M. Saddock (Eds.), *Grammatical Relations* (=Syntax and Semantics 8) (pp. 279–306). New York: Academic Press.

Schachter, P. (1990). "Tagalog". Comrie (Ed., pp. 208–230).

Schachter, P. (1995). "The Subject in Tagalog: Still none of the above". *UCLA Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 15. Los Angeles: UCLA Department of Linguistics.

Schachter, P. & F. Otanes (1972). *Tagalog Reference Grammar.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Tullao, T. S. (1990). *Diksyunaryo sa Ekonomiks (Ingles-Filipino).* [Dictionary of Economics.] Quezon City: Phoenix.

CHAPTER 6

Metafunctional profile of the grammar of Chinese

M. A. K. Halliday and Edward McDonald
University of Sydney and Macquarie University /
Chinese Central Television

6.1 Introduction

Chinese is the name given to a group of languages, now referred to as the Sinitic languages, which is roughly parallel to the Romance group in terms of the spread of its varieties over the known historical period. Unlike the latter, however, the whole Sinitic group is referred to by its speakers as one language, Chinese (*zhōngguóhuà*, more formally *hànyǔ*), and the varieties are referred to as dialects (*fāngyán*). Taken as a single language, Chinese has well over one billion native speakers; if only Mandarin, the major dialect, is taken into account, it is still by far the world's most populous language, spoken by an estimated 885 million native speakers, the nearest to it being Spanish and English (332 and 322 million respectively) (Ethnologue, February 1999). Mandarin, referred to in Chinese as Běifānghuà ("northern speech"), is the basis for the standard language; it is spoken roughly north of the Yangtse river, and in the west and south-west regions of China. It is one of eight major regional dialects, each containing numerous dialectal variants, and given below with their main geographical centres: Wú (Shanghai); Mǐn (Fujian), commonly known in English as Hokkien, and usually split into Minběi (Fuzhou), and Minnán (Xiamen), the latter also the majority language in Taiwan; Yuè or Cantonese (Guangdong); Xiāng (Hunan); Gàn (Jiangxi); Jìn (Shanxi); and Kèjiā or Hakka (south-eastern hinterland). Cantonese, Hokkien and Hakka are also widely spoken in overseas Chinese communities.

The recorded history of China dates from about 1,000 BC, and records have been continuous since the early Han dynasty (c. 200 BC), with dates fixed by "reign period" – there never was any continuous system of dating. China has been ideologically united throughout the succeeding 2,200 years, and united politically for the greater part of this time. The major imperial dynasties in order were: