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PARTICIPANT IDENTIFICATION IN ENGLISH, TAGALOG AND KÂTE

1. TWO MODELS OF CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

Contrastive analysis, the study of similarities and differences between languages, lies somewhere near the heart of linguists' fascination with human communication. But the question of how much emphasis to place on the similarities, and how much on the differences, has long been a controversial one. On the one hand, advocates of the relativist position associated with Boas, Sapir and (perhaps most radically) Whorf tend to focus on how languages are different, often in quite 'unexpected' ways. On the other hand, proponents of a universalist stance, a position associated with both the post-Bloomfieldian research of Greenberg and his colleagues and of course with Chomskyan linguistics, tend to focus on similarities between languages, with an eye to determining what it is that all languages have in common. The universalist position has been of late the more fashionable. It is commonplace to read universalists mocking the relativist position (e.g. Sampson 1980:70), often citing a passing comment by Joos (1957:96) on Boasian linguistics. And some linguists (cf. Chomsky 1972:171) have gone so far as to argue that THE goal of linguistic theory is to determine what it is that all languages have in common that could not be any other way (and thus apparently does not need to be explained).

In spite of the different emphases reflected in the relativist and universalist positions, the two approaches have generally had something in common as far as research methodology is concerned. A particular set of phonological or grammatical categories or processes is selected from a given language as a point of departure — there being a striking tendency for relativists to start with exotic categories and argue back to English (e.g. Whorf) and for universalists to start with English categories and subsume exotic ones (e.g. Keenan 1976a). Another language is examined to see if the categories or processes are present. Their presence is taken as evidence for the universalist position, their absence as evidence for the relativist one. And it is of course open to the proponents of either emphasis to dismiss this presence or absence on the grounds that the analysis is superficial (i.e. 'not deep enough' or 'too abstract'). Examples of this methodology are not hard to find: the controversy surrounding the

category Subject in Philippine languages clearly exemplifies the debate. Universalists select the category Subject from English, and then attempt to identify it with what in Philippine linguistics is generally referred to as Topic (following Schachter & Otanes 1972). Relativists select the category Topic from one or another Philippine language and attempt to differentiate it from prototypical (i.e. English) Subjects (cf. McKaughan 1973 for discussion by a Philippinist who in fact moves from a relativist to a universalist interpretation). Relativists are likely to object to identifying Subject with Topic on the grounds that the functions of 'Topic' in Philippine languages are different in several respects from those of Subject in English (see Schachter & Otanes 1972:Ch. 2). But universalists may then broaden their definition of Subject to absorb some of these functions (cf. Keenan 1976b). Relativists then reply with an even more delicate analysis of the differences (see Schachter 1976, 1977). The question of whether or not Philippine languages have Subjects remains more or less unresolved. The linguists involved make up their minds one way or the other in the absence of any agreed upon public criteria, and get on with their work. In the absence of a public resolution, one cannot help wondering if there was something wrong with the question as to whether Philippine languages have Subjects in the first place.

One of the most troubling pitfalls in the methodology parodied and exemplified above lies in its ethnocentrism. In this methodology, categories and processes are being abstracted from one language (or group of languages) and sought in another. The procedure tends to bias one's analysis of the second language in terms of the first. It is very hard, for example, not to find something in Philippine languages which resembles an English Subject — some kind of prototypical Subject or a relational grammarian's '1' or the like. Schachter (1976, 1977) very carefully outlines those properties which Philippine Topics do and do not share with prototypical Subjects. The problem lies not in finding the related category or process (though there may in fact be more than one candidate, as Schachter points out), but in deciding whether it is sufficiently similar in function to count as the same phenomenon. This is not an easy decision to make and immediately raises questions about the definition of the category taken as the point of departure in the contrastive analysis, which in turn leads to questions about the functions of this category in the language from which it was drawn. The problem thus becomes one of determining how many functions categories must have in common before they can be identified. But no one has attempted to respond to this issue (Keenan 1976b lists a large number of Subject functions in different languages without any claims about which properties are necessary or sufficient for a category to qualify as Subject; given only this list, it is logically possible that categories in two different languages might share no properties but still be identified as the most Subject-like category in these languages, a universalist absurdity to say the least). The crucial point here is that questions about the presence or absence of a category or

process lead directly to questions about the function of that category or process. This suggests an alternative methodology, one starting with function rather than categories, which is less open (though not immune) to the dangers of ethnocentrism and vagueness of resolution discussed above.

As indicated, this alternative methodology would start with function rather than a category or process, and seek to compare languages in terms of the way their categories and processes accomplish certain identifiable tasks. These tasks are of course not given, any more than the processes and categories which realise them. But if languages differ more in the way they accomplish things than in what they have to accomplish (and this 'if' is open to attack), then it would seem a promising tack. At worst, distinguishing general functions of language from the categories which realise them has the advantage of introducing flexibility into the analysis. It permits functions to be described as realised by different categories from one language to another, and makes room for categories in a given language to realise more than one function. A certain amount of reconciliation between the relativist and universalist positions may even be possible, with universalists tending to focus on those functions which all languages have in common, and in particular with those functions which are in a one-to-one relation with particular categories or processes across all languages. Relativists on the other hand will tend to take an interest in functions which differ from one language to another, and the lack of a one-to-one relation between many functions and the ways in which they are realised. In the remainder of this paper this latter methodology will be illustrated with respect to one general and apparently universal (cf. Callow 1974) function of language, participant identification, across three languages which realise these functions rather differently: English, Tagalog and Kâte. The approach has implications for the controversy initiated by the first methodology as far as the presence or absence of Subjects in Philippine languages is concerned, which will be discussed in section 3 below.

The methodology is of course not a new one — merely one that has not caught on, as it were. One of its clearest presentations is found in a seminal article by Gleason (1968). There, drawing on the work of the Hartford stratificationalists on discourse structure (Taber 1966, Cromack 1968, Stennes 1969, Gutwinski 1976), Gleason makes note of five tasks which narratives, across cultures, must perform. Concentrating on two of these, 'sequencing' (the 'chain of events which forms the back-bone of a narrative and whose structure controls its overall organization' 1973:259) and 'participant identification' (the 'identification of participants and the indication of their roles in the several events' 1973:259), Gleason goes on to contrast the discourse strategies used in English, Kâte and Adamawa Fulani. Looked at from the point of view of grammar, the categories and processes used in the different languages to sequence events and identify participants are rather different (this variation is presumably not without

limit, but Gleason does not consider the question of its scope). Looked at from the point of view of discourse, however, these different strategies of realisation can all be related to the general discourse tasks of showing logical relations between events and getting people, places and things into a text and referring to them once they are there. It is this latter general task, a functional one, oriented to the ways in which language is structured to create text, which is the point of departure for the contrastive analysis attempted here.

The three languages examined here, English, Tagalog and Kâte, all perform the task of introducing participants into text and referring to them once they are there. Indeed, participant identification seems a likely candidate for a functional universal. It is hard to imagine human communication without it — harder, for example, than to imagine a language making use of Topic/Comment in place of Subject/Predicate structures (cf. Li & Thompson 1975). However, the three languages each perform this task in a distinctive way. The categories and processes involved are not the same. English makes use of the system of reference (see Halliday & Hasan 1976, Rochester & Martin 1977), which is realised in nominal groups, to inform listeners whether or not they know the identity of a participant every time a participant is mentioned in text. Tagalog also makes use of some nominal group systems, but as well relies on the system of focus (Schachter & Otanes 1972:69), which is generally used to mark one participant in each clause as known to the listener or not and to signal that one known participant is thematically prominent in the text. Kâte too makes use of nominal group systems, but in addition makes use of a different system, Subject-switching: this system tells listeners whether or not the Agent of one clause is the same as that of the preceding clause and at the same time indicates the type of temporal relation between the clauses in question.

The differences between these three systems have mainly to do with rank and interdependence. In English the relevant choices are made at group rank (for the concept of 'rank' used here see Huddleston 1965, Berry 1975): the system of reference applies to all participants which are coded grammatically as nominal groups. In Tagalog, the relevant system, focus, is located at clause rank. It is not necessary to mark every participant as recoverable or not as in English; the choice is generally made once for each clause and is tied up with selection of Theme. In Kâte, Subject-switching interacts with the system of conjunction and operates at clause complex rank. It can thus be seen that the two key questions which emerge when contrasting the categories and processes used to identify participants in these languages are:

(a) At what rank do the relevant systems operate?
(b) With which systems do they interact at these ranks?

The languages considered here are outlined in Figure 1 with respect to these questions.

Rank	Language: relevant system	Interacting systems
clause complex[1]	Kâte: Subject-switching	conjunction
clause	Tagalog: focus	theme & transitivity
group: nominal	English: reference[2]	—

Figure 1. *The rank location of participant identifying and interacting systems in English, Tagalog and Kâte*

2. PARTICIPANT IDENTIFICATION IN ENGLISH[1]

In English participants are identified through the system of reference, which is perhaps the best known of the participant identifying systems to be discussed in this paper (see Halliday & Hasan 1976:Ch. 2, Rochester & Martin 1979:Ch. 4, Du Bois 1980, for extensive text-oriented treatments). Put simply, this system subclassifies all participants in English text as known to the listener or not (cf. Chafe, 1976:38-43). This textual distinction is coded in nominal groups in such a way that listeners know on the one hand when a new participant is being introduced into a text and on the other when they must retrieve the identity of an identified participant from elsewhere in the verbal or non-verbal context. A number of the key systems are presented in Figure 2 (for notational conventions, see Halliday & Martin 1981:10-11).

Only the less delicate choices in this network will be considered here. System I distinguishes [generalised] reference to no participant in particular (Halliday & Hasan 1976:53-4) from [individuated] reference to a particular participant:

(1) One [never knows]   [generalised]
(2) John [never knows].   [individuated]

System II contrasts [generic] reference to the whole of a class with [specific] reference to one or more of its members:

(3) Linguists [write] grammars   [generic]
(4) The linguist [wrote] a grammar   [specific]

And system III allows the speaker to inform the listener about information relevant to the participant in question by comparing the participant to one previously introduced in the context:

[1] The question of whether these systems are semantic or grammatical will not be discussed here; grammatical rank labels have been used.
[2] Mention of the use of pronouns, demonstratives and proper names in Tagalog and Kâte has been omitted to simplify the figure. In addition, the historical connection between the systems of deixis and quantification and the development of definite and indefinite articles in English is beyond the scope of this paper.
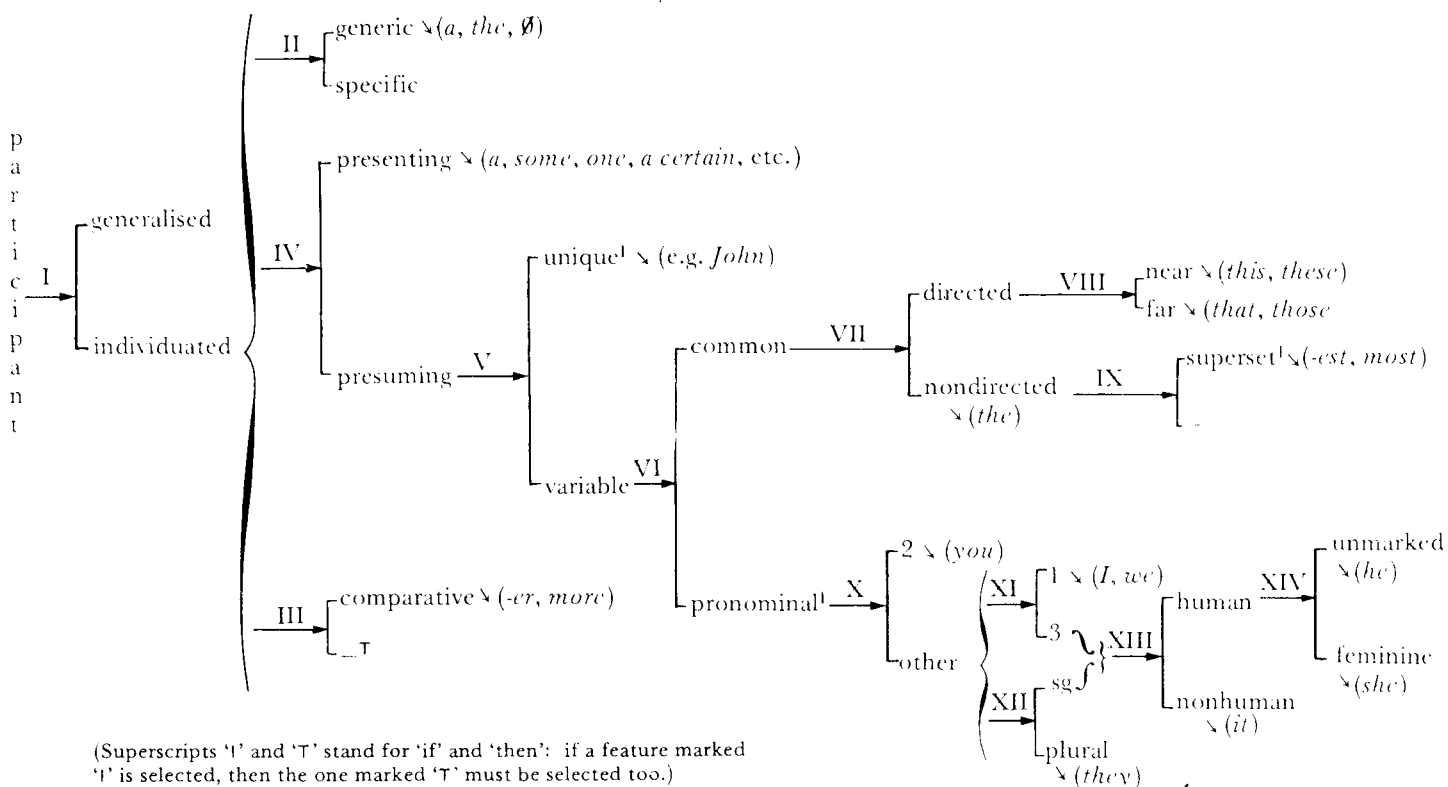
participant

I →
- generalised
  - II → generic ⃘(a, the, Ø)
  - II → specific
  - IV → presenting ⃘(a, some, one, a certain, etc.)
  - V → presuming
    - unique¹ ⃘(e.g. John)
    - variable — VI →
      - common — VII →
        - directed — VIII → near ⃘(this, these) / far ⃘(that, those
        - nondirected ⃘(the) — IX → superset¹ ⃘(-est, most)
      - pronominal¹ — X →
        - 2 ⃘(you)
        - other
          - XI → 1 ⃘(I, we) / 3 } sg
          - XII → plural ⃘(they)
          - XIII → human — XIV → unmarked ⃘(he) / feminine ⃘(she)
          - XIII → nonhuman ⃘(it)
- individuated
  - III → comparative ⃘(-er, more) / __T

(Superscripts 'I' and 'T' stand for 'if' and 'then': if a feature marked 'I' is selected, then the one marked 'T' must be selected too.)

Figure 2. *Reference in English; group rank; textual metafunction (simplified)*

(5) [*The linguist wrote*] *a better grammar.* [comparative]

The system which is most crucial for contrasting English with Tagalog and Kâte is system IV. In choosing from this system a speaker must decide whether or not his listener knows the identity of the participant in question. If he does not, the feature [presenting] is selected and the participant is coded as new to the text by means of indefinite deixis of some kind (*a, some, one, a certain,* etc.). If the listener is judged to know the identity of the participant, the feature [presuming] is selected and the participant is coded as recoverable in a 'definite' nominal group (i.e. a group with definite or demonstrative deixis: e.g. *the tallest boy*; a proper name: e.g. *John*; or a personal pronoun: e.g. *he*). Systems V-XIV subclassify [presuming] reference according to the ways in which a participant is signalled as recoverable in a text and will not be further discussed here.

The main distinguishing feature of the English system (which English in fact shares with a number of western Indo-European languages) is the presence of definite and indefinite articles which force speakers to code a participant as recoverable or not EVERY time a nominal group is used to realise it. Most languages do not force this distinction when common nouns are used, though of course personal pronouns, demonstratives and names are commonly available to code a participant as identifiable, and numeratives to code a participant as new (cf. the Tagalog nominal group network in Figure 6 below). The development of an indefinite article out of the numerative *one* and the definite article from demonstratives in the history of English has had the effect of making the participant identifying system of English logically independent of the clause rank systems of theme and information (see Halliday 1967-68). Definite and indefinite groups are possible as Themes or as Rhemes and as Givens or as News³, as illustrated in (6)-(9), where '//' indicates tone group boundary and underlining marks the Tonic, as in Halliday 1967:

(6) // *the people elected a new leader* //
    definite Theme/Given; indefinite Rheme/New

(7) // *the people elected a new leader* //
    definite Theme/New; indefinite Rheme/Given

(8) // *a new leader was elected by the people* //
    indefinite Theme/Given; definite Theme/New

(9) // *a new leader was elected by the people* //
    indefinite Theme/New; definite Theme/Given

This is not to argue that the Prague School's concept of communicative

[3] Here, as throughout the paper, initial capitals are used to indicate structural functions. Some terms are used both for elements of structure and for systems; the notation then distinguishes, for example, 'Theme' as the structural function and 'theme' as the system.

dynamism (Firbas 1964) is not reflected in English through correlations between definite reference and Theme or Given and indefinite reference and Rheme or New. But it is to argue that the connection is not structured into English. English has grammaticalised systems of theme, information and reference so that the choices involved are in principle independent.

3. PARTICIPANT IDENTIFICATION IN TAGALOG

One of the most distinctive characteristics of Philippine languages is their focus system (cf. Kerr 1964). This system permits speakers to mark as Topic one of a wide range of complements, including Actor, Goal, Recipient, Instrument, Beneficiary, and so on. The realisation of focus is diversified, affecting both the inflection of the verb and the case marker assigned to the Topic complement. The system is illustrated in (10)-(12) below. Note that as the Topic changes, so must the inflection of the verb — because it is this inflection which, depending on a verb's affix correspondence class, signals the particular transitivity role (Actor, Goal, etc.) of the Topic complement. Thus in

(10) *Sumulat* *ng* *liham* *sa* *titser* *ang* *estudyante*
   NTM-a letter CM-a/the teacher TM-the student
   'The student wrote a letter to a/the teacher.'

(11) *Sinulat* *ng* *estudyante* *sa* *titser* *ang* *liham*
   NTM-a/the student CM-a/the teacherTM-the letter
   'A/the student wrote the letter to a/the teacher.'

(12) *Sinulatan* *ng* *estudyante* *ng* *liham* *ang* *titser*
   NTM-a/the student NTM-a letter TM-the teacher
   'A/the student wrote a letter to a/the teacher.'

the infix *-um-* in (10) indicates that the Actor is Topic, the infix *-in-* in (11) that the Goal is Topic and the suffix *-an* in (12) that the Recipient is Topic.[4]

Of particular interest here are the translations given to the various complements depending on whether or not they conflate with Topic. The glosses given above are those suggested as possibilities in Schachter & Otanes 1972:Ch. 2. These are summarised in Figure 3. As far as the definiteness of the Topic complement is concerned Schachter & Otanes are quite categorical: 'One of the chief distinctions between the Tagalog topic

[4] The following abbreviations are used in the glosses: CM — Circumstance marker; CP — completion of action particles; EX — Existential marker; EXCL — exclusive; GM — genitive marker; IN — *ay* inversion marker; LK —Linker; NT — non-Topic; NTM — non-Topic marker; SG — singular; SSP — Subject-switching particle; STP — setting-in-time marker; T — Topic; TM — Topic marker. GM has the same form as NTM but realises a group rank function. T and NT apply to pronouns and demonstratives, which have their own Topic, non-Topic and circumstantial forms.

	Topic	non-Topic
Actor	'the'	'the', 'a'[5]
Goal	'the'	'a'[6]
Direction	'the'	'a', 'the'

Figure 3. *Possible translations for Topic and non-Topic complements as suggested by Schachter & Otanes*

and the English subject is that a topic never expresses a meaning of indefiniteness, while a subject may or may not' (1972:60). This would appear to be the source of the similarly unequivocal position adopted by Keenan (1976:314) and Schachter (1976:496; 1977:282). Bloomfield, writing decades earlier and basing his conclusions on a corpus of Tagalog text rather than introspection, clearly contradicts this claim (1917:894).

> Even elements which we should look upon as somewhat indefinite are preferred as subjects [= 'Topics', for purposes of this discussion] to an actor: kinũha nya aŋ isa ŋ aklãt 'Was-taken (direct passive) by-him a book (subject)', i.e. 'He took a (certain) book (he knew, or I know, which one or what kind)'.

There is no way to reconcile examples such as this with Schachter's interpretation of definiteness as having to do with speakers' assumptions about what the listener knows (1977:282) or knowledge shared by speaker and listener (1975:496). In fact, as will be seen below, even a cursory examination of a corpus of Tagalog text lends support to Bloomfield's rather than the Schachter & Otanes or Keenan position.

Ironically, Schachter & Otanes are somewhat less categorical about the indefiniteness of the non-Topic Goal. They hedge, writing that it is NORMALLY indefinite in meaning' (1972:76; emphasis added). Keenan on the other hand is as categorical about the indefiniteness of the non-Topic Goal as he is about the definiteness of the Topic (1976:319). And here Bloomfield appears to support him (1917:894):

> The active construction [i.e. the one where Topic is conflated with Actor] is thus confined to instances in which the object-ideas other than the actor are entirely vague or undetermined or lacking: umalĩs syã 'He went away'; syã v kumũha naŋ aklãt 'He took a book, some books (no matter to him or to me which one or what kind)'.

Again, textual evidence clearly supports Bloomfield, though perhaps not

[5] Schachter & Otanes note that non-Topic Actors are normally, but not always, definite (1972:75).

[6] Pronouns and proper names do not occur as objective case Goals in basic sentences (oblique case forms are used when they occur as non-Topic Goals — see Bloomfield 1917:§203); and when demonstratives appear in non-Topic Goals, the sense is partitive — e.g. *nito* as a non-Topic Goal means 'some of this' (cf. Schachter & Otanes 1972:76).

categorically so (see Rafael 1978). McFarland hedges in his interpretation of the indefiniteness of the non-Topic Goal: 'AS A GENERAL RULE, an object complement with definite reference cannot occur in immediate construction with an unrelativized verb' (1978:139; emphasis added). And Rafael (1978:38) argues on the basis of her intuitions that definite non-Topic Goals are possible. Some of her examples, such as (13) (1978:45), do appear to embarrass a strict association of non-Topic Goals and indefiniteness, and Schachter & Otanes themselves translate the non-Topic Goal in (14) as definite (1972:340):

(13) *Nakabalita*   *kami*   *ng*   *pag-alis*   *mo*
     happened-to-learn   we-EXCL-T   NTM   leaving   your-SG
     'We happened to learn about your leaving.'

(14) *Magwalis-walis*   *ka*   *nga*   *ng*   *bakuran*
     sweep-a-little   you-SG-T   please   NTM   yard
     'Please sweep the yard a little.'

However, both of these examples are apparently citation forms, not sentences drawn from real text.

The controversy surrounding the definiteness of Topic and non-Topic complements in Tagalog appears as great as that surrounding the presence or absence of the category Subject in this language (the two controversies are not in fact unrelated). Again, one cannot help wondering if something is wrong with the question being asked. How can the problem be rephrased so that it can be PUBLICLY answered?

The solution would appear to lie in recognising that the system of focus in Tagalog along with signalling the participant role (Actor, Goal, etc.) of a complement, is involved in two distinguishable discourse tasks. On the one hand it participates in the realisation of the system of theme in the sense outlined by Halliday 1967-68 and Fries 1983. The Topic assigned by focus represents the unmarked point of departure in a Tagalog clause — the speaker's angle on what he is talking about. In Schachter & Otanes' terms, the Topic 'expresses the focus of attention in the sentence' (1972:60). The Topic thus participates in what Fries refers to as a text's 'method of development'. This will be further discussed and illustrated below. On the other hand focus also participates in the identification of participants in a text, as is reflected in the controversy surrounding definiteness discussed above. Both of these discourse functions have been noted by Philippinists. Bloomfield's definition of Topic as the 'definite, known object underlying the predication as starting-point of discourse' (1917:§93) clearly reflects this dual function. The fact that besides marking participant roles focus also realises these two discourse functions, and the fact that the two functions may at times pull in different directions, underlies the uncertainty concerning definiteness and Topic choice. But because categories (Subject or Topic or definiteness) rather than functions (participant identification and method of development) are taken as the point of departure in contrastive analysis, this explanation has been con-

sistently obscured.

Indeed, Schachter argues (1977, apparently retracting his 1972 position) that the Topic in Philippine languages does not represent the 'centre of attention' (cf. Li & Thompson 1976) of the discourse context. As evidence, Schachter presents the following (presumably constructed) example (1977:281):

(15) A: *Nasaan ang*   *katulong?*
         where TM-the   maid
         'Where's the maid?'

     B: *Inihahanda niya ang*   *pagkain*
         is-preparing she-NT TM-the food
         'She's preparing the food.'

It is clear that a single constructed decontextualised example does not count as evidence one way or the other in terms of Fries's interpretation of theme; only arguments based on patterns of thematic selection in actual text are criterial. In any case, as Rafael points out (1978:39), the response in (15) is not a direct answer to the question. A direct answer would take the form of (16), with the maid as Topic in the response (though probably ellipsed), supporting the 'centre of attention' claim:

(16) B: *Nasa*   *kusina*   *(siya)*
         in   kitchen   she-T
         '(She's) in the kitchen.'

The problem here of course is that a textual question is being debated in the absence of textual evidence. The question of whether or not the focus system in Tagalog participates in the realisation of the theme system surely needs to be determined on the basis of thematic patterns characteristic of Tagalog text rather than on the basis of introspection. In light of this, consider (17) below, the beginning section of a spoken version of an Aesop fable concerning a donkey and his load.[7]

(17) a. *Noong*   *unang*   *panahon* *ay*   *may*   *isang*   *kabayo*
        then   earliest   time   IN   EX   one   horse
        'Once upon a time there was a horse.'

     b. *at*   *ito*   *ay*   *may*   *dalang*   *isang*   *sako*   *sa*
        and   this-T   IN   EX   load   one   sack   CM
        kaniyang likuran
        his   back
        'and he had a sack as a load on his back'

     c. *at*   *siya*   *ay*   *naglalakad*   *patungo* *sa*   *kaniyang* *bahay*
        and   he-T   IN   was-walking   towards   CM   his   house
        'and he was walking towards his house.'

[7] This fable was elicited by reading an informant an English version of the Aesop fable and asking her to retell the story in Tagalog.

d. *Ngunit   masyadong   mainit   ang   panahon*
 but rather   hot TM weather
 'But the weather was rather hot'

c₁. *at   bago   siya   makapunta   sa   kaniyang   bahay[8]*
 and before he-T able-go CM his house
 'and before he could go to his house'

e₂. *ay   may   isang   ilog   na   kailangan   niyang   tawirin*
 IN EX one river LK need   he cross
 'there was a river he had to cross.'

f. *Ngunit   siya   ay   pagod   na   pagod   na*
 but he-T IN tired LK tired CP
 'But he was already very tired'

g. *so   naisip   niya   na   tumigil   muna   at   magpahinga*
 so thought he-NT LK stop first and rest
 'so he thought he would stop first and rest.'

h. *Ngunit   ang   ilog   na   ito   ay   maputik   at   madulas*
 but TM river LK this IN muddy and slippery
 'But this river was muddy and slippery.'

i. *and   siya   ay   natumba*
 and he-T IN fell
 'and he fell over.'

j₁. *Ngunit   kahit   ganoon   ay   tumigil   rin   siya*
 but although such IN stopped also he-T
 'But in spite of this he stopped anyway.'

j₂. *kasi   masarap   naman   ang   tubig*
 because delicious on-the-other-hand TM water
 'because the water was unexpectedly delicious.'

k₁. *Nang   siya   ay   makapagpahinga   na*
 when he-T IN able-rest   CP
 'When he had finished taking his rest'

k₂. *ay   kinuha   niya   ang   sako*
 IN took he-NT TM sack
 'he took the sack'

k₃. *'i   inilagay   sa   kaniyang   balikat[9]*
 and put CM his   shoulder
 'and put (it) on his shoulder.'

l₁. *at   nagitla   na   lang   siya*
 and surprised CM only he-T
 'and he was just so surprised'

[8] Following Fries 1983, adverbial clauses preceding a main clause are taken as Themes; Tagalog clearly supports this interpretation in that these clauses are often fronted through a process known as 'ay inversion' as in (17c) and (17k).

[9] The Topic is ellipsed in (17k₃), so this unit has not been separately analysed for Theme.

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l₂. *sapagkat   ito   ay   magaan[10] ...*
 because this-T IN light
 'because it was light ... '

In order to analyse theme in this particular text it will be necessary to consider more generally Tagalog's grammatical resources for realising thematic information. A sketch of these resources is presented in Figure 4. This network shows the dependence of the focus system outlined above on a number of experiential choices: relational clauses do not have verbs in Tagalog, so no choice of Topic is possible (e.g. (17d) above); and for some reason clauses with recently completed aspect do not have Topics.[11] Focus in other words, like the system of agency (which triggers active and passive voice selections in English — see Halliday MS) in English, is an experiential system, systemically dependent on transitivity options.

While focus potential in Tagalog is an aspect of the system of transitivity, the motivation for particular Topic choices is textual. Figure 4 presents the thematic options relevant to a text's method of development in systems IX and X. The first option allows for a choice of [marked] or [unmarked] Theme. Unmarked Themes are realised as Topics, and follow all or at least some part of the Predicate (taking 'Predicate' in Schachter & Otanes' sense). Marked Themes are realised through a process known as 'ay inversion' (Schachter & Otanes 1972:Ch. 7, §2) which places Topics or circumstantial elements before the Predicate and linked to it by the particle *ay*. Non-Topic complements in objective case (*ng* or *ni* forms) cannot be fronted through *ay* inversion. In the above text *noong unang panahon* in (17a) is an example of a circumstantial element as marked Theme; *ito* in (17b) exemplifies a marked Topic Theme. Unmarked Topic Themes follow the Predicate as in (17d) (*ang panahon*) and (17l₁) (*siya*).

Before considering theme in text (17) in detail, there is one further aspect of participant identification included in Figure 4 which needs mentioning. If the feature [identification] is selected, realised through a definitised Predicate as in (18), and if the definitised Predicate does not contain a Recipient, then the options in system XI are presented. If the Goal is realised through an objective case in such structures, it may be either definite or indefinite; but if the Goal is realised through an oblique form, it is definite — compare (18) and (19):

(18) *Ang   babae   ang   bumili   ng   damit*
 TM woman TM bought NTM dress
 'The woman is the one who bought a/the dress.'

(19) *Ang   babae   ang   bumili   sa   damit*
 TM woman TM bought CM dress
 'The woman is the one who bought the dress.'

[10] Theme has not been analysed in adverbial clauses following a main clause.

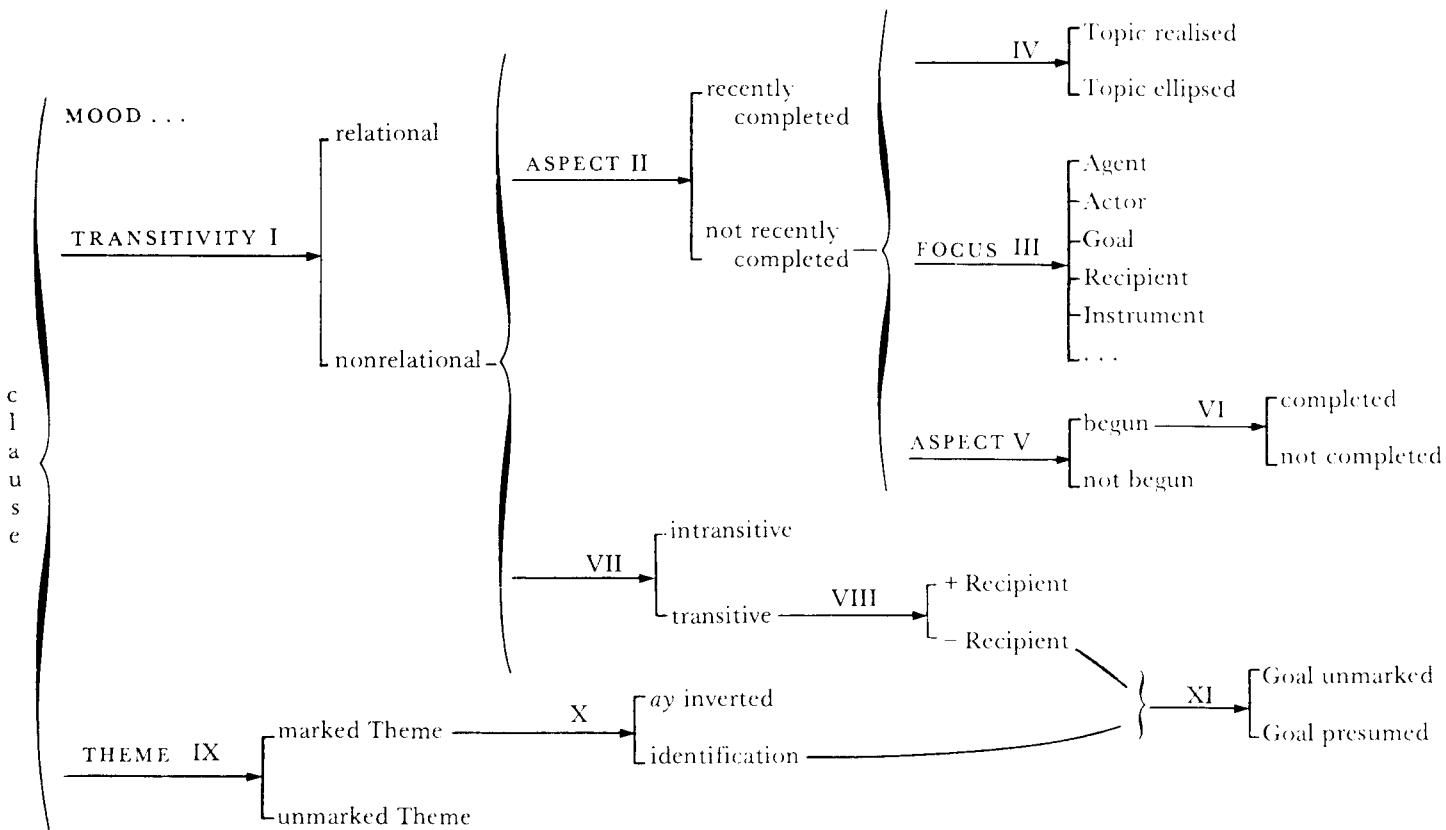[11] The question of whether Reports in verbal process clauses are Topics or not will not be pursued here.

Figure 4. *Focus and related systems in Tagalog; clause rank (simplified)*

MOOD . . .

c l a u s e

TRANSITIVITY I
- relational
- nonrelational

ASPECT II
- recently completed
- not recently completed

IV ⎡Topic realised
⎣Topic ellipsed

FOCUS III ⎡Agent
-Actor
-Goal
-Recipient
-Instrument
. . .

ASPECT V ⎡begun — VI ⎡completed
⎣not completed
⎣not begun

VII ⎡intransitive
⎣transitive — VIII ⎡+ Recipient
⎣– Recipient

XI ⎡Goal unmarked
⎣Goal presumed

THEME IX ⎡marked Theme — X ⎡*ay* inverted
⎣identification
⎣unmarked Theme

PARTICIPANT IDENTIFICATION

Such structures are the reason McFarland's (1978) interpretation of the indefiniteness of the non-Topic Goal has to be qualified with respect to whether the clause in question has a 'relativised' verb or not.

A complete analysis of theme in text (17) is presented in Figure 5. This text has a large number of marked Themes, which might at first appear surprising in light of the VOS structure commonly ascribed to the language. However, the VOS interpretation is at best a claim about the structure of citation forms, not about the structure of Tagalog clauses in actual text. It is not unusual to find SVO structures predominating in many Tagalog texts.

Marked Theme	Unmarked Theme
(17) a. *noong unang panahon*	
b. *ito*	
c. *siya*	
d.	
e. *bago siya makapunta sa kaniyang bahay*	
f. *siya*	
g.	*ang panahon*
h. *ang ilog na ito*	
i. *siya*	
j. *kahit ganoon*	
k. *nang siya ay makapagpahinga na*	
l.	*siya*

12

Figure 5. *Marked and unmarked Themes in text (17).*

Text (17) has been divided into twelve units for purposes of theme analysis. This is less than the number of clauses in the text because of the treatment of adverbial clauses. These are themselves taken as Themes when they precede their main clause; otherwise ignored. And when the Topic is ellipsed, as in (17k$_3$), this unit as well is not analysed for theme.

Of the eleven themes displayed in Figure 5, three have to do with a further discourse task suggested by Gleason: setting in time. *Noong unang panahon* 'once upon a time' sets the story itself in time. And *bago siya makapunta sa kaniyang bahay* 'before he could go to his house' and *nang siya ay makapagpahinga na* 'when he had finished taking his rest' introduce the two episodes of the story presented in text (17): the events leading up to the horse resting in the stream and the events following his period of rest. All three of these circumstantial items appear as marked Themes. It is very typical for setting in time to be realised through marked Theme adverbial clauses or phrases in this way. Setting in time does not interact with participant identification in Tagalog, so will not be further considered here. Note, however, that it does interact with a text's method

[12] Verbal and mental process clauses containing Facts or Reports do not have Topics. The verb is inflected as if the Fact or Report were the Topic, but no Topic case marker is used to introduce the Fact or Report. Thus (g), a mental process clause, is not analysed for theme.
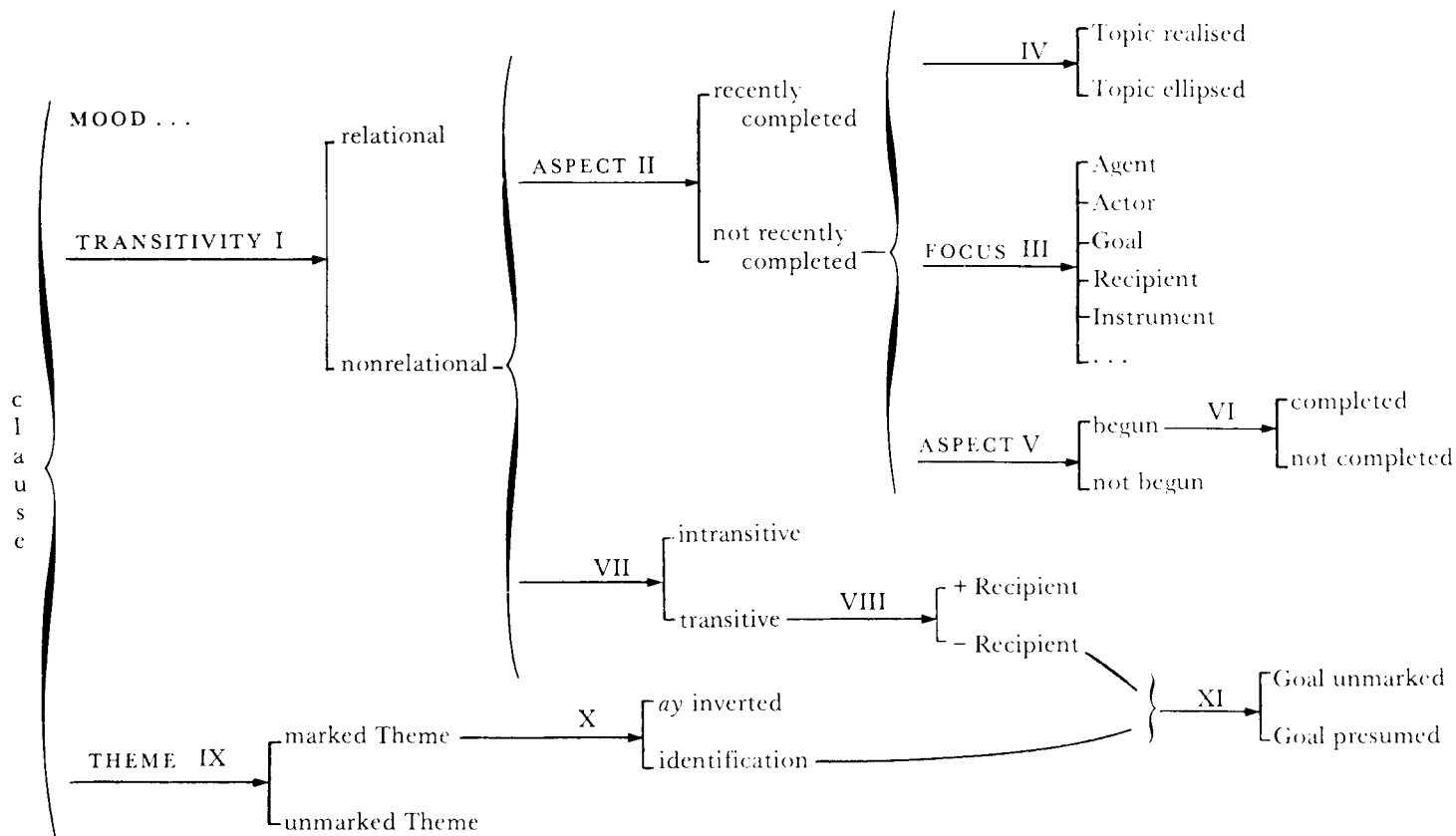
Figure 4. *Focus and related systems in Tagalog; clause rank (simplified)*

Such structures are the reason McFarland's (1978) interpretation of the indefiniteness of the non-Topic Goal has to be qualified with respect to whether the clause in question has a 'relativised' verb or not.

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b.	ito	
c.	siya	
d.		ang panahon
c.	bago siya makapunta sa kaniyang bahay	
f.	siya	
g.		.12
h.	ang ilog na ito	
i.	siya	
j.	kahit ganoon	
k.	nang siya ay makapagpahinga na	
l.		siya

Figure 5. *Marked and unmarked Themes in text (17).*

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of development, and that consequently a full treatment of theme in Tagalog would have to take this discourse function into account.

Of the remaining eight Themes, five refer to the horse (four of these being marked Themes), and one each to the river, the weather, and the horse's falling in the river. In Fries's terms, text (17)'s method of development, as reflected in this thematic pattern, is the hero of the fable — the horse. There is nothing surprising about this; but neither is it insignificant. Several participants are introduced into text (17). Only one of these besides the horse, the river, is selected as Theme more than once. Even if theme were analysed in adverbial and elliptical clauses as well, this pattern would not be significantly changed: the horse would appear as 'Theme seven times, his load three times and the river twice. 'The horse remains the centre of attention in the fable, with two minor participants, his load and the river, forming a secondary pattern of selection. In a sense, what text (17)'s method of development is reflecting here is the importance of participants in narrative: narratives typically arrange participants along a scale of hero or major participant, minor participants and also-rans. This is reflected in Tagalog narrative, as in English, in part through the patterning of thematic selection in narrative text.

The importance of participants in narrative also affects the way in which they are introduced. Neither English nor Tagalog makes a categorical distinction between major and minor participants when they are first mentioned in text (cf. Stennes 1969 for discussion of a language where this distinction is coded grammatically; see also section 4. Kate does realise this distinction categorically when major and minor participants are introduced). But note that in text (17), the fable's hero, the horse (17a) and its two secondary participants, the load (17b), and the river (17c₂), are all introduced through existential constructions. These constructions are useful in Tagalog because they allow participants to be introduced into a text without being selected as Topic, something that is clearly necessary given the association between Topic and definiteness discussed above.

If the association between Topic and definiteness were as categorical as is often suggested, one would expect such constructions to be virtually triggered when a major or minor participant (as opposed to an also-ran, which can be introduced in a circumstantial element with no commitment as to definiteness — e.g. the house: *sa kaniyang bahay* in (17c)) is first introduced. However the association does not appear to be so categorical as to automatically trigger an existential construction. Consider at this point text (20), the first part of a written version of the same story.¹³

[13] This story was translated from a written English version of the fable which in fact acted as the input to the fable elicted as text (17).

(20) a. *Minsan,   may   isang   bisiro   na   naglalakad*
     once EX one young-quadruped LK was-walking

    sa   isang   maliit   na   daan
    CM one small LK path

    'Once, there was a donkey walking along a small path.'

  b. *Dala-dala   niya   sa   kanyang   likod   ang   isang*
     carry he-NT CM his back TM one

    sakong   asukal   na   napakabigat
    sack sugar LK very-heavy

    'He was carrying on his back a very heavy sack of sugar.'

  c. *Matindi   ang   init   ng   araw*
     excessive TM heat GM day

    'The day was excessively hot,'

  d. *kaya't   siya'   'y   totoong   pinagpawisan . . .*
     so he IN really sweated

    'so he was really sweating . . .'

Unlike (17b), where an existential clause of possession was used to introduce the load into the text, (20b) accomplishes this through a Topic *ang* phrase which functions as an unmarked Theme. The use of unmarked Themes to introduce new participants into Tagalog text is not uncommon, although it does directly contradict a categorical association of Topic and definiteness. The load, in other words, when introduced into this text, is being treated as potentially part of the fable's method of development. It will in fact be selected as Theme four more times before the story is finished, making its introduction in this form perfectly appropriate.

There are numerous examples in Bloomfield, each contradicting Schachter & Otanes' and Keenan's claims (e.g. indefinite Topic/Actors – 38:10, 42: 24, 80:3, 100:11; indefinite Topic/Goals – 16:14, 18:29, 20:24, 32:31, 38:27, 70:28, 72:23, 90:11).¹⁴ New participants are introduced more commonly as Topic/Goals than as Topic/Actors. And in each of the examples cited above, the indefiniteness of the Topic is made explicit through the numeratives *isa* 'one' (most commonly) or *ilan* 'few.' There is no automatic triggering of an existential construction each time a new participant is introduced. It may even be the case that Tagalog tends to reserve such constructions for major participants (i.e. heroes), preferring indefinite Topics for less important participants that will nevertheless play a secondary part in a text's method of development. Most of the participants introduced into Bloomfield's texts in the examples cited above are in fact secondary participants in this sense. They are not also-rans; but neither are they central enough to their texts to warrant being introduced through an existential clause.

[14] Examples are cited by giving the original issue (rather than the volume) page number, followed by the line reference for that page of text.

What texts like (20) illustrate, then, is the way in which one of the functions of focus in Tagalog (i.e. realising a text's method of development) may in a sense override its other function (i.e. participating in the identification of participants). General thematic considerations at times result in the selection as unmarked Theme of a participant that has not yet been introduced into the text. In such cases the normal association of Topic with definiteness breaks down.

Given that the thematic function of focus can override its participant identifying function, the question arises as to whether definite non-Topic Goals can be found as well. The answer at this stage would appear to be negative. There are no clear examples in Bloomfield 1917 (or other Tagalog texts I have examined). If Rafael's claim that definite non-Topic Goals do exist is in fact correct (and it needs textual evidence to be substantiated), then they must be far rarer than indefinite Topics. This in itself is puzzling. Why should the dual function of focus lead at times to indefinite Topics, but so much more exceptionally (if at all) to definite non-Topic Goals? It may be that when a language is realising both method of development and participant identification through the same system, only a certain amount of flexibility is tolerable. Note that when a new participant is introduced as Theme, it tends to carry with it an explicit marker of its indefiniteness (*isa* 'one', *ilan* 'few', or some other numerative). It is possible that Tagalog lacks definite non-Topic Goals simply because there is no way of making definiteness explicit for such participants: demonstratives give a partitive rather than a definite meaning to non-Topic Goals, and Tagalog does not really have any other resources around for marking the identity of participants in this clause function as recoverable. In short, the absence of definite non-Topic Goals in Tagalog may be attributable to functional overload. But why the system should give in the direction it does, and not another, is something that remains unexplained.

Interestingly enough, there are a number of restrictions on the cooccurrence of case markers with pronouns, demonstratives and numeratives. Neither Topic nor non-Topic pronouns accept case markers, although circumstantial pronouns do: thus *si ako, *ni ko, but *sa akin*. Demonstratives, when functioning as Head in a nominal group, do not accept markers whether Topics, non-Topics or Circumstances. When demonstratives modify the Head of a nominal group, the group requires case markers providing the demonstrative follows the Head; if it precedes, however, and the nominal group in question is Topic, then the Topic marker *ang* is omitted. With numeratives, whether cardinal (e.g. *isa* 'one') or quantitative (e.g. *ilan* 'few'), the use of *ang* is optional when the numerative precedes the Head. These interactions point to the fact that identifying participants is a responsibility that is shared between nominal group and clause rank systems, and lend support to the idea that group rank systems may be called on to take over, where possible, when clause rank systems turn their attention to other discourse tasks.

An examination of relevant Tagalog nominal group systems helps to reinforce the points made above concerning the dual function of focus. Some of the key systems are presented in Figure 6. Tagalog makes a basic distinction between human and unmarked nominal groups which is reflected in system I: pronouns can only refer to humans (or humanised participants such as the hero of texts (17) and (20)), and proper names referring to humans are given a distinctive case marking (*si, ni, kay*, as opposed to *ang, ng, sa*). System II distinguishes pronouns from human proper nouns; and systems III-VI subclassify Tagalog's pronominal system. Of particular interest is the pronoun *ikaw* which realises exclusive: singular/2] when this participant is a marked Theme (otherwise *ka* is used for 2nd person exclusive singular reference), as formalised in system XII. Systems VII, VIII and IX allow for superlative, comparative and demonstrative reference as relevant to common nouns. And system XI cross-classifies systems I-X with respect to case. This cross-classification means that all Tagalog nominal groups, whether pronominal, proper, common or demonstrative, have three case forms depending on the function they realise in clause structure. The two critical points of comparison with English are: (i) the absence of a definite/indefinite article system; and (ii) the cross-classification of the case system, which along with verbal affixes realises the focus system described above. The absence of definite and indefinite articles means that not all Tagalog nominal groups are marked as to whether they realise recoverable participants or not (as noted above, non-Topic Actors and circumstantials are ambiguous in this respect). Of course, subject to the restrictions noted above, demonstratives can be used to mark a participant as recoverable and numeratives to mark non-recoverability if desired. And the fact that case cross-classifies inherently definite nominal groups such as proper names, pronouns and groups containing a demonstrative, makes it improbable that participant identification could ever function as an EXPLANATION of Topic choice in Tagalog. For one thing, if Topics were chosen simply on the basis of definiteness, then all inherently given nominal groups would be candidates for Topic, and there would be no real need as far as clause functions are concerned for objective or oblique forms. For another, nothing in Figure 6 stops more than one inherently given participant from appearing in a clause — in such a case, something other than definiteness must be responsible for determining Topic choice. Tagalog nominal group systems thus underline those aspects of participant identification which are not realised at this rank and which might be handled elsewhere in the grammar, along with pointing to the inadequacy of interpretations of focus which dismiss the relevance of the theme system to Topic choice.

In summary, then, participant identification in Tagalog is accomplished through an interaction of nominal group and clause rank systems. Tagalog nominal groups can if necessary code participants as identifiable from the context through pronouns, proper names, and demonstratives, and as not so recoverable through indefinite numeratives. Beyond this,
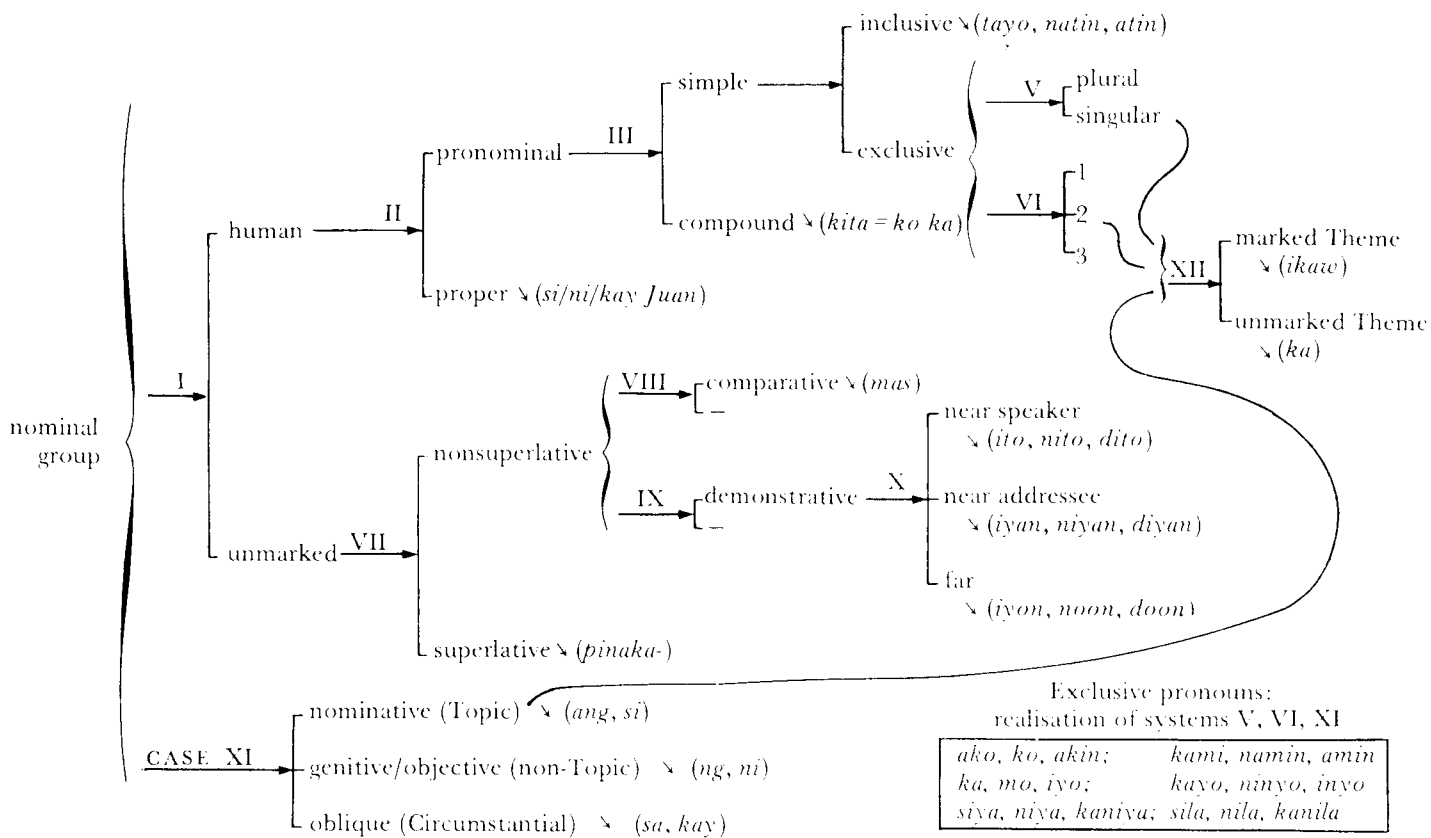
Figure 6. *Principal nominal group systems in Tagalog; group rank (simplified)*

Network labels (left to right):

nominal group — I
- human — II
  - pronominal — III
    - simple
      - inclusive ↘ (*tayo, natin, atin*)
      - exclusive
    - compound ↘ (*kita = ko ka*)
  - proper ↘ (*si/ni/kay Juan*)
- unmarked — VII
  - nonsuperlative
    - VIII → comparative ↘ (*mas*)
    - IX → demonstrative — X
      - near speaker ↘ (*ito, nito, dito*)
      - near addressee ↘ (*iyan, niyan, diyan*)
      - far ↘ (*iyon, noon, doon*)
  - superlative ↘ (*pinaka-*)

V → plural / singular
VI → 1 / 2 / 3
XII → marked Theme ↘ (*ikaw*) / unmarked Theme ↘ (*ka*)

CASE XI
- nominative (Topic) ↘ (*ang, si*)
- genitive/objective (non-Topic) ↘ (*ng, ni*)
- oblique (Circumstantial) ↘ (*sa, kay*)

Exclusive pronouns:
realisation of systems V, VI, XI

ako, ko, akin;	*kami, namin, amin*
ka, mo, iyo;	*kayo, ninyo, inyo*
siya, niya, kaniya;	*sila, nila, kanila*

participants are further identified through the focus system. In principle this system marks Topics as definite, and non-Topic Goals as indefinite (making no categorical claims about other non-Topic participants). However, this system interacts with the theme system to realise a text's method of development. Occasionally this means that indefinite nominal groups will be selected as Topic, in spite of their indefiniteness (especially when the participant involved is a minor participant in a text as opposed to a hero or also-ran). In such cases the non-recoverability of the participant being introduced into the text is usually made explicit through an indefinite numerative. The concerns of method of development do not appear to result in definite non-Topic Goals, perhaps because definiteness cannot be made explicit in such groups (demonstratives rendering groups partitive in meaning when they modify non-Topic Goals). Textual evidence can thus be seen to clearly refute the claim that Tagalog Topics (or Subjects if you will) are always definite; but so far it supports the indefiniteness of the non-Topic Goal.

The advantages of the functional as opposed to the category and process approach to contrastive analysis are clearly illustrated here. In functional terms, Tagalog and English are alike in that both identify participants and select certain of these to function as part of a text's method of development. But the languages differ in terms of the resources they use to accomplish these two distinct discourse tasks. In English, the categories and processes used to accomplish these discourse tasks are independent. Participant identification is coded through a system of reference which is realised through deictics, pronouns and proper names in the structure of nominal groups. Method of development is coded through the system of theme and realised by first position in the English clause. Participants in first position in the English clause tend to be Given; but they need not be. The two functions are logically distinct. In Tagalog, on the other hand, participant identification and method of development interact. Participants are identified through a combination of systems at clause rank (i.e. focus) and nominal group rank. And focus interacts with theme to realise a text's method of development: unmarked Themes are realised by Topics, marked Themes by first position (via *ay* inversion); and only Topics and circumstantial items can be fronted through *ay* inversion (i.e. non-Topic Actors and Goals cannot be made marked Themes). Because focus is involved in identifying participants, and at the same time interacts with theme to realise a text's method of development, the two functions in Tagalog are not independent. Topic choice can only be explained if looked at from both perspectives. Thus English and Tagalog can be seen to be alike and different at the same time: functionally related in terms of the discourse tasks accomplished, at the same time as grammatically divergent in terms of the way they are coded.

The alternative category and process approach has the comparative disadvantage of either making Tagalog look like English when it is different or look different from English when it is the same. Either Tagalog has

a Subject — in which case its function is very different from the English one; or it does not — in which case the functions that Subject and Topic have in common are obscured. The controversy is a fictitious one because the wrong question is being asked. Questions about how Tagalog and English accomplish a set of general discourse functions are likely to be more profitable (and certainly less ethnocentric) in the long run than searches for particular categories and processes that a language might use to accomplish them. Taking discourse functions as the point of departure for contrastive analysis of course involves a change in the type of data examined: texts rather than intuitions will have to be consulted. But this too seems a promising step in the direction of making contrastive analysis public and testable and away from the subjective abstraction often associated with the universalist stance (e.g. Postal's suggestion, reported and critiqued in Schachter 1977, that both Actors and Topics be recognised as Subjects in Philippine languages, but as Subjects at different stages of syntactic analysis).

4. PARTICIPANT IDENTIFICATION IN KÂTE

Like Tagalog, Kâte lacks definite and indefinite articles, and thus is not committed to exhaustively coding the recoverability or non-recoverability of participants at group rank. But rather than using a focus-like system to further specify the identifiability of participants, Kâte employs a Subject-switching system. This system is used to tell listeners whether or not the Agent of one clause is the same as that of the preceding clause; and if not, a reminder is given of the person and number of the preceding Agent. The relevant systems are presented in Figure 7. These systems apply to relations between clauses and must thus be set up at clause complex rank. The analyses presented here are taken from Gleason's work on Kâte narrative (1968; personal communication), which takes Pilhofer 1923 as its principal source. All that is added here is a systemic interpretation of this research.

Those systems relevant to participant identification are numbered I-VIII. System I is the central Subject-switching system, distinguishing pairs of clauses in which the Agent is the same from those in which it is different. If [coreference] is selected, then the Agent of the second clause is ellipsed; if [switch reference] is selected, then the Agent of the first clause is subclassified with respect to person by systems II-V. Simultaneously, if the Agent of the second clause is new to the text, a distinction is opened up between [major] and [minor] participants. Important participants are introduced to the text for the first time by mo? or yaŋe; less central participants lack this marking. If the Agent in the second clause is already recoverable from the context, then the options outlined in system VIII apply. Agents in the second clause which are coreferential with Goals in the first are ellipsed if the clauses stand in a highly determined cause/effect relation (such as 'let go/fall'). Otherwise the second Agent is reali-
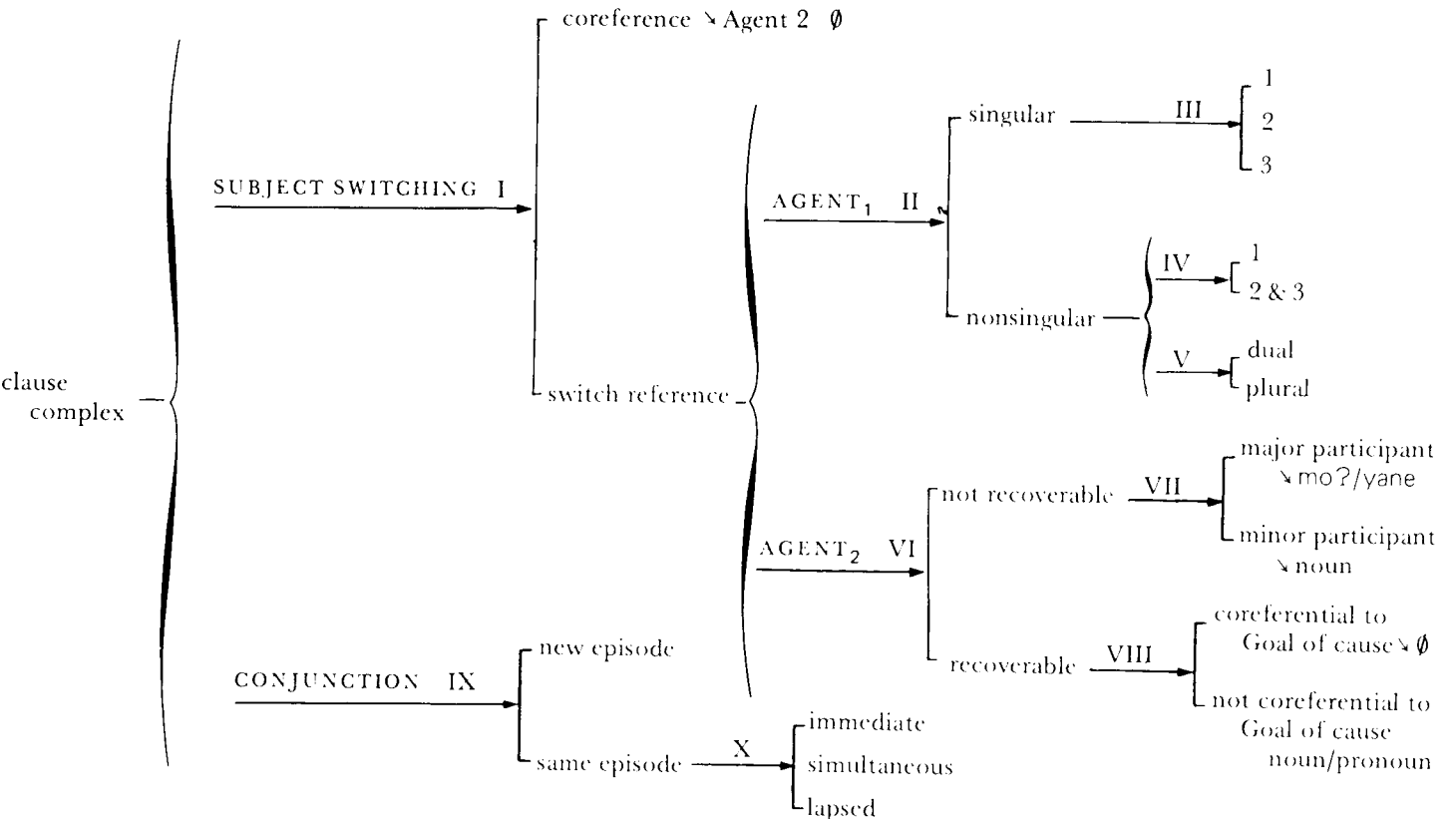
Figure 7.   *Subject switching and related systems in Kâte; clause complex rank*

sed as a noun or pronoun.

The items appearing in clause-final position which realise Käte's Subject-switching system also function as portmanteau realisations of temporal sequence in narrative. System IX subclassifies temporal relations between clauses according to whether the second clause begins a new episode or not. If the two clauses are in the same episode, then the relation is further subclassified as simultaneous, following immediately, or following after a period of time. The paradigm generated by systems I-X is presented in Table 1 and partially illustrated in texts (21) and (22) (data from Gleason, personal communication).

	[immediate]	[same episode]: [lapsed]	[simultaneous]	[new episode]
[coreference]	-lɔ	-ku	-huʔ	-kuhuʔ
[switch reference]:				
singular: 1	-ŋe	-kune	-haŋe	-kuhaŋe
singular: 2	-teʔ	-kuteʔ	-hateʔ	-kuhateʔ
singular: 3	-me	-kume	-hame	-kuhame
1/dual	-pele	-kupele	-hapele	-kuhapele
2 & 3;/dual	-pile	-kupile	-hapile	-kuhapile
1/plural	-pene	-kupene	-hapene	-kuhapene
2 & 3/plural	-pie	-kupie	-hapie	-kuhapie

Table 1. *Käte's Subject switching paradigm*

(21) a. ŋiʔ moʔ gie ba -ku
man a-certain field make SSP
'A certain man worked for a long time'

b. batala -lɔ
finish SSP
'until he finished.'

c. fiʔ -tiʔnao la -lɔ ....
house his go SSP
'Then he went to his house,'

d. ŋe -huʔ
sit SSP
'sat down,'

c. nɔɔnɔ nɔ -lɔ ....
taro eat SSP
'and ate some taro. And then he . . . ,'

(22) a. lɔsi fisi -pie
enemy arrive SSP
'When the enemy arrive,'

b. kpeŋ kpa -teʔ
horn blow SSP
'you will blow the horn.'

c. mana -lɔ
hear SSP
'and we will hear (it)'

d. fa -naŋmu
come STP
'and come (to you).'

Both of the Käte texts are taken from a single episode. In text (21), the feature [coreference] is selected from the Subject-switching system — the Agent of each of the text's five clauses (and, also of the sixth clause, though it is not included in (21)) is the same. Clause (b) follows on temporally from clause (a) after a lapse of time; clauses (d) and (e) take place at the same time; and clauses (b) and (c), (c) and (d), and (e) and (f) are related in terms of immediate temporal succession. The semological structure of (21) is presented in Figure 8 as it would be modelled by the Hartford stratificationalists. This semological structure is referred to as a 'reticulum'. It consists of a series of events, their attendant participant roles and circumstances, specification of the temporal relations between events, and a representation of coreferential relations.

('man') — agent → 'do work' — lapsed
agent → 'finish' — immediate
agent → 'go' — immediate — possession — v ('house')
agent → 'sit' — simultaneous
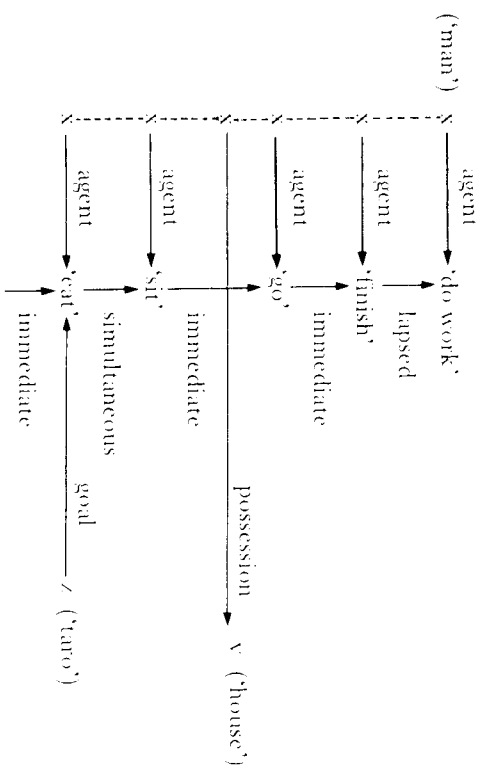agent → 'eat' — immediate — 'cat' — goal — / ('taro') — immediate

Figure 8. *Semological structure of text (21).*

Text (22) illustrates selection of [switch reference], with different Agents in clauses (a), (b) and (c). Each of the clauses is related immediately in time, with clause (d) completing the text (-naŋmu realises setting in time, here future, rather than a combination of switch reference and sequence in time as with the rest of the clause final particles in texts (21) and (22)). The semological structure of (22) is given in Figure 9.
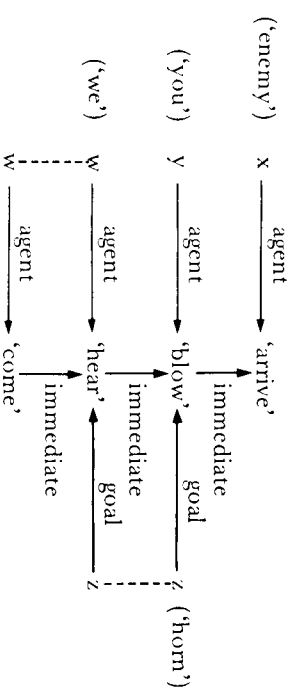
```
('enemy')   x ———— agent ————→ 'arrive'
                                   ↑ immediate
('you')     y ———— agent ————→ 'blow' ——— goal ——→ z   ('horn')
                                   ↑ immediate
('we')      w ———— agent ————→ 'hear' ——— goal ——→ z
            ⌇                      ↑ immediate   goal
            w ———— agent ————→ 'come'
                                   ↑ immediate
```

Figure 9. *Semological structure of text* (22).

Kâte thus illustrates a second way in which participant identification may interact with another discourse function. In Kâte the items realising Subject switching at the same time realise conjunctive temporal relations.

Two distinct discourse tasks, participant identification and sequencing, are coded through interacting systems. Again, while English, Tagalog and Kâte are comparable in terms of the discourse tasks performed, they are divergent in terms of the categories and processes they use to accomplish these tasks. Both the rank at which the relevant categories and systems operate and the systems with which they interact differ from one language to the next.

5. SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

In this paper, discourse function, rather than a grammatical category or process, has been taken as the point of departure for contrastive analysis. Participant identification has been considered in three languages, English, Tagalog and Kâte. Two important observations can be drawn from contrastive analysis along these lines. The first is that the systems which identify participants appear at different ranks in different languages. While all the languages considered make use of pronouns, demonstratives and proper names to refer to participants recoverable from the context, only English depends solely on nominal group systems to accomplish this task. In Tagalog the clause complex rank systems of focus and theme are also involved. And in Kâte the clause complex rank systems of Subject switching and conjunction are also relevant. The theoretical implication of these differences is that models of language which do not make use of a concept of rank in their grammatical descriptions will have difficulty in making explicit the differences between the languages considered here as far as participant identification is concerned.

The second important observation has to do with the interaction of participant identification with other discourse functions. In English the task of identifying participants is independent of other discourse tasks because the system coding participant identification, reference, is systemically independent of other grammatical systems. In Tagalog and Kâte, on the other hand, this independence is not found. In Tagalog, the focus

particles which have implications for the recoverability of a given participant also mark out the Topic of a clause. Topic choice interacts in turn with theme, so that what looked at from the point of view of discourse function, two distinct tasks are being performed: participant identification and method of development. This interaction of participant identification and method of development appears typical of 'Topic prominent' languages (in the sense of Li & Thompson 1975), where Topic and definiteness are commonly associated. In Kâte, the Subject-switching affixes which signal whether or not there is a change of agency between clauses also realise temporal conjunctive relations, so that a different combination of discourse tasks is performed: participant identification and sequencing. Just how typical this interaction is for languages with Subject-switching systems is not clear. Austin 1981 reports an interaction of Subject-switching and conjunction (usually causal or purposive rather than simply temporal) for many central Australian languages; but in these languages Subject-switching is generally used to link subordinate to main clauses — the serial chaining effect illustrated for Kâte (and found in many non-Austronesian Papua New Guinea languages) is not a feature of Australian text. Further work on the textual patterns generated by the Australian and 'Papuan' systems should help to clarify the possible types of relation between Subject-switching and conjunction (and perhaps even something of their phylogenesis).

The analysis undertaken here illustrates an approach to contrastive analysis which starts with language functions rather than the categories or processes which realise them. As an illustration of the kind of questions posed when categories and processes, rather than language function, are taken as point of departure, consider the following Philippinist controversies:

(a) Does Tagalog have definite and indefinite articles? (Yes — Blake 1925; no — Bloomfield 1917.)

(b) Does Tagalog have a passive? (Yes — Bloomfield 1917; no — Schachter & Otanes 1972.)

(c) Does Tagalog have a system of tonicity (=contrastive stress)? (Yes — Buenaventura-Naylor 1975; no — Llamzon 1966, 1968.)

(d) Does Tagalog have Subjects? (Yes — Keenan; no — Schachter 1976, 1977.)

(e) Can Tagalog relativise into constituents other than Subject? (Yes — Cena 1979; no — Keenan & Comrie 1977.)

Philippinists have long answered both yes and no to such questions — because in one sense the answer IS both yes and no. Yes, Tagalog has categories and processes which perform functions related to those performed by the categories and processes referred to in the questions; but no, the functions performed are not exactly the same, and in any case, the related Tagalog categories and processes perform other functions as well.

Taking function as point of departure, on the other hand, produces

questions such as the following:

(a) How does Tagalog code participants as recoverable or not?

(b) How does Tagalog signal the point of departure of a message, where this point of departure plays a systematic part in a text's overall method of development?

(c) How is the Prague School concept of communicative dynamism reflected in Tagalog? —What is the relation of given to new information in clause structure?

(d) How does Tagalog signal the role relationships between a process and its attendant participants and circumstances?

(e) What is the discourse function of information in embedded (= rankshifted) and dependent clauses in Tagalog text? How does this function relate to constraints on the accessibility of participants in such units?

Philippinists should have far less difficulty answering questions such as these in a public way; and in doing so they will provide verifiable descriptions of the functions of Tagalog categories and processes which can be used as a far sounder basis for typological research than the equivocal set of responses gathered through questions about the presence or absence of particular categories and processes themselves.

Taking discourse function rather than categories and processes as point of departure in typological research has one important methodological consequence and two theoretical implications. First of all, methodologically it recommends a corpus-oriented as opposed to an introspection-oriented approach to data. Discourse functions are revealed in text, not decontextualised sentences, and it is in text that the real function of a language's categories and processes will be revealed. Second, theoretically, the functional point of departure recommends a model that: (i) distinguishes systems from the words and structures which realise them; and (ii) assigns systems to ranks in the grammar. Recommendation (i) is important because words and structures tend both to conflate and diversify the realisation of functions which can be more clearly stated in paradigmatic terms. Tagalog, for example, diversifies its realisation of the transitivity system across verbal affixes and case marking particles at the same time as it conflates in its Topic constituent and realisation of participant identification, method of development and role identification. Paradigmatic formulations such as that in Figure 4 often reveal what structures obscure. Recommendation (ii) is particularly relevant to typological predictions about the interaction of discourse functions. Clearly a clause complex rank participant identifying system is much more likely to interact with sequencing than a clause or group rank one; and a clause rank system is more likely to interact with method of development than a group rank one. Models which do not make use of the concept of rank will not be able to make fully explicit these implicational relations. Hopefully, through using text as data, taking function as point

of departure, and employing a model with the properties just outlined, contrastive stalemates such as those listed for English and Tagalog can be both explained and resolved. One looks forward to a new typology of language, based on discourse function and concerned with potential interactions between these functions and limitations on the ways in which they can be realised. Only a needlessly ethnocentric emphasis on English categories and processes stands in the way of progress along these lines.

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STINKIEPOOS, CUDDLES AND RELATED MATTERS

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1. INTRODUCTION

In spite of its title this paper is concerned with an important issue of linguistic methodology, namely that of blind spots in the perception of those who are in the business of proposing linguistic theories. Such blind spots, it would seem, are the result of a number of factors:

   (a)   differences in the everyday and specialist metalinguistic vocabularies of investigators;

   (b)   cultural factors such as the availability of a writing system or dictionaries;

   (c)   principled limitations of perception such as the inability to perceive gradient phenomena;

   (d)   the principle that developmentally early phenomena are less likely to be within the researcher's awareness than developmentally late ones.

As regards the first point, the presence of descriptive labels for units such as 'sentence' or 'speech act' labels such as 'warning' in the analyst's first language has often led them to assume a universal status for such entities. However, as recent work in metalinguistics (e.g. Lyons 1980) and metapragmatics (e.g. Kreckel 1981, Loveday 1983) demonstrates, such an assumption is more likely to perpetuate culture-specific constraints on perception than to promote insights into linguistic universals and/or universals of language. Similarly, the availability of technical labels such as 'phoneme' or 'morpheme' tends to lead observers to identify such units in their data. One should not lose sight of the possibility, however, that the status of such entities may well be comparable to that of 'neurosis' in psychology, or 'phlogiston' in chemistry.

With regard to the cultural factors mentioned under (b), the most serious danger in evidence is the very strong scriptist bias of most modern linguistic models. This problem has been discussed in detail by Harris (1980) and his arguments will not be repeated here. It should be noted, however, that scriptism and the tradition of dictionary making suggest organisational principles of grammar (such as the boundary between syntax and lexicon) which may well turn out to be mere artifacts of