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Logical meaning, interdependency and the linking particle {na/-ng} in Tagalog

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In this paper the linking particle {na/-ng} in Tagalog is interpreted from the perspective of systemic functional linguistics. It is suggested that Tagalog's deployment of this particle to depend one unit on another across a range of grammatical environments argues for a grammatical theory in which constituency and interdependency are seen as complementary structuring principles, reflecting the experiential and logical subcomponents of Halliday's ideational metafunction. In addition, the challenge posed by Tagalog's apparently interpersonal deployments of the linking particle is addressed.

0. Linking in Tagalog¹

In this paper a functional interpretation will be offered for the linking particle {na/-ng} in Tagalog. Schachter and Otnes (1972: 107) refer to linking as 'the connecting of the elements of a word or construction by means of a special connecting element, or linker'. The linker comes in two forms — /ŋ/ in place of the final consonants /h/, /ʔ² or /n/, and /na/ after other consonants or a pause (see however the alternation in 8 and 9 below):

- replacing /h/	/marumih/	maruming tao	'dirty person'
- replacing /ʔ/	/mayumiʔ/	mayuming tao	'modest person'
- replacing /n/	/malaman/	malamang tao	'fleshy person'

- other consonants /mabigau/ mabigar na tao 'heavy person'
 - after a pause /taohL ...tao, na nakita ko 'person, that I saw'

Schachter and Otnes (1972: 118) comment that the linker 'has as its sole function the indication of a relation between the two elements it connects.'

In Tagalog, linkage of this kind is deployed across a wide range of grammatical constructions (cf. the 29 major subheadings in the index to Schachter and Otnes); for example, modification in nominal groups, reporting speech, adverbial clauses and modal expressions. This naturally raises descriptive questions as to what this range of construction types has in common, alongside theoretical issues having to do with the interpretation of linkage of this kind in relation to other types of structure. Below, systemic functional linguistics (hereafter SFL) will be deployed to interpret the linking particle {*na/-ng*}.

1. Metafunctions

In SFL, linguistics has been articulated as a form of social action (e.g. Halliday 1984, 1985a). Foundational to this project has been the evolution of an interpretation of language which sheds light on the ways in which people make meanings to live. Such an interpretation involves a model of language and social context in which language construes, is construed by and reconstrues (over time) the social (including a semiotic interpretation of discourse, genre, institution, medium, power and solidarity). This solitary, symbiotic process of negotiation is referred to as **realisation**. A crude representation is offered in Figure 1.

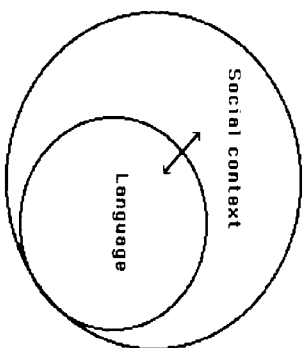


Figure 1: *Language, realisation and social context*

Functionality, in SFL, is a global design feature, deriving in the first instance from the geography of paradigmatic relations in the English clause (e.g. Halliday 1978, Martin 1991). In Halliday's work, three generalised modes of meaning were recognised, referred to as metafunctions — the interpersonal, the ideational and the textual. The interpersonal mode was interpreted as construing the social as intersubjective reality, the ideational mode as construing experience as if it was natural reality, and the textual mode as organising texts as semiotic reality. It should perhaps be stressed here that a functional organisation of this kind is **intrinsic** to language; it is an inherent property of the organisation of the resources by which meanings are made.

In SFL, intrinsic functionality is projected onto social context, in the proportions interpersonal:tenor (power and solidarity), ideational:field (institutional focus), textual:mode (channel). Solidarity of this kind constructs a model of language and social context in which there is a natural relationship between the ways in which people use language and the linguistic resources they deploy. Intrinsic functionality, in other words, is projected onto social context by way of modelling extrinsic language function. Solidary mapping of this kind is intended to facilitate register analysis — the correlation of linguistic choices with contextual features (Mathiessen 1993). The functional interpretation of specific systems in language depends on this global modularity, which is summarised in Table 1, and reconfigured diagrammatically in Figure 2 below. Note that Figure 2 provides a metafunctional reading of the realisation relationship outlined in Figure 1.

generalised semiotic function	metafunction (organisation of language: intrinsic functionality)	register (organisation of context; projected extrinsic functionality)
LANGUAGE FOR CONSTRUCTING THE SOCIAL as intersubjective reality	interpersonal meaning	tenor
LANGUAGE FOR CONSTRUCTING EXPERIENCE as if 'natural' reality	ideational meaning	field
LANGUAGE FOR ORGANISING TEXT/PROCESS as semiotic reality	textual meaning	mode

Table 1: *Metafunctions and orders of 'reality'*

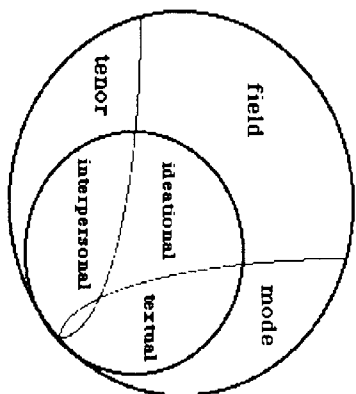


Figure 2: *Metafunctional reading of language and social context in SFL*

2. Types of structure

Halliday (1979) suggests that the metafunctions introduced above are responsible for the organisation of syntagmatic relations as well as paradigmatic ones, and associates different types of structure with ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning. Basically his suggestion is that ideational meaning typically makes use of **particulate** structuring principles, while interpersonal meaning typically makes use of **prosodic** principles and textual meaning typically of **periodic** ones. In order to pursue this suggestion we need to introduce here Halliday's ideational sub-components, the experiential and logical. Paradigmatically, the basic difference is that experiential systems construe experience through non-recursive systems (e.g. PROCESS TYPE or MOOD in English), where as logical systems construe experience through recursive systems (e.g. AGENCY, TENSE OR PROJECTION in English); for exemplification see Halliday (1985b).

For Halliday, then, (see also Matthiessen 1988) particulate structures are segmental. Experientially they divide bounded wholes into parts (as reflected in constituency representation); logically they relate part to parts in potentially unbounded series (as reflected in dependency representation).³ Prosodic structures are transsegmental; they map over a range of segments, as with intonation and 'long components' in phonology (see Palmer 1970, especially Waterson's paper on Turkish vowel harmony). Periodic structures are wave-like; they establish rhythmic peaks of promi-

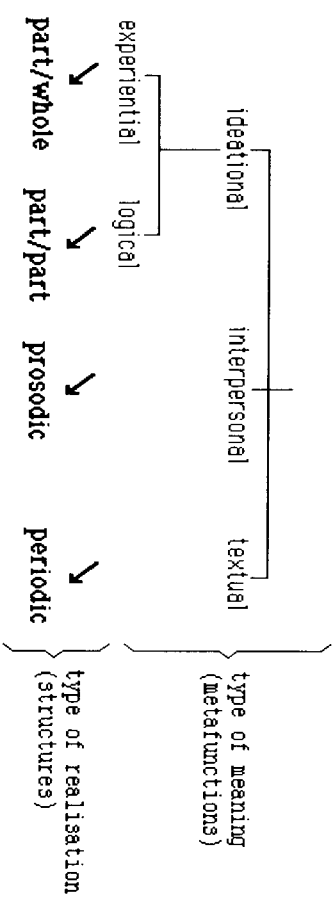


Figure 3: *Metafunctions and types of structure*

For purposes of this paper the critical structural complementarity is that between part/whole (i.e. experiential) and part/part (i.e. logical) construals of ideational meaning. Descriptively, the complementarity is an important one from a typological perspective, since it is a matter of some interest to consider the ways in which different languages apportion the construal of ideational meaning across experiential and logical resources. Martin (in press b) notes, following Matthiessen (in press), the way which some languages make use of logical resources for verb serialisation to add Agents, Beneficiaries or Circumstances to case frames which in other languages are construed experientially around a single process. One of Matthiessen's examples from Akan is presented in Figure 4; it makes use of serialisation to introduce an addressee into the verbal process configuration (following Halliday (1985b), α is used for the head verb in the series, and β for its dependent).

Theoretically speaking, the complementarity is particularly relevant to issues of representation — the choice between constituency and dependency representation in particular (cf. Matthiessen 1988). SFL stands out among contemporary linguistic theories in building resources for describing both constituency and interdependency into the model, in order

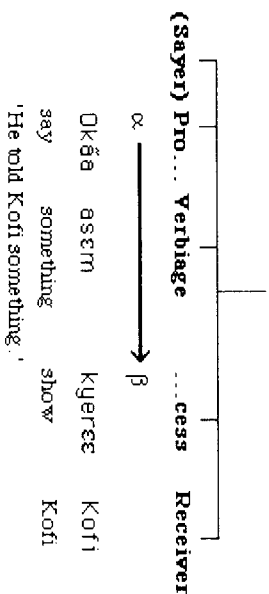


Figure 4: *Verb serialisation and the addressee role in Akan*

to capture the complementarity of experiential and logical modes of meaning in language. The choice of constituency or interdependency representation or both thus becomes a matter for analysis and interpretation of the data in question. By contrast, many theories foreground either constituency or dependency representation, with the danger that one mode of meaning is foregrounded in description at the expense of another. The choice between constituency and interdependency is thus reduced to a choice among theories, rather than a matter of analysis and interpretation. The metafunctional complementarity at issue here is outlined in Figure 5.

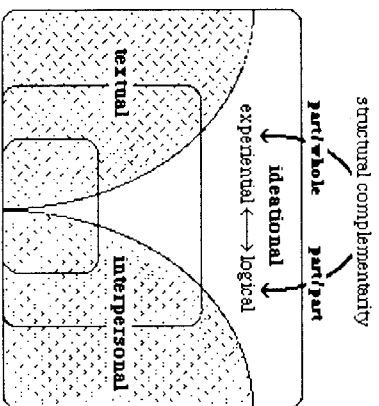


Figure 5: *Complementary experiential and logical structuring principles*⁴

English TRANSITIVITY (case relations) and PROJECTION (resources for quoting and reporting) provide useful examples of these experiential and

logical structuring principles. For the most part, English TRANSITIVITY construes goings on and states of being experientially, as bounded wholes in which different segments play distinctive roles. In a clause such *Early in this century the Norwegians introduced explosive harpoons*, experience is structured in terms of a Process and Medium nucleus (*introduced explosive harpoons*), brought about by an Agent (*the Norwegians*), at a particular Location in time (*early in this century*) — following Halliday's (1985b) ergative interpretation. The structure is outlined in Figure 6, which uses a traditional constituency diagram to display the relation of parts to whole, and concentric ovals to display the nucleus/periphery's relations involved.

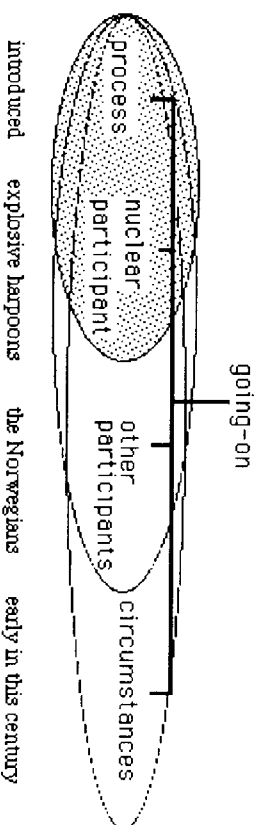


Figure 6: *Experiential segmentation for one English clause*

English PROJECTION on the other hand construes experience logically, as an unbounded series of interrelated steps.⁶ Clark (1992: 9) quotes a poem by R. D. Laing which draws heavily on this resource, the first six lines of which appear below:

- (1) Jack thinks
 he does not know
 what he thinks
 Jill thinks
 he does not know
 But Jill thinks Jack does know it.

Again following Halliday (1985b), this can be treated as a succession of mental process clauses of cognition, with the first projecting the second which in turn projects the third and so on. Halliday's representation for this clause complex would run as follows:⁷

- (1') 1 α Jack thinks
 β he does not know
 γ what he thinks
 β Jill thinks
 γ he does not know
 +2 α But Jill thinks
 β Jack does know it.

This analysis is reworked in Figure 7, in an attempt to further highlight the interdependencies involved. The critical features are i. that the same relationship (i.e. projecting ideas) is repeated five times throughout the structure; and ii. that the resource involved is indefinitely recursive (indeed, Laing produces a 18 clause long complex, for the most part exploiting PROJECTION, in the ensuing sentence of his poem).

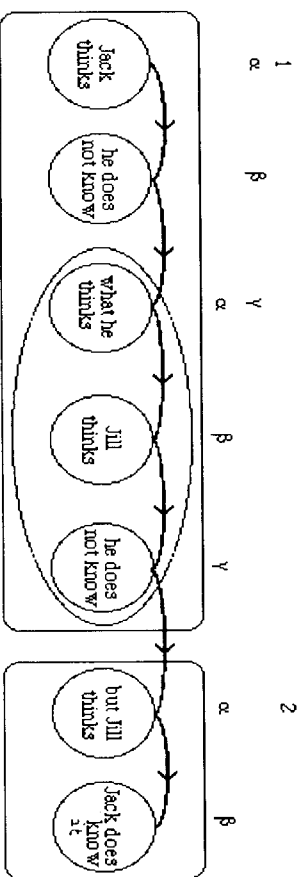


Figure 7. *Logical interdependency in the first sentence of Laing's poem*

3. Logical meaning in Tagalog (hypotaxis)⁸

As noted above, in general linguistic theories have tended to select one of constituency or dependency representation as the basis of their descriptions. Halliday's work calls a metatheoretical decision of this order into question, by suggesting that the semantic motifs underlying constituency and dependency representation themselves derive from complementary ideational construals of experience. This view opens up the debate by offering the possibility of grounding the metatheoretical issue in language description. What kinds of grammatical evidence do languages provide for distinguishing experiential from logical meaning? From this evidence,

should we reconstruct constituency and dependency as complementary, rather than as alternative forms of representation? As far as these issues are concerned, Tagalog is of special interest, because of its explicit grammaticalisation of hypotactic logical relations via the linking particle introduced above; this means that Tagalog draws a relatively clear line between logical interdependency and experiential constituency structures. Explicit hypotactic linking also makes it easier to explore Halliday's suggestions about the association of metafunctions with types of structure; Tagalog's unpredicted co-option of the linking particle for construing interpersonal meaning will be taken up in section 4 below.

In this section the main environments in which the linker appears will be reviewed. Recall that the linker is manifested as /ŋ/, graphologically *ng*, or as /na/, graphologically *na* :

- (2) [alternative realisations of the linker; graphologically —
masabing legal na tao]
masabi -ng legal na tao
 'said to be' lk 'legal' lk 'person'
 'so called legitimate person'

Overwhelmingly, the linker is used to link i. interdependent clauses or ii. parts of nominal groups (bold face formats the linker in examples).

Clausal linkage is illustrated below, in an example which adds dependent clauses following the head clause (*ewan niya* 'she didn't know'). Technically, interdependency of this kind can be referred to as progressive hypotaxis — Halliday (1981a, b) (in the examples, the un-glossed particles *ng* and *ni* mark non-Theme participants; *sa* and *kay* mark non-Theme circumstances; *ang* and *si* mark Theme):

- (3) [progressive hypotaxis in a projecting clause complex]
Ewan niya kung natalakot din si Raffy na makakita
 not know s/he if feared also able to see
ng damdamin sa mata niya
 feeling eyes her/his
 'she didn't know if Raffy was also afraid he'd be able to see the feeling in her eyes'

The structure of this example is outlined in Figure 8 below, which combines Halliday's α β γ... (with α for head, β for α's dependent, γ for β's dependent etc.) notation with dependency arrows (with the arrow

pointing from head to dependent): grammaticalisations of the interdependency (*kung, na*) are expressed as valences on these arrows.

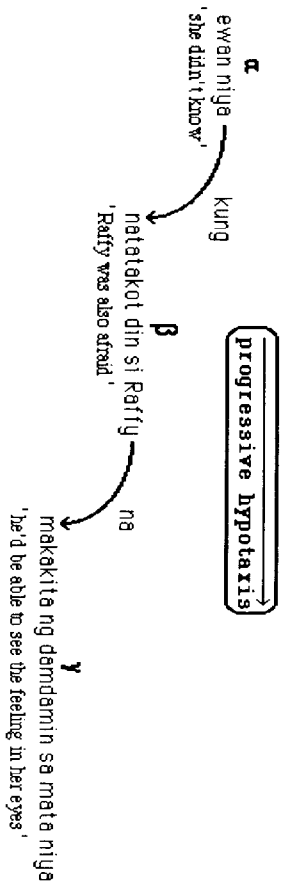


Figure 8: *Projection in Tagalog (illustrating progressive hypotaxis)*

Nominal linkage is exemplified below, in an example which adds dependent nominals to the left of the head (*tingnan* 'look'). Technically, interdependency of this kind can be referred to as regressive hypotaxis (Halliday 1981a, b):

- (4) [regressive hypotaxis in a nominal group]
isa-ng marumi-ning tingnan
 one dirty look
 'a dirty look'

The structure of this example is outlined in Figure 8 below, which again combines Halliday's $\alpha\beta\gamma\dots$ notation with dependency arrows; grammaticalisations of the interdependency (*-ng, -ng*) are expressed as valences on these arrows.

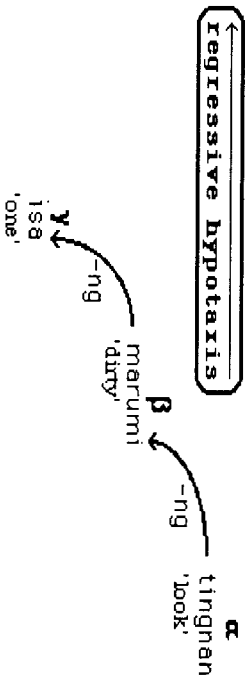


Figure 9: *Nominal expansion in Tagalog (regressive hypotaxis)*

3.1. *Clausal linkage*

Tagalog's resources for clausal linkage are comparable to those outlined by Halliday (1985b) for English. The system is a recursive one (as illustrated above), and connects clauses paratactically, in a relationship of equal status, or hypotactically, in a relationship where one clause is dependent on the other. In the context of PROJECTION this is the difference between quoted and reported speech; in the context of EXPANSION, this is roughly the difference between coordination and what are often referred to as subordinate adverbial clauses — the paradigm is outlined in Table 2.

	paratactic	hypotactic
PROJECTION	<i>Sabihin mo, "Narito siya."</i> say you here s/he 'Say, "He's here."'	<i>Sabihin mo na narito siya.</i> say you here s/he 'Say that he's here.'
EXPANSION	<i>Massaya siya, pero umawit.</i> happy s/he but went home 'She was happy, but went home.'	<i>Kahit na massaya siya, umawit.</i> al- though happy s/he went home 'Although she was happy, she left.'

Table 2: *Parahypotaxis in the contexts of PROJECTION and EXPANSION*

Tagalog's resources for interclause linkage are presented as a network in Figure 10. In this network projection has been subclassified according to whether a verbal process projects a locution, or a mental process projects an idea. Expansion has been broken down into elaboration (one clause reformulating another), extension (one clause in addition to, in contrast with or in alternation with another) and enhancement (one clause temporally or causally related to another). Halliday's (1985b) notation for TYPE OF INTERDEPENDENCY and LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION has been included in the diagram.

3.1.1. *Hypotactic projection*

As noted above, verbal processes project locutions. One reliable indicator of the presence of verbal projection, rather than mental one, is the possibility of an addressee (e.g. *sa iyo* 'to you', *sa anak niyo* 'your child')

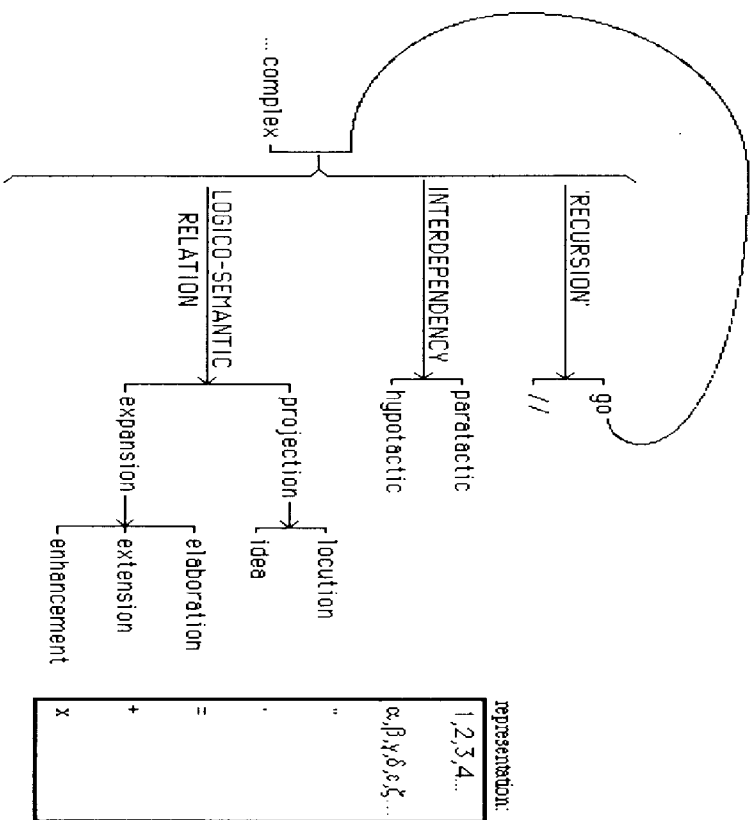


Figure 10: *Clausal interdependency in Tagalog*

in the examples below.⁹ Locution may be projected in various moods — imperative, declarative and interrogative. Projected interrogative locutions make use of the linker *kung*, which incorporates a lexically fused linking particle. Three examples of projected locutions are presented below, one for each of imperative, declarative and interrogative moods:

- (5) [projected IMPERATIVE]
sinabi ko sa iyo na iwan mo ang isang importanteng
 said I you lk leave you one important

- ginagawa mo*
 doing you
 'I told you to abandon something important you were doing.'
- (6) [projected DECLARATIVE]
sabihin mo na agad, Lea, na narito si Raffy
 say you fruition immediately lk here
 'Tell him right away, Lea, that Raffy is here.'
- (7) [projected POLAR INTERROGATIVE]
tanong ninyo sa anak ninyo kung iyon din ba ang gusto ninya
 ask you child you if that also ? want s/he
 'Ask your son if that's what he wants too!'

Mental processes project ideas, again in various moods. Declarative, imperative and interrogative ideas are exemplified below, across a range of mental process verbs (cognition, reaction and perception); note again the use of *kung* in projected interrogatives. Note as well the alternation of *-ng* and *na* in (8) and (9), with no implication of a pause in Bautista's graphology; it appears that variation in the realisation of the linker is not simply a matter of phonological conditioning.

- (8) [projecting COGNITION — DECLARATIVE projection]
nahuluan niya -ng hindi nag-isa sa pananood si Ojie
 guessed s/he lk neg. was being one watching
 'She surmised that Ojie wasn't watching (TV) alone.'
- (9) [projecting REACTION — IMPERATIVE projection]
natakot siya na yakapin siya
 feared s/he lk hug s/he
 'She was afraid he'd hug her.'
- (10) [projecting PERCEPTION — POLAR INTERROGATIVE projection]
para tingnan sa mukha kung nainintindihan siya nito
 in order to see face if was understanding s/he this
 '...in order to see in his face if he was understanding this.'
- (11) [projecting COGNITION — WH INTERROGATIVE projection]
di lang alam ni Ojie kung ga'no katotoo yon
 neg. just know if how true that
 'Ojie just didn't know how true that was.'

With projected polar interrogatives (e.g. (7) and (10) above) *kung* corresponds to English 'if/whether'. In projected wh interrogatives (e.g. (11) above) it precedes one of Tagalog's wh items, which specify the kind

of experiential information the wh interrogative is looking for: the possibilities are outlined below:

kung + ano 'what', alin 'which', sino/nino/kanino/nakanino 'who', saan 'where to', nasaan 'where at', kailan 'when', bakit 'why', paano 'how[means]', gaano ka- 'how [degree]', gaano 'how much', kumusta 'how [quality]', ilan 'how many', magkano 'how much [cost]'

The only context in which *kung* is not involved in interrogative projections involves identification (including what Schachter and Oranes (1972: 176) refer to as 'quotation-tag topics'). In Halliday's (1985b) terms, these structures set up the projection as Token and the projecting clause as Value (in general, Tokens are relatively concrete in relation to Values which are more abstract — e.g. Aquino (Token) is President (Value); treating projected clauses as Tokens of a nominalised projecting process is in fact Tagalog's unmarked way of quoting speech, and used more frequently than paratactic projection); where Value follows Token, *kung* is not involved.¹⁰ The relevant series of examples is presented below, beginning with clause (11):

- (11) [hypotactically projected wh interrogative]
di lang alam ni Ojie kung ga'no katotoo iyon
 neg. just know if how true that
 'Ojie just didn't know how true that was.'
- (12) [projecting Value, preceding projected Token]
ang di lang alam ni Ojie, kung ga'no katotoo iyon
 neg just know if how true that
 'What Ojie just didn't know was how true that was?'
- (13) [projected Token, preceding projecting Value]
ga'no katotoo iyon, ang di lang alam ni Ojie.
 how true that neg just know
 'How true that was what Ojie just didn't know.'¹¹
- (14) [unprojected wh interrogative]
ga'no katotoo iyon
 how true that
 'How true is that?'

With imperative and declarative clauses, the linking particle is not used when projection is mapped onto identification, whether the projected Token precedes or follows the projecting Value:

- (8) [projecting COGNITION — DECLARATIVE projection]
nahuluan niya -ng hindi nag-iisa sa panonood si Ojie
 guessed s/he 1k neg. was being one watching
 'She surmised that Ojie wasn't watching (TV) alone.'
- (15) [projecting Value, preceding projected Token]
ang nahuluan niya, hindi nag-iisa sa panonood si Ojie.
 guessed s/he neg. was being one watching
 'What she surmised was that Ojie wasn't watching (TV) alone.'
- (16) [projected Token, preceding projecting Value]
hindi nag-iisa sa panonood si Ojie, ang nahuluan niya.
 neg. was being one watching guessed s/he
 'Ojie wasn't watching TV alone was what she surmised.'

What appears to be going on here is that when identification is mapped onto projection in this way, a tension is set up between experiential and logical construals of reality. Logically, the structure involves PROJECTION, with verbal and mental processes projecting locutions and ideas; experientially, however, the identifying Token Value structure reworks the meaning as a bounded whole, with two distinct parts, in a relation of elaboration with each other — the projected Token functions as an instance of the projecting Value. In resolving this particular tension, for the most part, constituency wins out over interdependency: interdependency is grammaticalised (via *kung*) only when projecting Value precedes projected interrogative Token, and then only with linkage lexically incorporated¹² in *kung*.

In the context of case marking, however, a similar ideational (experiential vs logical) tension is resolved in favour of interdependency. Tagalog's case marking system (Ramos 1974, De Guzman 1978, Martin in press c) works by inflecting verbs to identify the participant role of a clause's *ang* phrase — in SFL, its Theme (Martin 1983). Typically, projecting verbs are inflected to construe what is said or thought as Theme; thus in (17), the affix *-in* signals that the *ang* phrase *ang sagot* 'the answer' is what should be said:

- (17) [verbal process construing what should be said as Theme]
sabihin mo na agad ang sagot, Lea
 say you fruition immediately answer
 'Tell him the answer right away, Lea.'

However, when what is said or thought is realised as a projected clause rather than a nominal group, then the predicted *ang* phrase does not appear; instead the projected clause is linked to the projecting one by the linker, as in (6) above:

- (6) [Theme-less clause in context of verbal projection]
sabihin mo na agad, Lea, na narito si Raffy
 say you fruition immediately Ik here
 'Tell him right away, Lea, that Raffy is here.'

Projecting clauses of this kind, in other words, have no Theme — a very rare clause type in Tagalog grammar. Given a choice of grammaticalising logical interdependency or fulfilling the case predicting infix *-in-* with a textual Theme, Tagalog resolves the tension in favour of foregrounding interdependency.

Metafunctional tensions of this kind demonstrate one facet of the explanatory productivity of building metafunctional diversity into one's grammatics. Apparently formal anomalies, such as those just reviewed, can be unpacked in terms of different metafunctional components pulling in grammatically incompatible directions. The different ways in which languages generate and resolve tensions then becomes an interesting typological question. English for example does not mark case explicitly on verbs, nor does it explicitly grammaticalise hypotactic dependency across ranks and group classes; so tension about how to signal the relationship between hypotactically projected clauses and projecting ones does not arise.¹³ Tagalog, on the other hand, does not signal mood through Subject Finite concatenation; so tension about whether to put the Subject or Finite functions first in Wh/Subject interrogatives does not arise (i.e. should English say *who said that*, on the model of wh first *what did they say* — or *did who say that*, on the model of Finite before Subject *did they say that* or *what did they say*; English turns out to prefer the textual 'wh first' rule to the interpersonal rule specifying Finite before Subject in interrogatives).

3.1.2. Hypotactic expansion

Turning to hypotactic expansion, and following the meaning potential outlined in Figure 9, two possibilities will be considered — extension and enhancement¹⁴ (for a comprehensive overview of clause expansion in Tagalog see Martin 1981). With both extension and enhancement, the

linker follows specification of the nature of the logico-semantic relationship between linked clauses. Typical realisations of extension include:

imbis na 'instead of', *samantalang* 'whereas', *parang* 'as if'

Dependent extending clauses may either precede or follow the head clause of their interdependency complex.

- (18) [extension, with dependent clause following the head: α 'β]
nag-ubos ng maghapon sa pakikipagsaranggola imbis na
 wasted whole day flying a kite together instead of
mag-press ng blouse
 pressing blouse
 'She wasted the whole day flying a kite (with Ojie) instead of pressing blouses.'
- (19) [extension, with dependent clause preceding the head: 'β α]
imbis na mag-press ng blouse, nag-ubos ng maghapon
 instead of pressing wasted whole day
sa pakikipagsaranggola
 flying a kite together
 'Instead of pressing blouses, she wasted the whole day flying a kite (with Ojie).'

Typical realisations of enhancement are listed below. In passing it should be noted that some very common markers of hypotactic enhancements (e.g. *pag* 'if/when' and *bago* 'before'), do not involve the linker. The overwhelming tendency however is for hypotactic linkage to be explicitly marked.

oras *na* 'as soon as', ngayon *na* 'now that', oras *na* 'the moment that', nang 'when', tuwing 'every time', hanggang 'until', habang 'while', mula nang 'since', pagkatapos na 'after'; upang 'so that', kahit na 'although', gayong 'although', kung 'if', maliban kung 'unless', matuluyang 'even if', sakaling 'if by chance'

Dependent enhancing clauses may either precede or follow the head clause of their interdependency complex.

- (20) [enhancement, with dependent clause preceding the head: 'β α]
nang sa wakas ay mag-angar siya ng mukha, wala si Raffy
 when in the end IM raise a little s/he face neg.ex.

- (21) *sa harap niya.*
front s/he
'When she finally raised her face a little, there was no Raffy in front of her.'
[enhancement, with dependent clause following the head: α γ 3]
wala si Raffy sa harap niya nang sa wakas ay
neg.ex. front s/he when in the end IM
mag-angut siya ng mukha,
raised a little s/he face
'There was no Raffy in front of her when she finally raised her face a little.'

3.2. Nominal linkage

Tagalog's resources for nominal linkage are again comparable to those outlined by Halliday (1985b) for English. The system is a recursive one, involving both regressive and progressive expansion of the nominal group. The unmarked head of the nominal group designates the experiential class of the participant being construed. In the example below, deixis, numeration and adjectival description precede the head *bata* 'child', while subclassification and clausal description follow (glosses provided immediately below):

iyong deixis	maraming numeration	masamang description	batang designation	lalakeng subclassification	nakita ko kahapon description
------------------------	-------------------------------	--------------------------------	------------------------------	--------------------------------------	---

Logically, a nominal group of this kind consists of three steps of regressive premodification and two steps of progressive postmodification. Variations on the example are displayed below:

- β α
iyong bata
that child
'that child'
- γ β α
iyong maraming bata
that many child
'those children'

- δ γ β α
iyong maraming masamang bata
that many bad child
'those naughty children'
- δ γ β α β
iyong maraming masamang batang lalake
that many bad child man
'those naughty boys'
- δ γ β α β γ
iyong maraming masamang batang lalakeng nakita ko kahapon
that many bad child man saw I yesterday
'those naughty boys I saw yesterday'

The logical structure of the longest of these variations is outlined in Figure 11. *Bata* 'child', the experiential center of the group, is treated as head.¹⁵ To the left, it is modified by the adjective *masama* 'bad', which complex is in turn modified by the limiter *marami* 'many', which complex is modified by the subclassifying noun *lalake* 'man' (Tagalog having no single lexical item for English *boy* or *girl*), which complex is in turn modified by the descriptive clause *nakita ko kahapon* 'I saw yesterday'. The dependency arrows in the diagram presume the equivalence of α β γ with α β (α β) notation presumed by Halliday (1985b) (for discussion see Matthiessen and Martin 1991). The group as a whole might be glossed as 'those naughty boys I saw yesterday'.

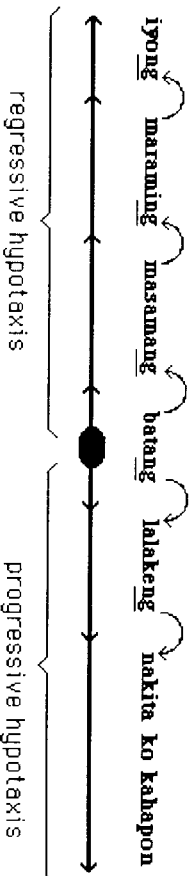


Figure 11: Nominal interdependency in Tagalog

The resource underlying Tagalog nominal complexes is outlined in Figure 12, allowing for four major dimensions of modification — classi-

fication, description, numeration and deixis. Tagalog's important distinction between conscious and non-conscious participants has been included, since it conditions pronominal realisation (available for conscious participants only) and case/theme marking (*sinilikay* for conscious participants realised through proper names, otherwise *ang/ng/sa*). The network has not been developed to handle 'elliptical' nominal groups with deictics, numeratives/limiters or adjectives as head (e.g. *itong tatlo* 'these three'), nor partitive groups with *ng* (pronounced /nan/) — (e.g. *ang tasa ng kape* 'a cup of coffee'; cf. *ang lasang kape* 'a coffee cup').

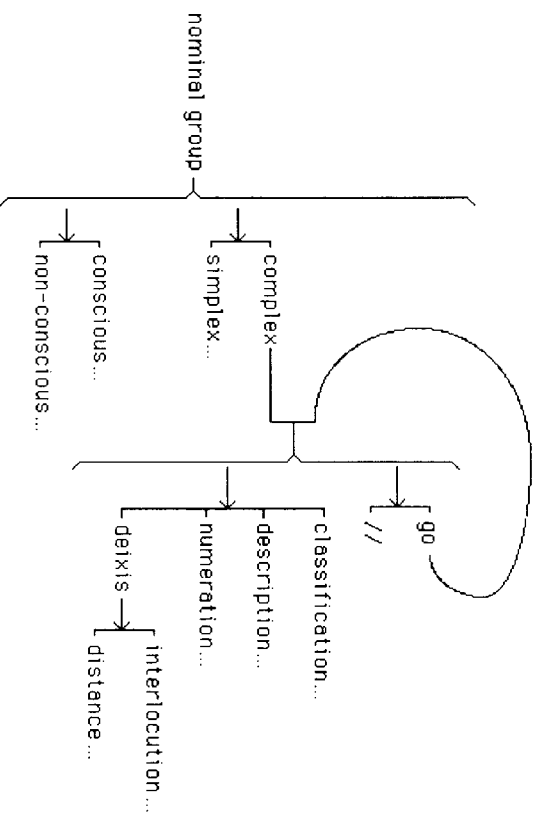


Figure 12. Resources for modification in Tagalog nominal groups

As outlined in Figure 12, deictic modification may be developed through possessive personal pronouns or demonstratives. 'Sa' forms of pronouns (*akin, amin, atin, iyo, inyo, kaniya, kanila*) are used for pre-modification (e.g. 22) and connected to the rest of the nominal group by the linker; 'ng' forms (*ko, namin, natin, mo, niyo, niya, nila*) are used for post-modification, without the linker (e.g. 23); in the latter case the morphology of the pronoun would have to be taken as signalling hypotactic dependency in this environment.

- (22) [deictic 'sa' personal pronoun + linker]
 β α
aming anak
 our [ex] child
- (23) [deictic 'ng' personal pronoun; no linker]
 α β
anak namin
 child our [ex]

The same form of demonstratives is used before (e.g. 24) or after (e.g. 25) the head, explicitly linked in either case. As illustrated in (26) below, demonstrative deixis may be realised in both positions — providing a culminative structure quite emblematic of Halliday's suggested periodic pattern of realisation for textual meaning.

- (24) [deictic demonstrative + linker, preceding head]
 β α
itong mundo
 this world
- (25) [deictic demonstrative + linker, following head]
 α β
mundo itong
 world this
- (26) [deictic demonstrative preceding and following head]
 β α β
iyang tropeong iyan
 that trophy that
 'that trophy there (cf. nonstandard *that there trophy*)'

Numeration involves cardinals (e.g. 27) and ordinals (e.g. 28), as well as what Schachter and Otnes call limiters (e.g. 29 — *marami* 'many'); these regularly premodify the head noun:

- (27) β α
isang eksena
 one scene
- (28) β α
ikaapat na bata
 fourth child

- (29) β α
maraming ina
 many mother

Description may involve qualities realised through adjectives.

Schachter and Oranes (1972: 121–122) suggest that when functioning as Attributes in relational clauses adjectives typically follow nouns (e.g. *batang masama sila* ‘they’re bad children’), unless the information construed by the adjective is less well known or self-evident than that construed by the noun, in which case the adjective precedes the noun (e.g. *masamang bata sila* ‘they’re bad children’, as spoken with the tonic on *bad*). Elsewhere, they suggest, the order of adjective and noun is not significant.

- (30) [adjectival description] (30')
 β α α β
mabigat na problema *problemang mabigat*
 heavy problem problem heavy
 ‘serious problem’ ‘serious problem’

Unlike classificator, adjectival description involves gradable qualities, that may thus appear in superlative or intensified forms (for grading see Martin 1992b):

- (31) [graded description: superlative adjective]
 β α
pinakamalaking simbolo
 biggest symbol
 (32) [graded description: intensified adjective]
 β α
napakalaking simbolo
 very big symbol

Description may also involve phrases (e.g. 33) and clauses (e.g. 34), which may appear before (e.g. 33, 34) or after the head (e.g. 33', 34'). Schachter and Oranes (1972: 123) comment that the longer the description, the more likely it is to postmodify.

- (33) [phrasal description] (33')
 β α α β
nasa mesang bata *batang nasa mesa*
 on table child child on table
 ‘child on the table’ ‘child on the table’

- (34) [clausal description] (34')
 β α α β
umihing bata *batang umihi*
 peed child child peed
 ‘child who peed’ ‘child who peed’

Classification involves non-gradable modification — subclassification of the head of the nominal group, typically by another noun. Classifiers may precede (e.g. 35) or follow (e.g. 36) the head.

- (35) [classification following the head]
 α β
tubong ekonomico
 growth economic
 ‘economic growth’
 (36) [classification preceding the head]
 β α
bilang kandidato
 child candidate
 ‘child candidate (entrant)’

Schachter and Oranes (1972: 120) suggest that the first noun in such complexes tends to construe older information or a more general semantic category. My own observations suggest that whereas adjectival description tends to premodify the head, nominal classification tends to postmodify (supporting Schachter and Oranes’s suggestion that the more general semantic category precedes the more specific). The relationship between classifying nominal groups (e.g. 37', 38') and their agnate relational attributive clauses (e.g. 37, 38) can be used to clarify this line of argument.

- (37) Attribute Carrier (38) Attribute Carrier
kalan ang laruan *laruan ang kalan*
 stove toy toy stove
 ‘The toy is a stove.’ ‘The stove is a toy.’
 (37') [agnate group with *laruan* (38') [agnate group with
 as head] *kalan* as head]
 α β α β
laruang kalan *kalang laruan*
 toy stove stove toy
 ‘stove toy [kind of toy]’ ‘toy stove [kind of
 stove vs real stove]’

The relative flexibility of information distribution in Tagalog nominal groups indicates that an analysis of textual structure needs to be developed alongside the logical and experiential motifs reviewed here. This introduces another typological variable into the discussion — namely, the degree to which languages distinguish experiential, logical, interpersonal and textual structure at ranks smaller than the clause. In English, for example, the textual organisation of nominal groups is locked into the experiential unfolding of the group — deixis precedes numeration precedes description precedes classification precedes the head (Halliday 1985b:158-159). Tagalog, on the other hand, allows deixis, numeration, description and classification to be distributed before or after the head as appropriate to the flow of information in a given text. Analysis of this group rank textual structure is beyond the scope of this paper; Matthiessen (1992) provides a valuable framework for this investigation.

By way of rounding off this survey of nominal hypotaxis, two further aspects of adjectival grading need to be reviewed. At issue here are alternatives to the *napaka*-intensification exemplified in (32) above, which involved affixation of the adjective (e.g. 39) rather than submodification. Adjectives may either be submodified by a preceding adjective of intensive meaning (e.g. 40), or submodify themselves (through repetition; e.g. 41):

- (39) [intensification through affixation]
napakalaking simbolo
 very big symbol
 'very big symbol'
- (40) [intensification through submodification]
masyadong malaking simbolo
 excessive big symbol
 'terribly big symbol'
- (41) [intensification through repetition]
malaking malaking simbolo
 big big symbol
 'very big symbol'

The most common submodifying adjectives are listed below, alongside their meaning when used as intensifiers, and their meaning when functioning as attributes in their own right.

adjective:	intensifier:	attributive meaning:
lubha	'too, terribly...'	['serious']
masyado	'too, terribly...'	['excessive']
toroo	'really'	['true']
tunay	'really'	['true']
talaga	'really'	[impersonal: 'it is true']

They precede, and are linked to the adjective they intensify, as illustrated below:

- (42) [submodification with *masyado* + linker]
masyadong mainit ang panahon
 too hot weather
 'the weather's too hot'
- (43) [submodification with *tunay* + linker]
tunay na masaya ako
 really happy I
 'I'm really happy'

Intensification through repetition involves repeating the whole of the adjective, including any affixation, and involving the linker:¹⁶

- (44) [intensification of *na*-adjective through repetition + linker *-ng*]
masayang masaya siya
 happy happy s/he
 's/he's very happy'
- (45) [intensification of unaffixed adjective through repetition + linker *na*]
pagod na pagod ako
 tired-tired I
 'I'm really tired'

Submodification through repetition raises a question as to which instance of the adjective to treat as head. This can be resolved in this context on the model of structures involving intensive adjectives, where intensification precedes (a regressive logical structure; e.g. 46):

- (46) [intensification through submodification]
 β (β α) α
masyadong malaking simbolo
 excessive big symbol
 'terribly big symbol'

- (47) [intensification through repetition]
 β (β α) α
malaking malaking simbolo
 big big symbol
 'very big symbol'

In closing this section, note that the *-ng* form of the linker is found in compound nouns (in place of *h*, *ʔ*, *n*) — e.g. *ngiping-aso* 'sharp teeth'; with nouns ending in other consonants, no linker is present — e.g. *isip-lamok* 'feeble mind' (Schachter and Oranes 1972: 107). The linkage realised here can be treated as fully lexicalised, since the nouns in question occur in a fixed sequence, the relation is not recursive (the compounds are limited to two items), and the meaning of the compound is not directly retrievable from its component parts.

- (48) *ngiping -aso* (49) *isip- lamok*
 teeth dog thought mosquito
 'sharp toothed.' 'feeble minded'

By way of summary it is interesting to note that Tagalog explicitly grammaticalises nominal group structure as a word complex by means of its linker, across a wide range of modification types. In this respect it contrasts with English, for whose nominal groups Halliday (1985b) has suggested a logical structure that is not explicitly reflected in nominal group morphology.

4. Interpersonal meaning and interdependency structure

In order to clarify the next step in the discussion, Tagalog's resources for grammaticalising interpersonal meaning will be briefly reviewed (for a full discussion see Martin 1990). The general pattern involves the inclusion of a particle which is not connected to the rest of the clause either through the linker or the theme/case marking particles *ang*, *ng*, *sa*. One group of these particles is enclitic, and typically appears after the first word in a clause containing a salient syllable. In (50), the enclitic particle *ba* signals that the clause is a polar interrogative:

- (50) *Sasagot ba ang Diyos*
 will answer ? God
 'Will God answer?'

Although the particle is realised in one position, the scope of its meaning is the clause as a whole. This is one respect in which interpersonal meanings in exhibit the prosodic pattern of realisation suggested by Halliday (and reviewed in section 1 above); McGregor (1990) refers to this type of realisation as scopal. Other interpersonal particles whose meaning ranges over the clause as a whole in this way are *nga* 'intensive'; *daw/raw* 'reportative'; *ho* 'deference'; *po* 'great deference'; *ba* 'question'; *kaya* 'speculation'; *pala* 'surprise'; *sana* 'optative'; *yata* 'uncertainty', two of which are exemplified in (51) and (52).

- (51) *aalis pa pala si Ding nang mading-araw*
 will leave still surprise dawn
 'Surprisingly, he/s still leaving at dawn!'
 (52) *pupunta daw siya sa probinsya*
 will go it is said s/he provinces
 'Reportedly, he's going to the provinces.'

There are various types of non-enclitic particle, serving a range of interpersonal functions. The most important are reviewed below:

- (53) [negative indicative]
Hindi sumagot si Lea
 neg. answer
 'Lea didn't answer.'
- (54) [tag — combining polar interrogative and negative particles]
Lalaki pa rin siya, hindi ba?
 man still also s/he neg. ?
 'He's a man all the same, isn't he?'
- (55) [sentence final particles]
Kinasal nga, ei!
 was married really contradict
 'On the contrary, she was really married.'
- (56) [interjections]
Naku, Maya, masama iyon
 Gosh bad that
 'Gosh, Maya, that's naughty.'
- (57) [vocatives]
Tser, umihi si Roderick
 teacher is peeing
 'Teacher, Roderick is peeing.'

- (58) [wh questions]
Bakit nagmamama ng apelyido ang bata sa tatay
 why are inheriting surname child father
 'Why do children always inherit their surname from the father?'

Overwhelmingly then, in terms of the range of meanings involved and their frequency of realisation in text, Tagalog realises interpersonal meaning through particles whose meaning scopes over the whole of their clause but which are neither hypotactically linked to the rest of the clause nor involved in case and Theme marking. However, as outlined in Martin (1990), and further explored in Martin (in press a), Tagalog does deploy the linker {-ng/na} in a number of interpersonal constructions. The most important of these are reviewed in (59) to (64) below. In these examples, the clause begins with an interpersonal meaning (e.g. modality, negation, exclamation), which is pre-enclitic — that is, textual (including pronominal forms of participants) and interpersonal particles which might otherwise follow the verb are 'drawn' to the front of the clause (cf. the position of enclitic particles in the projecting clauses in (5), (6) and (7) above which immediately follow the clause initial verb). The rest of the clause is then made dependent on these particles and the interpersonal meaning attracting them through the linker. Note that these structures give a periodic structure to the clause in which interpersonal (and some textual) meanings precede experiential ones (see Martin 1990 for discussion).

- (59) [MODALIZATION: intensity; also includes probability, usuality, appearance]
 α β
lalo silya -ng magiging kawawa
 too much s/he lk becoming pitiful
 'She's becoming even more pathetic.'
 [MODULATION: inclination; also includes obligation, ability]
 α β
gusto mo -ng mag-kafe
 want you-sg lk have coffee
 'You want to have coffee.'
 [negative imperative (if pre-enclitic, i.e. if no enclitics present, no linker)]
 α β
huwag mo sana ako -ng bigu-in
 neg. you-sg. optative I lk disappoint
 'Don't let me down.'

- (62) [negative existential (and positive existentials with *mayroon*, but not *may*)]
 α β
wala naman ako -ng na-kiya
 neg. exist. contrast I lk saw
 'But I didn't see anything.'
 [exclamative manner]
 α β
ang bilis niya -ng tum-akbo
 fast s/he lk ran
 'How fast she ran!'
 [wh manner (and all other marked Themes of manner) — optionally linked]
 α β
Papaano ko -ng pa-tu-tulug-in 'yan
 how I lk make sleep that
 'How could I put it to sleep?'

The different types of interpersonal meaning at issue here can be combined:

- (65) [combination of modalization and negative existentiality]
 α β γ
para -ng wala naman ako -ng na-kiya
 seem lk neg.ex. contrast I lk saw
 'But it seems I didn't see anything.'

But the systems are not recursive (as Halliday proposes for logical systems from a paradigmatic perspective) in the sense that modalization is not used to modify modalization, ¹⁷ nor negation to modify negation (cf. the ideational recursive PROJECTION, EXPANSION and MODIFICATION resources reviewed above). Paradigmatically, then, the structures exemplified in (59) to (65) are unlike logical ones, since non-recursive. Syntagmatically, they are unlike EXPANSION and MODIFICATION in that the interdependency sequence cannot be varied — the interpersonal particle always comes first; in this respect they resemble hypotactic PROJECTION. This resemblance, and the fact that the interpersonal particles in question are pre-enclitic, argue for the interpretation of the interpersonal particle as head and the rest of the clause as dependent (as noted in (59) to (65) above).

At the same time, the structures in (59) to (65) differ syntagmatically from interpersonal ones in general in that the interpersonal particle is

hypotactically linked to the rest of the clause (and also with respect to its pre-enclitic properties, which are not shared by interjections, vocatives, tags, clitics, sentence final particles and only optionally exhibited by negative particles and wh words). One way to approach this region of meaning would be to argue that logical structures are being co-opted here to realise interpersonal systems — systems which are not themselves recursive. Structural co-option of this kind poses, nevertheless, a challenge to the association of metafunctions with types of structure in SFL. And this challenge needs to be carefully assessed. Are we to treat counterevidence of this kind as a refutation of the model's hypothesis, as some models of scientific rationality might lead us to reason? Or does there remain some insight in the notion of 'logical in the service of the interpersonal' that we want to hang on to, and treat as an 'ecologically sensitive deployment of resources in the genesis of Tagalog lexicogrammar'? And if the latter, what is the rationale for deploying logical resources in this interpersonal way?

One way to rationalise Tagalog's use of interdependency structures in interpersonal contexts has to do with the reconciliation of prosodic and particulate structuring principles in the grammar, where they are inherently in tension with each other. Note that in phonology, prosodic and particulate structural motifs are not in conflict — intonation and syllabic segmentation make use of complementary phonation, and there is no problem realising interpersonal meanings (of KEY; see Halliday 1967) alongside experiential ones (i.e. sounding out morphemes). In grammar however, resources comparable to these complementary bands of phonation are not available. Interpersonal and textual meaning have to be mapped onto ideational segmentation. One strategy used by English in this regard is to make use of opportunistic realisation, and establish interpersonal prosodies by realising them whenever appropriate across a segmental configuration. Sprawling realisation of this kind in a sense mimics the more prototypically prosodic intonation contours of phonology. An example of this kind of realisation in English is negative attitude as construed through swearing:

- (66) [prosodic realisation of negative affect — English swearing]
Jesus that un-bloody-grateful bastard is giving me the fucking shits.

A model of the opportunistic realisation involved here is outlined in Figure 13 (for further discussion see Martin in press a).

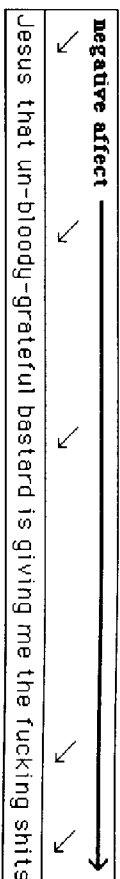


Figure 13: *English swearing as a prosody of negative affect*

Note that in English, nominal groups in particular lend themselves to the construal of affect, which is one reason why *giving me the fucking shits* has been preferred to *shits me* in example (i.e. the nominal realisation expands the possibilities for amplifying affect across the clause). Note as well the prosody's lack of respect for ideational segmentation, as manifested through the realisation *bloody* between morphemes inside the word *un-grateful*.

The Tagalog interdependency structures at issue here might be interpreted as an alternative strategy for construing grammatical prosodies — namely that of establishing the relevant interpersonal meaning as the head of the clause, and making the rest of the clause dependent on it. Thus the modal *sigurado* 'certain' in (67) is realised at the front of the clause, followed by the linker *-ng*, which precisely establishes its semantic domain.¹⁸

- (67) [establishing the prosodic domain]
sigurado -ng u-uwi ka ng bahay ngayon hapon
 certain lk go home you-sg house today afternoon
 'You'll certainly go home to your house this afternoon.'

A diagrammatic representation for this deployment of logical structure to specify the scope of interpersonal meanings in Tagalog is offered in Figure 14.

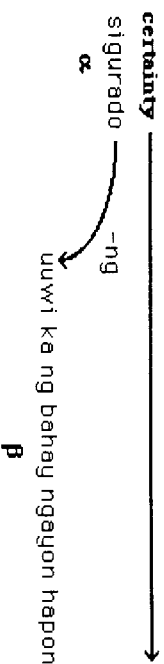


Figure 14: *Interdependency and prosodic domain in Tagalog*

If this line of interpretation is correct, then it should be the case that related strategies for construing grammatical prosodies can be found across languages. Interpersonal metaphors of modality in English provide one example (Halliday 1985b: 132-141). On Halliday's reading, the first person, present tense verbal process in 68 and mental process in 69 can be literally analysed as involving PROJECTION (clause complex analysis provided). Beyond this, however, the clauses need to be interpreted as grammatical metaphors for modulations of obligation — on a deeper level the clauses mean 'you should':

- (68) [projecting mental process standing for a modulation of obligation — 'you should']
 α I cannot believe
 β that his death and the murder of so many others in the last terrible weeks has not prompted an immediate response from the government!
 (69) [projecting verbal process standing for a modulation of obligation — 'you should']
 α I appeal to you, Mr Greiner,
 β α 1 to realise past mistakes
 α +2 and help rectify the existing situation now,
 β before more lives are sacrificed.

Literally, in other words, clauses such as these have to be analysed as projecting clause complexes. A projecting mental process like *I cannot believe* is used to stand for the modulation, while its projected idea establishes the modulation's domain. As outlined in Figure 15, this English interdependency structure does the same work for English modality that the deployment of logical structures for interpersonal meaning does for Tagalog.

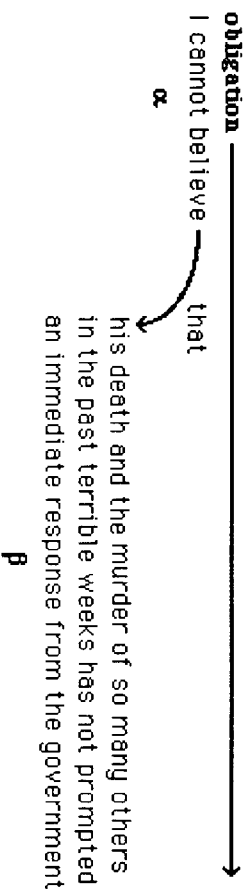


Figure 15: *Literal reading of the English modulation as projection*

But, whereas Tagalog accomplishes this work by borrowing congruent logical resources, English proceeds indirectly, through grammatical metaphor. Interpersonal meanings of modality are restructured as ideational projections, which then symbolise, rather than directly realise, the semantic scope of congruent modalities in the English clause. Note the contrast between (68), in which projection grammaticalises prosodic domain, and (70) (the meaning of (68) if you will), where the scope of the modal *should* has to be inferred.

- (70) [direct realisation of the modality in (68), as a modal verb]
 His death and the murder of so many others in the past terrible weeks should have promoted an immediate response from the government.

Turning back to Tagalog then, with the notion of 'logical structure in the service of the interpersonal' plausibly in hand, what is to be made of linking structures such as those outlined in (71) and (72) below?

- (71) [existentials (with *magyroom*): defusing modal responsibility?]
 α
magyroom -ng na-kita si Ojie
 exist. Ik saw
 'Ojie saw something.'
 (72) [manner circumstances as marked theme: grading the process?]
 α
mabilis niya -ng tum-akbo
 fast s/he Ik ran
 'She ran fast.'

Seen through the blinkers of English, both existential constructions and circumstances of manner shape up as experiential meanings (following Halliday 1985b). Do examples such as these (again non-recursive), then, function as further counterevidence to the association of interdependency structure and logical meaning? Or should we perhaps address more carefully the metafunctional location of existentiality and manner in Tagalog? Do both systems in fact function in Tagalog as interpersonal systems, as the structures in (71) and (72) suggest?

Martin (in press c) suggests that existentiality, alongside attribution and identification be interpreted as systems for construing modal responsibility in Tagalog. In the same paper, he notes that the 'circumstances' of

manner are related to Tagalog processes quite differently to other circumstances, via *ng* (phonetically [naŋ] rather than *sa* ; and like the adjectival modification reviewed above, manner is a gradable category (for the association of interpersonal meaning and grading see Martin 1992b). So there is a danger that the structures in (71) and (72) might be interpreted in rather anglocentric terms, which are themselves in urgent need of typological deconstruction.

The point of developing the discussion along these lines has not been to resolve the descriptive and theoretical issues raised, but rather i. to foreground the richness of an interpretative framework engendered by a theory of intrinsic functionality and associated structural configurations and ii. to stress the need to carefully assess data that apparently fits neatly, not so neatly or not at all into a framework of this kind. Our interest here, in other words, lies in opening up a functional research paradigm, which will be robust enough to stand the test of time, across languages, and evolve. The questions it asks (cf. this paper, section 4) may turn out to be more important than the answers it readily provides (cf. this paper, section 3).

5. Tagalog news

Around 'exotic' languages there grows a lore — Tagalog is a VOS language, Tagalog can't relativise into Subject position, Tagalog Subjects must be definite and so on. Reporting American structuralist lore from a by-gone era, H. A. Gleason, Jr. used to joke in class that Tagalog was a language in which the notion of word class was so ill-defined, it didn't matter whether you said *the dog barks* or *the bark dogs*. The lore changes over time. And it matters little where, when and by whom it is publicly discredited (see for example Martin 1983, Cena 1979 or Rafael 1978 on the lore reviewed above, or Schachter 1976, 1977 querying the category Subject in Philippine languages). In the end, the mainstream linguist's 'common sense' prevails: Tagalog is construed to serve the role it is needed to serve in prevailing fashions of theory and description.

In this paper I have tried to construct an alternative to the whirlwind typological tours that so ethnocentrically devour lore, one minute decontextualised piece of a language at a time, by focussing in detail on Tagalog's linker and its function across a range of grammatical constructions. From this functional perspective the following news from somewhere can be highlighted.

i. Logical structure is less cryptotypic in some languages than in others; hypotaxis in Tagalog is explicitly grammaticalized with the linking particle {*na/-ng* }, across a range of grammatical environments. Linked structures involving part/part relations contrast clearly with non-linked configurations of parts and whole. This complementarity calls into question descriptions of Tagalog which rely on constituency alone as their model of particulate representation.

ii. We can expect non-recursive interpersonal systems to borrow logical structures to specify the prosodic domain of interpersonal meanings, this being one strategy for resolving the inherent tension between particulate and prosodic structuring principles in grammar. Extrapolating from this, we might look for languages that co-opt logical structures for textual purposes, possibly to isolate peaks of textual prominence at the beginning or end of grammatical units. Do such languages in fact occur, and if so, what kinds of tension between periodic and particulate structuring motifs is being resolved?

iii. Most importantly, the explicit grammaticalisation of experiential (part/whole constituency) structure and logical (part/part interdependency) structure in Tagalog argues for a grammatics in which these modes of meaning are treated as complementarities, so that we look for both in our language descriptions; the choice between constituency and dependency should not simply be built into our metalinguistics as a choice between grammatics, since choosing one model or the other straightforwardly effaces the logical or experiential meaning that is backgrounded by this decision.

Functionally based typological analysis is still in its infancy. Depending as it does on detailed, fully contextualised descriptions of a variety of languages, it will be slow to evolve. In this paper I have tried to nudge this work along, taking logical meaning and interdependency structure in Tagalog as one, among many possible points of departure. Are our functional models finally extravagant enough that we can proceed without lore? In our post-colonial world, is it time to care?

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Notes

1. My thanks to Christian Matthiessen for the typological excursions in his *Lexico-grammatical Cartography* manuscript, which have inspired a good deal of the discussion here.
2. Tagalog graphology does not symbolise word final glottal stop or fricative (e.g. *tao* for /aoh/ in the examples); so in writing, the linker appears to have been added to words ending phonetically with these graphologically elided consonants.
3. Halliday (1981a, b) suggests modelling experiential structure in multivariate terms (involving structures in which each element plays a different role), and logical structure in univariate terms (involving structures in which elements replay the same role).
4. The concentric boxes in this model of language and metafunction represent strata: phonology/graphology, contextualised by lexicogrammar, recontextualised by discourse semantics (after Martin 1992a).
5. For an alternative treatment of experiential structure, foregrounding nuclearity, see Martin (in press a).
6. Formal linguistics generally prefers a constituency interpretation of projection, which interpretation is in part dictated by the foregrounding of constituency relation in the theory; for discussion of hypotaxis vs embedding see Matthiessen and Thompson (1989), Matthiessen and Martin (1991).
7. Roman numerals (1,2,3,...) index paratactic interdependencies, Greek letters ($\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \dots$) hypotactic ones; 'indexes projected ideas (i.e. clauses projected by mental processes).
8. As Figure 6 shows, the first five clauses are linked paratactically, via EXPANSION, to the next two through the conjunction *but*; the other five interdependencies involve PROJECTION.
9. The examples in this section are taken from Lualhati Bautista's acclaimed novel *Bata, Bata...Pa-no Ka Gimawa?*; in some cases they have been simplified by removing wording not directly relevant to the discussion.
10. For purposes of this paper paratactic interdependencies, typically marked by the coordinator *at* across ranks, will be set aside.
11. In Tagalog, verbal processes also mark case relations differently from mental ones; see Martin (in press c) for discussion.
12. But the interrogative particle *ba*, which is not allowed in hypotactic projection, is possible: the Token Value structure is apparently reworking hypotactic projection, via elaboration, as 'paratactic' — achieving thematic flexibility for hypotactic projection as it does so (i.e. projected or projecting clause first).

13. Schachter and Olanes (1972:176) appear to prefer the translation 'Ojje just didn't know how true that was' for structures of this kind; their use of the term 'quotation-tag topic' foregrounds projection over identification in their reading of the structure.
14. There is no relevant independent stem /koh/, /koʔ/ or /kon/, to which -ng might be argued to append.
15. *To* can be treated as an explicit grammaticalisation of hypotaxis in English verbal group complexes (e.g. *tried to come*), but it does not generalise across a range of logical environments.
16. The tension does of course arise in linguists' interpretation of English, with projections variously treated as part of (constituency theory) or dependent on (dependency theory) the clause projecting them (see Matthiessen and Martin 1991, Matthiessen and Thompson 1989).
17. In order to simplify the presentation, non-restrictive relative clauses (treated as hypotactic elaborations in English by Halliday 1985) will be passed over here; this sidesteps the issue of whether to treat such clauses as expansions of the clause or nominal group in Tagalog (cf. Schachter and Olanes (1972:131-132) who treat them as nominal expansions).
18. Following Halliday (1985b), that part of the nominal group designating the class of the participant construed will be taken as head (setting aside elliptical and 'partitive' groups, where head is disassociated from designation).
19. The so-called 'sa' form realises circumstances, while the so-called 'ng' [nan] form realises participants which are not Theme.
20. Cf. repetition of the stem only for *ma-* affixed adjectives, without the linker, with the meaning of moderation: *masaya-saya* 'rather happy'.
21. The prosodic nature of these particles is explored in detail in Martin (1990).
22. Modulations, like adjectives, may be intensified (e.g. *gustong gusto* 'really want'), which is one reason why Schachter and Olanes (1972) treat what they call 'pseudo-verbs' as adjectival; but one modulation is not used to modify another (e.g. **gustong dapat* 'want should').
23. Prosodic realisation of this kind is discussed in Waterson (1956/1970), writing on Turkish vowel harmony.
24. As can be seen, it is not only the realisation of case relations in Philippine languages which gave shape to Fillmore's (1968) deep structures; his treatment of interpersonal meaning seems to have been modelled directly on structures such as (34).
25. My apologies to William Morris.

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A functional grammar for students of English

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Talmy Givón. *English Grammar: A Function-Based Introduction*. Amsterdam: Benjamins 1993. Vol. I: xxi + 318 pp. Vol. II: xv + 363 pp. (ISBN 90 272 2100 6 (set hbk)/90 272 2117 0 (set pbk), 90 272 2098 0 (hbk vol. 1)/90 272 2115 4 (pbk vol. 1), 90 272 2099 9 (hbk vol. 2)/90 272 2116 2 (pbk vol. 2)).

1. Introduction

T. Givón's [G.] *English Grammar: A Function-Based Introduction* [EG] is the latest in a series of publications in which the author puts forward his own particular approach to grammatical structure, an approach described in his own words as 'unabashedly functional'. As in previous publications, there is an emphasis on the importance of communication and cognitive processes, on pragmatics and semantics as well as syntax, and an awareness of the diachronic dimension as an ever-present factor to be taken into consideration in understanding present-day forms and meanings. But in contrast to the wide-ranging references to many languages of previous volumes, in this work the author's reflections are geared exclusively to English, and more specifically to written English. Apart from this whitening down as regards typological coverage, and a certain amount of pruning in the number of comments drawing on biological, anthropological and philosophical sources, EG maintains a considerable similarity to the earlier *Syntax: A Functional-Typological Introduction*, vol. I (1984)