

PARTS OF SPEECH IN TAGALOG

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In what is perhaps one of the most blatant instances of Anglocentricism in linguistics, Pilipino schoolchildren learn from their grammar books that Tagalog sentences are of the form subject-copula-verb--in other words, just like their English counterparts. Alas, it is hard to imagine a more unwarranted imposition of one language's structure upon that of another than is evident in such a statement, or to construct a statement about Tagalog grammar that is wrong in so many ways.

Most linguists now recognize that Tagalog differs from English at least with respect to its basic word order, which is verb-initial: various subject-initial constructions, in which the copula *ay* is inserted, are generally considered to be more highly marked variants. Moreover, it is often observed that Tagalog differs from English also with respect to its inventory of grammatical relations; thus, Schachter (1976, 1977), Gil (1984) and others argue that Tagalog has neither subjects nor direct objects, its basic sentence structure consisting of a verb followed by a string of nominals. Such descriptions go some of the way towards freeing the study of Tagalog from its Anglocentric shackles--but they do not go far enough.

In this paper, I suggest that Tagalog differs from English and other European languages more radically than is generally supposed, not only with respect to its basic word order and its inventory of grammatical relations but also with respect to its inventory of parts of speech, or syntactic categories. Specifically, I propose that Tagalog possesses but a single open syntactic category. In other words, Tagalog does not distinguish between categories such as noun, verb, adjective, preposition, sentence, and so on, nor does it distinguish between lexical categories and their phrasal projections, that is to say between nouns and noun-phrases, verbs and verb-phrases, and so forth.

1. Syntactic Categories in Universal Grammar

The principles governing the putting together of words to form sentences differ in numerous fundamental ways from the principles determining the internal constitution of words, and from the principles specifying the ways in which sentences group together to form larger texts: it is this commonplace observation that underlies the autonomy of syntax vis à vis

morphology on the one hand and discourse on the other. Moreover, the principles governing the form of sentences differ in many crucial aspects from the principles determining the structure of sentence meanings: it is this equally well-known fact that motivates the autonomy of syntax with respect to semantics.¹

The autonomy of syntax motivates definitions of syntactic categories making exclusive reference to syntactic properties. Such categories may be based on the following membership criteria:

(1) Syntactic Category Membership Criteria

- (a) For x to be a member of a syntactic category X , x must be a word or string of words.
- (b) For x and y to be members of the same syntactic category X , x and y must share an array of syntactic properties, such as distributional privileges, and participation in relations such as government, binding, and agreement.

Criterion (1a) asserts that syntactic trees stop at words: terminal nodes must contain exactly one word each. It thus rules out items such as the English past or present tense affixes as possible members of a syntactic category since they are formally part of morphology, not syntax. (However, it leaves open the possibility that a word undergo cliticization to another word, or that it be phonologically null.) Criterion (1b) specifies that membership in syntactic categories is determined solely by shared syntactic behaviour. Morphological criteria are irrelevant; for example, if English has a set of words that may be inflected for tense, this constitutes a morphological word class, not a syntactic category. Similarly, semantic criteria play no role whatsoever; for example, if English has a class of words that denotes activities, this constitutes a semantic, not a syntactic, category.²

Syntactic categories are thus sets of words and word strings sharing syntactic properties. Like other categories, in grammar and elsewhere in cognition, they comprise prototypical members, exhibiting a large number of shared properties, and less typical members, displaying a smaller number of shared properties. Moreover, different syntactic categories may exhibit different degrees of productivity. Open syntactic categories, usually based on content words, may contain an infinite set of members, whereas closed syntactic categories, often based on function words, typically contain a small number of members.

Universal Grammar provides a set of syntactic categories from which particular languages may choose. Syntactic categories are of the form X^n , where X is some symbol, and n is a non-negative integer. (When $n=0$, the superscript may sometimes be omitted. The set of syntactic categories in Universal Grammar is defined in terms of a single initial or primitive syntactic category S^0 , and two category-formation operators, an unary operator *kernel* and a binary operator *slash*, which apply to syntactic categories to form new syntactic categories:

(2) Syntactic Category Formation (Paradigmatic)

(a) Initial Syntactic Category S^0

(b) Category Formation Operators:

(i) Kernel: For any category X^n , X^{n+1} is a category, 'the kernel category of X^n '.

(ii) Slash: For any two categories X and Y , X/Y is a category, 'X slash Y'.

For example, from the initial category S^0 , application of kernel will form the category S^1 , while application of slash will yield the category S^0/S^0 . These two categories may then form the basis for further applications of these operators. For example, application of kernel to S^1 will form the category S^2 , while application of kernel to S^0/S^0 will yield the category $(S^0/S^0)^1$; similarly, applications of slash to S^0 , S^1 and S^0/S^0 will produce categories such as S^0/S^1 , S^1/S^0 , $S^0/(S^0/S^0)$, and so forth. As is evident, the number of syntactic categories is infinite.³

The names of syntactic categories encode their syntactic behaviour in accordance with the following two rules:

(3) Syntactic Category Combination (Syntagmatic)

(a) Slash Combination: $X \rightarrow \{Y, X/Y, X/Y \dots\}$

(b) Identity Combination: $X \rightarrow \{X, X \dots\}$

Rule (3a), Slash Combination, states that an X may consist of one Y plus one or more X/Y s: for example, an S^0 may consist of one S^1 plus one or more S^0/S^1 s. Alternatively it may consist of one S^0 plus one or more S^0/S^0 s. Rule (3b), Identity Combination, specifies that an X may consist of two or more X s: for example, an S^0 may consist of several S^0 s.

The Syntactic Category Combination Rules are associated with specific values of headedness. If $X = \{Y, X/Y, X/Y \dots\}$, in accordance with Slash Combination, then Y is the head of X . (A corollary of this is that whenever Y is the kernel category of

X and the daughter of X, then Y is the head of X. However, if $X = \{X, X \dots\}$, in accordance with Identity Combination, then either (a) one of the daughter Xs is head, or (b) the construction is headless.

For any syntactic category X, the parents of X are the categories from which X is formed by a single application of a category-formation operator. Two cases may be distinguished. First, if X is the kernel category of Y, for some Y, then Y is the single parent of X. For example, S^0 is the single parent of S^1 . Secondly, if X is of form Y/Z, for some Y and Z, then Y and Z are the two parents of X. For example, S^0 and S^1 are the two parents of S^0/S^1 . Generalizing from here, for any category X, the ancestors of X are the categories from which X is formed by one or more applications of category-formation operators. For example, the ancestors of $(S^0/S^0)^1$ are S^0/S^0 , its only parent, and S^0 . Note, specifically, that the initial category S^0 is the ancestor of every syntactic category.

The above framework sets the stage for the formulation of constraints on permissible syntactic category inventories in Universal Grammar:

(4) Constraints on Syntactic Category Inventories

(a) The Ancestral Constraint

If X is a syntactic category in a language L, then all of X's ancestors are syntactic categories in L. Moreover, if X is an open syntactic category in L, then all of X's ancestors are open syntactic categories in L.

(b) The Construction Constraint

If X and Y are syntactic categories in a language L, then L must have constructions formed from X and Y.

(c) The Kernel Category Constraint

If X/Y is an open category in a language L, then Y is the kernel category of X.

For example, in accordance with the first clause of the Ancestral Constraint in (4a), $\{S^0\}$, $\{S^0, S^1\}$, and $\{S^0, S^1, S^0/S^1\}$ are possible syntactic category inventories, while $\{S^1, S^0/S^1\}$ is not, since S^0 , ancestor to both S^1 and S^0/S^1 , is lacking. Furthermore, taking $\{S^0, S^1, S^0/S^1\}$ as the inventory of syntactic categories, the second clause of the Ancestral Constraint allows for the possibility that S^0 and S^1 be open but S^0/S^1 closed, while ruling out the possibility that S^0 and S^1 be closed but S^0/S^1 open. In fact, the Ancestral Constraint entails that the initial category S^0 is a member of every permissible syntactic

category inventory. The Construction Constraint in (4b) rules out inventories such as, for example, $\{S^0, S^1\}$, since the rules of Syntactic Category Combination stated in (6) would not permit a single construction to contain both S^0 and S^1 without a further syntactic category, such as S^0/S^1 . Finally, the Kernel Category Constraint in (4c) specifies, for example, that among such categories as S^0/S^1 , S^1/S^0 , and $S^0/(S^0/S^0)$, only S^0/S^1 may be open. Together, the above three constraints effect a substantial restriction of the possible syntactic category inventories in Universal Grammar.

The syntactic categories proposed herein are motivated exclusively by syntactic behaviour, and hence do not correspond to familiar syntactic categories such as noun, verb, adjective, preposition, sentence, and so forth, justified by a combination of morphological, syntactic, and semantic criteria.⁴ Moreover, since syntactic behaviour is often less transparent than either morphological or semantic properties, the determination of syntactic category membership can only be achieved through careful grammatical analysis. It is to this task that we now turn.

2. Syntactic Categories in Tagalog

Virtually all words and word strings in Tagalog belong to the single open syntactic category S^0 . In addition, however, a small class of words belong to the closed syntactic category S^0/S^0 . That is to say, Tagalog has only one open syntactic category, and only one additional closed syntactic category.⁵

In accordance with criterion (1b) above, this means that almost all words and word strings exhibit similar syntactic behaviour, with regard to distributional privileges and participation in relations such as government, binding, and agreement. Indeed, this seems to be the case.⁶

In particular, since practically all words and word strings belong to the same syntactic category, ANYTHING CAN GO ANYWHERE. From an Anglocentric perspective, at least, this is, perhaps, the most salient feature of Tagalog syntax.

Some evidence supporting the claim that anything can go anywhere is presented in (5) to (8) below, illustrating some of the most basic construction types in Tagalog. Examples (5) to (8) provide templates into which words or phrases may be inserted. Under each template, examples are given of words traditionally assumed to belong to different syntactic categories; these are marked as 'E-nouns', 'E-verbs' and 'E-adjectives' respectively, where the prefix 'E-' stands for 'English'. That is to say, these are words whose equivalents in English are nouns, verbs, and adjectives respectively, and are commonly assumed

to be so also in Tagalog. However, as evidenced in (5) to (8), E-nouns, E-verbs, and E-adjectives can occur anywhere in the templates: the resulting constructions, listed below each template, are all grammatical.⁷

Example (5) illustrates the 'predicate-argument' construction, characterized by a template of the form *P ang B*, where *P* and *B* are arbitrary S⁰s, and *ang* is a grammatical marker associated with *B*:⁸

	<i>ang</i>		
pulubi		bangkero	<i>E-nouns</i>
beggar		boatman	
pinatay		bumalik	<i>E-verbs</i>
PT:PFV-kill		AT:PFV-return	
mapayat		mabait	<i>E-adjectives</i>
STAT-thin		STAT-kind	

- (a) Pulubi ang bangkero
'The boatman is a beggar'
- (b) Pulubi ang bumalik
'The one who returned is a beggar'
- (c) Pulubi ang mabait
'The kind one is a beggar'
- (d) Pinatay ang bangkero
'The boatman was killed'
- (e) Pinatay ang bumalik
'The one who returned was killed'
- (f) Pinatay ang mabait
'The kind one was killed'
- (g) Mapayat ang bangkero
'The boatman is thin'
- (h) Mapayat ang bumalik
'The one who returned is thin'
- (i) Mapayat ang mabait
'The kind one is thin'

As evidenced by constructions (5a) to (5i), E-nouns, E-verbs, and E-adjectives may occur in either position in the template; all nine combinations are grammatical. Moreover, there seems to be no evidence to suggest that some of the combinations are more complex, unusual, or highly marked than others. Some additional examples of live texts instantiating the above template are provided in (16) and (17) below.

Example (6) illustrates the 'modifier' construction, involving a template of the form *P -ng/na B*, where *P* and *B* are arbitrary S⁰s, and *-ng/na* is the ligature:⁹

(6)	_____ -ng/na _____	
	pulubi	bangkero
	beggar	boatman
	pinatay	bumalik
	PT:PFV-kill	AT:PFV-return
	mapayat	mabait
	STAT-thin	STAT-kind
		<i>E-nouns</i>
		<i>E-verbs</i>
		<i>E-adjectives</i>

- (a) pulubing bangkero
'a beggar who's a boatman'
'a boatman who's a beggar'
- (b) pulubing bumalik
'a beggar who returned'
'one who returned who's a beggar'
- (c) pulubing mabait
'a kind beggar'
'a kind one who's a beggar'
- (d) pinatay na bangkero
'one who was killed who's a boatman'
'a boatman who was killed'
- (e) pinatay na bumalik
'one who was killed who returned'
'one who returned who was killed'
- (f) pinatay na mabait
'one who was killed who's kind'
'a kind one who was killed'
- (g) mapayat na bangkero
'a thin one who's a boatman'
'a thin boatman'
- (h) mapayat na bumalik
'a thin one who returned'
'one who returned who's thin'
- (i) mapayat na mabait
'a kind thin one'
'a thin kind one'

Again, as evidenced by constructions (6a) to (6i), E-nouns, E-verbs, and E-adjectives may occur in either position in the template; all nine combinations are grammatical. In fact, each of the constructions is ambiguous and can be interpreted either as head-followed-by-modifier (as in the first translation) or as modifier-followed-by-head (as in the second translation).¹⁰

Example (7) illustrates constructions containing the marker *ng*, associated with a template of the form *P ng B*, where *P* and *B* are arbitrary S⁰s.

(7)	_____	ng	_____	
	pulubi		bangkero	<i>E-nouns</i>
	beggar		boatman	
	pinatay		bumalik	<i>E-verbs</i>
	PT:PFV-kill		AT:PFV-return	
	mapayat		mabait	<i>E-adjectives</i>
	STAT-thin		STAT-kind	
(a)	pulubi ng bangkero			
	'a boatman's beggar'			
(b)	pulubi ng bumalik			
	'one who returned's beggar'			
(c)	pulubi ng mabait			
	'a kind one's beggar'			
(d)	pinatay ng bangkero			
	'killed by a boatman'			
(e)	pinatay ng bumalik			
	'killed by one who returned'			
(f)	pinatay ng mabait			
	'killed by a kind one'			
(g)	mapayat ng bangkero			
	'a boatman's thin one'			
(h)	mapayat ng bumalik			
	'one who returned's thin one'			
(i)	mapayat ng mabait			
	'a kind one's thin one'			

In traditional terminology, *ng* is characterized alternatively as either a 'case marker' mediating between verb and noun, or a 'genitive marker' connecting two nouns. However, such a dual characterization is an artifact of an unwarranted distinction between verbal and nominal categories. Thus, as evidenced by constructions (7a-i), E-nouns, E-verbs, and E-adjectives may occur in either position in the *ng* template; all nine combinations are grammatical.

The preceding examples show that in three of the most common construction types in Tagalog, anything can go anywhere. These three constructions may, of course, be recursively combined; again, at each stage, anything can go anywhere. Example (8) below illustrates one such possibility, combining the 'predicate-argument' construction illustrated in (5) and the *ng* construction illustrated in (7), yielding a template of the form *P ng L ang B*:

(8)	_____	ng _____	ang _____	
	pulubi	lalaki	bangkero	<i>E-nouns</i>
	beggar	man	boatman	
	pinatay	lumabas	bumalik	<i>E-verbs</i>
	PT:PFV-kill	AT:PFV-go:out	AT:PFV-return	
	mapayat	malungkot	mabait	<i>E-adjectives</i>
	STAT-thin	STAT-sad	STAT-kind	

- (a) Pulubi ng lalaki ang bangkero
'The boatman is a man's beggar'
- (b) Pulubi ng lalaki ang bumalik
'The one who returned is a man's beggar'
- (c) Pulubi ng lalaki ang mabait
'The kind one is a man's beggar'
- (d) Pulubi ng lumabas ang bangkero
'The boatman is one who went out's beggar'
- (e) Pulubi ng lumabas ang bumalik
'The one who returned is one who went out's beggar'
- (f) Pulubi ng lumabas ang mabait
'The kind one is one who went out's beggar'
- (g) Pulubi ng malungkot ang bangkero
'The boatman is a sad one's beggar'
- (h) Pulubi ng malungkot ang bumalik
'The one who returned is a sad one's beggar'
- (i) Pulubi ng malungkot ang mabait
'The kind one is a sad one's beggar'
- (j) Pinatay ng lalaki ang bangkero
'The boatman was killed by a man'
- (k) Pinatay ng lalaki ang bumalik
'The one who returned was killed by a man'
- (l) Pinatay ng lalaki ang mabait
'The kind one was killed by a man'
- (m) Pinatay ng lumabas ang bangkero
'The boatman was killed by one who went out'
- (n) Pinatay ng lumabas ang bumalik
'The one who returned was killed by one who went out'
- (o) Pinatay ng lumabas ang mabait
'The kind one was killed by one who went out'
- (p) Pinatay ng malungkot ang bangkero
'The boatman was killed by a sad one'
- (q) Pinatay ng malungkot ang bumalik
'The one who returned was killed by a sad one'
- (r) Pinatay ng malungkot ang mabait
'The kind one was killed by a sad one'

- (s) Mapayat ng lalaki ang bangkero
'The boatman is a man's thin one'
- (t) Mapayat ng lalaki ang bumalik
'The one who returned is a man's thin one'
- (u) Mapayat ng lalaki ang mabait
'The kind one is a man's thin one'
- (v) Mapayat ng lumabas ang bangkero
'The boatman is one who went out's thin one'
- (w) Mapayat ng lumabas ang bumalik
'The one who returned is one who went out's thin one'
- (x) Mapayat ng lumabas ang mabait
'The kind one is one who went out's thin one'
- (y) Mapayat ng malungkot ang bangkero
'The boatman is a sad one's thin one '
- (z) Mapayat ng malungkot ang bumalik
'The one who returned is a sad one's thin one'
- (aa) Mapayat ng malungkot ang mabait
'The kind one is a sad one's thin one'

As evidenced by constructions (8a) to (8a), E-nouns, E-verbs, and E-adjectives may occur in any of the three positions in the template; all twenty-seven combinations are grammatical

Examples (5) to (8) provide evidence that E-nouns, E-verbs, and E-adjectives may occur in any position in three basic constructions in Tagalog. Similar facts hold also for E-determiners, E-quantifiers, E-prepositional-phrases, E-verb-phrases, E-sentences, and so forth. Moreover, a similar freedom obtains with respect to a variety of other basic and more complex constructions. Thus, ANYTHING CAN GO ANYWHERE; this in turn supports the claim that virtually all words and word strings in Tagalog belong to a single open syntactic category S^0 .

The existence of a single open syntactic category S^0 in Tagalog underlies a variety of syntactic properties that are unusual from a cross-linguistic, typological perspective. The first such property is free constituent order. Although scrambling of the Warlpiri variety is not possible--Tagalog provides ample evidence for the existence of hierarchic binary-branching constituent structure--the relative order of sister constituents is quite unconstrained. Consider the following examples, providing further instantiations of the 'modifier' construction illustrated in template (6) above:

- (13) (a) Sumulat ang bata
 AT:PFV-write TOP child
 'The child wrote'
- (b) Isinulat ang liham
 PT:PFV-write TOP letter
 '(Someone) wrote the letter'
- (c) Sinulatan ang pangulo
 DT:PFV-write TOP president
 '(Someone) wrote to the president'
- (d) Pinagsulatan ang mesa
 LT:PFV-write TOP table
 '(Someone) wrote on the table'
- (e) Ipinansulat ang lapis
 IT:PFV-write TOP pencil
 '(Someone) wrote with the pencil'

Example (13) presents a typical paradigm in which the stem *sulat* 'write' is marked with five different voice affixes determining the thematic role of the *ang*-phrase: actor, patient, direction, locative, and instrumental respectively. However, whereas in English and most other languages, the unmarked voice associates actor with topic, as in (13a), in Tagalog, if any of the voices is unmarked, it is that which associates the patient with topic, as in (13b).¹² Thus, typical subject properties such as actorhood and topichood do not pick out a unique expression; similarly, typical object properties fail to converge on a single phrase. These observations have accordingly led some scholars to suggest that Tagalog lacks the familiar grammatical relations of subject and object.¹³

The absence of grammatical relations in Tagalog is a straightforward consequence of the absence of distinct open syntactic categories. Subjects and objects are nominal arguments which stand in particular relationships with their governing verbs. Accordingly, if there are no nominal arguments or governing verbs, there can be no subjects or objects. The renowned voice affixes of Tagalog may be viewed as an alternative means for expressing thematic roles, in the absence of an ordinary nominal case marking system.

The third noteworthy property of Tagalog resulting from the existence of a single open syntactic category is the absence of NP-movement. Thus, WH-question words, although usually construction-initial, are actually in situ, in the first, or so-called 'predicate' position of the template illustrated in (5) above:

- (14) (a) * Kanino_i ang sumulat ang bata ng liham [e_i]
 OBL-who TOP AT:PFV-write TOP child DIR letter
 (b) * Kanino_i ang isinulat ng bata ang liham [e_i]
 OBL-who TOP PT:PFV-write DIR child TOP letter
 (c) Sino ang sinulatan ng bata ng liham
 TOP-who TOP DT:PFV-write DIR child DIR letter
 'Who did the child write a letter to'

Similarly, instead of relative clauses, a complex but gapless S₀ modifies its head in accordance with the template in (6) above:

- (15) (a) * pangulong_i sumulat ang bata ng liham [e_i]
 president-LIG AT:PFV-write TOP child DIR letter
 (b) * pangulong_i isinulat ng bata ang liham [e_i]
 president-LIG PT:PFV-write DIR child TOP letter
 (c) pangulong sinulatan ng bata ng liham
 president-LIG DT:PFV-write DIR child DIR letter
 'the president that the child wrote a letter to'

In both cases, it is the productive voice affixes that prevent massive loss of expressive power, permitting phrases of various thematic roles--in (14) and (15) above the direction--to be questioned and relativized.

The absence of NP movement in Tagalog is, of course, another straightforward consequence of the absence of distinct open syntactic categories: without NPs, there can be no NP movement.

The extent to which Tagalog syntax is unlike that of English is perhaps most vividly apparent in live texts, such as the following passages from a daily newspaper:

- (16) Sampung 'Huey' transport helicopters ang pinapunta kahapon sa Central at Northern Luzon sa utos ni Air Force chief Maj. Gen. Gerardo Protacio, para tumulong sa paghahanap at pagliligtas sa mga biktima ng lindol. Siyam na helicopter mula sa Visayas at Bicol region ang tutulong din sa malawak na rescue operation.

'Ten 'Huey' transport helicopters were sent yesterday to Central and Northern Luzon by command of Air Force chief Maj. Gen. Gerardo Protacio, to assist in the searching and freeing of the victims of the earthquake. Nine helicopters from the Visayas and Bicol region will assist too in the extensive rescue operation.'

(*Balita*, 18.7.1990, p.2)

- (17) Isang 37 anyos na driver ang binaril sa mukha at napatay matapos ito umanong pumalag sa isang 'checkpoint' sa Quezon City kahapon. Kasunod nito isang taxi driver at isang cosmetic store ang hinoldap sa magkasunod na robbery holdap sa Quezon City rin.

'A 37 year old driver was shot in the face and then died reportedly wiggling through a checkpoint in Quezon City yesterday. Following this a taxi driver and a cosmetic store were held up in consecutive robbery holdups in Quezon City too.'

(Balita, 18.7.1990, p.10)

As evidenced by their translations, the above Tagalog passages can be rendered into idiomatic English in such a way that the linear order of the major lexical items in Tagalog is perfectly preserved in the translations. Nevertheless, in spite of such superficial similarity, the syntactic structures of the Tagalog passages and their English translations are very different. In both passages, each of the two sentences instantiates the 'predicate-argument' template in (5) above; however, in each case, the first element is an E-noun-phase, while the second element, marked with *ang*, is an E-verb-phrase. For example, in the first sentence of (16), the first element is *Sampung 'Huey' transport helicopters*, 'Ten 'Huey' transport helicopters', while the second element is the remainder of the sentence, headed by *pinapunta* 'were sent'. In traditional analyses, such constructions are analyzed as consisting of nominal predicates followed by verb-phrases having undergone 'zero-conversion' into NPs. However, as noted above, there would seem to be no evidence in support of such a putative zero-conversion process. On the contrary, as suggested by the above passages, such constructions are widespread and quite natural, thereby belying their traditional characterization as more highly marked.

Thus, as argued in this section, almost all words and word strings in Tagalog belong to a single open syntactic category S^0 . The only exception is a set of clitics consisting of fifteen person forms (E-pronouns), and eighteen other forms with variegated meanings, such as *ba*, forming yes-no questions; *po* indicating politeness; *na*, marking aspect; and *din*, meaning 'also'.¹⁴ The most salient characteristic of these clitics is that they typically occur in Wackernagel's sentence-second position. These clitics accordingly belong to the closed syntactic category S^0/S^0 ; in accordance with the Slash Combination rule in (3a), they may combine with S^0 s to yield other S^0 s.¹⁵ Thus, the syntactic

category inventory of Tagalog consists of the open syntactic category S^0 and the closed syntactic category S^0/S^0 .¹⁶

3. Morphological and Semantic Consequences

Although the presence of a single open syntactic category in Tagalog is a syntactic property, it also bears morphological and semantic consequences.

As entailed by the Syntactic Category Membership Criteria in (1), syntactic categories are independent of morphological word classes; nevertheless, in many languages, morphological categories correlate with syntactic categories to various degrees. However, since in Tagalog there are no distinct syntactic categories, morphological word classes are partly arbitrary, and partly motivated, by semantic factors.

For example, many descriptions of Tagalog grammar take the presence of voice and aspect morphology to be diagnostic of a syntactic category of verb. Nevertheless, as shown in (5) to (8) above, words with voice and aspect marking, E-verbs, may occur anywhere. Moreover, the class of words that can take voice and aspect morphology is much larger than in most languages, including words which, in other languages, are characteristically nominal, such as E-proper-nouns, E-possessives, E-deictics, E-interrogatives, and E-numerals:

- (18) (a) Mag-Marcos at Marcos tayō *E-proper-nouns*
 AT:IMP-Marcos and Marcos TOP:1:PL:INCL
 'Let's support Marcos and Marcos'
- (b) Pumasa-Maynila ang bata
 AT:PFV-at-Manila TOP child
 'The child went to Manila'
- (19) (a) Suma-akin ang libro *E-possessives*
 AT:PFV-OBL-OBL:1:SG TOP book
 'The book was mine'
- (b) Pumasa-akin ang libro
 AT:PFV-at-OBL:1:SG TOP book
 'The book came into my possession'
- (20) (a) Pumarito ang bata *E-deictics*
 AT:PFV-OBL:this TOP child
 'The child came here'
- (b) Pinarituhan ang bata
 ADJT:PFV-OBL:this TOP child
 '(someone) came here for the child'

- (21) (a) Umano ang bata *E-interrogatives*
 AT:PFV-what TOP child
 'What did the child do?'
- (b) Inano ang bata
 PT:PFV-what TOP child
 'What did (someone) do to the child?'
- (22) (a) Nagtiglima ang mga bata *E-numerals*
 AT:PFV-DIST-five TOP PL child
 'The children had five each'
- (b) Naglimalima ang mga bata
 AT:PFV-DIST-five TOP PL child
 'The children were in fives'

Particularly striking is the application of voice and aspect morphology to English loans belonging to a variety of categories, including nouns (23a), verbs (23b), phrases of various kinds (23c), and even prepositions (23d):¹⁷

- (23) (a) Englishin magcocolgate
 English-PT:IMP AT:IPFV-Colgate
 'be spoken English to' 'will brush teeth'
- nagbabarricades magsolvent
 AT:PRES-barricades AT:IMP-solvent
 'is manning the barricades' 'sniff glue'
- (b) nagsiswimming hinoldup
 AT:PRES-swim PT:PFV-holdup
 'is swimming' 'was held up'
- magdidisinfect nagoorganize
 AT:FUT-disinfect AT:PRES-organize
 'will disinfect' 'is organizing'
- (c) binad-trip nilips-to-lips
 PT:PFV-bad-trip PT:PFV-lips-to-lips
 'had a bad trip (on drugs)' 'was (kissed) lips-to-lips'
- magtheethree-weeks nagshoshort-time
 AT:FUT-three-weeks AT:PRES-short-time
 'will (go for) three weeks' 'is having a short time'
- (d) nakaon
 AT:IMP-on
 '(turn) on (the lights)'

Admittedly, not every word in Tagalog can take voice and aspect morphology; however, the class of words that are marked for voice and aspect does not share any syntactic properties that would justify positing a syntactic category of verb. Thus, the

widespread application of voice and aspect morphology in Tagalog is a straightforward consequence of the absence of distinct open syntactic categories.

Turning now to semantics, the Syntactic Category Membership Criteria in (1) specify that syntactic categories are independent of semantic ones. Clearly, this is the case. To begin, the same syntactic category may contain expressions with different meanings in different languages. In fact, the same syntactic category may even be associated with different prototypical meanings in different languages. For example, in Tagalog, as noted above, S^0/S^0 is a closed category of semantically diverse clitics, whose only prototypical meanings are those of the person forms. However, in English, S^0/S^0 is an open category, corresponding roughly to sentential adverb, which contains, among its prototypical members, expressions of place, time, and manner.

Nevertheless, there is some evidence suggesting that the same syntactic category will be associated with the same logical type in different languages. Consider the following examples:

- (24) (a) Bumalik *E-verb*
 AT:PFV-return
 '(Someone) returned'
- (b) (Si) Bong (o) *E-proper-noun*
 PERS.TOP Bong EXCL
 '(Someone is) Bong' / 'Here's Bong'

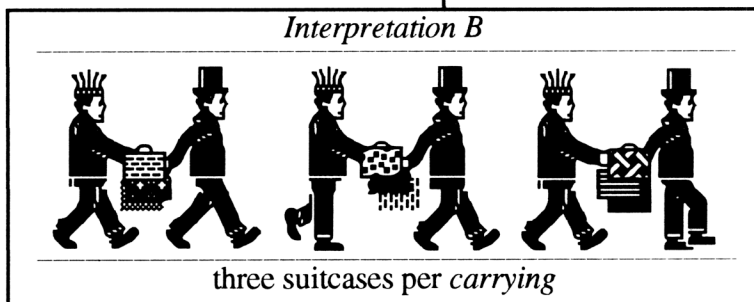
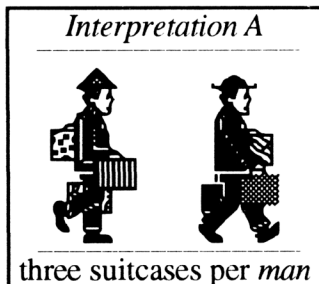
As S^0 s, virtually all single words in Tagalog may stand alone. However, whereas (24a), with E-verb *bumalik*, looks superficially like 'pro-drop' constructions in other languages, (24b), with E-proper-noun *Bong*, resembles nothing whatsoever in familiar 'pro-drop' languages. Nevertheless, with optional *si* (the personal variant of *ang*) and *o* (an exclamation 'look!'), (24b) is the most natural way in Tagalog to say 'Here's Bong'. Accordingly, just as S^0 *bumalik* expresses a complete proposition, 'x returned', so S^0 *Bong* expresses a complete proposition, 'x is Bong'. Thus, although the membership of S^0 in Tagalog and English is very different, the logical type of S^0 in Tagalog and English would appear to be the same.

Further evidence for a correlation between syntactic categories and logical types derives from the interpretation of sentences in which the quantifier *bawat*¹⁸ 'every' occurs in a construction resembling English 'each-shift'.¹⁹ Consider the following Tagalog sentence and its two possible interpretations:²⁰

(25) Nagdala ng *bawat* tatlong maleta ang dalawang lalaki
 AT:PFV-carry DIR every three-LIG suitcase TOP two-LIG man

(a) *Interpretation A:*
 'Two men carried
 three suitcases each'

(b) *Interpretation B:*
 'Two men carried (the)
 suitcases three at a time'



Tagalog sentence (25) thus contrasts semantically with its English calque in (26), which is unambiguous, having only Interpretation A--Interpretation B being unobtainable:

(26) Two men carried three suitcases each

The contrast between (25) and (26) may be represented as follows:

(27) (a) Nagdala ng [bawat]_i tatlong maleta [ang dalawang lalaki]_i

(b) [Nagdala]_i ng [bawat]_i tatlong maleta ang dalawang lalaki

(28) (a) [Two men]_i carried three suitcases [each]_i

(b) * Two men [carried]_i three suitcases [each]_i

In Tagalog, *bawat* may take as its antecedent either *ang dalawang lalaki* 'two men', as in (27a), yielding Interpretation A, or else *Nagdala* 'carried', as in (27b), yielding Interpretation B. However, in English, *each* may only take *Two men* as its antecedent, as in (28a), yielding Interpretation A--*carried* is unavailable as a potential antecedent, as in (28b), and hence Interpretation B is unobtainable. These facts suggest that whereas in English, *Two men* and *carried* belong to different logical types, differing with respect to antecedent eligibility, in Tagalog, *ang dalawang lalaki* and *Nagdala* belong to the same

logical type, which may be interpreted as the antecedent of *bawat*. Thus, given that these two expressions are both S^0 s, the above facts provide further support for the correlation between syntactic categories and logical types.

In accordance with the preceding observations, the following tentative logical forms may be proposed for some basic constructions in Tagalog:

(29)	<i>construction</i>	<i>logical form</i>	
(a)	B	$B(x)$	
(b)	P ang B	$P(x B(x))$	(template (5))
(c)	P -ng/na B	$(P P(y B(y)))(x)$ $(B B(y P(y)))(x)$	(template (6))
(d)	P ng B	$(P/(y B(y)))(x)$	(template (7))
(e)	P ng L ang B	$(P/(y L(y)))(x B(x))$	(template (8))

As specified in (29a), a single word B has the logical form $B(x)$, a predicate applying to a free variable. For example, *bangkero* means 'x is a boatman', *bumalik* means 'x returned', *mabait* means 'x is kind', and *Bong* means 'x is Bong'. As suggested in (29b) to (29e), larger phrases are associated with more complex logical forms, involving a relativizational operator '|' (read: 'such that') and an associational operator '/' (read: 'of').

Perhaps the most striking consequence of the above is that Tagalog expressions such *bangkero*, *bumalik*, *mabait*, and even *Bong* may belong to logical types different from their notional equivalents *boatman*, *returned*, *kind*, and *Bong* in English. Thus, the existence of a single open syntactic category would appear to have a profound effect on the meanings of Tagalog expressions.

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June 1992, under the title 'Syntactic Categories in Universal Grammar'; in a seminar on syntactic categories, Tel Aviv University, Israel, February to May 1992; in the Linguistics Discussion Group, Linguistics Programme, National University of Singapore, December 1992 to February 1993; at the Parasession on Semantic Typology and Semantic Universals, Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society, Berkeley, CA, USA, 15 February 1993, under the title 'Tagalog Semantics'--I am grateful to numerous participants of these events, and of the SEALS III meeting, for their helpful comments and constructive criticism. This paper is dedicated to my many Tagalog teachers, who surprised me with the data and instilled in me the desire to understand.

Notes

¹Of course, in addition to principles unique to syntax and thereby justifying its autonomy in relation to morphology, discourse and semantics, there may also exist principles shared by syntax and by morphology, discourse and/or semantics--for example, those of x-bar structure (Gil 1985). In fact, a substantive parallel between syntax and semantics is provided by the one-two-one correspondence between syntactic categories and logical types, evidence for which is presented in Section 3.

²Considerations of space preclude a discussion of the ways in which the notion of syntactic category outlined above is similar to and/or different from various other notions of syntactic category that have been proposed in the course of linguistic studies. Suffice it to say that the generative enterprise, although adopting the autonomy of syntax as its motto, has largely failed to practice what it preaches. Thus, in the "Aspects" model, syntax and morphology are conflated, in that the terminal nodes of trees contain formatives, rather than words; in the "Generative Semantics" approach, syntax and semantics are identified, through the positing of abstract, semantically-motivated deep structures; and in the "Government and Binding" framework, syntax, morphology, and semantics are all brought together at the level of Logical Form, with "syntactic categories" bearing names such as "inflection" and "determiner" accurately reflecting their morphological and semantic provenance. Of course, the conflation of morphology, syntax, and semantics is hardly unique to the generative tradition. Thus, the definition of, say, verb as a part of speech containing words that may be inflected for tense and that characteristically denote activities can be traced back to the grammarians of antiquity.

for tense and that characteristically denote activities can be traced back to the grammarians of antiquity.

³Again, limitations of space preclude an adequate acknowledgement of the sources underlying the above proposal. In brief, the kernel operator is an "upside-down" version of x-bar-theoretic category formation, starting at the top and working downwards, whereas the slash operator resembles that commonly assumed within categorial grammar, albeit allowing for multiple branching.

⁴For example, whereas in a simple intransitive English expression such as *John sings*, *John sings* belongs to the category S^0 , *sings* to the category S^1 , and *John* to the category S^0/S^1 , in the corresponding sentence in Warlpiri, *John sings* and *sings* both belong to the category S^0 , while *John* belongs to the category S^0/S^0 . This reflects the observation that in Warlpiri, as in many other languages, words corresponding to *sings* may function as complete sentences, while words corresponding to *John* have many characteristics of adjuncts (see Jelinek 1984).

⁵Within current linguistic theories, many researchers, for example Carrier-Duncan (1985) in GB, and Kroeger (1991) in LFG, either argue or else take for granted that Tagalog possesses the same rich inventory of syntactic categories generally assumed unquestioningly for all languages. However, a number of scholars, for example Schachter and Otnes (1972), Gil (1982, chapter 6), Himmelmann (1991), and Shkarban (1992), note that various syntactic categories are less readily differentiated in Tagalog than in other languages. The present claim, first put forward in Gil (1992,1993), is more far-reaching, in that it expressly denies the viability of such categories. In more common parlance, what is argued here is that Tagalog does not distinguish between syntactic categories such as noun, verb, adjective, preposition, and sentence, nor does it distinguish between lexical and phrasal categories.

⁶The claim that Tagalog has but a single open syntactic category is a non-existence claim, namely that there is no substantial set of syntactic rules and principles converging on a subset of words and word strings that is significantly smaller than the set of all words and word strings in Tagalog. Claims of non-existence are risky propositions: one has to look everywhere to be absolutely certain that what one seeks does not exist. I have not had occasion to look everywhere; however, I have looked in what I consider to be some of the more likely places, and found no evidence whatsoever for distinguishing between two or more open syntactic categories in Tagalog. The claim that Tagalog has

a single open syntactic category, S^0 , is accordingly put forth as an interim conclusion, to be supported or perhaps modified by future investigation.

⁷In the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, the following abbreviations are used: AT "actor topic"; DIR "direct (case)"; DT "direction topic"; EXCL "exclamation"; IT "instrumental topic"; LIG "ligature"; LT "locative topic"; OBL "oblique"; PERS "personal"; PFV "perfective"; PT "patient topic"; STAT "stative"; TOP "topic".

⁸While some scholars have characterized *ang* as a subject or nominative-case marker, other scholars argue that it is more appropriately analyzed as a topic marker (as is arbitrarily assumed in the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses); see Manaster-Ramer (1991) for a recent extensive survey of the positions on this issue.

⁹The form of the ligature is determined morphophonemically: a suffix *-ng* if the preceding word ends in a vowel, *-n*, or *-ng*; a free form *na* otherwise.

¹⁰In some cases, one of these interpretations is more readily available than the other; these factors need not detain us here.

¹¹As suggested in (6) above, the examples in (9) - (12) may allow an additional interpretation, in which the E-noun is the modifier of the E-determiner, E-adjective, E-prepositional-phrase and E-relative-clause.

¹²See De Guzman (1976, 1979), Cena (1977), and Gil (1984) for further discussion.

¹³See, for example, Schachter (1976, 1977), and Gil (1984). Other scholars, though, argue that Tagalog does have subjects and objects, identifying these with either pragmatic roles such as topic and non-topic, or thematic roles such as agent and patient. However, under any analysis, Tagalog grammatical relations are quite different from those in other, more familiar languages.

¹⁴See Schachter and Otnes (1972:183-193,411-435) for detailed discussion.

¹⁵However, a subset of the clitics, the person forms, may also occur in S^0 positions: these words accordingly enjoy dual category membership, in S^0 and S^0/S^0 .

¹⁶In addition, Tagalog possesses a number of other "function words", including *ang*, *-ng/na* and *ng* illustrated in (5) - (7) respectively. However, in Gil (1990), phonological evidence is provided suggesting that these items are more appropriately considered as affixes, rather than independent words. Hence, in accordance with criterion (1a), they are not eligible for syntactic category membership.

¹⁷The examples cited in (23) were all recorded by me from live conversations in Tagalog.

¹⁸Interestingly, *bawat* appears to be the only Tagalog quantifier that does not have the distributional properties of an S₀.

¹⁹Apparently, this construction is available for only some speakers of Tagalog; others judge it to be ungrammatical. However, all speakers who accept sentences such as (25) judge them to be ambiguous in the way described below. See Gil (1982, chapter 6) for further discussion of this construction.

²⁰In the pictorial representations of Interpretations A and B, distinct men are identified by their hats, while distinct suitcases are indexed by Macpaint patterns.

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