Syntactic Aspect of Part-of-speech Typology

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The Philippine languages demonstrate fundamental grammatical similarity of verbs and nouns. Collation with other languages, including those of Southeast Asia, allows to place them on a scale reflecting various degrees of Noun - Verb formal differentiation (a fragment of it may look like that: Tagalog - Malay - Chinese - Russian).

Evidently, any language may be characterised by the degree of Noun - Verb divergence. It is important in view of interdependences among part-of-speech (further on - PS) system, the system of syntactic functions and the "Theme - Rheme" structures in a language.

Inventories of formal elements in the light of Noun - Verb differentiation. Many linguists mention syntactic similarities between Noun and Verb in Philippine languages. Subordinate relations within VPs and NPs are most often referred to. They are marked by the same syntactic markers or the same forms of pronouns which are able to express both, agentive and possessive meanings, depending on whether the phrase is verbal or nominal, respectively. Cf. Tagalog bahay (1) nang(2) kanyang(3) ama(4) 'house(1) of(2) his(3) father(4) and ginawa(1) nang(2) kanyang(3) ama(4) 'was-done(1) by(2) his(3) father(4); bahay niya 'his house' and ginawa niya 'was-done by him'.

Universal applicability of case-markers allows them to introduce words of all classes. For example, Tag. nang bata (lit.) 'by/of child', nang nabanggit (lit.) by/of mentioned', nang marami 'by/of many', nang dalawa 'by/of two'.

The same may be said of the Nominative ang and Directional/locational/Accusative/Possessive sa markers.

Linguists are not unanimous concerning another component of formal inventory of nouns and verbs, namely, their derivational and inflectional affixes. Is it a common Noun - Verb affixal fund? Most of verbal and nominal affixes are formally identical in the con-
temporary state of Philippine languages. Etymological identity of the majority of them is indisputable, but controversies exist regarding historic paths of their evolution (see, for example, Wolff 1973; Starosta, Pawley, Reid 1982).

In Bloomfield's description of Tagalog (1917), still unsurpassable in many ways, affix inventory is treated as common for nouns and verbs, though semantically varying. From the opposite viewpoint, common morphemes are homonyms.

The problem of homonymy, its scope and limits in Philippine languages have not yet been seriously studied. There are grounds to suggest a hypothesis of a continuum of transitions from cases of complete, formal, functional and semantic, identity of verbal and nominal affixes, through various kinds of functional and semantic variability of affixes to cases of obvious homonymy.

The idea of semantic and functional variability of affixes in systems with low discernability of PSs correlates with the idea of irregularity of relations between affixes and root-morphemes in such systems. This irregularity underlies syncretic, inflectional-derivational, character of most categories even within the same word-class. Thus, every verb of a definite voice (focus) in Tagalog represents, in fact, an individual lexeme. Altogether, verbs, nouns and adjectives derived from the same root-morpheme form one "macro-paradigm" of derivates where paradigmatic boundaries of individual words are very vague. Intricate sets of paradigmatic ties within such "macro-paradigms" vary depending on semantic subgroupings of root-morphemes.

Various kinds of syncretism are found in different sections of affix inventory. It manifests itself, in particular, in pronoun- and article-like properties of case particles and, less evidently, of voice (focus) morphemes (for some detail see below). The two sets of markers (particles and affixes) together form a very distant periphery of the deictic sphere in Philippine languages.

The affinity of the most important verbal and nominal grammatical elements to deictic sphere is one of the decisive factors determining the proximity of Verb and Noun to each other in the PS system of Tagalog.

Besides the above-mentioned functional and semantic peculiarities of affixes, the Philippine type of PS systems is characterised by an important role played in PSs differentiation by structural devices (as, for example, rules of arranging various kinds of linguistic items). Space limitations allow us only to mention such formal distinctive features of PSs as differing word-
accent patterns (cf. Tag. tirahān 'to be dwelt in' and tirāhan 'dwelling place', awitin 'to be sung' and awitin 'song'), rules of affix distribution (cf. Tag. affixes ma- and -in in verbs and adjectives: matakot 'to be frightened' (takot 'fright'), tekutin 'to be (intonationally) frightened (by smb. or smth.)' and matakutin 'inclined to be frightened', 'easy to frighten'); the structural opposition 'root-words vs. affixed words': at least in literary Tagalog the absence of any derivational affix points to the nominal character of a lexeme. A verbal lexeme obligatorily requires a derivational affix for its formation, though in the paradigms of aspectual forms it may alternate with Ø: init. 'heat', initi 'heated' (Adj.), um-init 'to become hot', i-init 'will become hot' (the first syllable of the root-morpheme is reduplicated).

At the morphophonemic level there is also a structural tendency to differentiate PSs by different ways of shaping morpheme junctures: in verbs elements of fusion are often observed, while in their nominal or adjectival correlates a pure agglutinative technique may be used: Tag. mamili 'to do shopping' (from bili 'buying') - pambili 'for use in buying' (Adj.).

If we compare this situation with Malay (Bahasa Indonesia), we shall find there separate derivational inventories of Verb and Noun. In syntax, prepositions are unable to introduce other words than nouns. The structural opposition "root-words - affixed words" is irrelevant for Noun - Verb differentiation: there are many intransitive root-verbs, Ø-form of transitive verbs is quite regular in verbal paradigms, e.g., mem-baca 'to read', dibaca 'to be read', baca 'to be read', to read'. In Bahasa Indonesia there aren't word-accent patterns of phonemic value. But still, some peripheral models of affixed words display partial intersection of derivational inventories of verbs and nouns (for example verbs and nouns with -an and ke-an affixes).

In Chinese and typologically similar languages of Indochina (of different genetic affiliation, like Burmese, Khmer, Vietnamese, Tai, Chru), grammaticalised and semi-grammaticalised elements expressing meanings of tense/aspect, intravert vs. extravert, upward vs. downward orientation of action, pre- and postpositions, locatives, copulas in binominative (equational) sentences, etc., are rather strictly distributed between Verb and Noun. One of the noticeable exceptions is the attributive marker (for example, Chinese de) pointing to a somewhat lowered distinctiveness of PSs with regard to syntactic function of Attribute.

In European languages with a high degree of synthemism, such as Latin or Russian, derivational and in
flectional inventories, rich due to complex systems of declension and conjugation, in combination with such structural devices as government and agreement (in subordinate relations within VPs and NPs) - all provide conditions for high differentiation of Noun and Verb.

Two levels of functional organisation of a sentence from the point of view of Noun - Verb differentiation.

The notion of PS may be used as one of the clues to internal systemic relations in languages. Much has been done in this connection in general theory of grammar. We shall base our arguing on two fundamental ideas helping to understand the place of PSs in internal relations in grammar. One of them concerns systemic relations of PSs with syntactic functions, such as Subject, Predicate, Attribute, etc. The other deals with such functional units as Theme and Rheme.

Correspondences between PSs and syntactic functions (for example, Subject and Predicate) are regarded as constitutive for both sets of grammatical entities. Both, members of PS systems and syntactic functions base their identity on mutual correspondences between members of the two sets.

Initially, the idea was worked out on the material of European languages. Such eminent scholars as Bally (1950), Tesnière (1976), Kuriłowicz (1936) made it clear that fixed relations between a PS and its main function bring about special means of transferring a PS into its secondary functions which, in their turn, appear as main functions for other PSs. This phenomenon was called translation by Tesnière, transposition (a more preferred term now) by Bally and syntactic derivation by Kuriłowicz. Special derivational means are important in these processes. Rich inventory of morphemes specialising either on nominalisation, on verbalisation, or on adjectivalisation, etc., in European languages clearly points to a high level of PS differentiation.

Eventually, it became clear that distinctness of correspondences among PSs and their respective functions in various languages vary. This and related problems were studied, in particular, by representatives of the Russian school of syntactic typology, first of all, by Meshchaninov (1945).

Philippine languages demonstrate vague correspondences among word-classes, on the one hand, and syntactic functions (Subject, Predicate, Attribute, etc.) on the other. One of the striking evidences could be found in morphology. It is the absence of special derivational means of transposition, differing from non-transpositional ones. In this connection, practically unlimited verbalising ability of voice (focus) markers may be
mentioned (apart from their ability to participate in nominal derivation within the common, verbal-nominal, fund of affixes), e.g., manghula (mang- + hula 'prediction') 'to make predictions', manghuhula 'fortune-teller'; mangisda (mang- + -isda 'fish') 'to engage in fishing', manggingisda 'fisherman'; mangasim (mang- + -asim 'sourness') 'to become sour'.

Philippine languages demonstrate fundamental correlation between properties of affixes and of syntactic words. Case particles, being able to introduce words of various classes, possess actually unlimited nominalising (i.e., transpositional) abilities, freely endowing verbs, adjectives, etc., with functions which are normally regarded as pertaining to nouns. To be more exact, however, these particles do not allow to draw a clear-cut boundary between nouns and nominalised verbs and adjectives. Due to pronoun-like properties of case-markers it seems more realistic to treat their relations with any full words they introduce as relativisation. Such an approach is adopted, for example, by C. McFarland (1976).

As the study of Tagalog and some other Philippine languages shows, a wide range of correspondences and oppositions in the system of a language may be characterised by lowered distinctness. In this connection we shall turn to the second idea throwing light on the place of Noun and Verb within the internal systemic relations in a language. It deals with discourse, with a pragmatic level of functional organisation of a sentence.

We shall also touch upon varying degrees of mutual divergence of the two levels in various languages. Subject and Predicate are central elements at the first level, Theme and Rheme are of primary importance at the second.

In European linguistics, within the Prague school, there developed a special trend of studies concentrating on relations between the two levels of functional organisation of a sentence. Analysis of that kind on the material of Tagalog shows much higher proximity of the two levels to each other in that language. In the process of such a study one eventually comes to realise that differentiating between the two systems of functions is a fruitful procedure making it possible to compare Philippine languages to the ones with more distinct mutual opposedness of the two levels.

The given approach may throw some additional light on the problem "Topic vs. Subject" much discussed in Philippine linguistics. The problem seems to us caused by considerable frequency of coincidence of Subject and Theme.

Besides, the polysemantic term "Subject" is diff
cult to use in a purely syntactic sense: semantically it is indissolubly connected with the role meaning of Agent/Actor. Though the term "Topic" is free from this meaning, it is characterised by another kind of semantic syncretism which inseparably combines pragmatic and syntactic aspects in its meaning and use. Thus, used instead of "Subject", the term "Topic", however, inherits at least the formal characteristics of Subject. There are many interesting and fruitful analyses of this problem in Philippine linguistics (see, for example: McKaughan 1973; Schachter 1977; Shibatani 1986). It deserves mentioning that in other metalanguages used in linguistics, syntactic correlates of the term "Subject" denoting the corresponding nominal constituent may be entirely free from role meanings (as, for example, in Czech or Russian) which makes it terminologically easier to separate syntactic analysis from the discussion of role meanings (Agent/Actor), as well as to separate it from thematic analysis.

Distinct correspondences among PSs and syntactic functions (Subject, Predicate, etc.) in European languages tend to screen off from linguists PSs' relations with such constituents as Theme and Rheme.

The Philippine languages show that within the grammatical structure there are subtle balances among axes forming an inseparable triad. We schematically present them as sides of the following triangle:

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{Subject}  {Theme}  {Noun}
 Predicate  Rheme  
{Verb}      
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Any scheme simplified reality. Here the number of participants in each of the three sets is reduced. In doing so, we wish to concentrate on some general characteristics of the tripartite dependences.

Relations on the axis {Verb, Noun} — {Theme, Rheme} are not characterised by any strict selectivity between members of the two sets. Theme and Rheme are basically independent of obligatory correspondences with word-classes. They are, so to say, "meant" to be shifted in a clause from one lexical unit to another in accordance with changing communicational strategies of the Speaker. Such shifts may involve certain restructuring of the clause without, however, imposing on lexical units any obligatory changes of their PS membership.

Nevertheless, Theme and Rheme tend to be typically represented by some PSs. So, as a tendency, correlations of the kind "Noun - Theme" exist. Thematisation and rhematisation are akin to transposition, but they basically do not require special derivational means to
transpose a word from its typical function to a non-
typical one.

Having extended the idea of transposition to the
notions of Theme and Rheme we may further suppose that
the inventory of their transpositional means may either
coincide or diverge from the transpositional means be-
longing to the axis \{Noun, Verb\} — \{Subject, Predi-
cate\}. It depends on the degree of mutual proximity/
divergence of the two levels of functional organisation
of sentences.

In European languages the cleft between the two
above-mentioned levels is evident. Inventories of their
formal means are different. Word-order rules and/or in-
tonation patterns are the main means of thematisation
and rhematisation, whereas morphological formal ele-
ments are employed to maintain correspondences among
syntactic functions and PSs.

In Philippine languages relations on the axis
\{Noun, Verb\} — \{Subject, Predicate\} do not differ
strikingly from those on the axis \{Noun, Verb\} — Theme
Rheme\}. Due to vague correlations with syntactic
functions, Noun and Verb lack any firm functional basis
for their mutual opposedness. Similarly, vague correla-
tions with PSs diminish mutual opposedness of Subject
and Predicate.

But for Theme and Rheme the effect of the given
situation is opposite. The less "Subject - Predicate"
structures serve as framework for the functioning of
verbs and nouns, the more it is controlled by "Theme -
Rheme" structures. The less Subject and Predicate in
Philippine languages resemble their prototypes, the mor
Theme and Rheme seem to be reflections of their own
prototypes.

In Philippine languages Theme and Rheme acquire
additional means of their formal differentiation, sin-
ce formal inventories of "Subject - Predicate" struc-
tures get directly involved in expressing Theme -Rheme
relations.

Case- and voice-markers in the light of Noun - Verb
differentiation. The proximity of "Subject - Predicate"
structures to the "Theme - Rheme" ones may not be dis-
cussed ignoring the properties of case-markers. Toget-
ther with predicative and attributive ligatures (Tag. g-
and na/-ng, respectively) they form a kind of autono-
ous semantic level within the structures in question.

The ability of some case-markers to express defi-
niteness, while of others - to express indefiniteness
might be sufficient for regarding them as article-like
units. But their unlimited distribution, their ability
to introduce not only words of all classes but also
clauses and sometimes paragraphs as well, integrating them into the sentence structure, make them much more autonomous in syntactic relations than articles typically are. Typologically, they rather occupy an inter- mediate position between demonstrative pronouns and articles. It is confirmed by their ability to be sub- stituted by demonstrative pronouns, as, for example, in spoken Tagalog:

(1) Nag-titinda sa palengke 'yong nanay niya AG-sell (in a shop) LOC market NOM-PRON mother his
'His mother is busy in her shop at the market'

Another argument in favour of recognising pronoun -like (besides article-like) properties of case-markers is their functional and semantic correlation with voice (focus) markers. The latter are not only abstract repre- sentatives of nouns in verbs, but functionally and semantically they may act as quasi-deictic elements in verbs (particularly, in passive voices; for some detail see below).

One of the possibilities to adapt syntactic struc- tures to communicational strategies of the Speaker (to "Theme – Rheme" structures, in particular) is connected with a special kind of word-order rules which operate on the basis of unlimited combinability of case-markers with full words.

There are grounds to speak of several kinds of word-order rules existing in Tagalog and forming a hie- rarchy. They deal with different kinds of grammatical units. Besides, they operate them differently with re- lation to initial borders of NPs and VPs (for some de- tail see: Shkarban 1989). Some rules provide for inver- sion within a phrase, others deal with the inversion transferring nominal constituents outside a phrase (e.g. preposing them to a phrase).

The kind of rules in question makes it possible to transfer lexical units from a Subject position to a Predicate one, and vice versa. Actually, it means that after the selection of lexical units intended to occupy positions of Subject and Predicate, the final step in their promotion is the choice of the variant of their mutual distribution in these positions. The two possible variants of that kind are illustrated by the senten- ces below:

(2) a. I-tatago niya ang mga hiyas GOAL-hide by-him NOM PL gem
'He will hide the gems'

b. Mga hiyas ang i-tatago niya PL gem NOM GOAL-hide
'It is gems that he will hide'

Formally, the Subject and Predicate positions in
Tagalog differ with respect to Nominative case marking. Lexemes of all classes (save pronouns and personal names) may occupy either a position obligatorily marked by *ang* or a position where *ang* is not obligatory, moreover, where it is usually absent.

Like other main varieties of word-order in Tagalog, this one also deals with initial phrase-border signals; like other Tagalog analytic case-markers, *ang* simultaneously serves as an initial phrase-border signal. As such, it interacts with the particle *ay*. Thus, if a Predicate phrase, usually unmarked for Nominative, is used non-initially, it is preceded by the ligature *ay* which acts not only as an inversion marker (see: Schachter, Otanez 1972), but also as an initial-border signal compensating for the absence of *ang*, for example: Ang mga hiyas ay itatago niya 'The gems will be hidden by him' (cf. (2)a.).

Both, Subject and Predicate may be marked for Nominative: Ang mga hiyas ay ang itatago niya 'The gems are just what he will hide'. In such cases the formal and semantic opposedness of Subject and Predicate becomes still lower.

As we see, for Subject – Predicate differentiation in such a language as Tagalog (in its basic, i.e. non-derived structures) the necessary and sufficient formal prerequisite is the opposition "presence of a Nominative marker vs. absence of a Nominative marker". Whatever PSs (Verb, Noun, or else) are found in positions of Subject and Predicate, case-markers (including a zero one in preposition to the Predicate) autonomously pertain to a binominative (in other terminology – equational) structure underlying any Tagalog "Subject-Predicate" structure.

Keeping in mind pronoun-like (and article-like) properties of case-markers, one may notice that the opposition "presence vs. absence of a Nominative marker" creates favorable conditions for differentiating between the "given" and the "new" information, between the presence and the absence of an individuated referent.

On semantic opposition "active – inactive" in connection with Noun – Verb differentiation. Turning to pronoun-like properties of voice (focus) markers in Philippine languages we discover one of the main constraints on the full blending of Subject and Theme, and in general of the two kinds of functional structures. It is a competition between the two kinds of strategies. One is a communicational strategy of the Speaker realized in text production (in particular, in the Speaker's choice of a theme of communication). The
other is a strategy of Agent in performing the action, i.e., Agent's voluntary selection of some component(s) of the situation as object(s) of Agent's intentional efforts.

Investigation shows that pronoun-like features of both, case- and voice-markers in Tagalog are connected with the domination of semantic opposition "active - inactive" in Tagalog grammar. The two notions - "active" and "inactive" - are fully opposed to each other only at the polar ends of the corresponding scale. Thus, situations with Experiencer appear as polarly opposed to actional situations, with an active participant, Agent. Experiencer and Agent appear to be in the centers of two semantic fields - that of inactivity and that of activity, respectively. A continuum of transitions from one field to the other, through stages of "activised" versions of Experiencer and "deactivised" versions of Agent, unites the two fields in one macro-(or super-) field of activity - inactivity. Each field has its inventory of affixes (with ma- and ka- in the center of inactivity field and -in, i- and -an in the center of the field of activity). Verbal affixation subtly differentiates various grades of Agent's activity.

However strange it might seem to European linguistic thinking, it is just non-agent (passive) voice-markers that express the maximum of activity in such languages as Tagalog. Indeed, various non-agent (passive) voices in Philippine languages serve to classify inactive roles according to their different involvement into Agent's activity. As is known, these roles may be Goal, Instrumument, Beneficent, Place, etc. Their inventories partially vary in different descriptions (one of the most often cited modern works is Tagalog Reference Grammar (Schachter, Otanez 1972). Such a detailed classification of Agent's efforts points to the semantic priority of Agent for the Speaker. Indeed, information about any participant of an actional situation turns out to be information about Agent. Even information of processes affecting Experiencer obliquely inform of Agent's absence in such situations, through a special, "inactive", set of affixes (ma-, ka-, maka-, etc.), for example, matulog 'to sleep', magutom 'to be hungry', makayamot 'to cause irritation (unintentionally)', ikatuwa 'to become the cause of joy'.

It seems that in such languages as the Philippine ones their formal and semantic organisation reflects a correlation between Agent and Speaker, i.e. the two performers of their respective kinds of activity. In order to communicate about the Agent's activity the Speaker uses much the same grammatical means as are
used in the process of organising text continuity. It refers, first of all, to the Nominative marker of Subject. Its thematisational abilities are used to mark "Theme" (or focus) of the Agent's efforts, to promote to a "Theme" position that one of inactive participants which is selected by the Agent as a recipient of the Agent's efforts, as in (2).

Here is the point where correlated properties of passive voice affixes and of case-markers interact. Indeed, passive voice markers point to inactive roles as to individuated (by the Agent) objects of reality, objects in the focus of Agent's attention. That ability of passive-voice affixes realizes itself in syntactic interaction with the pronoun-like (and article-like) Nominative case marker. It was that aspect of their semantics which was meant by those linguists who treated passive voices as "definite", while active voice as "indefinite" (as, for example, McKinlay 1905).

Of particular interest is Bloomfield's commentary on the "active - passive" alternative. In the following two fragments of it we shall underline words relevant for our discussion: "Even elements which we should look upon as somewhat indefinite are preferred as subjects to an actor: Kinuha niya ang isang aklat "Was-taken(direct passive) by him a book (subject)" (i.e. 'He took a (certain) book' (he knew or I know which one or what kind)... Siya'y kumuha nang aklat (active voice - L.S.H. 'He took a book, some books' (no matter to him or to me which one or what kind) (Bloomfield 1917: 154-155).

As can be seen from Bloomfield's commentary, the Actor's (= Agent's) viewpoint may be decisive for the choice of a nominal constituent to be promoted to a Subject position. This may semantically affect the Nominative-case particle ang. Thus, it seems that at least in some occurrences of Tagalog ang isang combinations, i.e. in cases of seemingly abnormal (and really rather rare) co-occurrence of the "definite" ang with isa (lit. 'one'), functioning as an indefinite article, we have ang representing the Agent's "viewpoint", while isa reflects the Speaker's one. Syntactically, ang functions in such circumstances as a Nominative-case marker of the Subject, which means that the ability of ang to express definiteness (and, more generally, its referential properties) vary. Cf. the following sentence (from a tale):

(3) Ang isang sanggol na lalaki ay i-sinilang ni Deynay NOM one infant ATTR man GOAL-born GEN-AG
    Deynay bore a boy (lit. A boy was born by Deynay)

Competing strategies of the Agent and the Speaker may additionally help to understand why the Subject in
passive clauses tends to yield the thematic status to
the Agent complement within passive PVs - the fact no-
ticed already by a number of authors (e.g. Fay Wouk
1986; Naylor 1986).

Voice oppositions and different versions of Agent's
activity. In Tagalog the Agent's actional strategy may
become syntactically relevant only if the Speaker choos-
es a passive voice. The "active - passive" alternati-
ve means actually the choice between the two basic ver-
sions of an actional situation - either a "less active"
or a "more active" one. This alternative is one of the
factors that allow to present the Agent's activity as
scalar characteristics. Indeed, by characterising the
Agent as a participant determining the priority of ob-
jects within actional situations, the Speaker equates
or approximates the Agent's activity (its estimation)
to the Speaker's one.

In Tagalog the active voice characterises Agent
as performing a definite kind of action, but not as se-
lecting "definite" objects in the process of such an
action. Here, Goal complements tend to serve as rest-
ictive modifiers defining a variety of action, but
not as actualisers of the given action (which agrees
with the treatment of the Accusative-marker nang as one
of the manifestations of the attributive ligature; see:
Gonzalez 1971; Naylor 1980), for example, magturong
Tagalog 'to teach Tagalog', k-um-ain nang matatamis
'to eat sweets', mag-luto nang gulay 'to cook vegetab-
les', etc.

Active voice affixes, such as mag-, -um-, mang-
are also capable of marking Experimenter undergoing pro-
cesses in inactive situations, e.g. mag-dugo 'to bleed',
mag-aliw 'to enjoy one's self', p-um-ula 'to turn red',
etc. So, active-voice affixes belong to the sphere of
overlapping of the fields of activity and inactivity.
The same overlapping is present in cases when the 'in-
active' affixes ma- and maka- express their secondary
meanings of potentiality, accidental character of ac-
ton, perfectness. There are grounds to treat these
meanings as connected with the idea of inactivity (for
some detail see: Shkarban 1982). This ultimately re-
sults in the weakened degree of Agent's activity ren-
dered by actional verbs. Cf. gaw(a)-in 'to be done' and
ma-gawa 'to be smth. the Agent is able to do'; g-um-awa
'to do' and maka-gawa 'to be able to do', 'to have do-
ee'; um-alis 'to go away' and maka-alis 'to be able to
go away', 'to have gone away'; mag-alis 'to remove' and
ma-alis 'to be smth. the Agent is able to remove', 'to
have been removed', ma-alis 'to be removed acciden-
tally', etc.
Active voice constructions provide natural basis for the thematisation of Agent by placing it in a Subject position. In this way they maintain the "Subject - Theme" correlation. But in active-voice clauses this correlation is supported additionally by the 'No-definite-Goal' constraint. It operates on the basis of "indefinite" semantics of the Accusative marker nang, which usually implies a non-referential use of a Goal nominal (examples see above). So, unlike Agent complements in passive VPs, Goal complements in active voice VPs in Tagalog can't be thematic (at least, in basic clause structures where VPs are unmarked for Nominative in a Predicate position).

In active voice clauses the "No-definite-Goal" constraint may lose its force in cases of emphatic Agent. The latter is placed into a Predicate (= Rheme) position. This is accompanied by the nominalisation of the active voice VP placed into a Subject (= Theme) position, marked with the Nominative case marker ang. We discussed such restructuring above in terms of specific word-order rules. Due to them a Goal complement finds itself in an immediate environment of a thematic verb. Usually, in such environments a Goal complement changes the Accusative marker nang to sa, a polysemantic case marker (Direction/Location/Goal/Possessor). Unlike nang-Accusative, it is a "definite" Accusative. In such active voice VPs, referentiality (definiteness in particular) of the sa-Goal agrees with the same feature of ang, marking the given VP, as in below:

(4) Ang manga ito ang p-um-atay sa kanyang ama
NOM PL this NOM AG-kill ACC his father
'It is they who have killed his father'

In such constructions nang-Goals are possible, but they may acquire actualizing modifiers, e.g.:

(5) Isang kapit-bahay ang nag-balita nang nangyari-ng one neighbour NOM AG-inform ACC happened-AT:
putukan kay Aling Sebya
gun-fire DIR Aunt
'It was a neighbour who told Aunt Sebya of the gun-fire that happened'

In clauses with an emphatic Agent, active voice VPs resemble passive VPs in the ability to render a high degree of Agent's activity: the action is shown a realised through a definite-Goal selection. But due to loose ties of Verb and Noun with Subject and Predicate through corresponding rules of word-order, the Subject (i.e., the nominalised verb) in such cases becomes thematic, and thus, the correspondence between the "Subject - Predicate" and "Theme - Rheme" structures is retained
Conclusion. To summarise our comments on syntactic implications of part-of-speech typology we shall highlight some systemic interdependences discussed above.

Implicational relations seem to exist between the lowered degree of Verb - Noun differentiation and the high mutual proximity of the two levels of functional organisation of a sentence, namely, the level of "Subject - Predicate" structures and that of "Theme - Rheme" relations. These generalisations embrace a wide range of functional and semantic phenomena. Among them - the domination of the opposition "active - inactive" in semantic organisation of grammar. It means not only the opposition of Agent to inactive roles, but also a correlation "Agent - Speaker". Thus, the coincidence or divergence of the structures "Theme - Rheme" and "Subject - Predicate" reflect a competition of the two strategies - one of the Speaker (in text production), the other - of the Agent (in performing the action communicated about). The voice system and word-order rules help to reach a balance between the two strategies.

Functional and semantic affinity of case- and voice-markers to the deictic sphere plays a decisive role in the formation and existence of the above-mentioned interdependences.

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