

Constituent structure in a Tagalog text

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This paper is an inductive look at the constituents found in a randomly selected Tagalog text, Bob Ong's *Alamat ng Gubat* (Makati City, MM: Visual Print Enterprises, 2004). The analysis is based on the full text, but we will only be able to go through the first few lines of the text here, which we will do one by one, and discuss the structures found in each line of the text in bullet format after the relevant line. At the end of the paper we will bring up some important questions about the structures found in Tagalog based on this text.

1 *Alamát ng Gúbat*
[alamát ng gúbat]_{Y/TITLE}
legend REL¹ jungle
(The) Legend of the Jungle

- The first type of phrase we find here in line 1 (the title of the book) is what I will be calling a “Y” phrase (or relator phrase), one formed by *ng* ([naŋ]), if the word following this marker is a common noun, or *ni*, if the word following this marker is a proper name. This sort of structure manifests the following set of modifying functions: part-whole (inalienable possession), possession (alienable), “possession” with locative and abstract nouns (such as in line 1), adverbial modification, and predicate-argument structure.
- In this structure the head of the phrase is the first constituent, and the modifying element follows *ng* or *ni*.

2 *Noóng únāng panahón,*
[noón=ng únā=ng panahón]_{X/TOP}
that.time=LNK first=LNK time/epoch/weather
Long ago (at the time of the first epoch),

- The second type of phrase found is what I will call the “X” phrase (or linker phrase): one formed by *-ng/na*. This structure manifests a much more varied set of modifying functions than the Y phrase: “adjectival” modification,² numeral and measure modification, relative clause modification (restrictive and non-restrictive), demonstrative modification, (intensifier) adverbial modification, intra-predicate structure (e.g. the relationship between a positive or negative existential and an

¹ See table at end for abbreviations used. Acute accent marks a stressed syllable, and a macron means the pitch stays high for that syllable (the stress marks and the glottal stops do not appear in the Tagalog orthography). Spanish and English loan words are in italics in the morpheme-analysis line. Phrases are marked for their syntactic type and their functions in the text, e.g. “Y/Title” marks the phrase as a Y phrase that is acting as the title of the story. I have not been able to maintain the paragraph breaks that appear in the published version. The book should be consulted for that level of structure.

² I use quotes around “adjectival” here and elsewhere in the paper, as there is much controversy about the definition of form classes in Tagalog. See for example Himmelmann 2008 for discussion.

existent in an existential predicate), indirect quotes, certain types of possessive modification, non-possessive modification, and the relationship between a predicate and its arguments in certain types of referential use (i.e. when they together form part of a (higher) clause argument). Unlike the Y phrase, this sort of structure does not link predicates and arguments in clauses acting as main clauses, but only marks relationships within clausal constituents.

- The semantics of this sort of phrase are often difficult to determine: in many cases it seems to be simply marking the fact that the elements form a phrase.
- The grammatical head of the phrase cannot consistently be identified by position, as in many cases the two (or more) elements can be reversed.

3 *sa isáng liblíb na kaharián*
 [sa [isá=ng liblíb na kahárian³]_{X/LC}]_{LP}
 LOC one=LNK remote LNK kingdom
 in a remote kingdom

4 *sa ilálim ng dágat,*
 [sa [ilálim ng dágat]_{X/LC}]_{LP}
 LOC bottom REL ocean
 at the bottom of the sea,

- The third type of phrase, found in lines 3 and 4, is the Locative Phrase (LOC), which is marked by *sa*. The LOC phrase can be used for many sorts of locational and directional senses (e.g. allative, ablative) and for most other non-direct arguments.⁴
- The “preposition” *sa* can take a single word or an X phrase or a Y phrase as complement. In line 3 it takes an X phrase as complement and in line 4 it takes a Y phrase as complement. It is somewhat problematic to call *sa* a preposition, because normally a preposition is preposed to a noun phrase. This is not clearly the case here, as neither the X nor Y phrase is clearly nominal in a grammatical sense.
- There are two LOC phrases in these two lines, and they are both functioning at the clause level, that is, the second one is not embedded as a modifier within the first one, and could appear after the predicate rather than before it, as it is here.

5 *ay may nakatiráng magandá at mabaít na siréna.*
 ay [may [naka-tirá=ng
 FT EXIST OS-live=LNK

³ The word *kaharián* is formed from the root *hári* 'king', plus the two affixes *ka-* ASSOC and *-an* LFS. The two are independent affixes, but are commonly used together to form abstract nouns, e.g. *kaálaman* 'wisdom' (< *alám* 'know'), *kagandáhan* 'beauty' (< *gandá* 'beauty'), *kabuháyan* 'livelihood' (< *búhay* 'life'). The two affixes are used together for this sense (there is no **kaalam* or **alaman*), though it seems there would have been an order of affixing, e.g. for *kaharian*, the sense is 'a place where (people) have the same king', so it seems *ka-* would be affixed first, then *-an*.

⁴ For locational predications, *nasa*, rather than *sa*, is generally used, e.g. *Nasa gubat siya* 'He is in the forest.'

[[[ma-gandá at ma-báit]_{CONJP} na]_{MOD} siréna]_X]_{X/EX}]_{PRED}
 STAT-beauty CONJ STAT-goodness LNK siren(mermaid)
 there was a beautiful and nice mermaid who lived there.

- *Ay* at the beginning of line 5 marks the fact that the element before this marker is the topic, and the element following the marker is the predicate of (comment about) that topic. Lines 2-4 all relate to this predicate. By “topic” here, we are talking of the grammatical pivot (grammatically privileged argument) of the construction, the argument singled out for special morphosyntactic treatment. As this pivot is chosen by the speaker on the basis of what the clause is about, it is called the topic.
- The predicate (everything in this line after *ay*) takes the form of an Existential Phrase (EX), based on the existential *may*; this word can take a single word or an X phrase or Y phrase as complement. In this case it takes an X phrase as complement. If *doon* ‘there’ compounds with *may* in the predicate (e.g. in line 27: *mayroon s’yang karamdáman* ‘he has an illness’), then the combined form *mayroon* is linked to the existant (the thing that exists) in an X phrase. This structure is also used for possession, with the possessor as topic, as in in 27.
- A fifth type of structure, seen in the latter part of line 5, is the Conjunction Phrase (CONJP), marked by *at*; it conjoins two elements of any level. In this example the conjunction phrase is embedded within an X phrase, and links two “adjectival” modifiers.

6 *Péro wala siyang kinaláman*
péro [wala? <siya>_{TOP=ng} [kinaláman⁵]_{EX}]_{X/PRED}
 but N.EXIST 3sgT=LNK involvement
 But she doesn't have anything to do

7 *sa kwéntong ito.*
 [sa [kwénto=ng ito]_{X/LC}]_{LP}
 LOC story=LNK this
 with this story.

- In line 6 we find a negative existential phrase, where the predicate is based on the negative existential *wala?*. As with the positive existential phrase, in this type of phrase the existant can appear as part of the predicate. This structure is also used for (negative) possession, as in this example, with the possessor as topic. It is also possible for the existant to appear as an *ang*-marked topic (see below on *ang*), such as later in the story, where the protagonist (Tong) says “*Wala po ako =ng pílak . . .*” [N.EXIST POL 1sgT=LNK silver] ‘I don’t have any silver . . .’.
- Because the personal pronouns are second-position clitics when they are functioning as arguments and not functioning as predicates, they often occur linearly (but not grammatically) within the predicate, even if they represent the topic, as in this case, where the predicate is *walang kinaláman*, but the pronoun representing the topic appears after the first element of the predicate. This shows that the elements of the X phrase making up the predicate do not need to be contiguous, and that the

⁵ The word *kinaláman* ‘involvement’ is formed from the root *alám* ‘know’, plus *ka-* ASSOC and *-an* LFS, together forming *kaálaman* ‘knowledge, wisdom’, and then the infix *-in-* RPUT appears within the *ka-* prefix. The resulting form **kinaalaman* then obligatorily reduces to *kinaláman*.

- 11 *na túlad ng maráming hári*
 [na [[túlad ng [ma-dámi = ng hári]_X]_Y]
 LNK just.like REL STAT-many=LNK king
 who, like many kings,
- 12 *ay waláng ibáng papél sa kwento*
 ay {<<walá? = ng [ibá = ng papél]_{X/EX}>_{X/PRED} [sa [kwento]_{LC}]_{LP}
 FT N.EXIST=LNK other=LNK role LOC story
 has no role in (the) story
- 13 *kundí? ang magkasakit.*
 kung [[hindí?]_{PRED} [ang magka-sakit]_{TOP}]_{CL}>_{CC}}_{PREDi}]_{AM}]_{PREDz}
 COMP NEG SPEC POSPREF-illness
 other than to be the one who become sick.
- The passage from line 7 up to line 13 involves several intertwined phrases: *si Tong, ang pinakabatang anák ni Háring Talangká?* is the predicate for the fronted topic *ang pagtutuúnan na lang natin ng pansín*, with *ang pinakabatang anák ni Háring Talangká?* modifying *si Tong* as an appositional (non-restrictive) modifier; *pinakabatang anák ni Háring Talangká?* is a Y phrase, which includes the X phrases *pinakabatang anák* and *Háring Talangká?*
 - *Háring Talangká?* also forms an X phrase (is modified by) the non-restrictive modifier *na túlad ng maráming hári* and is also the topic of the predicate *waláng ibáng papél sa kwento kundí? ang magkasakit*, the latter being itself a clause complex with two clauses, the first of which has *Háring Talangká?* as the (sub)topic, and the second of which (a subordinate clause marked by *kung*) has *ang magkasakit* as the topic.
- 14 *At íto na ngá ang dahilán*
 at [[{íto na nga}_{PREDj} {ang [dáhil-án
 CONJ this CSM EMPH SPEC because-LFS
- 15 *kung bákit isáng áraw*
 [kung [bákit [isá = ng áraw]_{X/TOPz}
 COMP why one=LNK day
 and it is the reason why one day
- 16 *ay biglá na lang ipinatáwag*
 ay [{biglá? na lang i-in + pa-táwag}_{PREDi}
 FT sudden CSM only CON-RPUT-CAUS-call
- 17 *si Tong ng kanyáng inang reyna.*
 {si Tong}_{TOPi} [ng [kanyá = ng ina = ng reyna]_X]_A]_{Y/CL/PREDz}]_{CL}]_{NC}]_{AC}}_{TOPj}
 SPEC PN REL 3sgPOSS=LNK mother=LNK queen
 Tong's mother, the Queen, suddenly summoned him (had him called).

- Line 14 begins with the conjunction *at*, which here links the following clauses (lines 14-17) with the ones preceding it (lines 7-13).
- In lines 14-17 again we have a very complex structure, where the (fronted) topic of the highest level structure is a complex structure: *itó na ngá ang dahilán kung bákit isáng áraw ay biglá na lang ipinatáwag si Tong ng kanyáng inang reyna* has *itó na ngá* as predicate and *ang dahilán kung bákit isáng áraw ay biglá na lang ipinatáwag si Tong ng kanyáng inang reyna* as topic, with this topic including the subordinated modifier *kung bákit isáng áraw ay biglá na lang ipinatáwag si Tong ng kanyáng inang reyna*.
- In line 16 we have the fronted topic marker, followed by the predicate of the embedded clause, which is itself a full clause, with a predicate and topic.
- In the predicate of the embedded clause, *bigla* and *ipinatawag* seem to form a phrase (even though they are separated by the second-position clitics), but there is no morphological marking of their relationship.
- The representation of the actor of the embedded clause is an X phrase but the whole of it forms a Y phrase with the predicate, and the Y phrase is interrupted by the topic.

18 *"Tong, anak, ang iyóng amá*
 [[Tong]_{VOC} [anak]_{VOC} [ang [iyó=ng amá]_X]_{TOPi}
 PN child SPEC 2sgPOSS=LNK father
 Tong, Child, your father

19 *ay may karamdáman," wíka ng reyna.*
 ay [may [ka-ramdám-an]_{EX}]_{PREDi}]_{PREDz/QUOTE} [wíka? ng reyna]_{Y/TOPICz}
 FT EXIST ASSOC-feeling-LFS language REL queen
 has an illness", said the queen.

- Lines 18-19 form a single clause where the predicate is an embedded quote, and the topic of that predicate is the quoting phrase. The quote starts with a vocative, and within the quote there is a fronted topic that takes the form of an X phrase marked by *ang*, and the predicate takes the form of an existential phrase.
- The topic of the higher structure (the clause that has the quote embedded as the predicate) is a Y phrase, *wika ng reyna*, literally ‘the language of the queen’, which is not marked as a topic, but seems to form an equative clause with the quote. (In line 27 we have the same structure, and it is marked overtly as the topic. See LaPolla and Poa 2005 on speech act constructions in Tagalog.)

20 *"Hindí na s'ya nakákalangóy.*
 [hindí? na <siya>_{TOP} nakáka-langóy]_{PRED}
 NEG CSM 3sgT INHERENT.ABLE-SWIM
 "(He) is not able to swim anymore.

- In line 20 again two elements (*hindí?* and *nakákalangóy*) seem to form a phrase (separated by the second position aspect clitic and the topic), but there is no morphological marking of the relationship between the two elements.

- 21 *Kailángan mong umáhon ngayón din papúnta sa lúpa*
 [kailángan <mo> =ng [um-áhon ngayón din⁷]]_{X/PRED}
 need 2sgNT=LNK RPAT-get.up now also
 You need to get up right now (and)
- 22 [pa-púnta]_{PRED} [sa lúpa]_{LP}
 PROSP-go LOC land
 go to the land
- 23 *úpang kumúha ng púso ng ságing—*
 úpang [um+kúha [ng [púso? ng ságing]]_Y
 in.order.to RPAT+get REL heart REL banana
 to get the heart of the banana—
- 24 *ang tánging prutas na makakapápagaling sa kanya."*
 [ang [tangi=ng prutas [na [makáka-pag-pa-galing] [sa kanya]_{LP}]_{MOD}]_X]_{AM}]_Y]_{CL}
 SPEC only=LNK fruit LNK SIT.ABLE-ACTNOM-CAUS-recover LOC 3sgPOSS
 the only fruit that can cure him."
- In line 21 *mo* forms a Y phrase with *kailangan*, but this phrase is intertwined with the X phrase formed by *kailangan* and *=ng umáhon ngayón din papúnta*, due to the nature of *mo* as a second position clitic. This X phrase functions as the predicate of the clause. The 2nd person pronoun takes the form *mo* because it is a direct argument, but not the topic, of *kailangan*. The 2nd person does seem to be the topic of the predicate *umáhon*, though, as it is marked for Actor Topic and it is assumed that it is the addressee that will get up.
 - In line 22 we have another clause, which might be seen as part of a serial verb construction with the predication in line 21.
 - In line 23 we have a subordinate clause giving the reason why Tong has to get up and go to the land. Again there is no overt topic, though as the predicate is marked as Actor Topic, we assume the actor (Tong) is the topic intended.
 - Line 24 is an appositional modifier, modifying *saging* ‘banana’. It takes the form of a complex X phrase marked by *ang*. One element in the X phrase is a predicate and its oblique argument, *makakapápagaling sa kanya* ‘able to cure him’, acting as a modifier of *prutas* ‘fruit’. That is, it functions like a relative clause, but the structure it forms with *prutas* is just like any other X phrase. Again, we identify *prutas* as the head simply on semantic grounds; there is nothing in the structure that identifies *prutas* as the grammatical head.
- 25 *Sumagót si Tong, "Ngúnit ináng réyna,*
 [um +sagót]_{PREDi} [si Tong]_{TOPI} [[ngúnit [iná=ng réyna]]_{X/VOCATIVE}
 RPAT+answer SPEC PN however mother=LNK queen
 Tong answered, "But, Mother Queen,

⁷ The combination of *ngayon* ‘now’ and *din* ‘also’ means ‘right now’.

- 26 *hindí ba't talagá namang hindí nakákalangóy ang amáng hári?"*
 [hindí? bakít talagá namán=ng hindí? nakáka-langóy]_{X/PREDz}
 NEG why really also=LNK NEG INHERENT.ABLE-swim
- [ang [amá=ng hári]_X]_{TOPz}]_{QUOTE}
 SPEC father=LNK king
 isn't it the case that my father the king actually can't swim (anyway)?"
- 27 *"Dáhil nga mayroon s'yang karamdáman!", ang sagót ng rénya.*
 [[dáhil nga [may-doon <siya>_{TOPi}=ng [ka-ramdám-an]_{EX}]_{PREDi}]_{PREDz/QUOTE}
 because EMPH EXIST-there 3sgT=LNK ASSOC-feeling-LFS
- [ang sagót ng réyna]_{TOPz}
 SPEC answer REL queen
 The reply (answer) of the queen was "Because he has an illness!".

- In 25-27 we have two different speech act constructions. In the clause that makes up lines 25-26, the predicate is the quoting expression, here inflected for Actor Topic, and the quote is an unmarked non-topic direct argument. Within the quote there is a clear predicate-topic construction, though the predicate is rather complex.
- In line 27 the structure is quite different, as the quoting expression, *ang sagót ng rénya* ‘the answer of the queen’, is the topic, and the quote itself is the predicate for this topic, the two forming an equative clause (see LaPolla & Poa 2005).

Summary and Conclusion

We have identified the following phrase types:

- **X phrase**: links elements of many types in a modificational relationship. The head cannot be identified morphosyntactically.
- **Y phrase**: links elements in a basically possessive relationship. The semantic head always appears in initial position. The relationship between the predicate and the non-topical direct arguments is also marked as a Y phrase.
- **LOC phrase**: marked by what appears to be like a preposition, but can take X or Y phrase (or single word) as complement.
- **Topic phrase**: a single word or an X phrase or a Y phrase can appear as topic, marked by *ang* or, in the case of pronouns, have the topic form, or in the case of proper human names, marked by *si*.
- **CONJ phrase**: conjoins two elements at any level.
- **Unmarked phrase**: existential *may* can take an element within the predicate without overt marking of the relationship (*may* might include what was historically a linker). Certain other elements seem to be able to be combined into a predicate without overt marking of linkage as well.

The question then is do these phrases correspond with the types of phrases we find in many other languages, such as noun phrase, verb phrase, and preposition phrase, or do we have a system that works differently?

When writing reference grammars of languages, we often will have chapters on the noun phrase and the verb phrase, with sections within each chapter on the structure of that particular phrase type. If we were to write a reference grammar of Tagalog, could we legitimately have chapter, for example, on the noun phrase, with a section on the structure of the noun phrase, where that structure is significantly different from the structure we would describe in the chapter on the verb phrase? It seems from the discussion above that the answer would be negative. In that case, how then should we describe Tagalog?

My answer is that we should describe it on its own terms, as I did above, and not try to fit it into Indo-European grammatical categories when that is not appropriate.

Tagalog Glossing Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning	Part of Speech	Form
1plincINT	first person inclusive non-topic pronoun	second position clitic pronoun	<i>natin</i>
3sgNT	3rd person singular non-topic pronoun	second position clitic pronoun	<i>niya ~ n'ya</i>
3sgT	3rd person singular topic pronoun	second position clitic pronoun	<i>siya ~ s'ya</i>
AC	<i>Ang</i> complement (element that follows <i>ang</i>)		
AM	appositive modifier		
ACTNOM	action nominalizer ('act of Ving')	derivational prefix	<i>pag-</i>
ASSOC	associative marker, marks reciprocal or joint activity, e.g. <i>kasama</i> 'go together', <i>kapatid</i> 'brother'	derivational prefix	<i>ka-</i>
CAUS	causative	derivational prefix	<i>pa-</i>
CC	clause complex		
CL	marks a clause that appears embedded within the predicate or topic of another clause		
COMP	complementizer	clause-initial particle	<i>kung</i>
CON	conveyance	derivational prefix	<i>i-</i>
CONJ	conjunctive marker (can conjoin clauses or any other constituents)	particle (appears between conjuncts)	<i>at</i>
CONJP	conjunction phrase (one formed with the conjunction <i>at</i>)		
CSM	change of state marker	second position clitic particle	<i>na</i>
EMPH	emphatic marker ('precicely', 'truely')	second position clitic particle	<i>nga</i>
EX	existant (thing in an existential or negative existential clause that exists or does not exist)		
EXIST	existential and possessive	predicator	<i>may</i>
FT	marker for showing that the clause has a fronted topic (it appears before the predicate—a marked construction)	particle (occurs between topic and predicate)	<i>ay</i>
INHERENT.ABLE	marks an inherent ability	derivational prefix	<i>nakáka-</i>
LC	locative complement phrase		
LFS	location forming suffix (forms elements that represent locations); when the word with this suffix is the predicate, the topic of the clause is a location ("locative focus")	suffix	<i>-an ~ -han</i>
LOC	locative	particle	<i>sa</i>

LNK	linker	clitic (occurs on first item) ~ particle (occurs between two items linked, which generally can come in either order)	<i>-ng ~ na</i>
LP	locative phrase (phrase marked by <i>sa</i>)		
MOD	modifier phrase		
NC	noun complement		
N.EXIST	negative existential and possessive marker	predicator	<i>wala?</i>
OS	ongoing state marker	inflectional prefix	<i>naka-</i>
POL	politeness marker	second position clitic	<i>po</i>
PRED	predicate		
PROSP	prospective aspect marker	prefix	<i>pa-</i>
POSPREF	shows possession of referent of root (<i>magkabuntot</i> ‘has tail’, <i>magkasakit</i> ‘has illness’)	prefix	<i>magka-</i>
REL	relational marker	particle (appearing before the argument / adverbial modifier / possessor; <i>ni</i> is used for proper names)	<i>ng</i> [naŋ], <i>ni</i>
RPAT	Realis perfective actor topic	infix appearing after initial consonant of predicate or before vowel initial	<i>-um-</i>
RPUT	Realis perfective undergoer topic	infix appearing after initial consonant of predicate or before vowel initial	<i>-in-</i>
REDUP	reduplication (if of first syllable of predicate, marks imperfective—on-going or future)		
SIT.ABLE	‘for’, ‘in order to’, to make a situation come about	derivational prefix	<i>maká-</i>
SPEC	specific—marks form as identifiable (often marks topic); <i>si</i> is used a proper name that is the topic within a clause and also when referring to a person using their name	particle	<i>ang, si</i>
STAT	stative	derivational prefix	<i>ma-</i>
SUPER	superlative marker	derivational prefix	<i>pinaka-</i>
TOP	topic phrase		
VOC	vocative		
X	marks a phrase formed of items linked by LNK <i>ng ~ na</i>		
Y	marks a phrase formed of items linked by REL <i>ng</i> [naŋ]		

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