

Information Structure and Constituent Order in Tagalog¹

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Abstract

This paper aims to demonstrate that the clause-initial constituent must be included in the actual focus domain in Tagalog.

1 Introduction

This paper discusses how information structure is realized in Tagalog morphosyntax within the framework of Role & Reference Grammar [RRG] (Van Valin 1993, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997).

Our main claim is that the clause-initial element, that is, a nucleus element or a precore slot element, must be included in the actual focus domain. In broad focus, a predicate occupies the clause-initial nucleus and it is (a part of) the focus. On the other hand, in narrow focus, a narrowly focused element is obligatorily located in the clause-initial position by means of a cleft construction for an argument and a fronting construction for an adjunct. Thus, the clause-initial position in Tagalog is **the obligatory focus domain**.

However, it is not that a sentence-initial element is always in focus; a sentence-initial element is topical when the left-detached position is occupied. The left-detached position can house topical constituents. The logical question to ask is how the topical left-detached constituent is distinguished from the clause-initial constituent, which is obligatorily focal. Thus, we will illustrate the substantiality of sentence-clause distinction with the evidence including enclitic placement and pause.

This paper is organized as follows: after we present an overview of Tagalog grammar in section 2, we will turn to the issue of correlation between information structure and constituent order in Tagalog in section 3. Our discussion here presupposes the sentence-clause distinction in this language. So, we will demonstrate that the distinction is substantial in section 4. We will conclude this paper in section 5.

The data employed here are based on conversation data produced by Tagalog speakers in Metro Manila and Antipolo city, except for the examples indicated otherwise.

2 Background

Tagalog is an Austronesian language spoken in the island of Luzon, the Republic of the Philippines.²

2.1 Clause structure

Tagalog is a verb-initial language or, to be more precise, a predicate-initial language. (1) and (2) are copula sentences with a noun-predicate and an adjective-predicate, respectively. There is no copula marker in Tagalog.

- (1) Doktor si=Boyet.
doctor NOM=Boyet
'Boyet is a doctor.'

- (2) Ma-tangkad si=Boyet.
tall NOM=Boyet
'Boyet is tall.'

In the verb-predicate sentence, as we will see later, a verb-predicate occupies the clause-initial position in predicate focus. The order of post-verbal elements is relatively free (Schachter and Otanes 1972:83-85, LaPolla ms.). But often a predicate is followed by arguments, and then arguments are accompanied by adjuncts, as below.

- (3) K(um)ain=na=siya ng=halo-halo sa=Chowking kahapon.
AV:ate=already=3.SG.NOM GEN=halo-halo DAT=Chowking yesterday
'He ate halo-halo at Chowking yesterday.'

Some enclitics including pronominal enclitics (*ako* 'I', *ka* 'you', *siya* 'he/she', etc.), aspectual enclitics (*na* 'already' and *pa* 'still') and adverbial enclitics (*lang* 'only', etc.) come in the clause-second position (see also Kroeger 1993, 1998). Placement of enclitics is one of the pieces of evidence which supports the traditional distinction between sentence and clause in Tagalog, as we will see in section 4.2.1.

Nominals are introduced by the proclitic case markers below or prepositions such as *para* 'for', *tungkol* 'about', and *dahil* 'because of'.

	personal names	common nouns
nominative	si	ang
genitive	ni	ng [naŋ]
dative	kay	sa

Table 1: Proclitic case markers

Tagalog has a voice system called 'focus system', which is neither accusative type nor ergative type (Shibatani 1988, Foley 1998). In the simplest term, it picks up a specific nominal and expresses its semantic role by verbal morphology. Let us look at the modified examples from Schachter (1976: 494-495).

- (4) Mag-a-alis ang=babae ng=bigas sa=sako para sa=bata.
AV:will.take.out NOM=woman GEN=rice DAT=sack for DAT=child
'The woman will take some rice out of a/the sack for a/the child.'
- (5) A-alis-in ng=babae ang=bigas sa=sako para sa=bata.
OV:will.take.out GEN=woman NOM=rice DAT=sack for DAT=child
'A/The woman will take the rice out of a/the sack for a/the child.'
- (6) A-alis-an ng=babae ng=bigas ang=sako para sa=bata.
DV:will.take.out GEN=woman GEN=rice NOM=sack for DAT=child
'A/The woman will take some rice out of the sack for a/the child.'
- (7) Ipag-a-alis ng=babae ng=bigas sa=sako ang bata.
BV:will.take.out GEN=woman GEN=rice DAT=sack NOM child
'A/The woman will take some rice out of a/the sack for the child.'

Each verb is classified as an actor voice verb, an object voice verb, a direction voice verb, a locative voice verb, and so on, according to what the semantic role of the nominative nominal is. Roughly speaking, 'actor' in Tagalog grammar is equivalent to actor in RRG. The other type voices such as an object voice, a direction voice, a benefactive voice, and a locative voice can be bracketed as an undergoer voice. In this paper, we will obey the traditional notation for convenience.

In the literature, voice in Philippine languages has sometimes been called as ‘topic’ or ‘focus’. But, the terms ‘topic’ and ‘focus’ are employed for specific statuses of linguistic expressions in information structure. So, we should avoid this terminology to avoid causing confusion and misunderstanding. We will just refer to it as ‘voice’. For the same reason, we will not use the term ‘topic’ for the nominative nominal.

2.2 Relative clause and cleft

In Tagalog relativization constructions, only nominative nominals can be pivot (Schachter and Otnes 1972, Schachter 1976, 1977). For instance, only the nominative noun phrase *ang lalaki* can be relativized in (8): (9) is grammatical, whereas (10) is not acceptable because the genitive noun phrase *ng mantika* is relativized. In order to relativize the phrase *mantika*, it is necessary to change it into the pivot, like (11). Note the object voice verb in (11). Henceforth, a relative clause is put in brackets.

- (8) B(um)ili ang=lalaki ng=mantika sa=tindahan.
 AV:bought NOM=man GEN=oil DAT=store
 ‘The man bought oil in the store.’
- (9) Ma-tangkad ang=lalaki-ng [b(um)ili ng=mantika sa=tindahan].
 tall NOM=man-LK AV:bought GEN=oil DAT=store
 ‘The man who bought oil in the store is tall.’
- (10) * Mahal ang=mantika-ng [b(um)ili ang=lalaki sa=tindahan].
 expensive NOM=oil-LK AV:bought NOM=man DAT=store
 ‘The oil which the man bought in the store is expensive.’
- (11) Mahal ang=mantika-ng [b(in)ili ng=lalaki sa=tindahan].
 expensive NOM=oil-LK OV:bought GEN=man DAT=store
 ‘The oil which the man bought in the store is expensive.’

One of the important functions of relativization is to form a cleft construction. A cleft construction in Tagalog is a copula sentence with a headless relative clause. Since the pivot is only the nominative argument in relativization constructions, what can be focal in a cleft is only the nominative argument. Other arguments need to be changed to the pivot to get focal in a cleft.

- (12) Si=Boyot ang=[b(um)ili ng=mantika sa=tindahan].
 NOM=Boyot NOM=AV:bought GEN=oil DAT=store
 ‘The one who bought oil in the store was Boyot.’
- (13) (Ang=)isda ang=[b(in)ili ng=lalaki sa=tindahan].
 NOM=fish NOM=OV:bought GEN=man DAT=store
 ‘What the man bought in the store was (the) fish.’

The proclitic case marker *ang* functions as a definite marker in a nucleus of a cleft, as in (13). See Schachter and Otnes (1972:529-531).

3 Clause-initial constituent must be focal

In this section, we will claim that the clause-initial constituent must be included in the actual focus domain in this verb-initial language.

3.1 Broad Focus

In broad focus, the predicate occupies the clause-initial nucleus position, yielding predicate-initial word order. See the answers of the examples (14) and (15). (14A) is predicate focus, which is the so-called ‘topic-comment’ organization of information in a sentence, and (15A) is sentence focus, in which the actual focus domain is the entire clause.

- (14) Q: Kumusta ang=kotse=mo?
 how NOM=car=2.SG.GEN
 ‘How’s your car?’
 A: Na-sira (ang=kotse=ko). [canonical]
 AV:broke NOM=car=1.SG.GEN
 ‘(My car) broke down.’
- (15) Q: Ano ang=[nang-yari]?
 what NOM=AV:happened
 ‘What happened?’
 (lit. ‘What happened was what?’)
 A: Na-sira ang=kotse=ko. [canonical]
 AV:broke NOM=car=1.SG.GEN
 ‘My car broke down.’

We will refer to this type of sentence as a canonical sentence. This is illustrated in Figures 1 and 2.

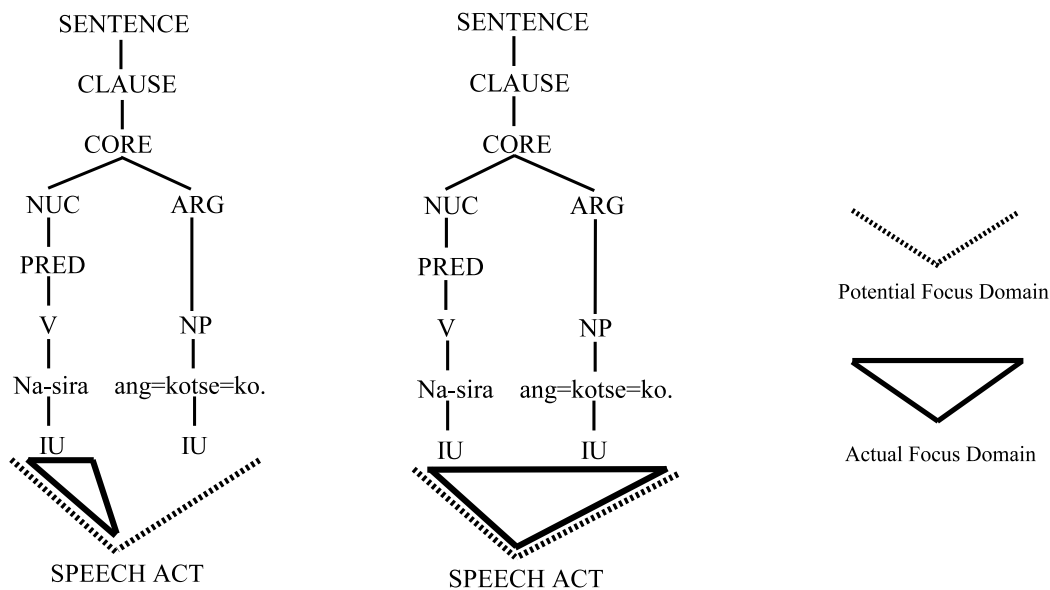


Figure 1: Predicate Focus (14A) Figure 2: Sentence Focus (15A)

We should note that Tagalog has a presentational construction, which introduces a new participant into the discourse.

- (16) May aso-ng [p(um)asok]. [presentational]
 be/have dog-LK AV:came.in
 ‘A dog came in.’

Descriptively speaking, the presentational construction is a subtype of existential sentences, where a newly-introduced element is realized as a noun phrase or a headless relative clause. (17) is also sentence focus and it describes much the same situation as (16). But, (16) and (17) are different in that the speaker already knows about the dog at the time of utterance in (17), while he/she does not, in (16).

- (17) P<um>asok ang=aso. [canonical]
 AV:came.in NOM=dog
 'The dog came in.'

That is why a presentational construction with a proper noun is not allowed.

- (18) *May Eunice na [p<um>asok]. [presentational]
 be/have Eunice LK AV:came.in
- (19) P<um>asok si=Eunice. [canonical]
 AV:came.in NOM=Eunice
 'Eunice came in.'

Notice that focus can fall on the nominative nominal: the nominative nominal can be focal, although it has sometimes been called 'Topic' (cf. Schachter 1976, 1977).

In conclusion, the predicate occupies the clause-initial position in broad focus, whether in sentence focus or in predicate focus.

3.2 Narrow Focus

Narrow focus is a focus structure where only one constituent is focal. In this focus structure, a focal element is bound to be located in the clause-initial position, which was occupied by a predicate in broad focus, to satisfy the condition that the clause-initial element must be included in the actual focus domain. The violation of the condition causes ungrammaticality.

For this purpose, two different constructions are employed according to what is focal. When a nominative argument is exclusively focal, the means is a cleft construction.³ See the answer of the example (20). This construction is obligatory when the narrow focus falls on an argument.

- (20) Q: Na-rinig=ko na na-sira ang=motor=mo.
 OV:heard=1.SG.GEN LK AV:broke NOM=motorcycle=2.SG.GEN
 'I heard your motorcycle broke down.'
- A: Hindi. Ang=kotse=ko ang=[na-sira]. [cleft]
 no NOM=car=1.SG.GEN NOM=AV:broke
 'No. MY CAR broke down.'
 (lit. 'No. What broke down is my car.')

In the case of a focal adjunct, it must be fronted to the precore slot like wh-questions in English. See the answer of the example (21). We will call this type of sentence a fronting construction (cf. 'emphatic inversion' Schachter and Otnes 1972:496ff).

- (21) Q: Kailan=ba na-sira ang=kotse=mo?
 when=Q AV:broke NOM=car=2.SG.GEN
 'When did your car break down?'
- A: [_{PrCS} Kahapon] na-sira (ang=kotse=ko). [fronting]
 yesterday AV:broke NOM=car=2.SG.GEN
 '(My car) broke down YESTERDAY.'

The characteristics of this construction are that a focal adjunct is fronted to the clause-initial precore slot, and accordingly it is accompanied by enclitics, which follows the nucleus in the other constructions. This construction is obligatory when an adjunct is exclusively focal.

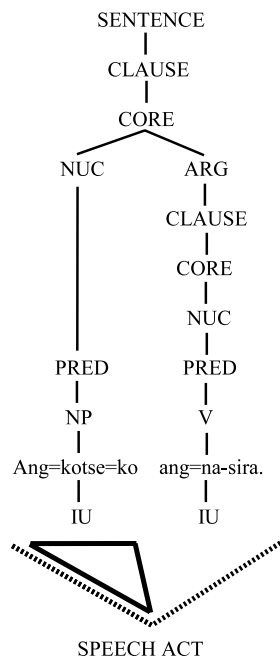


Figure 3: Narrow Focus (argument) (20A)

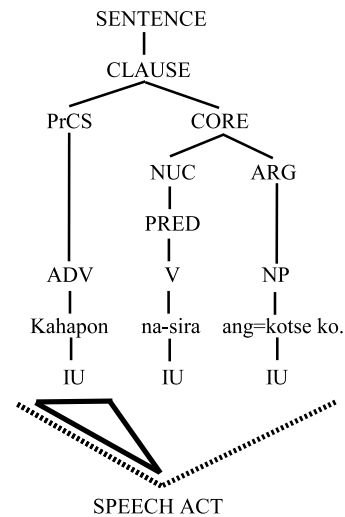


Figure 4: Narrow Focus (adjunct) (21A)

The discussions above can be summarized in Table 2. In Tagalog, focus is expressed primarily syntactically, not prosodically (see also Lambrecht 2001).

Focus structure	Construction	Clausal constituent order	Example
Predicate Focus	canonical	V NP	(14A)
Sentence Focus	canonical	V NP	(15A)
Narrow Focus (argument)	cleft	NP <i>ang</i> =[V]]	(20A)
Narrow Focus (adjunct)	fronting	ADV V NP	(21A)

bold face: obligatory focus domain

Table 2: Focus structure and constituent order

Then, let us illustrate these through examining various types of contexts: (i) exhaustive identification and the universal quantifier in 3.2.1, (ii) *wh*-question in 3.2.2, (iii) yes-no question in 3.2.3, (iv) correction in 3.2.4, and (v) negation in 3.2.5. By examining these, we will verify our claim that the clause-initial element is always included in the actual focus domain, and cleft and fronting constructions are employed to mark narrow focus.

3.2.1 Enclitic *lang* 'only' and the universal quantifier *lahat* 'all'

First of all, let us examine the adverbial enclitic *lang* and the universal quantifier *lahat*, and their interaction with information structure.

One of the functions of the enclitic *lang* is exhaustive identification, whose scope is considered to be the focus (cf. Kiss 1998). So, the enclitic serves as a litmus test for the focus. See the examples below. Note that the enclitic *lang* has scope over the clause-initial element in each example.

- (22) Na-tulog=lang=siya sa=bahay. [canonical]
 AV:slept=only=3.SG.NOM DAT=house
 'He only SLEPT in his house.'
- (23) Siya=lang ang=[na-tulog sa=bahay]. [cleft]
 3.SG.NOM=only NOM=AV:slept DAT=house
 'Only HE slept in his house.'
 (lit. 'The one who slept in his house was only him.')
- (24) [_{PrCS} Sa=bahay]=lang=siya na-tulog. [fronting]
 DAT=house=only=3.SG.NOM AV:slept
 'He slept only IN HIS HOUSE.'

On the other hand, the enclitic *lang* cannot exclusively identify a non-clause-initial argument or an adjunct, as in (25) and (26).

- (25) I-text=mo=lang si=Boyet. [canonical]
 OV:text=2.SG.GEN=lang NOM=Boyet
 *'Text only BOYET.'
 ok 'Just TEXT Boyet.'
- (26) Nag-meryenda=lang=siya sa=bahay. [canonical]
 AV:had.a.snack=only=3.SG.NOM DAT=house
 *'She had a snack only IN HER HOUSE.'
 ok 'She only HAD A SNACK in her house.' or 'All she did in her house is to have a snack.'

For an single constituent to be the focus, it is necessary to employ a cleft or a fronting construction like (27) and (28). Note again that focus fall on the clause-initial constituent.

- (27) Si=Boyet=lang ang=[i-text=mo]. [cleft]
 NOM=Boyet=only NOM=OV:text=2.SG.GEN
 'Text only BOYET.'
 (lit. 'The one you (should) text is only Boyet.')
- (28) [_{PrCS} Sa=bahay]=lang=siya nag-meryenda. [fronting]
 DAT=house=only=3.SG.NOM AV:had.a.snack
 'She had a snack only IN HER HOUSE.'

Arguments and adjuncts cannot be exclusively focal when they are post-verbal; they need to appear in the clause-initial position by means of a cleft or a fronting construction for narrow focus.

The universal quantifier is also sensitive to information structure. There is a cross-linguistic tendency that a universal quantifier is unlikely to appear focal in narrow focus (Kiss 1998). In Tagalog, in fact, the universal quantifier *lahat* 'all' cannot occur in a nucleus of a cleft. See (29).

- (29) * Lahat ng=pagkain ang=[k(in)ain=ko]. [cleft]
 all GEN=food NOM=OV:ate=1.SG.GEN
 'I ate ALL THE FOOD.'
 (lit. 'What I ate was all the food.')

On the other hand, it is acceptable if the universal quantifier *lahat* occurs as an argument in a canonical sentence, as in (30).

- (30) K<in>ain=ko ang=lahat ng=pagkain. [canonical]
 OV:ate=1.SG.GEN NOM=all GEN=food
 'I ate all the food.'

These facts tell that the clause-initial position in Tagalog is for focal elements.

3.2.2 Wh-questions

Wh-questions and the narrow focus constructions behave alike in Tagalog. This is not surprising because wh-words are narrowly focused in wh-questions. In fact, wh-questions in Tagalog are just subtypes of the narrow focus constructions.

As is well-known, only nominative arguments and some adjuncts can be questioned in wh-questions in Tagalog. When nominative arguments are questioned, a cleft construction must be used. See (32), which is a wh-question corresponding to (31). The interrogative enclitic *ba* is optional.

- (31) K<um>ain si=Jonalyn ng=hamburger kahapon. [canonical]
 AV:ate NOM=Janalyn GEN=hamburger yesterday
 'Jonalyn ate hamburger yesterday.'
- (32) Sino(=ba) ang=[k<um>ain ng=hamburger kahapon]? [cleft]
 who=Q NOM=AV:ate GEN=hamburger yesterday
 'Who ate hamburger yesterday?'
 (lit. 'The one who ate hamburger yesterday was who?')

A fronting is used when adjuncts are questioned.

- (33) [_{PRCS} Kailan](=ba) k<um>ain si=Jonalyn ng=hamburger? [fronting]
 when=Q AV:ate NOM=Jonalyn GEN=hamburger
 'When did Jonalyn eat hamburger?'

Of significance is parallelism between the narrow focus constructions and wh-questions. Only nominative arguments and some adjuncts can be the focus and questioned, and a cleft construction is for nominative arguments and a fronting construction for adjuncts. This parallelism also obtains in other Austronesian languages like Malagasy (see Potsdam 2004).

It would be better to note that Tagalog has what we call wh-verbs, whose root is a wh-word (See also Schachter and Otanes 1972:509). Wh-questions with wh-verbs may be categorized as predicate focus in spite of wh-questions.

- (34) Nag-ano=sila dito?
 AV:did.what=3.PL.NOM here
 'What did they do here?'
- (35) In-ano=mo ang=damit=ko?
 OV:did.what=2.SG.GEN NOM=clothes=1.SG.GEN
 'What did you do to my clothes?'

But the clause-initial element is still the focus.

3.2.3 Yes-no questions

Tagalog yes-no questions are formed by adding the interrogative enclitic *ba* or just by intonation.

- (36) Pu-punta=ba si=Melanie dito? [canonical]
 AV:will.come=Q NOM=Melanie here
 'Will Melanie come here?'

This example is broad focus. The focus of question is the entire clause or the predicate according to the contexts.

Now let us turn into narrow focus. When a single argument is the focus in a yes-no question, a cleft is employed as in (37). (37) is asking whether it is Melanie that will go to the speaker's side or not.

- (37) Si=Melanie=ba ang=[pu-punta dito]? [cleft]
 NOM=Melanie=Q NOM=AV:will.come here
 'Will MELANIE come here?'
 (lit. 'The one who will come here is Melanie?')

In the case of a narrowly focused adjunct, it is fronted like (38). (38) is asking whether it is to the speaker's side that Melanie will go, or not.

- (38) [_{PrCS} Dito]=ba pu-punta si=Melanie? [fronting]
 here=Q AV:will.come NOM=Melanie
 'Will Melanie come HERE?'

In Tagalog, the focus of question falls on the clause-initial position in yes-no questions as well as wh-questions.

3.2.4 Correction

Correction of someone's belief is one of the typical contexts in which narrow focus is required. Let us look at the conversation below:

- (39) (Person A joked about Ronald, who will celebrate his birthday soon. Then, Person B, Ronald's wife, responded to Person A.)
- A: i. Kawawa=naman si=Ronald. [canonical]
 pitiful=really NOM=Ronald
 'Ronald is really pitiful.'
- ii. Kasi wala=ako sa=kaarawan=niya.
 because not.exist=1.SG.NOM DAT=birthday=3.SG.GEN
 'This is because I will be absent on his birthday.'
- B: i. Ikaw ang=[kawawa]. [cleft]
 2.SG.NOM NOM=pity
 'YOU (> not Ronald) are pitiful.'
 (lit. 'The one who is pitiful is you.')
- ii. Kasi hindi=ka maka-ka-kain ng=handa=ko.
 because not=2.SG.NOM AV:can.eat GEN=prepared food=1.SG.GEN
 'This is because you will not be able to eat food I will prepare.'

Compare the utterance of Person A (39Ai) (predicate focus) with the utterance of Person B (39Bi) (narrow focus).

Here is an example of a fronting used for correction.

- (40) (The hearer came back to the meeting after using his cell phone outside the room. He sat down in a seat, but that seat was not the seat where he was seated before. So, the speaker told the hearer where he was seated before.)

[_{PrCS} Doon]=ka naka-upo. [fronting]
 there=2.SG.NOM AV:were.seated
 'You were seated THERE (> not here).'

On the other hand, when the adjunct is in-situ, the sentence is predicate focus.

(41) Naka-upo=ka doon. [canonical]
 AV:were.seated=2.SG.NOM there
 'You were seated there.'

Here is another pair of examples with a temporal adjunct. (42) is simply proposing that the speaker and the hearer meet tomorrow. But, (43) is insisting that the speaker and the hearer meet tomorrow, although they scheduled the meeting on another day previously.

(42) Mag-kita=tayo bukas. [canonical]
 AV:meet=1.PL.INC.NOM tomorrow
 'Let's meet tomorrow.'

(43) [_{PrCS} Bukas]=na=lang=tayo mag-kita. [fronting]
 tomorrow=already=just=1.PL.INC.NOM AV:meet
 'Let's meet TOMORROW (> not another day).'

In every example, what determines the focus of the sentence is constituent order: the clause-initial constituent must be included in the focus.⁴

3.2.5 Negation

In Tagalog, different scopes of negation are realized in different constructions, as below (see also Schachter and Otnes 1972:499-500, Ramos and Cena 1990:172-173). Internal negation requires a cleft or a fronting construction, as in (44b) and (44c).

- (44) a. Hindi s(in)ipa ni=Romio si=Stephen. [canonical]
 not OV:kicked GEN=Romio NOM=Stephen
 'Romio didn't kick Stephen.'
 (> Romio did not anything.)
- b. Hindi si=Romio ang=[s(um)ipa kay=Stephen]. [cleft]
 not NOM=Boyot NOM=AV:kicked DAT=Stephen
 'ROMIO didn't kick Stephen (> but someone else kicked Stephen).'
 (lit. 'The one who kicked Stephen was not Romio.')
- c. Hindi kahapon s(in)ipa ni=Romio si=Stephen. [fronting]
 not yesterday OV:kicked GEN=Romio NOM=Stephen
 'Romio didn't kick Stephen YESTERDAY (> but at some other time).'

The position of the negative operator *hindi* in the layered structure of the clause needs more study.⁵

3.3 Conclusion: Obligatory Focus Domain

Through the discussions in this section, we have demonstrated that the clause-initial element, that is, a nucleus or a precore slot element is always the focus in Tagalog.

In the most cases, the predicate is clause-initial and thus we can consider Tagalog is a predicate-initial language. This may reflect that predicate focus is the most unmarked focus structure (Lambrecht 1994, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997). This constituent order does not

change in sentence focus. As long as it is (a part of) the focus, the predicate occupies the clause-initial nucleus.

But, it is possible that one of arguments and adjuncts is exclusively the focus with the predicate being presupposed. In this case, the predicate cannot be located in the clause-initial position any more; instead, the focused element is ‘moved’ over the predicate to occupy the clause-initial position by means of a cleft or a fronting construction.

Thus, to describe this language, we need to distinguish one other focus domain besides the actual focus domain and the potential focus domain: the obligatory focus domain. The clause-initial position is the obligatory focus domain in Tagalog. This is illustrated in Figure 5.

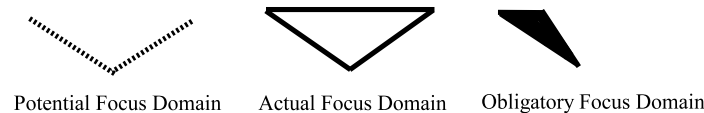


Figure 5: Obligatory focus domain

We do not have any decisive idea whether there is any correlation between our conclusion and verb-initial word order of Tagalog.

We should mention flexibility of focus structure. Van Valin (1999) has proposed an interesting typology of rigid and flexible focus structure languages. The former has a restriction on the potential focus domain like Italian and French, whereas the latter does not, like English and Russian. According to his typology, Tagalog is categorized as a language of flexible focus structure, as the potential focus domain is not restricted to a subpart of the main clause. However, we may still consider Tagalog is a language of rigid focus structure with regard to the obligatory focus domain. Note that the second position enclitic functions as a marker delimiting the obligatory focus domain in Tagalog, while the verb serves as a boundary marker delimiting the potential focus domain in clauses in verb-medial languages (SVO), which is likely to be a language of rigid focus structure.

4 The Sentence-clause distinction

The preceding discussion presupposes the sentence-clause distinction in Tagalog. In this section, we will demonstrate that the distinction is substantial in this language.

4.1 Left-detached position

The left-detached position (LDP) is also available in Tagalog, which has already been mentioned in Schachter and Otnes (1972:485ff) and Foley and Van Valin (1984:126ff).⁶ Unlike the clause-initial constituent, left-detached elements are topical or presupposed.

- (45) [sentence [LDP Si=May], [clause [P:CS kailan]=ba=siya ba-balik dito]]?
 NOM=May when=Q=3.SG.NOM AV:will.return here
 ‘As for May, when will she come here?’

- (46) [sentence [LDP Bukas], [clause ikaw=na=lang ang=[bi-bili ng=ulam]]].
 tomorrow 2.SG.NOM=already=just NOM=AV:will.buy GEN=dish
 ‘Tomorrow, the one who will buy dishes is you.’

In (45), the nominative noun phrase *si May* is preposed to the left-detached position, and functions as a topic. The remaining clause is a wh-question, in which the wh-word *kailan*

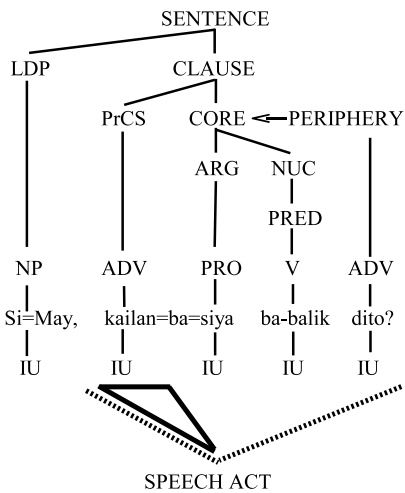


Figure 6: Left-detached position (45)

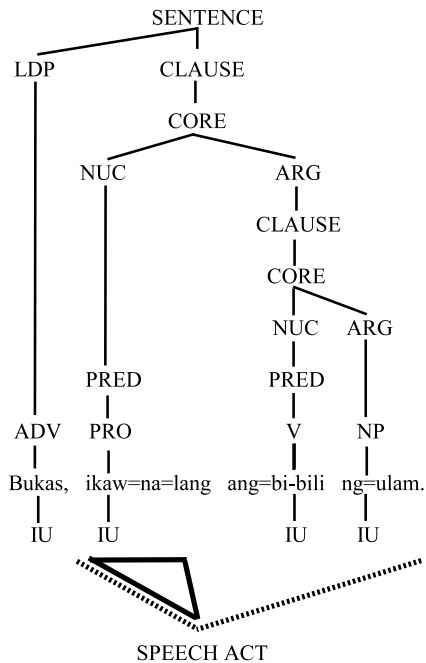


Figure 7: Left-detached position (46)

‘when’ is fronted to the precore slot. In (46), the adverb *bukas* is dislocated in the left-detached position and sets the temporal framework for the remaining cleft clause. Our analyses of these are represented in Figures 6 and 7. Obviously, we need to distinguish the left-detached position from the clause-initial element to maintain the claim that the clause-initial position is the obligatory focus domain in this predicate-initial language.

Before turning into the distinction, let us look at some characteristics of the construction with the left-detached position. The left-detached element is presupposed, although the clause-initial element is focal.

- (47) (The speaker is reporting her breakfast she has just eaten.)
- a. Ka-ta-tapos=lang=naming mag-breakfast.
finished=just=1.PL.EXC.GEN-LK have breakfast
‘We have just finished our breakfast.’
 - b. [_{LDP} Ang=ulam=namin], [_{clause} longanisa, tinapa, corn beef, at atsara].
NOM=dish=1.PL.EXC.GEN longanisa tinapa corn beef and atsara
‘Our dishes are longanisa, tinapa, corn beef, and atsara.’

The left-detached position can house a contrastive topic, like below.

- (48) (On the phone)
- a. Nasaan=ka=na?
where=2.SG.NOM=already
‘Where are you?’
 - b. [_{LDP} Kami], [_{clause} nasa labas=pa].
1.PL.EXC.NOM be.at outside=still
‘As for us, (we) are still out.’

We put the comma ‘,’ to indicate left-detached elements. Often they are separated by pause from the following parts of the sentence. See section 4.2.3.

This construction may leave the resumptive pronoun.

- (49) [_{LDP} Si=Juan], [_{clause} i-b<in>ili=mo(=siya)]?
 NOM=Juan BV:bought=2.SG.GEN=3.SG.NOM
 ‘As for Juan, did you buy (something) for him?’

Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:36) say that “if the NP in it [= the left-detached position] functions as a semantic argument in the following clause, there must be a pronoun in the clause which refers to it”. But, since Tagalog allows zero pronouns, the resumptive pronoun is just optional.

In the previous section, we have pointed out that the universal quantifier cannot appear in the clause-initial position, which is the obligatory focus domain. This may predict that the universal quantifier is available in the left-detached position, which is for presupposed elements, and, in fact, it is.

- (50) [_{LDP} Lahat ng=pagkain], [_{clause} k<in>ain=ko].
 all GEN=food OV:ate=1.SG.GEN
 ‘All the food, I ate.’

The left-detached position is available for possessor raising, but not so acceptable.

- (51) [_{LDP} Si=Juan], [_{clause} na-mula ang=mata].
 NOM=Juan AV:became.red NOM=eye
 ‘As for Juan, (his) eye became red.’

The acceptability of possessor raising is restricted: the construction would not be acceptable in written communication.

Similarly to the nominative nominals, setting elements can be located in the left-detached position. Setting elements in the left-detached position introduce the temporal or spatial framework to the discourse. Foley and Van Valin (1984:128) point out that these setting elements are topical, using the example (52).

- (52) [_{LDP} Sa=palengke], [_{clause} b<um>ili ng=isda ang=lalake].
 DAT=market AV:bought GEN=fish NOM=man
 ‘In the market, the man bought some fish.’

Of course, a temporal setting may be located in this position. See (46).

It is very clear that semantic, pragmatic, and syntactic characteristics of the left-detached position are strikingly different from those of the clause-initial position.

4.2 The distinction between sentence and clause

The distinction between sentence and clause is borne out in Tagalog by the following phenomena, in addition to the differences concerning the resumptive pronoun and the universal quantifier.

4.2.1 Enclitic placement

Tagalog has a series of second position enclitics which, if any, must follow the clause-initial constituent (See also Kroeger 1993, 1998). To be more precise, the left-detached element is not followed by enclitics, but the clause-initial constituent is followed.

- (53) [_{LDP} Bukas], [_{clause} [_{PrCS} saan]=ka=ba pu-punta]?
 tomorrow where=2.SG.NOM=Q AV:will.go
 ‘Tomorrow, where will you go?’

Look at the examples below. (54) and (55) are not acceptable because the wh-word *saan* ‘where’ is not followed by enclitics. Wh-words in wh-questions must be accompanied by enclitics, if any.⁷

(54) * [_{LDP} Bukas], [_{clause} [_{PrCS} saan] pu-punta=ka=ba]?

(55) * [_{LDP} Bukas]=ka=ba, [_{clause} [_{PrCS} saan] pu-punta]?

In other words, the second position enclitics serve as ‘focus markers’ in Tagalog. This is because they follow the clause-initial position, which is the obligatory focus domain.

4.2.2 Uniqueness condition

Only one precore slot is available in a clause. We may refer to this as a uniqueness condition (cf. Rizzi 1997).

(56) * [_{clause} [_{PrCS} Ano-ng oras] [_{PrCS} dito]=ka pu-punta]?
 what-LK hour here=2.SG.NOM AV:will.come
 ‘WHAT TIME are you coming HERE?’

On the other hand, a uniqueness condition does not hold in the case of the left-detached position.

(57) [_{LDP} Sa=palagay=ko], [_{LDP} si=Paul], [_{clause} patay=na].
 DAT=thought=1.SG.GEN NOM=Paul dead=already
 ‘To my thought, as for Paul, (he) was already dead.’

More than one left-detached position can occur in a sentence.

4.2.3 Pause

The pause or intonational break, which is expressed by ‘,’ in this paper, cannot follow the clause-initial element but it can accompany the left-detached element(s). Let us look at the examples (45) and (46), repeated here.

(58) [_{LDP} Si=May], [_{clause} [_{PrCS} kailan](*)=ba(*),=siya(*), ba-balik dito]?
 NOM=May when=Q=3.SG.NOM AV:will.return here
 ‘As for May, when will she come here?’

(59) [_{LDP} Bukas], [_{clause} ikaw(*),=na(*),=lang(*), ang=[bi-bili ng=ulam]].
 tomorrow 2.SG.NOM=already=just NOM=AV:will.buy GEN=dish
 ‘Tomorrow, the one who will buy our dishes is you.’

4.2.4 Semantic relatedness

Since it is inside the clause, the clause-initial element must be relevant to semantics of a clause. A manner adverb and a depictive secondary predicate (Nagaya 2004) can appear in this position, in addition to arguments and adjuncts.

(60) [_{clause} [_{PrCS} Mabilis]=na=niya k<(in)ain ang=pansit].
 quick=already=3.SG.GEN OV:ate NOM=noodle
 ‘He ate noodles quickly.’

(61) [_{clause} [_{PrCS} Naka-hubad]=mo=ba k<(in)ain ang=isda]?
 naked=2.SG.GEN=Q OV:ate NOM=fish
 ‘Did you eat the fish naked?’

On the other hand, the left-detached element can be irrelevant to semantics of a clause.

- (62) [_{LDP} Ang=nais=ko], [_{clause} ma-lusog ang=mama=ko].
 NOM=wish=1.SG.GEN healthy NOM=mother=1.SG.GEN
 ‘My wish is that my mother would be healthy.’
- (63) [_{LDP} Ang=g(in)awa=ko], [_{clause} t(in)ulung-an=ko si=Mutya].
 NOM=OV:did=1.SG.GEN DV:helped=1.SG.GEN NOM=Mutya
 ‘What I did was that I helped Mutya.’

A modal adverb and a sentential adverb also appear here.

- (64) [_{LDP} Siguro], [_{clause} b(um)agsak si=Gaga sa=pagsusulit].
 probably AV:failed NOM=Gaga DAT=examination
 ‘Probably, Gaga failed the exam.’
- (65) [_{LDP} Sa=kasamaang-palad], [_{clause} b(um)agsak si=Gaga sa=pagsusulit].
 unfortunately AV:failed NOM=Gaga DAT=examination
 ‘Unfortunately, Gaga failed the exam.’

4.2.5 Symmetric property

The left-detached position and the clause-initial position differ with regard to symmetric property. In Tagalog, the detached position has a symmetric property regarding the position in which it appears: whether it appears to the left of the clause or to the right does not affect the pragmatic status of the detached phrase. Tagalog has a right-detached position, as well. It is also for presupposed elements.

- (66) [_{clause} <Um>upo=ka=muna dito], [_{RDP} ang=sabi=ko].
 AV:sit=2.SG.NOM=first here NOM=what.is.said=1.SG.GEN
 ‘What I said is that you sit down here.’
- (67) [_{clause} Mahal-in=mo ang=kapwa=mo], [_{RDP} ang=turo ni=Hesus].
 OV:love=2.SG.GEN NOM=neighbor=2.SG.GEN NOM=teachings GEN=Jesus
 ‘According to the teachings of Jesus, love your neighbor.’

On the other hand, the clause-initial element does not have a symmetric property. When it appears in non-clause-initial positions, it may not be in focus anymore.

We cannot find a postcore slot in Tagalog for the present.

4.3 Where do these differences come from?

As has been demonstrated above, the left-detached position and the clause-initial position (i.e. a nucleus or a precore slot) behave differently at least in terms of these seven phenomena. This situation can be summarized in Table 3.

Is this accidental? The answer is no. This is not accidental, but rather is a natural conclusion from the view-point of RRG. The ways they are different are motivated by the simple characterization of the clause-initial position and the left-detached position: the left-detached position is clause-external, while the clause-initial position is clause-internal. Let us consider the enclitic placement. The pronominal enclitics, which are arguments of a predicate, can be located only in the position immediately following the clause-initial position, because the position is still inside the clause. But, when they are put after the left-detached position, the pronominal enclitics would be outside the clause. This situation is not acceptable, because semantic arguments of a predicate must be included in the clause.

	left-detached element	clause-initial element
Enclitic placement	no	yes
Uniqueness condition	no	yes
Semantic relatedness	no	yes
Pause	yes	no
Resumptive pronoun	yes	no
Universal quantifier	yes	no
Symmetric property	yes	no

Table 3: Different behaviors of left-detached elements and clause-initial elements

This explanation is applicable to the other phenomena: whether pause is put or not reflects the clause boundary between them; the clause-initial element does not need to leave a resumptive pronoun because it is still inside the clause; since the left detached element is independent of semantics of the clause, uniqueness condition and semantic relatedness condition are not applied to the left-detached position. Thus, the traditional sentence-clause distinction adopted in RRG is of significance in Tagalog. Without it, we would miss our generalization of the focal clause-initial condition.

5 Conclusion

In this paper, we have claimed the following:

- (68) The clause-initial constituent must be included in the actual focus domain in Tagalog.
- (69) Two different constructions are employed to satisfy this condition in narrow focus: a cleft for arguments and a fronting for adjuncts.
- (70) The sentence-clause distinction is substantial in Tagalog: the clause-initial element (i.e. a nucleus or a precore slot element) can be distinguished from the left-detached element.

All these facts and observations can be described and explained in an elegant and integrated way within the framework of Role & Reference Grammar.

Notes

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²Glosses use the following abbreviations: AV-actor voice, BV-benefactive voice, DAT-dative, DV-direction voice, EXC-exclusive, GEN-genitive, INC-inclusive, LK-linker, NOM-nominative, OV-object voice, PL-plural, SG-singular, 1-first person, 2-second person, 3-third person.

³ We need to note two points about a cleft in Tagalog. First, the proclitic nominative case marker *ang* is sometimes omitted, especially in everyday conversation.

Second, a cleft construction behaves like a single clause with respect to reflexivization, although it is syntactically bi-clausal. In Tagalog, an actor antecedent binds a clausemate undergoer reflexive pronoun (cf. Schachter 1976, 1977, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997). In the examples below, however, the reflexive pronouns are bound by the non-clausemate antecedents. Note that c-command relationship cannot explain the reflexivization data here.

- (71) actor voice: the nominative noun phrase is actor.
- a. * Ang=kanya-ng sarili[A] ang=[p<um>uri kay=Boyet[U]].
 NOM=himself NOM=AV:praised DAT=Boyet
 lit. 'Who praised Boyet is himself.'
- b. Si=Boyet[A] ang=[p<um>uri ng=kanya-ng sarili[U]].
 NOM=Boyet NOM=AV:praised GEN=himself
 lit. 'Who praised himself is Boyet.'

- (72) object voice: the nominative noun phrase is undergoer.
- a. Ang=kanya-ng sarili[U] ang=[p<in>uri ni=Boyet[A]].
 NOM=himself NOM=OV:praised GEN=Boyet
 lit. 'Who Boyet praised is himself.'
- b. * Si=Boyet[U] ang=[p<in>uri ng=kanya-ng sarili[A]].
 NOM=Boyet NOM=OV:praised GEN=himself
 lit. 'Who himself praised is Boyet.'

⁴One of the characteristics of fronting of a spatial setting element is 'spatial stranding'. In Tagalog, spatial demonstrative pronouns often co-occur with spatial setting elements.

- (73) Naka-tira si=Lizzette dito sa=Antipolo. [canonical]
 AV:live NOM=Lizzette here DAT=Antipolo
 'Lizzette lives here in Antipolo.'

Spatial stranding occurs when the spatial setting phrase is the focus in narrow focus. Let us consider the example (74): the spatial setting phrase *dito sa aming simbahan* 'here to our church' is divided into two constituents, and the former part is fronted alone to the precore slot.

- (74) [_{PrCS} **Dito**]=ka=ba mag-si-simba **sa=aming** **simbahan** bukas? [fronting]
 here=2.SG.NOM=Q AV:go.to.church DAT=1.PL.EXC.DAT-LK church tomorrow
 'Will you go **HERE TO OUR CHURCH** (> not other church) tomorrow?'

The spatial stranding may be problematic for the definition of narrow focus. In the example above, it would be natural to consider that the phrases *dito* 'here' and *sa aming simbahan* 'to our church' are in focus, and form a single information unit. That is why we consider the sentence (74) as narrow focus. But, strictly speaking, they are not a single constituent but separated. If narrow focus is confined into a single constituent, the sentence (74) is not an instance of narrow focus any more.

⁵Here are more complicated examples. The examples in (76) are three different patterns used to negate sentence (75). Different constructions lead to different implications.

- (75) K(in)a-kain=ko ang=halo-halo sa=Chowking.
 OV:eat=1.SG.GEN NOM=halo-halo DAT=Chowking
 'I eat halo-halo at Chowking.'
- (76) a. Hindi=ko=na k(in)a-kain ang=halo-halo sa=Chowking. [canonical]
 not=1.SG.GEN=already OV:eat NOM=halo-halo DAT=Chowking
 'I don't eat halo-halo at Chowking any more.'
- b. Hindi=na halo-halo ang=[k(in)a-kain=ko sa=Chowking]. [cleft]
 not=already halo-halo NOM=OV:eat=1.SG.GEN DAT=Chowking
 'I don't eat HALO-HALO at Chowking any more (> but something else).'
- c. Hindi=ko=na sa=Chowking k(in)a-kain ang=halo-halo. [fronting]
 not=1.SG.GEN=already DAT=Chowking OV:eat NOM=halo-halo
 'I don't eat halo-halo AT CHOWKING any more (> but elsewhere).'

Note that the negative operator *hindi* is followed by the second position enclitics (see section 4.2.1).

⁶Regarding *ay*-construction, which might be considered topicalization (Foley and Van Valin 1984), we may take it into no consideration in this paper, because we concentrate on oral communication. *Ay*-construction is found mainly in written communication and it is formal (Schachter and Otones 1972:485ff).

⁷There is only one exception to this generalization: *bakit* 'why'. This wh-word is not necessarily accompanied by enclitics.

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