

Preferred referential expressions in Tagalog*

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Abstract

In this paper, I will argue that Tagalog has a preferred pattern of referential expressions for retrievable referents, and that the pattern is conditioned by the person and topicality hierarchies. Speech act participants are likely to be encoded by a personal pronoun. In contrast, third person topics tend to be referred to by a personal pronoun, and third person nontopics either by zero anaphora or by a demonstrative pronoun. This selection pattern is similar to, but different from, those in other languages. Tagalog has its own pattern of referential expressions. I will also demonstrate that this conventionalized pattern of referential expressions involves voice phenomena and reference-tracking.

1 Introduction

Crosslinguistically, pronouns and zero anaphora are the most commonly observed referential expressions for recoverable participants. The issue of which referential expression is selected in a specific context is determined by different factors within and across languages.

In *pro*-drop or null subject languages like Italian, for example, grammatical relations are the determining factor. In these languages only subject can drop. In English, argument omission is possible in subordinate and complement clauses, but is confined to subject. In Japanese, on the other hand, topicality rather than grammatical relations takes the initiative: zero anaphora is the most preferable referential expression for a topic. Thus, different languages have different sets of preferred referential expressions for retrievable referents. See Givón (1983), Ariel (1990), and Goldberg (to appear).

The goal of this paper is to spell out a preferred pattern of referential expressions in Tagalog and principles behind it. Tagalog allows three types of referential expression to refer to a presupposed participant: personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and zero anaphora. However, it is not that they can be always employed interchangeably. Let us consider example (1).

- (1) (The speaker is offering a candy to the hearer, showing it to her.)

Gusto *(mo) (ito)?
want 2SG.ERG this.ABS
'Do you want this?'

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In this situation, both the hearer and the candy the speaker was going to give are presupposed. But the second person pronoun *mo* ‘you’ cannot be omitted (i.e. zero anaphora is not acceptable), whereas the demonstrative pronoun *ito* ‘this’ is convertible to zero. In this paper, I will argue that such selection of referential expressions is conditioned by the person and topicality hierarchies in Tagalog.

This paper is organized as follows: in Section 2, introducing Tagalog grammar, I will elucidate the interplay between the Animacy Hierarchy and the extent of elaboration in nominal morphology. The following two sections are dedicated to discussion on preferred referential expressions in this language. In Section 3, on the basis of text counts, I will point out that Tagalog has a set of preferred referential expressions and it is conditioned by the person and topicality hierarchies. Then, I will take a close look at a preferred referential expression for speech act participants and those for third persons, respectively. In Section 4, it will be shown that this preferred pattern is not just connected with referring function but is relevant to other functions such as voice and reference-tracking. Then, this paper will be concluded with its typological implication in Section 5.

It is necessary to add a terminological note before turning to the main body of the analysis. The term ‘topic’ has been employed in the literature of the Philippine linguistics to refer to the formal category I call ‘absolute’ in this paper (Schachter 1976, 1977 to name a few). But in this paper the ‘topic’ is used only in the pragmatic sense.

2 Background

Tagalog is one of the Austronesian languages spoken on the island of Luzon, the Republic of the Philippines. Tagalog is a consistently head-initial language; a predicate appears in the clause-initial position, and a noun phrase is marked by a proclitic case marker or a preposition.

In this paper, I assume that Tagalog has an ergative case-marking system (Nolasco 2003, Reid and Liao 2004, to name a few): an intransitive subject and a transitive object are marked in absolutive case and a transitive subject in ergative case. In addition to the two core grammatical cases, Tagalog has genitive and dative cases. The genitive case is formally identical to the ergative case but is distinguished from it in terms of their functions: while the ergative case is for a transitive subject, the genitive case is for the other functions such as a clausal adjunct or a possessor. The dative case is employed to introduce a recipient, a goal, a source, a location, and so on.

In nominal morphology, the Animacy Hierarchy (Silverstein 1976, Figure 1) should be taken into account (Nagaya 2006c). It determines the extent of morphological elaboration in coding of each participant: the higher a referent is in the Animacy Hierarchy, the more specifically it is marked. This tendency is commonly observed across languages (for example, see Croft 2003:§5.2 and Hopper and Traugott 1993:157ff).

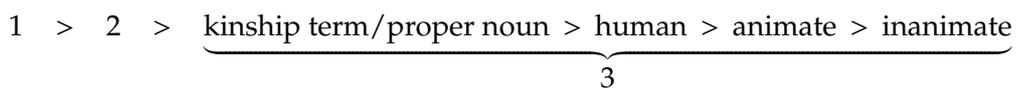


Figure 1: The Animacy Hierarchy

Speech act participants, that is, first and second persons are the most finely differentiated and the most elaborately marked, as shown in Table 1. In addition to the personal pronouns listed in Table 1, the pronoun *kita* is a portmanteau morph, realizing simultaneously the first person singular ergative + the second person absolutive singular.

As for the third person, definite third persons are encoded by a personal pronoun or a demonstrative pronoun (Table 2). Kinship terms and proper nouns, which are the highest in animacy among different types of third person, have a special set of case markers: *si*, *ni*, *kay*, *sina*, *nina*, and *kina*. Any other human, animate and inanimate nouns are marked just by the ordinary case markers: *ang*, *ng*, and *sa*. See Table 3.¹

Number is distinguished by inflection in the personal pronouns and by the case markers in kinship terms and proper nouns, but by the paraphrastic plural marker *mga* [maŋa] in demonstrative pronouns and common nouns. Gender is not an established grammatical category in Tagalog.

Table 1: Personal pronouns

	Free	Clitic		DAT
		ABS	ERG/GEN	
1SG	ako		ko	akin
1PL.INC	tayo		natin	atin
1PL.EXC	kami		namin	amin
2SG	ikaw	ka	mo	iyo
2PL	kayo		ninyo	inyo
3SG	siya		niya	kanya
3PL	silá		nila	kanila

Table 2: Demonstrative pronouns

	ABS	ERG/GEN	DAT
Proximal	ito	nito	dito/rito
Medial	iyán	niyan	diyan/riyan
Distal	iyon	noon/niyon	doon/roon

Table 3: Proclitic case markers

	ABS	ERG/GEN	DAT
Proper, SG	si	ni	kay
Proper, PL	sina	nina	kina
Common	ang	ng [naŋ]	sa

Lastly, I should briefly mention verbal morphology. Like other Philippine-type languages, Tagalog is well-known for its valency/voice-marking verbal morphology called the focus system. Verbs inflect for aspect, but do not have agreement for person, number, or gender. As this paper focuses exclusively on referential expressions, I will not provide so much information on verbs in the glossings.

¹Besides the case markers listed in Table 3, I also set up the following case markers, which are derived from the demonstrative pronouns. They have not been granted as regular case markers in the literature but commonly used in oral communication.

	ABS	ERG/GEN
Proximal	itong	nitong
Medial	iyang	nang
Distal	yung	nung/niyung

Table 4: The list of the texts examined in this paper

	Title	IUs	Time
Text I	My trip to Korea	49	1:51
Text II	Why I don't have a cell phone	61	2:05
Text III	The first day of my Japanese class	30	1:02
Text IV	My love life	239	9:21
Text V	The funny child	52	2:12
Text VI	The best gift (1)	119	5:30
Text VII	The best gift (2)	54	1:49
Text VIII	The best gift (3)	29	1:07
Text IX	Pear story (1)	68	2:33
Text X	Pear story (2)	39	1:34

(IU = Intonation Unit)

3 Preferred pattern of referential expressions in Tagalog

This section aims to explore the selection pattern of referential expressions in Tagalog. After reviewing Himmelmann (1999) in Section 3.1, I will insist in Section 3.2 that Tagalog has a set of preferred referential expressions conditioned by the person and topicality hierarchies, based on text counts of Tagalog narratives. In my hypothesis, the contrast between speech-act participants (SAPs) and non-SAPs plays an important role. Thus, these two categories will be examined in depth in Section 3.3 and in Section 3.4, respectively.

Data examined in the rest of this paper are mainly narrative texts the present author has collected in Metro Manila. The list of the narrative texts and their statistical information are given in Table 4. Texts IX and X were made by teenage Tagalog speakers at Marikina city in March 2005, and all the other texts were produced by students at the University of the Philippines Diliman in June 2006. These texts were recorded by the present author and transcribed with a research assistant, who is a native speaker of Tagalog. In addition to these texts, I will employ supplementary examples from elicitation, the Bible, and a novel.

3.1 Himmelmann (1999)

In the literature, it has been assumed that Tagalog freely allows zero anaphora in any context. Contrary to this traditional assumption, Himmelmann (1999:258) insists “zero anaphora for actors in undergoer-oriented constructions does not occur in natural Tagalog speech (and writing)”. Putting it in our terminology, he insists that there is no zero anaphora for ergative nominals.²

Truly, his hypothesis seems to be supported by the data examined here by and large. However, his generalization is too strong: as a matter of fact, zero anaphora is available for ergative nominals. See example (2) cited from Text X. (Henceforth, examples cited from the narrative texts are indicated by the title of the text with the numbers of the intonation

²Himmelmann's ‘undergoer-oriented constructions’ are equivalent to transitive constructions in our terminology. Since I adopt an ergative analysis of Tagalog, ‘actors in undergoer-oriented constructions’ correspond to ergative nominals in our analysis. His definition of zero anaphora is as follows: “the omission of an overt expression for an argument that has specific reference and is unambiguously inferable from the context” (Himmelmann 1999:233).

units. Each line in examples corresponds to each intonation unit in the transcriptions. Examples without these indications are elicited data.)

(2) (Text X: "Pear story (2)" 011-019)

11. paglipad nung sombrero niya,
flying.off GEN hat 3SG.GEN
12. tumalikod siya.
turned.around 3SG.ABS
13. nasemplang siya.
toppled 3SG.ASB
14. nalaglag yung mga prutas na dala niya.
fell ABS PL fruit LK carry 3SG.GEN
15. tapos hindi niya na alam yung gagawin niya.
then not 3SG.ERG already know ABS will.be.doing 3SG.ERG
16. nahihirapan na siya.
had.difficulty already 3SG.ABS
17. may may nakakita sa kanyang tatlong batang,
exist saw DAT 3SG.DAT-LK three-LK child-LK
18. tatlong bata na nag- namamasyal.
three-LK child LK roaming.around
19. tinulungan ϕ siyang ilagay yung prutas sa kaing.
helped 3SG.ABS-LK put ABS fruit DAT basket

'When his hat flew off, he turned around. He toppled down. The fruits he was carrying fell down. Then he did not know what he would do. He had difficulty. There were three children who were roaming around who saw him. (They) helped him to put the fruits back into the basket.'

In IU 19 of (2), zero anaphora is employed for the actor, that is, the three children who saw the boy fall down.

Another piece of evidence for zero anaphora for ergative nominals comes from the existence of the interrogative word *nino*, which is employed to specify a missing actor in the preceding transitive clause. Let us consider (3). In A2, Person A is asking who the zero pronoun in B1 refers to, using *nino*.

- (3) A1: Ano 'ng nangyari sa iyo?
what ABS happened DAT 2SG.DAT
'What happened to you?'
- B1: Minura ϕ ako.
said.bad.words 1SG.ABS
'(Someone) said bad words to me.'
- A2: Nino?
who
'Who?'
- B2: Ni Marfeal.
ERG Marfeal
'Marfeal.'

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(4) is the version of (3-B1) where the ergative nominal is not deleted. Compare (3-B1) and (4).

- (4) Minura ako ni Marfeal.
said.bad.words 1SG.ABS ERG Marfeal
'Marfeal said bad words to me.'

Thus, the interrogative word *nino* must presuppose the existence of zero anaphora for ergative nominals. Himmelmann's generalization is not compatible with the existence of this word.

On the other hand, Himmelmann (1999:236) claims "subject *ang*-phrases freely allow zero anaphora". In our terminology, he claims that absolutive nominals freely allow zero anaphora. But this is not the case. Let us consider the passage (5) composed by a Tagalog speaker. In this passage, eliding the absolutive personal pronoun *siya* referring to 'Weng' results in an inappropriate passage. It means that absolutive phrases do not always allow zero anaphora.

- (5) 1. Kahapon pumunta si Weng sa UP.
yesterday went ABS Weng DAT UP
2. Naglakad ??(siya) papunta doon,
walked 3SG.ABS toward there
3. dahil wala ??(siya)ng pera.
because didn't.have 3SG.ABS-LK money
4. Tapos, nakasalubong ??(niya) si Flor.
then came.across 3SG.ERG ABS Flor
5. Niyaya ϕ ??(siya)ng magmeryenda.
invited 3SG.ABS-LK have.snack
6. E wala nga ??(siya)ng pera.
eh did.not.have indeed 3SG.ABS-LK money
7. Kaya, nilibre ??(siya) ni Flor.
so paid.for 3SG.ABS ERG Flor

'Yesterday, Weng went to UP. She walked there, because she didn't have money. Then she came across Flor. She was invited (by Flor) to have snack. (But) she didn't have money. So Flor paid for her.'

Thus, Himmelmann's generalization on ergative nominals is too strong, and his observation on absolutive nominals is contrary to the facts.

3.2 Preferred pattern in the narrative texts

In this section, I will explore a preferred pattern of referential expressions in Tagalog by text counts of Texts I–X.

Before turning to the result, a few notes on the design of text counts are in order. The target of text counts in this paper is confined only to core arguments in main and adverbial clauses: transitive/intransitive subjects and transitive objects. For each core argument, its number of appearance, its type of referential expression, and its rank in the Animacy Hierarchy are examined. At issue in this paper are referential expressions for recoverable referents, that is, personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and zero anaphora.

Clausal complements and core arguments in a relative clause are excluded from the target. Headless relative clauses are treated as lexical NPs. Idiomatic expressions like *tapos na* ‘that’s it’ or *okay na?* ‘okay?’ are excluded from the clauses I analyze.

Core arguments in complement and purpose clauses are not counted in this research. This is because in these clauses coreferential deletion can be applied to their core arguments as in (6) and (7), for which zero anaphora is the only acceptable referential expression. For the same reason, a gap of left-dislocation or *ay*-inversion like (8) is not counted. See Nagaya (2006b) for coreferential deletion in Tagalog, and Nagaya (2005, to appear) for details of left-dislocation.

- (6) Inutusan ko si Stef na [bumili ϕ ng bigas].
 ordered 1SG.ERG ABS Stef LK buy GEN rice
 ‘I ordered Stef to buy rice.’
- (7) Uuwi ako para [makita ϕ si Lorie].
 will.go.home 1SG.ABS for meet ABS Lorie
 ‘I will go home to meet Lorie.’
- (8) Si Macy, nanonood ϕ ng TV.
 ABS Macy is.watching GEN TV
 ‘As for Macy, (she) is watching TV.’

Now let us turn to the result of the text counts given in Table 5. This table clearly shows that the distributions of referential expressions for retrievable referents are skewed in Tagalog: they are not selected in an arbitrary way, but have a ‘preferred’ pattern of selection.

Table 5: Distributions of referential expressions in the texts examined

	1		2		3					
					Human		Animate		Inanimate	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Lexical NP	0	(0)	0	(0)	30	(16.1)	0	(0)	73	(56.6)
Personal pro	216	(96.9)	17	(100)	123	(66.1)	0	(0)	9	(7.0)
Demonstrative pro	0	(0.0)	0	(0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0)	13	(10.1)
Zero anaphora	7	(3.1)	0	(0)	33	(17.8)	0	(0)	34	(26.3)
Total	223	(100)	17	(100)	186	(100)	0	(0)	129	(100)

Of significance here is the fact that personal pronouns are frequently retained. Tagalog allows both pronominalization and zero anaphora as grammatically possible referential expressions, but pronominalization is obviously dominant in terms of text frequency. Relevant to this high percentage of retention is that personal pronouns in Tagalog are clitics, either in absolutive or in ergative. It is well-known that free pronouns are likely to be omitted but clitic/bound pronouns are not.³

At the same time, it is also important to notice that there is a difference between personal pronouns for SAPs and those for non-SAPs (third persons), although they are all

³Although pronouns in Tagalog have been traditionally considered clitics, there is another position like Anderson (1992) which views them independent words, not clitics. But I consider that it does not matter so much in this paper whether these pronouns in Tagalog belong to the structural category called the clitic, or not; rather one has to concentrate more on describing what they mean and how they are used (cf. Haspelmath 2006).

clitics. The former is almost obligatorily retained, but the latter is not. 216 examples (96.9%) of the first person are encoded by a personal pronoun. All the examples of the second person are mentioned by a personal pronoun, and no instance of zero anaphora is found. In contrast, a relatively large number of examples of zero anaphora are found in the third person.

In this paper, then, I propose that Tagalog pattern of referential expressions is conditioned by the following two hierarchies: person hierarchy (9) and topicality hierarchy (10).

- (9) Person hierarchy:
1,2 > 3
- (10) Topicality hierarchy:
topic > nontopic

The primary contrast is in the person hierarchy (9), that is, in the semantic distinction between SAPs and non-SAPs. There is a very clear tendency for SAPs to be referred to by a personal pronoun, rather than zero anaphora. In short, the preferred referential expression for SAPs is a personal pronoun. I will examine this claim in detail in Section 3.3.

Concerning the third person, the topicality hierarchy (10) should be taken into account. On the one hand, human referents prefer personal pronouns to zero anaphora as their referential expressions. On the other hand, inanimate participants tend to select either zero anaphora or a demonstrative pronoun. In Section 3.4, by looking into the details, I will insist that topicality takes the initiative in selection of a referential expression for third persons: the preferred referential expression for a third person topic is a personal pronoun, while that for a third person nontopic is either zero anaphora or a demonstrative pronoun.

3.3 Referring to speech act participants

As clearly demonstrated in Table 5, SAPs are usually referred to by a personal pronoun. Let us consider (11) from Text IV, which is describing the situation that the speaker told his feelings to a girl, staying alone with her on the street.

- (11) (Text IV: "My love life" 189-206)
189. so ang nangyari,
so ABS happened
190. nag- nung nagtapat **ako** sa kanya nun.
when told.feelings 1SG.ABS DAT 3SG.DAT at.that.time
191. sabi ko mahal **mo** pa ba **ako** sabi kong
statement 1SG.GEN love 2SG.ERG still Q 1SG.ABS statement 1SG.GEN-LK
ganun sa kanya.
like.that DAT 3SG.DAT
192. sabi niya naman seryoso **ka** ba.
statement 3SG.GEN indeed serious 2SG.ABS Q
193. sabi ko na oo naman,
statement 1SG.GEN LK yes indeed
194. gusto **mo** lumuhod pa **ako** sa harapan mo.
want 2SG.ERG kneel.down even 1SG.ABS DAT front 2SG.GEN

195. eh nasa kalsada **kami** nun.
were.on street 1PL.EXC.ABS at.that.time
196. tapos,
then
197. sabi niya sige nga lumuhod **ka**.
statement 3SG.GEN go.on indeed kneel.down 2SG.ABS
198. tapos lumuhod nga **ako** sa kalsada.
then knelt.down really 1SG.ABS DAT street
199. eh madaming sasakyang dumadaan.
many-LK vehicle-LK were.passing.by
200. tapos sabi niya sige na tumayo **ka** na.
then statement 3SG.GEN go.on already stand.up 2SG.ABS now
201. naniniwala na **ako**,
believe now 1SG.ABS
202. seryoso **ka** nga.
serious 2SG.ABS really
203. tapos yun,
then that.ABS
204. naging **kami** nung araw na yun.
got.in.a.relationship 1PL.EXC.ABS GEN day LK that.ABS
205. January 1 yun.
January 1 that.ABS
206. bagong taon ϕ o di ba.
new-LK year not Q

'So, what happened is ... When I told her my feelings, I said, "Do you still love me?" I said like that to her. She said, "Are you serious?" I said, "Yes. Do you want me to kneel down in front of you?" Well, we were on the street at that time. Then she said, "Go on, kneel down." Then I really knelt down on the street. There were many vehicles passing by. Then she said, "Okay, stand up now. I believe now. You are serious." Then we got involved in a relationship on that day. It was January 1. (It) was New Year, wasn't it?'

In this part of the text, all the SAPs are encoded by a personal pronoun, not by zero anaphora, even if they are presupposed.

The necessity of pronominal marking of SAPs can be confirmed by elicitation. The omission of SAPs is judged to be ungrammatical. Let us consider the example from Nolasco (p.c.) with his judgment.

- (12) Q: Ano 'ng nangyari sa iyo?
what ABS happened DAT 2SG.DAT
'What happened to you?'
- A: Natraffic *(ako).
was.stuck.in.a.traffic.jam 1SG.ABS
'I was stuck in a traffic jam.'

As shown in the answer in example (12), eliding the first person yields an ungrammatical sentence, even though the first person can be considered to be presupposed in this context and zero anaphora is available in this language.

The other side of the same coin is that zero anaphora is usually interpreted to refer to a third person, not a speech act participant. Let us compare (13a) and (13b).

- (13) a. Tawagan mo *(ako).
 call 2SG.ERG 1SG.ABS
 'Call me.'
- b. Tawagan mo (siya).
 call 2SG.ERG 3SG.ABS
 'Call him/her.'

In (13a), the omission of the first person leads to the abolishment of the interpretation 'call me'. In (13b), the interpretation stays intact whether the pronoun referring to the third person is missing or not.

A similar example is given in (14). The second person personal pronoun cannot be deleted in (14a), while the demonstrative pronoun *iyon* denoting the third person can be replaced by zero anaphora as in (14b).

- (14) a. Huwag kang maglambitin sa puno, baka malaglag *(ka).
 not 2SG.ABS-LK hang.from DAT tree probably fall 2SG.ABS
 'Don't hang from the tree, or you will fall down.'
- b. Igitna mo yung baso sa lamesa, baka malaglag (iyon).
 put.center 2SG.ERG ABS glass DAT table probably fall that.ABS
 'Put the glass at the center of the table, or it will fall down.'

When the first person is an actor and the second person is an undergoer in transitive clauses, a preferred referential expression for this combination is the portmanteau morph *kita*, which realizes the first person singular ergative and the second person singular absolutive.⁴ For example, the sentences in (15) are all intended to mean 'I love you', but only (15a) is acceptable for this sense; it employs *kita*.

- (15) a. Mahal kita.
 love 1SG.ERG+2SG.ABS
 'I love you.'
- b. ?? Mahal ko ϕ .
 love 1SG.ERG
- c. ?? Mahal ϕ ka.
 love 2SG.ABS
- d. ?? Mahal ϕ ϕ .
 love

Examples (15b), (15c) and (15d) are vague: although the SAPs can be inferred from the context, it is still necessary to spell out who loves whom.

The claim that the preferred referential expression for SAPs is a personal pronoun is also borne out by the fact that SAPs are almost obligatorily marked in sentences of special

⁴This combination corresponds to the transmission of energy from the speaker to the hearer. It is not so speculative to assume that the special treatment of this combination reflects the fact that communication is prototypically carried out from the speaker to the hearer.

illocutionary force. In the interrogative sentences (16)-(19), the personal pronouns standing for the hearer cannot be omitted, even when these sentences are clearly addressed to the hearer.

- (16) (on the phone)
 Hello, Daf. Nasaan *(ka) na?
 hello Daf where 2SG.ABS now
 ‘Hello, Daf. Where are you now?’
- (17) Ano ‘ng ginagawa *(mo) dyan?
 what ABS are.doing 2SG.ERG there
 ‘What are you doing there?’
- (18) Kumain *(ka) na ba?
 ate 2SG.ABS already Q
 ‘Have you eaten?’
- (19) Hindi *(mo) natanggap ang text ko?
 not 2SG.ERG received ABS text 1SG.GEN
 ‘Didn’t you receive my text?’

This is also the case with imperative sentences. The addressee of an imperative sentence usually remains pronominalized in Tagalog. See also Schachter (1976, 1977).

- (20) Kumain *(ka) sa KFC.
 eat 2SG.ABS DAT KFC
 ‘Eat at the KFC.’
- (21) Ituloy *(mo) ang ginagawa mo.
 continue 2SG.ERG ABS are.doing 2SG.ERG
 ‘Continue what you are doing.’

In exhortative sentences, the first person inclusive plurals necessarily appear.⁵

- (22) Kumain *(tayo) sa KFC.
 eat 1PL.INC.ABS DAT KFC
 ‘Let’s eat at the KFC.’
- (23) Mamasyal *(tayo) sa Glorieta sa Linggo.
 go.out 1PL.INC.ABS DAT Glorieta DAT Sunday
 ‘Let’s go out to Glorieta on Sunday.’

Thus, SAPs are almost obligatorily encoded by a personal pronoun, rather than by zero anaphora, both in the texts examined and in the elicited examples.

3.4 Referring to third persons

The third person should be treated differently from SAPs in the discussion on preferred referential expressions. This is because the third persons comprise various referents ranging from a proper noun to an inanimate noun, and referential expressions for them are

⁵It is worth mentioning that in addition to referential function, personal pronouns for the SAPs serve to specify types of speech act. Let us compare (20) and (22). The former is an imperative sentence, while the latter is an exhortative sentence. Their structures are identical but the personal pronouns: the second person in (20) vs. the first person inclusive plural in (22).

accordingly diverse and complex. Moreover, it is possible that more than one third person appears in an identical clause.⁶

In this section, I will demonstrate that the selection of a referential expression for third persons is topicality-based: a third person topic is likely to be referred to by a personal pronoun, while a third person nontopic tends to be encoded either by zero anaphora or by a demonstrative pronoun.

3.4.1 Third person topic vs. third person nontopic

In this paper, the terms ‘topic’ and ‘nontopic’ are defined as below: a topic is a presupposed participant with which the discourse is concerned. A nontopic refers to any presupposed participant which is not a topic. See Gundel (1988) and Lambrecht (1994) for further discussion of these notions.

In Nagaya (2006a, b), by examining the Tagalog Pear stories (cf. Chafe 1980), I have demonstrated that a topic is likely to be encoded by a personal pronoun, rather than zero anaphora, in Tagalog. This claim is also supported by the narrative texts examined here. Let us consider (2) again, repeated here as (24). The topic of this part is the boy who stole the pears, and it is encoded by a personal pronoun.

(24) (Text X: “Pear story (2)” 011-019)

11. paglipad nung sombrero niya,
flying.off GEN hat 3SG.GEN
12. tumalikod siya.
turned.around 3SG.ABS
13. nasemplang siya.
toppled 3SG.ASB
14. nalaglag yung mga prutas na dala niya.
fell ABS PL fruit LK carry 3SG.GEN
15. tapos hindi niya na alam yung gagawin niya.
then not 3SG.ERG already know ABS will.be.doing 3SG.ERG
16. nahihirapan na siya.
had.difficulty already 3SG.ABS
17. may may nakakita sa kanyang tatlong batang,
exist saw DAT 3SG.DAT-LK three-LK child-LK
18. tatlong bata na nag- namamasyal.
three-LK child LK roaming.around
19. tinulungan ϕ siyang ilagay yung prutas sa kaing.
helped 3SG.ABS-LK put ABS fruit DAT basket

‘When his hat flew off, he turned around. He toppled down. The fruits he was carrying fell down. Then he did not know what he would do. He had difficulty. There were three children who were roaming around who saw him. (They) helped him to put the fruits back into the basket.’

⁶I should note that in Nagaya (2006a, b) I lumped SAPs together with third persons, and tried to explain the skewed distributions of referential expressions only by means of topicality. But as I am attempting in this article, the person hierarchy should be taken into account. I thank Bernard Comrie (p.c.) for drawing my attention to this.

As above, topic continuity in this language is expressed by continuous pronominalization.

Example (25) is from Text V, in which the speaker is talking about a funny child she met in a mall.

(25) (Text V: "The funny child" 027-039)

27. tapos ano ang likot kasi niya.
then filler ABS constant.moving because 3SG.GEN
28. tungtong siya ng tungtong dun sa table ganun.
standing 3SG.ABS GEN standing there DAT table like.that
29. tapos nalaglag siya.
then fell.down 3SG.ABS
30. nalaglag ϕ .
fell.down
31. nalaglag siya.
fell.down 3SG.ABS
32. tapos nakita namin ni tita lou,
then saw 1PL.EXC.ERG GEN aunt Lou
33. ah bale ano ganito.
ah filler filler like.this
34. pagkalaglag niya,
falling.down 3SG.GEN
35. parang .. hindi siya agad tumayo,
seem-LK not 3SG.ABS immediately stood.up
36. hindi siya agad tumayo.
not 3SG.ABS immediately stood.up
37. eh nakita namin siya ni tita lou na,
eh saw 1PL.EXC.ERG 3SG.ABS GEN aunt Lou LK
38. nalaglag siya.
fell.down 3SG.ABS
39. syempre parang napahiya siyang ganyan.
of.course seem-LK was.embarrassed 3SG.ABS-LK like.that

'Well then, she is constantly moving! She was standing on the table. Then she fell down. (She) fell down. She fell down. Then Aunt Lou and I saw ... well, anyway, like this, when she fell down, it seemed that she didn't stand up immediately. She didn't stand up immediately. Aunt Lou and I saw her fall down. Of course, she got embarrassed like that.'

The child, who is the topic of this part, keeps being pronominalized throughout the discourse. Thus, the preferred referential expression for a third person topic is a personal pronoun.

Then, the logical question to ask is, "What is a preferred referential expression for a third person nontopic?" Here, a personal pronoun is not a possible option: a clause which contains more than one third person personal pronoun is not acceptable as in (26). Note again that gender is not distinguished in pronouns in Tagalog.

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- (26) ?? Hinahanap ng bata yung nanay niya. Tapos nakita niya
was.looking.for ERG child ABS mother 3SG.GEN then saw 3SG.ERG
SIYA sa kusina.
3SG.ABS DAT kitchen
'The child was looking for his/her mother. Then he/she found HER in the kitchen.'

One solution to this issue is zero anaphora. In (27), the zero pronoun is coreferential with *nanay niya* 'his/her mother'.

- (27) Hinahanap ng bata yung nanay niya. Tapos nakita niya ϕ sa
was.looking.for ERG child ABS mother 3SG.GEN then saw 3SG.ERG DAT
kusina.
kitchen
'The child was looking for his/her mother. Then he/she found (her) in the kitchen.'

The distinction between personal pronouns and zero anaphora corresponds to the topic-nontopic contrast. The similar case is provided in (28), in which the speaker is reporting that the boy stole the pears and ran away.

- (28) (Text IX: "Pear story (1)" 026-029)
26. binuhat **niya** ang isang kahan.. isang kahon.
lifted 3SG.ERG ABS one-LK one-LK box
27. dinala **niya** ϕ ngayon sa bayk.
carried 3SG.ERG now DAT bike
28. isinakay **niya** ϕ .
put 3SG.ERG
29. di.. umalis na **siya** ngayon.
filler left already 3SG.ABS now
'He lifted up one box. He carried (the box) to his bike. He put (the box) down. Mmm... he left now.'

In this portion of the text, both the boy who carried the box and the box itself are presupposed. However, only the nontopic, i.e. the box, keeps being referred to by zero anaphora. The other solution is a demonstrative pronoun.

- (29) Hinahanap ng bata yung nanay niya. Tapos nakita niya ITO
was.looking.for ERG child ABS mother 3SG.GEN then saw 3SG.ERG this.ABS
sa kusina.
DAT kitchen
'The child was looking for his/her mother. Then he/she found THIS in the kitchen.'

In (29), the demonstrative pronoun *ito* refers back to *nanay niya* 'his/her mother'.

Thus, topicality conditions a preferred referential expression in the third person: third person topics prefer personal pronouns as their referential expressions, and third person nontopics tend to pick up either zero anaphora or demonstrative pronouns.

3.4.2 Topicality and animacy

The generalization I have made for the third person in the previous section is based on topicality. But it seems that animacy-based generalization is also possible: personal pronouns are for a third person high in animacy, and zero anaphora and demonstrative pronouns are for a third person low in animacy. Truly, the result given in Table 5 seems to support this analysis.

However, a close look at the texts makes it clear that the topicality-based analysis has an advantage over the animacy-based one. Firstly, an inanimate referent can be referred to by a personal pronoun, if it is topical or highly relevant to the discourse. See example (30).

(30) (Text VIII: “The best gift (3)” 001-006)

1. ah yung gift na tingin ko pinaka okay para.. na natanggap ko,
ah ABS gift LK view 1SG.GEN most okay for LK received 1SG.ERG
2. ano yun nung 10 years old yata ako nun,
what that when 10 years old maybe 1SG.ABS at.that.time
3. binigyan ako ng gift ng mother ko father ko saka
gave 1SG.ABS GEN gift ERG mother 1SG.GEN father 1SG.GEN and
kuya ko silang tatlo.
elder.brother 1SG.GEN 3PL.ABS-LK three
4. dun sa,
there DAT
5. libro siya ng fairy tales.
book 3SG.ABS GEN fairy tales
6. tapos simula 10 years old ako hanggang ngayon binabasa ko pa
then since 10 years old 1SG.ABS until now read 1SG.ERG still
rin siya.
also 3SG.ABS

‘Ah the gift I think is the most okay for ... I received is ... what is that? When I was maybe 10 years old at that time, my father, my mother, and my elder brother, they three gave me a gift. It was a book of fairy tales. Then ever since I was 10 years old, I have still been reading it.’

In IUs 5 and 6 of (30), the personal pronoun *siya*, not a demonstrative pronoun, is employed to refer to the gift the speaker received.

Secondly, zero anaphora and demonstrative pronouns can encode a human participant. In Section 4, I will demonstrate that they can be used to refer to a human, if the referent is not a topic.

In conclusion, it is topicality, not animacy, which takes the initiative in selection of a referential expression for third persons. The distinction between personal pronouns and the other referential expressions is in topicality, not just in animacy.

4 Referential expressions, voice, and reference-tracking

It should be clear by now that Tagalog has a preferred pattern of referential expressions. That is, SAPs are almost obligatorily encoded by a personal pronoun; a third person topic

tends to be referred to by a personal pronoun, while a third person nontopic is likely to be encoded either by zero anaphora or by a demonstrative pronoun.

This conventionalized pattern of referential expressions, however, is not just a matter of referring function, but interacts with other aspects of morphosyntax in Tagalog. In Section 4.1, I will demonstrate that zero anaphora can have generic reference, and that this usage of zero anaphora can be expanded to a passive-like function, that is, agent-defocusing (Shibatani 1985).

Then, in Section 4.2, it will be argued that the preferred pattern proposed here is a reference-tracking device by itself. Tagalog has few verbal morphology to mark the referential continuity or discontinuity of a specific participant (Nagaya 2006a, b); instead, such continuity in discourse is indicated by an appropriate selection of a referential expression. In this regard, proximal demonstratives will be highlighted.

4.1 From generic reference to agent-defocusing

Zero anaphora in Tagalog can be used for so-called impersonal or *pro_{arb}* constructions. A typical example of generic reference by zero anaphora is found in (31), which is a common phrase used in Christian prayers and worship songs. In (31), an agent of the verb *luwalhatiin* ‘glorify’ refers to people in general, not a specific referent. Note that the verb by itself can be used with an agent, as in (32).

- (31) Luwalhatiin ϕ ka, o Diyos.
 glorify 2SG.ABS o God
 ‘(We/they) glorify You, o God.’ or ‘You will be glorified, o God.’
- (32) (Galatians 1:24)⁷
 At niluwalhati nila ang Diyos dahil sa akin.
 and glorified 3PL.ERG ABS God because DAT 1SG.DAT
 ‘And they glorified God because of me.’

Zero anaphora is also used when an agent is unspecific or unknown.

- (33) (Text I: “My trip to Korea” 009-014)
9. tapos nung nandun kami,
 then when were.there 1PL.EXC.ABS
 10. iniisip ng tao koreans kami.
 think ERG people Korean 1PL.EXC.ABS
 11. lagi kaming kinakausap ϕ in korean.
 always 1PL.EXC.ABS-LK talked.to in Korean
 12. parang nung nasa japan ϕ ,
 seem-LK when was.at Japan
 13. lagi akong kinakausap ϕ in japanese.
 always 1SG.ABS-LK talked.to in Japanese
 14. tapos siguro mga dalawa tatlong beses na akong tinanong ϕ
 then probably about two three-LK times already 1SG.ABS-LK asked
 for directions.
 for directions

⁷The examples of the Bible in this paper are all cited from *Magandang Balita Biblia*. Each translation is made by the present author.

'Then, when we were there, people thought we are Korean. We were always talked to (by people) in Korean. It is like I was always talked to (by people) in Japanese when (I) was in Japan. Then probably two or three times I was asked (by people) for directions.'

In (33), zero anaphora encodes anonymous people who talked to the speaker.

This type of zero anaphora does not just have generic reference, however. It is often accompanied by agent-defocusing (Shibatani 1985). In examples (34b), (35b), and (36b), the actors are backgrounded, and consequently the undergoers are foregrounded compared to those in examples (34a), (35a), and (36a).

- (34) a. Tinatawag ko ang aso naming Aki.
 call 1SG.ERG ABS dog 1PL.EXC.GEN-LK Aki
 'I call our dog Aki.'
- b. Tinatawag ϕ ang kapeng gawa sa Batangas na Barako.
 call ABS coffee-LK made DAT Batangas LK Barako
 '(They) call the coffee made in Batangas Barako.'
 or 'The coffee made in Batangas is called Barako.'
- (35) a. Kilalang kilala niya si Anne.
 know-LK know 3SG.ERG ABS Anne
 'He/she knows Anne well.'
- b. Kilalang kilala ϕ si Anne.
 know-LK know ABS Anne
 '(They) know Anne well.' or 'Anne is well-known.'
- (36) a. Natanggap niya akong kaibigan
 accepted 3SG.ERG 1SG.ABS-LK friend
 'He/she accepted me as a friend.'
- b. Natanggap ϕ ako sa UP.
 accepted 1SG.ABS DAT UP
 '(They) accepted me at UP.' or 'I was accepted at UP.'

Furthermore, agent-defocusing by zero anaphora is also applicable to a definite actor, which is usually pronominalized because of its high topicality. In (37), the police are encoded by zero anaphora and are downplayed, whereas the undergoer is emphasized. Note that the verb *huhulihin* can take an agent nominal as in (38).

- (37) (After the police car passed by outside with siren blaring, my friend said to me.)
 Huhulihin ϕ ka, Nori.
 will.arrest 2SG.ABS Nori
 '(The police) will arrest you, Nori.' or 'You will be arrested (by the police), Nori.'
- (38) Huhulihin ng pulis ang magnanakaw.
 will.arrest ERG police ABS thief
 'The police will arrest the thief.'

In (39), the speaker is reporting on the first day of her Japanese class. Notice that the elided agent in IU 13 of (39) clearly refers back to the teacher of the speaker, by which the actor is backgrounded and the undergoer is foregrounded.

(39) (Text III: "The first day of my Japanese class" 003-013)⁸

3. first day ng 10-11.
first day GEN 10-11
4. si Gaitan sensei yung prof ko nun tapos ano,
ABS Gaitan teacher ABS professor 1SG.GEN at.that.time then filler
5. first day binigyan niya kami ng paper.
first day gave 3SG.ERG 1PL.EXC.ABS GEN paper
6. tapos meron dung ano,
then exist there-LK filler
7. parang,
seem-LK
8. ano ba yun,
what Q that
9. basta kunwari ohayo gozaimasu mga ganun-ganun.
just for.example ohayo gozaimasu PL such-such
10. tapos after nung class bin.. ano,
then after GEN class filler
11. assignment yata namin imemorize yung ano yung hiragana.
assignment perhaps 1PL.EXC.GEN memorize ABS filler ABS hiragana
12. tapos hindi ko minemorize ϕ .
then not 1SG.ERG memorized
13. kaya kinabukasan ano tinawag ako ϕ .
so next.day filler called 1SG.ABS

'The first day of Class 10-11... My professor at that time was Teacher Gaitan. Then, on the first day, she gave us a paper. Then, there was ... what was that? Anyway, "ohayo gozaimasu" like such and such. Then, after the class, well, our assignment was to memorize hiragana. Then I didn't memorize (hiragana). So on the next day I was called (by the teacher).'

Note that the verb *tinawag* can take an agent in the clause.

- (40) Tinawag ako ng teacher.
called 1SG.ABS ERG teacher
'The teacher called me.'

Thus, zero anaphora for actors has agent-defocusing function as well as generic reference. This pragmatic function carried out by zero anaphora is analogous to that of the passive. Although Tagalog has been considered to lack an established passive voice in verbal morphology, the modulation of referential expressions achieves the same end. In other words, agent-defocusing, which may be encoded by verbal morphology in other languages, is expressed by the selection of a referential expression.⁹

⁸Text III is about the first day of the Japanese class. *Sensei* means 'teacher' in Japanese, and *ohayo gozaimasu* 'good morning'. Hiragana is a Japanese syllabary.

⁹It is noteworthy that T. Payne (1994) proposes that Cebuano has a word order inverse, that is, inverse voice by means of word order. My analysis on agent-defocusing by zero anaphora is similar to his findings in that voice function can be achieved by manipulation of referential expressions.

4.2 Referential expressions as reference-tracking devices

Reference-tracking is monitoring reference continuity and discontinuity of a participant within and across clauses. One of the most popular reference-tracking devices is switch function. In English, for example, topic continuity across clauses is designated by the active-passive opposition (Foley and Van Valin 1984: 322).

- (41) a. Oscar went to the store and ϕ spoke to Bill.
 b. Oscar went to the store and ϕ was spoken to by Bill.

In English, a participant tracked in a discourse is realized as zero, and its continuity is marked by its verbal morphology.

In contrast, Tagalog does not have such verbal morphology as to achieve the same pragmatic function as the English passive (Nagaya 2006b); rather, topic continuity is registered in referential expressions. See (2), (5), (25), and (28) again, where the topic of each text is monitored by pronominalization.

Worthy of special mention in this regard is the fact that proximal demonstrative pronouns serve as a reference-tracking device to track a nontopic, coupled with personal pronouns referring to a topic consistently in a global/extended domain (Comrie 1989, 1999). This usage of demonstratives is found mainly in written discourse.

Let us consider (42), where the two participants are tracked individually by the personal and proximal demonstrative pronouns. In the rest of this section, relevant personal pronouns are given in boldface, and such demonstratives in small caps.

- (42) (Genesis 4:8)¹⁰
1. Isang araw, nilapitan ni Cain ang kanyang kapatid.
 one-LK day came.close ERG Cain ABS 3SG.DAT-LK brother
 2. Wika **niya**, “Abel, mamasyal tayo.”
 word 3SG.GEN Abel go.for.a.walk 1PL.INC.ABS
 3. Sumama naman ITO,
 accompanied indeed this.ABS
 4. ngunit pagdating sa kabukira ‘y pinatay **niya** ITO.
 but arriving DAT field INV killed 3SG.ERG this.ABS
- ‘One day, Cain came close to his brother. **He** said, “Abel, let’s go for a walk.” **THIS** accompanied. But, arriving in the field, **he** killed **THIS**.’

Cain, the topic of the verse, is tracked by the personal pronouns, while Abel, the nontopic, is monitored by the proximal demonstrative pronoun *ito*. In Section 3.4.1, I have shown that the personal pronoun indicates topic continuity. The proximal demonstrative pronoun, on the other hand, is employed to express ‘nontopic continuity’.

Here is another example from the Bible. In (43), the proximal demonstrative pronoun *ito* in the second clause has two potential antecedents: *Adan* ‘Adan’ and *kanyang asawa* ‘his spouse’. But it refers back to the nontopic, that is, *kanyang asawa*.

- (43) (Genesis 4:1)
- Sinipingan ni Adan_i ang kanyang asawa_j at ITO_{*i/j} ‘y nagdalantao.
 lay.with ERG Adan ABS 3SG.DAT-LK spouse and this.ABS INV became.pregnant
 ‘Adan lay with his spouse, and **THIS** became pregnant.’

¹⁰The verse is separated clause by clause just for the sake of convenience.

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In contrast, when the proximal demonstrative pronoun is replaced with the personal pronoun *siya*, the sentence has got a different interpretation. Let us look at (44).

(44) Sinipingan ni Adan_i ang kanyang asawa_j at **siya**_{i/*j} 'y nagdalantao.

The preferred interpretation of this sentence is that Adan got pregnant, although this is pragmatically inappropriate.

Example (45) is cited from the 4th paragraph of page 20 in *Walang Papalit Sa 'Yo* (Retzelle Bartolome, 2005). In (45), Naomi is the topic of this paragraph, and is consistently marked by the personal pronouns (*siya* or *niya*); Lexus, which is the nontopic, keeps being encoded by the demonstratives (*ito* or *nito*).

- (45) 1. Aminin man ni Naomi o hindi, higit **siyang** humanga kay Lexus
admit even ERG Naomi or not more 3SG.ABS-LK admired DAT Lexus
pagkatapos ITong makasama sa buong maghapon
after this.ABS-LK was.together DAT entire-LK whole.day-LK
pamamasyal.
strolling
2. Lexus touched her heart with his gentle and thoughtful manners.
3. Tinrato **siya** NITO na parang isang prinsesa, parang isang
treated 3SG.ABS this.ERG LK like-LK one-LK princess like-LK one-LK
mamahaling hiyas na dapat ingatan.
precious-LK stone LK must take.care.of
4. Gentleman ITO.
gentleman this.ABS
5. Sa buong panahon na magkasama sila ay hindi ITO
dat whole-LK time LK were.together 3PL.ABS INV not this.ABS
nag-take advantage sa kanya.
took.advantage DAT 3SG.DAT
6. Ngunit kahit gayon ang pakita NITO, itinanim **niya** sa
but even like.that ABS what.is.shown this.GEN kept 3SG.ERG DAT
isip na hindi pa rin **siya** dapat magtiwala.
mind LK not yet still 3SG.ABS must trust
7. Baka pinapakagat lang **siya** NITO.
probably was.luring just 3SG.ABS 3SG.ERG
8. Sanay ITO sa mga babae kaya alam NITO kung paano ang
used.to this.ABS DAT PL woman so know this.ERG if how ABS
taktikang gagamitin.
tactics-LK will.use

'Whether Naomi admits it or not, **she** admired Lexus more after HE spent the entire day strolling (with her). Lexus touched her heart with his gentle and thoughtful manners. HE treated **her** like a princess, like a precious stone that needs to be taken care of. HE is a gentleman. For the whole time they were together, HE did not take advantage of **her**. But although that is what HE had shown, **she** kept in mind that **she** should still not trust (him). Probably, HE was just luring **her**. HE is used to dealing with women. So HE knows what tactics are to be used.'

In (45), the topic-nontopic assignment is preserved through the whole paragraph.

This contrast between personal and demonstrative pronouns has been briefly mentioned by Ramos and Cena (1990:147), who relate this to the actor-nonactor contrast: “[i]f the antecedent is actor, a [personal] pronoun is used, otherwise the demonstrative equivalent is used [...]” (*ibid.*). But this is a hasty generalization. In (42), for example, *ito* in line 4 refers back to the actor demonstrative pronoun in line 3. This contrast is not based on clause-internal semantics like the actor-nonactor distinction, but on clause-external topicality.

In this connection, it is worth pointing out that this usage of proximal demonstratives seems to be parallel to that of demonstratives in Dutch (Comrie 1997), and that of obviation in Algonquian languages. The similarities and differences between them should be carefully examined. But I leave this as a task for future research.

To conclude, referential expressions in Tagalog count as reference-tracking devices. Topic continuity is marked by personal pronouns, and nontopic continuity by proximal demonstratives.

5 Conclusions: Tagalog has its own category

This article has attempted to demonstrate that Tagalog has a preferred pattern in selection of a referential expression, and that decisive conditions for this pattern are the person and topicality hierarchies. Speech act participants are almost obligatorily referred to by a personal pronoun. Prototypically, a third person topic is encoded by a personal pronoun, while a third person nontopic is indicated either by zero anaphora or by a demonstrative pronoun. The discussion so far can be summarized as in Figure 2.

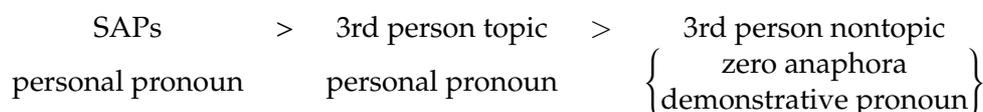


Figure 2: Preferred referential expressions for retrievable participants

I have further argued that these referential expressions have more than referring function. Zero anaphora has the functions of generic/unspecific reference and agent-defocusing, and proximal demonstratives can be employed to mark nontopic continuity, coupled with personal pronouns indicating topic continuity. The selection of a referential expression is not just a matter of information structure, but also relevant to voice phenomena and reference-tracking.

In the literature, it has been assumed that crosslinguistically zero anaphora is the least coding for a topic referent, followed by bound/clitic pronouns (Givón 1983, Ariel 1990, Van Valin 2005). However, this category-based cross-linguistic generalization is not the case with Tagalog. In Tagalog, bound/clitic pronouns, not zero anaphora, are employed for a topic or SAPs, while zero-option is preserved for a third person nontopic. Pronouns and zero anaphora in Tagalog have their own distributions and functions in their own right. To put it differently, Tagalog has its own category: as it has its own grammatical relations (Schachter 1976, 1977, Dryer 1997) and ergativity (Nolasco 2003), Tagalog has its own preferred pattern of referential expressions, which are similar to, but different from, those in other languages.¹¹

¹¹This idea has been inspired by Haspelmath (2006, p.c.).

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are employed in this paper: ABS-absolute, DAT-dative, ERG-ergative, EXC-exclusive, GEN-genitive, INC-inclusive, INV-inversion, LK-linker, PL-plural, SG-singular, 1-first person, 2-second person, and 3-third person.

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タガログ語の優先的指示表現

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キーワード: タガログ語、指示表現、人称、主題性

要旨 本稿では、タガログ語において、復元可能な指示対象に用いる指示表現に好まれるパターンが存在し、そのパターンが人称と主題の階層によって条件付けられていることを論じる。発話行為参加者は人称代名詞で表現される。一方で、三人称主題は人称代名詞で指示される傾向にあり、三人称非主題はゼロ照応あるいは指示代名詞で指示される。この選択パターンは、他の言語のそれと似ているが、異なるものである。タガログ語はタガログ語独自の指示表現のパターンを持っているといえる。この論文では、この指示表現のパターンがヴォイス現象やリファレンストラッキングに関わっていることも指摘する。

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