THEMATIC ROLES AND EVENT STRUCTURE IN TAGALOG

Jean-Michel Fortis   CNRS Research Unit UMR 7597
                                       Université Paris 8, Bureau 817 - Tour Centrale
                                       2 place Jussieu — 75251 Paris, France
                                       jm.fortis@wanadoo.fr

A. Introduction

(1) **Sum**ulat   ka   ng   pangalan   mo   sa   aklat.
AV1.INF.write   2SG.NOM   GEN   name   2SG.GEN   DLP   book
'Write your name in the book.'

(2) Sulat-**in**   mo   ang   pangalan   mo   sa   aklat.
write-OV1.INF 2SG.GEN   NOM   name   2SG.GEN   DLP   book
[lit.] 'Let your name be written by you in the book.'

(3) **I**-sulat   mo   ang   pangalan   mo   sa   aklat
OV2.INF-write 2SG.GEN   NOM   name   2SG.GEN   DLP   book
[lit.] 'Let your name be written by you in the book.'

(4) Sulat-**an**   mo   ng   pangalan   mo   ang   aklat.
write-LV.INF   2SG.GEN   GEN   name   2SG.GEN   NOM   book
[lit.] 'Let the book be the writing place of your name.'

B. Active voices : *mag-* and *-um-* verbs

Semantic contrasts between mag- and –um- verbs

Meaning of mag-	Base	Base + -um-	Base + mag-
1. causative	akyat 'ascension'	umakyat 'climb (intr.)'	magakyat 'take up (tr.)'
	alis 'departure'	umalis 'leave'	magalis 'remove'
	bili 'purchase'	bumili 'buy'	magbili 'sell'
	labas 'outside, release, exit'	lumabas 'go out (intr.)'	maglabas 'take out (tr.)'
	tayo 'site, position'	tumayo 'stand up'	magtayo 'put up'
2. episodic	ahit 'shave'	umahit 'shave (someone else)'	magahit 'shave (oneself)'
	sukat 'measure'	sumukat 'have as a measurement'	magsukat 'measure (tr.), try on (clothes)'
3. imperfective	init 'heat'	uminit 'become hot'	maginit 'be hot, angry'
	ingay 'noise'	umingay 'become noisy'	magingay 'be noisy'
	saya 'joy'	sumaya 'become joyful'	magsaya 'be joyful, have fun'
4. intensive	basa 'reading material'	bumasa 'read'	magbasa 'read much, frequently'
	kain 'eat'	kumain 'eat	magkain 'eat much, frequently
	tawa 'laughter'	tumawa 'laugh'	magtawa 'to burst out laughing'

5. iterative	basa 'reading material'	bumasa 'read'	magbasa 'read much, frequently'
	sulat 'writing, letter'	sumulat 'write'	magsulat 'write a lot, frequently'
	tapak 'step'	tumapak 'step on'	magtapak 'walk barefoot'

Mag- verbs refer to events conceptualized as complex (as having a complex event structure): cf. 1, 4, 5. Episodic verbs (2) refer to bounded complex processes which involve the replication of the process designated by the base.

An event may be conceptualized as complex if the causing subevent diverges from the caused subevent. Cf. Langacker's analysis of complex processes as profiling subtrajectories ; Langacker, 1987, 268-9 ; *-um-* verbs *do not* profile subtrajectories. It is therefore expected that verbs of balistic motions would require *mag-*, and this is indeed the case (for example *mag-hagis*, 'throw', *mag-bato* 'throw a stone at', *mag-pukol* 'hurl something at'). Cf. also causative verbs.

Magbili / bumili : since diverging subtrajectories make an event appear as complex, it is the selling action that will receive the prefix marking complex events, *pag-*. Converging subtrajectories, on the other hand, are associated with *–um-* (cf. *bumili* 'buy').

3 : verbs of this class refer to the process of entering a state and of maintaining this state. Cf. also *umisip / magisip*. Also with *–an* verbs : *sandalan / pagsandalan.*

C. Underived non-active voices focus on the subevent involving the argument in subject position
• Compare :
(5) Tinalbug-an niya   ng   bola   ang   pader
PERF.bounce-LV   3SG.GEN   GEN   ball   NOM   wall
'The ball bounced on the wall.'

(6) Tumalbog   ang   bola   sa   pader
AV1.PERF-bounce   NOM ball   DLP   wall
'The ball bounced on/to the wall.'

• *pag-* generally disappears when a non-active voice is used : e.g. *magluto* 'cook' has two non-active forms which take the thing cooked as subject, namely *lutuin* and *iluto* ('be cooked'), and none is used with *pag-*. This fact can be readily accounted for if we consider that these non-active forms describe an event that is bounded by the change of state of the thing that is being cooked. Thus, *lutuin* characterizes the embedded event, whereas the embedding event corresponds to the whole activity the actor is engaged in. Because these passive forms refer to a change of state which has a simple event structure, they do not require *pag-*.
• *pag-* prefixes to events in which more than one theme / patient is implicated, for instance in reciprocal verbs (*pagdikitin* 'be stuck with one another', *pagagapayin* 'be put side by side'), or causative verbs which introduce another causer (pa*pag*linisin 'be caused by someone to be cleaned by someone else', where *pa-* is a causative prefix).
• a locative *pag-…-an* form takes as subject a **permanent frame** : a locative actant whose participation in the process is not bounded by the subevent referred to in the sentence.
(7) Sinulat-an   ko   ang   papel.
PERF.write-LV   1SG.GEN   NOM paper
'I wrote on the paper.'

(8) *Ang   desk   na   ito   ang   sinulat-an   ko.
NOM   desk   LNK   this   NOM   PERF.write-LV 1SG.GEN.
'It is on this desk that I wrote.'

(9) Ang desk   na   ito   ang   pinag-sulat-an   ko
 NOM   desk   LNK   this   NOM   *pag*.PERF-write-LV   1SG.GEN.
'It is on this desk that I wrote.'
Ex. from Schachter and Otanes (1972 : 315) :
(10) Hina-halu-an   ni   Rosa ng   asukal ang   kape   sa

| IMP-stir-LV | | PNM.GEN | PN | GEN | sugar | NOM | coffee | DLP |

kapitera.
coffeepot
[lit.] 'The coffee is what Rosa stirs the sugar into in the coffeepot.'

(11) Pinagha-halu-an   ni   Rosa   ng   asukal sa   kape   ang
Pag.IMP-stir-LV   PNM.GEN PN   GEN   sugar DLP   coffe   NOM

kapitera.
coffeepot
[lit.] 'The coffeepot is where Rosa stirs sugar into the coffee.'
• frame of thought = topic

(12) Ini-isip   ko   ang   mga   magulang   ko.
OV1.IMP-think 1SG.GEN   NOM   PLM   parent   1SG.GEN
'I am thinking of my parents.'

(13) *Pinagi-isip-an   ko   ang   mga   magulang   ko.
Pag.IMP-think-LV   1SG.GEN   NOM   PLM   parent   1SG.GEN
'I am thinking about my parents.'

(14) Pinagi-isip-an   ko   ang   panukala   ko.
Pag.IMP-think-LV   1SG.GEN   NOM   project   1SG.GEN
'I am thinking about my project.'

D. Alternations between non-active voices
• Lemaréchal (1991): B/S-in forms imply a higher degree of affectedness? This account is not supported by facts such as the presence of -*an* affixes in *habaan* ('lengthen'), *iklian* ('shorten') but of -*in* affixes in *pasukin* ('enter') or *isipin* ('think of'). See also :

(15) Ni-lundag   niya   ang   bakod.
PERF.OV1-jump   3SG.GEN   NOM   fence
'She / he jumped over the fence.'

(16) Ni-lundag-an   niya   ang   bakod.
PERF-jump-LV   3SG.GEN   NOM   fence
'She / he jumped over the fence.'
• Partitive vs perfective construal :

(17) Ni-lipad   ng   ibon   ang   gubat.
OV1.PERF-fly   GEN   bird   NOM   forest
'The bird flew through the forest.'

(18) Ni-lipar-an   ng   eroplano   ang   mga   tao   sa baba.
PERF-fly-LV   GEN   plane   NOM   PLM   people below
'The plane flew over the people.'

(19) Pin-anhik   ko   si   Juan.
PERF.OV1-go up 1SG.GEN   PNM.NOM   PN
'I went up and saw Juan.'

(20) Pin-anhik-an   ko   si   Juan.
PERF-go up-LV   1SG.GEN   PNM.NOM   PN
'I went up to see Juan.'

(21) Akyat-in   mo   ang   puno.

Climb-OV1.INF   2SG.GEN   NOM   tree
'Climb up the tree.'

(22) Akyat-an   mo   ang   puno.
Climb-LV.INF   2SG.GEN   NOM   tree
'Climb on the tree.'

Tenny (1994 : 95) : **measuring argument** as an argument « which (…) either undergoes some internal change or motion, along a single parameter ; or provides a scale or parameter without undergoing change or motion ; that measures out and defines the temporal extent of the event. » If a measuring argument is exhaustively « consumed » or completely traversed, a *B-in* form is required.

• To accommodate the case of *pinanhik*, this notion is extended to goals and generalized in the following way :

Maximal state : final state of an actant in a completed event.

Maximal activity : type of activity of an actor when it brings to completion the change of state of another actant.

If the activity of the actor is brought to completion by the transition of another actant to a state that is of a maximal type, both actants are in a **cotransitive relation**. An actant in a cotransitive relation to an actor is a cotransitive actant. Cf. :

(23) Alis-*an*   mo   ang   silid
leave-LV.INF   2SG.GEN   NOM   room
'Go away from the room.' [actor's activity is not brought to completion by a state of the room ; *umalis* and *alisan* differ in this respect]

(24) Pasuk-*in*   mo   ang   silid.
enter-OV1.INF 2SG.GEN   NOM   room
'Enter the room.'

(25) *Pasuk-*an*   mo   ang   silid.
leave-LV.INF   2SG.GEN   NOM   room
'Enter the room.'

• Alternative conceptualization : cf. nilundag / nilundagan

E. Incorporated actors

(26) Nila-langgam   ang   silid.
OV1.IMP-ant   NOM   room
'The room is infested with ants.' [lit. 'the room is « anted »']

langgam is an actor incorporated into the verb semantic structure (cf. Jackendoff, 1990, for an analysis of incorporated arguments within semantic structures). Because the room changes to a maximal state (being infested) as soon as ants can be characterized as being in the activity designated by the verb, and keeps being infested as long as ants are in it, the room can be marked as cotransitive. Cf. also *anay*, 'termite', and *langaw* 'fly' which yield the *B-in* forms *anayin* 'to be infested with termites' and *langawin* 'to be infested with flies', *antukin* ('be sleepy'), *bangungotin* ('have a nightmare'), *alikabukin* ('get covered with dust').

F. Continuous transitions

(27) Pa-haba-*in*   mo   ang   talumpati.
CAUS-lenghten-OV1 2SG.GEN   NOM   speech
[lit.] 'Let your speech be lengthened by you.'

(28) Haba-*an*   mo   ang   mesa.
lengthen-LV 2SG.GEN   NOM   table
[lit.] 'Let the table be lengthened by you.'

(29) ?? Haba-*in*   mo   ang   mesa.

lengthen-LV   2SG.GEN   NOM   table
[lit.] 'Let the table be lengthened by you.'

G. Valency and voice alternations

(30) Pasuk-*in*   mo   ang   museo.
Enter-OV1.INF   2SG.GEN   NOM   museum
'Enter the museum.'

(31) Pa-pasuk-*an*   mo   sa   mga   bisita   ang
CAUS-enter-LV.INF   2SG.GEN   DAT   PLM   visitors   NOM

museo.
museum
'Show the visitors into the museum.'

(32) Pinanhik   ko   si   Juan.
PERF.OV1.go up   1SG.GEN   PNM   PN
'I went up and saw Juan.'

(33) Pinanhik-*an*   ko   ng   tubig   si   Juan.
PERF.go up-LV   1SG.GEN   LNK   water   PNM   PN
'I went up and brought Juan some water.'
Whenever an actor initiates a maximal state in an actant which implies that another actant changes first to a maximal state, the former will be associated with a *B/S-an* form.
I define as a **terminus** (*a quo* or *ad quem*) any actant which complies with this last condition.
Problem:
(34) Binatuk-an   ko   siya.
PERF.hit on head-LV   1SG.GEN   3SG.NOM
'I hit her / him on the head.'

H. Exceptions
Surprisingly, some verbs accept *-in* in contexts where *-an* forms would be expected. The goals of the throwing actions appear as subjects of *B-in* forms in (36) and (37) (although in (37) *hagisan* is acceptable).

(35) Pukul-*in*   mo   siya   ng   bato.
Throw-OV1.INF   2SG.GEN   3SG.NOM   GEN   stone
'Hurl a stone at her / him.'

(36) *Pukul-*an* mo   siya   ng   bato.
Throw-LV.INF   2SG.GEN   3SG.NOM   GEN   stone
'Hurl a stone at her / him.'

(37) Hagis-*in*   mo   siya   ng   bato.
Throw-OV1.INF   2SG.GEN   3SG.NOM   GEN   stone
'Throw a stone to her / him.'

This promotion of a goal to the subject position of a *B-in* form is clearly forbidden for other verbs that refer to the transfer of an object, for instance *hilahin* 'to pull' :

(38) *Hila-hin   mo   siya   ng   kahon.
Pull-OV1.INF   2SG.GEN   3SG.NOM   GEN   box
'Pull the box to her / him.'

(39) Hila-hin   mo   ang   kahon   sa kanya.

Pull-OV1.INF   2SG.GEN   NOM   box   3SG.DAT
'Pull the box to her / him.'

(40) *Sabi-*hin*   mo   siya…
Say-OV1.INF   2SG.GEN   3SG.NOM
'*Say her / him…'

(41) Sabi-*han*   mo   siya…
Say-LV.INF   2SG.GEN   3SG.NOM
'Say to her / him…'

(42) Tanung-*in* mo   siya…
Ask-OV1.INF   2SG.GEN   3SG.NOM
'Ask her / him…'

(43) *Tanung-*an*   mo   siya…
Ask-LV.INF   2SG.GEN   3SG.NOM
'Ask her / him…'

(44) Aluk-*in*   mo   siya…
Offer-OV1.INF   2SG.GEN   3SG.NOM
'Offer her / him…' [from alok '(an) offer, (a) bid']

(45) *Aluk-*an*   mo   siya…
Offer-LV.INF   2SG.GEN   3SG.NOM
'Offer her / him…'

The *i-* voice will often be the default choice for actions involving transfer of objects, informations, property etc. This is true for Tagalog equivalents of alternating English verbs such as 'hand', 'sell', 'pay', 'serve', 'feed' or 'send', which do not take goals as subjects of *B-in* forms. The Tagalog counterparts for other English alternating verbs (such as 'lend', or 'feed') bear a causative prefix, 'lend' being equivalent to 'make someone borrow' and 'feed' to 'make someone eat'. This causative form triggers the use of *-in* anyway, since in these cases the first actor (*mo* 'you (gen.)') is in a cotransitive relation to a secondary actor (*ako* 'I') :

(46) Pa-hiram-*in*   mo   ako   ng   kotse
CAUS-borrow-OV1.INF   2SG.GEN   1SG.NOM   GEN   car

mo.
2SG.GEN
'Lend me your car.'

I. Transferred actants

(47) I-ligtas   mo   sila   sa   sunog.
OV2.INF-save   2SG.GEN   3PL.NOM   DLP   fire
'Save them from the fire.'

(48) I-ligtas   mo   sila   sa   kasalanan.
OV2.INF-save   2SG.GEN   3PL.NOM   DLP   sin
'Save them from sin.'

The *termini ad quem* of the processes (respectively, *kahon* 'box' and *botelya* 'bottle') are sometimes incorporated into the semantic structure of the verb, as for the English verbs *shelve* or *bottle* (cf. Jackendoff, 1990).

(49) I-kahon   mo   ang   mga   aklat.
OV2.INF-box   2SG.GEN   NOM   PLM   book
'Put the books into a box.'

(50) I-botelya   mo   ang   lambanog.
OV2.INF-bottle   2SG.GEN   NOM   coconut wine
'Bottle the coconut wine.'

J. Abstract transfers

(51) I-lakad   mo   ang   bagong sapatos mo !
OV2-walk   2SG.GEN   NOM   new   shoe   2SG.GEN
'Use your new shoes for walking.'

Since *i-B* forms do not accept a subject that is interpretable as a terminus but only as an actant transferred to a terminus, the subject of *ikahon* is barred from an instrumental interpretation. If the subject were interpreted as an instrument, it would coincide with the base, which is a terminus ; but an *i-B* form does not license a subject that is a terminus. Thus, (52) is infelicitous in the instrumental interpretation :

(52) * I-kahon   mo   ang   karton.
OV2.INF-box   2SG.GEN   NOM   carboard box
'Use the carboard box as a box.'

On such occasions, the instrumental interpretation must be marked by the complex affix *ipang-* :

(53) I-pan-kahon   mo   ang   karton.
OV2-DEST-box   2SG.GEN   NOM   cardboard box
'Use the carboard box as a box.'

The use of *i-* can be extended to *information transfers*, as in (54) :

(54) I-pag-tapat mo   ang   katotohanan.
OV2.INF-pag-confess 2SG.GEN   NOM   truth
'Confess the truth.'

K. Contrasts between i-, -in and –an forms
• *i-* seems to be used when a transition to a maximal state cannot be repeated, whereas *-in* indicates that maximal states can be repeatedly obtained, that is to say as long as the actor's activity is maximal.
(55) I-tuwid   mo   ang   balikat   mo.
OV2.INF-straight   2SG.GEN   NOM   shoulder   2SG.GEN
'Straighten your shoulders.'

(56) * Tuwir-in   mo   ang   balikat   mo.
Straight-OV1.INF   2SG.GEN   NOM   shoulder   2SG.GEN
Id.

(57) I-baluktot   mo   ang   alambre.
OV2.INF-bend   2SG.GEN   NOM   wire
'Bend the wire.'

(58) Baluktut-in   mo   ang   alambre.
Bend-OV1.INF   2SG.GEN   NOM   wire
'Bend the wire.'
• When a base occurs both with *i-* and *-in* affixes, the *i-B* variant induces, whenever possible, a reading in which the subject refers to an actant transferred to a figurative or concrete location.
(59) I-ligpit   mo   ang   mesa.
OV2.INF-put away 2SG.GEN   NOM   table
'Put away the table.'

(60) Ligpit-in   mo   ang   mesa.
Put away-OV1.INF   2SG.GEN   NOM   table
'Clear the table away.'
• progressive attainment of a final state, the base predicate holds of the subject argument at intermediate stages: *-an* in *buksan* 'open' (a door is more and more open) vs *i-* in *isara* 'close' (a door cannot be said to be more and more closed; *i-* indexes a terminal state that is out of phase with the beginning of the actor's maximal activity). However, such stages are not cotransitive (maximal states are not continuously reached), hence *buksin: usually, 'open the door' hints at a canonical position of the door, i.e. one state is considered as fully accomplishing the process.

References

Jackendoff, Ray
    1990 *Semantic Structures*. Cambridge, MA : The M.I.T. Press.
Krifka, Manfred
    2001 Lexical representations and the nature of the dative alternation. Paper presented at the DIP Colloquium, Amsterdam.
Kroeger, Paul
    1993 *Phrase Structure and Grammatical Relations in Tagalog*. Stanford, CA : CLSI Publications.
    1998 Nouns and verbs in Tagalog: a reply to Foley. Paper presented at the 3rd LFG Conference, Brisbane.
Langacker, Ronald W.
    1987 *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, volume I : Theoretical Prerequisites*. Stanford, CA : Stanford University Press.
    1991 *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, volume II : Descriptive Application*. Stanford, CA : Stanford University Press.
Latrouite, Anja & Naumann, Ralf
    1999 On the interpretation of Tagalog voice affixes. In *Proceedings of the Austronesian Formal Language Association VI*, Toronto.
    2000 An interpretation of the voice-affix /i-/ in Tagalog. In Klamer, M. (ed.), *Proceedings of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association*, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 101-20.
Lemaréchal, Alain
    1989 *Les Parties du Discours*. Paris : Presses Universitaires de France.
    1991 Dérivation et orientation dans les langues des Philippines. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 86/1, 317-58.
Pinker, Steven
    1989 *Learnability and Cognition : the Acquisition of Argument Structure*. Cambridge, MA : The M.I.T. Press.
Schachter, Paul & Otanes, Fe T.
    1972 *Tagalog Reference Grammar*. Berkeley - Los Angeles – London : University of California Press.
Tenny, Carol L.
    1994 *Aspectual Roles and the Syntax-Semantics Interface*. Dordrecht - Boston – London : Kluwer Academic Publishers.