Information Structure and Constituent Order in Tagalog[*]

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The goal of this paper is to spell out the way syntax and pragmatics interact with each other inside and outside the clause in Tagalog. Inside the clause, different constructions are employed to express different types of focus structure: a canonical construction for predicate focus and sentence focus, a cleft construction for argument narrow focus, and a fronting construction for adjunct narrow focus. In every case the clause-initial position is included in the actual focus domain. Outside the clause, on the other hand, a topical/presupposed element is optionally preposed to the sentence-initial position called the left-detached position. It will be shown that this sentence-initial position is clearly distinguished from the clause-initial position. The traditionally recognized contrast between sentence and clause is indisputable and unequivocal in this language.

Key words: Tagalog, information structure, focus structure, constituent order, cleft, fronting

1. Introduction

This paper aims to elucidate aspects of the interplay between morphosyntax and information structure of Tagalog within the framework of Role and Reference Grammar with special reference to its theories of clause structure and information structure (Foley and Van Valin 1984, Van Valin 1993, Van Valin & LaPolla 1997, Van Valin 2005).

This paper has a twofold goal and revolves around clausal boundaries. In the first part, I will confine the discussion to the syntax-pragmatics interface inside the clause. After some basic facts and concepts are reviewed in §2, it will be argued in §3 that different focus structures are expressed by different constructions in Tagalog. In broad focus a focal predicate occupies the clause-initial nucleus, whereas in narrow focus, a focused non-predicating element appears in the clause-initial position by means of a cleft construction for an argument, and a fronting construction for an adjunct. This means that in any case the clause-initial position is included in the actual focus domain. This will be examined in §4.

In the second part, I will expand the scope of the discussion to include the entire sentence, taking into account a sentence-initial optional position called the left-detached position, which houses a topical or presupposed element. In §5, I will present a description of characteristics of the left-detached position in Tagalog and demonstrate how this position can be distinguished from the clause-initial position, by employing syntactic tests including enclitic placement and a pause.

In this way, syntax and pragmatics interact differently inside and outside the clause. Clause-internally, the focus domain obligatorily includes the clause-initial position; clause-externally a topical/presupposed element optionally occupies the sentence-initial position. I will deal with this issue and conclude this paper in §6.

Some terminological notes are in order before turning to the main body of the analyses. In this paper, the term 'topic' is employed only in the sense of Gundel (1988) and Lambrecht (1994), although in the literature of Philippine linguistics it has been used for what I call absolutive in this paper (for example, Schachter & Otanes 1972, Schachter 1976, 1977). Likewise, the terms 'focus', 'focus structure', 'broad focus', 'predicate focus', 'sentence focus', and 'narrow focus' are used strictly in Lambrecht's sense. Note that although it includes 'focus' in its name, a 'focus system' is the term for voice/valence-marking morphology found in Tagalog and other Philippine-type languages, and is irrelevant to the focus at issue in the paper.

2. Background

Tagalog is one of the Austronesian languages spoken on the island of Luzon, the Republic of the Philippines. It is a head-initial or right-branching language. The case-marking system is ergative-absolutive (Ceña 1977, Payne 1982, De Guzman 1988, Blake 1988, 1993, Nolasco 2003, 2005, Reid & Liao 2004a, b, Liao 2004, Nolasco & Saclot 2005).

In this section, some basic facts and concepts in Tagalog will be reviewed: clause structure in §2.1, and the 'focus system' and relativization in §2.2. Some special

constructions relevant to this paper will be introduced in §2.3.

2.1 Layered structure of the clause in Tagalog

The theory of clause structure in Role and Reference Grammar is called the layered structure of the clause (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:Ch. 2, and Van Valin 2005: Ch. 1). In this theory, the clause is composed of the core and the periphery. The core includes the nucleus and its core argument(s), which correspond to the predicate and the argument(s), respectively. The periphery refers to a syntactic unit housing non-arguments or adjuncts of the clause such as a PP adjunct and an adverb. The sentence is an even larger syntactic unit which may include multiple clauses in complex sentences or an additional sentence-initial position.

There are two types of pragmatically motivated optional position: a precore slot and a left-detached position. The precore slot is the position in which question words appear in languages in which they do not occur *in situ*, and is inside of the clause but outside of the core. The left-detached position is the location of sentence-initial elements, which are set off from the clause by a pause, and is outside of the clause but within the sentence.

An English sentence with all these elements is given in (1) and its constituent projection in Figure 1 (the example is cited from Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:36).

(1)   Yesterday, what did Robin show to Pat in the library?

```
                          SENTENCE
              LDP                  CLAUSE
                         PrCS          CORE  ←——— PERIPHERY
                                  ARG NUC ARG
                                      PRED
              ADV      NP        NP    V   PP          PP
           Yesterday, what did Robin show to Pat  in the library?
```
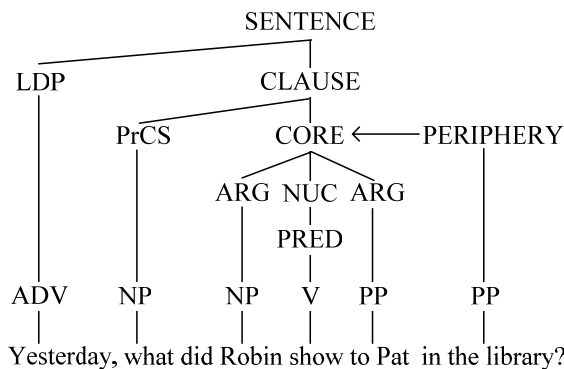
Figure 1: English layered structure of the clause

Now let us consider the Tagalog example in (2) and the constituent projection in Figure 2. In the nucleus is the verb *binili*, the core argument positions are filled individually with the pronominal enclitic *ko* and the noun phrase *ang bulaklak*, and the periphery includes the PP adjunct *para kay Weng* and the bare NP adverb *kahapon*.

(2) B<in>ili=ko=na   ang=bulaklak   para   kay=Weng   kahapon.
PF:bought=1SG.ERG=already   ABS=flower   for   DAT=Weng   yesterday
'I have already bought the flower for Weng yesterday.'

```
                    SENTENCE
                       |
                    CLAUSE
                       |
                    CORE  ←————————————  PERIPHERY
                    / | \                  /      \
                 NUC ARG  ARG            PP        ADV
                  |   |     |             |         |
                PRED  |     |
                  |   |     |
                  V  PRO    NP           PP        ADV
                  |   |     |             |         |
        B<in>ili=ko=na ang=bulaklak para kay=Weng kahapon.
```
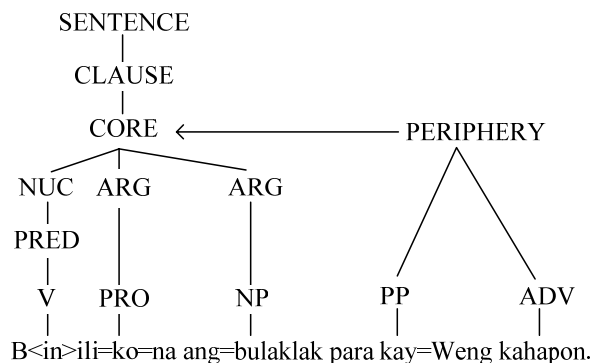
Figure 2: Tagalog layered structure of the clause

In Tagalog, the nucleus is prototypically a verb but can be nonverbal. The verb has a special feature called the 'focus system', which will be discussed in connection with relativization in the following subsection. The nucleus is located in the core-initial position and is clause-initial, too, as long as the precore slot is null.

The core argument position is occupied by a pronominal enclitic or a noun phrase. Noun phrases are introduced by a determiner (Reid & Liao 2004a, b). Both noun phrases and pronominal enclitics inflect for case: absolutive,[1] ergative/genitive,[2] and dative.

It is of significance to point out that in Tagalog enclitics including the pronominal enclitic are so-called second position clitics, and have to appear in the second position of the clause (Kroeger 1993, 1998). They include *na* 'already', *pa* 'still', *lang/lamang* 'only, just', *naman* 'indeed', and *ba* 'question' in addition to the pronominal enclitic. Clitics and hosts thereof are linked by '=' in this paper.

The periphery includes a PP adjunct headed by a preposition such as *para* 'for' and *dahil* 'because', and a bare NP adverb such as *kahapon* 'yesterday' and *bukas* 'tomorrow'.

Examples with the precore slot and left-detached position will be given later in the paper. The syntactic and pragmatic contrast between them plays an important role in

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[1] The absolutive case marks the single core argument in an intransitive clause (S), and the undergoer core argument in a transitive clause (U$_T$). As will be shown later in §5, a left/right-detached noun phrase is also marked in this case.

[2] The ergative case and the genitive case are formally identical but functionally different. The ergative case marks the actor core argument in a transitive clause (A$_T$). In contrast, the genitive case is used to introduce a possessive phrase and an adverbial phrase.

understanding the distinction between sentence and clause, which is the issue of the second part of this paper.

2.2 'Focus system' and relativization

Tagalog and other so-called Philippine-type languages are known for their voice/ valence-marking verbal morphology called the 'focus system'. This can be analyzed as an equipollent verb derivational system, where both transitive and intransitive verbs are derived from the same stem by adding different affixes (Nagaya 2006a, c, Haspelmath 1993 for equipollent derivation, also Nichols et al. 2004). Verbs are marked by one of the four affixes: *m-/-um-* (Actor Focus (AF)),[3] *-in* (Patient Focus (PF)), *-an* (Locative Focus (LF)) and *i-* (Circumstantial Focus (CF)). Again, note that 'focus' of the focus system is distinct from 'focus' of focus structure.

Basically, AF verbs are intransitive, except for meteorological verbs, and the single core argument is marked in the absolutive case. In contrast, PF, LF, and CF verbs are either intransitive or transitive: an undergoer is encoded in the absolutive case, while an actor, if any, is marked in the ergative case.

One of the important functions of these verbal affixes is relativization. In Tagalog, only the core argument in the absolutive case (S, or U_T) can be relativized in a clause. For example, the single core argument *ang bata* 'child' in the intransitive clause (3a) can be relativized as in (3b). (Henceforth, the relative clause is put in parentheses.)

(3) a. P<um>unta   ang=bata   sa=simbahan.
       AF:went   ABS=child   DAT=church
       'The child went to the church.'

    b. bata=ng   [p<um>unta   [S]   sa=simbahan]
       child=LIN   AF:went   DAT=church
       'the child who went to the church'

In the transitive clause (4a), the undergoer argument *ang isda* 'fish' can be a pivot for relativization as in (4b), whereas the actor core argument *ng bata* 'child' cannot be extracted as in (4c)

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[3]   Note that the productive AF marker *mag-* is analyzed to be composed of *m-* + *pag-*, and *mang-*, *m-* + *pang-*.

(4) a. B<in>ili   ng=bata   ang=isda.
          PF:bought   ERG=child   ABS=fish
          'The child bought the fish.'

     b. isda=ng   [b<in>ili   ng=bata   [U$_T$]]
          fish=LIN   PF:bought   ERG=child
          'the fish which the child bought'

     c. *bata=ng   [b<in>ili   [A$_T$]   ang=isda]
          child=LIN   PF:bought   ABS=fish
          Intended for 'the child who bought the fish'

However, different verbal affixes can be used to relativize different participants. The actor argument above becomes a pivot when the AF form is employed instead of the PF form, as in (5).

(5) bata=ng   [b<um>ili   [S]   ng=isda]
      child=LIN   AF:bought   GEN=fish
      'the child who bought (the) fish'

As shown above, only the S or U$_T$ can be a pivot for relativization in Tagalog. It follows that relativization in Tagalog shows syntactic ergativity (see also Blake 1988).[4]

2.3 Some important constructions

I will demonstrate in the following sections that different focus structures are expressed by different constructions, which are overviewed in advance here.

[1] Cleft construction. A cleft construction in Tagalog is an intransitive clause where its single core argument is a headless relative clause, and its nucleus is a noun phrase coreferential with the gap in the headless relative clause. See example (6) and Figure 3.

(6) Si=Boyet$_i$ ang=[p<um>atay   [S$_i$]   kay=Juan].
      ABS=Boyet   ABS=AF:killed   DAT=Juan
      'The one who killed Juan is Boyet.'

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[4] As one of the reviewers mentioned, there are some exceptions to this generalization (Ceña 1979). See Reid & Liao (2004a, b) for discussion of relativization in Philippine languages and also see Liao (1999-2000) for more discussion of relativization.

```
                        SENTENCE
                           |
                         CLAUSE
                           |
                          CORE
                    _____/  _____
                  NUC               ARG
                   |                 |
                   |              CLAUSE
                   |                 |
                   |               CORE
                   |           _____/ \_____
                   |         NUC           ARG
                   |          |             |
                   |        PRED            |
                   |          |             |
                  NP          V            NP
                   |          |             |
          Si=Boyeti ang=[p<um>stay [Si] kay=Juan]
```
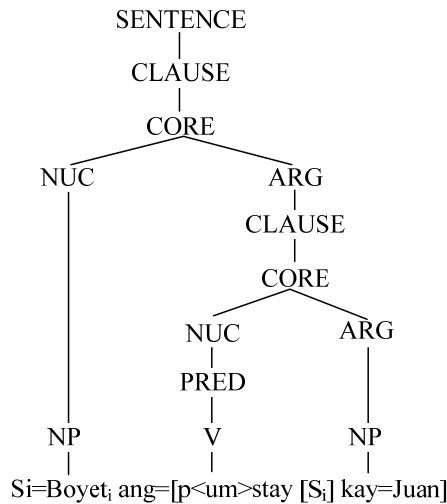
Figure 3: Cleft construction

This cleft analysis is borne out by the fact that a clause which can appear only as a relative clause can also appear as the core argument of a cleft construction. Let us consider (7), which is ungrammatical: the clause *pumatay kay Juan* cannot be used in non-relative environments (Schachter & Otanes 1972:299ff., Schachter 1976:517, Schachter 1977: 303-304).

(7) *P<um>atay   si=Boyet   kay=Juan.
    AF:killed   ABS=Boyet   DAT=Juan
    Intended for 'Boyet killed Juan.'

Compare this example with (8), where the same clause is employed as a relative clause modifying a noun phrase, yielding a grammatical sentence.

(8) S<in>ampal=ko   ang=lalaki=ng   [p<um>atay   kay=Juan].
     PF:spanked=1SG.ERG   ABS=man=LIN   AF:killed   DAT=Juan
     'I spanked the man who killed Juan.'

Now let us look at (6) again, which is grammatical, even though *p<um>atay kay Juan* is employed. This means that relativization is involved in example (6). That is, example (6) is a cleft construction.

Other pieces of evidence for this analysis include the interpretation of a depictive secondary predicate (Nagaya 2004) and the position of an enclitic (Kroeger 1993, 1998).

[2] Fronting construction. In a fronting construction, an adjunct is fronted to the precore slot like WH-questions in English (cf. 'emphatic inversion' of Schachter & Otanes 1972:496ff.).

(9) [PrCS Ngayon]=ko=lang   na-basa   ang=e-mail=mo.
          now=1SG.ERG=just   PF:read   ABS=e-mail=your
     'I read your e-mail just now.'

It is significant that in this construction the enclitics are attached to the precore slot rather than the nucleus. See Figure 4:

```
                        SENTENCE
                           |
                        CLAUSE
                        /     \
              PrCS          CORE
                          /    |    \
                     ARG   NUC    ARG
                            |
                          PRED
                            |
         ADV  PRO        V        NP
          |    |         |         |
        Ngayon=ko=lang na-basa ang=e-mail=mo.
```
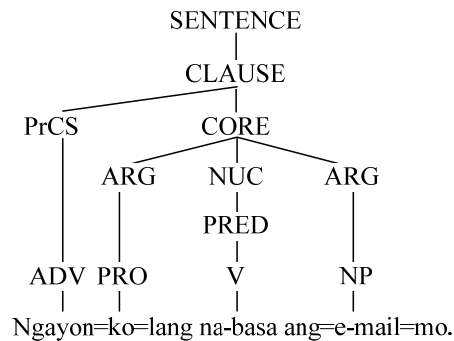
Figure 4: Fronting construction

[3] Canonical construction. All the other constructions discussed in this paper are called canonical constructions. In a canonical construction, the 'subject-predicate relationship' is not clefted and the precore slot is null. An example of this type of construction has been given in (2).

3. Focus structures and their realizations

Now let us look at how information structure and morphosyntax interact with each other in Tagalog, relying on Lambrecht's theory of focus structure adopted in RRG. The most important distinction in this theory is between narrow focus and broad focus. In narrow focus the focus falls only on a single constituent, while in broad focus the focus extends over more than one constituent. Broad focus is composed of two subtypes: predicate focus and sentence focus. The former is equivalent to the traditionally recognized 'topic-comment' organization of information in a clause. In the latter, the focus domain encompasses the entire clause and there is no topic in it.

In addition to those mentioned above, two types of narrow focus are recognized in this paper for the sake of convenience: argument narrow focus and adjunct narrow focus.

The whole taxonomy of these distinctions is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Taxonomy of focus structure

	Focus structure	Focus domain
Broad focus	Predicate focus	Predicate (+ non-predicating element(s))
	Sentence focus	Entire clause
Narrow focus	Argument narrow focus	Single argument
	Adjunct narrow focus	Single adjunct

In this section, it is argued that in Tagalog different types of focus structure are expressed by different constructions. I will discuss each of these types of focus structure individually: predicate focus in §3.1, sentence focus in §3.2, argument narrow focus in §3.3, and adjunct narrow focus in §3.4.

3.1 Predicate focus

The construction used to encode predicate focus is a canonical construction. See the answer in example (10).

(10) Q: Kumusta   ang=kotse=mo?
          how   ABS=car=your
          'How's your car?'
      A: Na-sira   (ang=kotse=ko).   [canonical]
          PF:broke down   ABS=car=my
          '(My car) broke down.'

Note that in Tagalog 'topic-comment' organization is not reflected in constituent order. It is realized as 'comment-topic' order in this head-initial language as in (10A), although 'topic-comment' order is the most common order cross-linguistically (see Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:421).
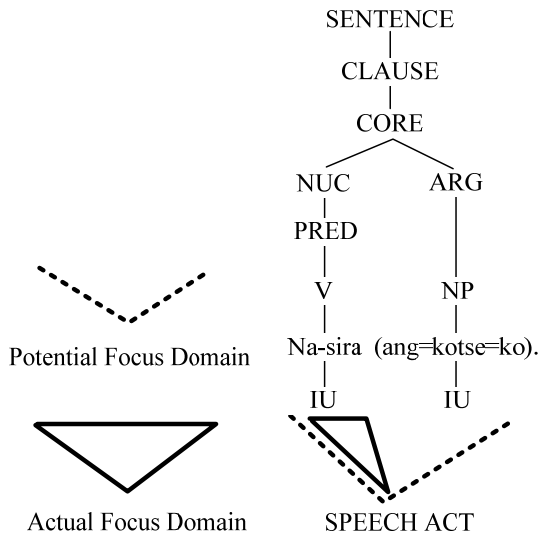
3.2 Sentence focus

The canonical construction is also employed to express sentence focus, in which the actual focus domain is the entire clause. See the answer in example (11).
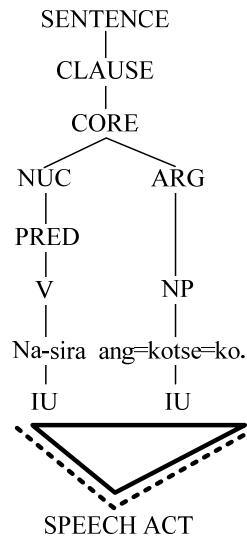
(11) Q: Ano   ang=[nang-yari]?
          what   ABS=AF:happened
          'What happened?'
          (LIT. 'The thing that happened was what?')

> A: Na-sira   ang=kotse=ko.   [canonical]
>   PF:broke down   ABS=car=my
>   'My car broke down.'

Thus, both predicate focus and sentence focus are represented by the same construction. Namely, broad focus structure is marked by the canonical construction. This is illustrated in Figures 5 and 6. (10A) and (11A) are identical in the constituent projection but different in the focus structure projection.[5]

Figure 5: Predicate focus (10A)   **Figure 6:** Sentence focus (11A)

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[5] Note that Tagalog employs a presentational construction as well as a canonical construction to mark sentence focus structure (Nagaya 2005). The presentational construction is a subtype of existential sentence, where a newly-introduced participant is realized as a noun phrase or a headless relative clause.

> May   [naka-tayo   sa=labas].   [presentational]
> exist   AF:standing   DAT=outside
> 'There is/was someone standing outside.'

Canonical and presentational constructions can describe much the same situation. But they are different in that the speaker assumes that the hearer already knows about a newly-introduced participant at the time of utterance in a canonical construction, but he/she does not in a presentational construction. That is why a proper noun is not allowed in a presentational construction. See Nagaya (2005) for details.

It is worth pointing out that, since a presentational construction is formed by relativization and relativization shows syntactic ergativity in Tagalog, what is introduced by this construction is restricted to S and U_T, which are universally favored for new information (Du Bois 1987).

3.3 Argument narrow focus

The cleft construction serves to encode argument narrow focus. See the answer in example (12). This construction is obligatory in this focus structure.

(12) Q: Na-rinig=ko=na   na-sira   ang=motor=mo.
          PF:heard=1SG.ERG=LIN   PF:broke down   ABS=motorcycle=your
          'I heard that your motorcycle broke down.'
      A: Hindi. Ang=kotse=ko   ang=[na-sira].   [cleft]
          No   ABS=car=my   ABS=PF:broke down
          'No. **My car** broke down.'
          (lit. 'No. What broke down is my car.')

3.4 Adjunct narrow focus

To express adjunct narrow focus, the fronting construction is employed. See the answer in example (13). This construction is obligatory in this focus structure.

(13) Q: Kailan=ba   na-sira   ang=kotse=mo?
          when=Q   PF:broke down   ABS=car=your
          'When did your car break down?'
      A: [PrCS Kahapon]   na-sira   (iyon).   [fronting]
              yesterday   PF:broke down   (it.ABS)
          '(It) broke down **yesterday**.'

The analyses of (12A) and (13A) are given in Figures 7 and 8. (12A) and (13A) are different in the constituent projection, but the same in the focus structure projection.

SENTENCE
CLAUSE
CORE
NUC   ARG
CLAUSE
CORE
NUC
PRED
NP   V
Ang=kotse=ko   ang=[na-sira].
IU   IU

SPEECH ACT
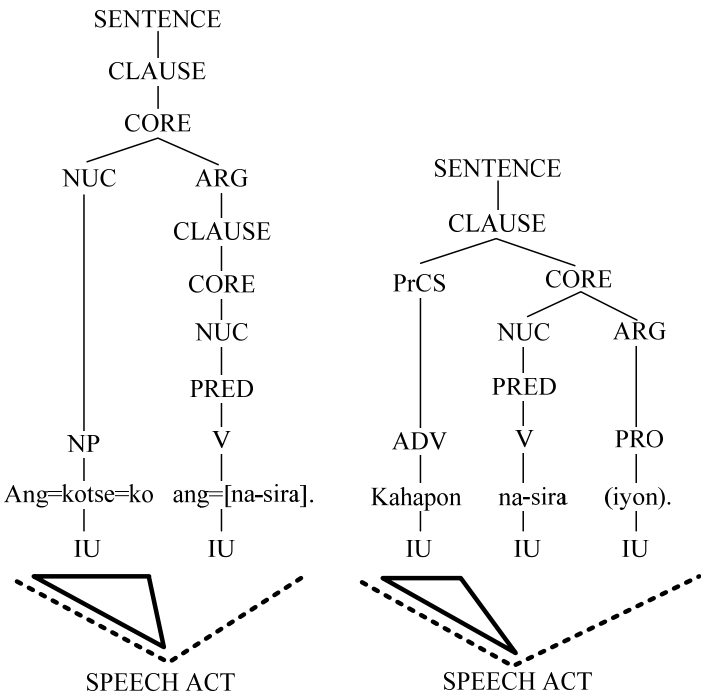
Figure 7: Argument narrow focus (12A)

SENTENCE
CLAUSE
PrCS   CORE
NUC   ARG
PRED
ADV   V   PRO
Kahapon   na-sira   (iyon).
IU   IU   IU

SPEECH ACT

Figure 8: Adjunct narrow focus (13A)

3.5 Summary

The discussion in this section is summarized in Table 2, where the clause-initial constituent is in boldface, and "CL" indicates an enclitic.

Table 2: Focus structures and constructions

	Constructions	Constituent Order	
Predicate focus	Canonical	**V** (CL) NP …	(10A)
Sentence focus	Canonical	**V** (CL) NP …	(11A)
Argument narrow focus	Cleft	**NP** (CL) *ang*=[V …]	(12A)
Adjunct narrow focus	Fronting	**ADV** (CL) V …	(13A)

An important consequence of this observation is that the clause-initial element in boldface is included in the focus in all the focus structures. In predicate focus and sentence focus, the nucleus houses a focal predicate in a canonical construction. In narrow focus, the nucleus accommodates a focal argument in a cleft construction, and the precore slot contains a focal adjunct in a fronting construction. I will give further evidence for this claim in the next section.

4. Clause-initial position as the obligatory focus domain

In this section, I will try to demonstrate that the clause-initial position in Tagalog is always in focus, by examining various types of constructions as a litmus test for the focus: exhaustive identification (§4.1), universal quantifier (§4.2), WH-question (§4.3), yes-no question (§4.4), correction (§4.5), and negation (§4.6). Each construction has a specific portion which should be in focus. For example, a WH-word has to be in focus in WH-questions. I will show that in any case the clause-initial position is (a part of) the focus domain each construction specifies.

4.1 Exhaustive identification

It is well known that an exhaustively identified element is in focus (cf. Kiss 1998). Exhaustive identification in Tagalog is marked by the enclitic *lang/lamang*. The scope of this enclitic includes at least the clause-initial position. See the examples below.

(14) **Na-tulog**=lang=siya   sa=bahay.   [canonical]
        PF:slept=only=3SG.ABS   DAT=house
        'He/she only slept in the house.'

(15) **Siya**=lang   ang=[na-tulog   sa=bahay].   [cleft]
        3SG.ABS=only   ABS=PF:slept   DAT=house
        'Only **he/she** slept in the house.'
        (LIT. 'The one who slept in the house was only him/her.')

(16) [PrCS **Sa=bahay**]=lang=siya   na-tulog.   [fronting]
              DAT=house=only=3SG.ABS   PF:slept
        'He/she slept only **in the house**.'

Note that the scope of exhaustive identification can be over the entire clause as well as the predicate in (14). In either case, the clause-initial position is included in the focus domain of exhaustive identification.

Because of this property, the enclitic *lang* cannot exclusively identify an argument or adjunct outside the clause-initial position. See examples (17) and (18), whose possible interpretation is that the clause-initial position is included in the focus domain.

(17) **I-text**=mo=lang   si=Daphne.   [canonical]
        CF:text=2SG.ERG=only   ABS=Daphne
        *'Text only **Daphne**.'
        ok 'Just text Daphne.'

(18) **Nag-meryenda**=lang=siya   sa=bahay.   [canonical]
     AF:had a snack=only=3SG.ABS   DAT=house
     *'He/she had a snack only **in the house**.'
     ok 'He/she only had a snack in the house.'

For a single non-predicating element to be the focus of exhaustive identification, it is necessary to employ a cleft or a fronting construction like (19) and (20).

(19) **Si=Daphne**=lang   ang=[i-text=mo].   [cleft]
     ABS=Daphne=only   ABS=CF:text=2SG.ERG
     'Text only **Daphne**.'
     (LIT. 'The one you (should) text is only Daphne.')

(20) [$_{PrCS}$ **Sa=bahay**]=lang=siya   nag-meryenda.   [fronting]
       DAT=house=only=3SG.ABS   AF:had a snack
     'He/she had a snack only **in the house**.'

As shown above, the clause-initial position is always in the focus domain of exhaustive identification.

4.2 Universal quantifiers

The universal quantifier is also sensitive to information structure. There is a cross-linguistic tendency for the universal quantifier not to appear in the focus domain of narrow focus structure (Kiss 1998).

This also obtains in Tagalog. The universal quantifiers *lahat* 'all' and *kahit ano* 'anything' cannot occur in the nucleus of a cleft construction, as in (21) and (22).

(21) *Lahat   ng=pagkain   ang=[k<in>ain=ko].   [cleft]
      all   GEN=food   ABS=PF:ate=1SG.ERG

(22) *Kahit ano   ang=[k<in>ain=ko].   [cleft]
      anything   ABS=PF:ate=1SG.ERG

In contrast, these universal quantifiers can appear in a core argument position of a canonical construction.

(23) K<in>ain=ko   ang=lahat   ng=pagkain.   [canonical]
     PF:ate=1SG.ERG   ABS=all   GEN=food
     'I ate all the food.'

(24) K<in>ain=ko   kahit ano.   [canonical]
     PF:ate=1SG.ERG   anything
     'I ate anything.'

Like this, the universal quantifiers are excluded from the clause-initial position in Tagalog. This fact supports the claim that the clause-initial position is always in focus.

4.3 WH-questions

WH-questions are a typical example of narrow focus structure: a WH-word is narrowly focused in this type of sentence. In Tagalog, when an argument is questioned, a cleft construction is employed. See (26), which is a WH-question corresponding to (25).

(25) K<um>ain   si=Jonalyn   ng=hamburger   kahapon.   [canonical]
     AF:ate   ABS=Jonalyn   GEN=hamburger   yesterday
     'Jonalyn ate hamburger yesterday.'

(26) Sino=ba   ang=[k<um>ain ng=hamburger   kahapon]?   [cleft]
     who=Q   ABS=AF:ate   GEN=hamburger   yesterday
     'Who ate hamburger yesterday?'
     (LIT. 'Who was the one who ate hamburger yesterday?')

A fronting construction is used when an adjunct is questioned, as in (27).

(27) [_{PrCS} Kailan]=ba k<um>ain   si=Jonalyn   ng=hamburger?   [fronting]
           when=Q   AF:ate   ABS=Jonalyn   GEN=hamburger
     'When did Jonalyn eat hamburger?'

Thus, WH-questions are just a type of narrow focus construction in Tagalog. This is also the case in other Austronesian languages like Malagasy (Potsdam 2004).

It is noteworthy that Tagalog has what I call WH-verbs, whose root is a WH-word (Schachter & Otanes 1972:509).

(28) Nag-ano=sila   dito?
     AF:did what=3PL.ABS   here
     'What did they do here?'

(29) <In>ano=mo   ang=damit=ko?
     PF:did what=2SG.ERG   ABS=clothes=my
     'What did you do to my clothes?'

Since they obviously contain a focal verbal predicate in the nucleus, these WH-questions with WH-verbs are categorized as predicate focus in spite of being WH-questions. Nonetheless, these are the same as ordinary WH-questions I discussed here in the sense that the clause-initial element is exclusively the focus.

4.4 Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions are formed by adding the interrogative enclitic *ba* or just by intonation. Example (30) is a yes-no question sentence expressing predicate focus or sentence focus.

(30) Pu-punta=ba   si=Melanie   dito?   [canonical]
AF:will come=Q   ABS=Melanie   here
'Will Melanie come here?'

Now let us turn to narrow focus. When a single argument is the focus of a yes-no question, a cleft is employed as in (31), which is asking whether or not it is Melanie that will come to the speaker's side.

(31) Si=Melanie=ba   ang=[pu-punta   dito]?   [cleft]
ABS=Melanie=Q   ABS=AF:will come   here
'Will Melanie come here?'
(LIT. 'Is the one who will come here Melanie?')

In the case of a narrowly focused adjunct, it is fronted as in (32), which is asking whether or not it is to the speaker's side that Melanie will come.

(32) [PrCS Dito]=ba   pu-punta   si=Melanie?   [fronting]
      here=Q   AF:will come   ABS=Melanie
'Will Melanie come here?'

In this way, in Tagalog yes-no questions, the clause-initial position is always included in the focus of question.

4.5 Correction

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

(33) (Person A joked about Ronald, who was going to celebrate his birthday soon.
Then, Person B, Ronald's wife, responded to Person A.)
A: i. Kawawa=naman si=Ronald.   [canonical]
    pitiful=indeed   ABS=Ronald
    'Ronald is really pitiful.'

    ii. Kasi,[6] wala=ako   sa=kaarawan=niya.
     because not exist=1SG.ABS DAT=birthday=his
     'This is because I will be absent on his birthday.'
   B: i. Ikaw   ang=[kawawa].   [cleft]
     2SG.ABS ABS=pitiful
     '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=2SG.ABS AF:can eat GEN=prepared food=my
     'This is because you will not be able to eat the food I will prepare.'

Compare the utterance of Person A (33Ai) (predicate focus) with that of Person B (33Bi) (argument narrow focus). Person B is trying to correct Person A's belief by employing the cleft construction.

   The fronting construction as well as the cleft is used for correction.

(34) (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=2SG.ABS AF:were seated
   'You were seated there (> not here).'

On the other hand, when the adjunct is *in situ*, the sentence is broad focus: the implication observed in (34) is not found in (35).

(35) Naka-upo=ka   doon.   [canonical]
   AF:were seated=2SG.ABS there
   'You were seated there.'

   Here is a pair of examples with a temporal adjunct. (36) is simply proposing that the speaker and the hearer meet tomorrow. But (37) is insisting that the speaker and the hearer meet tomorrow, not the day for which the meeting was previously scheduled.

---

6 The particle *kasi* is analyzed as a sentence-level clause-linkage marker (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:476), and is not counted as a clause-initial element. See also note 9.

(36) Mag-kita=tayo   bukas.   [canonical]
      AF:meet=1PL.INCL.ABS   tomorrow
      'Let's meet tomorrow.'

(37) [PrCS Bukas]=na=lang=tayo   mag-kita.   [fronting]
           tomorrow=already=just=1PL.INCL.ABS AF:meet
      'Let's meet tomorrow (> not another day).'

In every example, the clause-initial constituent is in the focus of correction.

4.6 Negation

In Tagalog, different scopes of negation are expressed by different constructions (see also Schachter & Otanes 1972:499-500, Ramos & Ceña 1990:172-173). In any case, the clause-initial position is included in the focus of negation.

(38) Hindi s<in>ipa   ni=Mark   si=Arius.   [canonical]
      not   PF:kicked   ERG=Mark   ABS=Arius
      'Mark didn't kick Arius (> Mark did not do anything to Arius, or Mark did something but kicking).'

(39) Hindi si=Mark   ang=[s<um>ipa   kay=Arius].   [cleft]
      not   ABS=Mark   ABS=AF:kicked   DAT=Arius
      'Mark didn't kick Arius (> but someone else kicked Arius).'
      (LIT. 'The one who kicked Arius was not Mark.')

(40) Hindi kahapon   s<in>ipa   ni=Mark   si=Arius.   [fronting]
      not   yesterday   PF:kicked   ERG=Mark   ABS=Arius
      'Mark didn't kick Arius yesterday (> but at some other time).'

Internal negation or narrow scope negation, where the scope of negation is only part of the clause (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:45-46), requires a cleft or a fronting construction, as in (39) and (40). The position of the negative operator *hindi* in the layered structure of the clause needs more study. Note that it is possible that the negation has clausal scope in (38).

4.7 Summary

As shown above, the focus of exhaustive identification, WH-question, yes-no question, correction and negation includes the clause-initial position, i.e. the nucleus or precore slot, in any focus structure. In this sense, the clause-initial position is the obligatory focus domain in Tagalog. In broad focus, the predicate in a clause is in focus

and occupies the clause-initial nucleus, while in narrow focus one of the non-predicating elements is focused and appears in the clause-initial position by means of a cleft or fronting construction.[7]

5. Left-detached position and sentence-clause distinction

The discussion so far is confined to the clause-internal correlation between clause structure and information structure. In this section, let us expand the range of the discussion to include the entire sentence and consider aspects of syntax-pragmatics interface at the level of sentence.

The center of contention in this regard is the left-detached position, which is an optional location for sentence-initial elements. In this section, first, I will present a syntactic and pragmatic description of this position briefly in §5.1. Then, I will demonstrate how this position behaves differently from the clause-initial position, with regard to syntactic behaviors in §5.2. Through these considerations, the validity of the traditional distinction between sentence and clause will be reevaluated in Tagalog.
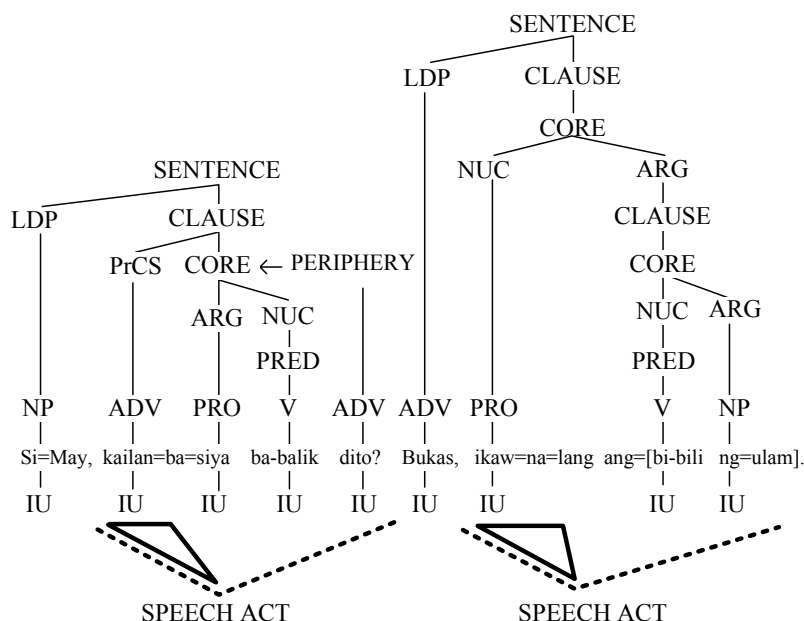
5.1 Left-detached position

The left-detached position in Tagalog, which has already been described in Schachter & Otanes (1972:485ff.) and Foley & Van Valin (1984:126ff.), houses a topical/ presupposed element. Let us examine examples (41) and (42).

(41)   [$_{sentence}$ [$_{LDP}$ Si=May], [$_{clause}$ [$_{PrCS}$ kailan]=ba=siya   ba-balik   dito]]?
             ABS=May   when=Q=3SG.ABS AF:will return here
       'As for May, when will she come here?'

(42)   [$_{sentence}$ [$_{LDP}$ Bukas], [$_{clause}$ ikaw=na=lang   ang=[bi-bili   ng=ulam]]].
             tomorrow   2SG.ABS=already=just ABS=AF:will buy GEN=food
       'Tomorrow, it is you who will buy food.'

---

[7] In this connection, the flexibility of focus structure is worth mentioning. Van Valin (1999) has proposed the typology of rigid and flexible focus structure languages. The former, like Italian and French, has a restriction on the potential focus domain, whereas the latter does not, like English and Russian. According to Van Valin's typology, Tagalog is categorized as a language of flexible focus structure, since the potential focus domain is not restricted to a subpart of the main clause. However, Tagalog is a language of rigid focus structure with regard to the obligatory focus domain: it has a restriction that the clause-initial position (= obligatory focus domain) must be included in the actual focus domain. This suggests that finer typology of rigid and flexible focus structure is possible.

In (41), the absolute 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* 'when' is fronted to the precore slot. In (42), the adverb *bukas* 'tomorrow' is dislocated in the left-detached position and sets the temporal framework for the remaining cleft clause. These analyses are represented in Figures 9 and 10.

Figure 9: Left-detached position (41)   **Figure 10:** Left-detached position (42)

The left-detached position is usually set off from the clause by a pause[8] (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:36, Van Valin 2005:6). The pause is expressed by ',' in this paper.

(43) (The speaker is reporting about the breakfast she has just eaten.)
   a. Katatapos=lang=nami=ng   mag-breakfast.
       finished=just=1PL.EXCL.GEN=LIN   AF:have breakfast
       'We have just finished our breakfast.'

---

[8] The left-detached position is sometimes followed by the particle *ay*, coupled with a pause. According to Schachter & Otanes (1972:485), *ay*-construction is "characteristic of formal style, and is more common in writing, lectures, sermons, etc., than it is in ordinary conversation".

b. [_{LDP} Ang=ulam=namin], [_{clause} longanisa, tinapa, corn beef, at   atsara].
          ABS=dish=our   longanisa tinapa corn beef and atsara
      'Our dishes are longanisa, tinapa, corn beef, and atsara.'

This position is a preferred site for a contrastive topic as shown in (44).

(44) (On the phone)
      a. Nasaan=ka=na?
          where=2SG.ABS=now
          'Where are you now?'
      b. [_{LDP} Kami],   [_{clause} nasa   labas=pa].
          1PL.EXCL.ABS   be at   outside=still
          'As for us, (we) are still outside.'

The examples presented so far all involve detached noun phrases. But a setting element as well can be located in the left-detached position to introduce the temporal or spatial framework to a discourse.

(45) [_{LDP} Kahapon], [_{clause} nag-lunch   si=Daphne   sa=KFC].
          yesterday   AF:had lunch ABS=Daphne   DAT=KFC
      'Yesterday, Daphne had lunch at KFC.'
(46) [_{LDP} Sa=palengke], [_{clause} b<um>ili   ng=isda   ang=lalake].
          DAT=market   AF:bought GEN=fish ABS=man
      'In the market, the man bought some fish.' (Foley and Van Valin 1984:128)

The left-detached position can also serve as a landing site for possessor raising.

(47) [_{LDP} Si=Juan], [_{clause} na-matay   ang=tatay].
          ABS=Juan   PF:died   ABS=father
      'Juan, (his) father died.'

5.2 Distinction between sentence and clause

It should be clear by now that the left-detached position is pragmatically different from the clause-initial position. Then the logical question to ask is how this position can be distinguished from the clause-initial position. This issue is addressed in this section by employing seven tests.

5.2.1 Enclitic placement

As mentioned in §2.1 (see also Kroeger 1993, 1998), the enclitics in a clause follow the clause-initial element, as in (48).

(48) [LDP Bukas],   [clause [PrCS saan]=ka=ba   pu-punta]?
            tomorrow   where=2SG.ABS=Q   AF:will go
        'Tomorrow, where will you go?'

In contrast, the enclitics cannot accompany the left-detached element, as in (49).

(49) *[LDP Bukas]=ka=ba, [clause [PrCS saan] pu-punta]?

There is one exception to this generalization: *bakit* 'why'. This WH-word seems to occupy the precore slot in WH-questions, but is not necessarily accompanied by an enclitic.[9] The reason is unknown.

5.2.2 Uniqueness condition

In Tagalog, only one precore slot is available in each clause. I refer to this as the uniqueness condition (cf. Rizzi 1997). Example (50) is not grammatical; it includes more than one precore slot in the clause.

(50) *[clause [PrCS Ano=ng oras] [PrCS dito]=ka   pu-punta]?
                what=LIN hour   here=2SG.ABS   AF:will come

On the other hand, the uniqueness condition does not hold in the case of the left-detached position. More than one left-detached position can occur in a sentence.

(51) [LDP Sa=palagay=ko],   [LDP si=Paul],   [clause patay=na].
            DAT=opinion=my   ABS=Paul   dead=already
        'In my opinion, as for Paul, (he) was already dead.'

---

[9] One of the reviewers suggested that *kasi* in (33) should be added to this statement. But I analyze this particle as a sentence-level clause-linkage marker, and do not regard it as an exception. See also note 6.

5.2.3 Semantic relatedness

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

(52)　[clause [PrCS Mabilis]=na=niya　　　　k<in>ain　ang=pansit].
　　　　　　　quick=already=3SG.ERG　PF:ate　　ABS=noodle
　　　'He ate noodles quickly.'

(53)　[clause [PrCS Nakahubad]=mo=ba　　　　k<in>ain　ang=isda]?
　　　　　　　naked=2SG.ERG=Q　　　　　PF:ate　　ABS=fish
　　　'Did you eat the fish naked?' (The hearer was naked.)

On the other hand, the left-detached element need not be relevant to the semantics of the clause.

(54)　[LDP Ang=nais=ko],　[clause malusog　ang=mama=ko].
　　　　　ABS=wish=my　　　　　healthy　ABS=mother=my
　　　'My wish is that my mother would be healthy.'

(55)　[LDP Ang=[g<in>awa=ko]],　[clause t<in>ulung-an=ko　　si=Mutya].
　　　　　ABS=PF:did=1SG.ERG　　　　LF:helped=1SG.ERG　ABS=Mutya
　　　'What I did was that I helped Mutya.'

A modal adverb and a sentential adverb also appear here.

(56)　[LDP Siguro],　[clause b<um>agsak　si=Gaga　　　sa=pagsusulit].
　　　　　probably　　　AF:failed　　ABS=Gaga　DAT=examination
　　　'Probably, Gaga failed the exam.'

(57)　[LDP Sa=kasamaang-palad],　[clause b<um>agsak si=Gaga　sa=pagsusulit].
　　　　　unfortunately　　　　　　AF:failed　ABS=Gaga DAT=examination
　　　'Unfortunately, Gaga failed the exam.'

5.2.4 Pause

The pause or intonational break cannot follow the clause-initial element, but it can accompany the left-detached element(s). Let us look at examples (41) and (42), repeated here as (58) and (59).

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

(59) [_{LDP} Bukas],   [_{clause} ikaw(*,)=na(*,)=lang(*,) ang=[bi-bili   ng=ulam]].
       tomorrow   2SG.ABS=already=just ABS=AF:will buy GEN=food
      'Tomorrow, it is you who will buy food.'

There is no pause following the nucleus and the precore slot.

5.2.5 Resumptive pronoun

The left-detached noun phrase can leave a resumptive pronoun coreferential with it in the following clause.

(60) [_{LDP} Si=Ian],   [_{clause} i-b<in>ili=mo(=siya)]?
       ABS=Ian   CF:bought=2SG.ERG(=3SG.ABS)
      'As for Ian, did you buy (something) (for him)?'

(61) [_{LDP} Si=Flor], [_{clause} na-kita(=niya)   si=Weng].
       ABS=Flor   PF:met(=3SG.ERG)   ABS=Weng
      'As for Flor, (she) met Weng.'

Van Valin & 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 anaphora (cf. Nagaya 2006a, b), the resumptive pronoun is optional.

Such a resumptive pronoun is not available in a cleft construction.

(62) *Si=Ian   ang=[i-b<in>ili=mo=siya]
    ABS=Ian   ABS=CF:bought=2SG.ERG=3SG.ABS

5.2.6 Universal quantifier

In §4.2, I have pointed out that the universal quantifiers (*lahat* 'all' and *kahit ano* 'anything') cannot appear in the clause-initial position. In contrast, they are available in the left-detached position.

(63) [_{LDP} Lahat   ng=pagkain], [_{clause} k<in>ain=ko].
       all   GEN=food   PF:ate=1SG.ERG
      'All the food, I ate (it).'

(64) [LDP Kahit ano],   b<in>ili=niya.
          anything   PF:bought=3SG.ERG
      'Anything, she bought (it).'

5.2.7 Symmetric property

The left-detached position and the clause-initial position differ in terms of symmetric property, too. 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, which is also for a presupposed element.

(65) [clause <Um>upo=ka=muna   dito],   [RDP ang=sabi=ko].
          AF:sit=2SG.ABS=first   here   ABS=what is said=my
      'What I said is that you sit down here.'

(66) [clause Mahal-in=mo   ang=kapwa=mo],   [RDP ang=turo   ni=Hesus].
          PF:love=2SG.ERG ABS=neighbor=your   ABS=teachings GEN=Jesus
      'Love your neighbor, according to the teachings of Jesus.'

On the other hand, the clause-initial element does not have a symmetric property. When it appears in non-clause-initial positions, it may or may not be in focus.[10]

5.2.8 Where do these differences come from?

As has been demonstrated above, the left-detached position and the clause-initial position (i.e. the nucleus or precore slot) behave differently at least with regard to these seven phenomena. See Table 3.

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

	Left-detached position	Clause-initial position
Enclitic placement	*	√
Uniqueness condition	*	√
Semantic relatedness	*	√
Pause	√	*
Resumptive pronoun	√	*
Universal quantifier	√	*
Symmetric property	√	*

---

[10] I have not been able to find a postcore slot in Tagalog so far. See Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 37) and Van Valin (2005:5-6) for the postcore slot.

These results are not accidental but rather natural consequences of the characterization of the left-detached position and the clause-initial position in RRG: the left-detached position is clause-external, while the clause-initial position is clause-internal.

Let us take enclitic placement as an example. The pronominal enclitic, which is an argument of a predicate, can be located in the position immediately following the clause-initial position, because the position is still inside the clause. But when it is put after the left-detached position, it is outside the clause. This situation is not acceptable, because the semantic argument of the predicate must be included in the clause.

This explanation is applicable to the other phenomena: the pause reflects the clause boundary; the clause-initial element does not leave a resumptive pronoun because it is still inside the clause; since the left-detached element is out of the clause, it is free from the uniqueness condition and the semantic relatedness condition of the clause. Thus, the traditional sentence-clause distinction adopted in RRG can provide a satisfactory explanation for different behaviors of the two positions.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have discussed the interaction between syntax and pragmatics in Tagalog, and have claimed the following. At the clause-internal level, different constructions are employed to represent different types of focus structure: a canonical construction for broad focus, a cleft construction for argument narrow focus, and a fronting construction for adjunct narrow focus. In any case the clause-initial position is in focus and thus can be considered as the obligatory focus domain. At the clause-external level, a topical/presupposed element comes optionally in the left-detached position. But this position can be clearly distinguished from the clause-initial position with regard to syntax and pragmatics. To put it differently, the traditional contrast between sentence and clause is verified in this language. Thus, in Tagalog, syntax and pragmatics interact differently inside the clause than they do outside the clause: the focus obligatorily falls on the domain including the clause-initial position, and a topical/presupposed element is optionally preposed to the sentence-initial left-detached position.

Concerning such an interconnection between constituent order and information structure, Gundel (1988:229) proposes 'two independent, and sometimes conflicting principles':

(67)   First Things First Principle
       Provide the most important information first.
(68)   Given Before New Principle
       State what is given before what is new in relation to it.

The discussion in this paper reveals that these two principles are both realized in Tagalog but in different layers. Clause-internally, First Things First Principle (67) is the determining factor: the actual focus domain always includes the clause-initial position. Clause-externally, in contrast, Given Before New Principle (68) should be taken into account: a topical/presupposed element optionally occupies the sentence-initial position called the left-detached position. In light of my analysis, these two principles do not conflict but function in distinct layers of clause structure.

Thus, this paper presents all these findings and claims in an integrated way within the framework of RRG. In particular, it provides strong support for the validity of its theories of clause structure and information structure.

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塔加洛語資訊結構及句法成分的排列方式

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　　本文主要目的爲探討句法及語用在塔加洛語子句內外的互動。在子句內，不同結構可以表達不同的焦點：典型結構可反應述語或整句焦點；分裂結構可反應論元的狹窄焦點；前移結構則可以反應修飾語的狹窄焦點。在這三種結構裡，實際焦點範疇涵蓋了子句最前面的位置。然而在子句外，主題或預想成分可以選擇性的前移到句子最前方所謂的「向左分離」位置，此與子句的前置位置有所不同。因此，傳統中所認爲的句子和子句之間的不同在這個語言裡有非常明確的區分。

關鍵詞：塔加洛語，資訊結構，焦點結構，句法成分的排列方式，分裂句，
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