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Morphologie
Morphology

Ein internationales Handbuch zur Flexion und Wortbildung
An International Handbook on Inflection and Word-Formation

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Tagalog speakers throughout the Philippine islands, especially on Mindoro and Mindanao (cf. McFarland 1983: 29, 80). Furthermore, Tagalog is widely spoken as a second language. In 1937 it was selected as the basis for the national language Filipino (formerly called Pilipino).

Since the beginning of Spanish colonization in 1565 the Tagalog area has always been the center of political power in the Philippines, and Tagalog has thus been strongly influenced by the colonial languages, first Spanish and then American English (from 1898 to 1946). This influence, however, has been largely on the lexicon and the phonology, but not on the morphosyntax. For example, the Manila slang, called Taglish, mainly consists of English roots, but the morphology is exclusively Tagalog. Examples include lipstick-an ‘to put lipstick on’, i-give up ‘to give sth. up’, and mag-on ‘to start dating’ (cf. Cubar 1984; the affixes are explained in 4.1). As for morphosyntax, it is not unlikely that there has been some normative influence by colonial institutions and practices.
because the Spanish started using Tagalog very early on as a missionary language, writing grammars and preparing catechisms in Tagalog (*Doctrina Christiana*, dated 1593, is the oldest preserved Tagalog document). The continuing normative influence exerted by the Manila based educated classes is shown by the fact that Tagalog exhibits surprisingly little dialectal diversity (Mcfarland 1983: 80). Only the dialect spoken on the small island of Marinduque exhibits lexical and morphological idiosyncrasies that have caught the attention of linguists (Lopez 1970; Soberano 1980).

The most influential of the Spanish grammars is the one written by Totanes ('1865) which has served as the basis for many analyses of Tagalog (e.g. Humboldt 1838; Müller 1882: 87–163; Marre 1901). The last and most comprehensive Maragtas grammar cast in a traditional framework is Blake (1925). Bloomfield’s texts and grammar (1917) are the first attempt to present Tagalog in its own terms and a very fine and early piece of modern structuralist analysis. In addition to Bloomfield and Blake, further comprehensive statements of Tagalog morphology can be found in Lopez (1937), Schachter & Otanes (1972), and Wolff et al. (1991). A review of linguistic work on Tagalog is given in Constantino (1971: 118–145) and Reid (1981). The present article is based primarily on Bloomfield’s data and analysis.

1.2. Phonology and orthography

The segmental phonology of Tagalog is relatively simple (except for problems concerning the treatment of loans for which see Matsuda French 1988:1–17). The graphemes used in the standard orthography directly reflect phonemes and basically have their IPA values. The only exception is the use of the digraph *<ng>* for the velar nasal [ŋ]. The use of this digraph may be slightly confusing, since it is also used for the NP-marker [nan], in this case written as a separate word which in turn is not to be confused with *-ng = [ŋ]*, the bound allomorph of the linker *na*. A genuine problem with the standard orthography is the fact that glottal stops are not written. Glottal stops regularly occur before initial vowels and intervocically, i.e., *<tao>* ‘person’ is [t아o], *<aral>* ‘study’ is [아라로] and *<magaaral>* ‘will study’ is [ mga아라로]. As the last example shows, base-initial glottals are not dropped when prefixes are added. Although the phonemic status of these initial and intervocalic glottals is far from clear much recent writing on infixation in Tagalog assumes without any discussion that they are non-phonemic (e.g. Crowhurst 1998: 590 who misrepresents her older sources with regard to this point). Word-finally, the problem is further confounded by the fact that here final vowels (optionally followed by [h]) contrast with glottal stops. Thus, *<baga>* ‘glowing charcoal’ is [bاغاه], but *<baga>* ‘lungs’ is [باغاه]. Deviating from standard orthography a final glottal stop will be marked in this article by ‘<’.

Stress is also unmarked in standard orthography. Its analysis is somewhat controversial. Some authors (e.g. Schachter & Otanes 1972: 15–18; Wolff et al. 1991: 12) consider vowel length the primary phenomenon, while others consider vowel length an epiphenomenon of stress (cf. Bloomfield 1917: 141 f.; Matsuda French 1988: 63 f.). In this article, the latter view has been adopted, but since stress assignment in Tagalog is not fully understood, all remarks pertaining to this phenomenon must be regarded with caution. Stress clearly is phonemic in Tagalog, compare *bukas* ‘tomorrow’ and *bukás* ‘open’, and plays an important rôle in affixation (see 3.4). Bases with stress on the penultimate syllable are called barytone bases, those with stress on the final syllable oxytone bases. Primary stress on the penultimate syllable will remain unmarked (thus *bukas* for ‘tomorrow’), elsewhere it will be marked by the acute accent. The grave accent marks secondary stress.

Phonological rules of relevance to the present exposition are:

- /l/ often becomes /r/ intervocically;
- phrase-final vowels are followed by a weak glottal fricative (cf. [bagah] above);
- /l/ and /i/ in phrase-final syllables are lowered to [o] and [e], respectively;

2. Morphosyntax and parts of speech

Tagalog distinguishes between two parts of speech (Bloomfield 1917: 146): full words and function words (or particles). Some function
words mark morphosyntactic slots, then usually being proclitics. Others are second position clitics (these are not discussed here; see Schachter & Otanes 1972: 187–193, 433–435 and Kroeger 1993: 118–123, 152–154). Full words may be extensively affixed and occur in the limited set of morphosyntactic slots provided for by the function words. There are five morphosyntactic slots for full words in a Tagalog clause, four of which are illustrated by the following example:

(1) *i-nil-abót ng CV-RLS(UGR) within.reach GEN mán-g-go-gamót sa sundalo ang ilóg, AV-RDP médecine loc soldier SPEC egg at ang páré at siyá ay ná-p-hintáy and SPEC priest and 3SG PM RLS AV-wait ng sá-sabih-in ng sundalo. GEN RDP-SAY-PV GEN soldier

‘The physician handed the egg to the soldier, and the priest and he waited for what the physician would say.’

Except for the first word, all full words in this clause are preceded by a function word. The clause initial position is the predicate position, which is unmarked unless it is preceded by a topical constituent. In this case, the predicate is marked by the predicate marker *ay* ‘PM’, as in the second part of example (1). The other markers have the following functions:

*sa* is a general locative preposition marking oblique arguments and adjuncts. It is the final constituent of all of the more specific prepositions in Tagalog such as *hanggang sa* ‘until’ or *para sa* ‘for’.

*ang* is often called a topic (or a subject) marker in the literature. The notion of subject in Tagalog is highly controversial (cf. Schachter 1976; 1995; Drossard 1984: 73–78; Foley & van Valin 1984: 134–148; DeWolf 1988: 144–150; Kroeger 1993; Naylor 1995). The fact that *ang* by itself marks neither topics nor subjects is evident from clauses containing two *ang*-phrases:

(2) *ang* nga buhík lamang *ang* SPEC pl. hair only SPEC p<in>út-potol ng patalim <RLS(UGR)>RDP1-cut GEN blade ‘only the hair was cut by the blade’

In this example, the first *ang*-phrase functions as the predicate, the second as the predication base or subject (subject2, in the terminology of Matthews 1981: 104–113). Subjects in this sense have to be configurationally defined in Tagalog as the *ang*-phrase which occurs either after the predicate or before the predicate marker *ay*. But this does not yet clarify the function of *ang*.

Basically, the function of *ang* is similar to that of an article (the standard analysis in traditional Tagalog grammars, cf. Blake 1925: 205 f.). It is, however, not a definite article, but includes all kinds of referentially specific expressions (definite, specific-indefinite, generic; for details, see Adams & Manaster-Ramer 1988 and Himmelmann 1991; 8–16), and is therefore glossed as SPEC here.

*ng* [nan] ‘GEN’ marks genitive attributes. In the literature it is common to differentiate between *ng* marking non-topic agents, direct objects, instruments, manner, etc., but there is little empirical support for such distinctions (cf. Naylor 1980: 37–42).

The fifth morphosyntactic slot, not illustrated by examples (1) and (2), is constituted by the linker (or ligature) *na* ‘-ng after vowels, /nl/ or glottal stop). This particle links the elements of a modifying construction such as *ulól na unggo* ‘foolish CONN monkey’, but also occurs in compounds such as *puno-ng-saging* ‘tree-CONN-banana’ and in complement clauses (see Gonzales 1971). The order in modifying constructions is not fixed in Tagalog, thus *unggo-ng ulól* is equally possible for ‘foolish monkey’. The difference between the genitive marker *ng* and the linker pertains to referentiality as shown by the following ‘minimal pair’:

(3) (a) *bata-ng* dalaga child-CONN young.woman ‘girl’

(b) *bata* ‘ng dalaga child GEN young.woman ‘child of the young woman’

Full words are not formally differentiated with respect to the five morphosyntactic positions just illustrated. Any full word, regardless of its affixation, may occur in any position (provided its meaning is appropriate). That is, with regard to their syntactic distribution the large class of full words cannot be further divided into classes such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives (cf. Lemaréchal 1982; 1989; Himmelmann 1991; to appear; Gil 1993; Shkarban 1995; Naylor 1995; Art. 72). For example, the words *sásabihin* in (1) and *pinúputol* in (2) which are inflected for aspect and mood (see 4.2) and which are often called verbs, occur — without any further
derivation – in a ng- and an ang-phrase, respectively. Similarly, so-called nouns may occur underived in predicate position, e.g.

(4) Isá‘ ang pág-kain niyá.
   fish SPEC-GER-eat 3.SG.POSS
   ‘His meal was fish.’

A brief look at the list of affixes in Schachter & Otanes for what they call ‘nouns’ (1972:97–106), ‘adjectives’ (1972: 198 f.; 216–229), and ‘verbs’ (1972: 344–355) immediately reveals that a subclassification of full word bases on the basis of morphological evidence is also not a straightforward enterprise since basically the same set of affixes is involved in all these formations. Nevertheless, bases appear to differ in their morphological potential. A detailed study of the different morphological classes, however, still remains to be done (see Wolff 1993 and Himmelmann to appear for some preliminary suggestions).

There is no doubt that both unaffixed bases and affixed words differ in their semantics in that some denote actions, others things, yet others states, etc. A base such as *bili* clearly designates the action of buying, *babay* the entity ‘house’, *bago* the quality ‘new’. The distinction between these different kinds of concepts is sometimes grammatically marked by different stress patterns (cf. 3.4). It is not clear, however, whether these conceptual classes are in any way directly relevant to stating the (segmental) morphosyntactic regularities of Tagalog. Therefore, given the absence of clear-cut formal evidence for such categories, the terms for lexical categories such as noun, verb, adjective, etc. are avoided in this article and the terms action, entity, etc. are used whenever it is convenient to make reference to conceptual classes.

3. Formal processes

3.1. Affixation

The number of affixes in Tagalog is fairly small, but each of the major three affix categories is represented: there are two suffixes (-in and -an, see 4.1), two infixes (-in- and -an-, see 4.1 and 4.2), and about a dozen prefixes. Most of these affixes can be combined with each other so that a large number of complex formations results (Bloomfield 1917: 317–319 lists some 200 formations). This number is further increased by the fact that affixes may co-occur with other formal processes such as reduplication (see 3.3) and stress shifting (see 3.4).

Prefixes exhibit some word-like properties in that (with few exceptions) they (a) do not display any fusional characteristics (not even resyllabification takes place, which, however, is not surprising given the fact that all bases start with a consonant (cf. 1.2)), (b) mostly carry their own stress, and (c) may occasionally be used in isolation (cf. Bloomfield 1917: 213; Matsuda French 1988: 89 f.; Rubin 1998). Exceptions are, on the one hand, the prefixes (*-i* (4.1) and *ka-* (5.1), the first of which is never stressed and both of which are sometimes fused with the base, e.g. *ka-ibigan* ‘ass-like-LV (friend)’ is usually pronounced [kaybigan] rather than [ka'ibigan] (Bloomfield 1917: 139 f.).

The other exception is the prefix *pang-* (and related *mang- and *nang-*) where the prefix-final nasal regularly assimilates to, and sometimes substitutes for, the initial consonant of the base. This prefix-type is very common in western Austroasiatic languages and is often analysed as containing an archisegmental nasal (and then is represented as /paN-/). The assimilation and substitution regularities may be summarised as follows (for the semantics of this derivation, see 5.2):

- N is regularly deleted before base-initial nasals: *maN + manhid* → *manhamhid* ‘get numb’;
- N never substitutes for a glottal fricative or for glides: *maN + hiyá* → *mánghiyá* ‘humilate’, *maN + walás* → *mángwalás* ‘hit with a broom’, *maN + yari* → *mángyari* ‘happen’.

Voiceless obstruents (apart from the glottal fricative) are regularly substituted for: *maN + pili* → *mámili* ‘choose (several things)’, *maN + takot* → *mánakot* ‘frighten several people’, *maN + kabayò* → *mángabayò* ‘ride on horseback’, *maN + sakit* → *mánakit* ‘cause pain’. Glottal stop is sometimes not substituted for; the factors involved are unclear. In fact, two derivations are occasionally possible from the same base. Compare [mánjáso] ‘hunt with dogs’ with [máñjáso] ‘ridicule people’ (base aso ‘dog’).

- Voiced obstruents and the lateral are generally not substituted for: *maN + diyá* → *mándaya* ‘cheat people’ (but *maN + dikit* → *mánikit* ‘adhere’), *maN + gamóti* → *mánggamóti* ‘practice medicine’ (profes-
sionally) *maN + laɾó → måmlaɾó ‘amuse others’. For /b/ both options are common
and, in a few cases, possible for the same base. Thus from *bakya’t ‘wooden shoe’ it
is possible to derive either mambiakya’t
‘hit with a wooden shoe’ or måmbakyá’t
‘wear wooden shoes’.

In the derivation of so-called instrumental
adjectives substitution is said to be optional,
e.g. both pansuklây and panuklây mean ‘for
use in combing’ (Schachter & Otanes 1972:
218–221; 319 f.).

Suffixes exhibit regular fusional tendencies
in that the stem-final consonant (including
the optional [h] after vowel-final bases) is
regularly resyllabified with the suffix and the
base-final vowel is often syncopated, e.g. la-
kás + an → lak.san ‘strengthen (x)’, bili + in → bil.hin ‘buy (x)’ (cf. Matsuda French 1988:
12 f.). There are further sporadic irregulari-
ties such as tawán-an ‘laugh at (x)’ instead of
the expected *tawah-an, and tann-án ‘plant
in (x)’ instead of the expected ?tanim-án
or *tann-án (cf. Bloomfield 1917: 214;

Infixes are always inserted after the first
consonant of the base, e.g. b<um>ilí<AN>
buy’ from bili. All other formative pro-
cesses precede infixation, infixes thus also
occur in prefixes, e.g. p<ín>ág-tapati-án
‘<RLS(UGR)>GER-Fronting-LV (confided
to (x))’, and reduplicated syllables (cf. 3.3).
In formations involving the infix-in-
and stem-initial glides or liquids, the stem-initial
consonant and the nasal of the infix are usually
metathesized, thus *i-ninuto’ but ni-luto’
‘RLS(UGR)-cook’. With stem-final /w/ me-
tathesis is optional, for example, both ni-
wísik-án and w<ín>ísik-án for ‘RLS(UGR)-
spinkle-LV/<RLS(UGR)>spinkle-LV (spinkle
on (x))’. When co-occurring with the prefix
i- (i.e. [ʔi]), -in- is infixed into the following
syllable, e.g. i-b<ín>igáy ‘CV-<RLS(UGR)>
give’ from bigáy. In stems beginning with a
liquid, a glide or a glottal, metathesis again
regularly occurs, compare i-ň-hattí ‘CV-
RLS(UGR)-convey’ (*thinatid), i-ň-abóň [ʔi-ň-
?abóň] ‘CV-RLS (UGR)-within.reach’ (*i-ň-
abot).

3.2. Consonant alternation

A number of prefixes display regular alterna-
tion of the initial consonant (cf. de Guzman
1978: chapter 3.3): the /p/-initial form is the
basic form (used as gerund (4.3) or imperative), /n/ marks non-realis and /t/ realis (cf.
4.2). Examples are paq-lnag-lnag-, paN-l
maN-InaN-, pak-i-nuki-inuki-. The alterna-
tion between the two nasal forms also occurs
with the static or potentive prefix (ma-Na-
, cf. 5.1), but here no /p/-initial basic form ex-
sts. Furthermore, a small number of /p/-ini-
tial bases (which probably contain a fossilised
prefix) exhibits this alternation, e.g. pakinig
makinig nakinig ‘listen’, panood manood na-
noód ‘watch’. This alternation probably de-
veloped from infixed formations by clipping the
first (unstressed) syllable. Thus, mag-
probably derives from *pumag- and nag-
from *pinag-. Note, however, that pinag-
is still a productive formative, i.e. the RLS
(UGR) form of pag-derived stems (cf. 5.2).

3.3. Reduplication

There are three kinds of reduplication
processes in Tagalog. In two of these processes
the first consonant and vowel of the base are
copied (CV-reduplication). The two processes
differ with regard to the fact that in one the
reduplicated syllable is assigned stress (RDP1),
and in the other it is not (RDP2): mang-gà-
gamòt ‘will practice medicine’ vs. màng-gà-
gamò (or mànggagamòt) ‘one who makes
cures, physician’. If a base starts with a con-
sonant cluster, only the first consonant is
copied, cf. trava‰o ‘work’ → mag-tà-trabaho
‘will work’.

The third process consists in copying the
first two syllables of the base (RDP3). In the
case of disyllabic bases, the complete base is
copied, e.g. lakad ‘walk’ → mag-lakàd-lakàd
(RDP, with stress shift) ‘do a little walking’,
mura ‘cheap’ → mura-mura ‘rather cheap’. In
the case of bases containing more than two
syllables, the second syllable is copied only up
to its peak, which is then assigned secondary
stress, viz. tahímik ‘peaceful’ → tah-tahímik
‘rather peaceful’, balukàd ‘crooked’ → balî-
balukàd ‘variously bent’. RDP1 and RDP3
generally apply to bases only, while RDP1 freely
applies to prefixes as well (see below).

Each type of reduplication may occur only
once in a derivation but different types
may be combined with each other, as will be seen
shortly.

Tagalog reduplication phenomena have
figured prominently in the discussion of the
status of reduplication (cf. Art. 57) as well as
the related issues concerning the boundaries
between morphology and phonology and the
internal structure of the morphological com-
479; Carrier-Duncan 1984; Matsuda French
1988: 19–61). The argument is concerned with the interrelation of (regular) affixation and reduplication. The Tagalog evidence, however, seems inconclusive in this regard. The following is a (partial) list of the relevant phenomena:

- Formations involving nasal substitution (cf. 3.1) suggest that allomorphy rules precede reduplication, e.g. maN + rdp1 + putol → mamimutol ‘will cut (a lot)’.

- Infixation, on the other hand, seems to follow reduplication (cf. Matsuda French 1988: 38), i.e., puniputol ‘cut’ seems to be derived from papisutol, otherwise one would expect *pypumutol.

- In formations involving polysyllabic prefixes or a combination of prefixes, it is usually the second syllable of the prefix that is reduplicated (by rdp1, receiving word level stress, cf. Matsuda French 1988: 44–52), viz. mag + pa + putol → maggákapatutol ‘will cause to cut’, maka + putol → makákapatutol ‘will be able to cut’, or maka + pag + pa + putol → makákapágapputol ‘will be able to cause to be cut’. A general exception to this regularity are formations involving the prefix i-, which is never reduplicated and does not count in determining the second syllable, cf. ma + i + pag + luto → maipàpagluto ‘will be able to cook for (x)’ and i + paki + pa + putol → ipákikaputol ‘will be asked to be caused to be cut’. In several instances, however, either the second syllable of the prefix or the first syllable of the base may be reduplicated, an example being makapistutol ‘will be able to cut’ which alternates with the form makákapatutol just mentioned (for more examples, cf. chart in Schachter & Otanes 1972: 369). This raises the problem of where to place rdp1-reduplication in the derivation of these complex formations.

- The relation of suffixation and rdp3 is also problematic. In some cases suffixation (and the related morphonological processes) clearly apply before rdp3: tingin + an → tingnin ‘look at (x)’ → ting nin-tingnin ‘look at (x) a little’. In other cases, it is the other way around: sakit → sakit-sakit → magsakit-sakitan ‘pretend to be sick’. If suffixation preceded rdp3, “magsakitsakitan would be expected (tri-syllabic base), cf. mag + salitá + an → magsalí-salitaan ‘talk a little to each other’.

- rdp1 and rdp2 may co-occur. In this case either rdp3 precedes rdp1, e.g. magsák-sakit-sakitan ‘will pretend to be sick’ and magsásali-salitaan ‘will talk a little to each other’, or they may apply simultaneously (at different locations), viz. mag + pa + ka + ingat → magpapakingat-ingat ‘will be extremely careful’. Carrier-Duncan (1984: 269) claims that there are also cases where rdp3 precedes rdp1: mag + kaN + punit → magkámpununit ‘will tear spontaneously’ → magkámpuni-pununit ‘will (intensively) tear spontaneously’.

3.4. Stress shift

Both primary and secondary stress assignment in Tagalog may be connected with a variation in meaning and this assignment is at least partially independent of segmental processes (cf., for example, the difference between rdp1 and rdp2, mentioned in 3.3). The data, however, are not clear, since most sources (apart from Bloomfield 1917 and Wolff et al. 1991) do not mark stress consistently (cf. 1.2). Two examples are given to illustrate the possibilities and complexities involved.

There is a substantial number of bases which differ only with respect to stress and which are clearly semantically related (unlike the pair bukas ‘tomorrow’/bukás ‘open’ mentioned in 1.2). Examples include abót ‘over-take’ vs. abót ‘within reach, reach for, pass’, alam ‘knowledge’ vs. álám ‘known’, buháy ‘live, life’ vs. buháy ‘alive’, bunot ‘pull out’ vs. bunót ‘pull out a lot/repeatedly’, isip ‘think, thought’ vs. insip ‘think hard/with deliberation’, lakad ‘walk’ vs. lakád ‘on foot, barefooted’, tulog ‘sleep’ vs. tulóg ‘asleep’ (cf. Bloomfield 1917: 215 f.). Wollenden (1961: 12) characterises the meaning shifts involved as (a) accomplishment (resultative) or (b) intensification. While resultative pairs are widely attested, it is unclear whether the much more sporadic pairs not belonging to this type can all be subsumed under ‘intensification’ as the handful examples just given should make clear.

The complex interaction of stress assignment and affixation is illustrated by the suffix

XVI. Systeme morphologischer Struktur: Sprachskizzen
-an (cf. Bloomfield 1917: 250–262). If this suffix marks locative voice (cf. 4.1), primary stress usually shifts one syllable to the right (i.e. to the ultimate or penultimate syllable of the derived word). Examples are tāwag ‘call’ → tawag-an ‘call (x)’, gupit ‘cut (with scissors)’ → gupitan ‘cut the hair of (x)’, bili ‘buy’ → bilihan ‘buy from (x)’, sama ‘go along, accompany’ → samahan ‘accompany (x)’. If -an derives expressions denoting either a collective action or the place where something (an entity or an action) is located, stress in oxytone bases remains on the same syllable as in the underived word: iyak ‘cry, weep’ → iyakan ‘a crying of many’, ‘buy’ → bilihan ‘place where to buy, market’, aklat ‘book’ → aklatan ‘library’, litsón ‘a roast pig’ → litsúnan ‘place to roast pigs or a barbecue (= roast-pig party)’. For barytone bases there are two possibilities: either stress shifts one syllable to the right (to the penultimate syllable of the derived word), which is often accompanied by secondary stress on the first syllable of the derived word, e.g. sáman ‘a going together of many, company’, or it is shifted to the ultimate syllable of the derived word (i.e., the suffix is stressed), e.g. bása ‘read’ → basahan ‘a reading-room, library’ (vs. basahan ‘read sth. to (x)’), labhan ‘contrary, fight’ → labánan ‘a fighting of many, battle, war’ (vs. labánan ‘fight/oppose (x)’). Stress shift to the penultimate syllable of the derived word is used (with very few exceptions) for collective action expressions, while stress shift to the suffix is more commonly (though by no means exclusively) used for ‘place where derivations’. Note that these are only regularities; differences in meaning are not always accompanied by formal differences, e.g. dílo ‘end’ → didihan ‘terminate (x)’ (locative voice), but also ‘end part, back yard’ (‘place where’; cf. Bloomfield 1917: 261) who lists a number of words which formally appear to be locative voice derivations, but the meaning of which does not fit this categorisation).

4. Voice, aspect, and mood

Tagalog and the other Philippine languages are most famous for a phenomenon variously called voice, orientation, case marking on the verb (cf. Blake 1906; Ramos 1974), or ‘focus’, a term introduced in the late 1950s to underscore the exceptional nature of the phenomenon (cf. Llamzon 1973: 168). The last term is widely used to refer to the pragmatic phenomenon of highlighting new or contrastive information. ‘Focus’-affixes in Philippine languages do not have such a highlighting function. The participant ‘focussed’ on by these affixes is usually given information and often remains unexpressed. Therefore, this term is avoided here. Instead, voice is chosen because it is the least misleading term (see 4.1).


4.1. Voice

Tagalog predicate expressions usually display a voice affix that indicates the semantic rôle of one of the participants involved in the state of affairs denoted by the predicate. There are four such affixes, as illustrated by the following examples:

(5) t<um>angó’ ang umggó’
<AV> nod’ spec monkey
‘the monkey nodded in assent’

(6) dikdik-in siyá sa lusóng
crush-pv 3.sg.loc mortar
‘(that) he (i.e., the turtle) be crushed in a mortar’

(7) hulug-an mo akó!
drop-lv 2.sg.poss 1.sg
‘drop me (some)’

(8) kung i-tá-tanim niyá ang
if CV-RDP1-plant 3.sg.poss spec
kaniyá-ng ka-parte
DAT.3.sg-CONN ass-part
‘if he would plant his part (for him)’

As briefly shown in 2, the NP-markers ang and ng in Tagalog do not signal semantic rôles. Rather, the voice affixes indicate the semantic rôle of the participant which appears in the ang-phrase (siyá in (6) and akó in (7) are ang-forms of the pronoun). Thus, the infix -um- in (5) indicates that it is the monkey who does the nodding, and in (6) the suffix
-in indicates that the turtle is going to be the undergoer of the crushing (rather than the actor), etc.

Before discussing some of the more remarkable features of this voice marking system in more detail, it should be noted that the actor voice marking infix -um- does not only occur in clauses with a subject which is in full control of an action. It is also used for subjects which are involved in a process, as in p<um>ulà ‘become red’ or l<um>ì-la-tang ‘be floating’. Furthermore, it occurs in subject-less expressions for natural events such as um-àlan ‘rain’ or l<um>indîl ‘earthquake’.

In addition to -um-, the prefix mag- (realis nag-) also marks actor voice, cf. nag-là-laro’ silà ‘RLS.AV-RODIP,-play 3.PL (they are playing)’. Following de Guzman (1978: chapter 3), this prefix is analysed here as involving the prefix pag- used in gerund formation (see 4.3), actor voice (and mood) being signalled by consonant alternation (cf. 3.2). The difference between the two actor voice affixes is further commented upon in 5.2.

One of the remarkable features of voice marking in Tagalog, which sets it apart from voice marking systems in many other languages, is the fact that both actor as well as undergoer voices involve overt morphological marking, while in languages such as English only undergoer orientation (passive) is explicitly marked. In other words, actor voice and undergoer voice are equally marked in Tagalog (at least in morphological terms).

Another peculiarity is the fact that there is not only one affix for undergoer orientation. Instead, three different ways in which the undergoer may be involved in a given state of affairs are distinguished:

- in (patient voice) indicates a directly affected undergoer, such as the turtle in (6), the hair in (2), or itò in inum-in mo itò ‘drink-PV 2.SG.POSS PROX (drink this)’.

- an (locative voice) is used for recipients (see (7)), addressees, beneficiaries, and the location where an action takes place, e.g.:

(9) ni-lakar-an ko ang RLS(UGR)-WALK-LV 1.SG.POSS SPEC ma-bato-ng kalye STAT-stone-CONN street

‘I walked on a stony road’

More generally, it is used for indirect undergoers, i.e. undergoers which are not directly affected by the action denoted by the predicate, as in inum-àn mo itò ‘drink-LV 2.SG.POSS PROX (drink from/some of this)’ or baks-àn mo ang pintò ‘open-LV 2.SG.POSS SPEC door (open the door)’.

- i- (conveyance voice) indicates an undergoer that is moved (a displaced theme), such as the egg in (1) or one half of the banana tree in (8). It is also used for the instrumental rôle, instruments thus being conceived of as moving undergoers:

(10) Ang itàk ay i-p<in>ùtol SPEC bolo PM CV-<RLS(UGR)>cut ko ng saging,
1.SG.POSS GEN banana ‘I cut bananas with the bolo.’

Furthermore, i- may also indicate the beneficiary of an action with a few bases (e.g. i-bili ‘buy for (x)’), a usage not easily accounted for by any of the analyses proposed for this prefix (cf. Himmelmann 1987: 103–22, 139 f.).

A third cross-linguistically remarkable feature of the voice affixes is that they may be applied to all kinds of bases without any further derivation. That is, the above affixes cannot only be attached to bases denoting actions but also to ones denoting things (e.g. batò ‘stone’ → batuh-in ‘throw stones at (x)’), masses (e.g. tubig ‘water’ → tubig-an ‘add water to (x)’), states (e.g. bago ‘new’ → baguh-in ‘change (x)’ or i-bago ‘move (x) to another position’), or animate beings (e.g. langgàm ‘ant’ → langgam-in ‘be infested with ants’). Of course, the derivational possibilities depend on the semantic compatibility of base and affix, and thus are more restricted with regard to, for example, expressions for human beings than for action expressions.

It is common to treat voice with respect to action expressions as inflection, and voice with regard to non-action expressions as derivation. There is, however, no formal evidence to support this distinction. On the contrary, the analysis of voice as inflection leads to extremely complex systems of ‘verb’ classes in Tagalog. That there is little clear-cut evidence for such classifications is shown by the fact that the proposed classifications differ extremely. Blake (1925), for example, proposes 17 classes, de Guzman (1978) about 80 (cf. Himmelmann 1987: 69, 129–145). The main empirical observation here is that there is no simple classification for action expressions...
with regard to their voice marking. In particular, there are no productive inflectional paradigms for voice, as suggested by the commonly used ‘paradigmatic’ examples in the literature. Instead, derivations from all kinds bases are only partially predictable on the basis of their semantics and exhibit a large number of idiosyncrasies, which again suggests derivation rather than inflection. See McFarland (1976) and Ramos & Bautista (1986) for instructive surveys of those derivations which are actually attested for a given action base (see also Art. 38).

With regard to the three features just mentioned, Tagalog voice marking has much in common with nominalising morphology in other languages. Like much of the morphology used for deriving nouns (or, in many languages, particles) from verbs, the voice affixes change the orientation of a given base in such a way that it may be used to refer to

entities. The major possibilities pertaining to the base (both base and derived word are full entities. The major possibilities pertaining to the base (both base and derived word are full

entities. The major possibilities pertaining to the base (both base and derived word are full

entities. The major possibilities pertaining to the base (both base and derived word are full

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entities. The major possibilities pertaining to the base (both base and derived word are full

entities. The major possibilities pertaining to the base (both base and derived word are full

entities. The major possibilities pertaining to the base (both base and derived word are full
a few exceptions not dealt with here, the contexts of use for each form are the same regardless of the meaning of the base. Thus, NON.RLS/IPFV (also called basic form; cf. Schachter & Otanes 1972: 66 f.) is used in hypothetical and complement clauses and in commands (cf. (6) and (7)), NON.RLS/IPFV (Schachter & Otanes' contemplated aspect) is used for future events (cf. (8)), RLS/IPFV (Schachter & Otanes' perfective aspect) and RLS/IPFV (Schachter & Otanes' imperfective aspect) for past and present events, respectively (see illustrative text in 6).

In addition, there is a recent perfective formation (with prefix ka- + RDP1) which involves no voice marking and does not allow for subjects (ang-phrases). Hence, all participant expressions are either genitive or locative marked:

(11) Ka-làlarò ko pa
RECENT.PVF-RDP1-play 1.SG.POSS still
lamang sa bata.
only LOC child
‘I have just finished playing with the child.’

As may be immediately observable there are some asymmetries in the paradigms in Tab. 136.1. Strictly speaking, the realis patient voice forms do not have a marker for voice and, similarly, there is also no marker for actor voice in the NON.RLS/IPFV form of the um-paradigm. These asymmetries are probably relevant for unravelling the diachronic development of the voice marking system. Their relevance for the synchronic analysis of the system is still in need of further exploration (see Himmelmann 1987: 157–171; Blake 1988: 79 f. for some discussion). In this regard it may be noted that although most action expressions in Tagalog are voice and hence also aspect-mood marked, it is possible to use bases denoting actions without further affixation. In such uses action bases may be semantically undergoer oriented (often with a resultative connotation). For example, in (11) an-
tày could be replaced with the patient voice form inanta’y.

(12) Antày ko ang sagòt mo.
wait 1.SG.POSS SPEC answer 2.SG.POSS
‘I wait for/expect your answer.’

But unaffixed bases may also occur in imperatives with actor orientation, e.g. hintày ka ‘you wait’ (which could also be rendered with nag-hintày ka), and for denoting a state of affairs without orientation:

(13) Iyàk ang sagòt niyà sa akin.
cry SPEC answer 3.SG.POSS LOC DAT 1.SG.
‘His answer to me was crying/to cry.’

In this last usage, unaffixed bases are similar to gerunds, to which we now turn.

4.3. Gerunds

For bases denoting a state of affairs it is possible to derive a form which is neither voice marked nor aspectually and modally inflected. This is done by prefixing pag- to the base according to the following correspondence rules which hold between actor voice and gerundial forms (cf. Schachter & Otanes 1972: 160):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTOR VOICE</th>
<th>GERUND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-um-</td>
<td>pag-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mag-</td>
<td>pag-RDP2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mang-</td>
<td>paN-RDP2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tab. 136.2: Gerund formation

Gerunds are further derivable from stative expressions (cf. 5.1, prefix ma-: is substituted by pagka-) and joint action expressions (cf. 5.2, prefix maki-: replaced by pakiki-). In general, gerunds may not be used in predicate position, since they are not oriented towards one of the participants of the state of affairs denoted. Only in a clause such as pàg-là-làto’ ng pagkain ang trabaho niyà ‘GER-RDP1-cook food SPEC work 3.SG.POSS (his job is
cooking food) may a gerund be used predicatively (pagkain – which may also mean ‘eating’) – is a semantically specialised gerund from kain ‘eat’. Gerunds are most commonly used in noun phrases, e.g. na-umpisà ng pag-si-sigàw ‘RLS.AV-begin GEN GER-RDP2-shout (the turtle) began shouting/to shout’) and nang-galing sa pag-su-sugàl niyà ‘RLS.AV-come.from LOC GER-RDP-gamble 3.SG.POSS ((this) is due to his gambling)’, or in subordinate clauses (usually with a temporal meaning) pag-balìk ni Gabby sa Pilipinas ‘GER-return GEN.PN Gabby LOC Philippines (when Gabby returned to the Philippines ...’). As shown by the preceding examples, all participants involved in the state of affairs denoted by a gerund have to be expressed in genitive or locative phrases. A special perfective form of the gerund indicates that the event took place before that of the main clause. It involves the prefix ka- (which may be optionally reduplicated) following the general gerund formatives mentioned above (cf. Schachter & Otanes 1972: 161). Compare pag-punta ‘going’ with pag-(ka)-ka-punta ‘having gone’. Gerunds may become the basis for further derivations involving voice, aspect, and mood (see 5.2). Formations with paN- without reduplication regularly denote instruments used in the state of affairs denoted by the base, e.g. pà-mutol ‘cutting instrument’ (< putol ‘cut’), pànghampàs ‘a whip’ (< hampàs ‘whip’), pàngkapè ‘means for buying coffee’, etc. (cf. Bloomfield 1917: 224 f.).

5. Actor involvement

Although much less widely discussed, Tagalog morphology concerning the way an actor is involved in a given state of affairs is even more elaborate than the voice morphology. The basic split here is that between dynamic and stative or potentive formations (for statives see also Drossard 1984: 64–72). The dynamic forms are morphologically unmarked and have been dealt with in 4. That is, an action expression marked for voice (and aspect and mood) generally implies a volitional actor who is in full control of the action (the major exception being some expressions for processes marked with -an briefly mentioned in 4.1).

5.1. Stative and potentive

States of affairs which do not involve a controlling actor are expressed by a related but different set of formations. Two different scenarios have to be distinguished here. On the one hand, the state of affairs may be such that it excludes the involvement of an actor for principled conceptual reasons. This is typically the case for stative expressions such as ‘be hungry’, ‘be angry’, ‘be adrift’, and the like. On the other hand, the state of affairs may be such that in principle it allows for controlling actors but in the specific instance at hand the conceptually possible controlling actor is not in full control of the event. This is the case when someone happens to do something without having the intention to do it. Formations expressing this second possibility are called potentive.

A completely regular correspondence exists between dynamic and potentive formations. That is, for each dynamic form there is a corresponding potentive form. The major potentive formatives are maka- for actor voice and ma- for the undergoer voices. For details compare Tab. 136.1 with Tab. 136.3.

The typical use of potentive form is for involuntary actions:

(14) Biglá niyà-ng
    sudden 3.SG.POSS-CONN
    nà-bíkàs
    iyón: RLS.POT.PV-enunciation DIST
    ‘(Terrified) she suddenly exclaimed this: ...’

This includes actions done accidentally, i.e. the actor may be in control of the action but did not really intend its outcome:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AV('buy')</th>
<th>AV('sell')</th>
<th>PV</th>
<th>LV</th>
<th>CV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NON.RLS/PPV</td>
<td>maka-bili</td>
<td>maka-pagbili</td>
<td>ma-bili</td>
<td>ma-bihil-án</td>
<td>ma-i-bili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON.RLS/PPV</td>
<td>maka-bibili</td>
<td>maka-pagbibíli</td>
<td>ma-bíli</td>
<td>ma-bihil-án</td>
<td>ma-i-bíli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RLS/PPV</td>
<td>maka-bibili</td>
<td>maka-pagbili</td>
<td>na-bíli</td>
<td>na-bihil-án</td>
<td>na-i-bíli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RLS/PPV</td>
<td>maka-bibili</td>
<td>maka-pagbibíli</td>
<td>na-bíli</td>
<td>na-bihil-án</td>
<td>na-i-bíli</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tab. 136.3: Potentive aspect/mood paradigms for bili ‘purchase, sale’
Tab. 136.4: Voice and aspect/mood paradigms for stative bases (base galit ‘anger’)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NON.RLS/PFV</th>
<th>NON.RLS/IPFV</th>
<th>RLS/PFV</th>
<th>RLS/IPFV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-galit</td>
<td>ma-gałalit</td>
<td>na-galit</td>
<td>na-gałalit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-galit-an</td>
<td>ka-gałalit-an</td>
<td>kina-galit-an</td>
<td>kina-gałalit-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-ka-galit</td>
<td>i-ka-gałalit</td>
<td>i-ka-galit-an</td>
<td>i-ka-gałalit-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maka-galit</td>
<td>maka-gałalit</td>
<td>naka-galit</td>
<td>naka-gałalit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(15) Na-ᵰ-luto ko na.
     RLS.POT.CV-cooked 1.SG.POSS now
     ‘I happen to have cooked it already (by mistake).’

(16) doón aya nà-kita nilà
     DIST.LOC PM RLS.POT.PV-see 3.PL.Poss
     ang isa-ng ma-laki-ng ligante
     SPEC ONE-CONN STAT-SIZE-CONN giant
     ‘there they saw a great giant ...’

(17) kung inyóng
     kung inyó-ng
     if 2.PL.DAT-CONN
     mapagtíisán iyín
     POT.GER-SUFFER-LV that
     ‘if you are able to endure this ...’

(18) at hindi makabaríl sa kanyá.
     at hindi maka-baríl sa kanyá
     and NEG POT.AV-GUN LOC 3.SG.DAT
     ‘(The man got bitten by the ants) and wasn’t able to shoot at him.’

Turning now to stative expressions, these also come in four different voices, two of which are formally identical to the potenti- ve forms. Because of the formal similarities, the same labels have been chosen here for glossing these stative voices. However, their syntax and semantics differ quite clearly from the potenti- ve formations so that the labels are not really indicative of their functions.

In the basic voice form for statives, which is simply called stative here, the subject is a theme, i.e. an entity which is in, or currently is undergoing, a given state. The forms are identical to the patient voice forms of the potenti- ve paradigm, i.e. base plus prefix ma-.

The forms of the stative actor voice are morphologically identical to the potenti- ve actor voice forms, i.e. base plus maka-. The stative locative and conveyance voices are marked by the prefix ka- to which the basic voice af- fixes -an and i-, respectively, are added. See Tab. 136.4 for an overview of the forms.

The only really productive formation is the basic stative formation. Almost every Taga- log content word base can be prefixed with ma- and then expresses a state:

(19) na-galit siyá
     RLS.STAT-anger 3.SG
     ‘she was/got angry’

With bases such as basag ‘crack, break’, which allow both a state and an action reading, the form nabasag is ambiguous: It can mean ‘be in a broken state’ (stative) or ‘hap- pen to break/able to break’ (potenti- ve patient voice). In context, these readings are gen- erally distinguished by the presence of an overt actor expression in the potenti- ve use (nabasag niyá ‘s/he happened to break it/was able to break it’).

The stative locative voice is common with bases expressing emotions. The subject ex- presses the person or thing at which the emo- tion is directed:

(20) kinagalitan siyá ng
     in-ka-galit-an siyá ng
     RLS(UGR)-STAT-ANGER-LV 3.SG GEN
     Nanay
     ‘mother was angry with him/her’

Frequently, stative locative voice derivations take on some more specialised meanings. Thus, kagalitan also means ‘to reprove, to scold, to rebuke’. In addition, stative locative voice derivations are possible with a (rela- tively small) number of stative expressions which do not pertain to emotions. They then denote the place at which a given state occurs (e.g. ka-matay-an ‘place where someone died’, ka-hulug-an ‘place where someone falls’).
The stative conveyance voice is also most common with bases expressing emotions. Stative conveyance voice formations always have the connotation of causation, that is, the subject specifies the reason for the emotion:

(21) ikinagalí t niyá akó
     i-in-ka-galí t niyá akó
CV-RLS(UGR)-STAT-anger 3.SG.POSS 1.SG
'she got angry at me (I was the reason for her being angry)'

The stative conveyance voice is found with a somewhat broader range of bases than the stative locative voice (i.e. the one who experiences an emotion) is grammatically coded as a genitive argument. In the stative conveyance voice formations, the theme argument (i.e. the one who experiences an emotion in the case of emotions) is grammatically coded as a genitive argument. In the stative actor voice construction it is a locative argument:

(22) lahát ng kanyáng sabihín
     lahát ng kanyáng sabí-in
all  GEN 3.SG.DATE-CONN statement-PV
av nakagigalí
av naka-RLS-1-anger
LOC akin
1.SG.DATE
'everything he says irritates me'

The subject expression in the stative actor voice construction usually refers to an animate cause (some state of affairs or a thing). With regard to productivity, the stative actor voice forms are the least common of all stative constructions and whenever they occur they are often taken on somewhat specialised meanings (thus makagalí t is 'irritate, antagonise, give offence' rather than a plain 'make angry'). Furthermore, the stative actor voice derivations are often conventionalised in one of the four aspect/mood forms, for example, naka-áwáva 'arousing pity, pitiable' (< awa 'mercy, compassion'), nakákà-lító (or naka-lító) 'confusing' (< litó 'confused, at a loss'), or nakákà-gáná (or naka-gáná) 'beautifying' (< gáná 'beauty').

5.2. Further modes of actor involvement
The following prefixes mark further modes of actor involvement:

- pa- is a causative prefix and compatible with all voice affixes (see McFarland 1984 for ample exemplification and discussion). Actor voice is used when the causer is the subject, patient voice when the causee is the subject, e.g. p<in>a-tálín niyá itó '<RLS(UGR)>CAUS-sharp 3.SG.POSS PROX (he made this sharp)' and pa-patul-in mo si Huán ng kugon 'CAUS-cut-PV 2.SG.POSS PN Juan gen.species.of. grass (have Juan cut the cugon-weeds)'. Patient voice in non-causative constructions becomes conveyance voice in causative ones. Compare the following two examples:

(23) Nánakaw-in ba natin
     RDP-1-nakaw-in ba natin
     RDP1-stealing-PV INT 1.PLF.Poss
ang bangkáy ni Andrea?
ang bangkáy ni Andrea
SPEC corpse GEN.PN Andrea
'Will we steal Andrea’s corpse?'

(24) Ipinánakaw ba ulí'
     i-pa-RDP-nakaw ba ulí'
     CV-CAUS-RDP1-stealing INT again
sa atin ang bangkáy
sa atin ang bangkáy
LOC 1.PLF.DAT SPEC corpse
ni Andrea?
ni Andrea
GEN.PN Andrea
'Is (he) asking us to steal Andrea’s corpse again?'

- paki- indicates that the actor joins an on-going action (sociative). It may also be used to make a polite request or to indicate that something is done as a favour. Next to actor voice maki-, all undergoer voices are possible, for example:

(25) i-p<in>a-ki-húlog ni
     CV-<RLS(UGR)>SOCIAT-fall GEN.PN
Pedro ang aki ng sulat
Pedro SPEC DAT.1.SG.DATE letter
'Pedro mailed my letter (along with his)'
Further differences in the conceptualisation of an action are indicated by the prefixes pag- and paN-. As illustrated in 4.3, these prefixes are used to derive gerunds. Such gerunds, which do not have an inherent orientation, are also compatible with voice affixes. Thus, contrasting sets such as the following occur: pag-utol ‘cut’, mag-putol ‘cut several things’, mamutol ‘cut selectively or in quantity’. Similar contrasts involving undergoer voices are rare (an example is tapakan ‘step on’ vs. pag-tapatakan ‘step on repeatedly’). The use of voice marked paN-derivatives is not very common and generally indicates intensive, distributive or repeated action, e.g. bumili ‘buy’ vs. nambil ‘shop’, humampa’s ‘hit with a whip’ vs. mangampás ‘whip people, go whipping’.

The major contrast is the one between -um- and mag- (cf. Blake 1925: 248 f.; Lopez 1937: 46–49; Pittman 1966; Schachter & Otanes 1972: 292 f.; Drossard 1984: 87–92; Himmelmann 1987: 185–188). Often mag-indicates the greater frequency or intensity of an action, cf. bunasa ‘read’ vs. magbasa ‘to read a lot/study’. A similar formation, i.e. the prefixing of mag- plus RDP₂, is possible in principle for any base to indicate intensive or repeated action (cf. Schachter & Otanes 1972: 337 f.; Bloomfield 1917: 237–239) specifies stress shifts which may also occur). mag- and -um- may even co-occur to indicate a high degree of intensity, cf. mág-un-aral ‘study diligently’ or mag-s-un-igaw ‘shout (long and very loud)’. In other instances, the contrast seems to pertain to transitivity: t<um>ayó’ kami ‘<AV>stand.upright 1.PE (we stood up)’ vs. nag-tayo’ kami ng bahay ‘<RLS-AV-stand.upright 1.PE GEN house (we erected a house)’. Note that in the corresponding undergoer voices no pag- appears: i-t<in>ayó’ niyá ang bahay ‘<CV-<RLS(UGR)>stand.upright 3.SG.POSS SPEC house (he erected the house)’. In this type of example, the base denotes some kind of position or motion, and the um-form denotes an actor who moves himself, the mag-form an actor who moves something. A similar contrast exists with respect to bases denoting qualities, e.g. um-init ‘become/get hot’ vs. mag-init ‘make hot, heat’.

Apart from such contrasting sets there are also several bases which only allow voice marking for pag-derived stems. For example, from bawal ‘prohibited’ neither *humawal nor *bawal may be derived, but only magbawal and ipagbawal. These bases do not display a common semantic or phonological feature. Other examples are bilin ‘order, instruction’, kanuló ‘betrayal’, lingkód ‘servant’, etc. (cf. McFarland 1976 Appendix II; Himmelmann 1987: 151). Another group of bases – which again does not exhibit a common denominator – allows actor orientation only with mag-, while undergoer orientation is possible without prior derivation. For example, from luto’ ‘cook *humuto’ may not be derived but only magluto’, while the undergoer voice form is simply iluto’ or lutu’in. Other bases belonging to this group are dasal ‘prayer’, hugas ‘wash’, putas ‘wipe off’, libing ‘burial’, bayad ‘payment’, kahoy ‘wood’, habád ‘naked’, etc. (cf. Himmelmann 1987: 179 f.).

6. Illustrative text

The standard Tagalog orthography is used with the modifications noted in 1.2.

iyá-ng unggó' at i-ní-alay
3.SG.Poss-Conn monkey and CV-RLS(UGR)-offer

niyá ang ka-putol ng
3.SG.Poss Spec Ass-cut Gen

puno-ng-saging kung i-tá-tanim
tree-Conn-banana if CV-RDP₁-plant
niyá ang kaniyá-ang ka-parte.
3.SG.Poss Spec Dat.3.SG-Conn Ass-part

T<um>ang'ó ang unggó' at
<AV> nod Spec monkey and

h<in> át' nilá sa gitná' mulá'<
<RLS(UGR)> divide 3.PL.Poss Loc middle begin
sa mag-káhíláng dulo ang puno ng
Loc Av-Other Side-Conn end Spec tree Gen
saging. In-angkin ng unggó' banana RLS(UGR)-appropriate Gen monkey
ang ka-putol na may mga dahan,
Spec Ass-cut Conn exist pl. leaf
dahil sa panukala' niyá na iyón
cause Loc plan 3.SG.Poss Conn Dist
ay tu-ťuko' na ma-hutí kaysa
PM RDP₁-grow Conn Stat-good than
ka-putol na wala-ng dahan.
Spec-cut Conn Neg.exist-Conn leaf

Nang maka-raín ang iláng araw,
when Av.Stat-way Spec Some:Conn day
ang puno ng unggó' ay namatáy,
Spec tree Gen monkey PM RLS.Stat:dead
yamang ang sa pagóng ay <um><ubo>
whereas Spec Loc turtle PM <AV><grow
hanggang sa maq-hunga. Ang mga saging
until Loc Av-Fruit Spec PL banana
ay na-hínó', dátapwát hindí
PM RLS.Stat:Ripe but NEG

ma-akyát ng pagóng. Dahil ditó
PM PV-climb Gen turtle cause Loc-Prox
1<in> awag niyá ang kaniyá-ng
<RLS(UGR)> call 3.SG.Poss Spec Dat.3.SG-Conn
ka-ìbag-ang unggó' at
ASS-like-LV monkey and

i-ní-alay niyá ang ila-ng
CV-RLS(UGR)-offer 3.SG.Poss Spec few-Conn
bunta ng saging kung ã-akyat-in
fruit Gen banana if RDP₁-climb-PV
niyá ang puno'. Ang unggó' ay
3.SG.Poss Spec tree Spec monkey PM
um-akyát at k<um><ain ng mákákaya.
Av-climb and <AV> eat Gen utmost

S<in> abi ng pagóng: "Hulug-an
<RLS(UGR)> say Gen turtle drop-LV
mo akó." Dátapwát
2.SG.Poss 1.SG but
i-s<in><agót ng unggó':
CV-<RLS(UGR)> answer Gen monkey

"Balát man at ma-linamnám ay
Skin though and Stat-delicious PM
hindi kitá hu-hulug-an." Ang
NEG 1.SG.Poss:2.SG RDP₁-drop-LV Spec
pagóng ay na-galít at naq-sabug
turtle PM RLS.Stat:angry and RLS.Av-scatter
niyá ng tinik sa paligid ng
3.SG Gen spine Loc Surroundings Gen
puno'. Nang l<um> úksó ang unggó' tree when <AV> jump Spec monkey
na-tinik siyá. P<in>ág-bintang-án
RLS.Stat-spine 3.SG <RLS(UGR)> Ger-suspect-LV
niyá ang pagóng at kaniyá-ng
3.SG Spec turtle and Dat.3.SG-Conn

h<in> anap upang pa-rusah-an
<RLS(UGR)> look for so that Caus-suffer-LV
niyá. Ná-hali niyá ang
3.SG.Poss RLS.Pot.PV-catch 3.SG.Poss Spec
pagóng sa kabiláng isá-ng tuó,
turtle Loc other side Gen one-Conn stump

S<in> abi niyá sa pagóng:
<RLS(UGR)> say 3.SG.Poss Loc turtle
"kitá ay aking pa-rú-rusah-an.
1.DI PM Dat.1.SG.Conn Caus-RDP₁-suffer-LV
Mamili ka sa dalawá. Dikdik-in
Av:choose 2.SG Loc two Crush-PV
kitá sa luóng o lumur-in
1.SG.Poss:2.SG Loc mortar or drown-PV
kitá sa ilóg?" Ang ma-runong
1.SG.Poss:2.SG Loc river Spec Stat-knowledge
na pagóng ay nág-ampisá ng
Conn turtle PM RLS.Av-begin Gen
pág-si-siagaw at h<in> iláng
GER-RDP₁-shout and <RLS(UGR)> request
niyá sa unggó' na, kung
3.SG.Poss Loc Monkey Conn if

ma-á-are', ay dikdik-in siyá sa
STAT-RDP₁-possible PM Crush-PV 3.SG Loc
lusóng. Dátapwát i-s<in><agót ng
mortar but CV-<RLS(UGR)> answer Gen
unggó': "I-bí-bíày ko sa iyó
monkey CV-RDP₁-give 1.SG.Poss Loc Dat.2.SG
ang pa-rusa na hindi mo gustó." Spec Caus-suffer Conn NEG
2.SG.Poss liking
At i-ní-haquis niyá sa ilóg
and CV-RLS(UGR)-throw 3.SG.Poss Loc river
Bloomfield’s (1917) translation:

“Once upon a time, when the turtle was swimming in the river, he saw a banana-tree afloat and being carried along by the current. He dragged it to the beach, but was not able to carry it up to the solid ground. Therefore he called his friend, the monkey, and offered him a half of the banana-tree, if he would plant his part for him. The monkey agreed, and they divided the banana-tree at the middle, half-way from either end. The monkey took the half which had leaves, because he thought it would grow better than the half which had none.

When a few days had passed, the monkey’s tree died, while that of the turtle grew until it bore fruit. The bananas grew ripe, but the turtle could not climb for them. Therefore he called his friend, the monkey, and offered him some of the fruits of the banana, if he would climb the tree. The monkey climbed up and ate for all he was worth.

Said the turtle: ‘Throw me some.’

But the monkey answered: ‘Though sweet the skins, I’d throw you none.’

The turtle got angry and scattered spines round the foot of the tree. When the monkey jumped down, he landed on the spines. He suspected the turtle and looked for him, in order to punish him. He found the turtle behind a stump.

Said he to the turtle: ‘I am going to punish you. Choose between the two: shall I bray you in a mortar or drown you in the river?’

The clever turtle began to shout and begged the monkey, if it were possible, to bray him in a mortar.

But the monkey answered: ‘I shall give you the punishment you don’t want.’

And he threw the turtle into the river.

When the turtle arrived in the water, he set up a shout and said to the monkey: ‘Thank you, friend! This is my home.’” (Bloomfield 1917:16)
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137. Diyari (Pama-Nyungan)

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The Diyari language was traditionally spoken in the far north of South Australia, to the east of Lake Eyre along the lower reaches of Cooper Creek — a mostly dry watercourse that runs from western Queensland into Lake Eyre. This is one of the driest and hottest regions of Australia with an average annual rainfall of about 100 mm (or 4 inches) and summer temperatures regularly reaching 45