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Mermaid construction in Tagalog

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1. Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume) proposes the prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC') as follows.

> (1)   Prototype of the MMC:
>   [Clause]   Noun   Copula

This prototype of the MMC is based on the MMC in Japanese, a predicate-final (or verb-final) language. Tagalog is a predicate-initial (or verb-initial) language. Nonetheless, it has the mirror image of the kind of the MMC found in Japanese and other predicate-final (or verb-final) languages. This is, to my knowledge, the first MMC that has ever been reported from any predicate-initial language.

    The Tagalog MMC is of two types.

(2) Finite type:
   Noun(-)Linker   [Clause (finite)]
(3) Infinitive type:
   Noun(-)Linker   [Clause (infinitive)]

Tagalog has no copula verb, and consequently, its MMC contains no copula verb. There are differences between the two types in terms of (i) morphology (finite vs. infinitive), (ii) syntax, and (iii) semantics.

In the finite type, the predicate of the 'Clause' is in a finite form, and the 'Clause' by itself can be used as a sentence. The noun in the 'Noun' slot is *mukha* 'face', a loan word from Sanskrit. The finite type has evidential meanings: inference and visual evidence.

In the infinitive type, the predicate of the 'Clause' is in the infinitive form, and the 'Clause' by itself cannot be used as a sentence. The nouns that can occupy the 'Noun' slot are *plano* 'plan', *tradisyon* 'tradition', *destino* 'destiny' (all are loans from Spanish), *balak* 'plan' and *kapalaran* 'fate'. The infinitive type indicates 'X plans to ...' (a modal meaning), 'X has the practice of VERBing' (an aspectual meaning), or 'X is destined to ...' (a modal meaning).

2. Initial illustration

An example of the finite type is (4) (*mukha* 'face'), and an example of the infinitive type is (5) (*plano* 'plan').

(4) *Mukha-ng*   *sa-sabog=na*   *ang bulkan.*
    face-LK   AF:CONT-erupt=already   TOP volcano
    LT: 'Face that the volcano will erupt already.'
    FT: 'It seems the volcano will erupt soon.'
(5) *Plano-ng* *apruba-han*   *nang gobyerno*   *ang*
    plan-LK   approve-PF:INF GEN government   TOP
    pag-import   *nang*   *bigas.*
    NMLZ-import GEN   rice
    LT: 'Plan for the government to approve the import of rice.'
    FT: 'The government plans to approve the import of rice.'

3. Profile of the language

Tagalog is a member of the Western Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family. It is spoken by approximately 22 million people as the first language in the southern part of the island of Luzon including Metro Manila, and by about 50 million people as L2 over the entire archipelago of the Philippines. Filipino, the national and an official language of the Philippines, is the standardized form of Tagalog with a lexicon enriched with words borrowed from other Philippine languages.

There are certain stylistic differences between spoken and written Tagalog, but not in significant ways. The data presented here are both spoken and written in narratives and newspapers.

Tagalog has 27 phonemes: 5 vowels /i e a o u/, 6 diphthongs /ay aw uy oy ey iw/, and 16 consonants /p b t d k g ʔ m n ŋ s h l ɾ y w/. Stress and pitch are distinctive.

Tagalog is largely agglutinative, and partially fusional. Tagalog morphology is generally characterized as prefixal, but it has suffixes, infixes, and circumfixes as well. Its verb morphology is quite complex; see 4.1.2.1.

Tagalog, like other Philippine languages, is predicate-initial (or verb-initial) in its basic word order: VOS and VSO. It uses prepositions, but not postpositions. In terms of clause structure, it has the so-called Philippine-type of rich voice alternations; see 4.1.2.1.

With regard to the order of an adjective and the modified noun, there is no fixed order: an adjective can either precede the noun it modifies or follow it, with a linker *na* (or its variant: *-ng*) between them.

(6) *Na-kita=ko* *ang* *payat* *na aso.*
 PF:PFV-see=1SG:GEN TOP thin LK dog
 'I saw the thin dog.'

(7) *Na-kita=ko* *ang* *aso-ng* *payat.*
 PF:PFV-see=1SG:GEN TOP dog-LK thin
 ('As above.')

A preferred order seems to be determined partly by the relative length of words or phrases: the heavier constituent tends to follow the other.

The linker links various kinds of constituents that stand in the modifier-modified relation, such as a numeral and a noun, two nouns (nominal, pronominal, or pronoun) in appositive relation, a demonstrative and a noun, the main clause and a subordinate clause, etc. An adnominal clause and the noun it modifies are also linked by the linker, and the adnominal clause either precedes the noun or follows it. (See 4.2.1.1.) A demonstrative can either precede or follow the modified noun with a linker between them, e.g., either *ito-ng bahay* (this:TOP-LK house) or *bahay na ito* (house LK this:TOP) 'this house'. A numeral always precedes the modified noun, e.g., *tatlo-ng relo* (three-LK watch) 'three watches'.

Tagalog is both head-marking and dependent-marking. The Tagalog clause structure is configurational.

4. Types of clauses and sentences

4.1 Verbal-predicate and non-verbal-predicate clauses/sentences

The predicate of a clause/sentence can be either verbal or non-verbal, and clauses/sentences can be classified accordingly.

4.1.1 Non-verbal clauses/sentences

In non-verbal clauses/sentences, the predicate may be nominal, e.g., (8); adjectival, e.g., (9); or prepositional, e.g., (10). The basic structure of these clauses/sentences consists of the predicate followed by the subject expression.

	PREDICATE			SUBJECT		
(8)	*Estudyante*	*sa*	*UP*	*ang*	*babae*	*dyan.*
	student	OBL	UP	TOP	woman	there
	'That woman is a student at UP (=University of the Philippines).'					
(9)	*Maganda*			*ang*	*babae*	*dyan.*
	beautiful			TOP	woman	there
	'That woman is beautiful.'					
(10)	*Nasa*	*kusina*	*ngayon*	*si*	*Maria.*	
	in	kitchen	now	TOP	Maria	
	'Maria is in the kitchen now.'					

There is no copula verb in Tagalog, as shown in the examples above.

The term 'subject' for the constituent marked by prepositional *ang* (*si* for personal names) may be confusing in that it does not exactly correspond to the subject in languages such as, say, English. This constituent is traditionally called 'topic' in Philippine linguistics (cf. Constantino 1971; Schachter and Otanes 1972 among others), but it is highly grammatical in nature compared with topics in languages like Japanese, and it does have some of the properties that may be considered subject properties. For example, it is the obligatory constituent in clauses, and it is the target of many syntactic phenomena, such as relativization. For the sake of convenience, we use the term SUBJECT here as opposed to PREDICATE, to describe the part of the clause containing the topic constituent.

The subject and the predicate can be inverted, with the inversion marker *ay*.

	SUBJECT			PREDICATE			
(11)	*Ang*	*babae*	*dyan*	*ay*	*estudyante*	*sa*	*UP.*
	TOP	woman	there	INV	student	OBL	UP
	'That woman is a student at UP.'						
(12)	*Ang*	*babae*	*dyan*	*ay*	*maganda.*		
	TOP	woman	there	INV	beautiful		
	'That woman is beautiful.'						

The inversion construction is a stylistic variant of the basic construction shown in (8)-(10), and is textually limited. According to Schachter and Otanes (1972:485), the inversion construction "is characteristic of formal style, and is more common in writing, lectures, sermons, etc., than it is in ordinary conversation". Constituents that can be inverted are limited to the topic of the clause, an adverbial expression, and a non-topic actor (Katagiri 1992). ('Non-topic actor', that is, an actor nominal that is not the topic, will

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be discussed in 4.1.2.2.)

4.1.2 Verbal-predicate clauses/sentences

We shall first look at the morphology of verbs (4.1.2.1), and then the structure of these clauses/sentences (4.1.2.2).

4.1.2.1 Morphology of verbs. Basically, verbs always contain an affix—a prefix, an infix, a suffix, or a circumfix—which expresses focus, aspect, and mode in a merged form. Here, the terms 'focus' and 'topic' are not used in the way they are used in discourse study. 'Focus' refers to a kind of agreement, and 'topic' indicates the NP that agrees with the focus-marked verb. That is, 'focus' does not mean the most essential piece of new information. Nor does 'topic' necessarily concern what is being talked about. In what follows, the terms 'focus' and 'topic' will be used in the way they are used in Philippine linguistics, and not in the way they are used in discourse analysis.

The focus affixes that are commonly used are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Focus affixes

Actor Focus (AF)	*-um-, mag-, m-, mang,-, ma-, magka-, maki-, makipag-, maka-*
Patient Focus (PF)	*-in, i-, -an, ma-*
Direction Focus (DF)	*-an*
Beneficiary Focus (BF)	*i-, ipag-, ipang-*
Location Focus (LF)	*-an, ka--an, pag--an, pang--an*
Instrumental Focus (IF)	*i-, ipag-, ipang-*
Reason Focus (RF)	*ika-, ikapag-, ikapang-*

The forms of the affixes shown in Table 1 are in their infinitive form. The choice among different affixes under the same focus is lexically determined although there are certain generalizations that can be made.

Verbs further inflect for aspect and mode. As an example, the inflections of verbs *bigay* 'give' and *bili* 'buy' are shown in Table 2. (Focus affixes are boldfaced.)

Table 2. Inflections of *bigay* 'give' and *bili* 'buy'

	Infinitive	Perfective	Imperfective	Contemplated
AF	**mag**bigay	**nag**bigay	**nag**bibigay	**mag**bibigay
	bumili	**bum**ili	**bum**ibili	bibili
PF	**i**bigay	**i**binigay	**i**binibigay	**i**bibigay
	bil**hin**	binili	binibili	bibil**hin**
DF	big**yan**	binig**yan**	binibig**yan**	bibig**yan**
BF	**i**bili	**i**binili	**i**binibili	**i**bibili

4.1.2.2 Structure of clauses/sentences. In the basic word order, sentences/clauses with a verbal predicate consist of a verb followed by one

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or more arguments. The order of the nominal (vis-à-vis pronominal) arguments is not fixed, and the basic word order is either VOS or VSO. (Personal pronouns are enclitics and they are attached to the first constituent of the clause/sentence.) Thus, the role of the arguments is not determined by word order, but partly by the marking of the constituent and mainly by the form of the verbal affix.

In verbal-predicate sentences/clauses, one of the constituents of the clause is obligatorily chosen as the topic of the clause, and the verb contains an affix that agrees with the topic constituent and marks its semantic role. For example, in ditransitive clauses where an actor nominal, a patient, and a beneficiary are present, there are three possible clauses.

Actor focus:
(13) *B-um-ili*   ***ang***   ***lalaki***   *nang*   *singsing para*
      AF:PFV-buy TOP   man   GEN   ring   for
      sa   *asawa*   *niya.*
      OBL   spouse   3SG:GEN
      'The man bought a ring for his wife.'[1]

Patient focus:
(14) *B-in-ili*   *nang*   *lalaki*   ***ang***   *singsing para*
      PF:PFV-buy GEN   man   TOP   ring   for
      sa   *asawa*   *niya.*
      OBL   spouse   3SG:GEN
      'The man bought the ring for his wife.'

Beneficiary focus:
(15) *I-b-in-ili*   *nang*   *lalaki*   *nang*   *singsing*
      BF:PFV-buy GEN   man   GEN   ring
      ang   ***asawa***   ***niya.***
      TOP   spouse   3SG:GEN
      'The man bought his wife a ring.'

In (13), the actor nominal is chosen as the topic of the clause, and its semantic role is marked on the verb by the focus affix. The same applies to (14), where the patient nominal is chosen as the topic, and (15), where the beneficiary nominal is chosen as the topic. The topic constituent is marked by the topic preposition *ang* and it is usually interpreted as definite. Non-topic actor nominals and non-topic patient nominals are marked by the genitive marker *nang* (*ni* for personal names), and non-topic oblique constituents are marked by the oblique marker *sa* (*kay* for personal names).[2]

There has been a debate as to a proper characterization of the focus system of Philippine languages. See, for example, Shibatani (1988, 1999) and Katagiri (2005).

Tagalog makes use of various kinds of enclitics that occur in the second position of the clause: personal pronouns, and adverbial particles that denote aspect and modality.

4.2 Adnominal and adverbial clauses

4.2.1 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1.1 Formation. In Tagalog, an adnominal clause ('AC') is formed by the gap strategy; compare (16) with (17) and (18). An AC basically follows the head noun it modifies, e.g., (17), but it can also precede the noun if the clause is not too heavy, e.g., (18), just as an adjective can either precede or follow the noun it modifies. A head noun and an AC are linked by a linker. The form of the linker is as follows: (a) the word *na* following a consonant, e.g., (17); and (b) the suffix *-ng* following a vowel, e.g., (18).

(16)　*B-in-ili=ko*　　　　　　*ang*　　*bahay.*
　　　 PF:PFV-buy=1SG:GEN　TOP　　house
　　　 'I bought the house.'

(17)　*Mahal*　　*ang*　*bahay*　*[na*　*b-in-ili=ko].*
　　　 expensive　TOP　house　　LK　　PF:PFV-buy=1SG:GEN
　　　 'The house I bought was expensive.'

(18)　*Mahal*　　·*ang*　　*[b-in-ili=ko-ng]*　　　　　*bahay.*
　　　 expensive　TOP　　PF:PFV-buy=1SG:GEN-LK　house
　　　 'The house I bought was expensive.'

An important point is that the head nominal must be the 'topic' nominal, that is, it must agree with the focus-marking of the verb of the AC. Thus, in (17) and (18), the head noun *bahay* 'house' is the topic of the AC, whose verb is in the patient-focus form. The head noun is the patient of the verb of the AC. That is, the head noun agrees with the focus-marking of the AC. On the other hand, if a non-topic of the AC is relativized on, the resultant sentence is ungrammatical. Compare (19) with (20) and (21).

(19)　*B-um-ili=ako*　　　　　　*nang*　*bahay.*
　　　 AF:PFV-buy=1SG:TOP　　GEN　　house
　　　 'I bought a house.'

(20)　*Mahal　　*ang*　　*bahay*　*na*　*[b-um-ili=ako].*
　　　 expensive　TOP　　house　LK　AF:PFV-buy=1SG:TOP
　　　 Intended meaning: 'The house I bought was expensive.'

(21)　*Mahal　　*ang*　　*[b-um-ili=ako-ng]*　　　·*bahay.*
　　　 expensive　TOP　　AF:PFV-buy=1SG:TOP-LK　house
　　　 Intended meaning: 'The house I bought was expensive.'

In all of (19) to (21), the verb is in the actor-focus form. In (20) and (21), the topic of the AC is *ako* 'I' (the actor). However, the intended head noun is *bahay* 'house' (the patient nominal), and it is not the topic of the AC. The intended head noun does not agree with the focus-marking of the verb of the AC, and consequently, (20) and (21) are ungrammatical.

To be precise, there are exceptional cases where a non-topic nominal can be relativized on. See 4.2.1.2.

Tagalog has two types of ACs: internal ACs and external ACs. (See

Teramura (1969) and Tsunoda (this volume, 7.2) for a characterization of these two types of ACs.) Very roughly speaking, in internal ACs, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In contrast, in external ACs, the head noun is, so to speak, added from 'outside the underlying clause'. It does not correspond to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. We shall discuss these two types of ACs in turn.

4.2.1.2 Internal ACs. As long as the head noun is the topic of the AC, a wide range of nominals with various semantic roles can be the head noun of ACs.

Actor:
(22) *Siya   ang   babae-ng   nag-tu-turo   nang*
     3SG:TOP   TOP   woman-LK   AF:IPFV-teach   GEN
     wika-ng   Filipino.
     language-LK Filipino
     'The woman who teaches Filipino language is she.'
Patient, e.g., (17) and (18).
Beneficiary:
(23) *Sino   ang   babae-ng   i-b-in-ili=mo*
     who:TOP   TOP   woman-LK   BF:PFV-buy=2SG:GEN
     nang   singsing?
     GEN   ring
     LT: 'The woman for whom you bought a ring is who?'
     FT: 'Who is the woman for whom you bought a ring?'
Instrumental:
(24) *Ito   ang   lagari-ng   i-p-in-am-utol   ni*
     this:TOP TOP   saw-LK   IF:PFV-cut   GEN
     Pedro   nang   puno.
     Pedro   GEN   tree
     'The saw with which Pedro cut a tree is this.'[3]

As shown above, any nominal can be relativized on as long as it is the topic of the AC. Furthermore, a non-topic nominal can be relativized on in some cases. For example, a possessor nominal can be relativized on if it is extracted from the topic nominal of the AC.

Non-topic possessor:
(25) *Mahusay   [ang   paper   nang   estudyante].*
     skillful   TOP   paper   GEN   student
     'The student's paper is outstanding.'
(26) *Siya   ang estudyante-ng mahusay ang   paper.*
     3SG:TOP   TOP student-LK   skillful   TOP   paper
     'The student whose paper is outstanding is he.'

Also, certain oblique expressions can be relativized on, but this requires the use of an adverbial interrogative.

(27) *Ito*   *ang*   *railway station*   *kung*   *saan*
    this:TOP TOP   railway station   ADV   where
    galling *si*   *Pedro.*
    be.from   TOP   Pedro.
    'The railway station where Pedro is from is this.'

Headless relatives are common if the omitted head denotes a person or a thing, though the grammatical restriction on AC formation holds here as well: the (omitted) head must be the topic of the AC. Thus, in (28), the actor nominal, which refers to a person, is omitted. In (29), the patient nominal, which refers to a thing, is omitted. In both sentences, the semantic role of the (omitted) head is marked on the verb.

(28) *Sino*   *ang*   *t-um-ulong*   *sa*
    who:TOP   TOP   AF:PFV-help   OBL
    nag-hi-hirap?
    AF:IPFV-be.poor
    'Who is the person who helps the poor?'

(29) *Mahal*   *ang*   *b-in-ili=ko.*
    expensive   TOP   PF:PFV-buy=1SG:GEN
    'What I bought was expensive.'

4.2.1.3 External ACs. Generally, external ACs are not acceptable. First, compare (30) and (31).

(30) *I-p-in-iprito=niya*   *ang*   *isda.*
    PF:IPFV-fry=3SG:GEN   TOP   fish
    'He is frying the fish.'

(31) **I-p-in-iprito=niya*   *ang*   *isda*   *sa*   *amoy.*
    PF:IPFV-fry=3SG:GEN   TOP   fish   OBL   smell
    Intended meaning: 'He is frying the fish with the smell.'

The ex. (31) shows that *sa amoy* 'with the smell' cannot occur in (30). Now compare (30) with (32) (internal AC) and (33) (*external AC).

(32) *isda-ng*   *i-p-in-i-prito=niya*
    fish-LK   PF:IPFV-fry=3SG:GEN
    'the fish that he is frying'

(33) **Mabaho*   *ang amoy*   *na*   *i-p-in-i-prito(=niya)*
    stinky   TOP smell   LK   PF:IPFV-fry(=3SG:GEN)
    ang   *isda.*
    TOP   fish
    LT: 'The smell with which he is frying the fish is stinky.'
    FT: 'The smell of (his) frying fish is stinky.'

In (30), the verb is in the patient-focus form, and *isda* 'fish' (the patient nominal) is the topic of the clause. The ex. (32) is perfectly acceptable: the

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head noun *isda* 'fish' (the patient nominal) agrees with the focus-marking (patient focus) of the verb of the AC.

The ex. (33) is intended to be an instance of external AC, but it is not acceptable. Recall first that *sa amoy* 'with the smell' cannot occur in (30). It is, so to speak, added to (33) from the outside of (30). (It is in view of this that the term 'external AC' is used. Cf. Teramura (1969).) Note that *sa amoy* 'with the smell' does not agree with the verb of the AC. (It cannot occur in (30) in the first place, and there is no way it can agree with the verb of the AC.)

However, there are instances in which an external AC is marginally acceptable. One such example is (37). Compare it with (34), (35), and (36). Note that in (37), *amoy* 'smell' does not agree with the verb (the actor focus) of the AC.

(34) *Na-lu-luto=na*   *ang*   *bigas.*
AF:IPFV-cook=already   TOP   rice
'The rice is cooking.'

(35) **Na-lu-luto=na*   *ang*   *bigas*   *sa*   *amoy.*
AF:IPFV-cook=already TOP   rice   OBL   smell
Intended meaning: 'The rice is cooking with the smell.'

(36) *bigas*   *na*   *na-lu-luto=na*
rice   LK   AF:IPFV-cook=already
'the rice that is cooking'

(37) *?amoy*   *na*   *na-lu-luto*   *ang*   *bigas*
smell   LK   AF:IPFV-cook   TOP   rice
LT: 'the smell with which the rice is cooking'

Another example is (38). It employs the method mentioned in 4.2.1.2: the use of an adverbial interrogative.

(38) *Iyan*   *ang*   *dahilan*   *kung*   *bakit*
that:TOP TOP   reason   ADV   why
nagalit=siya.
angry=3SG:TOP
'The reason why he got angry is that.'

4.2.2 Adverbial clauses

There are basically two types of clause-linkage markers to form adverbial clauses.

(a) Preclausal adverbial conjunctions, e.g., *kung/(ka)pag(ka)* 'when, if'; *sapagkat* 'because'.
(b) Nominalizers, e.g., *pag-dating* (NMLZ-arrive) 'when one arrives'; *pagka-kain* (NMLZ-eat) 'after one eats'.

Some nouns or adjectives with an oblique marker *sa* can be used as adverbial conjunctions, e.g., *dahil sa* (reason OBL) 'because'; *bukod sa*

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(aside OBL) 'in addition that'.

    Adverbial clauses can either precede or follow the main clause.

5. Mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

As seen in Section 1, Tsunoda (this volume) proposes the prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC') as in (1), repeated here as (39).

    (39)   Prototype of the MMC:
           [Clause]   Noun   Copula

This prototype of the MMC is based on the MMC in Japanese, a predicate-final (or verb-final) language.

    Tagalog would not be expected to have the MMC. There are at least two reasons for this.

    First, almost all of the languages in which the MMC is attested are predicate-final (or verb-final), as shown in the other chapters in the present volume. However, Tagalog is predicate-initial (or verb-initial).

    Second, as will be noted in 5.2.1, the MMC may be said to resemble external ACs in that the noun is not an argument (or an adjunct) of the clause. In view of this, the MMC would be expected to occur in languages in which external ACs are abundant and highly acceptable. However, in Tagalog, external ACs are only marginally acceptable.

    Despite these expectations, Tagalog does have the MMC. It is a predicate-initial (or verb-initial) language. Its MMC is the mirror image of the kind of the MMC found in Japanese and other predicate-final (or verb-final) languages. The Tagalog MMC is of two types: (2) and (3). They are repeated here as (40) and (41), respectively.

    (40) Finite type:
           Noun(-)Linker   [Clause (finite)]
    (41) Infinitive type:
           Noun(-)Linker   [Clause (infinitive)]

As is the case with ACs (4.2.1), the 'Noun' and the 'Clause' are linked by a linker. We shall look at the finite type in 5.2, and the infinitive type in 5.3.

    The Tagalog construction in question is not a prototypical instance of the MMC in the sense that it lacks copula, and that, in the case of the infinitive type, the clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself. Nonetheless, it is regarded as an instance of the MMC since it is the combination of two different structures.[4]

5.2 Finite type

5.2.1 Structure

In the finite type, the noun that occupies the 'Noun' slot is *mukha* 'face, facial expression'. It is interesting to note that this word is a loan word from Sanskrit: *mukha* 'mouth, face, countenance'. According to Yasunari Imamura (p.c.), its descendent *mukh* (with *a* dropped) is still used in Modern Hindi, with the meaning of 'face'.

The use of the word *mukha* is not limited to educated people. The Philippines has been trading with India since as far back as the 7th century, and this trade has influence in language. According to Panganiban (1972), of the 30000 root words in Tagalog, close to 300 are loans from Sanskrit. Other common Tagalog words of Sanskrit origin include *guro* 'teacher', *asawa* 'spouse', and *wika* 'language'.

In Tagalog, *mukha* 'face, facial expression' can be used outside the MMC. When it is used in the MMC, the MMC has evidential meanings: visual evidence and inference.

The predicate of the 'Clause' may be nominal, e.g., (43); adjectival, e.g., (45); or verbal, e.g., (47) (same as (4)). When the predicate is verbal, it is in a finite form. However, when the predicate is a nominal or adjectival, the distinction between finite and nonfinite forms is virtually non-existent. Whichever the predicate is, the 'Clause' can be used as a sentence by itself. Compare the following pairs of examples.

Nominal predicate:
(42) *Binata=pa=siya.*
      bachelor=yet=3SG:TOP
      'He is still a bachelor.'

(43) *Mukha-ng   binata=pa=siya.*
      face-LK   bachelor=yet=3SG:TOP
      LT: 'Face that he is still a bachelor.'
      FT: 'It seems he is still a bachelor.'

Adjectival predicate:
(44) *Malusog   si   Erap.*
      healthy   TOP   Erap
      'Erap is healthy.'

(45) *Mukha-ng   malusog   si   Erap.*
      face-LK   healthy   TOP   Erap
      LT: 'Face that Erap is healthy.'
      FT: 'It seems Erap is healthy.'

Verbal predicate:
(46) *Sa-sabog=na*   *ang*   *bulkan.*
      AF:CONT-erupt=already   TOP   volcano
      'The volcano will erupt soon.'

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(47) *Mukha-ng*   *sa-sabog=na*   *ang*   *bulkan.*
       face-LK   AF:CONT-erupt=already   TOP   volcano
       LT: 'Face that the volcano will erupt already.'
       FT: 'It seems the volcano will erupt soon.'

The MMC may look similar to ACs. Note that *mukha* 'face' can in no way be an argument of the 'Clause'. In this respect, the MMC differs from internal ACs, but it may be said to resemble external ACs.

As noted above, the predicate of the 'Clause' occurs in a finite form (at least when it is a verb). There is no restriction on the inflection of the predicate of the 'Clause'. It can occur in any focus/aspect/mode form. Examples follow.

(48) *Mukha-ng*   *b-um-i-bili*   *ngayon*   *ang*   *lalaki*   *nang*
       face-LK   AF:IPFV-buy now   TOP   man   GEN
       bago-ng *kotse.*
       new-LK car
       'It seems the man is buying a new car now.'

(49) *Mukha-ng*   *b-in-ili*   *kahapon*   *nang*   *lalaki*
       face-LK   PF:PFV-buy yesterday GEN   man
       ang   *bago-ng*   *kotse.*
       TOP   new-LK   car
       'It seems the man bought the new car yesterday.'

5.2.2 Semantics

The MMC with *mukha* 'face, facial expression' has evidential meanings. More specifically it denotes the following:

(a) visual evidence: on the basis of what the speaker actually sees, he/she states that a situation is likely to occur, or:
(b) inference: the speaker makes an inference on the basis of the surrounding situation.

Examples have already been given. An additional example is the following. (It contains an instance of 'headless relative clause' (cf. 4.2.1.2): *ang ipiniprito nang lalaki* '(the one that) the man is frying'.)

(50) *Mukha-ng*   *isda*   *ang*   *i-p-in-i-prito* *nang*   *lalaki.*
       face-LK   fish   TOP   PF:IPFV-fry GEN   man
       LT: 'Face that the one that the man is frying is fish.'
       FT: 'It seems to be fish that the man is frying.'

The speaker may utter this sentence in a situation where he/she makes this judgment on the basis of the smell.

Similar meanings can be expressed by using adverbs. Among them, sentences with *para* 'seemingly' apparently takes the same form as the MMC with *mukha* 'face'.

(51) Para-ng   binata=pa=siya.
     seemingly-LK   bachelor=yet=3SG:TOP
     'It seems he is still a bachelor.'

(52) Para-ng   malusog   si   Erap.
     seemingly-LK   healthy   TOP   Erap
     'It seems Erap is healthy.'

(53) Para-ng   sa-sabog=na   ang   bulkan.
     seemingly-LK AF:CONT-erupt=already   TOP   volcano
     'It seems the volcano will erupt soon.'

Compare these sentences with (43), (45), and (47), respectively. Apparently, they take the same form at least superficially: *mukha/para* + linker + clause. They are also similar in meaning, only with slight differences in terms of probability of the situation happening or occurring. Although *para* can be used in situations that one can actually see just like *mukha*, the likelihood of the occurrence of the situation is higher with *mukha* than with *para*.

In fact, many adverbial expressions take the same form described above, especially those that denote frequency: *madalas* 'often', *lagi* 'always', *madalang/bihira* 'rarely', *beses* 'times', etc.

(54) Dalawa-ng   beses   sa   isa-ng   buwan   na
     two-LK   times   OBL one-LK   month   LK
     nag-bi-bilyar   si   Noy.
     AF:IPFV-billiard TOP   Noy
     LT: 'Two times in a month that Noy plays billiard.'
     FT: 'Noy plays billiard twice a month.'

The form observed in (54) is parallel to the structure of the MMC given in (39) above: Noun (*dalawang beses sa isang buwan* 'twice a month') + Linker + Clause. One might argue, then, that *mukha* is grammaticalized and it now has an adverbial function that denotes evidentiality.

However, there are structural differences between the MMC with *mukha* and those sentences that have the kind of adverbial expression illustrated above. In the MMC with *mukha*, the first part ('Noun') and the second part ('Clause') cannot be inverted, irrespective of whether an inversion marker is employed or not. See (55) and (56). In contrast, in (54), the first part can be postposed, although this is not common. Compare (54) and (57).

(55) Mukha-ng   u-ulan.
     face-LK   AF:CONT-rain
     'It seems it will rain.'

(56) *U-ulan-g   (ay)   mukha.
     AF:CONT-rain-LK   INV   face

(57) Nag-bi-bilyar   si   Noy   na dalawa-ng   beses
     AF:IPFV-billiard TOP   Noy   LK two-LK   times

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sa   isa-ng   buwan.
OBL   one-LK   month
'Noy plays billiard twice a month.'

Comparison of (55)-(56) and (57) suggests that *dalawang beses sa isang buwan* 'twice a month' is something like an adverbial phrase, while (55) is an established construction, with a rigid relative order of words/phrases. *Mukha* is not an adverbial element. It is a part (and an important part) of the MMC.

This argument, however, does not apply to the word *para* 'seemingly', which cannot be postposed, just like *mukha* cannot. However, *mukha* and *para*, both of which express evidentiality of an action or state occurring, exhibit a difference in word order when negated. Compare (58)-(59) and (60)-(61).

(58) *Hindi=siya*   *mukha-ng*   *binata.*
      NEG=3SG:TOP   face-LK   bachelor
      'He does not seem to be a bachelor.'
(59) *Mukha=siya-ng*   *hindi*   *binata.*[5]
      face-3SG:TOP-LK   NEG   bachelor
      'He does not look like a bachelor.'
(60) **Hindi=siya*   *para-ng*   *binata.*
      NEG=3SG:TOP   seemingly-LK   bachelor
(61) *Para=siya-ng*   *hindi*   *binata.*
      seemingly=3SG:TOP-LK   NEG   bachelor
      'He does not seem to be a bachelor.'

In Tagalog, a negative particle occurs clause-initially, that is, before the predicate of the clause. Compare (44) with (62), and (46) with (63).

(62) *Hindi*   *malusog* *si*   *Erap.*
      NEG   healthy   TOP   Erap
      'Erap is not healthy.'
(63) *Hindi*   *pa*   *sa-sabog*   *ang*   *bulkan.*
      NEG   yet   AF:CONT-erupt   TOP   volcano
      'The volcano will not erupt yet.'

The contrast between (58) and (60) shows the structural difference between the MMC with *mukha* and sentences with an adverbial expression. The fact that the negative particle *hindi* can naturally occur before *mukha*, but not before *para* indicates that *mukha* behaves as the predicate of the sentence, just like a noun of the mermaid construction, while the *para* does not. This suggests again that *mukha* is not an adverbial element but 'Noun' of the MMC. (See (2) and (40) for 'Noun' of the MMC.)

5.3 Infinitive type

[1] Predicate

The structure of the infinitive type is shown in (3), and again in (41), as repeated below.

(41) Infinitive type:
Noun(-)Linker   [Clause (infinitive)]

The predicate of the 'Clause' is finite in the finite type (at least when it is a verb). However, it is the infinitive form of a verb, that is, a non-finite form, in the infinitive type. The difference between the finite and the infinitive forms is roughly as follows.

(a) Finite forms inflect for focus and aspect.
(b) Infinitive forms inflect for focus, but not for aspect.

In the infinitive type, the verb in the 'Clause' is non-finite, and the 'Clause' cannot be used as a sentence by itself.

[2] Nouns

The nouns that can occupy the 'Noun' slot in the infinitive type include *plano* 'plan', e.g., (5), (66), (69); *tradisyon* 'tradition', e.g., (64), (70); *destino* 'destiny' (all borrowed from Spanish); *balak* 'plan'; and *kapalaran* 'fate', e.g., (65), (67), (68). They have an evidential, an aspectual, or a modal meaning. This is summarized in Table 3.

(64) *Tradisyon-g   ipag-diwang   nang   manga   Filipino*
      tradition-LK   PF:INF-celebrate   GEN   PL   Filipino
      ang   Easter.
      TOP   Easter
      LT: 'Tradition for Filipinos to celebrate Easter.'
      FT: 'Filipinos have the practice of celebrating Easter.'

[3] Actor nominal (1): preposition

In Tagalog, generally, when an actor nominal agrees with the verb in terms of focus marking, it must be preceded by the topic preposition. For example, in (13), the actor nominal *lalaki* 'man' agrees with the verb *b-um-ili* 'AF.PFV-buy' (in the actor focus), and it is preceded by the topic preposition *ang*. When the actor nominal does not agree with the verb, it is preceded by the genitive preposition, e.g., (14) and (15) (*nang lalaki* 'GEN man'). The verb is in the patient focus in (14), and in the beneficiary focus in (15). The same applies to the MMC of the finite type. In (48), the actor nominal (*lalaki* 'man') agrees with the verb (in the actor focus) and it is preceded by the topic preposition *ang*. In (49), the actor nominal (*lalaki* 'man') does not agree with the verb (in the patient focus) and it is preceded by the genitive preposition *nang*.

However, the above does not apply to the MMC of the infinitive type. When the actor nominal agrees with the verb, its behavior is different from that described above. In some instances, the actor nominal may be preceded either by the topic preposition (as is generally the case with an actor nominal used as the topic) or by the genitive preposition (as is generally the case with an actor used as a non-topic).

(65) *Kapalaran-g ma-wala*   *si / ni*   *Pilar*   *sa*
     fate-LK   AF:INF-disappear TOP/GEN   Pilar   OBL
     Maynila upang   *ma-kita*   *si*   *Pepe.*
     Manila   in order to   PF:INF-see   TOP   Pepe
     LT: 'Fate for/of Pilar to get lost in Manila in order to see Pepe.'
     FT: 'Pilar was destined to get lost in Manila in order to see Pepe.'

In other instances, the actor nominal can be preceded by the genitive preposition. But the use of the topic preposition is unacceptable or only marginally acceptable. This is despite the fact that it agrees with the verb (in the actor focus).

(66) *Plano-ng b-um-isita*   *ni / *si*   *Noy*   *sa*   *Davao*
     plan-LK AF:INF-visit GEN/*TOP   Noy   OBL   Davao
     bukas.
     tomorrow
     LT: 'Plan of Noy to visit Davao tomorrow.'
     FT: 'Noy plans to visit Davao tomorrow.'

(67) *Kapalaran-g ma-talo*   *ni / ?si*   *Erap*   *noon-g*
     fate-LK   AF:INF-lose   GEN/?TOP   Erap   last-LK
     eleksyon.
     election
     LT: 'Fate of/for Erap to lose in the last election.'
     FT: 'Erap was destined to lose in the last election.'

[4] Actor nominal (2): relative order
There is a difference in the behavior of the actor nominal between the infinitive type and the finite type. This difference has to do with the genitive marking of the actor nominal.

In the infinitive type, if the actor nominal is preceded by the genitive case, it may precede the verb and occur immediately after the 'Noun' of the MMC. This is possible both (a) when the actor nominal agrees with the verb (in the actor focus), e.g., (68), and (b) when the actor nominal does not agree with the verb (in a focus other than the actor focus), e.g., (69) and (70) (the patient focus).

(68) *Kapalaran*   *ni/*si*   *Pilar*   *na* *ma-wala*
     fate   GEN/*TOP   Pilar   LK   AF:INF-disappear
     sa Maynila upang   *ma-kita*   *si*   *Pepe.*
     OBLManila in order to PF:INF-see   TOP   Pepe

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LT: 'Fate of Pilar to get lost in Manila in order to see Pepe.'
FT: 'Pilar was destined to get lost in Manila [when she went]
to see Pepe.'

(69) *Plano*   *nang*   *gobyerno-ng*   *apruba-han*   *ang*
      plan   GEN   government-LK   approve-PF:INF   TOP
      pag-import   *nang*   *bigas.*
      NMLZ-import   GEN   rice
      LT: 'Plan of the government to approve the import of rice.'
      FT: 'The government plans to approve the import of rice.'

(70) *Tradisyon*   *nang*   *manga*   *Filipino-ng*
      tradition   GEN   PL   Filipino-LK
      ipag-diwang   *ang*   *Easter.*
      PF:INF-celebrate   TOP   Easter.
      LT: 'Tradition of Filipinos to celebrate Easter.'
      FT: 'Filipinos have the practice of celebrating Easter.'

Compare, for example, (65) and (68). In (68), the actor nominal (*Pilar*)
occurs immediately after the 'Noun' (*kapalaran* 'fate') and it must be
preceded by the genitive postposition, and not by the topic preposition. In
(65), the actor nominal does not occur immediately after the 'Noun', and it
may be preceded by the topic preposition or by the genitive preposition.

Only the actor nominal can precede the verb and occur immediately
after the 'Noun'.

In contrast to the infinitive type, the finite type (the 'Noun' is *mukha*
'face') does not allow the actor nominal to occur immediately after the
'Noun' *mukha*, irrespective of whether the actor nominal is the topic, cf.
(72), or not, cf. (74). Compare (71) and (72), and (73) and (74).

(71) *Mukha-ng*   *bi-bisita*   *si*   *Noy*   *sa*
      face-LK   AF:CONT-visit   TOP   Noy   OBL
      Davao   *bukas.*
      Davao   tomorrow
      'Noy seems to be going to Davao tomorrow.'

(72) **Mukha*   *ni*   *Noy*   *na*   *bi-bisita*   *sa*   *Davao*
      face   GEN   Noy   LK   AF:CONT-go   OBL   Davao
      bukas.
      tomorrow
      LT: 'Face of Noy that will visit Davao tomorrow.'
      Intended meaning: '(As above')

(73) *Mukha-ng*   *t-in-anggap=na*   *nang*   *gobyerno*
      face-LK   PF:PERF-receive=already   GEN   government
      ang   *kanila-ng*   *pagkakamali.*
      TOP   3PL:OBL-LK   mistake
      'The government seems to have acknowledged its mistake.'

(74) **Mukha*   *nang*   *gobyerno-ng*   *t-in-anggap=na*
      face   GEN   government-LK   PF:PERF-receive=already

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ang kanila-ng   pagkakamali.
TOP 3PL:OBL-LK mistake
LT: 'Face of the government that received their mistake already.'
Intended meaning: '(As above')

5.4 Semantics of the two types

We have seen one noun (5.2) and five nouns (5.3) that can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. They can be summarized as in Table 3. As can be seen, they are highly grammaticalized in the MMC, in terms of semantics at least.

Table 3. Semantics of the MMC

	outside MMC	meaning of MMC
mukha	'face'	evidential: visual evidence and inference
plano	'plan'	modal: 'plan to do'
tradisyon	'tradition'	aspectual: habitual
destino	'destiny'	modal: 'be destined to do'
balak	'plan'	modal: 'plan to do'
kapalaran	'fate'	modal: 'be destined to do'

6. Summary and concluding remarks

Tagalog would not be expected to have the MMC. First, it is predicate-initial (or verb-initial), whereas almost all of the languages in which the MMC is attested are predicate-final (or verb-final). Second, the MMC may be said to resemble external ACs in that the noun is not an argument or an adjunct of the clause, and the MMC might be expected to occur in languages where external ACs are abundant. However, in Tagalog, external ACs are only marginally acceptable.

Despite these two expectations, Tagalog does have the MMC. This MMC is the mirror image of the prototype of the MMC, attested in predicate-final languages. The Tagalog MMC is of two types.

In the finite type, the verb of the 'Clause' is in a finite form, and the 'Clause' can be used as a sentence by itself. The 'Noun' is *mukha* 'face', a loan from Sanskrit *mukha*, and the MMC has evidential meanings of visual evidence and inference: 'the situation is likely to occur'.

In the infinitive type, the predicate of the 'Clause' is in the infinitive form, that is, a non-finite form, and the 'Clause' cannot be used as a sentence by itself. At least five nouns are attested in the 'Noun' slot. Two of them are loans from Spanish, while the remaining two are native Tagalog words. The infinitive type has an evidential, a modal, or an aspectual meaning. The infinitive type exhibits an unusual behavior in terms of the

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case and the relative position of the actor nominal.

Lastly, it is interesting to note that the nouns used for either type of the mermaid construction are mostly loan words. This might have something to do with the preference for verbal constructions of the language *per se*, but it remains for further research.

Acknowledgements

Notes

[1] Note that the verb *b-um-ili* 'AF:PFV-buy' consists of the verb root *bili* 'buy' and the inflectional infix *-um-* 'AF:PFV' (cf. Table 2). It is difficult to gloss infixes adequately. The same applies to many other verbs in the examples given below.

[2] In standard orthography, the genitive marker *nang* [naŋ] is written as *ng*. To avoid confusion with a suffix *–ng* [ŋ], which is a linker, *nang* is used in this paper.

[3] There is another, preferred way to express the meaning of (24):
- (i) *Ito ang lagari-ng g-in-amit ni Pedro*
  this:TOP TOP saw-LK PF:PFV-use GEN Pedro
  pang-putol nang puno.
  for-cut GEN tree
  'This is the saw Pedro used to cut a tree.'

Roughly speaking, the difference between (24) and (i) is as follows. In (24), the verb for 'cut' is in the instrumental-focus form, whereas (i) employs the verb for 'use' (in the patient-focus form) in place of the instrumental focus.

[4] The MMC analysis might not be maintained under the "equation hypothesis" proposed by Naylor (1995), for example, among others (cf. Schachter and Otanes 1972, Schachter 1976, Kaufman 2009), in which Tagalog verbal predicates are assumed to be syntactically nominal, and the Tagalog clause structure is best analyzed as an equational. Under this hypothesis, there would be no clause showing a combination of noun-predicate and verb-predicate structures. In the construction in question here, however, the two parts are linked by a linker, instead of parataxis

which Naylor (1995) regards as the means of realizing "equational" clauses.

[5] According to my consultant, in this word order, the speaker emphasizes the physical appearance, especially the face, of the person.

Abbreviations

AC - adnominal clause; ADV - adverbial; AF - actor focus; BF - beneficiary focus; CF - causal focus; CONT - contemplated; DF - direction focus; EXCL - exclusive; FT - free translation; GEN - genitive; HON - honorific; IF - instrumental focus; INCL - inclusive; INF - infinitive; INV - inversion marker; IPFV - imperfective; LF - location focus; LK - linker; LT - literal translation; NEG - negative; NMLZ - nominalizer; OBL - oblique; PF - patient focus; PFV - perfective; PL - plural; Q - question particle; RF - reason focus; SG - singular; TOP - topic.

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