

Direct and Indirect Speech in Tagalog

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1. Introduction

Tagalog is an Austronesian language of the Philippines. It is the basis for one of the two official languages of the Philippines, Pilipino, and as such potentially spoken by 81 million people, though there are many sub-varieties.

1.1 Grammatical relations

The grammatical structure is what has come to be known as "the Philippine type", as this type was first found, and is mainly found, in the Philippines, though variants of the system can also be found in some Austronesian languages outside the Philippines. This type is characterized by a type of pivot which directly equates with topic (what the clause is a statement about), and is not restricted to any particular type of argument; even semantically peripheral arguments can appear as pivots.¹ The argument that is the topic appears as the pivot. In the examples in (1) the pivot argument is in bold:²

(1) a. actor pivot

Kumain ng kanin si Maria sa mesa.
[eating:AP LNK₁ rice]_{PRED} [SPEC Maria]_{TOP} [LOC table]_{PERIF}
'**Maria** ate rice at the table.'

b. undergoer pivot

Kinain ni Maria ang kanin sa mesa.
[eating:UP LNK₁ Maria]_{PRED} [SPEC rice]_{TOP} LOC table
'**The rice** was eaten by Maria at the table.'

c. locative pivot

Kinainan ni Maria ng kanin ang mesa.
[eating:LP LNK₁ Maria LNK₁ rice]_{PRED} [SPEC table]_{TOP}
'**The table** was a place of eating rice of Maria.'

d. instrumental pivot

Pinangkain ng kanin ni Maria ang kamay.
[eating:IP LNK₁ rice LNK₁ Maria]_{PRED} [SPEC hand(s)]_{TOP}
'**Hands** were used for eating rice by Maria.'

¹ Compare Jarawara, which also has pivot choices, but only two such choices (Dixon 2000).

² Abbreviations used: 1/2/3sgANG first/second/third person ang-pronoun, 1/2/3sgPOS first/second/third person possessive pronoun, 1/2/3sgPERIF first/second/third person peripheral argument pronoun, 2sgFOC second person focus pronoun, AB abilitive prefix (able to ...), AP actor pivot, BP benefactive pivot, CON continuative, GER gerund, HS hearsay marker, IMPER imperative, IP instrumental pivot, LNK₁ inter-constituent and possessive linking particle, LNK₂ intra-constituent linking particle; LP locative pivot, NEG negative, PIM predicate inversion marker, PFV perfective, PN proper name, POL polite enclitic, Q question forming particle, STAT stative, SPEC specific article, SUB subordinating particle, UP undergoer pivot.

It is also possible to have a benefactive pivot in a Tagalog clause. Example (2a) is an actor-pivot clause with an oblique benefactive argument marked by the benefactive preposition *para kay*, while (2b) has the benefactive argument as the pivot.

- (2) a. *Nag-luto ng kanin si Maria para kay Juan.*
 [AP-cooking LNK₁ rice]_{PRED} [SPEC Maria]_{TOP} [BEN LOC Juan]_{PERIF}
 ‘**Maria** cooked rice for Juan.’
- b. *Pinag-luto ni Maria ng kanin si Juan.*
 [BP-cooking LNK₁ Maria LNK₁ rice]_{PRED} [SPEC Juan]_{TOP}
 ‘**Juan** was cooked rice by Maria.’

In the examples in (1) we have actor-pivot, undergoer-pivot, locative-pivot, and instrumental-pivot clauses, respectively, all based around the root *kain* ‘eating’. The affixes that the root acting as predicate takes and the article before the pivot argument both point to a particular argument as being the pivot. The affixes on the root inform us of the semantic role of the pivot. In these examples the infix *-um-* occurs in the actor-pivot clause and *-in-* occurs in the (realis perfective) undergoer-pivot clause. The latter infix also occurs in the (realis perfective) locative and instrumental-pivot clauses, together with the *-(h)an* suffix in the locative clause and the instrumental adjective-forming *pang-* prefix in the instrumental clause. At the same time, the pivot argument is marked with the article *si*, where it is a singular proper name, or *ang*, where it is a common noun. The non-pivot core arguments take the linking particle *ni* if they are singular proper names or *ng* [naŋ] if they are common nouns. The non-pivot semantically locative and oblique arguments take prepositions that mark their semantic roles. There is no marking of semantic role for actor and undergoer, only marking of their status as topical (the pivot) or not. In these constructions there is foregrounding of a particular argument as topic, but there is no backgrounding of any other argument in the sense of changing an argument’s status as a core argument or its ability to appear overtly in the clause. The passive English translations given for these clauses then are somewhat misleading, as the non-pivot actor is still very important to the clause. If we look at, for example, (1c), this might become clear. This sentence might be used in a situation such as the following:

- (3) Q: *Bakit ma-dumi ang mesa?*
 [why STAT-dirt]_{PRED} [SPEC table]_{TOP}
 ‘Why is **the table** dirty?’
- A: *Kasi, kinainan ni Maria ng kanin (ang mesa).*
 because [eating:LP LNK₁ Maria LNK₁ rice]_{PRED} [SPEC table]_{TOP}
 ‘Because **the table** was a place of eating of rice of Maria.’

To achieve the same sense of importance in the clause, in English we would be more likely to say *Because MARIA ate there*, with focal stress on Maria, rather than use a passive construction. In the Tagalog as well, *ni Maria* is within the focus of the assertion, not a

backgrounded or incidental constituent.³ Another important reason for saying the passive translations are inappropriate is that there is no derivational relationship difference between the actor focus and the other focus constructions. All are derived; there is no “basic” form, they are simply different ways of profiling an event. Himmelmann (2002) uses the term “valency-neutral alternatives” or “symmetrical voice system” for this type of system.

Unmarked word order is generally predicate initial. The predicate can be any form class: Lazard (1999) uses the term “omniprédicative” for languages like Tagalog; Gil (1993) argues that there is only one syntactic form class; Himmelmann, in press, while establishing different morpho-lexical form classes, argues that there are no form class distinctions relevant to syntactic position. The order of the arguments that appear in the clause, both semantically required arguments and peripheral arguments, is determined by the form the argument takes (pronoun or noun) and whether the argument is within the focus or not. This is expressed in the word order by being before or after the pivot argument respectively. The “heaviness” (length and complexity) of an argument can also affect its position, with heavy *ng*-marked arguments occurring after a “light” *ang*-marked argument. The examples just given appear with a particular order, but many other orders would be possible. For example, (1a) could also have the following orders (among others), with no difference in the interpretation of grammatical relations:

- (4) a. *Sa mesa kumain ng kanin si Maria.*
 b. *Kumain sa mesa ng kanin si Maria.*
 c. *Kumain si Maria ng kanin sa mesa.*
 d. *Kumain sa mesa si Maria ng kanin.*

In Tagalog there are three sets of pronouns, one which is similar in distribution to the *ang*-marked form of the noun, appearing as pivot and for specific referents, one which has the same distribution as the *ng*-marked forms, appearing as non-pivot and possessive pronoun, and one used after prepositions. The pivot pronouns are called “*ang* pronouns”, as they take the place of what would otherwise take the *ang* article if it was a common noun. There is also a special form of the 2nd person singular pronoun which only occurs as predicate, and a special form for 1sg acting on 2sg, e.g. *Mahal kita* [dear 1>2] ‘I love you’. The pronouns are second-position clitics, and so can appear between elements of the predicate (effectively creating a discontinuous constituent). It is also possible for an understood topic to not appear at all in the clause. In the answer in (3), most probably ‘the table’ would not be mentioned or would be referred to with an *ang*-type demonstrative pronoun.

The pivot can also appear in sentence-initial position before the predicate when there is a pause between the two constituents or the predicate inversion marker *ay* occurs between the two constituents. This form emphasizes the topical nature of the pivot argument.

³ This is not to say a focal NP must not be the *ang* argument. In a cleft construction, the usual form for answering question-word questions, the predicate NP often takes the *ang* article, or its equivalent for personal names, *si*. E.g., in answer to the question ‘Who cooked the rice?’ the answer could be as in (i):

- (i) *Si Maria ang nagluto ng kanin.*
 [SPECMaria]_{PRED} [SPEC cooking:AP LNK₁ rice]_{TOP}
 ‘The one who cooked the rice was Maria.’

- (5) a. *Si Maria ay kumain ng kanin sa mesa.*
 [SPEC Maria]_{TOP} PIM [eating:AP LNK₁ rice]_{PRED} [LOC table]_{PERIF}
 ‘**Maria** ate rice at the table.’
- b. *Si Juan ay pinagluto ni Maria ng kanin.*
 [SPEC Juan]_{TOP} PIM [cooking:BF LNK₁ Maria LNK₁ rice]_{PRED}
 ‘**Juan** was cooked rice by Maria.’

1.2 Modification

There are two main markers of modification in Tagalog. As we saw in the examples above, *ng* [naŋ] links arguments that are part of the predication with the main predicating element within the overall predicate, as in *Kumain ng kanin* ‘ate rice’ in (1a). This same marker is used for (manner) adverbial modification, as in (6a-b), and for possessive modification, as in (6c-e).

- (6) a. *Lumakad siya ng ma-bilis.*
 walking:AF [3sgANG]_{TOP} LNK₁ STAT-quick
 ‘He is walking fast’
- b. *Sumigaw siya ng ma-lakas.*
 shout:AF [3sgANG]_{TOP} LNK₁ STAT-loud
 ‘He shouted loudly.’
- c. *buntot ng asu*
 tail LNK₁ dog
 ‘dog’s tail’
- d. *lapis ng bata*
 pencil LNK₁ child
 ‘child’s pencil’
- e. *gitna ng kalsada*
 middle LNK₁ street
 ‘middle of the street’

The fact that the same marking (*ng*) is used for what in other languages would be intra-noun phrase and intra-clausal relations makes it possible to take the position, as Himmelmann (1991) and Lazard (1999) have done, that all clauses in Tagalog are equative clauses where the non-topic arguments are simply modifiers within the predicating constituent.

The other main marker of modification is *na*, which appears between the two elements being linked (which can come in either order in most cases), when the first one ends in a consonant other than glottal stop or *-n*. It has the form *-ng*, which is a clitic on the first constituent, when that constituent ends in glottal stop, *-n*, or a vowel. It marks intra-constituent modification, including “adjectival” modification (actually a relative clause; (7a)), noun-noun non-possessive modification ((7b)), number/measure modification ((7c)), relative clauses ((7d-e)), demonstrative modification ((7f)), and (intensifier) adverbial modification

((7g)). It also marks the relationship between a positive or negative existential and an existant in an existential predicate ((7h-i)).

- (7) a. *ma-bait na bata* ~ *bata=ng ma-bait*
 STAT-kind/good LNK₂ child child=LNK₂ STAT-kind/good
 ‘good child’ ‘good child’
- b. *bata=ng babae*
 child=LNK₂ woman
 ‘girl’
- c. *isa=ng kilo=ng asukal* ~ *asukal na isa=ng kilo*
 one=LNK₂ kilo=LNK₂ sugar sugar LNK₂ one=LNK₂ kilo
 ‘one kilo of sugar’ ‘one kilo of sugar’
- d. *babae=ng bata=pa* ~ *bata=pa=ng babae*
 woman=LNK₂ young=CON young=CON=LNK₂ woman
 ‘woman who is still young’ ‘woman who is still young’
- e. *ikaw na ma-bait*
 2sgFOC LNK₂ STAT-kind/good
 ‘you, who are good’
- f. *ito=ng bata* ~ *ang bata=ng ito*
 this=LNK₂ child SPEC child=LNK₂ this
 ‘this child’ ‘this child’
- g. *masyado=ng ma-tulin* ~ *ma-tulin na masyado*
 excessively=LNK₂ fast fast LNK₂ excessively
 ‘excessively fast’ ‘excessively fast’
- h. *Mayroon ako=ng pera.* (cf. *Mayroong pera ang titser.*)
 exist 1sgANG=LNK₂ money ‘The teacher has money’
 ‘I have money.’
- i. *Wala ako=ng pera.* (cf. *Walang pera ang titser.*)
 not.exist 1sgANG=LNK₂ money ‘The teacher doesn’t have money’
 ‘I don’t have money.’

2. Speech report constructions

There are three different constructions which are used for both direct and indirect speech reports, with only slight differences between direct and indirect speech reports. Direct speech reports are used mainly in jokes and novels, while in actual conversation mainly indirect reports are used unless the intent is to mimic the person.

2.1 Direct speech report constructions

2.1.1 Inflected non-topic speech act predicates

Two types of direct speech report involve a non-topic speech act predicate inflected for aspect and pivot type which has essentially the same form as a normal two-argument clause, but with the direct speech report taking the role of the undergoer.⁴ Where the predicate is inflected as an undergoer-pivot construction (including imperatives—see (16)), the speech report has the role of topic, but where the predicate is inflected as something other than an undergoer pivot (e.g. actor pivot or locative pivot), then the speech report does not have the role of topic. In these two types the speech report does not usually take the *ang* or *ng* marking of topic and non-topic arguments.

A) Direct speech report as pivot/topic in an undergoer-pivot clause:

- (8) a. *Sinabi ni Michael “A-alis na ako”.*
 [saying:UP SPEC PN]_{PRED} [REDUP-leave:AP CSM 1sgANG]_{TOP}
 ‘Michael said, “I’m leaving”.’
- b. *Sinigaw ni Michael “A-alis na ako!”.*
 [shout:UP SPEC PN]_{PRED} [REDUP-leave:AP CSM 1sgANG]_{TOP}
 ‘Michael shouted, “I’m leaving!”.’
- c. *Itinanong ni Nicodemo sa kaniya*
 [question:UP SPEC PN]_{PRED} [LOC 3sgPERIF]_{PERIF}
“Papaano maipangananak ang tao=ng ma-tanda na?”
 [how will.be.born SPEC person=LNK₂ STAT-old CSM]_{TOP}
 ‘Nicodemo asked him, “How can an old man be born?” (John 3:1)

B) Direct speech report as non-topic/pivot in actor-pivot (9a-b) and locative-pivot (9c-d) clauses:

- (9) a. *Nag-tanong si Michael sa akin “Nasaan ang titser”.*
 AP-question [SPEC PN]_{TOP} [LOC 1sgPERIF]_{PERIF} where SPEC teacher
 ‘Michael asked me, “Where is the teacher”.’
- b. *Sumagot si Jesus “Katotohanan katotohanang sinasabi ko*
 answer:AP [SPEC PN]_{TOP} truth truth:LNK₂ saying:UP 1sgPOS
sa iyo . . .”
 LOC 2sgPERIF
 ‘Jesus answered, “What I’m telling you is the truth, the truth”.’ (John 3:5)

⁴ As an argument, it could be referred to with an anaphoric pronoun. These are Primary B constructions (as defined by Dixon [1995:176]), and so can take a simple referential phrase as argument instead of the clause as argument, as in (i):

- (i) *Sinabi ni Michael ang sagot.*
 [saying:UP LNK₁ PN]_{PRED} [SPEC answer]_{TOP}
 ‘Michael said the answer.’

- c. *Binulungan ako ni Michael “A-alis na ako”.*
 wisper:LP [1sgANG]_{TOP} LNK₁ PN REDUP-leave:AP CSM 1sgANG
 ‘Michael whispered to me, “I am leaving”.’
- d. *Sinabihan ako ng nanay ko “Mamili ka!”*
 saying:LP [1sgANG]_{TOP} LNK₁ mother 1sgPOS choice:AP 2sgANG
 ‘My mother said to me, “You choose!”.’ (esdimen.blogdrive.com)

2.1.2 Speech report as predicate

The other direct speech report construction, and the one used most often in conversation, takes the form of an equative clause with the speech report as the predicate. The topic can be either an inflected undergoer-pivot speech act predicate ((10a-b)) or an uninflected root (e.g. *ayon* ‘agreement, according to’, *sagot* ‘answer’, *bulong* ‘whisper’, *sigaw* ‘shout’, *utos* ‘command’, *tanong* ‘question’, *wika* ‘language, speech’, *yaya* ‘invitation, request’ (10d-f)), in both cases optionally preceded by the specifier *ang*, plus a possessive phrase representing the speaker. The interpretation of the uninflected root construction is usually past or habitual, while that of the inflected root is more determinate. Depending on the context, the topic of either type can appear in initial position in the *ay* predicate inversion construction, which reverses the order of the two constituents and puts the particle *ay* (or a pause) between them ((10a,d)), or in the normal topic position ((10b,c,e,f)).⁵

- (10) a. *(Ang) sinabi ni Michael ay “Mahal kita”.*
 [SPEC saying:UP SPEC PN]_{TOP} PIM [dear 1>2]_{PRED}
 ‘What Michael said is “I love you”.’
- b. *“Mahal kita” (ang) sinabi ni Michael.*
 [dear 1>2]_{PRED} [SPEC saying SPEC PN]_{TOP}
 ‘What Michael said is “I love you”.’
- c. *“Sino ang nag-pasok sa iyo dito?” ang tinanong ko*
 [who SPEC AP-enter LOC 2sgPERIF here]_{PRED} [SPEC question:UP 1sgPOS
sa kanya.
 LOC 3sgPERIF]_{TOP} (www.kwento.100megsfree5.com/Paranoia.htm)
 ‘My question to him was “Who put you in here?”.’

⁵ This structure is not unique to speech complements; it is used with a number of different types of complements, as in (i) and (ii), though with some concepts, such as in these examples, there can be a difference in meaning:

- (i) *Mura lang daw ang bili niya*
 [cheap only HS]_{PRED} [SPEC buying 3sgPOS]_{TOP}
 ‘She said what she paid was cheap’ (www.cathcath.com/2004/10/nakabili-siya-ngmulto.html)
- (ii) *Mura lang daw ang binili niya*
 [cheap only HS]_{PRED} [SPEC buying:UP 3sgPOS]_{TOP}
 ‘She said what she bought was cheap.’

- d. (*Ang*) *sabi ni Michael ay “Mahal kita”*.
 [SPEC saying SPEC PN]_{TOP} PIM [dear 1>2]_{PRED}
 ‘What Michael said is “I love you”.’
- e. “*Mahal kita*” (*ang*) *sabi ni Michael*.
 [dear 1>2]_{PRED} [SPEC saying SPEC PN]_{TOP}
 ‘What Michael said is “I love you”.’
- f. “*Aray!*” *sigaw ng tsonggo. . .* (*Ang Tsonggo at Ang Pagong*)
 [ouch]_{PRED} [shout LNK₁ monkey]_{TOP} (*The Monkey and the Turtle*)
 ‘“Ouch!” the monkey called out loud . . .’ (*seasite.niv.edu*)

Schachter & Otones (1972:169-70) state that clauses such as (10b), with the predicate and topic in normal order, do not occur, but we have not found this to be the case, as can be seen from the attested example (10c) (see also (26), below; we have many other attested examples as well). It isn’t clear if this difference reflects a levelling of what were originally different constructions, or is due to some other factor.

Example (11) shows that a direct quote can be broken up by the quoting element. The break will generally be between clauses, including between a main and subordinate clause (e.g. in (16) below).

- (11) *Minsa-’y tinanong ko kung totoo=ng sa Setyembre 6, 1916*
 [once]_{TOP}-PIM [question:UP 1sgPOS if true=LNK₂ LOC September 6, 1916
- siya ipinanganak. “Hindi ko alam,” a-niya,*
 3sgANG be.born:UP]_{PRED} [NEG 1sgPOS know] [say-3sgPOS]_{TOP}
- “*pero iyon ang sabi sa akin ng aking ina.*”
 [but [that]_{PRED} [SPEC saying LOC 1sgPERIF LNK₁ 1sgPERIF:LNK₂ mother]_{TOP}]
 ‘Once I asked him if it is true that he was born in September 6, 1916. “I don’t know,”
 he said, “but that was what my mother told me.”’
 (*Panitikero (Literary Man)*, by Hermie Beltran; *Kababayan On Line*)

2.2 Indirect speech report constructions

2.2.1 Inflected non-topic speech act predicates

Parallel to the first two types of direct speech report discussed above, two of the indirect speech reports involve a non-topic speech act predicate inflected for aspect and pivot type which has essentially the same form as a normal two-argument clause, but with the direct speech report taking the role of the undergoer. The only structural difference between this construction and the direct speech construction is that the speech report is linked to the clause with the intra-constituent linker (LNK₂: see examples in (7)) when the complement is of a statement or imperative, or with the subordinating particle *kung* when the complement is a question. There are no changes in aspect or intonation compared to direct speech reports, but there may be changes in personal and spatial deixis (e.g. compare (8a) and (12a)). Where the predicate is inflected as an undergoer-pivot construction, the speech report has the role of topic, but where the predicate is inflected as something other than an undergoer pivot (e.g. actor pivot or locative pivot), then the speech report does not have the role of topic. In these

two types the speech report usually does not take the usual *ang* or *ng* marking of topic and non-topic arguments.

A) Indirect speech report as pivot/topic in an undergoer-pivot clause:

- (12) a. *Sinabi ni Michael na a-alis na siya.*
 [saying:UP LNK₁ PN]_{PRED} [LNK₂ [REDUP-leave:AP CSM]_{PRED} [3sgANG]_{TOP}]_{TOP}
 ‘Michael said he’s leaving.’
- b. *Hindi niya masabe sa tsonggo na karamihan*
 [NEG 2sgPOS AB:saying LOC monkey]_{PRED} [LNK₂ [majority
ng halaman ay di tumutubo kung wala=ng ugat.
 LNK₁ plant]_{TOP} PIM [NEG grow:AP if NEG=LNK₂ root]_{PRED}]_{TOP}
 If only he can tell the monkey that most of the plants won’t grow if there is no
 root. (Ang Tsonggo at Ang Pagong; seasite.niv.edu)

B) Indirect speech report as non-topic/pivot in actor-pivot ((13a-b)) and locative-pivot ((13c-d)) clauses:

- (13) a. *Nag-sabi si Michael na a-alis na siya.*
 AP-saying [SPEC PN]_{TOP} LNK₂ REDUP-leave:AP CSM 3sgANG
 ‘Michael said he’s leaving.’
- b. *Tumagal ang sakit ni Aling Osang, ngunit*
 long.time:AP SPEC illness LNK₁ aunt PN however
nag-re-reklamo na si Pina
 AP-REDUP-complaint CSM [SPEC PN]_{TOP}
na pagod na raw ito sa pag-li-lingkod sa ina.
 LNK₂ tired CSM HS this LOC GER-REDUP-serve LOC mother
 ‘Aling Osang’s illness is prolonged, and so Pina is already complaining that (she) is already tired from taking care of the mother. (Alamat ng Piña (The legend of Pineapple))
- c. *Lagi na lang ako=ng⁶ sinasabihan ni Liza*
 always CSM only 1sgANG=LNK₂ saying:LP LNK₁ PN
na mag-exercise.
 LNK₂ AP-exercise
 ‘Liza is always telling me to exercise.’ (esdimen.blogdrive.com)

⁶ In this clause, *ako* is actually the topic of *sinasabihan*, but as the clause with *sinasabihan* is embedded in the clause with *lagi* as the predicate, *ako* moves to the clitic position of the main predicate, that is this clause is equivalent to *Lagi na lang [na sinasabihan ako ni Liza [na mag-exercise]]*.

- d. *Pumunta si Erap sa Alaska, pag-dating duon,*
 go:AP SPEC Erap LOC Alaska GER-arrive there
tinanong siya kung kumusta ang weather sa Pilipinas.
 question:LP 3sgANG SUB how SPEC weather LOC PN
 ‘Erap went to Alaska. arriving there, he was asked how the weather
 was in the Philippines.’ (www.epilipinas.com)

In these structures, an indirect speech complement that is a statement or an imperative has the same form as an independent clause, except there could be a difference in deixis. An indirect speech complement that is a question also has the same form as an independent clause, except the optional question marking enclitic *ba* may more often be deleted.

2.2.2 Speech report as predicate

The most commonly heard speech report form takes the form of an equative clause with the speech report as the predicate. The topic can be either an inflected undergoer-pivot speech act predicate ((14a-b), and the middle of the three speech act clauses in (14e)) or an uninflected root ((14c-d), and the first and last speech act clauses of (14e)) (in both cases optionally preceded by the specifier *ang*), plus a possessive phrase representing the speaker. The interpretation of the uninflected root construction is usually past or habitual, while the interpretation of the inflected root depends on the particular form used. Depending on the context, the topic of either type can appear in initial position in the *ay* predicate inversion construction, which reverses the order of the two constituents and puts the particle *ay* (or a pause) between them ((14a,c,e)), or in the normal topic position ((14b,d)). In the case of the inflected undergoer-pivot speech act predicate, no complementiser is used in the case of complements that are statements or imperatives, but *kung* is used for complement clauses that are interrogatives. Because in some cases the resulting clause can be ambiguous between a direct speech act and an indirect speech act, the particle *daw/raw* can be added to the complement clause to mark it as an indirect speech complement. In the case of an uninflected root, no complementisers are used for any type of clause, so the structure is exactly the same as that for direct speech, and it is only by interpretation of the deixis and the possible use of *daw/raw* in the complement clause that it can be disambiguated from a direct speech complement.

- (14) a. *(Ang) sinabi ni Michael (ay/na) a-alis na (daw) siya.*
 [SPEC saying:UP SPEC PN]_{TOP} PIM/[LNK₂ REDUP-leave:AP CSM HS 3sgANG]_{PRED}
 ‘Michael said he’s leaving.’ (In answer to *Anong sinabi ni Michael?* ‘What was it Michael said?’)
- b. *(Na) a-alis na daw siya (ang) sinabi ni Michael.*
 [LNK₂ [REDUP-leave:AP CSM HS 3sgANG]_{PRED} [SPEC saying:UP LNK₁ PN]_{TOP}
 ‘Michael said he’s leaving.’
- c. *(Ang) sabi ni Michael (ay) a-alis na (daw) siya.*
 [SPEC saying LNK₁ PN]_{TOP} PIM [REDUP-leave:AP CSM HS 3sgANG]_{PRED}
 ‘Michael said he’s leaving.’
- d. *a-alis na daw siya (ang) sabi ni Michael*
 [REDUP-leave:AP CSM HS 3sgANG]_{PRED} [SPEC saying LNK₁ PN]_{TOP}
 ‘Michael said he’s leaving.’

- e. (Continuing on from (12d), asking Erap about the weather in the Philippines)
Sagot ni Erap, "Here in Alaska it's cold, but in the Philippines it's hot".
 answer LNK₁ Erap

Nag-taka ngayon ang isa=ng Alaskan reporter
 AP-wonder now SPEC one=LNK₂ Alaskan reporter

at tinanong si Erap, bakit daw. Sagot si Erap,
 and question:LP SPEC Erap why HS answer SPEC Erap

"cause you see, the sun here in Alaska is only 110 volts; in the Philippines, it's 220!"
 'Erap's answer was "Here in Alaska it's cold, but in the Philippines it's hot". One of the Alaskan reporters wondered, and he asked Erap why." Erap's answer was "cause you see, the sun here in Alaska is only 110 volts; in the Philippines, it's 220!"

2.3 Complex structures

It is possible to get multiple embedding of complement structures, as in (15):

- (15) *Na-sabi na ba ni Michael sa yo*
 PFV-say CSM Q LNK₁ PN LOC 2sgPERIF

na na-tanong ko na doon sa college,
 [LNK₂ PFV-question 1sgPOS CSM there LOC college]

na yung sabi niya university to university daw yung transaction.
 [LNK₂ that:LNK₂ saying 2sgPOS HS that:LNK₂]

'Has Michael told you that I have already asked the college, that what they say is that the transaction should be university to university?' (Janina in web chat)

It is also possible to have an indirect speech report within a direct speech report ((16)), or mixed together in a passage ((17)):

- (16) *"Sabi-hin ninyo," anya sa mga utusan,*
 saying-IMPER 2plPOS [say LOC PL servant]_{TOP}

"na i-balik ang bakod sa dati=ng kinatayuan."
 LNK₂ IP-return SPEC fence LOC original=LNK₂ place.of.standing

"You tell," he said to the servants, "to return the fence to it's original place." (*Alamat ng sampaguita (The legend of Jasmin)*; seasite.niv.edu)

- (17) *"Naku ang nanay ko, bakit ka nagka-sakit?"*
 INTRJ SPEC mother 1sg why 2sgANG become-sick

ang tanong ni Pina. "Ewan ko nga ba,"
 [SPEC question LNK₁ Pina]_{TOP} not.know 1sg indeed Q

ang wika ng ina, sabay utos
 [SPEC speech LNK₁ mother]_{TOP} simultaneous command

na kong puwede=ng ipag-lugaw nito ang nanay.
 [LNK₂ SUB alright=LNK₂ BP-porridge thisPOS SPEC mother]

“Oh gosh! My mother, why did you get sick?” Pina asked (lit.: Pina’s question was ...). “I really don’t know,” the mother said (lit.: the mother’s speech was ...), while at the same time she asked if it would be alright for her (the daughter) to make porridge for her (the mother). (*Alamat ng Piña (The legend of Pineapple)*)

2.4 Other constructions

Given the ability of any sort of word to appear as predicating element, it is also possible to make the speech complement the predicating element as well:

- (18) a. *Mag-hello ka.*
 AP-hello 2sgANG
 ‘Say "Hello".’
- b. *Mag-Good Morning ka.*
 AP-good.morning 2sgANG
 ‘Say "Good Morning".’

With naming, the name given is linked to the predicate with the intra-constituent linker (as with indirect speech reports):

- (19) *Ipapangalanin ko=ng “Michael” ang sanggol.*
 name:UP 1sgPOS=LNK₂ PN [SPEC baby]_{TOP}
 ‘I will name the baby “Michael”.’

There are some instances, particularly when the quoted form is a fixed or common phrase or name, where *ng* or *ang* is used before the quote (non-topic or topic respectively):

- (20) a. *Sumigaw siya ng “Sugod mga kababayan!”.*
 shout:AP 3sgANG LNK₁ advance PL countrymen
 ‘He shouted, “Advance, Countymen!”’
- b. *Nag-dasal siya ng “Ama namin ...”* (also *Ama namin* as name of prayer)
 AP-prayer 3sgANG LNK₁ father 1plPOS
 ‘He prayed, “Our father ...”.’
- c. ... at *ang* “sumpa kita” ... ay naging “sampaguita”.
 and SPEC curse 1>2 PIM become
 ‘... and the (phrase) “sumpa kita” became “sampaguita”.’
 (*Alamat ng sampaguita (The legend of Jasmin)*)
- d. *Wala na-ng kasunod na lesson ang “How to tell time”.*
 NEG CSM=LNK₂ following LNK₂ lesson SPEC
 ‘There was no more lesson after “How to tell time”.’ (*Abnkkbsnplako?!)*

Onomatopoeia (with *ng* before quote):

- (21) ... *ma-ri-rinig mo ang mga classmate namin*
 AB-REDUP-hear 2sgPOS SPEC PL classmate 1plPOS

na para=ng palaka, kokak nang kokak ng
 LNK₂ like=LNK₂ frog onomatopoeic and onomatopoeic LNK₁

“*Pootok, Pootok... Pootok.*”
 onomatopoeic onomatopoeic onomatopoeic
 ‘... I can hear our classmates, kokak kokaking like frogs (saying) “Pootok, pootok. . . Pootok.”’
 (Abnkkbsnplako?!, p. 40)

It is possible in some cases to have a direct speech act when there is no quoting predication, and here *ang* is often used before the quote:

(22) a. ... *nasa mukha niya ang “Lagot ka, anak!”*
 on face 2sgPOS SPEC be.in.trouble 2sgANG child
 ‘... on her face was “Child! You are in trouble!”’ (Abnkkbsnplako?!, p. 28)

b. ... *ginising ang nahihimbing na kabiyak,*
 waken:UP SPEC fast.asleep LNK₂ other.half

“*Gising na Edna, at tayo-’y mahuhuli sa misa.*”
 waken CSM PN and 1plANG-PIM STAT-REDUP-late LOC mass
 ‘Waking his soundly-sleeping spouse, (he said), “Wake up, Edna, or we will be late for mass.”’

If the quoted source is not human, such as a book, the same structure can be used with the predicate formed with *ayon* ‘according to’ or even *sabi* ‘saying’, but the source is made a locative argument:

(23) a. *Sabi sa bibliya, pagibig ay pang-kapayapaan.*
 saying LOC Bible love PIM IP-for.peace
 ‘The Bible says love is for peace.’ (angeljustforyou.blogdrive.com)

3. On the use of *daw/raw*

We saw above how the particle *daw/raw* can be used in an indirect speech report when the speech report is the predicate. In some cases the particle *daw/raw* may be the only clue that the clause is a quote, forming a monoclausal or free indirect speech report, as in (24-25):

(24) *Sabi ng nanay sa anak, “Anak paki-sabi sa tatay mo*
 saying LNK₁ mother LOC child child please-say LOC father 2sgPOS

tulungan ako!” Anak sa tatay, “tatay tulungan mo daw siya.”
 help:LF 1sgANG child LOC father father help:LF 2sgPOSHS 3sgANG

Tatay: sabi-hin mo sa nanay mo wala ako=ng panahon.”
 Father: say-IMPER 2sgPOS LOC mother 2sg not.exist 1sgANG=LNK₂ time

Anak: “Nay wala daw siya=ng panahon.”
 child mother NEG HS 3sgANG=LNK₂ time

The mother said to the child, “Child, please tell your father to help me.” Child to father: “Father help her (mother said that you help her). Father: “Tell your mother that I don’t have time.” Child: “Mother, he says he doesn’t have time.”

- (25) Amo: *Bakit ka um-i-iyak?*
 Master: why 2sgANG AP-REDUP-cry
- Maid: *Sabi po ng doctor, tanggalan daw ako ng butlig.*
 saying POL LNK₁ doctor cut.off:LF HS 1sgANG LNK₁ sty
- Amo: *Butlig lang i-iyak ka na!!*
 Master: sty only REDUP-cry 2sgANG CSM
- Maid: *OK lang kung one lig, eh butligs daw eh!!*
 OK only if one leg INTJ both.legs HS INTJ
- Master: Why are you crying?
 Maid: The doctor says that my butlig (boil) has to be cut off.
 Master: It's only (a) butlig and you are already crying?
 Maid: There is no problem if it was only one leg (be cut off), but (he) says both legs (butligs)! (www.pinoyjokes.net)

The particle *daw/raw* is also used in some cases in the quoting part of a direct speech report clause to mark the direct quote as one not actually heard by the speaker:

- (26) *“Sumpa kita! Sumpa kita!” ang winiwika raw ng tinig.*
 curse 1sg>2sg curse 1sg>2sg [SPEC saying:UP HS LNK₁ voice]_{TOP}
 “I curse you! . . . I curse you!” This is what the voice was saying (I heard)
 (*Alamat ng sampaguita (The legend of Jasmin)*)

The particle *daw/raw* can then be used in different parts of the whole speech reporting clause, producing three possible meanings:

- (27) a. *Sabi ni Michael, nakita daw siya ni Maria.*
 [sayingLNK₁ PN]_{TOP} [seeing:UP HS 3sgANG LNK₁ PN]_{PRED}
 ‘Michael said he was seen by Maria.’ (speaker heard Michael report what Michael heard from someone else)
- b. *Sabi daw ni Michael, nakita siya ni Maria.*
 [saying HS LNK₁ PN]_{TOP} [seeing:UP 3sgANG LNK₁ PN]_{PRED}
 ‘Michael said he was seen by Maria.’ (speaker reports what he heard from someone else about what Michael said)
- c. *Sabi daw ni Michael, nakita daw siya ni Maria.*
 [saying HS LNK₁ PN]_{TOP} [seeing:UP HS 3sgANG LNK₁ PN]_{PRED}
 ‘Michael said he was seen by Maria.’ (speaker reports what he heard from someone else about what Michael heard from someone else)

4. Reported thought

Reported thought can have the same structure as reported speech, but with a predicate based on a word like *isip* ‘mind, thought, thinking’ rather than a word like *sabi* ‘saying’, as in (28a), but more often a structure that involves a locative expression such as *sa isip-(isip) ko* ‘in my

mind' or *sa loob-loob* 'inside' is used, either with *sabi* (or some other quoting verb), as in (28b), or alone, as in (28c).

- (28) a. *Iniisip ko ano ba=ng purpose ko dito.*
 think:UP 1sgPOS what Q=LNK₂ purpose 1sgPOS here
 'I am thinking what is my purpose here?' (behindmylife.blogdrive.com)
- b. *"Sisiw!" sabi ko sa isip.*
 chick saying 1sgPOS LOC mind
 "'Chick!' I said in my mind.' (randyvaliente.blogspot.com)
- c. *Sa isip-isip ko ma-i-su-suot ko ba ito sa UP?*
 LOC mind-mind 1sgPOS AB-UP-REDUP-wear 1sgPOS Q this LOC U.of.Philippines
 'I'm thinking, can I wear this at UP?' (www.livejournal.com)

5. Complementation

Most of what Dixon (1995:176) defines as Secondary Concepts (e.g. 'want', 'must', 'can', 'not') are represented by non-inflecting but complement-taking words in Tagalog (similar to the 'semi-auxiliaries' in Fijian (Dixon 1988)). The structure of the complementation construction is the same as that found in the indirect speech report constructions.

- (29) a. *Gusto ng titser na pupunta.*
 want LNK₁ teacher LNK₂ go
 'The teacher wants to go.'
- b. *Puwede ba ako=ng um-alis?*
 possible Q 1sgANG=LNK₂ AP-leave
 'Is it OK if I leave?'

Another subset of Secondary Concepts ('decide', 'believe', 'hope') is represented by location focus predicates, and again the complement takes the same form as indirect speech reports:

- (30) a. *Inaasahan ko=ng pupunta siya dito bukas.*
 hope:LP 1sgPOS=LNK₂ go 3sgANG here tomorrow
 'I hope he comes here tomorrow.'
- b. *Ang inaasahan ko ay pupunta siya dito bukas.*
 [SPEC hope:LP 1sgPOS]_{TOP} PIM [going 3sgANG here tomorrow]_{PRED}
 'My hope is that he comes here tomorrow.'

Primary B concepts other than those discussed above (e.g. 'hear', 'see', 'notice', 'feel', 'guess', 'understand', 'forget', 'think (mistakenly)', 'think', 'know') are generally represented by words that can inflect for aspect and pivot type, and when appearing with complement clauses, can have the same structures as the indirect speech report constructions.

- (31) *Alam ko=ng pupunta siya dito bukas.*
 know 1sgPOS=LNK₂ going 3sgANG here tomorrow
 ‘I know he will come here tomorrow.’

Some causative-pivot clauses based on mental states also take complements, and again the structure is the same as indirect speech reports:

- (32) *Ikina-tu-tuwa ko=ng pupunta siya dito bukas.*
 CAUS-REDUP-happy 1sgPOS=LNK₂ go 3sgANG here tomorrow
 ‘His coming tomorrow makes me happy.’

Many stative predicates can also take complements with this form:

- (33) a. *Ma-bilis na kumalat ang balita.*
 STAT-quick LNK₂ spread:AP SPEC news
 ‘The news spread quickly’ (Lit: ‘The spread of the news was quick’)
- b. *Ma-bilis siya=ng lumalakad.* cf. (6a)
 STAT-quick 3sgANG=LNK₂ walk:AP
 ‘He’s walking quickly’ (lit: ‘His walking is quick.’)
- c. *Na-tu-tuwa ako na pupunta siya dito bukas.*
 PFV-REDUP-happy 1sgANG LNK₂ go 3sgANG here tomorrow
 ‘I am happy that he is coming tomorrow’

This structure can also be used for intensification and for simultaneous actions:

- (34) a. *Ma-bilis na ma-bilis*
 STAT-quick LNK₂ STAT-quick
 ‘very quick’
- b. *Kumakaing nag-ba-basa. ~ nag-ba-basa=ng kumakain.*
 eating:AP:LNK₂ AP-REDUP-reading AP-REDUP-reading=LNK₂ eating:AP
 ‘(He) reads while he eats.’

6. Summary

We have seen that there are basically two structures, one where the speech report is the topic or non-topic argument, and one where it is the predicate. With the former there is a choice of making the speech report the topic or not, and in the latter there is the choice of inflecting the quoting word or not. The same structures are used for direct and indirect speech, except that a complementiser is often used for the latter. The complementiser used for non-interrogative indirect speech reports is the same linker used in most complementation and modification structures. There is also a particle (*daw/raw*) used to help disambiguate indirect from direct speech, and can be used alone as a marker of indirect speech in a monoclausal indirect speech report.

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