

Contents

Acknowledgments — VII

List of Figures — XIII

List of Tables — XV

List of Abbreviations — XVII

List of Glosses — XIX

1 Introduction — 1

- 1.1 Tagalog Essentials — 1
 - 1.1.1 Phonology and Writing System — 2
 - 1.1.2 Basic Sentence Structures — 6
 - 1.1.3 Morphology for Referring Expressions — 7
 - 1.1.4 Verbal Morphology — 10
 - 1.1.5 Inversion Constructions — 17
- 1.2 Structure and Goals of this Dissertation — 20

2 Introduction to Role and Reference Grammar — 23

- 2.1 Syntactic Representation — 24
 - 2.1.1 The Layered Structure of the Clause — 25
 - 2.1.2 The Constituent Projection — 26
 - 2.1.3 The Operator Projection — 27
 - 2.1.4 The Structure of Complex Sentences — 31
 - 2.1.5 More Layered Structures — 33
- 2.2 Semantic Representation — 34
 - 2.2.1 The Predicate — 34
 - 2.2.2 Macroroles and Transitivity in Role and Reference Grammar — 39
- 2.3 Syntactic Relations in Role and Reference Grammar — 42
- 2.4 The Linking Algorithm — 44
 - 2.4.1 Linking from Semantics to Syntax — 45
 - 2.4.2 Linking from Syntax to Semantics — 48
- 2.5 A Frame-Based Approach to the Syntax-Semantics Interface — 51
 - 2.5.1 Formalizing the Syntactic Representation — 51
 - 2.5.2 Formalizing the Semantic Representation and Linking — 54
- 2.6 Information Structure — 60

- 2.6.1 Notions of Information Structure — 60
- 2.6.2 Representation of Information Structure in Role and Reference Grammar — 63
- 2.6.3 Further Information-Structural Notions — 65

- 3 Data Collection — 71**
 - 3.1 Data Acquisition in the Field 2016 — 71
 - 3.1.1 Consultants — 71
 - 3.1.2 Elicitation Materials and Procedures — 72
 - 3.1.3 Data Processing — 79
 - 3.1.4 Evaluation of the Acquired Data — 81
 - 3.2 Data Acquisition in the Field 2018 — 85
 - 3.2.1 Consultants — 85
 - 3.2.2 Elicitation Materials and Procedures — 87
 - 3.2.3 Data Processing — 90
 - 3.2.4 Evaluation of the Acquired Data — 90
 - 3.3 The Hunger Games — 91
 - 3.4 Overview of Data Collection — 93

- 4 A Broad Look at *ay*-Inversion — 95**
 - 4.1 The Various Uses of *ay*-Inversion — 95
 - 4.1.1 *ay*-Inversion of Arguments — 97
 - 4.1.2 Adverbials in *ay*-Inversions — 103
 - 4.1.3 Possessor Ascension — 107
 - 4.1.4 Pseudo Verbs and Modal Particles — 112
 - 4.1.5 Variations of *ay*-Inversions — 114
 - 4.2 Information-Structural Considerations — 124
 - 4.2.1 *wh*-Questions and Answers — 125
 - 4.2.2 Iteration of *ay*-Inversion — 127
 - 4.2.3 TOP > FOC — 128
 - 4.2.4 Resumptive Pronouns — 129
 - 4.2.5 *ay*-Inversion and Focus (Sensitive Particles) — 130
 - 4.3 Interim Summary — 134
 - 4.4 Case Study: *ay*-Inversion in *Hunger Games* and Fieldwork — 136
 - 4.4.1 Fronted Macro-Roles and Voice Selection — 137
 - 4.4.2 Information Structural Properties — 139
 - 4.5 Summary and Outlook — 144

- 5 Towards a Description of *ay*-inversion in Role and Reference Grammar — 151**

5.1	Tagalog Clause Structure in RRG — 151
5.1.1	Basic Sentence Structure — 151
5.1.2	Inversion Constructions — 154
5.2	Applying the Analyses to Data — 163
5.2.1	<i>ay</i> -Inversion in the Left-Detached Position — 163
5.2.2	LDP- <i>ay</i> vs. PrCS- <i>ay</i> — 172
5.3	Information-Structure Projection — 178
5.4	Conclusion — 186
6	Reference Tracking, Topic Chains, and <i>ay</i>-Inversion — 193
6.1	General Remarks on Reference Tracking — 193
6.1.1	A Brief Typology of Reference-Tracking Systems — 193
6.1.2	Reference Tracking in the Local and Extended Domain — 196
6.2	Reference Tracking in Tagalog — 199
6.2.1	Local vs. Extended Domains — 199
6.2.2	Tracking Participants through Discourse — 203
6.3	Frame Semantic Modeling of Discourse Referents and Reference Tracking — 211
6.3.1	Basic Definitions and Mechanisms — 211
6.3.2	Example: Basic Anaphora Resolution in Hungarian — 216
6.4	Formulation of Language-Specific Constraints for Tagalog — 218
6.5	Case Study: Topic Shifts and <i>ay</i> -Inversion — 222
6.5.1	Data Annotation — 224
6.5.2	Quantitative Results — 236
6.6	Summary and Outlook — 252
7	Reversed <i>ang</i>-Inversion — 257
7.1	Reversed <i>ang</i> -Inversion in Spoken Data — 258
7.1.1	QUIS Fairy Tale — 258
7.1.2	Frog Stories — 262
7.2	Reversed <i>ang</i> -inversion in the <i>Hunger Games</i> Data — 267
7.2.1	Translations of cleft structures — 267
7.2.2	More Reversed <i>ang</i> -Inversions in Translated Data — 291
7.3	Summary and Outlook — 297
8	Conclusion — 301
8.1	Overview of Findings — 301
8.2	Open Questions and Outlook — 302
A	Translation Tasks used for Elicitation — 305

XII — Contents

- A.1 Unhappy Rats — **305**
- A.2 Unhappy Dog — **306**
- A.3 Unhappy Dog (updated version, 2018) — **307**
- A.4 Further Translation Tasks — **309**

B Story Prompts Used for Elicitation — 311

Bibliography — 313

Index — 321