

I Hope It Will Be Repeated Again:
**Emotion, Denial of Agency, and Grammatical Voice in a
Tagalog Video Melodrama**

by

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This paper is about the confluence of Tagalog grammar with culture-history.¹ It examines usages of the language of experience within a complex cultural and historical formation. By "language of experience", I mean language describing emotions, sensations, and thoughts.² The historical formation is the Filipino diaspora and the transnational community that it has produced, as seen in a popular film *Sana'y Maulit Muli* 'I Hope It Will Be Repeated Again'. The story was viewed on videotape in Las Vegas and selected passages were translated with the assistance of two Filipino consultants, a young man and woman, both near the apparent ages of the protagonists in the film.³ The task of this paper is to show that characters in the film communicate agency — perceived options for action — by their choice of verbal constructions in emotional language. Tagalog verb affixes on appropriate stems permit speakers to represent focal participants as passive experiencers or as active controllers of events. The affixes of voice that occur in the emotional language of *Sana'y* include *-um-*, *ma-*, *na-*, *mag-*, *nag-*, *-in-* and *-in-*. These will be discussed in more detail in the section on "Tagalog experiential language".

Sana'y is a melodrama. The male consultant on this project refers to the genre somewhat distainfully as *masyadong madrama* 'excessively dramatic'. It portrays characters talking about their thoughts and emotions while living and working in Manila and San Francisco. The locations and occupations shown in the film reflect the 20th Century history of United States policy towards the Philippines, one of military subjugation followed by a post World War II period of support for neocolonial governance. While *Sana'y* contains criticisms of unbridled capitalism and depictions of the painful experiences of Filipinos working in the U.S. economy, it does not appear to be intended primarily as political or economic criticism. In fact, it can be taken as a case study of the process by which symbols and values of the market economy are circulated for general consumption. This paper explores only the language used to communicate about emotional and mental experience. The analysis reveals how emotions are verbally constructed by some Filipinos and how these constructions relate to situations arising out of Filipino culture-history.

There is an important reason why the language of experience must be situated in culture-history. It is because meanings are generated by discourses.⁴ Speech acquires meanings on the fly as senses of conventional options in lexicon and grammar are

compared to emerging situations, none of which exactly matches any preceding events. Emerging situations acquire their significances when assimilated to the categories offered up by culture-history and language. Emerging situations instantiate these conventional categories and stretch their boundaries in new directions. Thus, expressions simultaneously evoke widely known scenarios and expand them to encompass novel events. To cite one example, experiences and scenarios arising out of a history of exploitation must evoke the formation of an experiential grammar and lexicon of suffering, resentment, hope, and volition. The latter two, hope and volition, pertain to the topic of personal agency, which is both a focus of this paper and a preoccupation of contemporary anthropological theory.

Analysis of meaning in discourse requires thick ethnographic descriptions of the contexts of usage. But context must be carefully defined. It is insufficient to define it simply as the situation or setting, because that leaves unanswered the question of "situation or setting according to whom?" I define context as those *culturally defined scenarios* in which linguistic expressions are used. It is defined by the interlocutors and provided by the imagination operating within a cultural tradition.

If we understand conventional cultural contexts, then we are prepared to understand how instances of subjective usage call forth characters defined by social statuses.⁵ We discover how usages negotiate identities of persons and groups. And we see how usages evoke scenarios of cooperation and resistance, as described, for example, by Gumperz (1966). We can understand when choices are made between constructions that are conventional or novel, sanctioned or counter-cultural.

While these results are clearly desirable, they may be difficult to attain. One difficulty comes in defining culture-historically based scenarios with sufficient clarity to reveal the purposes that language serves. Another comes in discovering how speakers and hearers are themselves defining those scenarios and applying them to their own lives. These problems are compounded by the fact that context includes not only the immediately preceding discourse and the ongoing impinging social events, but also the culture-history that gives those events a more general significance. Contexts are nested, so that emergent discourse occurs within ongoing impinging social events, which themselves occur within cultural and historical events unfolding over decades or even

centuries.

So what are the situations that invite grammatical choices, and constrain them, in the Tagalog popular media that is consumed in Manila and Las Vegas? How do the dilemmas of individuals and families living in transnational circumstances relate to Tagalog culture-history? Are situations localized to each city, say, as unemployment or high demand for services, or are they defined by the relationship between the two countries of origin, perhaps as dependency or dominance? Are situations created by a transnational community that transcends both locales, as in the movements of people and their relationships with those that remain and those they encounter? For a characterization of the culture-historical context, I will rely heavily on *The Philippine Temptation: Dialectics of Philippines-U.S. Literary Relations* by E. San Juan, Jr. (1996).

San Juan (1996:5) speaks of over four hundred years of colonial oppression and resistance, which have created a Filipino identity that is "fissured and sedimented" (1996:14-15). In the 20th Century, subjugation to the United States has resulted in "the inferiorized condition of the Filipino" living in a situation of dependency, which has become so embedded in Filipino culture as to constitute a way of life. San Juan calls this way of life a "constellation of action" and a "nexus of tropes," in short, a "habitus (in Pierre Bourdieu's terminology)". One result of the subjugation has been the Filipino diaspora in which hundreds of thousands have migrated to the U.S. seeking escape from political oppression, poverty, or dearth of opportunity. San Juan identifies three stages or "waves" of immigration: (1) The migrant labor movement from 1903 to 1930, which brought young men to work in the fields and canneries of California and Alaska; (2) the importation of war brides and the naturalization of males through service in the U.S. Army and Navy during and after WWII; and (3) the "continuing influx of skilled workers and professionals through family reunification" that began after the 1965 liberalization of U.S. immigration law (1996:95). Filipinos in the U.S. are now 70 percent foreign-born and 60 percent female. The third wave of approximately 630,000 people is "the most numerous and complexly stratified group, due to the fact that they have moved at a time when all sectors of Philippine society were undergoing cataclysmic change" (1996:116). This last group harbors nationalist sentiments and hopes of returning home "if and when their life chances improve." The immediate cause of the diaspora in the latter decades of

the 20th Century is "the immense disarticulation of the local economy by the depredations of the Marcos dictatorship and the avarice of its transnational patrons" (1996:15). By "transnational patrons" one supposes that he is referring to multinational corporations and agencies of the U.S. government.

The most recent immigrants, presumably those of the 1980s and 90s, are composed of "(1) urban professionals, strata exhibiting a self-centered concern for mobility and status via consumerism, and (2) a progressive majority who occupy the lower echelons of the working class exposed to the worst forms of class, racial, and national oppression." (1996:116). It is the first segment of the recently arrived cohort, the urban professionals, that is best represented in the film analyzed in this paper. However, in the course of the film, the two protagonists, Agnes and Jerry, both spend some time in the working class.

San Juan (1996:96-97) portrays the Filipino diaspora as dominated on the one hand by "U.S. market ideology" and on the other by "neoliberal paradigms in Philippine society and the cultural subjugation of individual Filipinos". Part of this cultural subjugation involves an orientation to the service economy:

As long as this geopolitics of Philippine dependency dictates the contingencies of development for the majority of Filipinos, we can expect the transplantation of Filipino bodies into the U.S. to continue and with it the corresponding *recolonizing of sensibilities for the complex needs of a service and information-oriented economy* [emphasis added - GBP] (1996:101).

The market-oriented sensibility springs partly from "the hegemonic power of the U.S. Imaginary", which is "a network of fantasies programmed in Filipino psyches by a massive influx of U.S. media / ideological products to promise the fulfillment of dreams for every Filipino" (San Juan 1996:102). One need not look far to see evidence of "the U.S. Imaginary" in language. One of the most obvious signs of the sway that it holds over Filipino minds is the heavy use of English code-switching and mixing among young urban professionals.

San Juan describes a countervailing view of the situation that is championed by post-modernist authors, such as Yen Le Espiritu (1994). Espiritu's is a more chaotic view

of Filipino ethnogenesis (stressing flux, multiplicity, multilinearity, negotiation and invented cultural practices). Espiritu's post-modernist story stands in symbolic opposition to the kind of story that anthropologists told in the 1950s, a more elementary tale of identities torn between nativism and assimilation (San Juan 1996). In the post-modernist interpretation, there is no master narrative, no cultural configuration. Thus, there can be no *collective* solution. That is what bothers San Juan. While approving Espiritu's emphasis on invented cultural practices aimed at "both resistance to and acceptance of class and racial hierarchy", he finds her orientation to be "rigorously individualist and also grossly empiricist" (1996:102).

San Juan instead emphasizes the need for continuity with the collectively oriented struggles of writers such as Carlos Bulosan and Jose Garcia Villa, both of whom worked in the farm labor movement of the 1930s. San Juan (1966:117) claims to see a collective consciousness in the making. His story of the Philippines is a grand historical narrative whose villains are racist colonialists, neocolonialists, and neoliberals. Their machinations have created dependency, poverty, and subalternity of peoples subjugated within the ideology and differentiated niches of the market economy. The agonists are the Filipino people (symbolized by activist migrant farm workers) who must recognize their predicament, resist it collectively, and perhaps, like Bulosan, achieve a Christ-like transcendence indebted only to native Filipino morality.

San Juan concedes that many Filipinos have not yet recognized the true nature of their predicament and the costs of dependency. Among those who promote and accept dependency, there is a "libidinal investment in an archetypal pattern of exile and redemptive return" (1966:117). In his view, the concept of exile must be related to the global division of labor "under the dictat of U.S. finance capital (via IMF / World Bank, the United Nations, and private foundations) " (1966:118). He speaks ruefully of Filipinos' "persistently reproduced subordination," their "gratitude for being given an entry visa," and their cherished belief in national parity with the United States (1996:124).

An emerging social formation that San Juan and others seem not to take explicitly into account is the transnational pose of so many contemporary Filipino families. It is not simply that Filipinos are enmeshed in transnational cultural fields; they are also creating

and expanding them. Many apparent residents of the U.S. not only have family members in the islands, but they also maintain businesses and part-time jobs there. Travel to and fro and the shipping of goods in "*balikbayan* ('return-country') boxes" are commonplaces in the lives of Filipinos living in Las Vegas, at least of those with the means to travel and purchase consumer goods. When finances permit, elderly parents and school-age children are brought to the U.S., either temporarily or permanently. At intervals, parents may demand return visits paid for by their children.

How do such transient lifestyles and polarized orientations between Manila and Las Vegas affect the formation of personal identities? Transnational lifestyles may foster acceptance of multiple nationalities, raising questions of divided or mixed allegiances. Having two national identities, does one compartmentalize or integrate them? Does one activate them as needed? Are there sustainable identities forming somewhere along a continuum stretching between those of natives to Manila and Las Vegas? Linguistic code-switching and mixing provide evidence for a strategy of cultural integration. Community leaders also appear to stress integration, as when they arrange for the singing of both the U.S. and Filipino national anthems at ethnic picnics. At the same picnic, a Filipina singer covers songs of Janet Jackson and other American pop stars. Booths display cell phones and advertise cable TV, proclaiming an enthusiastic embracement of American-style consumerism.

But gaudy displays of American pop culture can be misleading. Many — possibly most — Filipinos in Las Vegas, including those earning low incomes as service workers in the hotels, make large financial remittances to support families in the islands, both to improve the life of those who remain and to bring family members to the U.S. for family reunification, education, and employment, thus closing the circle in what appears to be a positive feedback process as families ratchet themselves into niches of the U.S. economy and expand their economies back in the islands. The remittance of funds from foreign countries to the Philippines has become the country's largest industry, providing over six billion dollars worth of foreign exchange according to the documentary film *Modern Heroes...* (1998).

Ideology and Grammar

If the fantasies of the U.S. media are truly "programmed in Filipino psyches", as San Juan asserts, then they should also surface in Filipino media. Will those media simply reproduce American themes of the market economy — consumerism, individual achievement, accumulation, competition, and consumption — or will we find them interlaced with other themes arising from Filipino culture and history? If the latter, will American ideas provide sources of drama, contradictions, and tensions? Will they produce identities characterized by restless flux, multiplicity, polyvocality, and multilineality "in dialogue with and in opposition to the racist ideologies and practices within the United States" (Espiritu 1994, quoted in San Juan 1996:102)? Will Filipinos respond with the language of the oppressed and subaltern, with fantasies of exile and redemptive return? Will their themes be ingratiation and willing acquiescence to co-optation, or will they speak ideologies that are counter-cultural and anti-hegemonic? Perhaps they will merge American themes with historically determined Filipino themes into an ethos that provides the possibility of coherent, satisfying individual and group identities, either in concordance with or in opposition to ideologies and practices within the United States. Finally, we must ask whether the predicaments and experiences of Filipinos are recognizably transnational or whether they spring from local perspectives.

Whatever poses are adopted by Filipinos, we must find a way to determine how they are communicated in the subjective language of experience. Perhaps a close analysis of the grammar of experience will provide some insight into what San Juan (1966:117) calls "the predicament of the intractable temper of Filipino subjectivity." If we take the position of cognitive linguistics (Langacker 1987, Lakoff 1987) and what I have termed cultural linguistics — that grammar includes semantics, and semantics implicates encyclopedic cultural knowledge — then the interpretation of grammar in actual discourse may require the thick description of culture history.

But the context of Filipino transnational experience seems almost hopelessly complex and layered. How can one possibly relate it to the elegant paradigms of grammar as understood by linguists? Perhaps the best way to begin is to collate some expressions and constructions that speak of subjective experience. These are provided in the next

section. Following that, I will examine the grammar of emotional and cognitive experience in a contemporary melodrama. The video *Sana'y Maulit Muli 'I Hope It Will Be Repeated Again'* dramatizes several facets of the predicament of the Tagalog transnational community, at least as experienced by two young middle-class lovers, Agnes and Jerry. They experience anguished separation from home, family, and friends. They encounter dehumanizing ideologies and onerous social demands of the market economy. They are exploited by callous employers and immigration officials. Agnes discovers the freedom, danger, and loneliness of feminine self-reliance. Nevertheless, they both succumb to the temptations and comforts of consumerism. My hope is that a close examination of the language of experience will help to reveal the drama of transnational lives as they are represented in the Tagalog popular media.

Tagalog Experiential Language

In Tagalog, persistent inner feelings and emotions (*damdamin* and *kalooban*) are contrasted with transient feelings (*pakiramdam*) caused by outside events that effect the body or the emotions.⁶ Thoughts and feelings contrast with the physical body (*pisikal*). Many mental experiences are characterized as things that happen to a person (*nangyayari sa isang tao*). The self can be described in terms of parts of the personality (*bahagi ng pagkatao*) or in terms of the inner being (*niloloob*) or soul (*kaluluwa*). Other salient Tagalog categories include conditions or states, thinking, knowledge, consciousness, attitudes, and capacities. Many terms for cognitive activities are described as ways of doing something. Tagalog also characterizes types of people as, for example, intelligent, stupid, slow, lazy, easily irritated, or having abnormal thoughts. Other language of cognition and emotions describes characteristic actions and movements. Some thoughts and emotions are expressed metaphorically.

But the language of emotional and cognitive experience is more than a lexicon of emotion- and cognition-terms. Speakers recruit every aspect of language, from prosody to morphology, lexicon, clause, narrative, and conversational rhythm, to communicate experiential meanings. The following list provides only a few of the lexical and phrasal

options available in Tagalog. They are mostly excerpts from songs by YANO and Parokya ni Edgar, musical groups whose tapes are played by teenagers and young adults in both the Philippines and Las Vegas. A few are from *Sana'y Maulit Muli*. Full Tagalog text and morphological analyses are presented only where necessary.

Use of English Emotion Terms in Tagalog or Mixed Text

- (1) *barat na allocation sa education* 'stingy allocations for education'
commercialization, colonialization
privatization, kawang oblation 'privatization, pitiful initiations'
sa state university
*'at state university' state u, **hate u**, sa state university*⁷
- (2) *I went with you*
*kasi **crush** kita ,* 'because I had a crush on you'
*noon pa because **crush** you* 'because I still had a crush on you'⁸
- (3) *Ngayon ako'y nagsisisi kung bakit ako **nag "I love you"!!!***
*'Now I am regretting ever saying "I love you"!!!'*⁹

Obscenity

- (4) *Right in front of me in the jeepney,*
a lady praying with the rosary,
her eyes shut stopped in front of the convent
"only at the bus stop" said the driver
"I might get caught [stopping elsewhere]."
*the lady just kept swearing **banal na aso, santong kabayo** 'holy dog, horse saint'*
natatawa ako, hi, hi, hi, hi, sa 'yo 'I was amused, hi, hi, hi, hi, at you'¹⁰

Mimesis of Psycho-ostensives

- (5) *natatawa ako, hi, hi, hi, hi, sa 'yo* 'I was amused, **hi, hi, hi, hi**, at you'¹¹

Description of Psycho-ostensives

- (6) *he was going out of the bathroom
when he stepped on a kitten
katakot-takot na kamot si kaka'y **napadaing*** 'horrific scratches, Kakay **cried out**'¹²

Use of Tagalog Emotion Term

- (7) *glancing around (window shopping), but can't afford to buy
glancing around, but can't even watch movies without any money
except for bus fare can only afford to buy two cigarettes
it's crazy, this kind of life
di nakakaaliw ang ganitong buhay* '**it's no fun**, this kind of life'¹³

- (8) *natatawa ako, hi, hi, hi, hi, sa 'yo* '**I was amused**, hi, hi, hi, hi, at you'¹⁴

Repetition

- (9) *ako, mahal kita, mahal na mahal* 'I love you, love of love'¹⁵

Use of Verb with Process that Results in Emotion or Feeling

- (10) *Hindi mo alam kung gaano mo ako sasaktan.*
'You don't know how much you **hurt** me.'¹⁶

Description of Facial Expressions (Conceptual Metonymy)

(11) *he managed to step on thumbtacks*

gumulong at nagkaduling-duling 'he rolled on the floor and **got cross-eyed**'¹⁷

(12) *Pakiramdam ko ngayon ako ay pagmumukhang gago!*

'My feeling now I am **making a stupid face**.'¹⁸

Use of Metaphor

(13) *nababato ako gusto kong umuwi*

'I am **turned to stone, bored,**
my desire is to go home.'¹⁹

Denial of Emotion

(14) *Matuto kang maging manhid.*

'Learn to **become insensitive**.'²⁰

What one quickly notices in these expressions is that many emotion terms have verbal affixes, each of which conveys mood as well as voice. In the 14 examples listed above, we find *nag-si-sisi* 'I am regretting' (3), *na-pa-daing* 'he cried out' (6), *di na-ka-ka-aliw* 'It's no fun' (7), *na-ta-tawa* 'I was amused' (8), *sa-sakt-an* '(someone) hurt (someone) (10), *nag-ka-duling-duling* 'got cross-eyed' (11) and *na-ba-bato* 'was turned to stone' (13). Mood may be realis or irrealis. Aspect is most often either completive or incompletive, signified by reduplication as in (1), (4), and (8), or lack of it, operating on the first syllable of the root.

Voice is more complex. Affixes *ma-*, *-in-*, *-in*, *i-* and *-an* put non-controlling and non-agentive participants in focus. The focal participant of *ma-* may be merely an experiencer, but *-in-*, *-in*, *i-* and *-an* require focal participants to be undergoers. Infix *-in-* occurs initially and after *i-* as *ni-*. All may be said to have undergoer focus (UG), but they are usually designated as stative (SF), undergoer (UF), and locative (LF), as in Table 1. They contrast with affixes *mag-* and *-um-*, which have *active (agent) focus* (AF).²¹ The

forms with initial *m-* (*ma-* and *mag-*) are irrealis. They have realis counterparts *na-* and *nag-* and gerund forms *pa-* and *pag-*.²² Related to *mag-* is *maN-*, a form that has more idiosyncratic semantics. Suffix *-in* is also irrealis, but infix *-in-* is realis. The semantics of the voicing affixes is summarized in Table 2.²³ The concern in this paper is how these forms are used in actual discourse to communicate agency or lack of agency on the part of the central participants.

<TABLE 1, HERE>

In the scenarios played out in the melodrama *Sana'y Maulit Muli*, personal agency of the participants is a major element. The repertoire of Tagalog verbal affixes provides ample resources for predicating the nuances of personal agency that surface in this story. Voicing affixes may focus agents, experiencers, goals, or patients. By focusing an agent with *-um-* or *mag-*, an affix also focuses the agency involved. Lack of personal agency may be expressed with a focused experiencer (*ma-*) or patient (*ma-*, *-in*, *-in-*, *i-*, *-an*), or more indirectly by denial of the agency implied by an active form. Controlled surrender of personal agency is expressed metaphorically with an unfocused actor. I will now illustrate these points.

***Sana'y Maulit Muli*, a Transnational Melodrama**

In this section, examples are from the film *Sana'y Maulit Muli* 'I Hope It Repeats Again', or from consultants' discussions of the film. Passages containing language describing feelings or thoughts are presented in boldface type and subjected to morphological analysis. Of special interest is the frequent use of expressions suggesting lack of control. Expressions implying active control by protagonists appear only as directives urging them to become more responsible, and as uncharacteristically assertive outbursts occurring in moments of crisis.

In the film, Lea Salonga plays Agnes, a young middle-class woman who has a boyfriend Jerry, who is in advertising. Jerry, played by Aga Mulach, is ambitious and spends a lot of time with his attractive boss, Cynthia, often leaving Agnes alone. Agnes's

mother wants her to come to the United States, where the mother is living. Jerry's cousin Nick arrives from America, looking rich and important. After a difficult interview with an immigration officer, Agnes is moping about the house, dreading the thought of leaving Jerry. Her Aunt tells her, in (15), to take control of her life. She perceives Agnes as allowing the heart to rule. Here Agnes is the tacit actor for *p-in-a-i-iral* 'let prevail' (< *-in-* + *pa-* + *i-* + *iral*), but she shows a lack of agency by letting the heart prevail. Rather than Agnes being focused as actor, it is the heart, itself a metaphor for lack of control, that is focused as grammatical patient. *Pa-* is the gerund form of stative focus *ma-*. Here it has the sense of "let". The infix *-in-* contributes undergoer focus.

(15) *hindi puweding puro puso ang p-in-a-i-iral*

NEG can.be-LG pure heart REF REAL:UF-GER-R1-prevail

'you can't allow the heart to rule' ~ 'you cannot let the heart prevail'

When departure seems imminent, Agnes says, "Don't let me go; I don't want to go." Jerry says "Remember, you are loved, loved, loved" (16). *Mahal kita* is usually translated as "I love you", but it is attributive or stative focus.²⁴ *Kita* is a focus form of the second person singular pronoun. The loving agent, Jerry, is reduced in prominence by lack of explicit mention. At the denouement of this story, we will hear Jerry use the active form *mag-mahal*, highlighting the role of human agency.

(16) *mahal na mahal na mahal kita.*

loved LG loved LG loved 2S:REF

'you are loved, loved, loved.'

Agnes goes to San Francisco. I asked our consultant, who herself had only recently arrived in the U.S., how she would feel in this situation. She answered, *nalulongkot*, a word usually glossed as 'melancholy', but here as 'lonely' or 'homesick'. You could also say "homesick *na ako*" 'I am homesick now'. You miss the Philippines and think of what you would do if you were there. If you had been in the U.S. for a long time, you could say *nakakaamis* 'oppressed' or you could be "stoned" with boredom (17). The grammar is

stative (*nababato*) and passive (*gusto kong*).

(17) *nababato ako gusto kong umuwi*

REAL:SF-INCM-stone 1S:REF want 1S:GEN-LG AF-go.home

'I am stoned [turned to stone], bored with my desire to go home.'

In Manila, Jerry's mother is incensed that Agnes has left him to go to the U.S. She curses Agnes, calling her a *punetang babaeng*, roughly, 'whoring woman'. Jerry's attractive boss is trying to seduce him and his parents fight over Agnes's behavior and Jerry's distraction. Agnes's brother and sister mistreat her. Her mother, urging a more active role on her, tells her she has to use her brain: *gamitin mo ang utak mo*. Agnes says,

(18a) *Ayoko dito.*

dislike:1S:GEN PROX:LOC

'I don't like it here.'

(18b) *Wala akong kakampi, mamamatay ako sa lungkot.*

lack 1S:REF-LG R1-ST-take.side SF-R1-die 1S:REF DRC melancholy

'I'm not taking sides, I'm dying of home sickness.'

In (18a), *ayoko* is a contraction of *ayaw ko*. In (18b), *ma-mamatay* 'dying', has stative focus. But Agnes also says she is not ready to get married. She does dirty work as a nurse and meets a Filipina friend.

Back in Manila, Jerry gets promoted. His mother interferes with their phone calls. Due to lack of communication and miscommunication, their relationship is starting to get blurry (*nag-ka-halabu-an* < *labo* 'blur'). The prefix is active, but neither Agnes nor Jerry is the agent. Jerry is torn over his relationship with his boss. As Jerry and the boss sit in his car, he speaks of his feelings, using the term *pa-ki-ramdam* 'feelings', a conventional form based on the gerund form of stative *ma-*(19a). The term is used for transient feelings caused by outside events that effect the body or the emotions. Jerry speaks of hearing the crying of Alice, using the stative *na-ri-rinig* (19b), and realizing that she has resentment

towards him (19d).

(19a) *Ang pa-ki-ramdam ko tama ang g-in-a-gawa ko pag ikaw ka-usap ko.*

REF GER-SOC-feel 1S:GEN right REF REAL:UG-R1-do 1S:GEN when 2S:REF ST-talk 1S:GEN

'My feeling is that what I am doing is right when you talk to me.'

(19b) *Pero pag na-ri-rinig ko ang iyak ni Agnes,*

but when REAL:SF-R1-hear 1SG:GEN REF cry PR:GEN PRNM

'But when I hear the Agnes's crying,'

(19c) *pag nababasa ko ang mga sulat niya parang mali eh.*

when REAL:SF-R1-read 1S:GEN REF PL letter 3S:GEN like-Ig wrong eh

'when I read her letter it seems wrong, eh.'

(19d) *Malaki na nga ang tampo niya sa akin.*

great now EMPH REF hurt~anger 3S:GEN DRC 1S:DRC

'She is really feeling hurt and resentful towards me.'

The word *tampo* predicates a feeling of anger and hurt, a sense of sulkiness, often felt between two people who are close or love each other. Otherwise, one would say *nagagalit* '(someone) is angry' or *naiinis* '(someone) is irritated'. *Tampo* is presented as a bare root, suggesting a nominal interpretation, which is reinforced by the referential preposition *ang*. Alice has some agency here, as her feeling is directed towards Jerry, but she is not in focus. If there is a focus at all in this clause, it is the resentment itself, which is preceded by *ang*, the referential preposition used with focal participants. All of the terms expressing experience and emotion in (19a-d) are stative or externally caused, signifying lack of control on the part of the experiencer: *pa-ki-ramdam*, *na-ririnig*, *parang*, even *tampo*.

Jerry won't let Agnes come home. She is then attacked in an alley. She escapes and tries to call him, but he is at Cynthia's place. Agnes goes crazy (*na-ba-baliw*, another stative form). She characterizes herself as stupid, using the nominal root *tanga* 'stupidity'

plus the genitive first person pronoun (9). She uses the usual stative form of believe, suggesting that she was caused to believe and she places herself in undergoer focus to talk about being fooled.²⁵

(20) *Ang tanga ko, ang tanga ko, ang tanga tanga ko.*

'My stupidity, my stupidity, my great stupidity.'

Bakit, bakit ganoon?

'Why, why like this?'

Na-niwal. Bakit niya ako ni-loko?

REAL:SF-believe why 3S:GEN 1S:REF REAL:UG-fool

'I believed him. Why did he fool me?'

Here the self-characterizing mental state is defective (stupidity). Agnes's participation in the verb phrases is stative (*na-niwala*) and as undergoer (*ako ni-loko*). Her mother urges her to take control: "*Huwag kang magpakagaga.*" 'Don't act stupid'; "He's only a guy. Learn to live for yourself." In contrast to the passive language of Agnes, the form *mag-paka-gaga* has active focus. The inner prefix complex *pa-ka-* has an aptative sense.

(21) *Huwag kang magpakagaga .*

don't 2S:REF IRR:AF-APTV-stupid

'Don't act stupid'

Agnes and her mother have a tearful scene of reconciliation. Agnes refuses Jerry's call from Manila and his application for a visa is denied. Increasingly self-reliant, Agnes becomes a real estate agent with her own apartment and car. Jerry goes to New York on business and then comes to San Francisco to visit her. Agnes's speech is assertive and impersonal. She is distant. Jerry says "Why did you disappear? I didn't disappear? I finally realized [*na-tau-han ako*, another stative form in which the actor is an undergoer].

It was a long time before I accepted that your work took you away from me and your ambition grabbed you away from me." Agnes says,

(22) *Mahirap magkaintindihan ang dalawang tao na nasa magkabilang dulo ng mundo.*

hard IRR:AF-ST-understand-LOC REF two-LG person LG LOC AF-side-LG end GEN world

'It is hard for two people to understand each other from the opposite ends of the world.'

This is a turning point in the plot and in the grammar, sowing the seed of eventual reconciliation. Although the adverbial *mahirap* is stative or attributive, Agnes has used an agentive form in the prefix on *mag-ka-intindi-han* 'understand each other'. However, the sense here is that the realization of personal agency is difficult. This is a kind of denial of agency. The sense of reciprocity is predicated by the *mag - ___ - an* construction. Jerry says, "*Mahal mo pa ba ako Agnes?*" 'Do you still love me, Agnes?', to which she replies "*Natakot ako.*" 'I'm scared.' Jerry says "*Dahil hindi ko kayang wala ka, dahil mahal kita.*" 'Because I can't exist without you, because I love you.' To this, Agnes literally "gave in" (*bumigay*). All of the forms used by both Jerry and Alice are stative (*mahal, natako, mahal*) or existential (*kaya*), signifying lack of control by the referential agonist, except for Agnes's acquiescence with *bumigay*, an agentive form. Jerry now becomes an undocumented worker, a *TNT* (from *tago ng tago* 'hide, hide'). He gets a series of jobs chopping wood, washing cars, and washing dishes. Agnes is too busy to see him, as Jerry was to busy for her in the beginning in Manila. She stands him up on dates, telling him she doesn't have time to see him because life in America is highly competitive. Jerry uses the expressions in (23a,b).

(23a) *Ang hirap Indianin.*

REF difficult Indian-IRR

'It's hard to stand someone up.'

(23b) *Feeling ko tae. 'Tang ina tae. Hindi ko na siya hawak.*

feeling 1S:GEN shit puta-LG mother shit NEG 1S:GEN LG 3SG:REF hold

'I feel like shit. Putang mother shit. I don't control her.'

Perhaps the code-mixing (*Indianin*) and switching (*Feeling ko*) is a marker of Jerry's rising level of emotion. Neither form places an active agent in focus. Both expressions represent explicit denials of agency. Now it is Agnes who receives a proposal of marriage from her boss, Dave. She turns down his proposal and later tells Jerry:

(24) *Pagod na pagod na ako sa kakapaliwanag kung sino at ano ko si Dave.*

tired LG tired now 1S:REF DRC R1:ST:GER:bright COND who and what PR:REF PRNM

'I am oppressed now by the realization that my who and what is Dave.'

Sawang-sawa na ako sa kakaselos mo.

satisfied:LG:satisfied now 1S:REF DRC R1-ST-jealous 2S:GEN

'I have had enough of your jealousy.'

Hindi na ako ang dating Agnes na sunod sunuran.

NEG now 1S:REF REF former-LG PRNM LG follow follow:LOC

'I am not the former Agnes following in obedience.'

Again, none of the predications in (23) or (24) are active. They are either attributive (*pagod na pagod*, *sawang-sawa*, *tae*), stative-resultative (*ka-ka-paliwanag*, *ka-ka-selos*), negative existential (*hindi*), or irrealis with a tacit undergoer (*Indian-in*). Nevertheless, Agnes states her rebellion explicitly and emphatically (*hindi...sunod sunuran*). Jerry sees Agnes get a goodnight kiss from Dave. Jealous, he says to Agnes, "Did he get what he wants from you? Is he your lover?" Jerry then gives her an assaultive kiss. He says,

(25) *Oo mataas ka na ngayon.*

'Yes you are so high now.'

Pero huwag mo namang iparamdam sa akin na ganito na ako kaliit.

but don't 2S:GEN rather UF-GER-feel DRC 1S:DRC LG like:PROX 1S:REF ST:small

'But don't make me feel that I am small like this.'

Jerry's words again suggest lack of control. *Iparamdam* refers to something that causes a feeling, a reason for an external cause. *Kaliit* is a stative form. He continues, now using a flurry of realis forms with grammatical undergoers or objects (*nilunok*, *sinakripisyo*, *nilamon*, *tiniis*) not only to describe the sacrifices he has made, but also the difficulties he has endured, and the feelings he is experiencing. The agents are unfocused. The expression of love (*mahal*) remains stative. This passage reaches a climax with Jerry's use of two active focus forms describing his attempts to overcome the oppression of his circumstances in (26e) and (26f): *nag-susumigaw* 'shouting' and *nag-babakasakali* 'hoping to repeat the past'.

(26a) *Wala akong kasalanan sa iyo Agnes, pero para sa iyo **nilunok ko ang pride ko.***

nothing 1S-LG ST-do.wrong-LOC DRC 2S PRNM but for DRC 2S:DRC REAL:UF-swallow
1S:GEN REF pride 1S:GEN

'I didn't do anything wrong to you Agnes, but for you **I have swallowed my pride.**'

(26b) **Sinakripisyo ko** ang magandang kinabukasan ko sa Pilipinas.

REAL:UF-sacrifice 1S:GEN REF beautiful ST-REAL:UF-open-LOC 1S:GEN DRC PRNM

I sacrificed a beautiful future in the Philippines.'

(26c) *Nilamon ko ang prinsipyo ko. Niloko ko ang pamilya ko.*

REAL:UF-eat.big.piece 1S:GEN REF principle 1S:GEN REAL:UF-fool 1S:GEN REF family 1S:GEN

I ate a big piece of my principles. I fooled my family.'

(26d) *Tiniis ko ang hirap ng buhay dito.*

REAL:UF-endure 1S:GEN REF difficult GEN life PROX:DRC

I endured a hard life here.'

(26e) *Kahit nagsusumigaw ang kalooban ko, dahil mahal kita,*

in.spite.of REAL:AF-R1-AF-shout REF inner.feeling 1S:GEN because love 2S:REF

'In spite of this **I am shouting out my inner feelings**, because **I love you,**'

(26f) *dahil nagbabakasakali akong maulit yung dati.*

because REAL:AF-R1-perhaps:in.case 1S:REF-LG IRR:ST-repeat REM:REF-LG former
'because I am perhaps hoping to repeat the past.'

Agnes is moved. She voices her injury in a stative form (*na-saktan*), but describes her struggle in active form (*nag-hirap*). Her achievements are presented, perhaps out of modesty, in stative realis forms (*na-ka-rating sa k-in-a-roroon-an*). She says,

(27) *Hindi mo alam kung gaano mo ako nasaktan.*

NEG 2S:GEN know COND how 2S:GEN 1S:REF REAL:SF-hurt-LOC
'You don't know how much **you hurt me.**'

Huwag mo ipamukha sa akin ang mga sakripisyo mo.

'Don't show me your sacrifices.'

Hindi mo alam kung gaano ako naghirap

NEG 2S:GEN know COND how 1S:REF REAL:AF-difficult
'You don't know **how I have struggled**'

bago ako nakarating sa kinaroroonan ko ngayon.

change 1S:REF REAL:SF-ST-arrive DRC ST-REAL:UF-R1-REM-LOC 1S:GEN now
'only recently **to reach where I am** now.'

Tearful, Agnes and Jerry embrace. She says, in English "I felt so alone." One would think the film might conclude with this climactic scene of reconciliation, but Agnes is made a branch manager of her real estate firm in Florida. Jerry goes back to work. When his boss abuses a worker, another worker says, in sympathy, using an irrealis form unmarked for active mood:

(28) *Parang sasabog ang dibdib ko.*

like R1-burst REF chest 1S:GEN

'As though bursting my heart'.

Jerry's boss turns the complaining worker into immigration and he is deported. Jerry's cousin Nick tells him, "If I were you, just bury your feelings. Learn to become insensitive."

(29) *Kung ako sa iyo **ibaon mo na lang ang nararamdaman mo.***

COND 1S:REF DRC 2S:DRC UF:bury 2S:GEN now just REF REAL:SF-R1:feel:LOC 2S:GEN

'If I were you, **just bury your feelings.**'

*Matuto kang maging **manhid.***

IRR:SF-learn 2S-LG IRR:SF-become insensitive

'Learn to become **insensitive.**'

Jerry returns to work and breaks a carton of eggs. He is berated by the boss. Jerry says, "*Makapal ang mukha*" 'Thick, your face', meaning, "You are shameless". Jerry unburdens himself to Agnes:

(30a) ***Yung nangyayari sa loob, nasisira ang pagkatao.***

REM:REF-LG REAL:AF-R1-happen DRC inside REAL:SF-R1-break REF GER:ST-person

'What is happening inside, (my) humanity is disintegrating.'

(30b) *Alam mong hindi ko kayang **magmahal** nang **hindi buo ang pagkatao ko.***

know 2S:GEN-LG NEG 1S:GEN EX-LG IRR:AF-love when NEG whole REF GER-ST-

person 1S:GEN

'You know I can't **love** when **my humanity is not whole.**'

(30c) *I'm losing respect for myself.*

(30d) *Ayaw kong sa susunod **mawalan ka** na rin ng respecto sa akin.*

don't:want 1S:GEN DRC R1-FOLLOW IRR:SF-LOSE 2S:REF now also GEN RESPECT DRC
1S:DRC

'I don't want what follows to be losing you and also your respect for me.'

Here Jerry realizes he is losing control over what is happening inside, the disintegration of his humanity. *Nangyayari* is in active focus in (30a), but Jerry is not the actor. Possibility of loss is expressed in the stative reciprocal voice and irrealis mood (*ma-wala-n*). The construction of love is *mag-mahal*, with an active rather than stative prefix, but it is something to which he aspires, not something that he presently controls. Nevertheless, Jerry realizes that his capacity to love is something over which he should maintain control. He doesn't want to lose Agnes and her respect for him, so Jerry returns to Manila, where he takes up his old role as an assertive advertising man. One day, Agnes shows up in Makati, the upscale business area of Manila. The film ends on their encounter. Is this a return to the *status quo ante*, as in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*?²⁶ Perhaps not. The film never tells us that Agnes returns to sit at home waiting for Jerry to call when his business affairs permit. Instead the dominance of Agnes in America suggests either that she returns on her own terms as a successful business woman, or that she has returned as a transnational who will continue to maintain business and residential ties in the U.S. Still, I think that we are led to conclude that Jerry and Agnes resume their relationship.

Conclusions

Sana'y Maulit Muli depicts the predicament of a middle-class Filipino couple in largely passive terms. Lack of control of main characters over events is evident even in the title words *Sana* 'Hope' and *Maulit* ('is repeated'), which uses stative focus and irrealis mood. In Manila, Agnes waits helplessly while Jerry pursues a frenetic career with an advertising agency. Agnes reluctantly goes to San Francisco to join her mother. There, she attains self-reliance and launches a successful career, but in the process she becomes cold and distant. Jerry, the archetypal career man in Manila, follows her to San Francisco,

where he finds the tables turned as he is now the one who waits helplessly while Agnes pursues her career. To recall San Juan's phrase, she is undergoing a "recolonizing of sensibilities for the complex needs of a service and information-oriented economy". Jerry's seductive female boss in Manila is mirrored by Agnes's attentive male boss in San Francisco. Agnes loses her humanity in drudge work at first, and later in success and consumerism, symbolized by a nice apartment and car. Jerry loses his in drudge work, inhumane working conditions, and alienation from Agnes.

This is a story about a transnational family. It is Agnes's mother who urges her to come and join her in America, but both Jerry and Agnes lack enthusiasm for the transnational lifestyle. Realizing the inhumanity and alienation of their life in America, they return to Manila, fulfilling the myth of exile and redemptive return and reaffirming the warm values of Filipino culture. Jerry returns to the world of advertising. Agnes returns, implicitly, to a life with Jerry, but apparently on her own terms. *Sana'y Maulit Muli* strikes one more as a story of two kids from the country who get lost in the city than as a blow to neocolonial market values. It deplores consumerism and exploitation of labor in the U.S., but affirms the commercialism of advertising in Manila. It portrays inhumane exploitation of Filipino labor, but the oppressed respond with withdrawal rather than organized resistance. They can escape because they are middle class. The predicaments in this film may be common ones for displaced Filipinos, but its message poses little threat to neocolonial structures of inequality.

Analysis of the grammar of experience helps us to see more clearly how the producers have dramatized transnational and neocolonial themes and how grammar is situated in historical contexts. Throughout most of the film, the grammar of experience of Jerry and Agnes is stative, implying lack of control. Where Jerry and Agnes are actors, they are grammatically unfocused. By contrast, their relatives speak a language of agency, urging them to take control of their lives. When Jerry and Agnes finally realize and admit to their predicament, Agnes adopts an active reciprocal form (*magkaintindihan* 'understand each other'), but laments the difficulty of attaining mutual understanding. But Jerry and Alice continue to voice their oppression in various stative, attributive, passive, and existential forms and other statements that deny the possibility of assuming agency. When Jerry sees Alice get a goodnight kiss from her boss, he unleashes his frustrations

with a flurry of verbs and metaphors that places focus on the objects rather than on himself as the actor ('swallowed my pride', 'sacrificed', 'ate a big piece of my principles', 'endured', 'shouting'). As life in America becomes even more dismal, Jerry feels his humanity disintegrating. Finally, realizing that even his ability to love is in jeopardy, Jerry uses an active and irrealis form — *magmahal* — to predicate his dwindling capacity to love. He returns from exile to the world of advertising in Manila. Thus, it appears that there is a grammar of experience that elucidates the situations portrayed in this popular melodrama. To the extent that this grammar is taken as authentic by young Filipinos living in the ambit of the United States, its study may help us to understand their experiences and world view.

One might argue that the emotional expressions in this film are largely lacking agency because Tagalog is an ergative language with a basically passive orientation (Guzman 1999). Furthermore, emotions are experiences, so one would expect emotional actors to be patients and objects. However, while non-agentive emotional language may be normative, it is not the only possibility. As a case in point, I offer expression (31), taken from the new graphic novel *Hinagap ang Alitin*, by Gil D. Paguio²⁷:

(31) *Upang dito'y **maghasik ng lagim** sa sangkatauhan.*

'This is so they can sow terror in all of humanity.'

This example shows that it is possible for discussions of emotion to focus on actors and their capacity for action, though the focused actors may not be those experiencing the emotions. Passive or stative emotional expressions may be habitual and culturally preferred in most situations, but they are not obligatory. Perhaps further study will uncover contexts in which emotional expression is accomplished primarily with the actors in agent-focus.

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Appendix I: Morphological Codes

APTV	aptative mode (<i>maka-</i> , <i>ma-</i>)
AF	agent focus (verbal affixes <i>-um-</i> , <i>mag-</i> , <i>nag-</i> ; <i>-um-</i> is also a realis marker)
COND	conditional (<i>kung</i>), i.e. if, when
CONJ	conjunction (<i>at</i> , <i>-t</i>)
DRC	directional particle (<i>sa</i>) pronoun (<i>akin</i> , <i>iyo</i> , <i>kaniya</i> , <i>amin</i> , <i>atin</i> , <i>inyo</i> , <i>kanila</i>) demonstrative (<i>dito/dine</i> , <i>diyan</i> , <i>doon</i>)
EX	existential
EXCL	exclusive (personal pronouns <i>kami</i> , <i>namin</i> , <i>amin</i>)
GEN	genitive particles (<i>ng</i> , <i>ni</i>) pronouns (<i>ko</i> , <i>mo</i> , <i>niya</i> , <i>namin</i> , <i>natin</i> , <i>ninyo</i> , <i>nila</i>) demonstratives (<i>nito/nire</i> , <i>niyan</i> , <i>niyon</i>)
GER	gerund (<i>pag-</i> , <i>pa-</i>)
INCL	inclusive (personal pronouns <i>tayo</i> , <i>natin</i> , <i>atin</i>)
INV	inverse (<i>ay</i>)
IRR	irrealis mood (<i>m-</i> , <i>-in</i> , and absence of realis marking)
LF	locative focus (<i>-an</i>)
LG	ligature (<i>na</i> or <i>-ng</i>)
LOC	locative (not same as LF)
PL	plural
PR	proper noun marker (<i>si</i> , <i>sina</i> , <i>ni</i> , <i>nino</i> , <i>kay</i> , <i>kina</i>)
PRNM	proper name
PROX	proximate (<i>ito</i> , <i>nito</i> , <i>dito</i>)
PROX2	near addressee (<i>niyan</i> , <i>diyan</i> , <i>iyang</i>)
REAL	realis mood (<i>-um-</i> , <i>n-</i> , <i>ni-</i> , <i>-in-</i>); <i>-um-</i> conflates with AF
R1	CV or V reduplication, often signifying incompletive aspect
R2	reduplication of root; attenuation

REF referential, corresponding to trigger or focus
particle (*ang, si*)
pronoun (*ako, ka, ikaw..., siya, kami, tayo, kayo, sila*)
demonstrative (*ito/ire, iyan, yon*)

REM remote demonstrative (*niyon, noon, doon, iyon*)

S singular

SF stative focus (verbal affixes *ma-, na-*)

SOC social or request form (*maki-, naki-, makiki-, nakiki-*)

ST stative (*ka-*)

SUPR superlative (*pinaka-*)

UF undergoer (verbal affixes *i-, -in-, ni-, -in, ma-*)

1,2,3 first, second, third person

> metaphorical or metonymical extension

Table 1: Focus and Semantics of Agency in the Voicing Affixes

FOCUS	MORPHOLOGY	SEMANTICS OF FIGURE
Stative (SF)	<i>ma-</i> , <i>na-</i>	experiencer or patient
Undergoer (UF)	<i>-in-</i>	patient
	<i>-in</i>	patient
	<i>-i-</i>	reason for doing; conveyance of patient; instrument
Locative (LF)	<i>-an</i>	goal or location
Agent (AF)	<i>-um-</i>	performs or initiates action
	<i>mag-</i> , <i>nag-</i>	"
	<i>maN-</i> , <i>naN-</i>	"

Endnotes

¹ This is a revision of a paper presented to the session on "New Relativities in Discourses of Thinking and Feeling," Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Philadelphia, December 2-8, 1999. I wish to thank John Swetnam for his helpful reading of the first draft. Useful corrections to translations were provided by Cecilia Conaco, who attended a presentation at the University of the Philippines, Diliman.

² Other papers dealing with the language emotions in Tagalog include Palmer and Brown (1998), Palmer, Bennett and Stacey (1999), and Palmer (n.d.a).

³ The Filipino consultants on this project are Marica Dakudao and Remedio Quindara. Their conscientious and insightful work is very much appreciated. Dakudao, who is from Davao City, lists her native languages as Tagalog, Visayan, and Ilonggo. At the time of the project, Dakudao was 20 years old and had been in the U.S. for less than two years. She was a junior in the program in Hotel Management. Quindara, who is from Manila, lists his native language as Tagalog. At the time of the project, he was 19 years old, a high-school graduate in Manila, and had been in the U. S. for a few months working in the kitchen of a hotel-casino. Consultants on this project were paid an hourly wage equivalent to that earned by teaching assistants at UNLV.

⁴ A second reason for the situating of language within culture-history involves conventional polysemy in which each of multiple senses of a term or construction is semantically related to others (Langacker 1987, 1990). Every language and semantic domain is characterized by distinctive networks of polysemy. Experiential terms are no less polysemous than those of other domains. Each of several senses of a term corresponds to a conventional, culturally defined situation that has emerged as a gestalt from a consensus reached in the history of community discourse. Thus, analysis of polysemy is important to contextualizing experiential language, but it is not the subject of this paper.

⁵ Much like the role-playing game *Dungeons and Dragons* in which the players invent the characters. The game was popular in the United States in the early 1980s.

⁶ This paragraph summarizes information presented in Palmer (n.d.a), which describes the Tagalog lexical and grammatical constructions that evoke domains of cognition and emotion.

⁷ "State U.", from Yano (1994).

⁸ "*Senti*" 'Sentimental', from Yano (1994).

⁹ "*Maniwala Ka Sana*" 'Your Belief Is Hope', from Parokya Ni Edgar (n.d.).

¹⁰ "*Banal na Aso, Santong Kabayo*" 'Holy Dog, Horse Saint', from Yano (1994).

¹¹ "*Banal na Aso...* "

¹² "*Kaka*" (a common name, like Joe) , from Yano (1994).

¹³ *Esem* ['SM' = ShoeMart] , from Yano (1994).

¹⁴ "*Banal na Aso...* "

¹⁵ "*Senti*"

¹⁶ "*Sana'y Maulit Muli*"

¹⁷ "*Kaka* "

¹⁸ "*Maniwala...* "

¹⁹ "*Sana'y ...* "

²⁰ "*Sana'y ...* "

²¹ Guzman (1999) refers to the mag- forms as "antipassive".

²² See also Schachter (1987). One is tempted to include *pa-* as a stative form, analogous to *pag-*. I think one could make a case for it, but that is not the way it has been treated in the linguistic literature. For example, among his "active causative" forms, Drossard (1994) cites the constructions *i-pa-* and *pa-...-an*. Schachter and Otones (1972:346, 354-355) list *ipa-*, *pa-...-an* , and *pa-...-in*. In apparent contradiction to Drossard, they give only one example that has actor focus, and in this case the focus is on a secondary actor. The form is *patuyuin* 'permit/cause to get dry'. No example of actual usage is given. They observe that *pa-...-an* occurs in object or dative focus counterparts of a very few agent focus *ma-* verbs. This suggests two things: (1) that *pa-* is related to *ma-*; and (2) that it may be the suffix *-an* that is responsible for providing the apparent agent focus of this construction. The two examples given also contain the prefix *ki-*, which is a request form, also suggesting some agency: *pakialaman* 'meddle with' (DF counterpart of AF *makialam*); *pakinggan* 'listen' (OF/DF counterpart of AF *makinig*). The base of

makialam is *alam* 'know', which could give it the sense of 'requesting to know about', extendable to 'meddle with'. If the essential semantic component of Tagalog stativity is lack of control, these examples afford no good reason to classify them as active.

²³ For a more detailed analysis of the semantics of the *mag-* forms, see Palmer (n.d.b). It seems likely, as Ricardo Nolasco (personal communication, 1999) contends, that *-um-* is allomorphic with the *m-* of *mag-* and *ma-* forms. Irrealis *-um-* and *m-* occur in complementary distribution under certain constraints. Under this analysis, *-um-* conflates the irrealis with a realis sense deriving from an obsolete Tagalog form *-ung-*.

²⁴ One could also say *minamahal kita*. If we think of *mahal* as the base, then the only senses explicitly added by morphology are the incompletive, by means of reduplication of *ma*, and realis, by means of the infix *-in*. Thus, it is probably best to think of this form as predicating the default passive lack of control on the part of the one who is loved, i.e. the referential focal participant, *kita*. It is usually translated with the more active English expression *I love you*.

²⁵ My consultants translated the expression as 'Why did he fool me?', but a more structure-preserving translation would be 'Why was I fooled by him?'

²⁶ I am indebted to John Swetnam for this suggestion.

²⁷ Paguio (1998:1).