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Aspects of Ergativity in Tagalog

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the question of whether Tagalog, a language of the Philippines, is an ergative language. It is claimed that Tagalog is best characterized as neither accusative nor ergative but rather as a language that is a hybrid of these two language types. Tagalog's hybrid nature is neatly captured structurally within Principle and Parameters theory using VP internal subjects. In terms of Case, Tagalog not only has nominative-absolutive Case checking and ergative Case checking but it also makes extensive use of inherent accusative Case assignment. As a result, Tagalog has both a [NOM ACC] basic transitive sentence type, like accusative languages, and a [ERG ABS] basic transitive sentence type, like ergative languages. A specific structural analysis is given for these basic sentences under an Economy approach. This analysis is extended to account for complex sentences including sentences involving morphological causatives, conjunction reduction and raising.

Résumé

Dans cette thèse, il est question du statut du Tagalog, parlé aux Philippines, comme langue de type ergatif (par opposition aux langues de type accusatif). Il est avancé que le Tagalog est en fait une langue de type hybride, ayant à la fois des propriétés d'une langue ergative et d'une langue accusative. Dans le cadre de la théorie des Principes et Paramètres, il est possible de rendre compte naturellement du caractère hybride du Tagalog, en adoptant l'hypothèse du sujet interne au SV. Du point de vue casuel, l'assignation de cas inhérent s'avère cruciale dans l'analyse du Tagalog, en plus de la vérification («checking») des cas nominatif-absolutif et ergatif. En conséquence, le Tagalog a deux types de phrase transitive de base: le type [NOM ACC], comme les langues accusatives, et le type [ERG ABS], comme les langues ergatives. Une analyse structurale de ces types de phrase est donnée, en utilisant la notion d'Économie. Ce traitement est étendu à des phrases complexes, notamment la construction à causative morphologique, la phrase conjointe réduite et la construction à montée.

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Contribution

The contribution to knowledge represented in this work has several components. I believe that I have elucidated some complex and subtle issues of ergativity in Tagalog. I have presented new data which adds significantly to the body of data available in the literature, particularly in the areas of morphological causatives, NP raising, and conjunction reduction. I have shown that despite the fact that the structure of Tagalog appears to differ from that of many well studied languages, the theory assumed can readily capture these differences. I propose that Tagalog is best viewed as a language that is neither ergative nor accusative in type, and I express this possibility in terms of a current approach to syntax.

List of Abbreviations

For Tagalog:

TagA	Tagalog as an Accusative language
TagE	Tagalog as an Ergative language
TagH	Tagalog as a Hybrid language
ERG	Ergative Case
ACC	Accusative Case
ABS	Absolutive Case
NOM	Nominative Case
NABS	Nominative-Absolutive Case
GEN	Genitive Case
ngA	*ng* Case on the A
ngP	*ng* Case on the P
OBA	Oblique Case on the A
OBP	Oblique Case on the P
OBL	Oblique Case
TRANS	Movement from SPEC of VP to SPEC of IP
PASS	Movement from COMPL of V to SPEC of IP
TOP	Topicalization marker
AT	A Topic
PT	P Topic
BT	Beneficiary Topic
GT	Goal Topic
LT	Location Topic
IT	Instrument Topic
PASS	Passive
APAS	Antipassive
CAUS	Causative
NEG	Negation
LK	Linker
ST	Started aspect [+st]
INC	Incomplete aspect [+inc]
RP	Recent Past aspect
PL	Plural
CR	Conjunction Reduction
SPEC	Specifier position
COMPL	Complement position

List of Abbreviations (continued)

For pronouns:

E	Ergative
1, 2, 3	first, second, third person
s, p	singular, plural

For other languages:

ABL	Ablative Case
INS	Instrumental Case
I, T	Intransitive, Transitive
PRF	Perfective aspect
NONFUT	Non-Future tense
IMPRF	Imperfective
PST	Past
SUBV	Subjunctive subordinator
m, f	Masculine, Feminine

Glossing Conventions

The standard convention in linguistics of preceding a sentence with a star (*) to indicate that the sentence is ungrammatical is used here. Consistent with spelling conventions in Tagalog, I have used the digraph *ng* for representing the velar nasal stop [ŋ] (usually called *eng*) and I have omitted glottal stops. The glossing of other languages follows the conventions used by the authors cited. The dot (.) is used in glossing when the gloss consists of two-words where the Tagalog equivalent consists of a single morpheme, or when the Tagalog morphemes have not been individuated. For example, the word *bibili* which consists of a CV reduplicative incomplete aspect morpheme, *bi-* in this case, and a root *bili* meaning 'buy', is glossed as *will.buy*. The dash (-) is used between morphemes that have been individuated in a gloss. For example, *i-bi-bili* is glossed as *BT-INC-buy*. Parentheses are used in a gloss when a morpheme is null or fused into a word. For example, *binili* is glossed as *bought(PT)* since the PT morpheme is null whenever the *-in-* aspect morpheme appears.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The object of study in this dissertation is the syntax of Tagalog. Tagalog is a language of the Austronesian family spoken in the Philippines. The number of native speakers of Tagalog is estimated to be over 16 million[1]. Furthermore, Tagalog is widely adopted as a second language in the Philippines. Tagalog data included in this dissertation, unless cited from other sources, was collected in Montreal in interview style sessions with several native speakers of Tagalog between 1988 and 1995.

1.1 The Issue

My thesis is that Tagalog is not properly characterizable as entirely ergative or entirely accusative, but rather that Tagalog is a hybrid language.

There are two major on-going debates in the study of Philippine syntax. The first concerns the identification of subjects, namely whether the *ang* marked NP or the agent NP is the subject or whether the notion of subject is incoherent in this family of languages (see Schachter, 1976, 1977). The second debate centers on the question of whether the languages are to be classified as ergative or accusative languages. Dixon (1979, 1994) discusses the classification of a large range of world languages but he specifically notes that: "Tagalog and other languages of the Philippines subgroup of Austronesian are not easily characterisable in terms of the accusative/ergative parameter." (Dixon, 1994, 179). This dissertation investigates why this is so for Tagalog.

Determining whether a language is ergative involves comparing an intransitive

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[1]According to *Europa World Yearbook 1994*, Volume 2. Europa Publications.

sentence to a basic transitive sentence. While this is typically unproblematic, it is not at all clear at first which sentences constitute the basic transitive sentences in Tagalog. There are in fact two types of sentences that are possible candidates, labelled AT and PT (the reason for this labelling will be discussed in section 1.3). The Case marking in these two sentence types is such that if AT is considered basic (and PT is considered derived) then Tagalog seems to be accusative, whereas if PT is considered basic (and AT is considered derived) then the language seems to be ergative. I maintain that in fact both sentence types are equally basic and that Tagalog has a Case system that falls between ergative and accusative systems. I lay out two definitions of the notion of basic transitive sentence, one operational, the other structural, and show accordingly that both of Tagalog's candidate sentences are best viewed as basic transitive sentences (in chapter 2 and 3).

The choice of basic sentence (AT, PT or both) has far-reaching consequences for the analysis of Tagalog syntax. This is illustrated with an examination of certain Case-related phenomena in chapter 4. One phenomenon, known as conjunction reduction, is often used as a diagnostic of syntactic ergativity. It is shown that if AT is chosen as basic, then conjunction reduction works on a purely accusative basis. However, if PT is chosen as basic, then conjunction reduction clearly works on an ergative basis. Furthermore, phenomena that are not necessarily correlated with the ergative/accusative status of a language are also considered. In particular, Case marking in morphological causatives and in ditransitives, which depends on what special Case assigning mechanisms are available in a language (following the analysis of Baker, 1988), is

examined. It is shown that if AT is chosen as basic then Tagalog seems to be of a particular well-defined type with respect to the phenomena. If, on the other hand, PT is chosen as basic, then remarkably, the language seems to be of an utterly different, but nevertheless well-defined type.

Recently, Guilfoyle *et al* (1992) proposed a promising structure within the GB framework which addresses the debate over subjecthood for a number of Austronesian languages, including Tagalog. Their approach also has implications for the debate over the ergative/accusative status of Tagalog and I make them explicit in this dissertation. Their structure, which is discussed in detail in section 3.1, has two subject positions: one for the grammatical subject (SPEC of IP) and the other for the NP bearing the external θ role, usually the agent (SPEC of VP). The two different NP movement possibilities that they posit for Tagalog are related here to the different NP movement possibilities typically found in transitive sentences in ergative and accusative languages respectively. The movement possibilities, labelled TRANS and PASS, are viewed in terms of a three-way typology. A language will normally use one movement for its basic transitive sentence, and the other movement in non-basic sentences. In an accusative language, there is TRANS movement in basic transitives, and PASS movement in passive sentences which are non-basic. In an ergative language, there is PASS movement in a basic transitive and TRANS movement in a non-basic antipassive. In Tagalog, it is claimed that there are no non-basic sentences. Rather both the movement types are found in basic transitives: AT sentences involve TRANS movement and PT sentences involve PASS movement. Thus Tagalog represents a type that is intermediate between the ergative and

accusative types.

Such a movement analysis of the ergative/accusative distinction is proposed in Murasugi (1992) under an Economy approach to syntax (following Chomsky, 1991, see section 1.4). The status of Tagalog as neither accusative nor ergative but as a hybrid of these can thus be understood in Economy terms under the assumptions of Murasugi (1992). I propose a structure for Tagalog under these same assumptions which embodies the hybrid nature of the language in chapter 5. It is claimed that in addition to the Case mechanisms standardly used in transitive sentences, Tagalog makes use of inherent Case assignment. While other languages may reserve use of such a mechanism for special circumstances, inherent Case assignment is extensively used in Tagalog sentences. In accusative languages, basic transitives have a [NOM ACC] Case frame. In ergative languages, basic transitives have an [ERG ABS] Case frame. In Tagalog, however, there are two possible Case frames, one for each basic transitive: AT sentences are [NABS ACC], where ACC is an inherent Case, and PT sentences are [ERG NABS]. Thus Tagalog is seen to differ from other languages in two distinct ways. Tagalog has not one, but two basic transitive sentence types. In addition, Tagalog employs not two, but three distinct Cases in basic transitive sentences.

The proposed structure for Tagalog is shown to be extendable such that an account of certain syntactic phenomena in complex sentences can be provided. The phenomena that are described in chapter 4 are reconsidered in view of the hybrid proposal for Tagalog in chapter 6 and an additional phenomenon is discussed as well. First, a structural account of morphological causatives in Tagalog is shown to follow

straightforwardly from the proposed structure for basic sentences. Next, the conjunction reduction facts are accounted for under the structural assumptions laid out. Finally, another syntactic phenomenon, namely, raising, is examined in detail in connection with the proposed structure and it is given an unexpected analysis as a result.

1.2 Ergative Languages and Accusative Languages

A key distinction for this dissertation is between languages which operate on an ergative basis versus languages which do not, namely, accusative languages. The distinction will be outlined here and discussed in detail in chapter 2. To paraphrase Dixon (1979, 61), a language is ergative if the subject of an intransitive is treated in the same manner as the object of a transitive, and differently from the subject of a transitive. The clearest way to 'treat' the nominals in the same manner is to Case mark the sole argument of an intransitive and the object of a transitive with the same morphology, but to Case mark the subject of a transitive differently. The terms subject and object become confusing terms in discussing the distinction between ergative and accusative languages, and indeed in discussing Tagalog in particular, and therefore will be avoided where possible throughout this dissertation. Dixon (1979, 1994) refers to the sole argument of an intransitive verb as S. This is distinguished from the arguments of transitive verbs which he labels A for the subject of a transitive and O for the object of a transitive. I will adopt the notation in Comrie (1978) and refer to these grammatical functions instead as S, A and P respectively. These functions will be characterized more precisely in section 1.3.4. An ergative language, then, is one in which S and P are treated the same

way, whereas an accusative language is one in which S and A are treated the same way. These two possible groupings of arguments are illustrated schematically in (1).

(1) Accusative and Ergative Schematically

Accusative Pattern	intransitive	S
	transitive	A P
Ergative Pattern	intransitive	S
	transitive	A P

A concrete example from Dyirbal, an Australian language, provided by Dixon, illustrates an ergative Case marking pattern. The NP *bayi nguma* 'father' as P in (2a) is unmarked just as *bayi nguma* 'father' as S is unmarked in (2b). However, the NP *banggun yabu* 'mother' as A in (2a) is Case marked with an ergative marker *-nggu* on the head noun and occurs with the ergative feminine form of the noun marker *banggun*.

(2) Dyirbal Transitive and Intransitive Sentences [Dixon, 1979, 61]

a. bayi nguma banggun yabu-nggu buran
m.NOUN father f.NOUN.ERG mother-ERG saw
'Mother saw father.'

b. bayi nguma banaganyu
m.NOUN father returned
'Father returned.'

In contrast, to illustrate the accusative Case marking pattern, we can consider English where Case marking is overt on third person pronouns. The form of the pronoun as A in (3a) matches that of the pronoun as S in (3b), *they* is said to be nominative, whereas a different form of the pronoun, the accusative form *them*, is used on the P in (3a).

(3) English Transitive and Intransitive Sentences with Pronouns

a. They cooked them.
b. They ran.

1.3 Overview of Tagalog Morphology and Syntax

This section outlines some of the morphological and syntactic features of Tagalog as well as some assumptions made about these morphosyntactic features. Certain other points about Tagalog morphosyntax will be raised only as they become relevant through the dissertation. This section is intended to serve primarily as a reference point for discussions in subsequent chapters.

1.3.1 Case markers

There are two sets of Case markers found on nouns in Tagalog and the different Cases are also distinguished in the pronominal system. Personal nouns, a term borrowed from Schachter and Otanes (1972) which refers generally to nouns that are names of people, take one set of markers and other nouns take the other set. It will be convenient to refer to the Case markers by their non-personal forms. These markers, summarized in the table in (4), reflect different Cases relevant to the analysis given in this dissertation. Alongside the personal and non-personal markers, one set of pronouns, the third person singular set is provided for comparison.

(4) Tagalog Case Marker Distinctions

	Personal Ns	Non-personal Ns	3s pronouns
NABS	si	ang	siya
ERG	ni	ng	niya
ACC	*	ng	*
OBL	kay	sa	kaniya

The rationale behind the particular Case labels: NABS, ERG, ACC and OBL is given in section 1.5. The fact that there is no personal ACC marker and no pronominal ACC form will be relevant in sections 3.4.1 and 5.6.3. The fact that the non-personal ERG and ACC morphemes are homophonous will be discussed in section 3.4.1. It will be convenient to refer to the NP that is marked with NABS Case as the *ang* phrase, and the *ng* marked NPs as *ng* phrases, as Schachter and Otanes (1972) do.

1.3.2 Linkers

Linkers are used in a variety of contexts in Tagalog. There are three phonologically conditioned forms of the linker: *-ng* after vowels, a mutation of [n] to [ŋ][2] (with some exceptions) and *na* elsewhere. Three of the uses relevant to this dissertation are illustrated in the examples in (5). For further discussion of linkers see Gonzales (1971), Schachter and Otanes (1972), Foley (1976, 25) and Kroeger (1993, 12).

(5) Linker Forms and Uses

a. *Between adjective, demonstrative or numeral and modified noun:*

(i)	sa	iyon-**g**	gabi	(ii)	ang	lima-**ng**	aso
	OBL	that-**LK**	night		NABS	five-**LK**	dog
	'on that night'				'the five dogs'		

[2]This mutation is represented in glosses by placing a *-g* after *n* following the orthography.

b. *Between matrix and subordinate clauses:*

umasa	si Ruth	**na**	pupunta	sa palengke
AT.hoped	NABS Ruth	**LK**	AT.go	OBL market

'Ruth hoped to go to the market.'

c. *Introducing a relative clause:*

gusto	ko	ang bigas	**na**	binili	ni Rosa	sa palengke
like	1sE	NABS rice	**LK**	bought(TT)	ERG Rosa	OBL market

'I like the rice that Rosa bought at the market.'

1.3.3 Word Order

Tagalog word order is freer than that of languages like English. Normally, the verb is the first element in a sentence. There is a tendency for the A argument (as defined in section 1.3.4) to closely follow the verb. Other NPs (if non-pronominal) and PPs in the sentence are generally freely ordered after the verb. Some examples that illustrate the strongly verb initial character, as well as the freely ordered NPs and PPs are given in (6).

(6) Word order Possibilities

a.	V A P PP	ipinakilala	ng kapitan	ang propesor	sa alkalde
b.	V A PP P	ipinakilala	ng kapitan	sa alkalde	ang propesor
c.	V P PP A	ipinakilala	ang propesor	sa alkalde	ng kapitan
d.	V P A PP	ipinakilala	ang propesor	ng kapitan	sa alkalde
e.	V PP P A	ipinakilala	sa alkalde	ang propesor	ng kapitan
f.	V PP A P	ipinakilala	sa alkalde	ng kapitan	ang propesor
		introduced(PT)	OBL mayor	ERG captain	NABS professor

'The captain introduced the professor to the mayor.'

The specific ordering of clitic pronouns is not free, but will not be relevant here since the conditions for their placement are largely phonological (see Sityar, 1989).

1.3.4 A and P in Tagalog

In order to define an ergative language, reference was made to the grammatical functions A and P. Such grammatical functions are in turn defined in terms of 'primary

transitive verbs' by Andrews (1985)[3]. A primary transitive verb is a transitive verb with two participants: the agent (roughly the intensional doer of the action) and the patient (roughly the affected undergoer of the action). An A is an NP in a transitive sentence which is treated like an agent in a sentence containing a primary transitive verb and a P is an NP in a transitive sentence which is treated like the patient in a sentence containing a primary transitive verb.

Examples of primary transitive verbs provided by Andrews (1985, 68) are *kill*, *eat*, and *smash*. In Tagalog, there are at least two ways to express each such primary transitive verb. Examples involving each of these verbs are provided in (7) without word glosses which have been omitted in this presentation but will be provided hereafter. The V A P order has been kept constant in the sentences.

(7) Primary Transitive Verbs in Tagalog

a. *patay* 'kill'
   i. papatay ang lalaki ng manok
   'The man will kill a chicken.'
   ii. papatayin ng lalaki ang manok
   'The man will kill the chicken.'

b. *kain* 'eat'
   i. kumakain ang lalaki ng mangga
   'The man is eating a mango.'
   ii. kinakain ng lalaki ang mangga
   'The man is eating the mango.'

[3]Andrews (1985) labels these S, A and O, but, as noted, I follow Comrie (1978) in using the labels S, A and P instead.

c. *durog* 'smash'
   i. dumudurog ang lalaki ng salamin
      'The man is smashing a mirror.'
   ii. dinudurog ng lalaki ang salamin
      'The man is smashing the mirror.'

Now we can consider how the agent and patient are treated in these sentences along the lines of the definition provided by Andrews (1985). In terms of Case marking, the agent (*lalaki* 'man' in each sentence) is *ang* marked in the (i) sentences, and *ng* marked in the (ii) sentences, whereas the patient is *ng* marked in the (i) sentences, but *ang* marked in the (ii) sentences. Notice also that there is a systematic change in verbal morphology between the (i) sentences and the (ii) sentences. As will be laid out in the next section, the verbs are in two different topic forms. The (i) sentences are AT, while the (ii) sentences are PT sentences. Thus the grammatical functions A and P can be identified in Tagalog specifically as follows. The A is the NP which is *ang* marked in an AT sentence, but *ng* marked in other topic forms. The P is the NP which is *ang* marked in a PT sentence but *ng* marked in other topic forms. Crucially, then, the function A and P are defined in terms of both Case marking and verbal morphology with reference to a range of sentence types, including specifically AT and PT sentences. This is an important observation about the Tagalog system.

As a final point, the verbs in (7) are affixed with the same topic markers: *-um-* in AT (which is null in the incomplete aspect (7ai)) and *-in* in PT (which is null in the started aspect (7bii) and (7cii)). This is a common set of topic markers employed in transitive verbs but not the only one. The following two examples of sentences containing verbs that are arguably primary transitive verbs show different topic markers.

(8) Other Topic Markers on Primary Transitive Verbs

a. *handa* 'prepare'
   i. mag-hahanda ang lalaki ng ulam
      'The man will prepare a dish.'
   ii. i-hahanda ng lalaki ang ulam
      'The man will prepare the dish.'

b. *hugas* 'wash'
   i. Nag-hugas ang lalaki ng kotse
      'The man washed a car.'
   ii. hinugas-an ng lalaki ang kotse
      'The man washed the car.'

The markers need not be *-um-* and *-in* as in the examples in (7), but may instead be *mag-* for AT as in both (8a) and (8b), and *i-* or *-an* for PT as in (8a) and (8b) respectively. Let us look at these topic markers in more detail.

1.3.5 Topic Markers

Topic markers are bound morphemes found on verbs in Tagalog sentences. They can be thought of as cross-referencing the *ang* phrase in a sentence. Since each topic marker usually corresponds to an *ang* phrase with a particular role, the markers were named for these roles by Schachter & Otanes (1972) (although they refer to them as focus forms rather than topic forms). Following this model, I will use location and beneficiary as role names and topic marker names. However, the forms that Schachter and Otanes (1972) refer to as Actor focus and Object focus, I will refer to as AT and PT respectively. The use of the topic markers is perhaps best illustrated in parallel sentences, as in McGinn (1988), for example, like those in (10). Consider the sentence in English in (9) first. The sentence contains four NPs, each enclosed in square brackets. The four NPs correspond to A and P participants as defined in section 1.3.4 and a location and

beneficiary, as indicated in the labels.

(9) Labelled NPs in a Four NP Sentence

[The child]	bought	[rice]	at [the market]	for [his mother]
A		P	Location	Beneficiary

Next consider the four sentences in (10), which can all be approximately translated as the sentence in (9)[4]. The elements in the four sentences, which are glossed below them, are the same except that the topic marker on the verb changes and the NP which is the *ang* phrase also changes.

(10) A Topic Marker Paradigm

AT: b-**um**-ili	**ang bata**	ng bigas	sa palenke	para sa nanay
PT: binili-Ø	ng bata	**ang bigas**	sa palenke	para sa nanay
LT: binilh-**an**	ng bata	ng bigas	**ang palenke**	para sa nanay
BT: **i**-binili	ng bata	ng bigas	sa palenke	**ang nanay**
XT+bought	child	rice	OBL market	for OBL-mother

'The child bought rice at the market for his mother.'

Notice that my use of the term 'topic marker' is restricted to the verbal affixes and does not refer to nominal markers (that is, the Case marker *ang* is not called a topic marker). There are some additional topic marker forms, such as forms corresponding to instrument and reason, which have not been illustrated here.

As mentioned, there are a number of different possible forms for AT and PT topic markers. The AT can be indicated with *-um-* as on the verb *bumili*, but on other verbs, the topic marker is *mag-* or *maka-*. Similarly, the PT topic marker may be *-in* or it may be *-an*, or *i-*, depending on the verb root. I will find it useful to refer to three verb classes labelled and defined in terms of the AT topic markers: *-um-* verbs, *mag-* verbs

[4]The translation ignores definiteness distinctions which will be important in section 5.6.3, for example.

and *maka-* verbs. For a more extensive characterization of possible affix classes in Tagalog see Schachter and Otanes (1972). Example verbs from each class are given in (11).

(11) Some Tagalog Verb Classes

Class	Examples
-um- verbs	*bumasa* 'read', *sumulat* 'write', *luminlang* 'betray'
mag- verbs	*magluto* 'cook', *maghintay* 'wait', *magaral* 'study'
maka- verbs	*makakita* 'see', *makaalam* 'know'

In addition to topic markers, verbs are typically marked for aspect in Tagalog, as we will see presently.

1.3.6 Aspect

The core aspect morphology in Tagalog can be captured using two binary features. The assumption is that a positive value for a feature is indicated with a morpheme, whereas a negative value for a feature is a default value, and is therefore not signalled by aspect morphology. One such feature is the Started feature [st], which corresponds to the infix *-in-*, or else to the mutation of the initial nasal stop in a prefix from *m-* to *n-*. Examples of these two possibilities are given in (12) for the verb root *luto* 'cook'. The meaning associated with this aspect morpheme, which I refer to as *n-*, is that the action is already underway[5].

(12) [+st] Aspect Markers

a.	**linuto**	**n-**	+	luto	+	∅
	cooked(PT)	**[+st]**		cook		PT

[5]Note that in (12b) the morpheme *mag-* can be taken to be the combination of two morphemes *um* + *pag*, or else can be considered a single morpheme *mag-*, though this is not crucial to the analysis.

b.	nagluto	n-	+	mag	+	luto
	AT.cooked	[+st]		AT		cook

I will refer to the aspect morphology that is indicated with reduplication of the initial consonant-vowel pair (CV reduplication) as Incomplete, and to its feature as [inc]. The meaning associated with this morpheme is that the action in not completed. This can mean that the action has not yet taken place or that it is still underway. Thus, if an action is Started, but Incomplete, and therefore is marked with both morphemes, then the action is interpreted as being in progress. The possible combinations of aspect markers are exemplified with various verb forms, namely with the LT and BT topic forms of the verb *sulat* and with the morphological causative form of the same verb, in the table in (13).

(13) Aspect Morphology on *sulat* 'write'

	[-st][-inc]	[+st][-inc]	[+st][+inc]	[-st][+inc]
LT	sulatan	**sin**ulatan	**sinu**sulatan	**su**sulatan
BT	isulat	i**sin**ulat	i**sinu**sulat	i**su**sulat
CAUS	ipasulat	ipinasulat	ipinapasulat	ipapasulat

The aspect morphemes are discrete and overt on these LT, BT and CAUS forms[6]. However, in other topic forms, sometimes the aspect morphemes are fused with the topic morphology or are not overt. This has led to some confusion in the literature on Tagalog. One example is the confusion between the two morphemes *-in-* and *-in*. I consider the former to be a [+st] aspect marker and the latter to be a PT topic marker. An example of one differing view from the literature is Blake (1988) who assumes *-in-* to be an indicator of transitivity. Another differing view arises because the topic marker is not

[6]There are other CAUS forms in addition to the one illustrated, which is used when the written thing is NABS marked.

overt in the [+st] forms, as in sentence (10b) above. Sometimes the morpheme *-in-* is therefore considered to be the indicator of PT, as it is by Sweetser (1980) for example. I will not make these assumptions here since the analysis whereby *-in-* marks only Started aspect is consistent with the meaning 'started' throughout the paradigms. The PT topic marker will be assumed to be non-overt on [+st] forms. This view is shared by Schachter & Otanes (1972), DeGuzman (1978) and others. Furthermore, the morphological system would be considerably complicated by the fact that *-in-* occurs with topic markers other than PT only in [+st] and not [-st] aspects. For example in (13), the LT marker on *sulat* would then be assumed to be *-in-..-an* in those forms that are Started, but *-an* in the Incomplete and aspectless forms. Similar unsatisfactory assumptions would have to be made for both the BT form of *sulat*, and for the CAUS form of *sulat* in the table in (13), thereby missing a generalization.

1.3.7 The Recent Past Construction

There is another aspectual form, known as the Recent Past, which is different in nature from the other aspects. The Recent Past construction is described in Schachter and Otanes (1972) and is discussed in McGinn (1988). The Recent Past aspect is indicated on verb roots with CV reduplication and the morpheme *ka-*, as shown in the example in (14). The meaning associated with this combination of markers is that the action took place in the past but not the very distant past.

(14) The Recent Past Construction [based on McGinn, 1988, 285]

ka-bi-bili	lang	ng cloth	ni Pedro
RP-buy	just	ACC cloth	ERG Pedro

'Pedro just bought cloth.'

The Recent Past aspect is notably different from other aspectual forms because it never co-ocurs with topic morphology. Consistent with this, no NP in the sentence is an *ang* phrase. Notice in (14) that ACC and ERG Cases occur but there is no NABS Case. The Recent Past will be used as a test in many sections in the dissertation, most notably 5.6.5 and 6.4.3.

1.3.8 Extraction

One observation about extraction in Tagalog that has been widely cited in the literature will be relevant in this work. As Schachter (1977) outlines, extraction cannot in general act on NPs bearing *ng* Case, be they ACC or ERG. To extract A or P arguments, they must be in NABS Case, that is, they must be *ang* phrases. Examples of extraction using relativization are provided in (15).

(15) Extraction of NABS only [Schachter, 1977, 285-6]

a. binili ng babae ang baro
bought(PT) ERG woman NABS dress
'The woman bought the dress.'

b. iyon ang baro-ng binili ng babae
that NABS dress-LK bought(PT) ERG woman
'That's the dress that the woman bought.'

c. *iyon ang babae-ng binili ang baro
that NABS woman-LK bought(PT) NABS dress
for: 'That's the woman who bought the dress.'

Thus with the PT form of a verb, the P is NABS (15a) and can be relativized (15b). The A which is ERG in (15a) cannot be relativized, on the other hand, as shown in (15c). Prepositional phrases can also be extracted, either by using the appropriate topic form of the verb (LT to question a location), as in (16a), or by using the appropriate oblique

wh-phrase (*saan* for where), as in (16b).

(16) PP Extraction

a. pumunta ako sa bayan na binilh-an ni Fe ng bigas
AT.went 1sNABS OBL town LK bought-LT ERG Fe ACC rice
'I went to the town where Fe bought rice.'

b. pumunta ako sa bayan kung saan bumili si Fe ng bigas
AT.went 1sNABS OBL town LK where AT.bought NABS Fe ACC rice
'I went to the town where Fe bought rice.'

There are some interesting exceptional instances where extraction may operate on *ng* phrases (as discussed in Cena, 1979). One example is that in the Recent Past, either argument of a transitive verb, like *kababasa* in (17a), can be extracted. Thus the P can be relativized as in (17b), or else the A can be relativized as in (17c).

(17) Extraction in the Recent Past

a. kababasa lang ni Lina ng libro
RP.read just ERG Lina ACC book
'Lina just read a book.'

b. gusto ko ang libro na kababasa lang ni Lina
like 1s NABS book LK RP.read just ERG Lina
'I like the book that Lina just read.'

c. gusto ko ang babae na kababasa lang ng tula sa entablado
like 1s NABS woman LK RP.read just ACC poem OBL stage
'I like the woman who just read a poem on stage.'

1.3.9 Topicalization

A further syntactic operation that will be relevant is topicalization. One type of topicalization in Tagalog involves preposing a phrase before the particle *ay*. The phrases that can undergo this topicalization are *ang* phrases or *sa* phrases, but not *ng* phrases. The examples in (18) illustrate the pattern.

(18) Topicalization with *ay*

a. ang mga ibon ay na-kita ni Heraldo
NABS PL bird TOP PT-saw ERG Heraldo
'Birds, Heraldo saw.'

b. sa labas ay naka-kita si Heraldo ng mga ibon
OBL outside TOP AT-saw NABS Heraldo ACC PL bird
'Outside, Heraldo saw birds.'

c. *ng mga ibon ay naka-kita si Heraldo
ACC PL bird TOP AT-saw NABS Heraldo
for: 'Birds, Heraldo saw.'

There are some additional types of topicalization in Tagalog, one of which will be presented in section 3.7.

1.4 The Principles & Parameters Theory and Economy

The theoretical framework employed is known as the Principles and Parameters theory. This syntactic theory is summarized in Chomsky & Lasnik (1991), and I refer the reader to that work for a general background. Specific aspects of the theory will be introduced as needed throughout this dissertation. Chapters 3 and 4 draw heavily upon the work of Baker (1988) and his conception of the theory. These chapters are less theory driven and more data-centered than chapters 5 and 6, which are theoretical in nature. The subpart of the theory used in chapters 5 and 6 is an extension of the standard Principles and Parameters approach, known informally as the Economy approach (Chomsky, 1991). The particular conception of Economy followed here is that advocated by Murasugi (1992).

1.5 Three Perspectives on Case in Tagalog

This final section of the introductory chapter will outline three very distinct views of Tagalog in a descriptive way. Many of the following chapters will refer back to this initial introduction and to the alternative analyses that I will call TagE, TagA, and TagH (see sections 1.5.1, 1.5.2, and 1.5.3, respectively). This section will also serve to exemplify the glossing conventions of sentences, especially with regard to Case markers, which will be used throughout the dissertation.

Recall from section 1.3.3 that sentences containing primary transitive verbs could be expressed in at least two ways either as PT sentences or as AT sentences. Analyses of Tagalog must account for these two transitive sentence types. PT and the AT sentences are illustrated again in (19).

(19) PT and AT Sentences

a.	lulutu-in	ng lalaki	ang adobo
	will.cook-PT	ngA man	NABS adobo
	'The man will cook the adobo.'		
b.	m-ag-luluto	ang lalaki	ng adobo
	AT-pag-will.cook	NABS man	ngP adobo
	'The man will cook adobo.'		

The Case label associated with the *ang* phrase in these sentences, NABS, will be discussed in section 1.5.3. Note that a distinction is made here between the *ng* that marks A arguments as in (19a), and the *ng* that marks P arguments as in (19b). I will label these as ngA and ngP respectively, and will present evidence for distinguishing them in section 3.4.1. As mentioned, it is possible to view Tagalog sentences like those in (19) in several ways. Tagalog can thus be seen as entirely ergative, as entirely accusative or

as not entirely either of these. This dissertation explores these three views. I will propose that Tagalog is a mixture, exhibiting some properties characteristic of both types of systems. In the remainder of this section, the distinctness of the three views is highlighted.

First, the three views differ in their labelling of the *ng* and *ang* Cases found in the two sentences in (19). An initial overview of how the labels differ is provided in the table in (20). The individual views will be discussed thereafter.

(20) Case Labels Compared

Case markers	Tagalog As Ergative	Tagalog As Accusative	Tagalog As a Hybrid
ang NP	**ABS**	**NOM**	**NABS**
ng A	**ERG**	OBA	**ERG**
ng P	OBP	**ACC**	**ACC**
sa NP	OBL	OBL	OBL

The *sa* oblique is glossed in the same way for all three systems. There are other obliques, however, labelled OBP and OBA in the table, which will be explained as each view is presented individually. The view that will be adopted, which treats Tagalog as having a hybrid system, refers to neither of these as obliques. The non-oblique Cases are indicated in bold in (20). If Tagalog is viewed as ergative or accusative then there are two non-oblique Cases. Under the hybrid view, however, Tagalog has three non-oblique Cases: NABS, ERG, and ACC. As will be discussed in chapter 5, the nature of the ACC Case in Tagalog is different from the other non-oblique Cases. I will propose that ACC in Tagalog is inherent Case whereas NABS and ERG are structural Cases.

Another general observation is that under the ergative and accusative views, one

of the sentences in (19) is assumed to be the basic transitive and the other to be non-basic. Under the view espoused here, that Tagalog has a Case system that is a hybrid of the ergative and accusative systems, Tagalog has not just one basic transitive sentence, but two. That is, I contend that both of the sentences in (19) should be taken to be basic transitives in Tagalog, a notion that will be made more precise in chapters 2 and 3.

Each of the views presented here is internally consistent. Indeed versions of each have been espoused by different linguists looking at the same data from Tagalog. Tagalog viewed as an ergative language looks like a very different language from Tagalog viewed as an accusative language. This will become evident when the syntax is examined more closely in the chapters that follow. Once the language is viewed from one perspective it is sometimes difficult to see it from another persective. I hope this section will serve as a reference point for clearly distinguishing the three perspectives.

1.5.1 The Completely Ergative Analysis: TagE

According to the completely ergative view of Tagalog syntax, which will be labelled TagE for convenience, the basic sentence is taken to be PT, in which the P is *ang* marked. For example, (21) would be a basic transitive sentence with the [ERG ABS] Case pattern. This sentence can be compared to the intransitive in (22)[7].

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[7]The verbal morphology on these forms will be discussed in section 2.6.

(21) TagE Basic Transitive (PT)

nakita	ng lalaki	ang hayop
saw	ERG man	ABS animal

'The man saw the animal.'

(22) Intransitive

natulog	ang lalaki
slept	ABS man

'The man slept.'

The ergative pattern emerges: the S bears the same Case as the P, *ang*. Under TagE, *ang* is the absolutive and this Case differs from the Case on the A: *ng*, which is the ergative Case. The AT sentence (23) would be assumed to be an antipassive version of (21) with the A bearing absolutive marking, and the P appearing in an oblique *ng* phrase.

(23) TagE Non-basic: Antipassive (AT)

Nakakita	ang lalaki	ng hayop
APAS.see	ABS man	OBP animal

'The man saw an animal.'

The *ng* oblique on the P in (23) is distinguished from other obliques like those found on goals and locations, which bear the oblique Case marker, *sa*. I gloss these Case markers differently with *ng* as OBP (for oblique P) and *sa* as OBL (for other obliques). Note that the ERG marker in (21) is homophonous with the OBP marker in (23). Both are *ng*, but these are referred to as ngA and ngP respectively, as will be discussed in section 3.4.1.

The Case scheme for the completely ergative analysis, TagE, can be summarized as follows:

(24) TagE Case Scheme

Non-Personal Ns	Personal Ns	Case	Gloss
ang	si	Absolutive	ABS
ngA	ni	Ergative	ERG
ngP	*	ObliqueP	OBP
sa	kay	Oblique	OBL

1.5.2 The Completely Accusative Analysis: TagA

Under an accusative analysis, which I refer to as TagA, the basic transitive sentence is taken to be the AT sentence. The AT sentence would exhibit the [NOM ACC] Case pattern as shown in (25). If the AT transitive sentence is compared to an intransitive then the accusative pattern emerges: the subjects of both transitive and intransitive sentences are *ang* marked. That is, the A and S arguments are nominative under TagA, in contrast to the P argument which is accusative.

(25) TagA Basic Transitive (AT)

babasa	ang lalaki	ng tula
will.read	NOM man	ACC poem

'The man will read a poem.'

(26) Intransitive

lalakad	ang lalaki
will.walk	NOM man

'The man will walk.'

Under TagA, the PT structure (27) is considered non-basic. It is assumed to be a passive, where the P is a grammatical subject in the nominative Case and the A is in an oblique Case, the equivalent of a *by*-phrase in English. Again this *ng* oblique differs from *sa* obliques and hence will be glossed differently as OBA (for oblique A). This in turn is

distinguished from the homophonous accusative Case marker which appears on P arguments as in (25)[8].

(27) TagA Non-basic: Passive (PT)

babasa-hin	ng lalaki	ang tula
cook-PASS	OBA man	NOM poem

'The poem will be read by the man.'

The Case scheme of the completely accusative analysis, TagA, is summarized here:

(28) TagA Case Scheme

Non-Personal Ns	Personal Ns	Case	Gloss
ang	si	Nominative	NOM
ngA	ni	ObliqueA	OBA
ngP	*	Accusative	ACC
sa	kay	Oblique	OBL

1.5.3 The Hybrid Hypothesis: TagH

The proposal that the Tagalog Case system is best analysed as falling between the two above analyses, or rather that it is a hybrid of the two systems, will be labelled TagH. Under each of the hypotheses above there are two Cases in the basic transitives. In TagE, ergative and absolutive appear. In TagA, the two Cases nominative and accusative appear. Under the TagH analysis, Tagalog has three non-oblique Cases available: ergative, accusative and a third Case which collapses nominative and absolutive. I refer to this last Case as NABS following Massam (1991), who also collapses these Cases in her analysis of Niuean and other languages. The term absolutive

[8]Again, see section 3.4.1 for a discussion of the distinction. We have now seen the different possible labellings of these *ng* markers: the *ng* on A phrases is referred to as ngA, OBA or ERG and the *ng* on P phrases is referred to as ngP, OBP or ACC depending on the context.

may, in fact, be unnecessary altogether since this Case could be refered to as nominative for all languages that distinguish it, as is often assumed and as suggested to me by Mark Durie (p.c.). This makes the assumption, which I believe to be correct, that absolutive can be equated with nominative. I continue to use the term absolutive, however, since there are recent approaches, notably Chomsky (1992) and Bobaljik (1992), which make the contrary assumption that nominative aligns instead with ergative, and absolutive aligns with accusative.

The TagH Case scheme is summarized in table (29), with the glosses which I will use in the remainder of this dissertation unless referring specifically to TagA or TagE.

(29) TagH Case scheme

Non-Personal Ns	Personal Ns	Case	Gloss
ang	si	Nom-Abs	NABS
ngA	ni	Ergative	ERG
ngP	*	Accusative	ACC
sa	kay	Oblique	OBL

Not only are there three non-oblique Cases under TagH, but there is also more than one basic transitive sentence. Under TagH, there are two basic transitive sentences whereas TagA and TagE had only one basic transitive sentence type each. Examples using the hybrid glosses of the two basic sentences under TagH are given in (30).

(30) TagH: AT and PT Basic Transitives

a.	linuto	ng lalaki	ang adobo
	cook(PT)	ERG man	NABS adobo
	'The man cooked the adobo.'		
b.	babasa	ang lalaki	ng tula
	(AT)read	NABS man	ACC poem
	'The man will read a poem.'		

Another special characteristic of the Tagalog Case system which will not be discussed until section 5.5 is the nature of the Case labelled ACC in (30b).

1.5.4 Summary of Three Views of Tagalog Case

In sum, the three views, TagE, TagA and TagH, of the Case assignment patterns: ergative, accusative and hybrid, are distinct. They will be referred to throughout this dissertation. The set of Case labels used in conjunction with each view is summarized for later reference as follows (repeated from (20) above):

(31) The Three Case Perspectives

Case markers	**TagE**	**TagA**	**TagH**
ang	**ABS**	**NOM**	**NABS**
ngA	**ERG**	OBA	**ERG**
ngP	OBP	**ACC**	**ACC**
sa	OBL	OBL	OBL

Chapter 2: On Ergativity in Tagalog

This chapter provides support for the hybrid view of Tagalog, TagH, introduced in section 1.5. It is shown here that PT is not more basic than AT and AT is not more basic than PT, but rather that they are best seen as equally basic transitive sentences in the language. Selecting the most basic sentence is crucial in determining the status of a language since it is the basic transitive sentence that is compared to an intransitive in determining whether a language is ergative or not. Two definitions of basic sentence will be introduced in this chapter: an operational definition and a structural definition. The operational definition will be applied in this chapter while the structural definition will be applied in chapter 3. The operational definition has three components. The first two components, concerning text frequency and early acquisition, have been associated with discourse ergativity (Schachter, 1994). The last component concerns morphological complexity and is associated with morphological ergativity. In the course of the discussion of the morphological ergativity of Tagalog, it is demonstrated that the language has neither an active Case system nor an aspectually split ergative system.

2.1 The Characterization of an Ergative Language

It is usually a straightforward matter to determine whether a language is of the ergative type or of the accusative type. The distinction was schematized in section 1.2, and illustrated with an example from Dyirbal. Determining whether Tagalog is ergative or accusative is not as straightforward as the schematization or the Dyirbal example suggest, however. Dixon (1994) points out at the outset of his work on ergativity that for

a few languages determining the ergative status is contentious. In fact, while his book provides a general overview of the ergative status of a large range of world languages, he specifically does not discuss that of Tagalog. He explains that "...in a couple of instances there is such severe disagreement [among scholars] that I have preferred to keep to a minimum references to that language. These include Tagalog and other Philippine languages; and Georgian" (Dixon, 1994, xvi). There are several confounding factors that make determining the ergative status of Tagalog difficult. The factors include the affixes on the verb, the ambiguous status of the Case markers on noun phrases and the prominence of the *ang* marked NP.

The assumption implicit in Dixon's characterization of ergativity of a language is that an intransitive sentence must be compared to the **most basic** transitive sentence of that language. In Tagalog, there are two candidates for the most basic transitive: the AT and PT sentences, as outlined in section 1.5. Examples of the possibilities for Tagalog's transitive sentences are repeated here.

(1) Two Candidates for Basic Transitives

a.	lulutu-in	ng lalaki	ang adobo
	will.cook-PT	ngA man	NABS adobo
	'The man will cook the adobo.'		
b.	mag-luluto	ang lalaki	ng adobo
	AT-pag-will.cook	NABS man	ngP adobo
	'The man will cook adobo.'		

2.2 Defining Basic and Non-basic Sentences

Given that determining ergative status depends on an examination of basic

sentences, it will be useful to draw a formal distinction between basic and non-basic sentences. There are two ways to define basic that will be employed. The first way is to use an operational definition, and the other way is to use a structural definition. Based largely on Dixon's works, as well as on Comrie (1978), an operational definition like that in (2) can be posited.

(2) Operational Definition of Basic Sentence

> A basic sentence is a transitive sentence with A and P participants which is "unmarked". A sentence type is unmarked if it has a higher text frequency, if it is acquired earlier, and if it is morphologically less complex than other two participant sentence types. The sentence types which are marked in these respects are non-basic.

An example of a non-basic sentence type in English is the set of passives with *by*-phrases. Compared to active transitive sentences, passives in English are less frequent, are acquired later and are morphologically more complex than active sentences, as we will see in more detail in the sections which follow. According to the operational definition, then, English passives are non-basic. Note that the first two factors in the definition are based on language use, whereas morphological complexity is based strictly on the form of the sentences.

In addition to this operational definition, there can be a structural definition of basic sentence. This definition will depend on the theory of structure adopted. The following are some examples of possible definitions from various theoretical perspectives. In Transformational Grammars, the non-basic sentences would be constructions which are transformationally derived whereas the basic sentences would not involve any transformations. In Relational Grammar terms, basic sentences would be monostratal,

whereas non-basic sentences would not. In Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar, the structure of non-basic sentences would be represented using phrase structure rules resulting from the application of metarules. In the theory employed here, Principles and Parameters Theory, the structural definition I propose is stated as follows.

(3) Structural Definition of Basic Transitive Sentence

A basic transitive sentence:
a. contains one verb which describes an action involving two participants, A and P,
b. contains two overt NPs corresponding to those participants, and
c. has no θ role assignment to a bound morpheme.

According to this structural definition, the English passive would be deemed non-basic, as expected. The English passive is assumed to involve θ role assignment to the bound morpheme *-en* on the verb following Jaeggli (1986), Baker (1988) and Baker *et al* (1989), and therefore by definition (3), it is a non-basic sentence type. Thus both the operational and the structural definitions coincide in classifying passives in English as non-basic compared to active transitive sentences. The structural definition will be relevant in chapter 3 and further details of the definition will be discussed there. In the remainder of this chapter, I will discuss the application of the operational definition.

2.3 Applying The Operational Definition

There are several ways to view the Case marking patterns of core sentence types in Tagalog, as we have seen in section 1.5. While some linguists have considered Tagalog to have an accusative system, others have assumed that the language has an ergative system and still others have deemed it to have neither of these. In the remainder

of this chapter, I hope to shed light on why there has been such controversy over the correct analysis. Namely, the operational definition that has been applied by linguists, especially the morphological complexity aspect of it, can point either to AT or to PT as basic. Notice that the various aspects of this definition are relative, not absolute. They are set up this way in order to unequivocally choose among candidate sentences. Even so, the definition does not clearly choose between the two Tagalog candidate sentences in (1). Although the factors for Tagalog are remarkably balanced, what little imbalances that have been observed are used as evidence in the literature.

I will show that according to the operational definition, the PT and the AT sentence should be considered to be equally basic. First, AT and PT sentences both have a high frequency, if this can indeed be taken as evidence. Secondly, the two types of sentences are acquired early. Thirdly, the two verb forms, AT and PT, are both morphologically complex. Even though there are some morphologically unmarked forms, these are not found only in the AT verbal paradigm nor only in the PT paradigm, but rather there are some unmarked forms in both paradigms. Another approach to the morphological complexity, namely considering the intransitive verbs, which also bear topic morphology, is shown to be inconclusive. If Tagalog is neither ergative nor accusative, it is conceivable that it has another kind of system, such as a split system. Two such splits are considered for Tagalog. It is argued based on morphological complexity that Tagalog is not properly characterized as either of these. Tagalog does not have a split in the intransitives as is found in active Case systems. Rather, it is the transitive sentences that show a split of this kind. Finally, it is noted that the least

morphologically complex forms, if taken together, could be an indicator of split ergativity along aspectual lines, but this proposal too is rejected. Therefore I conclude that both AT and PT qualify to be basic by the operational definition. The implications of this conclusion are that neither the alignment suggested by the TagE view, nor that of the TagA view are adequate for Tagalog, in fact Tagalog falls between these two views precisely because it has two basic transitive sentence types.

In the remainder of this chapter, the following two points which I recapitulate from above are recurrent. First, if AT is the most basic sentence type in Tagalog, then language would seem accusative. In the sentences below, the Case marker on the A in (4) is the same as that on the S in (5), and is different from the Case marker on the P.

(4) Basic Transitive (AT)

babasa ang lalaki ng tula
will.read NOM man NG poem
'The man will read a poem.'

(5) Intransitive

lalakad ang lalaki
will.walk NOM man
'The man will walk.'

Second, if PT is the most basic sentence type, then Tagalog would seem ergative. Compare the PT basic transitive with an intransitive in the examples that follow. The language appears to treat the S and the P the same in terms of Case marking: both are marked with *ang*, while treating A differently, as can be seen by comparing (6) and (7).

(6) Basic Transitive (PT)

linuto ng lalaki ang adobo
cooked ERG man ABS adobo
'The man cooked the adobo.'

(7) Intransitive

lumakad ang lalaki
walked ABS man
'The man walked.'

The issue of verbal morphlogy on these forms will come up in section 2.6. For now, the point to keep in mind is that if the AT transitive is the most basic then the pattern is accusative, whereas if the PT transitive is most basic then the pattern is ergative.

2.4 Text Frequency

According to the operational definition, basic sentences are less marked than non-basic sentences in the sense that they have a higher text frequency. A basic sentence type is expected to occur much more frequently than a non-basic sentence type. Thus if AT is found to be the most frequent, then Tagalog would seem accusative, but if PT is more frequent, then Tagalog would seem ergative. Schachter (1994), however, holds that it is possible that Tagalog can be "discourse ergative" according to these types of criteria but still not be morphologically or syntactically ergative. Others such as Payne (1982) have implied that such discourse ergativity factors are directly correlated with the other types of ergativity. I maintain that even if these factors are to be taken as indicative, the candidate sentences in Tagalog are more balanced than the literature would suggest. A key observation is that the Tagalog frequencies are not on a par with basic versus non-

basic frequencies found elsewhere.

There is a discussion of text frequency in Shibatani (1988a, 1988b) who addresses the question of the ergative status of Philippine languages. I will summarize his findings and add some additional facts. As a basis for comparison the English frequencies are provided. The frequency of passive in English transitive sentences is on average 12% according to Svartvik (1966, 46). Givon (1979, 59) reports between 4% and 18% passives in English texts. These low frequencies are consistent with the fact that the English passive is a non-basic sentence type, as Shibatani notes.

Now consider the relative frequencies of the AT and PT forms in Tagalog. Shibatani notes that in a text frequency count of 281 Tagalog transitive sentences, Cooreman *et al* (1984, 404) report that 24% were AT and 76% were non-AT. Shibatani (1988b, 96) reports that in his study of 106 Cebuano transitive clauses 52% were AT, and 48% were non-AT. Shibatani (1988b) concludes that Philippine passives do not have low frequencies the way English (or Japanese or Russian) passives do.

There have been other frequency counts reported in the literature that show similarly that Tagalog non-AT forms are not as limited in frequency as English passives. Constantino (1971, 126) examined 500 sentences in Tagalog short stories. He reports that 41% were AT, 30.4% were non-AT, and 22.6% were non-verbal, though he does not distinguish transitive from intransitive sentences. A more extensive study with a more detailed breakdown of frequency data is provided in McFarland (1984). He did a frequency count on 5000 sentences from quotations in texts from Tagalog short story magazines. He reports the frequency of Tagalog affixes in numbers. From these raw

numbers, he extracts the verbal uses of the affixes. For example, while the affix *ma-* is extremely frequent, occurring 1300 times in the 5000 sentences, it is an affix that is used on adjectives as well as on verbs. The use of *ma-* as a verbal affix occurs only 381 times in the corpus. The numbers of occurrences in verbal uses (where adjectival and nominal uses have been excluded) from McFarland (1984, 236) are listed in the table in (8). The figures he provides are grouped for the purposes here, like the facts above, in terms of AT versus non-AT.

(8) AT versus non-AT Frequencies

Tagalog Verbal Affix Frequency in 5000 sentences
[Based on McFarland, 1984, 236]

AT	*-um-*, Ø	645
	mag-, *nag-*	452
	maka-, *naka-*	247
Total AT		**1344**
PT	*-in*, Ø	842
	ma-, *na-*	818
PT, LT	*-an*	306
PT, BT	*i-*	246
Total non-AT		**2212**

As the totals for each group indicate, the AT forms of verbal affixes occur less frequently (1344 times or in 38% of the total) than the non-AT forms (2212 times or in 62% of the total). Once again, however, the discrepancy is not on the same scale as

English active-passive frequencies. The significance of these figures is that according to the operational definition, neither AT nor PT sentences should be considered non-basic.

Further, it is interesting to note from table (8) that the frequency of AT and strictly PT forms together (84.5%) as compared with that of the *-an* forms which would include some PT sentences and some LT sentences (together 8.5%) and *i-* forms which would appear in PT and BT sentences (together 7%). There is a distinctly higher frequency for AT and PT affixes taken together than for LT or BT affixes. This suggests that the LT and BT sentence types are indeed non-basic according to the operational definition with respect to text frequency, just as English passives are non-basic in this sense.

2.5 Early Acquisition

Another means by which the most basic sentence can be chosen is by considering the acquisition of sentences by children. The assumption is that basic sentences are acquired earlier than non-basic sentences. We will see that in English, for example, active sentences are known to be acquired earlier than passives. Thus English passives are also non-basic according to acquisition criteria. Turning to Tagalog, under TagA, AT sentences would be expected to be acquired earlier than PT sentences. Under TagE assumptions, the opposite would be expected to be true. In fact, the acquisition of the two sentence types in Tagalog is not as different as the acquisition of English passive versus active, or even of passive versus active in languages where passives are acquired at a much earlier stage than those in English. This again points to a hybrid view as

viable.

Available studies on Tagalog point to the fact that the acquisition of PT sentences seems to precede that of AT sentences. According to the study conducted by Segalowitz and Galang (1976), children aged 3, 5, and 7 exhibit better comprehension of PT than of AT sentences. Similarly, the children are reported to have better mastery of PT sentences in a production task. Galang (1982) studying children aged 3 to 8 years, reports that comprehension of PT forms was better than that of AT forms until the later age groups. However, children did show some comprehension of AT sentences even at the earliest stage studied. Once again, in this study, the comprehension results were mirrored in production. The children in the youngest age group were producing AT forms, but they were producing more PT forms. Galang (1982, 13) notes that in spontaneous speech, children sometimes produced PT verbs when AT was appropriate. It is also noted that the verbal morphology is just emerging at this stage in development. Galang (1982, 12) points out that some of the 3-year-old children "consistently used uninflected forms in all cases where verbs were required". These two sets of findings suggest that the PT sentences are more basic. The Segalowitz and Galang (1976) observations are mentioned by Cena (1977) who is in turn cited in Payne (1982) as supporting the ergative analysis of Tagalog.

DeGuzman (1992) looks specifically at the acquisition by 3- to 8-year-olds of verbs of the *maka-* class (see section 1.3.5), such as verbs like *kita* 'see'. She observes, contrary to the above findings which concentrated on the *-um-* and *mag-* classes, that the AT forms are produced and comprehended earlier than PT forms. These observations

suggest that PT sentences are not the most basic. She notes that her findings may be taken as a challenge to an ergative view but also offers some alternative explanations for the findings.

Thus the core facts from a range of sentence types do not clearly support one or other view. In addition, the relative nature of the comparison is worth taking into consideration again. The acquisition figures, like those for frequency in adult speech discussed in the last section, are not in line with figures reported for other languages. In a study of the acquisition of passives in Inuktitut, Allen (1994) shows that Inuktitut speaking children use passives with a greater frequency than English speaking children. Thus for English children in the age range 1 year; 5 months to 5 years; 1 month, there were found to be 0.4 passives uttered per hour (as reported in Pinker *et al*, 1987), whereas in Inuktitut, the number of passives uttered per hour by children in the age range 2 years; 0 months to 3 years; 6 months was found to be 2.6 (Allen, 1994, 65). This kind of 'passives per hour' data is not available in the Tagalog acquisition literature, however, Allen (1994) does provide data of another kind that can be compared more readily with the Tagalog data that is reported. Namely, according to Allen (1994, 66) the frequency of passives per verbal clause in her study is between 2.1 and 3 percent in naturalistic speech. In Tagalog on the other hand, the frequencies of the AT sentences and the PT sentences in child speech are not in this range. Bautista (1983) finds that in a production task in which children were asked to describe the action in pictures presented to them, Tagalog children produced a high percentage of both AT and PT sentences. The figures provided by Bautista (1983, 40-41) are as follows: in 1105 utterances produced by 107

children, 23% were AT and 55% were PT sentences. Note that the percentages reported in Tagalog are based on all utterances not just verbal utterances whereas those reported for Inuktitut were only verbal. This has the effect of biasing the figures to favour even lower percentages for Tagalog, therefore the Tagalog figures are strikingly high in comparison with the Inuktitut figures. In other words, the Tagalog AT and PT frequencies in child speech are much greater than those of passives in Inuktitut. To restate the argument, even though passives are relatively frequent in Inuktitut as compared to English, they are produced at a much lower rate than AT and PT sentences in Tagalog. This suggests that neither the PT nor the AT sentences are acquired as late as non-basic sentences from other languages, rather they are both acquired at a relatively early age.

It is interesting to note that, although there is very little data available, the non-AT, non-PT sentences do seem to be acquired later in Tagalog. Thus Galang (1982, 8) reports that the comprehension of LT sentences, in which a location is NABS, is worse than either the AT or the PT sentences in her study. DeGuzman (1992) provides some further support for this from her study of psychological verbs. She found children's comprehension and production of sentences where NPs other than the A or P are NABS (such as an instrument used for seeing with the verb *kita* 'see') to be worse than sentences where either A or P are NABS (for the verb *kita* 'see' the seer is the A and the seen thing is the P, for example).

This again highlights the danger of applying a relative definition when the candidates are closely balanced. Factors such as text frequency and early acquisition both

could be taken to show that PT sentences are more basic, but in fact on closer examination, they show that AT and PT sentences are remarkably similar. According to some, these factors are indicators of discourse ergativity and may not even correlate with other types of ergativity (see discussion in Schachter, 1994). The last component of the definition to consider is not a discourse factor, rather it concerns morphological complexity, which has to do with form.

2.6 Morphological Complexity

One further way to choose the most basic among candidate sentences is to choose the sentence with the least morphologically complex verb. Unlike typical ergative or accusative languages, however, verbs in Tagalog are rarely morphologically simple. It is therefore difficult to simply choose the most basic form by searching for the least morphologically marked. It is worth considering this problem further since it has been used as an argument for the ergative perspective (e.g. Blake 1988, 1990). As noted by Blake (1990, 150): "The problem with classifying Tagalog on the basis of traditional descriptions is that all the [topic forms] appear to be equally marked and it is not clear which one should be compared with the intransitive construction...for the purposes of establishing the typology." Notice that the verbs in both the PT and AT sentences in (1) repeated here in (9) are morphologically complex; in neither example is the verb unaffixed.

(9) Two Candidates for Basic Transitives

a.	lulutu-in	ng lalaki	ang adobo
	will.cook-PT	ngA man	NABS adobo
	'The man will cook the adobo.'		
b.	mag-luluto	ang lalaki	ng adobo
	AT-pag-will.cook	NABS man	ngP adobo
	'The man will cook adobo.'		

The morphemes commonly found on verbs in basic sentences such as those in (9) include the topic markers and the aspect markers, which were introduced in sections 1.3.5 and 1.3.6 respectively. The verbal forms presented in (9), *lulutuin* in (9a) and *magluluto* in (9b), for example, both consist of a verb root *luto*, aspectual marking (CV reduplication, *lu-* in these examples) and topic marking (*-in* in (9a), and *m-* in (9b)). There is an additional morpheme on (9b), *pag-*, which could be taken to indicate that the AT sentence (9b) is less basic than the PT sentence (9a). This is an analysis of the verbal morphology similar to that proposed by DeGuzman (1978), for example. There is another analysis proposed by Schachter and Otanes (1972) whereby the topic marker in (9b) is taken to be *mag-* rather than *m-*. On this latter analysis, there is no additional morpheme on the AT verb and therefore AT and PT forms are equally marked.

Let us look at the verbal morphology in more detail. There are two approaches I will take in considering the verbal topic markers. First, I will consider the verb forms that consistently bear no topic marker in section 2.6.1. Then I will look at which topic forms are found in intransitives in section 2.6.2. Both of these are possible criteria for choosing between PT and AT forms as the most basic in morphological terms. In the following discussion of the aspectual paradigms (that is, verb forms which carry aspect

morphology), the unmarked forms are those which bear no topic markers. As mentioned, there are very few verbs that are totally morphologically unmarked, with neither aspect nor topic morphology.

2.6.1 Morphologically Unmarked Forms

First observe that there are subparts of aspectual paradigms which consistently lack a topic marker and that this could be taken as evidence for that paradigm being chosen as the basic paradigm. However, the lack of a morpheme in a paradigm could have an independent explanation or it could be very significant or it could be accidental. This calls into question the validity of such morphological complexity evidence. Whether or not morphological complexity should be taken to be significant, the issue is examined here because some authors have ascribed significance to the unmarked forms in the aspectual paradigms, and therefore these unmarked forms constitute a reason for the continuing controversy over the status of Tagalog as ergative or accusative. The unmarked verbal forms can be taken to argue for either an accusative or an ergative analysis, depending on which aspectual paradigm is considered. As will be demonstrated, if only the Incomplete aspectual paradigm is examined, the language appears to be accusative. If only the Started aspectual paradigm is examined, the language displays ergative characteristics. This point is also alluded to by Schachter (1994). In addition to the Started and Incomplete aspectual paradigms, there are three different verb classes, already introduced in section 1.2.3, that need to be examined. Recall that these topic marker classes were labelled according to their AT forms: the *-um-* verbs, *mag-* verbs and *maka-* verbs. Representative verbs from each class are ***bumasa*** 'read', ***magluto***

'cook', and ***makakita*** 'see'.

First, note that the verbs are all morphologically complex in both their AT and PT forms when there is no aspectual morphology on the verb, as shown in (10).

(10) Aspectless Forms [-st][-inc] (no aspect morphology)

CLASS	*-um-*	*mag-*	*maka-*
AT	b-um-asa	mag-luto	maka-kita
PT	basa-hin	lutu-in	ma-kita

Since there are no morphologically unmarked forms when the verbs are aspectless, neither AT nor PT is picked out as basic according to the morphological complexity criterion of definition (2); there is no least complex form among the forms in the paradigm given in (10).

Next, consider whether the topic marker appears in forms that do bear aspectual morphology. In the Incomplete aspect, indicated with CV reduplication, the *-um-* verbs are unmarked in AT, but marked in PT. That is, the expected form for the AT of an *-um-* verb is ***bumabasa***, but this does not occur. There is therefore an unmarked form in the topic marker paradigm in these AT forms. The unmarked form is indicated in bold in (11). The *mag-* and *maka-* verbs are marked in both PT and AT in this paradigm.

(11) Incomplete Aspect [-st][+inc] (CV reduplication)

CLASS	*-um-*	*mag-*	*maka-*
AT	**babasa**	mag-luluto	maka-kikita
PT	babasa-hin	lulutu-in	ma-kikita

Going on this fact alone, AT forms are the least morphologically complex and hence could be considered the most basic, supporting an accusative analysis.

In the Started aspect, indicated with *n-*, the PT is less morphologically complex than AT. Recall from section 1.3.6 that the Started affix *n-* becomes the infix *-in-* or else changes initial /m/ to /n/. As shown in the table in (12), the *-um-* and *mag-* verbs have unmarked PT forms, in bold, and marked AT forms. That is, the bold unmarked forms bear no topic markers, just the aspect affix alone. The expected PT forms for the *-um-* and *mag-* classes would bear the PT *-in* marker. However, **binasahin* and **linutuin* do not occur[1]. The *maka-* verbs are marked in both AT and PT (bearing *naka-*, which is *n-* + *maka-*, and *na-*, which is *n-* + *ma-*).

(12) Started Aspect [+st][-inc] (*-in-*, *n-*)

CLASS	*-um-*	*mag-*	*maka-*
AT	b-um-asa	nag-luto	naka-kita
PT	**binasa**	**linuto**	na-kita

That PT is less morphologically complex, as it is in this paradigm, suggests that PT is basic. This in turn would point to an ergative analysis of Tagalog as noted in section 2.3.

Blake (1988, 1990) proposes that although there are unmarked AT forms in the Incomplete aspect, this aspect is not the least marked aspect functionally speaking, implying that the forms of this paradigm should not be taken as convincing evidence for the accusative status of Tagalog. He is therefore led to conclude that Tagalog is ergative on the basis of complexity in the Started paradigm as has just been presented. The choice of the Started aspect paradigm as the least functionally marked is also problematic,

[1]Under a different breakdown of the verbal morphology, the infix *-in-* is taken to be an occurrence of the PT marker (as in Sweetser, 1980). This renders every member of the started PT paradigm marked, and hence suggests that PT is not the basic verb form. This view of *-in-* is not taken here, however, for reasons already outlined in section 1.3.6.

however, since all the aspects are used extensively. Furthermore, all the aspectual paradigms are formally marked in the sense that they are affixed (with CV reduplication, *n-*, or both). The one exception is the aspectless paradigm presented in (10). In formal terms, then, this paradigm is surely the least marked, and interestingly these aspectless verbs all bear topic markers. The unmarked forms in Tagalog, again given in bold, are summarized in the comprehensive table in (13).

(13) Morphological Markedness in Tagalog AT and PT Verbal Paradigms[2]

Verb Class:	*-um-* class	*mag-* class	*ma-* class
Root:	*basa* 'read'	*dala* 'carry'	*kita* 'see'
AT			
Aspectless [-st][-inc]	bumasa	magdala	makakita
Started [+st][-inc]	bumasa	nagdala	nakakita
In progress [+st][+inc]	bumabasa	nagdadala	nakakikita
Incomplete [-st][+inc]	**babasa**	magdadala	makakikita
PT			
Aspectless [-st][-inc]	basahin	dalhin	makita
Started [+st][-inc]	**binasa**	**dinala**	nakita
In progress [+st][+inc]	binabasa	**dinadala**	nakikita
Incomplete [-st][+inc]	babasahin	dadalhin	makikita

Considering that some of the unmarked forms are PT (*binasa*, *dinala*) while other unmarked forms are AT (*babasa*), it is not the case that AT is less morphologically complex than PT or vice versa. Thus we can conclude that neither AT nor PT is more or less morphologically complex than the other, and therefore that neither is the ideal candidate for being chosen as the most basic sentence type on morphological grounds. It is not the case that the unmarked forms occur in just one of the aspectual paradigms,

[2]Recall that [+st] corresponds to *n-* morphology and [+inc] corresponds to CV reduplication.

or only in AT, or only in PT, or only in one verb class. In fact, what is striking about the paradigms is that there are very few unmarked forms at all. In the *maka-* class there are no unmarked forms whatsoever. Additionally, there are no aspectless verbs that are unmarked. One remarkable thing about Tagalog is that its verbal morphology is rich; there is no verb class or paradigm that stands out as morphologically simple throughout when several paradigms are considered. Using the criterion of morphological complexity of the verb as a determiner of markedness, then, neither AT nor PT can be selected as the most basic verb form.

If indeed morphological complexity is to be taken as evidence, it can be noted further that there are no other candidates that present themselves as less morphologically marked than these AT and PT forms. Interestingly, other topic forms of verbs which are used in non-basic sentences, such as LT, BT and IT, are marked throughout their paradigms. An example of one of these paradigms, an LT verb paradigm, is given here.

(14) No Morphologically Unmarked forms in LT Verbal Paradigm

Verb Class:	*-um-* class	*mag-* class	*ma-* class
Root:	*sulat* 'write'	*laro* 'play'	*kita* 'see'
LT			
Aspectless [-st][-inc]	sulatan	maglaruan	kakitaan
Started [+st][-inc]	sinulatan	naglaruan	kinakitaan
In progress [+st][+inc]	sinusulatan	naglalaruan	kinakakitaan
Incomplete [-st][+inc]	susulatan	maglalaruan	kakakitaan

Schachter (1994) arrives at a similar conclusion about the relative morphological complexity of AT and PT forms, and provides an additional morphological argument which I will summarize here. Schachter argues that the AT must be considered to be a basic form since it is the AT form that feeds other morphological derivation. An example

that he provides is the formation of the beneficiary topic (BT) verb which takes *ipag-* in the *mag-* class (15b), but simply *i-* in the *-um-* class (15a).

(15) BT Form Depends on AT Form [Schachter, forthcoming, 77]

a.	t-um-ahi	:	i-tahi	b.	mag-plantsa	:	ipag-plantsa
	AT-sew		BT-sew		AT-iron		BT-iron

Furthermore, Schachter observes that for a given verb root, the AT verb class (*-um-*, *mag-*, or *maka-*) of that root is not predictable from the PT form of the verb. Additionally, the PT form (which could be marked with *-in*, *i-* or *-an*, for example) is not predictable from the AT verb form. Finally, he maintains that neither of these is predictable from other factors such as the semantics of the root; instead, the choice of the forms of both the AT and PT markers for a given root must be assumed to be lexically specified. Schachter concludes that AT and PT forms are thus unlike antipassives and passives respectively since such forms should be predictable from the active transitive form and should not be lexically specified. This argument based on morphology is further support for the view that both AT and PT should be considered equally basic, as they are here.

2.6.2 Intransitives as an Indicator

Taking another tack, one could look at the form of intransitives to help determine the most basic transitive form. The intransitive verbs also bear topic markers, and so in making the comparison for determining ergative status, perhaps identical marking in both transitive and intransitive forms should be considered. That is, the morphology could be more carefully aligned for comparative purposes in the determination of the status of Tagalog.

There are many intransitives with *-um-* marking, and some with *mag-* marking, but there are very few with *-in* marking[3]. (16) shows that the transitive *-um-* and *mag-* forms in transitives are directly comparable to *-um-* and *mag-* forms in intransitives.

(16) Alignment of AT and Intransitive

AT transitive:	**bum**asa	'read'	**mag**luluto	'will cook'
intransitive:	**lum**akad	'walked'	**mag**sasaludo	'will salute'

Since intransitive verbal morphology generally aligns with AT and not PT transitives, this suggests that the AT transitive forms are most basic. To take a concrete example, the comparison between sentences in (4) and (5) leading to an accusative view above is between sentences with identical verb forms. In the sentences being compared in (6) and (7) leading to an ergative view above, however, the verbal morphology differs. Therefore, if this alignment is to be taken seriously, only the former comparison is valid and Tagalog would seem accusative.

This argument breaks down when *maka-* verbs are considered, however. For this verb class, the markedness of intransitives patterns in the opposite direction. That is, there are many intransitives with *ma-* marking, and few, if any, with the AT *maka-* marking. The examples in (17) show the relevant comparison of a PT transitive with a morphologically similar intransitive.

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[3]Foley (1991) provides examples such as *langgam-in* [ant-PT] 'be infested with ants', and *antuk-in* [sleepiness-PT] 'be sleepy'.

(17) Alignment of PT and Intransitive

PT transitive:	**ma**kikita	'will see'
intransitive:	**ma**tutulog	'will sleep'

If only the *maka-* class of verbs is considered, then, the PT transitive sentences should be aligned with the intransitives, making Tagalog seem ergative[4]. Thus yet another criterion for choosing the most basic sentence gives two possible answers when applied in Tagalog. The criterion does not distinguish between the PT and the AT sentences, if all the verb classes are considered. I agree with the observations of both Schachter (1994) and Foley (1991) and conclude that the morphological complexity evidence supports neither the ergative analysis nor the accusative analysis.

2.6.3 Not an Active System

Another conclusion that could be reached about the status of Tagalog if the verbal morphology on intransitives is considered is that Tagalog has an entirely different kind of system. From the verbal morphology data presented in the last section, it can be seen that some intransitives pattern with PT transitives while others pattern with AT transitives. The significance of this in terms of the typology of languages is that the language looks like an active language (Mithun, 1991), also referred to as a split-S language (Dixon, 1994), which is neither ergative nor accusative. In active languages, the S of some intransitives is treated the same way as the P. The S of other intransitives, however, is treated the same way as the A. This is perhaps easiest to see in a diagram like (18), based on one provided in Dixon (1994), with P replacing his O. This diagram

[4]For further discussion of *ma-* from a more functional perspective, see Sweetser (1980) and Foley and Van Valin (1984).

expands upon the diagram provided for accusative and ergative systems presented in section 1.2.

(18) Accusative, Ergative and Active [based on Dixon, 1994, 72]

Accusative Pattern	intransitive	S
	transitive	A P
Ergative Pattern	intransitive	S
	transitive	A P
Active Pattern	intransitive	S_A S_P
	transitive	A P

In a language displaying an active pattern, the S category splits into two parts, those S arguments that are treated the same way as A (called S_A) and those that are treated the same way as P (S_P). There is also a semantic basis for the split (see Dixon, 1994, and Mithun, 1991): roughly speaking, an action that is controlled will involve S_A.

Next consider how the verbal morphology in Tagalog could be taken to exhibit an active pattern. First, consider an example from Mithun (1991) that illustrates the active system in pronominal prefixes on verbs in (19) in Lakhota, a Siouan language.

(19) Lakhota Active Pattern [Mithun, 1991, 514]

a.	Intransitive 1 (S_A)	**wa**-psíča '**I** jumped.'
b.	Transitive	**wa**-ktékte '**I**'ll kill him.'
c.	Intransitive 2 (S_P)	**ma**-xwà '**I**'m sleepy.'
d.	Transitive	**ma**-ktékte 'He'll kill **me**.'

The form of the S pronominal in example (19a) patterns with that of the A in (19b), both are *wa-*, as in an accusative pattern. However, in the intransitive example in (19c), the form of the S pronominal patterns with that of the P argument of a transitive (19d), both are *ma-*.

Ross (1992) notes the fact that the verbal morphology of one set of Tagalog intransitives patterns with AT transitives while others pattern with PT transitives. The paradigm of sentence pairs from Tagalog comparable to the Lakota paradigm is given in (20).

(20) Potential Tagalog Active Pattern

a.	Intransitive 1 (S_A)	**Lumakad** ang bata '**The child** walked.'
b.	Transitive	**Bumasa** ang bata ng tula '**The child** read a poem.'
c.	Intransitive 2 (S_P)	**matutulog** ang bata '**The child** will sleep.'
d.	Transitive	**makikita** ng sundalo ang bata 'The soldier will see **the child**.'

The paradigms in (19) and (20) appear to be parallel since the verbs in the first two examples bear the same affixes and exhibit an accusative pattern, while the last two examples in each of (19) and (20) bear another affix and show an ergative pattern. There is an important difference between (19) and (20), however. Namely, the transitive verb is the same in the Lakhota comparison (*ktékte* 'kill'), but two different transitive verbs are compared in Tagalog (*basa* 'read' and *kita* 'see'). If Tagalog were truly an active language, then the split would be only in the intransitives, not in the transitives. In terms of Case, there would be a class of intransitive which had *ng* Case marking on the S NP, and another class of verbs which had *ang* Case marking on the S NP. This does not occur. There are intransitives which occur with a *ng* marked S, namely intransitives in the Recent Past like those illustrated in (21).

(21) Recent Past: *ng* phrases in Intransitives

a. kalalakad lang ng bata
RP.walk just child
'The child just walked.'

b. katutulog lang ng bata
RP.sleep just child
'The child just slept.'

However, Recent Past verbs are not the required kind of semantically defined class of verbs, rather, all intransitive verbs can occur in this aspect. Thus we can conclude that Tagalog is not an active language. Shibatani (1988a) concludes that Cebuano, a closely related language, does not have an active system taking a slightly different perspective. Although it seemed, given the paradigm parallels in (19) and (20), that Tagalog might have active Case marking, in fact it does not. Instead of having a split pattern in

intransitives manifested in the verbal morphology, there is rather a split between AT and PT transitives manifested in the Case marking. The Case marking in intransitives can pattern with AT transitives so that the Case on the S argument matches that of the A, but equally important to note is that S Case marking also matches that of the P in PT transitives. Although this particular kind of split is not as amenable to being represented schematically in a diagram like that given in (18), it can be done by separating the two transitive types AT and PT as in (22) below.

(22) Tagalog Pattern Schematized

Tagalog Pattern	intransitive	S	
	AT transitive	A_{AT}	P_{AT}
	PT transitive	P_{PT}	A_{PT}

This diagram underlines the point being made here that there are two distinct transitives, AT and PT, in Tagalog. It also highlights the difference between the systems described in the literature as ergative, accusative and active on one hand, and the system I propose for Tagalog on the other. If Tagalog is to be seen as split, it is not the intransitives that split, but rather it is the transitives that split into two patterns: the AT and the PT. This split is not like the splits found in languages which are split ergative along the lines of aspect either, as we will see in the next subsection.

2.6.4 Not Aspectually Split Ergativity

There is another observation that can be made given the unmarked forms that occur in the paradigms, summarized in (13). The unmarked AT form is in the Incomplete aspect, and the unmarked PT forms occur in the Started aspect. These aspects are the

Tagalog analogues of imperfective and perfective respectively, and are labelled as such by Schachter & Otanes (1972), for example. This aspectual distinction can be relevant to the question of the ergative status of a language. In particular, only perfective aspect is associated with an ergative pattern in aspectually split ergative languages. Thus languages like Hindi exhibit an ergative pattern in the perfective (23a), but an accusative pattern in the imperfective (23b).

(23) Split Ergativity in Hindi [Mahajan, 1990, 72-3]

a. *Perfective: Ergative Pattern*

raam-ne	roTii	khayii	thii
Ram.m-ERG	bread.f(ABS)	eat.PRF.f	be.PST.f

'Ram had eaten bread.'

b. *Imperfective: Accusative Pattern*

raam	roTii	khataa	thaa
Ram.m(NOM)	bread.f(ACC)	eat.IMPRF.m	be.PST.m

'Ram had eaten bread.'[5]

The Hindi sentence in (23a) has an [ERG ABS] Case frame, while the sentence in (23b) has the [NOM ACC] Case frame. The pattern is also manifested in the agreement system in Hindi. Notice that the gender agreement is with the P argument in (23a) and with the A argument in (23b).

Tagalog might be said to be split ergative along aspectual lines. The least marked forms in the Started, or perfective, aspect are the PT forms. The language could thus be assumed to exhibit the ergative pattern in its equivalent of the perfective (see e.g. Blake, 1988). Similarly the least marked forms in the Incomplete, or imperfective, are the AT

[5]I have added the glosses (NOM), (ABS) and (ACC) in accordance with my glossing conventions. Mahajan assumes, as I do, that absolutive and nominative Case collapse. These cases are null in Hindi, as noted by Mahajan (1990, 75).

forms, suggesting that the language is accusative in the imperfective. As such, Tagalog seems to be split ergative along aspectual lines like Hindi. Compare the parallel examples from Hindi in (23) above to those from Tagalog in (24) below.

(24) Potential Split Ergativity in Tagalog

a. *Perfective: Ergative Pattern*
binasa ng lalaki ang tula
ST.read(PT) ERG man ABS poem
'The man read the poem.'

b. *Imperfective: Accusative Pattern*
ba-basa ang lalaki ng tula
(AT)INC-read NOM man ACC poem
'The man will read a poem.'

The Case pattern exhibited by these Tagalog examples is [ERG ABS] in the perfective and [NOM ACC] in the imperfective, just as in Hindi. This parallel is deceptive, however, just as the parallel between Lakhota and Tagalog drawn in section 2.6.3 was deceptive. Not only is there a difference in aspect between (24a) and (24b), but the verbs are in different topic forms: (24a) is PT and (24b) is AT. This is not visible in these examples precisely because these are the least marked forms for each of the aspectual paradigms, namely they are forms which bear no overt topic markers.

I maintain that the difference in topic form in (24a) and (24b) is very relevant to the ergative status of Tagalog, whereas the difference in aspect between the two is not. The reasoning goes as follows: If only the aspect is changed, and the topic form is kept constant, the Case markers are identical in the two sentences. Thus in (25), both forms are AT, but the aspect differs in (25a) and (25b) as it does in the pair in (24) above. This time the Case markers match exactly. The same is true if both forms are PT.

(25) Tagalog Non-Split: Perfective vs. Imperfective

a. *Perfective AT: Accusative Pattern*
nag-luto ang lalaki ng adobo
AT.ST-cook NOM man ACC adobo
'The man cooked adobo.'

b. *Imperfective AT: Accusative Pattern*
mag-lu-luto ang lalaki ng adobo
AT-INC-cook NOM man ACC adobo
'The man will cook adobo.'

Conversely, if the aspect is kept constant, and only the topic markers differ as in (26), then the Case markers do not match. Rather, if compared to intransitives, (26a) exhibits the ergative pattern and (26b) exhibits the accusative pattern. Compare the examples in (24) with the examples in (26) where the aspect in both is perfective. The same is true if the aspect in both is imperfective.

(26) Tagalog Split: PT versus AT

a. *Perfective PT: Ergative Pattern*
binasa ng lalaki ang tula
ST.read(PT) ERG man ABS poem
'The man read the poem.'

b. *Perfective AT: Accusative Pattern*
bumasa ang lalaki ng tula
AT.(ST)read NOM man ACC poem
'The man read a poem.'

These observations demonstrate that Tagalog cannot be adequately described as exhibiting an ergativity split along aspectual lines.

2.6.5 Summary of Morphological Complexity Evidence

Tagalog has been shown to be neither ergative nor accusative nor active nor aspectually split ergative in this section, based on a consideration of the morphological

complexity of verbal forms. It was argued here that upon taking the view of verbal morphology outlined in 1.3.5 and 1.3.6, the aspect markers found on verbs are not relevant to Tagalog's ergative/accusative status, but that the topic markers are key. Since the sentence type with the least morphologically complex verb is typically the most basic sentence type of a language, Tagalog's topic marker paradigms could provide some insight into which transitive sentences are most basic, which is in turn an indication of how to classify the language. If specific verb forms are compared, they can give the impression that Tagalog is an active language, or an aspectually split ergative language when in fact Tagalog is neither of these. It was also shown on the basis of morphologically unmarked forms in selected paradigms that Tagalog can appear to be an ergative language, but on the other hand, on the basis of other verbal paradigms Tagalog appears to be an accusative language. In fact, if a whole range of paradigms is taken into consideration, then Tagalog seems to be none of the types mentioned. This is in agreement with, and expands upon, the discussions of the morphological complexity issue found in Schachter (1994), and in Foley (1991). Morphological complexity is the final criterion in the operational definition of basic sentence in (2) that we will consider.

2.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, two definitions have been put forward for determining the most basic sentence of a language and the first of these was applied to Tagalog. The significance of selecting a particular sentence type as basic is that it is essential to the determination of the status of the language as an ergative or accusative language, a

central question addressed in this dissertation. The operational definition, which is based on criteria proposed in the literature on ergativity, was proposed. These criteria are: text frequency, early acquisition and morphological complexity. Each of these was considered for Tagalog's candidate sentences in this chapter.

The criteria for choosing the most basic sentence in the operational definition are relative, and therefore favour selecting one transitive sentence type over all others. Despite this fact, neither of the two candidate sentence types in Tagalog in (1) is singled out as the most basic. Rather, both PT and AT sentences are best viewed as being basic transitives of the language. The proposal for the structure of Tagalog within the Principles and Parameters theory advanced in this dissertation does not force the categorization of Tagalog as ergative or accusative. Rather, it captures the fact that Tagalog falls between these two, and this will become clear in the chapters that follow. In the next chapter, the structural definition will be taken into consideration. There too it will be seen that both AT and PT sentences should be taken to be basic.

Finally, for each of the criteria in the operational definition, it has been shown that other sentence types which are non-basic are picked out as such. These sentence types are not basic in the sense that they do not involve A and P arguments but necessarily involve some other argument type (e.g. a beneficiary in BT sentences). These forms were indeed less frequent, and acquired later, according to what little data is available. They are also always morphologically complex (i.e. there are no unmarked forms in their paradigms). This is what was to be expected for such non-basic forms.

Chapter 3: A Typology Based on NP Movement

3.1 Introduction

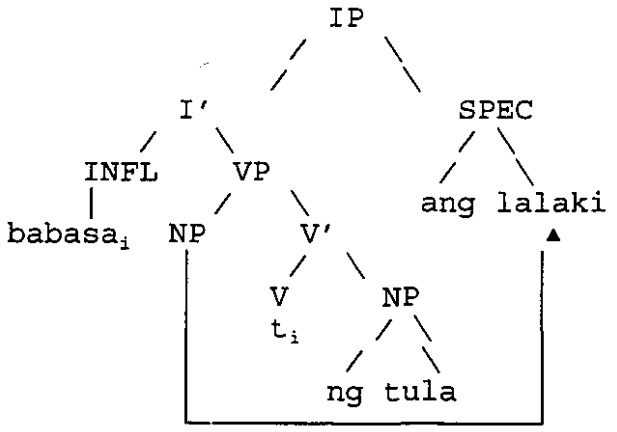
We have seen that determining which are the basic transitive sentences of a language is central to the classification of that language according to its Case system. Beyond applying the operational definition of basic sentences (see section 2.3), there is a structural definition laid out in section 2.2 which will also be applied to the question. In this chapter, the distinction between ergative and accusative languages will be discussed in structural terms for languages generally, and for Tagalog in particular. The result of applying the structural definition will be that Tagalog is shown to have two basic transitive sentence types, AT and PT. This conclusion is the same as that which was reached by applying the operational definition in chapter 2. The application of the structural definition depends upon the theory assumed and therefore requires a certain amount of background in the theoretical assumptions about structure. The structural insights of two recent papers which form the central motivation for the current proposal are outlined. First, the structural innovation of VP internal subjects is used for the analysis of Austronesian languages in Guilfoyle *et al* (1992), as we will see in section 3.2. The use of two subject positions is exploited somewhat differently in Johns (1992) for the analysis of [ERG ABS] sentences in Inuktitut, and this approach will be laid out and compared to the one taken here in section 3.3.2. Much of the work here also draws upon the view of structure taken in Baker (1988), which is relevant at various points in this chapter. In the course of the discussion a typology emerges. The typology is first discussed in terms of movement possibilities in basic sentences in section 3.3. This in

turn feeds into the analysis discussed in chapter 5. The typology is viewed not only in terms of movement but also purely in terms of Case in section 3.4. The typology is then extended to include non-basic sentences in section 3.5, and to include intransitive sentences in section 3.7.

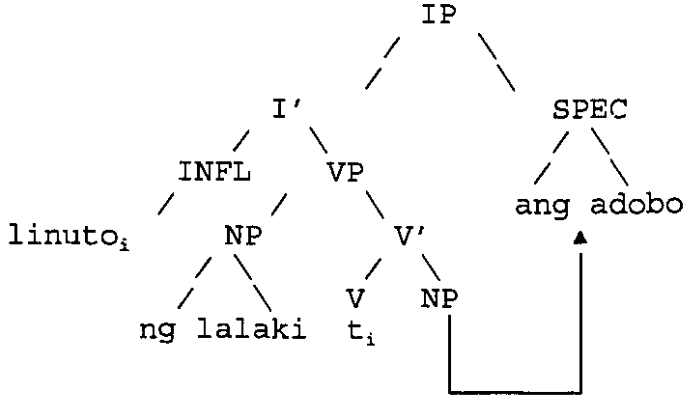
3.2 The VP Internal Subject

The introduction of a VP internal subject (see e.g. Kuroda 1988, Kitagawa 1986, Koopman and Sportiche 1988), has allowed certain special characteristics of languages of the world to be captured. The study of Austronesian languages in Guilfoyle *et al* (1992) provides a structure which fruitfully exploits the VP internal subject hypothesis for the structure of languages like Tagalog. In their structure there can be movement of a theme to a subject position (SPEC of IP) while the agent, in a second subject position (SPEC of VP), maintains its argument status. As noted in section 1.3.4, I use the terms P and A instead of θ role labels to name the NPs. The structures that Guilfoyle *et al* (1992) propose for the Tagalog AT and PT sentences like those discussed in the previous chapter are given in (1) and (2).

(1) AT Structure [based on Guilfoyle *et al*, 1992, 396]



(2) PT Structure [based on Guilfoyle *et al*, 1992, 381]



These structures include a VP internal subject position, namely, the specifier position of the verb phrase, or SPEC of VP. The introduction of this extra subject position in addition to the SPEC of IP subject position allows Guilfoyle *et al* (1992) to account for the fact that there is a split between subject properties, pointed out by Schachter (1976, 1977) and others for Tagalog. Some of these properties, such as extraction and quantifier float, are associated with SPEC of IP subjects while others, like reflexivization and control, are associated instead with SPEC of VP subjects in their analysis.

Their structure represents the starting point for the work of this dissertation. The introduction of a SPEC of VP not only creates an extra subject position, but also requires the movement from SPEC of VP to SPEC of IP when the A is in nominative Case. Crucially, the SPEC of VP also provides a new Case position. Thus while the emphasis in Guilfoyle *et al* (1992) was on subject properties, the implications of their proposal for Case will be explored in this chapter.

The VP internal subject is more than just an NP position. It also allows for an additional NP grammatical relation that has not been alluded to in the literature before. Thus in a framework that takes grammatical relations as primitives, such as relational grammar (RG), there is no equivalent of the relation associated with SPEC of VP. The relations 1 for subject and 2 for object correspond directly to the phrase structural positions SPEC of IP and COMPL of V respectively in basic sentences. It is not possible to refer to the grammatical relation that falls between these in RG. Having this kind of relation available allows us to take the view presented in this chapter. In other words, the present analysis of Tagalog is not stateable in RG since it would require an additional relation that is neither a 1 nor a 2. Consider one conclusion from within RG: "Philippines-type languages such as Tagalog and Cebuano are often typed as standing outside the accusative/ergative/active classification. Early RG treatments (mainly of Cebuano) take them to be essentially accusative, but there are strong reasons to take at least some of them to be ergative" (Blake, 1990, 143). Blake goes on to present an ergative RG analysis of Tagalog. Schachter (1994) discussing his own analysis wherein Tagalog is neither ergative nor accusative says: "...it is not clear to me how a Relational

Grammar account of Tagalog would reflect this analysis (or even whether there is such a Relational Grammar account!)..." (Schachter, 1994, 81). While it may be difficult to provide an appropriate RG account[1], the VP internal subject within a Principles and Parameters approach does allow for a hybrid account.

3.3 A Typology of Basic Sentences: TRANS, PASS, or Both

The structures in (1) and (2) show two NP movement possibilities: (a) the SPEC of VP can move to SPEC of IP and (b) the NP that is generated as a complement of V (in COMPL of V position) can move to SPEC of IP. The typological split between ergative and accusative languages can be stated in terms of these two movement possibilities: a language which chooses movement (a) for basic sentences is accusative, and a language which chooses movement (b) instead is ergative. A very similar conclusion is reached on different grounds and with slightly different theoretical assumptions by Murasugi (1992) whose approach will be discussed and adopted in chapter 5.

In English and other accusative languages the basic movement in a transitive [NOM ACC] sentence is SPEC of VP to SPEC of IP. The NP in SPEC of VP cannot receive Case *in situ*, and therefore moves for nominative Case to SPEC of IP. The other type of movement does occur in accusative languages, but only when the NP in SPEC of VP does not need Case, as for example in a passive, where the A is omitted or gets

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[1]Mulder and Schwartz (1981) do provide an RG analysis in which in AT the A is an initial 1, whereas in PT the P is the initial 1, thereby taking a view that is between an ergative and an accusative view. Under their analysis, however, it is unclear what the initial relation of the A in PT sentences would be.

Case in a *by*-phrase.

I propose that the basic movement in Inuktitut and other ergative languages is from COMPL of V to SPEC of IP. This agrees with the analysis provided in Murasugi (1992), and with that of Bok-Bennema (1991), but it differs from that of Johns (1992) who assumes base generation instead of movement, as we will see in section 3.2 and also with that of Bobaljik (1992) who assumes that the movement proceeds differently. The other movement possibility, SPEC of VP to SPEC of IP occurs in ergative languages only in situations where the COMPL of V does not need Case, as for example in antipassives.

Notice that standard movement in an ergative language is the same as the movement that occurs in a passive in an accusative language. The idea that [ERG ABS] sentences in ergative languages share properties with passives in accusative languages is not new[2]. Furthermore, [ERG ABS] sentences are considered to be derived from passives diachronically in Estival and Myhill (1988). In their words: "The properties and distributions of ergative constructions follow from the fact that ergative languages develop from languages where passive constructions have similar properties and distributions." (Estival and Myhill, 1988, 481). Thus from a diachronic perspective the connection I am drawing synchronically has been noted. Dixon (1979, 99) comments that "some...have sought to 'explain' away ergative constructions as being basically passives. Little can be said in support of this as a synchronic explanation". With the new assumptions about structure, however, there is reason to bring up these parallels again.

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[2]For example, see Hale (1970) for a discussion of Ergative languages in these terms.

In particular, the Guilfoyle *et al* (1992) structure with two subject positions allows a crucial distinction to be made such that the two sentence types: passive on the one hand and ergative transitive sentences on the other, are differentiated structurally. The ergative transitive differs from the accusative passive in the position of the A. The innovation is that an ergative A is in an argument position within the VP, (namely in its specifier), in contrast to a passive A which is in an adjunct position. I return to this distinction between passive-like transitives in ergative languages and passives in which the A is an adjunct in accusative languages in section 3.6.1.

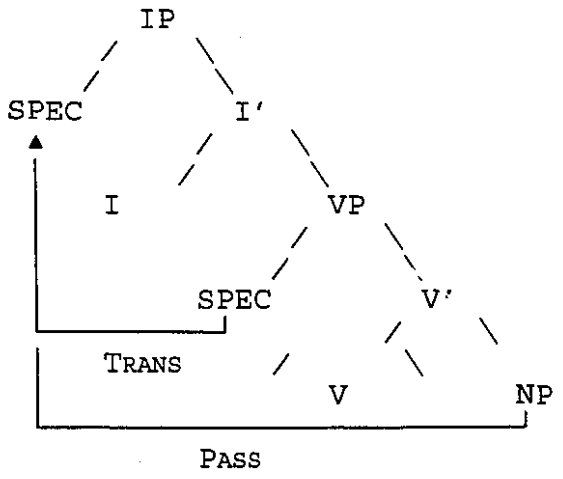
3.3.1 TRANS and PASS NP Movement

An important distinction to be made then is between the two movement possibilities under discussion, which I refer to as PASS and TRANS. These labels can serve not only to name the movements but will also serve as names for the sentence types where they occur. Consider the structures in (1) and (2) for Tagalog AT and PT sentences. Each of the structures has two arguments: an A and a P. In structure (2), the P moves to SPEC of IP while the A stays in the VP in its underlying SPEC of VP position. I label this PASS movement since it involves the movement associated with passives in accusative languages (COMPL of V to SPEC of IP). PASS movement is shown schematically in the structure in (3) below and is contrasted with the other movement, which is also shown in (3).

The structure in which the A in SPEC of VP moves to SPEC of IP and the P stays in COMPL of V position, corresponds to the AT structure shown in (1). I label this TRANS movement since it involves the movement associated with transitive sentences in

accusative languages[3]. Thus to recap, these are the two movements found in the Guilfoyle *et al* (1992) proposal: TRANS movement occurs in (1) and PASS movement occurs in (2), both of which are illustrated in (3). This characterization in terms of movement is made possible by the addition of the VP internal subject, which is an additional underlying position for the A.

(3) Two Movements to SPEC of IP: PASS and TRANS



Since PASS and TRANS movement have the same landing site, the two movements never cooccur in the same IP. It is possible to classify various languages according to whether their basic transitive sentences involve PASS or TRANS movement. Most languages have one or the other of these sentence types. Tagalog, however, is claimed to have PASS movement in some basic transitive sentences and TRANS movement in others. Looking at a language like Tagalog therefore allows us to consider the sentence types in a new light. Before considering these sentences comparatively, we will first take a closer look

[3]These labels are used for purely mnemonic purposes, and not with the assumption that accusative languages are central.

at one of the types in particular, namely, the [ERG ABS] sentence, here called the PASS sentence.

3.3.2 [ERG ABS] Sentences: PASS

Johns (1992) provides a specific proposal for the structure of [ERG ABS] sentences in Inuktitut. In this section her proposal, which is made under theoretical assumptions similar to those made here, will be outlined in some detail and compared to the view taken here.

The structure Johns (1992, 61) proposes for Inuktitut [ERG ABS] clauses like (4) is given in (5). Note that the structure shows the elements in their proposed base generated positions, before any movement has occurred[4].

(4) [ERG ABS] Inuktitut Sentence

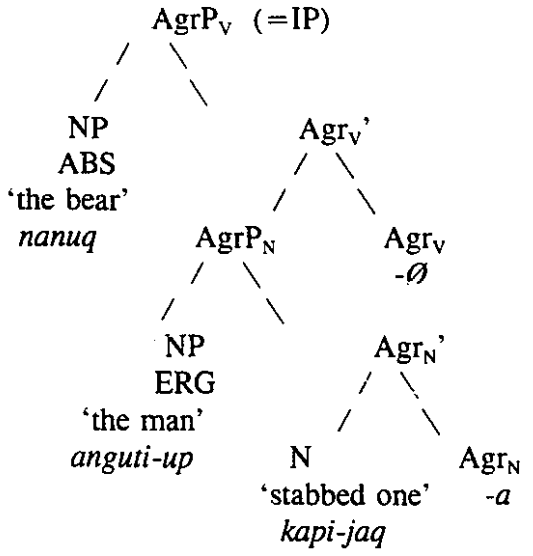
anguti-up	nanuq	kapi-ja-a-Ø
man-ERG[5]	bear(ABS)	stab-PASS.PART-3s/3s

'The man stabbed the bear.'

[4]The surface word order is derived by movement of the ergative NP to a position adjoined to $AgrP_V$.

[5]Johns uses the term 'relative Case' instead of the term 'ergative Case'. I have glossed these ERG in keeping with my glossing conventions.

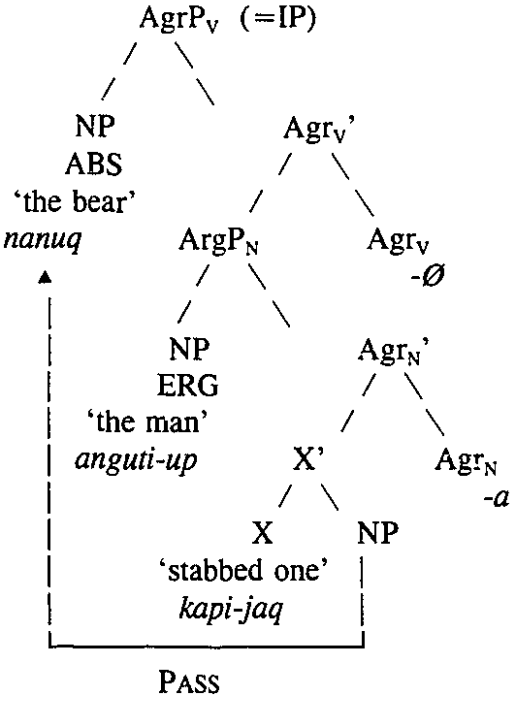
(5) Inuktitut [ERG ABS] Underlying Structure [Johns, 1992, 61]



Some salient features of the structure in (5) are that it has two subject positions, no object position and no VP. The two subject positions are SPEC of AgrP$_V$ and SPEC of AgrP$_N$. Thus instead of a VP internal subject position, Johns proposes an additional subject position which is the SPEC of a functional category. Another significant aspect of Johns' analysis is that the absolutive P is base-generated in the SPEC of IP equivalent (SPEC of AgrP$_V$). While the fact that the P is assumed to occupy the highest functional category is shared with many in the literature, including Campana (1992), Murasugi (1992) and Bittner (1993), the fact that it occupies that position underlyingly is not. I will assume with the others that the P moves to this position. My proposal for the structure of ergative languages thus differs from that of Johns (1992) with respect to the base position of the P argument. I propose instead that the P is generated in a COMPL of V position in Inuktitut in a sentence like (4). This position does not receive Case in an ergative language, therefore the P moves from this Caseless COMPL of V position to the

SPEC of IP, namely it undergoes PASS movement[6]. Thus for comparison the structure for a sentence like (4) with PASS movement added, but keeping other aspects of Johns analysis intact, is given in (6)[7].

(6) Structure for [ERG ABS] Sentences [alteration of Johns, 1992, 61]



Notice that the structure (6) is similar to the Guilfoyle *et al* (1992) structure for PT sentences given in (2), except the heads are on the right, and instead of VP there is a functional projection that is nominal in character, AgrP$_N$. This nominal projection plays a role in Johns' analysis of Inuktitut sentence structure. The possible nominal character of sentences and how it applies to Tagalog will be briefly considered in the following

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[6]See also Bok-Bennema (1991) for a discussion from a slightly different perspective of PASS type movement in ergative languages.

[7]Johns proposes that the category X of *kapi-jaq* is always N. I would propose that the category X can be either V (in which case it can take a complement), or N when the word is used as the head of a nominal.

subsection before returning to the discussion of PASS and TRANS sentence types.

3.3.3 The Nominal-Equational View of Tagalog

According to Johns (1992), the $AgrP_N$ is nominal in the sense that it can stand alone to represent the structure of a noun phrase. It is not until another layer of structure, the $AgrP_V$ layer, is added that the phrase becomes verbal. The example in (4), has another possible translation provided by Johns and given in (7a). The structure of (7a) is said to be equational rather than verbal since the noun 'bear' is equated to the complex nominal 'the man's stabbed one'. The subpart of this sentence that corresponds to the complex nominal $AgrP_N$, which can stand alone as an NP in Inuktitut, is given in (7b).

(7) Nominal-Equational view in Inuktitut

a. 'The bear is the man's stabbed one.'
b. anguti-up kapi-ja-a
man-ERG stab-PASS.PART-3s
'the man's stabbed one'

As Johns notes, there is a tradition among a subset of Eskimologists of seeing ergative languages as nominal-equational in this sense. One factor making this view possible is that the Case marker used on possessors of nouns is the same as that used on A arguments, as shown in (8).

(8) Genitive and Ergative Homophony in Inuktitut [Johns, 1992, 69]

a. anguti-**up** qimmi-a
man-**ERG** dog-3s
'the man's dog'

b. anguti-**up** nanuq kapi-ja-a-Ø
man-**ERG** bear(ABS) stab-PASS.PART-3s/3s
'The man stabbed the bear.'
or 'The bear is the man's stabbed one.'

It is also true in Tagalog that possessors are Case marked in the same way as A arguments, as illustrated in (9).

(9) Genitive and Ergative Homophony in Tagalog

a. ang aso **ng** lalaki
NABS dog **GEN** man
'the man's dog'

b. sinipa **ng** lalaki ang kahon
kicked(PT) **ERG** man NABS box
'The man kicked the box.'
'The box is the man's kicked one.'

Given that Tagalog has this homophony, it might be possible to take the nominal-equational view of Tagalog. In fact, the relevant subpart of the sentence in (9b), excluding the absolutive NP, can stand alone as a noun phrase in Tagalog on a par with the Inuktitut example in (7b), as this example shows.

(10) Nominal Phrase with same Head as Verbal Phrase

ang sinipa ng lalaki
NABS kicked(PT) ERG man
'the man's kicked one'

These parallels give reason to consider the nominal-equational view for Tagalog. Such a view has, in fact, been taken in the literature on Tagalog, in de Wolf (1988) and Himmelmann (1991), for example.

The point made by de Wolf (1988) is exactly that in many ergative languages there is an ambiguity between the class of nouns and the class of verbs. The distinction between nouns and verbs is blurred in Inuit languages and this is tied to the ergative nature of the languages. De Wolf (1988) argues that Tagalog may be ergative in this sense. It is significant, however, that even taking this nominal-equational view of

Tagalog, de Wolf concludes that Tagalog may or may not be ergative. In his words: "Accepting the nominal analysis of...Philippine language sentence structure does not, of course, commit us to the ergativity hypothesis and its implications...this paper assumes the position 'decidedly unconvinced' regarding the ergative label" (de Wolf, 1988, 158). Note the remarkable similarity between the sentences in (11) and (12) cited from Johns and de Wolf respectively, who each provide two possible glosses.

(11) Two Glosses in Inuktitut [Johns, 1992, 61]

anguti-up nanuq kapi-ja-a-Ø
man-ERG bear(ABS) stab-PASS.PART-3s/3s
'The bear is the man's stabbed one.'
'The man stabbed the bear.'

(12) Two Glosses in Tagalog [de Wolf, 1988, 157-8]

kakan-in ng maestro ang papaya
eat-PT ERG teacher ABS papaya
'The papaya will be the teacher's eatee.'
'The teacher will eat the papaya.'

De Wolf (1988) supports his claim with the historical evidence that the topic markers such as *-in* in (12) were noun-deriving affixes in Proto-Austronesian (citing Starosta *et al* (1980) and other sources). The question that remains unanswered is how much reanalysis from nouns to verbs has taken place in Tagalog, as de Wolf (1988) points out. Similarly, this question is raised in Himmelmann (1991).

From a syntactic perspective, there could be differences between nouns and verbs that help to decide whether the nominal-equational perspective is viable. In fact, there is a distinction between nominals and verbals in Tagalog, noted by Dell (1981). I contend that this distinction points to the fact that Tagalog does not have the degree of

"nominalness" that is suggested by de Wolf's first gloss in (12). In particular, the extraction possibilities differ from the two types of clauses, namely those that are nominal and those that I have been assuming to be verbal, as is the case in English and many other languages. Dell (1981) notes that in (13), the *sa* phrase cannot be extracted from a nominal clause (the nominal form for 'those who shopped' is *namimili* [n-mang-RED-bili]).

(13) No PP Extraction from a Nominal Phrase [adapted from Dell, 1981, 20]

a. iniwasan niya [$_{NP}$ang mga namimili sa palengke]
avoided 3s NABS PL shopping OBL market
'He avoided those who did their shopping in the market.'

b. *saan$_i$ niya iniwasan [$_{NP}$ang mga namimili t_i]
where 3s avoided NABS PL shopping
for: 'Where did he avoid those who were shopping?'

In contrast, extraction of a *sa* phrase is possible from the equivalent verbal clause in (14) (the verbal form for 'shopping' is *mamili* [mang-bili]).

(14) PP Extraction from a Verbal Phrase [adapted from Dell, 1981, 20]

a. iniwasan niya-ng [$_{IP}$mamili sa palengke]
avoided 3s-LK shopping OBL market
'He avoided shopping at the market.'

b. saan$_i$ niya iniwasan-g [$_{IP}$mamili t_i]
where 3s avoided-LK shopping
'Where did he avoid shopping?'

Stated another way, clauses containing true nominals are islands for PP extraction whereas the clauses that are assumed here to be verbal are not islands for PP extraction. This distinction also applies to such sentences as (15) which are more like those we have been considering so far.

(15) Verbal Clause with *susulatin*

susulat-in ng bata ang kuwento sa paaralan
write-PT ERG child NABS story OBL school
'The child will write the story at school.'

When a sentence like (15) with the PT morpheme *-in* is embedded as in (16a), extraction of the *sa* phrase is possible (16b), indicating that (15) is verbal, not nominal.

(16) PP Extraction from Embedded Verbal Clause

a. sinasabi ni Ben na [$_{IP}$susulat-in ng bata ang kuwento sa paaralan]
said ERG Ben LK write-PT ERG child NABS story OBL school
'Ben said the child will write the story at school.'

b. saan$_i$ sinasabi ni Ben na [$_{IP}$susulat-in ng bata ang kuwento t$_i$]
where said ERG Ben LK write-PT ERG child NABS story
'Where did Ben say the child will write the story?'

A nominal clause related to (15), namely the related relative clause is given in (17).

(17) Nominal Clause with *susulatin*

ang kuwento na susulat-in ng bata sa eskuela
NABS story LK write-PT ERG child OBL school
'The story that the child will write at school.'

If such a nominal clause is embedded as in (18a), then extraction of a PP is not possible, as (18b) shows[8].

(18) No PP Extraction from Embedded Nominal Clause

a. gusto ni Lina [$_{NP}$ang kuwento na susulat-in ng bata sa eskuela].
want ERG Lina NABS story LK write-PT ERG child OBL school
'Lina wants the story that the child will write at school.'

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[8]This latter example is acceptable on the interpretation 'Where$_i$ does Lina want [the story that the child wrote] t$_i$?' but not on the relevant interpretation 'Where$_i$ does Lina want [the story that the child wrote t$_i$]?'. That is, it is possible to question the place where the story is wanted, but not the place where the writing was done. This shows that PP extraction is possible from the matrix verbal clause as expected.

b. *saan$_i$ gusto ni Lina [$_{NP}$ang kuwento na sinulat ng bata t_i]?
where want ERG Lina NABS story LK wrote(PT) ERG child
for: 'Where$_i$ does Lina want the story that the child wrote t_i?'

Thus there is evidence from extraction for a distinction between the verbals and nominals in Tagalog that indicates that the Tagalog sentences we have been considering are not nominal-equational[9]. This aspect of ergativity in Tagalog will come up again in section 5.4 where the extraction test is again used. There are some other differences to note in addition. First, the embedded nominal clauses are introduced with Case markers like *ang* in (18a), whereas the verbal clauses are introduced with a linker like *na* in (16a). Secondly, the nominal clauses cannot stand alone as complete sentences whereas the verbal clauses can. See Himmelmann (1991) for a more in depth discussion of the nominal-equational view for Tagalog.

In sum, Johns' (1992) proposal for the structure of Inuktitut [ERG ABS] sentences has been outlined and compared to the PASS movement analysis introduced in section 3.3. There are differences in our approaches such as base generation of the P in the SPEC of the highest functional category versus moving it to that position. However, there are some significant similarities as well, such as using two subject positions. Having looked more closely at this specific proposal for the analysis of an Inuktitut [ERG ABS] sentence, we can now return to a more general comparison of sentence types.

3.3.4 The Structural Definition of Basic Sentences

In this section, the Case patterns and verbal morphology of basic sentences will be illustrated in concrete examples from three representative languages: English,

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[9]It would be interesting to examine similar data from Inuktitut.

Tagalog, and Inuktitut. If just those sentences of the languages that are basic according to the structural definition of section 2.2 are considered, something interesting is immediately apparent. English and Inuktitut have just one basic sentence whereas Tagalog has two. First consider the complete paradigm of relevant sentences given in (19). The individual sentences will be discussed thereafter.

(19) Basic Sentences from Three Language Types

a. *Tagalog*	TRANS	sumipa	ang tao	ng aso
		AT-kicked	NABS man	ACC dog
		'The man kicked a dog.'		
b. *Tagalog*	PASS	sinipa	ng tao	ang aso
		PT-kicked	ERG man	NABS dog
		'The dog was kicked by a man.'		
c. *English*	TRANS	He	kicked	them
		NOM3s		ACC3p
d. *Inuktitut*	PASS	arna-up	angut	kuni-ga-a
		woman-ERG	man.ABS	kiss-PASS.PART-3s/3s
		'The woman kissed the man.'		

The fact that Tagalog has two basic sentences allows for a reconsideration of the basic sentences in the other language types. Instead of drawing a parallel between the Inuktitut [ERG ABS] sentences shown in (19d)[10] and the English [NOM ACC] sentence in (19c), as is traditionally done, I claim that (19d) is more parallel to the Tagalog PT sentence (19b). As discussed in the previous section, ergative constructions like (19d) involve PASS movement: from COMPL of V to SPEC of IP, not TRANS movement, from SPEC of VP to SPEC of IP. The English transitive (19c) is parallel to the Tagalog AT

[10]This example is taken from Johns (1992, 59)

sentence in (19a) in making use of TRANS movement.

Each of the sentences in (19) is basic according to the structural definition from section 2.2, repeated here.

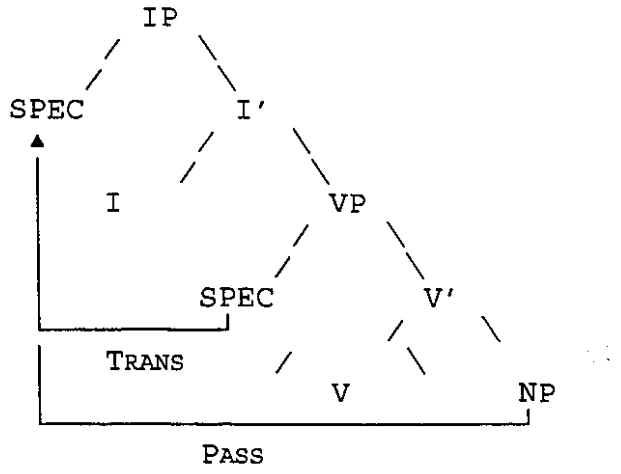
(20) Structural Definition of Basic Transitive Sentence

A basic transitive sentence:
a. contains one verb which describes an action involving two participants, A and P,
b. contains two overt NPs corresponding to those participants, and
c. has no θ role assignment to a bound morpheme.

Clauses (20a) and (20b) of the definition concern the transitivity of the sentences. They serve to eliminate as candidates for basic transitives the ditransitive sentences, where an additional participant is present, for example. They also eliminate causative sentences, where two verbs and an extra participant are involved, as another example. Clause (20c) of the definition corresponds directly to the definition of θ absorption in passives provided by Jaeggli (1986, 592). Clause (20c) serves specifically to eliminate passive and antipassive sentences which are very similar structurally to transitive sentences under the assumptions of Principles and Parameters theory.

The structure assumed for basic transitives was given in (3), repeated here:

(21) Structure for Transitive Sentences



In the structure there is one verb and two NPs. These NPs occupy θ positions. If these NPs are an A and a P, then the sentence satisfies (20a) and (20b) of the definition. In each of the sentences in (19), I claim that this is so and that each can be analysed as having the structure in (21). Further, it is assumed that the sentences in (19) do not involve θ assignment to bound morphemes, thereby satisfying (20c).

A typology based on the combinations of the two movement possibilities can now be considered. A language which makes use only of TRANS movement for basic sentences is an accusative language. A language which makes use only of PASS movement for basic sentences is ergative. Finally, a new hybrid type which is a language that makes use of PASS movement in some sentences and TRANS movement in others emerges. Notice that this captures the split in transitive sentences that was discussed and represented schematically in 2.6.3. This type is hybrid in the sense that it makes use of the movement found in one and also that found in the other. In other words, basic sentences in a hybrid type language may either be derived just as basic [NOM ACC] sentences are,

or else they may be derived just as basic [ERG ABS] sentences are. My claim is that the best characterization of Tagalog in terms of the ergative/accusative typology is that it is this kind of hybrid type language. These various possibilities for basic sentences are summarized in the table in (22).

(22) Typology based on Movement possibilities (Basic)

Language Type	Sentence Types TRANS	PASS	Example Language
Accusative	yes	no	English
Ergative	no	yes	Inuktitut
Hybrid	yes	yes	Tagalog

3.4 The Typology in Terms of Case

We have just seen that there is a simple typology of basic sentences in terms of PASS and TRANS movement possibilities. Related to the movement possibilities are the Cases that are available in the language types, as will be laid out in this section. In terms of Case, then, English lacks a PASS basic sentence because there is no ergative Case available in English. The A can never get Case in the SPEC of VP and thus it generally undergoes TRANS movement for NABS Case. This is summarized in the first line of the table in (23). Similarly, Inuktitut lacks a TRANS basic sentence because there is no accusative Case available in Inuktitut. In languages like Inuktitut, the P can never get Case in the COMPL of V position[11] and thus it generally undergoes PASS movement for NABS Case (see the second line of table (23) below). Tagalog has both ERG and ACC

[11]In this chapter, I have been assuming that there is Case assignment to the COMPL of V in accusative languages. In chapter 5, I will assume a Case checking analysis instead.

Cases, in addition to the NABS Case, and hence both basic sentence types occur. Tagalog has two basic sentence types, not just one, because it has three, not just two, non-oblique Cases available. The typology viewed in terms of Case, as opposed to in terms of movement, is summarized in the table in (23).

(23) Basic Sentence Types in Terms of Case and Movement

Language Type	Example Language	Cases Available NABS	ERG	ACC	Movement in Basic Sentences
Accusative	English	yes	no	yes	TRANS
Ergative	Inuktitut	yes	yes	no	PASS
Hybrid	Tagalog	yes	yes	yes	TRANS or PASS

The Cases are thought of here not just in terms of labelling. According to the theoretical assumptions made, these different Cases: NABS, ERG and ACC, correspond to different syntactic positions. In Tagalog, there are three distinct Case positions, whereas the other language types have only two. In addition to the sentences given in (19) there are sentences in Tagalog which show all three Cases, like a sentence that is beneficiary topic as in (24).

(24) BT: NABS, ERG and ACC

ipag-luluto ng lalaki ng adobo ang asawa
BT-will.cook ERG man ACC adobo NABS spouse
'The man will cook adobo for his wife.'

The three Case positions for Tagalog will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 5.

3.4.1 Distinguishing ngP and ngA

Note that in the Tagalog sentences in (19) there are actually only two phonologically distinct Cases. In section 1.5, there was a labelling distinction made

between the *ng* Case marker on A arguments (labelled ngA) and that found on P arguments (labelled ngP). In view of the Case scheme proposed in this dissertation, this labelling difference is non-trivial. The two *ng*s, ngA and ngP, are considered here to be different Cases structurally, ERG and ACC respectively, despite the fact that they are homophonous. ERG Case is associated with SPEC of VP position, whereas ACC Case is associated with COMPL of V (this will be refined somewhat in chapter 5). Some linguists treat the two *ng*s as the same Case. For example, Kroeger (1993) refers to both ngA and ngP as Genitive Case. Other linguists have considered the two *ng*s to be different Cases. For example, McGinn (1988, 284) distinguishes ngA and ngP as Genitive Case and Objective Case, respectively. Still others have refered to them differently without making reference to Case *per se*. For example, Otanes (1970, 54) distinguishes the *ng* on 'actor expressions' from the *ng* on 'object expressions'. Similarly, Schachter and Otanes (1972, 74-75) refer to the ngA phrase as the actor complement and the ngP phrase as the object complement.

I propose in this dissertation that the two Cases are associated with different syntactic positions. I will provide some evidence that the two Cases can be formally distinguished. Note, however, the labelling of the Cases is not the central issue, and thus checking the Case in separate positions may not be inconsistent with labelling the Cases in the same way. To take a concrete example, Kroeger (1993) does not distinguish Cases structurally but rather only morphological cases are considered in this work. Under his assumptions within the Lexical Functional Grammar framework, there are three case categories in Tagalog NOM, GEN and DAT, which are values of the CASE feature in

the f-structures of the language. Similarly, Manning (forthcoming) working within the same framework treats case in Tagalog exactly the same way. However, under the assumptions made here, the relevant notion is of abstract syntactic Case, not morphological case. While two abstract Cases may be morphologically distinct in a language, they need not be. As an example representing this view, Guilfoyle *et al* (1992, 385) assume that ngP and ngA are the same Case marker but that the difference lies in what element assigns the Case (ngP is assigned by V and ngA is assigned by INFL in their analysis). It is not inconsistent to make a structural distinction between the abstract Case associated with ngA and ngP and yet recognize that one and the same case marker *ng* is used for these two structurally distinct Cases. Thus it can still be assumed, as Himmelmann (1991) notes following Naylor (1980), that *ng* marks many different types of attributive relations generally in Tagalog.

One indication that the two *ng*s are different Cases is that their analogues are non-homophonous Case markers in languages closely related to Tagalog. Consider these facts from three other Philippine languages; Cebuano, Maguindanao and Mamanwa. In Cebuano, the two Cases are *sa* for ngA and *ug* for ngP (Bell, 1983). In Maguindanao, there are also two distinct Case markers, namely, *ni* for ngA and *ki* for ngP (Lee, 1964). In Mamanwa, the Cases are *na* for ngA and *ka* for ngP (Llamzon, 1978, Miller & Miller, 1976). The examples in (25) illustrate these markers in AT and PT sentences from Mamanwa.

(25) Non-homophony in Mamanwa: AT and PT [Miller & Miller, 1976, 77]

a.	kadowa	badoqi	ya maimpis	**ka** badoq
	twice	dressed.AT	NABS child	**ngP** dress
	'The child dressed twice.'			
b.	anipen	badoqa	**na** maimpis	ya badoq
	once	dressed.PT	**ngA** child	NABS dress
	'The child dressed once.'			

Both the ngA and ngP equivalents are also used in the Mamanwa example in (26) in which the location appears in NABS Case.

(26) Non-homophony in Mamanwa [Llamzon, 1978, 125]

im-patazan	**na** babazi	**ka** manok	ya abu
LT-kills	**ngA** woman	**ngP** chicken	NABS kitchen

'The kitchen is where a woman is killing a chicken.'

While the fact that the Case markers are non-homophonous in other Philippine languages is suggestive, the Case systems of these languages may, of course, differ from the Case system in Tagalog. Therefore, language-internal evidence would be preferable.

One such piece of language-internal evidence showing a difference between ngA and ngP is a syntactic property discussed by Sityar (1994) for Cebuano, which is also found to operate in Tagalog. Sityar (1994, 11) notes that it is possible to position the Cebuano equivalent of the ngA phrase preverbally, if it follows negation or other adverbs. While Sityar (1994) uses this syntactic property in Cebuano for other purposes, I will consider its implications in Tagalog for the question at hand. Namely, this property can be used to distinguish ngA phrases from all other phrases, including ngP. Since the ngP phrase cannot occur in the preverbal position, the two *ng* marked Cases are differentiated structurally by this syntactic property. The following examples show the

difference in grammaticality exhibited by the different *ng* phrases in Tagalog[12]. The ngA phrase can occur in its normal position immediately after the verb (27a) or preverbally between negation and the verb (27b), with no effect on the meaning.

(27) ngA Phrase in Preverbal Position

a. hindi lulutu-in ng lalaki ang adobo
NEG will.cook-PT ngA man NABS adobo
'The man will not cook the adobo.'

b. hindi ng lalaki lulutu-in ang adobo
NEG ngA man will.cook-PT NABS adobo
'The man will not cook the adobo.'

The ngP phrase, on the other hand, may only appear postverbally and cannot occur preverbally, as the difference in grammaticality between (28a) and (28b) shows.

(28) ngP Phrase in Preverbal Position

a. hindi mag-luluto ang lalaki ng adobo
NEG AT-will.cook NABS man ngP adobo
'The man will not cook adobo.'

b. *hindi ng adobo magluluto ang lalaki
NEG ngP adobo AT-will.cook NABS man
for: 'The man will not cook adobo.'

The ability of the phrases to occur in this preverbal position is thus a further factor which distinguishes them. The phenomenon of preverbal *ng* phrases will be relevant again in section 5.6.1 where it is given a structural account.

Finally, there is another difference between the ngA and ngP phrases in definiteness. The definiteness of Tagalog *ng* phrases is discussed in a number of works,

[12]These judgements vary among native speakers. Some speakers I have consulted could not use preverbal ngA phrases, but at least some others could use both postverbal and preverbal ngA phrases interchangeably.

and most extensively in Adams and Manaster-Ramer (1988). It is perhaps more accurate to characterize the distinction as one of specificity rather than one of definiteness. It has been suggested by Enç (1991) that the definiteness effect in languages is more accurately a specificity effect. The facts, briefly stated, are that the ngA phrase may be either non-specific or specific, as indicated in (29a), whereas the ngP phrase must be non-specific, and cannot have a specific reading, as seen in (29b).

(29) Specificity of *ng* phrases

a.	babasa-hin	ng bata	ang tula
	will.read-PT	ERG child	NABS poem
	'The child will read the poem.'		
or	'A child will read the poem.'		
b.	mag-babasa	ang bata	ng tula
	AT-will.read	NABS child	ACC poem
	'The child will read a poem.'		
	*'The child will read the poem.'		

Related to this specificity requirement is a fact about personal pronouns, which are necessarily specific in reference. There are ngA forms for personal pronouns, such as *nila* for third person plural. There are, however, no ngP forms for personal pronouns, so that *nila*, for example, cannot be used as a ngP pronoun (30a)[13], but only as a ngA pronoun (30b).

(30) Pronominal ngA but not ngP

a.	*pumuna	si Lourdes	nila
	AT.criticized	NABS Lourdes	?3pACC
	for: 'Lourdes criticized them.'		

[13]The sentence is unacceptable regardless of the order of the NPs.

b. pinuna nila ang mga sundalo
criticized(PT) 3pERG NABS PL soldier
'They criticized the soldiers.'

Thus the ngA and ngP phrases differ in their ability to be specific. The difference with respect to specificity is claimed in this dissertation to have a syntactic account (see section 5.5). The relevance here of such an account is that the ngA and ngP phrases can be distinguished by yet another syntactic property, specificity.

To summarize, the two *ng*s, ngA and ngP, are distinguished by their non-homophony in related languages and by the two syntactic properties of (a) being able to occur preverbally or not, and (b) being able to be specific. As I have outlined, one of the claims of this dissertation is that ngA is ergative Case and ngP is (inherent) accusative Case, which are structurally distinct Cases in the proposed analysis of Tagalog.

Having seen some reasons for considering these two Cases to be distinct, we can return to our typological discussion. The typology that includes a type corresponding to Tagalog can be viewed in terms of Case as summarized in (23) above. Accusative type languages have NABS and ACC Case but not ERG. Ergative languages have NABS and ERG Case but not ACC. Hybrid languages like Tagalog have all three Cases available: NABS, ERG and ACC. This same typology can also be viewed in terms of NP movement, as it was in section 3.3. Basic sentences in accusative languages involve TRANS movement, whereas they involve PASS movement in ergative languages. In a hybrid language, there are some basic sentences in which TRANS movement is involved and other basic sentences in which PASS movement is involved. We saw that the sentences in (19) are basic transitive sentences of the representative languages. Non-basic

sentences such as passive and antipassive are also worth examining in the context of our typology, and will be considered in the next section.

3.5 Some Non-basic Sentences: PASSD and TRANSD

There are many types of non-basic sentences but this section will focus on passives and antipassives specifically. The structures will be described and then some concrete examples are presented from relevant languages. Examples of non-basic sentences from Tagalog, such as beneficiary topic sentences, will also be considered alongside these examples. The result of this section is an enriched typology that expands upon the typology of basic sentences laid out in the previous sections.

I adopt the analysis of passives and antipassives espoused by Baker (1988) which will be briefly outlined here. Both of these involve the incorporation of a nominal head and a verb. The nominal is a bound morpheme (the passive or antipassive affix) that must attach to a verbal head, thus forcing incorporation. The θ role normally associated with the nominal can sometimes be "doubled" by an oblique phrase in a position adjoined to VP. Whether doubling is permitted is a lexical property of the affix in question in Baker's theory, following Jaeggli (1986). If the incorporating bound morpheme allows doubling then a VP adjunct bearing the θ role corresponding to the incorporating NP may optionally appear.

Passive and antipassive sentences are non-basic according to the definition provided in (31) (repeated from section 2.2).

(31) Structural Definition of Basic Transitive Sentence

A basic transitive sentence:
a. contains one verb which describes an action involving two participants, A and P,
b. contains two overt NPs corresponding to those participants, and
c. has no θ role assignment to a bound morpheme.

Although such sentences may satisfy the first two criteria, unlike some other non-basic sentences such as causatives and ditransitives, it is (31c) that crucially does not hold of passives and antipassives according to the theoretical assumptions made here. Let us look at their analysis in more detail.

3.5.1 Passives: PASSD

Consider whether the following sentences in English which are an active, a passive with an implicit agent, and a passive with doubling respectively, satisfy the definition.

(32) Comparison of English Sentences

a. He will drive them.
b. They were driven.
c. They were driven by him.

The verb root is the same in all three sentences and it satisfies clause (31a). Sentence (32b) does not have two overt NPs and so is not an appropriate candidate for a basic transitive by clause (31b). (32a) and (32c), however, both have the A and P participants. Structurally these sentences differ since in the former the NPs, *he* and *them*, get their θ roles directly, whereas in the latter, the agent θ role is assigned to the passive morpheme *-en* and then is transmitted to the VP adjunct, *by him*. Following the analysis proposed by Jaeggli (1986), the agent θ role percolates to the prepositional head *by*, which in turn assigns the θ role to the NP *him*. As mentioned, the VP adjunct is said to double the θ

role that was assigned to the bound morpheme in Baker's terms. By clause (31c) of the definition, the passive with doubling in (32c) is non-basic since the agent θ role is assigned to a bound morpheme. Therefore the only sentence in (32) that satisfies the definition of basic sentence in (31) is the active transitive in (32a), as expected.

The passives with doubling like (32c) will be labelled PASSD. They are distinct from the transitive sentences of ergative languages labelled PASS even though they involve the same PASS movement (COMPL of V to SPEC of IP). In basic PASS sentences there is generally no affix, and SPEC of VP contains an A which gets its θ role directly. In the PASSD sentences, the movement is as in PASS sentences, but the A does not get its θ role directly, rather it is doubled in an adjunct, hence the label: PASSD.

In some ergative languages, including Inuktitut, both PASS and PASSD are used. Examples are given in (33).

(33) Inuktitut PASS and PASSD [Johns, 1992, 59]

a. PASS	arna-up	angut	kuni-ga-a
	woman-ERG	man(ABS)	kiss-PASS.PART-3s/3s
	'The woman kissed the man.'		
b. PASSD	angut	arna-mit	kuni-ga-u-juq
	man(ABS)	woman-ABL	kiss-PASS.PART-be-INTR.PART.3s
	'The man was kissed by the woman.'		

In these languages, although the ERG Case is available in general, it is not assigned in PASSD sentences, instead the A gets an oblique Case. Johns (1992) following others calls this Case Ablative in Inuktitut. The assumptions here would be that in (33a) the agent θ role is assigned directly to *arnaup* 'woman', whereas in (33b) the agent θ role is assigned to *-ga* and then transmitted to the adjunct *arnamit* 'woman'. Note that in (33a) the *-ga*

affix also appears but by assumption it is assigned no θ role in this sentence[14]. Since Inuktitut has both PASS and PASSD sentences, there is a direct contrast between sentences with and without doubling. Tagalog has no such contrast since there is only one sentence type in which the P argument gets NABS Case, namely, the PT sentence. I claim the PT sentence is a PASS sentence and not a PASSD sentence.

The potential Tagalog equivalent of passive with doubling, PASSD, would be the PT sentences. In some early sources on Tagalog, most notably Bloomfield (1917), the equivalent of PT sentences were considered to be passive sentences. The position taken here, however, is that Tagalog has no PASSD equivalent. In sentences in which the P moves to SPEC of IP, the A remains in SPEC of VP, and does not have the option of being doubled in an adjunct. Guilfoyle *et al* (1992, 406) note that in their analysis PT sentences are like passives except that the A is in SPEC of VP, not in an oblique position.

The fact that the A remains an argument is supported convincingly by Kroeger (1993). Two types of evidence he supplies will be summarized here. First, Kroeger (1993) notes that in participial complements, the *ng*A patterns with the *ang* argument in being a possible controllee (34). Being a controllee is a property associated with arguments only.

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[14]See Johns (1992) for a discussion of this morpheme.

(34) The ngA phrase is like Argument Controllees

a. *The ngA Controllee* [Kroeger, 1993, 41]
inabut-an ko si Manuel na hinahalik-an ec ang katulong
caught-LT 1sE NABS Manuel LK kissing-LT ERG NABS maid
'I caught Manuel kissing the maid.'

b. *The NABS Controllee* [Kroeger, 1993, 42]
inabut-an ko si Manuel na hinahalik-an ng katulong ec
caught-LT 1sE ABS Manuel LK kissing-LT ERG maid NABS
'I caught Manuel being kissed by the maid.'

In (34a), the empty ngA phrase is controlled by *Manuel* and in (34b), the empty NABS element is controlled by *Manuel*. Thus ngA patterns with NABS arguments. The ngA phrase does not, however, pattern with obliques, which cannot be controllees in participial clauses. The example in (35), which contrasts with (34a), is provided by Kroeger (1993) to show this.

(35) The ngA phrase is unlike Oblique Controllees

[from Kroeger, 1993, 42]
*inabut-an ko si Luz na i-binibigay ni Juan ang pera ec
caught-LT 1sE NABS L. LK BT-gave ERG Juan NABS money OBL
for: 'I caught Luz being given money by Juan.'

In (35), the oblique goal cannot be controlled. Thus it is concluded that ngA phrases act like arguments and not like obliques.

A second type of support for the status of ngA phrases as arguments comes from what Kroeger (1993) calls Adjunct fronting. Namely, there is a fronting mechanism that applies only to adjuncts, and it cannot apply to the ngA phrase. This fronting is distinguished from others in that the fronted XP remains in the domain of cliticization. In the following examples, then, the fronted element is followed immediately by a clitic. In (36), quoted from Schachter & Otanes (1972, 498), the *sa* goal is Adjunct fronted.

(36) OBL Goal Fronted [Kroeger, 1993, 44]

[sa akin]	nila	i-binigay	ang premyo
[OBL 1sOBL]	3pE	BT-gave	NABS prize

'To me they gave the prize.'

The ngA phrase cannot be Adjunct fronted (37a), and thereby patterns with *ang* arguments, which also cannot be Adjunct fronted (37b).

(37) The ngA phrase is like Arguments

a. *ngA Phrase Fronted* [Kroeger, 1993, 45]

*[ni Pedro]	ako	binigy-an	ng pera
[ERG Pedro]	1sNABS	gave-LT	ACC money

for: 'By Pedro I was given (the) money.'

b. *NABS Phrase Fronted* [Kroeger, 1993, 44]

*[si Pedro]	ko	binigy-an	ng laruan
[NABS Pedro]	1sERG	gave-LT	ACC toy

for: 'Pedro I gave this toy to.'

Thus there is support for the fact that ngA phrases are arguments and hence that PT sentences are not PASSD (passives with doubling). I contend that PT sentences are passives without doubling, or PASS sentences, and concomitantly that no bound morpheme is assigned a θ role in PT sentences.

3.5.2 Antipassives: TRANSD

Parallel to the Passive with or without doubling (PASSD versus PASS), are transitives with or without doubling (TRANSD versus TRANS). A TRANS sentence has an accusative P. A TRANSD sentence instead has an oblique P. This TRANSD sentence type is the antipassive, and is illustrated in the West Greenlandic Inuit examples in (38), taken from Bittner (1992) with her morpheme analysis.

(38) Antipassive in West Greenlandic Inuit [Bittner, 1992, 9 & 101]

a. PASS
Juuna-p miiqqa-t taku-v-a-i
Juuna-ERG child-pl(ABS) see-IND-TR-3s.3p
'Juuna saw the children.'

b. TRANSD
Juuna miiqqa-mik paar-**si**-v-u-q
Juuna(ABS) child-INS look.after-**APAS**-IND-INTR-3s
'Juuna is looking after the child.'

The first example, (38a), shows a basic PASS sentence with the [ERG ABS] Case pattern. The second, (38b), is an antipassive with the P *miiqqa* 'child' in the instrumental Case, the A in absolutive Case, and an antipassive morpheme on the verb.

Again I will assume an incorporation analysis following Baker (1988). The antipassive affix is a nominal which is incorporated into the verb. In this case, the nominal is a P and is generated in COMPL of V position. Once again the θ role of this nominal is assigned to a bound morpheme. This role can optionally be doubled in a VP adjunct. The A moves from SPEC of V position to SPEC of IP position where it receives NABS Case, namely it undergoes TRANS movement. The antipassive in (38b) involves TRANS movement and doubling and is thus labelled a TRANSD sentence. West Greenlandic Inuit, an ergative language, has PASS and TRANSD, whereas English, a accusative language has TRANS and PASSD.

There seem to be no accusative languages which make extensive use of the TRANSD construction although it does appear to be marginally possible, even in English. Thus there may be a TRANS-TRANSD alternation between the examples in (39) (Baker, p.c.). Note, however, that there is no morphological change in the verb, and that the alternation is not very productive.

(39) A Possible TRANSD in English

a. The hunter shot the deer.
b. The hunter shot at the deer.

The possible candidate for TRANSD in Tagalog would be the AT sentence. Byma (1986, 37) calls the AT sentences antipassive in his analysis of Tagalog, for example. The antipassive is normally signalled by the addition of a morpheme on the verb. Some Tagalog paradigms seem to have a good candidate for the antipassive morpheme. That is, morphologically the AT verb is sometimes affixed, as discussed in section 2.6.1. In the *maka-* verb class in particular, the *ka-* can be isolated as a morpheme added in the antipassive, as the example sentences in (40) illustrate.

(40) Potential Antipassive Morphology

a. *Intransitive*
ma-tutulog si Ben
MA-will.sleep ABS Ben
'Ben will sleep.'

b. *Transitive*
ma-kikita ni Ben ang pulo
MA-will.see ERG Ben ABS island
'Ben will see the island.'

c. *Antipassive*
Ma-**ka**-kikita si Ben ng pulo
MA-**APAS**-will.see ABS Ben OBP island
'Ben will see an island.'

I claim, however, that Tagalog has no TRANSD equivalent. Rather, I propose that AT sentences like (40c) are TRANS sentences, and as such they are basic. The difference according to the structural definition (31c) is that the verb assigns a θ role directly to the P and it is not transmitted via a bound morpheme. The P in AT sentences remains an

argument and does not appear as an oblique. This point is supported by the evidence from Kroeger (1993) that the Adjunct fronting mechanism does not apply to ngP phrases. Recall from section 3.5.1 that this fronting mechanism was also used to show that ngA phrases were not adjuncts. Kroeger (1993) provides the two examples in (41) showing that ngP phrases cannot be Adjunct fronted.

(41) Adjunct Fronting of *ng* P [Kroeger, 1993, 47]

a. *[ng balot] siya kumain
[ACC balot] 3sNABS AT-eat
for: '(The) balot he ate.'

b. *[ng isda] siya hindi makakakain
[ACC fish] 3sNABS NEG MAKA-R-eat
for: 'Fish he cannot eat.'

Thus the *ng* P patterns with other arguments (see (37) above), and not with adjuncts (see (36) above) in being permissible in this construction. Since the ngP acts like an argument, the AT sentences are considered to be TRANS not TRANSD type sentences. We concluded for similar reasons that PT sentences should be considered PASS not PASSD type sentences.

The table in (42) summarizes the types of languages distinguished so far by TRANS movement, PASS movement and the possibility of doubling.

(42) Typology of Sentences Based on Movement Possibilities (extended)

Language Type	Sentence Types TRANS	PASS	TRANSD	PASSD	Example Language
Accusative	yes	no	some	yes	English
Ergative	no	yes	yes	some	WG Inuit
Hybrid	yes	yes	no	no	Tagalog

The following are concrete examples of all the constructions from the various languages, labelled with their types for comparison:

(43) English: Accusative

a.	TRANS	He shot	them
		NOM3s	ACC3p
b.	TRANSD	He shot	at them
		NOM3s	OBL 3p
c.	PASSD	They were shot	by him
		NOM3p	OBL 3s

(44) Tagalog: Hybrid

a.	TRANS	sumipa	ang tao	ng aso
		AT-kicked	NABS man	ACC dog
		'The man kicked a dog.'		
b.	PASS	sinipa	ng tao	ang aso
		PT-kicked	ERG man	NABS dog
		'The dog was kicked by the man.'		

(45) West Greenlandic Inuit [Bittner, 1992, 41 & 101]

a.	PASS	Jaaku-p	miiqqat	paar-a-i
		Jaaku-ERG	children(NABS)	look.after-IND.TR-3s.3p
		'Jaaku is looking after the children.'		
b.	TRANSD	Juuna	miiqqa-mik	paar-si-v-u-q
		Juuna(NABS)	child-INS	look.after-APAS-IND-INTR-3s
		'Juuna is looking after the child.'		
c.	PASSD	miiqqat	Jaaku-mit	paari-niqar-p-u-t
		children(NABS)	Jaaku-ABL	look.after-PASS-IND-INTR-3p
		'The children are looked after by Jaaku.'		

3.6 Tagalog in the Typology: A Hybrid Type

Others have viewed the ergative/accusative language distinction in much the same way I have. The innovation of this chapter is taking this view of a language like Tagalog. The outcome is twofold. First, the structure of Tagalog is characterized in a novel way,

one that I believe to be an improvement over other structural characterizations that have been proposed. Second, since Tagalog falls between two systems, its properties can serve to elucidate the nature of those two systems. In section 5.6, I will discuss further the structural analysis of this hybrid type. So far we have seen that Tagalog as a hybrid language has the two basic transitive sentence types, TRANS and PASS. The language does not in addition have the non-basic types, TRANSD or PASSD, although it does have other non-basic types that have participants other than A and P. Tagalog does not utilize doubling at all, having neither TRANSD nor PASSD. I claim that it is a language in which no θ roles are assigned to bound morphemes.

The hybrid type is different from the split ergative language type. That is, Tagalog is not ergative in some aspects and accusative in others like Hindi (see the discussion in section 2.6.4). Where the split in Hindi is conditioned by the aspect of the clause, the use of AT and PT is not conditioned by such a factor. This raises the question to be addressed briefly in the next subsection of what does govern the choice between AT and PT for Tagalog speakers.

3.6.1 The Choice between AT and PT

Since there are two basic sentences in Tagalog, the speaker is confronted with a choice that is different in nature from the choice between, say active and passive in English. Either PT or AT can be used in most contexts, and indeed they are relatively equal in frequency (see section 2.4). Some of the functions of passive and antipassive are taken up by one or other of these forms. Often the choice is based on discourse factors and is not syntactically motivated. Discussion of the factors affecting the choice between

PT and AT can be found in several sources. Adams & Manaster-Ramer (1988) suggest that the choice is governed by the definiteness of the P. A definite P must be expressed in a PT sentence, thereby limiting the choice. Hopper & Thompson (1981) refer to the choice as a matter of foregrounding. The PT sentence is used by speakers for foregrounding information. For further discussion of these factors, see also Naylor (1975).

I would like to suggest, based on the views espoused in the references just cited, that the choice can be likened to the choice between a double object and a dative construction in English, as for example in (46).

(46) English: Double Object versus Dative

a. Lee sent Rachel the letter.
b. Lee sent the letter to Rachel.

As with Tagalog AT and PT sentences, it is difficult to determine which of the English sentences in (46) is more basic. In some contexts only one of the sentence types is appropriate. If a pronoun is used to replace the NP 'the letter' in the sentences in (46), for example, then only the second is acceptable.

(47) Only Dative with Pronominal Theme

a. *Lee sent Rachel it.
b. Lee sent it to Rachel.

Similarly, if a pronominal P is used in Tagalog, only the PT form, not the AT form is acceptable.

(48) Only PT with Pronominal P

a. *nagluto si Renaldo nito
AT.cooked NABS Renaldo ?ACC.3s[15]
for: 'Renaldo cooked it.'

b. linuto ni Renaldo ito
cooked(PT) ERG Renaldo ABS.3s
'Renaldo cooked it.'

Interestingly, sentences like those in (46) have been given various analyses, like the two sentence types, AT and PT in Tagalog. For example, Larson (1988) takes (46a) to be derived through NP movement, while in (46b) the NPs are base generated in place in his analysis. In contrast, Dryer (1986) takes (46a) to be basic and (46b) to be derived (under Relational Grammar assumptions). Kayne (1983), on the other hand, takes both (46a) and (46b) to be basic. Thus the question of basicness arises in the analysis of the pair of ditransitive sentence patterns found in English (46), just as it has for the analysis of the pair of transitive sentence patterns found in Tagalog (44).

3.7 A Typology of Intransitive Sentences: TRANSI and PASSI

Intransitive clauses are considered in this section to complete the discussion of sentence types. There are two types of intransitives which can be accommodated under the assumptions made here. The types were distinguished by Perlmutter (1978) and are analysed in Principles and Parameters terms by Burzio (1986) and Belletti (1988) among others. The types are usually referred to as unergatives and unaccusatives[9], as shown in

[15]Recall that there are no ngT pronominal forms.

[9]Burzio (1986) uses the term ergative instead of unaccusative.

these examples from Italian.

(49) Italian: Unergative [Burzio, 1986, 20]

Giovanni **ha** telephonato
'Giovanni has telephoned.'

(50) Italian: Unaccusative [Burzio, 1986, 20]

Giovanni è arrivato
Giovanni is arrived
'Giovanni has arrived.'

In Italian, the intransitives differ syntactically according to certain tests Burzio (1986) provides. One central difference visible in these examples is that in the compound tenses the unergative verbs take the auxiliary *avere* 'have' as in (49), whereas the unaccusatives, like (50), take the auxiliary *essere* 'be'. Under Burzio's (1986) analysis, the unergatives have base-generated subjects and the unaccusatives have subjects derived by movement from COMPL of V position. With the VP internal subject position, both types of intransitive require movement. In the unergative sentence, the argument is assumed to be in SPEC of VP position underlyingly. From here the NP moves to SPEC of IP because it cannot get ergative Case in languages like Italian. This is precisely the TRANS movement we have focussed on in transitive sentences. The unaccusative sentence begins with an argument in COMPL of V position. This argument cannot get accusative Case since this Case is not assigned in intransitives and therefore moves to SPEC of IP position. This is exactly the PASS movement we have seen. The movements posited for these intransitives are therefore those we have discussed in the previous sections and shown in (3) above. The NP in an unergative intransitive undergoes TRANS movement and the NP in an unaccusative intransitive undergoes PASS movement. The unaccusative

and unergative intransitives can be labelled accordingly as TRANSI and PASSI, respectively. Intransitives as they have been analysed in the literature now fit neatly into the typology based on movement possibilities established in this chapter.

There is an issue concerning terminology that can be raised at this juncture. As pointed out in Dixon (1987), having a nominative P in a class of intransitive sentences (like the class of unaccusatives in Italian) does not make the language ergative. The unaccusative intransitives and the standard transitives of ergative languages do share certain properties, however. First, they are constructions in which no accusative Case is assigned. Secondly, the NP which originates in the COMPL of V position moves to the SPEC of IP position where it gets Case (it undergoes PASS movement in my terms). Bok-Bennema (1991), for example, takes such properties to indicate ergativity in a language. She then concludes that all languages are ergative to a certain degree. I will instead assume Dixon's use of the term ergative as it applies to basic transitive sentences not within intransitives or in nominalizations, for example.

Intransitives in Tagalog occur with a NABS NP, as we have seen. There seems to be some morphological distinction on verbs between TRANSI and PASSI sentences in Tagalog. Namely, the topic markers can be like AT topic markers or, less commonly, like PT topic markers. An example of an intransitive verb that can appear with either AT type (*-um-*) or PT type (*ma-*) verbal morphology, and which is ambiguous between unergative and unaccusative uses, is provided in (51).

(51) Intransitives in Tagalog

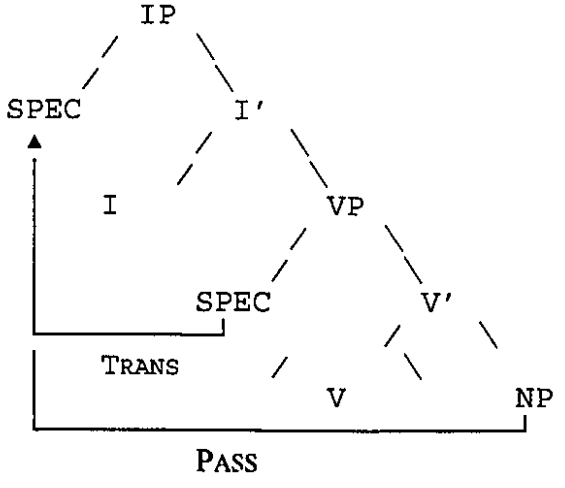
a.	TRANSI	umupo	ang mga bata
		(AT)sat	NABS PL child
		'The children sat.'	
b.	PASSI	naupo	ang mga bata
		(PT)sat	NABS PL child
		'The children sat.'	

It would be interesting to determine how well this morphological distinction in Tagalog correlates with the unaccusative/unergative distinction attested in other languages.

3.8 The Typology of Sentences Summarized

To recap, the possible movements are TRANS and PASS. TRANS movement is movement from SPEC of VP to SPEC of IP. PASS movement is movement from COMPL of V to SPEC of IP. These two are indicated on the structure, repeated from section 3.2.

(52) Two Movements to SPEC of IP: PASS and TRANS



TRANS movement occurs in several contexts including in unergative intransitives (TRANSI sentences), in transitive [NOM ACC] sentences in accusative languages (TRANS

sentences), and in antipassives (TRANSD sentences). PASS movement occurs in contexts such as unaccusative intransitives (PASSI sentences), in transitive [ERG ABS] sentences in ergative language (PASS sentences), and in passives (PASSD sentences). The chart in (53) gives a comprehensive picture of the proposed view of these sentence types in languages:

(53) Overview of Intransitive and Transitive Sentence Types

Type	label	V morph	NP starting in SPEC of VP	NP starting in COMPL of V
Intransitive				
unaccusative	PASSI	V	∅	NABS
unergative	TRANSI	V	NABS	∅
Transitive				
w/o doubling	TRANS	V	NABS	ACC
w/ doubling	TRANSD	V+APAS	NABS	OBL
Passive				
w/o doubling	PASS	V	ERG	NABS
w/ doubling	PASSD	V+PASS	OBL	NABS

To sum up, in this chapter I have proposed a new typology of basic transitive sentences. It is driven by the NP movement possibility made available by the addition of the VP internal subject, which I have labelled TRANS movement and by viewing passive as involving PASS movement accompanied by doubling. The typology was summarized in table (42) which is repeated here in (54):

(54) Typology of Basic Sentences Based on Movement Possibilities

Language Type	Sentence Types TRANS	PASS	TRANSD	PASSD	Example Language
Accusative	yes	no	some	yes	English
Ergative	no	yes	yes	some	WG Inuit
Hybrid	yes	yes	no	no	Tagalog

The proposed typology restates and brings together what is generally implicit in many recent works in syntax. The most relevant include Baker (1988), Johns (1992), Bittner (1992) and Burzio (1986). The treatment of ergative versus accusative is also similar in Murasugi (1992), as will be discussed in chapter 5. The addition of the typology proposed here is of an intermediate type that unifies the typology, the hybrid type of languages exemplified by languages like Tagalog.

Tagalog falls between ergative and accusative languages in choosing both basic transitive sentence types PASS and TRANS as possibilities. Most languages of the world choose only one of these sentence types, but also make use of the non-basic sentence types, TRANSD or PASSD. Tagalog is thus seen as being typologically different from ergative languages in which basic transitives involve PASS movement and from accusative languages in which they involve TRANS movement. Viewing this in terms of Case rather than in terms of NP movement, we can also see how Tagalog is considered here to be a hybrid between the ergative and accusative Case systems. While the former has NABS and ERG available, and the latter has NABS and ACC available, Tagalog as a hybrid language has all three Cases: NABS, ERG and ACC available in basic sentences.

These two ways to view the distinguishing characteristics of Tagalog will be

directly relevant to the discussion in section 5.7. In particular, three parameters which set the Case system of Tagalog apart from the Case system of other languages under consideration are proposed. One is based on the movement possibilities available, and another is based on the Cases available, as described in this chapter. A third parameter concerns the availability of the Case mechanism known as inherent Case assignment. As will be discussed in detail in section 5.5, it is proposed that ACC Case in Tagalog is always inherent Case and it is not a structural Case. Therefore, the system in Tagalog differs from an accusative system not only in the availability of an additional ERG Case, but also in the fact that ACC is generally a structural Case in accusative languages but it is strictly an inherent Case in Tagalog.

The view of Tagalog as having not one, but two basic sentences is consistent with the structural definition of that notion. That is, I am claiming that neither PT nor AT sentences involve the assignment of a θ role to a bound morpheme, and hence that there is no θ role doubled in an adjunct in these sentences. TRANS and PASS sentences are basic according to the structural definition. Tagalog has both of these, and so when making the comparison between an intransitive and a basic transitive for the purposes of determining the ergative/accusative status of Tagalog, both must be considered. It is in this sense that Tagalog is a hybrid type of language.

Chapter 4: Case-Related Phenomena: TagA versus TagE

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines some Case-related syntactic phenomena that indicate how very different the views TagE and TagA are. The phenomena are presented here descriptively and will be analysed stucturally and in terms of the theory assumed in chapter 6. The phenomena are of two types. The first, conjunction reduction, is a phenomenon that is standardly used as a diagnostic of ergative syntax in a language. It will be shown here that this diagnostic indicates that Tagalog, if viewed under TagE assumptions, clearly does exhibit ergative syntax, whereas Tagalog viewed under TagA assumptions just as clearly does not have ergative syntax according to the diagnostic.

The second part of this chapter presents a different kind of evidence that also distinguishes TagE and TagA. These phenomena, in contrast to conjunction reduction, are not specifically related to the ergative/accusative status of the language. Rather, the examination of morphological causatives and ditransitive sentences indicate other typological differences between TagE and TagA. In particular, the Case parameters discussed in Baker (1988) are applied to Tagalog. It is shown that TagE is of a different causative type than TagA. Related to this, Case possibilities in ditransitive sentences also differ under the TagE and TagA views. TagA uses the special Case mechanism known as preposition insertion, while TagE uses a different strategy: 'second object' Case assignment.

The conclusion will be that looking at TagE and TagA is like looking at two unrelated languages with utterly different syntactic properties. This is surprising given

the fact that TagE and TagA are simply two views of one and the same language. Thus the thrust of this chapter builds upon section 1.5. Deep and defining properties of a language can depend on which transitive sentence is considered to be basic in that language.

4.2 Conjunction Reduction (CR)

Conjunction reduction evidence is often used to demonstrate that a language shows syntactic ergativity, as in Dixon (1979). Conjunction reduction (henceforth CR) arises when, in a conjunction of two clauses, one of the conjuncts contains an empty NP that takes its reference from an NP in the other conjunct. The name implies that the empty NP is assumed to be derived through some transformational deletion rule (reduction), however, this is not an assumption I take up. Rather, I offer an analysis of such sentences with a base-generated empty category in section 6.3. The term "CR" will be used for convenience and because it relates to descriptions found in the literature. The form of a sentence involving CR is shown schematically here:

(1) CR Sentences

[A V_1 P] conjunction [ec V_2]

The empty NP in (1), indicated with ec, can conceivably be interpreted as being coreferent with the P or the A of a transitive conjunct. If the P, but not the A, in one conjunct is coreferent with the empty NP of the other, then the pattern is ergative. If the A, but not the P, is the coreferring NP then the pattern is accusative. Both these possibilities are exemplified below.

In English, the CR pattern is accusative. The A is missing from the second conjunct in (2). This empty NP takes as its referent an NP in the first conjunct. In example (2a), and always in English transitive sentences, the coreferring NP is the A, and it cannot be the P. The A patterns with S (2b). This syntactic rule treats A and S the same way and hence English exhibits the accusative pattern in this syntactic behaviour (see the diagram in section 1.2).

(2) English CR: Accusative

a. [Rachel called Lorne] and [ec cried]
≠ Lorne cried (P)
= Rachel cried (A)

b. [Rachel woke up] and [ec cried]
= Rachel cried (S)

Dixon (1979) shows that Dyirbal displays the ergative pattern in CR. Comrie (1988) discusses Dixon's Dyirbal data in some detail and points out that indeed in Dyirbal the P not the A is taken to be coreferential with the empty NP in the second conjunct in examples like (3).

(3) Dyirbal CR: Ergative [Comrie, 1988, 195]

[jugumbil yara-nggu balga-n], [ec walma-nyu]
woman(ABS) man-ERG hit-NONFUT, jump-NONFUT
'The man hit the woman and jumped up.'
= the woman jumped up (P)
≠ the man jumped up (A)

CR is thus used as a major distinguishing factor for the ergative or accusative status of a language.

Comrie (1988) suggests that in addition to the two patterns just mentioned, in some languages either the A or the P can be chosen as the coreferent NP. That is,

conjunction reduction sentences are ambiguous in some languages. Chukchi is an example Comrie provides of such a language (cited from Nedjalkov, 1979, 242).

(4) Chukchi Conjunction Reduction: Ambiguous [Comrie, 1988, 199]

∂tl∂g-e	talayv∂-nen	ek∂k		∂nk'am	ekvet-g'i
father-ERG	hit-PAST.3sg	son(ABS)		and	leave-PAST.3sg

'The father hit the son and left.'

	=	the son left	(P)
OR	=	the father left	(A)

In languages like Chukchi which show this ambiguity, Comrie argues that CR is pragmatically conditioned and not based on syntax.

In English, on the other hand, CR is syntactically conditioned since syntactic principles are used, contrary to world knowledge, to pick out the A only. Thus Comrie notes that even an unsuitable A referent is chosen over a suitable P referent in English. This is clear in a sentence like (5) where the unlikely interpretation is 'the man burst'.

(5) English CR is Syntactic [Comrie, 1988, 193]

The man dropped the melon and burst.

	≠	the melon burst	(P)
	=	the man burst (?)	(A)

Comrie notes further that CR in Dyirbal is similarly a syntactic phenomenon. It will be important in the next sections to ensure that the Tagalog CR facts are syntactic and not pragmatic. Comrie's observations can be used as a test for syntactic CR which can be applied to Tagalog.

There are other relevant observations concerning the syntactic nature of the constraints on CR. First, note that the constraint is not based on the semantic role of the NP. Rather, the constraint for most instances can be effectively reduced to a

generalization in terms of the Case of the coreferring NP. Thus when the first clause in (5) is passivized, for example, the interpretation changes. In (6), a P NP in a passive is the coreferring NP.

(6) English Coreferring NOM P

The melon was dropped by the man and burst.
= the melon burst (NOM P)

A second observation bearing on the syntactic nature of the constraint is that it can only occur within a sentence, not inter-sententially. Thus in some languages, where pro-drop occurs, an empty NP (pro) can take its reference from an NP in a previous sentence in discourse. Since there is pro-drop in Tagalog this must be controlled for. In English, there is no possibility of pro-drop as illustrated in (7).

(7) English has No Pro-drop

The man dropped the melon. *Burst.

Thus in English, the constraints on CR are clearly syntactic. The relevant constraint in English can be stated in terms of Case for standard CR examples as follows: Only a nominative NP can be coreferent with the empty NP in CR[1].

4.2.1 CR in Philippine Languages

There are examples of conflicting CR evidence in the literature on Philippine languages. A case can be made for the ergative status of Tagalog, based on the example found in Ramos & Cena (1990) given in (8), although this example involves an adjunct

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[1]It can be seen in more complex sentences that position is actually more significant than Case itself. When the A is exceptionally Case marked with ACC as under such verbs as *believe*, for example, then it can also be coreferent with the empty NP in CR:

i. Ben believes **her** to have called Lorne and cried.

For the less complex sentences under discussion here, it suffices to state the generalization in terms of Case.

instead of a conjunct.

(8) Tagalog CR [Ramos & Cena, 1990, 151]

tinanong	ni Derek	si Marvin,	bago	umalis
PT-asked	ERG Derek	ABS Marvin	before	AT-left

'Derek asked Marvin before (he) left.'

= Marvin left (P)

≠ Derek left (A)

Meanwhile, Shibatani (1988a) argues that Cebuano, another Philippine language, cannot be assumed to be ergative and he provides the example in (9) as evidence. If the language were ergative, he points out, then the NP *Pedro* should be the coreferent NP.

(9) Cebuano CR [Shibatani, 1988a, 88]

gi-bunal-an	ni Juan	si Pedro	ug	ni-lakaw
PT-hit	Juan	NOM Pedro	and	AT-left

'Juan hit Pedro and left.'

≠ Pedro left (P)

= Juan left (A)

These pieces of seemingly contradictory evidence may not be problematic, however. Kroeger (1993) notes that many of the constructions which may appear to be relevant instances of CR in Tagalog are actually instances of pro-drop. If the sentences (8) and (9) involve pro-drop instead of CR, then the interpretations reported are not relevant to the current discussion of syntactically conditioned CR. One interpretation may be preferred over another, leading to the rejection of one possibility in each of (8) and (9), as a matter of discourse preference rather than as a syntactic constraint.

The process of pro-drop applies quite freely in Tagalog, as discussed in Naylor (1992), for example. She provides the text in (10), based on work by Bresnahan (1991),

which highlights the degree to which pro-drop occurs in the language. If the English translation in (10b) is compared to the literal translation in (10c), it can be seen that the pronouns which abound in the English text (indicated in bold) are completely absent in the Tagalog text.

(10) Widespread pro-drop in a Tagalog Text [Bresnahan, 1991, 72-3]

a. *Tagalog Text*
Balisa si Hulyan kapagkaraka'y pinagyaman ang asawa. Pinunasan ng tubig na maligamgam na may sukang maasim. Tinapalan sa noo ng tuwalyang basa rin ng suka at pinainom ng tsang mainit. Kinutsarahan ng am ng gabi na ayaw tanggapin ng sikmura ng maysakit.

b. *English Translation*
Hulyan was worried after **he** ministered to **his** wife. **He** bathed **her** with warm water and vinegar. **He** placed a towel also soaked in vinegar on **her** forehead and gave **her** some hot tea to drink. **He** spoonfed **her** some taro gruel but the invalid's stomach refused to accept **it**.

c. *Literal Translation of Tagalog Text*
Worried Hulyan after ministered to wife. Wiped on water warm with vinegar. Placed on forehead a towel wet also with vinegar and had drink some tea hot. Spoonfed some taro gruel but disliked to take the stomach of the invalid.

In addition to the fact that pro-drop is so widespread in the language, the text in (10) shows that pro-drop is not a purely syntactic phenomenon. In particular, the empty pronouns can take their reference from NPs well outside the sentence in which they occur.

Along these lines, if the two conjuncts in a CR construction are instead independent sentences, I have found that speakers can get either interpretation (11).

(11) Tagalog pro-drop

binaril	ng tao	ang aso.	Umiak.
Shot(PT)	ngA man	ANG dog	cried

'A man shot the dog. ec cried.'

= dog cried (P)

OR = man cried (A)

The empty NP, indicated with ec, can refer to the A, to the P or to neither of these, if some other participant has been mentioned previously. Thus pro-drop across sentence boundaries is not syntactically conditioned by definition and is not subject to syntactic constraints, since any NP can serve as a reference. As expected, pro-drop interpretation is only constrained pragmatically.

According to Kroeger (1993), the real CR facts in Tagalog are obtainable and have a more constrained application than pro-drop. Kroeger notes that these facts are syntactically based, not discourse based (see the discussion, Kroeger, 1993, 33-36). Kroeger distinguishes CR from other forms of anaphora, such as pro-drop, on the basis of precedence. The key to distinguishing the two is that pro-drop occurs only when the empty NP is preceded by the NP with which it is coreferent. CR, on the other hand, can occur when the coreferent NP follows the empty NP. The possibility of backwards coreference in the context of CR is not available in languages like English, as example (12) shows, although it is possible in other contexts.

(12) English: no Backwards Coreference in CR

*ec barked and the dog chased the cat.

Kroeger's observation after examining CR with backwards coreference in Tagalog is that only the *ang*-phrase can be taken to be coreferent with the empty NP. My point is that

his observation has a bearing on ergativity in Tagalog. As will be shown, the fact that the *ang*-phrase is the coreferring NP can be used as an argument in support of either the TagE or the TagA view. While this seems surprising, given recent approaches to the structural analysis of ergative and accusative languages like Murasugi (1992), in fact it is predicted.

The CR data presented below will make use of backwards coreference following Kroeger. Whereas Kroeger's examples involve a mixture of AT and non-AT forms, it is important to separate these for the TagA and TagE approaches. Furthermore, it will be shown that CR (with backwards coreference) in Tagalog is indeed a syntactic phenomenon according to Comrie's criterion. The relevant CR facts corresponding to each view of Tagalog are presented in the next two sections, starting with the ergative view.

4.2.2 CR in TagE

Payne (1982), in comparing the syntax of Tagalog and of the ergative language Yup'ik Eskimo, sees a commonality in the CR facts of the two languages. He points out that in Yup'ik Eskimo, the P is preferentially taken to be coreferent with the empty NP (13). CR sentences in Yup'ik Eskimo are thus similar to the Dyirbal sentence in (3) in showing the ergative pattern.

(13) Yup'ik Eskimo CR [Payne, 1982, 84]

[Tom-am	Doris-aq	cinga.llru-a-Ø]	tua-llu	[quyi.llru-u-q]
Tom-ERG	Doris-ABS	kiss.ed-T-3s/3s	then-and	cough.ed-I-3s

'Tom kissed Doris and then coughed.'

= Doris coughed (P)

≠ Tom coughed (A)

Payne notes the similarity of this evidence with the Tagalog CR evidence reported in Foley and Van Valin (1977). The parallel is presumably with the following sentence.

(14) Tagalog CR [Foley and Van Valin, 1977, 302]

sa tindahan	[binili	ng lalake	ang diyaryo]	at	[binasa	niya]
OBL store	bought	ERG man	ABS paper	and	read	3sE

'In the store the man bought the newspaper and he read (it).'

Note that both clauses here are transitive, so the sentence is not completely parallel to those we have seen. The verbs in the two conjuncts in example (14) are PT verbs and the empty NP is a P coreferential with a P. Although this evidence is slightly different from the CR pattern we have been considering, it may still be relevant. Since the coreferent NP is a P argument, the example provided by Foley and Van Valin (1977) implies that under TagE, Tagalog syntax patterns with the ergative languages. However, I have found potential counter-evidence to this conclusion. Tagalog appears to pattern with accusative languages instead of with the ergative languages when an example like (15), which also has a PT verb, is considered.

(15) Tagalog CR

[tinawag	ng bata	ang babae]	at	[natulog]
called(PT)	ERG child	NABS woman	and	slept

'The child called the woman and slept.'

≠	the woman slept	(P)
=	the child slept	(A)

The problem with both (14) and (15) is that they cannot be distinguished from examples involving pro-drop in which the preference may be purely discourse-based. Instead, as mentioned above, the relevant syntax-based facts are obtainable using backwards coreference examples, which cannot be instances of pro-drop, according to Kroeger

(1993).

The backwards coreference facts are provided in (16). Under TagE assumptions, the facts pattern with the ergative examples from Dyirbal and Yup'ik above.

(16) Ergative pattern under TagE

a. darating at ngingiti si Ben (kay Lina).
will.come and will.smile ABS Ben OBL Lina
'ec is coming and Ben will smile (at Lina).'
= Ben is coming (S)

b. darating at lilinlang-in si Ben ni Lina
will.come and will.betray-PT ABS Ben ERG Lina
'ec is coming and Lina will betray Ben.'
= Ben is coming (P)
≠ Lina is coming (A)

P can be the NP to which the empty NP refers, but A cannot (16b). The intransitive example (16a) is given to show that the pattern is ergative, namely that S and P can be the coreferent NPs in backward coreference, as opposed to A which cannot.

These facts are not pragmatically conditioned as can be seen by applying the test provided by Comrie to Tagalog. Thus, if a pragmatically unsuitable P argument is used, it is still interpreted as being coreferential with the empty NP in the first conjunct in (17) over a suitable A argument. Thus the syntactic constraint overrides pragmatic preference here.

(17) Tagalog CR is syntactic

ng-um-iti at sinipa ni Lina ang bato
AT-smiled and kicked(PT) ERG Lina ABS stone
'ec smiled and Lina kicked the stone.'
= the stone smiled ? (P)
≠ Lina smiled (A)

The generalization in terms of Case is that only the absolutive can be the NP to

which the empty NP refers in CR in languages that show ergative syntax. Under the assumptions of TagE, Tagalog CR shows the ergative pattern since the *ang* phrase is considered to be absolutive and is the coreferent NP. Thus TagE seems to exhibit ergativity not only in Case marking and but also in syntactic behaviour. That is, S and P are treated the same way morphologically by being Case marked with *ang* and S and P are also treated the same way syntactically by being interpreted as the coreferent NP in CR constructions. This implies that TagE shows not only a morphologically ergative pattern, but also exhibits syntactic ergativity. There are languages, such as Hindi and Avar, which are ergative only morphologically and not in the syntax. These languages would show the accusative pattern in CR, (Dixon, 1994, 175). TagE is not like these split languages since it does exhibit ergativity in its syntactic behaviour. Having looked at Tagalog from an ergative perspective, as TagE, the next section looks at Tagalog from an accusative perspective, as TagA.

4.2.3 CR in TagA

The relevant CR sentences with backwards coreference under TagA assumptions are given in (18). The S (18a) or A (18b) can be the NP coreferent with the empty NP, but not the P (18b).

(18) Accusative pattern under TagA

a.	[mag-hihintay]	at [ngingiti	ang kawal	(kay Lina)]
	AT-will.wait	and (AT)will.smile	NOM soldier	OBL Lina
	'ec will wait and the soldier will smile (at Lina).'			
	=	the soldier will wait	(S)	

b. [mag-hihintay] at [mag-bibintang ang kawal ng heneral]
AT-will.wait and AT-will.accuse NOM soldier ACC general
'ec will wait and the soldier will accuse a general.'
≠ a general will wait (P)
= the soldier will wait (A)

Once again the construction passes Comrie's test. Even a pragmatically unlikely A argument is chosen over a more likely P argument to be coreferent with the empty NP, as the following example shows.

(19) Backwards CR is Syntactic

[s-um-ubog] at [k-um-ain ang ibon ng bigas]
AT-scattered and AT-ate NOM bird ACC rice
'ec scattered and the bird ate rice.'
≠ rice scattered (P)
= bird scattered ? (A)

The generalization to be made, then, is that only the nominative NP can be taken to be coreferent with the empty NP in CR. Thus under the TagA assumptions that the *ang* phrase is nominative and AT is basic, CR in Tagalog follows a distinctly accusative pattern.

4.2.4 Implications of the CR Evidence

It appears, then, that the syntax of Tagalog fits with the assumptions made about the Case system, whether these are TagA or TagE assumptions. If the Case system is viewed as accusative then the syntactic diagnostic applied here indicates an accusative syntax. If the Case system is viewed as ergative, on the other hand, then the language exhibits ergativity in the syntax. The CR evidence as a diagnostic characterizes TagA and TagE utterly differently. It is not the case that the diagnostic fails to characterize the language. Nor does the diagnostic show Tagalog to have an ambiguous pattern in which

pragmatic factors override syntactic factors, as was the case in Chukchi (see example (4) above). Rather, under each view, the diagnostic was applied with conclusive results, results that seem contradictory. This fact highlights one reason the status of Tagalog has been so controversial.

The evidence presented thus far is consistent with the two views TagA and TagE, but it is also consistent with a view that Tagalog is neither entirely ergative nor entirely accusative. An analysis of the construction is provided in section 6.3. While my purpose in this chapter is not to argue for TagH over TagE and TagA, I will briefly show here that it is possible to make a generalization about the CR facts under TagH. The two generalizations of the last two sections coincide in the TagH view because the two Cases nominative and absolutive coincide in the Case labeled NABS under TagH. Thus in TagH, the generalization is that only NABS NPs can be coreferent with an empty NP in CR. The relevant evidence has already been presented above. The generalization applies to both examples like (16) and (18). Thus not only are the TagA and TagE approaches consistent with generalizations about the CR facts, but no generalization is lost if a hybrid approach is taken, as under TagH.

One further result of examining CR is that it implies that it is correct to assume that nominative and absolutive are equivalent Cases. Under TagE and TagA respectively, *ang* is assumed to be absolutive on the one hand and nominative on the other. These are consistently the assumptions made by linguists looking at Tagalog (e.g. Byma, 1986, assumes *ang* is absolutive, Kroeger, 1993, assumes *ang* is nominative). That the *ang* phrase is prominent in Tagalog syntax is not controversial. The facts of CR can be

viewed without relying on any particular labelling of the Cases. Abstracting away from the Case labels, the crucial fact is that the *ang* phrase is the relevant NP in a sentence, whether intransitive or transitive, whether passive, active or antipassive, whether AT or PT. This supports the hypothesis that nominative and absolutive Case do correspond structurally. As I have just mentioned, the two relevant Cases nominative and absolutive are collapsed into a single Case under the hybrid view, TagH. This follows assumptions of other linguists such as Massam (1991), Campana (1992), Bittner (1992), and Murasugi (1992), but differs from the view taken by Bobaljik (1992) and Chomsky (1992).

4.3 Case Mechanisms in Causatives and Ditransitives

While Conjunction Reduction was a phenomenon that has been used as a diagnostic of syntactic ergativity, we will now consider a set of phenomena that are not correlated specifically with the ergative/accusative status of languages. Even though these phenomena differ in nature from Conjunction Reduction, it will be shown that TagA and TagE again behave significantly differently with respect to them. Thus once again looking at TagA is like looking at a different language from TagE despite the fact that TagA and TagE are simply different views of one and the same language. The Case labelling that one choses can lead to very different conclusions about the language, and these reach beyond the question of whether the language is ergative or accusative. This time they are deceptively easy to characterize utterly differently. That is, they can be seen as typologically very different with respect to the Case mechanism available, which in turn is correlated with the Case frame found in causatives and ditransitives as well as

in other contexts. However, it is shown in 4.3.4 that there is reason to believe neither the TagA nor the TagE views are completely adequate when it comes to causatives.

In the remainder of this chapter, then, the related Case properties associated with morphological causatives, such as *mag-pa-luto* 'AT-CAUS-cook', and ditransitive verbs, such as *mag-alok* 'AT-offer', will be considered. These phenomena are presented within the approach taken in Baker (1988). His observations are applied to Tagalog under both the TagA and TagE conceptions with distinct results. First, his approach is outlined in the section 4.3.1. Then it is discussed with reference to TagA in section 4.3.2 and to TagE in section 4.3.3. Finally, some reasons these views might be problematic are discussed in 4.3.4.

4.3.1 Case Parameters: Baker (1988)

A parallel between the Case marking in ditransitive sentences and in sentences involving the morphological causative of a transitive verb was explored in Baker (1988) (henceforth referred to as Baker) which is based largely on the work of Gibson (1980) and others. His generalization centers on the fact that in a causative construction, an extra argument is added (the causer), and therefore in a sentence containing the morphological causative of a transitive verb there is one additional NP requiring Case as compared to a simple transitive sentence. While a transitive sentence generally has an A and a P argument (see (20a) below), a causativized transitive sentence has three arguments. These will be referred to as causer, causee and causand (see (20b) below). A sentence containing a ditransitive verb, with agent, goal and theme participants (see (20c) below) also has one more NP than a sentence containing a simple transitive verb

and hence also "needs an extra Case". Examples from English are given in (20) to illustrate the various participant types and their labels, but note that the causative in English is not a morphological causative.

(20) Participant Labels

a. *Transitive*
Jeremy cooked pasta.
A P

b. *Causative of a Transitive*
Terry made Jeremy cook pasta.
causer causee causand

c. *Ditransitive*
Cynthia gave [a birthday gift] [to Raphael]
agent theme goal

Baker contends that whatever Case assigning mechanism a language uses for the extra argument in its ditransitive sentences, it will also use in a morphological causative construction. Languages differ in the special Case assigning mechanism available and this variation leads to a Case-related typology of languages.

Along these lines, Baker describes Case parameters, based on various Case assigning mechanisms available. Languages are thereby divided into several types, two of which are summarized in (21) and discussed in detail below. The first type has preposition insertion as a special Case assigning mechanism. In this type of language, the goal in a ditransitive sentence is marked with a preposition, as is the causee in a morphological causative. A second type has a special Case, referred to as 'second object'

Case, available for extra arguments[2]. In languages that make use of this special Case mechanism, the theme appears in 'second object' Case in a ditransitive as does the causand in a causative.

(21) Two Case Mechanisms [based on Baker, 1988, 147-228]

a. If **preposition insertion** is available:

Ditransitives are **non-double object**
Case on goal must be oblique
There is no "dative shift"

Causative is **type 1**
Case on causee must be oblique
VP-to-COMP incorporation analysis

Possible processes
Passive of causative (NOM causand)
No causative of passive
No applicative

b. If **'second object' Case** is available:

Ditransitives are **partial double object**
Goal is Case marked like a P, 'second object' Case for theme
There is "dative shift"

Causative is **Type 2**
Causee is Case marked like a P, 'second object' Case for causand
V-to-C incorporation analysis

Possible processes
Passive of causative (NOM causee)
Causative of passive
Applicative

Let us take a closer look at the properties associated with each mechanism. First,

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[2]There are some additional Case parameters discussed in Baker (1988) but I have only characterized the most relevant for the discussion here.

languages can be divided based on the properties of ditransitives into two types according to these two Case mechanisms. Baker refers to a language with preposition insertion as a non-double object language and one with 'second object' Case as a partial double object language. In partial double object languages, "dative shift" is possible, whereas in the non-double object languages it is not. The "dative shift" mechanism refers to an alternation in ditransitive sentences in which the goal can be an oblique (usually considered a dative) or else can appear as a non-oblique. An example from English is given in (22).

(22) "Dative Shift" Alternation in English

a. Cynthia gave a birthday gift to Raphael.
b. Cynthia gave Raphael a birthday gift.

Secondly, the causatives also divide into two main types according to the Case mechanism that is operative in the language. These causative types correspond to the causative types proposed by Gibson (1980) and are referred to simply as type 1 and type 2. They are analysed as structurally different by Baker who proposes two different patterns of verb incorporation. In both cases, morphological causatives are assumed to be biclausal underlyingly, with an embedded verb incorporating into a matrix causative verb. These two incorporation structures will be presented in (24) and (25) below. The causative types also differ crucially, as mentioned, in the Case of the causee argument. In addition to these properties of ditransitives and causatives, there are others based on other grammatical function changing processes which are also tied to available Case mechanisms. In both instances, the passive of a causative can be formed but the participant that ends up with NOM Case differs. Furthermore, the causative of the

passive can only be formed in one of the language types and similarly, applicatives are typically only found in one of the types.

As typical examples from Baker of these two language types, I will refer in the discussion that follows to Chichewa as type 1[3] and Chamorro as type 2. Note at the outset that the Case pattern in morphological causatives differs in these two languages. Compare the sentences in (23).

(23) Morphological Causatives in Type 1 and Type 2 Languages

a. *Chichewa: Type 1* [adapted from Baker, 1988, 163]

anyani	anameny-ets-a	ana	kwa buluzi
baboons	hit-CAUS-ASP	children	OBL lizard

'The baboons made the lizard hit the children.'

b. *Chamorro: Type 2* [adapted from Baker, 1988, 184]

ha na'-taitai	häm	i ma'estru	ni esti na lebblu
3sE-CAUS-read	1p	the teacher	NI this LK book

'The teacher made us read this book.'

In both sentences there is a morphologically complex verb that involves the combination of a verb root and a causative morpheme (glossed CAUS). In (23a), the causee is oblique, whereas in (23b) it is not. In the Chichewa example, the causee receives Case by preposition insertion in a VP-to-COMP incorporation structure according to Baker's analysis. In Chamorro, in contrast, the causand receives 'second object' Case in a V-to-C incorporation structure.

Let us consider these two proposed incorporation structures. First, Baker's structure for morphological causatives which employ preposition insertion as a special

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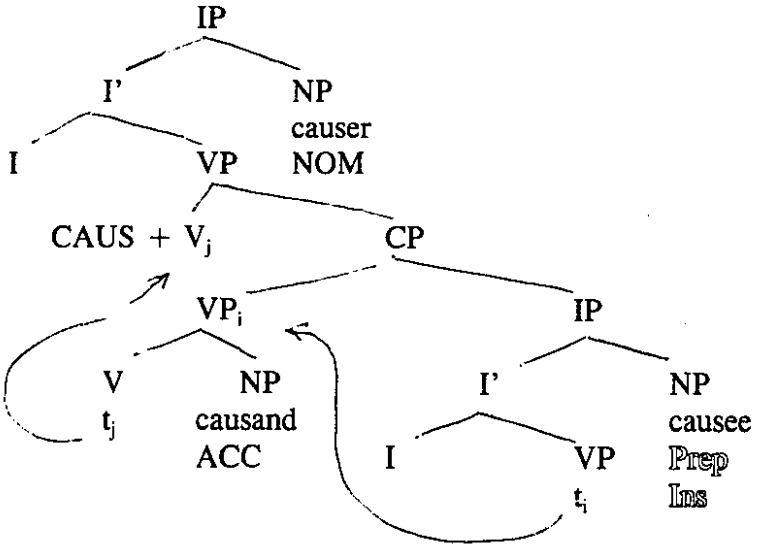
[3]Chichewa also exhibits the type 2 pattern, however (see Alsina and Joshi, 1991).

Case mechanism is given in (24).

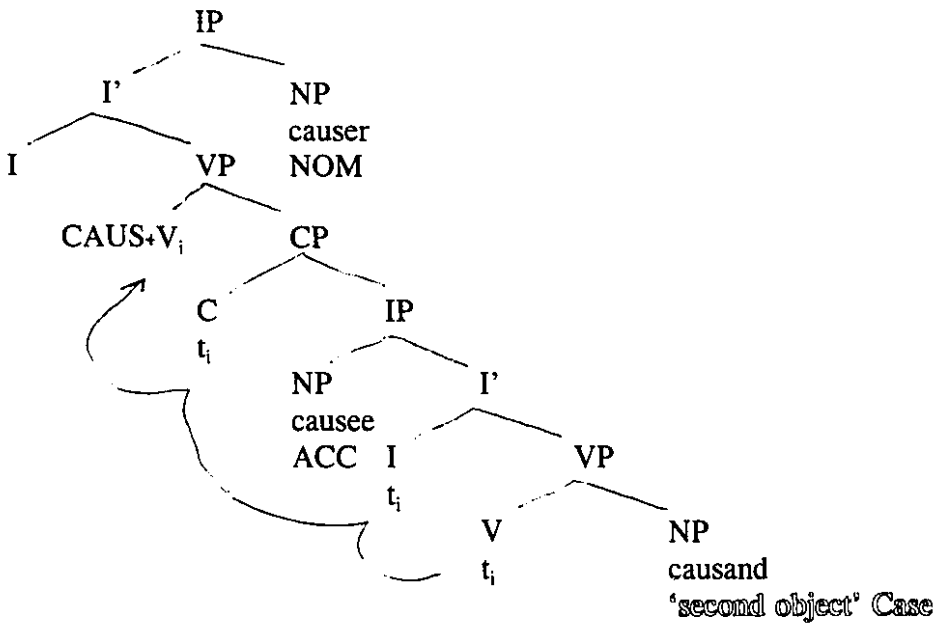
(24) Structure of Causative Type 1: VP-to-COMP [based on Baker, 1988, 173]



In this structure, the incorporation and Case assignment procedes as follows: First, the whole VP, which includes the V and its complement, moves to the SPEC of CP position. Then from here, the verb head moves into the matrix causative verb. The causand gets ACC Case from the [CAUS + V_j] complex, the causer gets nominative Case from I^0, but the causee is left Caseless since the embedded I^0 does not assign Case. Preposition insertion is the special Case mechanism that is invoked in order to get Case to the causee.

Next, consider how a type 2 structure given in (25) differs from type 1 in (24).

(25) Structure of Causative Type 2: V-to-C [based on Baker, 1988, 173]



In the structure in (25) there is head to head movement of the embedded verb to I^0 then to C^0 and then into the matrix causative verb which is a bound morpheme. The causer again gets Case from the matrix I^0, the causee can get Case from the verbal complex but the causand is left Caseless. In this situation the causand can receive Case by the special 'second object' Case mechanism in languages where such a mechanism is available[4].

In addition to these typological and structural differences, different grammatical function changing processes are possible depending on the Case mechanism available. In both types of language it is possible to form the passive of the causative, but different participants are NOM when this combination is found. The causative of the passive, however, may not be formed in languages with preposition insertion. This is accounted

[4]Notice that the structure does not make use of a VP internal subject position, as was employed in the structures for Tagalog in chapter 3. The structure of causatives will be reconsidered in section 6.2, with the assumption not only that there are VP internal subjects but also that Tagalog has an articulated IP with Agr_S and Agr_O functional projections.

for structurally since in (24), if PASS- morphology is generated in the lower I^0, then it cannot be picked up. Finally, the applicative requires a 'second object' Case and hence is only expected to occur in languages that have that Case mechanism. The occurrence of these processes is thus indicative of the Case mechanism employed in a given language. We will rexamine these with reference to Tagalog in the next sections.

To recap, the respective properties of ditransitive type and of causative type as well as distinctive possibilities involving other processes are summarized in the table in (21) in terms of the Case mechanisms that are available in languages. As can be seen in (21), the two Case mechanisms, preposition insertion and 'second object' Case assignment, correspond to a whole collection of differences involving ditransitives and causatives. These differences will be investigated in this chapter as they apply to Tagalog specifically. One central distinction to draw at this point is the fact that non-double object languages have type 1 causatives, and partial double object languages, have type 2 causatives. Another major distinction to note in the causatives is that the causee is an oblique in type 1, and it is not oblique in type 2, and that this is correlated with the Case on the goal in a ditransitive sentence. This connection Baker observes will be shown to exist between Tagalog's ditransitives and Tagalog's morphological causatives in an interesting way in the sections below. An examination of the processes that occur also shows up a typological difference between the TagA and TagE views, as will be illustrated.

4.3.2 Causatives and Ditransitives in TagA

As laid out in section 1.5, if Tagalog is considered accusative, then the basic

sentence is the AT sentence. Consider, then, a transitive sentence (26a) and its causative form (26b).

(26) TagA: Transitive and Causative

a. nag-luto ang bata ng karne
AT-cook NOM child ACC meat
'The child cooked some meat.'

b. nag-**pa**-luto si Fe sa bata ng karne
XT-**CAUS**-cook NOM Fe OBL child ACC meat
'Fe made the child cook some meat.'

In these examples, the verbal morphology remains the same except for the addition of the causative morpheme *pa-* in (26b)[5]. Although these morphological causatives seem to be used less frequently in spoken Tagalog (Miller, p.c.), they still represent a highly productive process in the language as pointed out by McFarland (1985) in a study of contemporary written texts. Along with the additional causative morpheme in (26b) is the additional argument, the causer *Fe*. In terms of Case, the causand, *karne* 'meat', is ACC marked and the causer is NOM marked. The Case on the causee *bata* 'child', is OBL. Thus TagA seems to make use of preposition insertion in causatives which implies that TagA has the type 1 causative mentioned above.

Now consider some of the related properties. Compare the Case marking in the causative sentence (26b) with that in a sentence containing a ditransitive verb like *alok* 'offer' in (27).

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[5]The topic markers used with causatives and ditransitives will be labeled XT since it is not obvious which of the three arguments is the A and which is the P. This issue will come up again in section 4.3.4.

(27) TagA: Ditransitive

nag-alok	si Pedro	sa bata	ng inumin
XT-offer	NOM Pedro	OBL child	ACC drink

'Pedro offered a drink to the child.'

The causative sentence (26b) patterns with the ditransitive sentence (27) in using a preposition *sa* to assign Case to the NP *bata* 'child'. Both the causee in (26b) and the goal in (27) are *sa* obliques. Thus the connection between ditransitives and causatives pointed out by Baker is evident in TagA. There are some additional properties related to these which can also be checked.

According to the typology laid out in section 4.3.1, if only preposition insertion is available then TagA would be expected to be a non-double object language. Indeed we can verify that "dative shift" is impossible in TagA. A sentence parallel to (27), where the goal NP *bata* would be ACC instead of OBL is ungrammatical.

(28) TagA is Non-Double Object

*nag-alok	si Pedro	ng bata	ng inumin
XT-cook	NOM Pedro	ACC child	ACC drink

for: 'Pedro offered a child a drink.'

Note that the ungrammaticality of (28) is not due to word order: No permutation of the NPs makes this sentence grammatical. In short, one never finds two ACC NPs in a sentence in Tagalog. In addition, no other Case is possible on the theme. This is in keeping with the fact that the language is of the non-double-object type and has type 1 causatives. Under TagA, there is no alternation in active ditransitives, the only Case frame that is possible is the one given in (27) [NOM ACC OBL]. Other Case frames can be seen in ditransitives only when they are passivized with the verbal morphemes *i-* and -

in (glossed as PASS- under the TagA view). The Case frame may be [OBA NOM OBL] when the theme is NOM as in (29a) or else it may be [OBA ACC NOM] when the goal is NOM as in (29b).

(29) Passive Ditransitives

a.	i-a-alok	ni Pedro	ang bulaklak	kay Rosa
	PASS-ASP-offer	OBA Pedro	NOM flower	OBL Rosa
	'The flowers will be offered by Pedro to Rosa.'			
b.	a-aluk-in	ni Pedro	ng bulaklak	si Rosa
	ASP-offer-PASS	OBA Pedro	ACC flower	NOM Rosa
	'Rosa will be offered a flower by Pedro.'			

The evidence presented so far that TagA is a type 1 causative language is that the causee is oblique and there is no "dative shift" possible. Further evidence can be gleaned from examining the combination of passive and causative. Combining these same processes in the opposite order in a sentence also points to the fact that TagA is a type 1 causative language as we will see presently.

4.3.2.1 The Passive of a Causative in TagA

Both languages having type 1 causatives and those having type 2 causatives allow the passive of a causative to be formed. The result of this combination is different for the two causative types, however. In type 1 causatives, the causand acts like the object of the sentence. In type 2 languages, however, the causee is the NP that acts like the object of the sentence. Thus when a morphological causative verb is passivized, different NPs are targeted for becoming subject in the two language types. The grammatical subject in a passive of a causative in type 1 is the causand whereas in type 2 it is the causee.

Baker provides these examples of the two possibilities from Chichewa which has type 1 causatives and from Chamorro which has type 2.

(30) The Passive of a Causative in the Two Language Types

a. *Chichewa: Type 1* [Baker, 1988, 411]

ana	a-na-meny-ets-edw-a	kwa buluzi	ndi anyani
children	SP-PST-hit-CAUS-PASS-ASP	OBL lizard	by baboons

'The children were made to be hit by the lizard by the baboons.'

b. *Chamorro: Type 2* [Baker, 1988, 412, from Gibson, 1980]

ma-na'-fa'gasi	si Henry	ni kareta	nu i famagu'un
PASS-CAUS-wash	Henry	OBP car	OBL the children

'Henry was made to wash the car by the children.'

In (30a) the causand, *ana* 'children', is the subject of the sentence involving a V-CAUS-PASS verbal complex. In (30b) in contrast, it is the causee, *Henry*, which is the subject of the PASS-CAUS-V verbal complex. This difference is attributed to the Case differences between type 1 and type 2 languages.

Applying this distinction, we wish to see whether TagA passives of causatives follow the type 1 pattern, based on our observations thus far that TagA is type 1. Indeed, example (31) shows that TagA follows the type 1 pattern in this regard.

(31) TagA Passive of a Causative: Type 1

i-pa-su-sulat	ni Fe	kay Juan	ang tula
PASS-CAUS-ASP-write	OBA Fe	OBL Juan	NOM poem

'The poem will be made by Fe to be written by Juan.'

This combination will become important again in section 4.3.4, where the observation is reexamined.

4.3.2.2 The Causative of a Passive in TagA

According to Baker's theory, it is impossible to form the causative of a passive

in a type 1 causative language, but it is possible to have such a combination in type 2 causative languages. Examples showing this discrepancy are again given from Chichewa, which has type 1 causatives (32a) and from Chamorro which has type 2 causatives (32b).

(32) The Causative of a Passive in the Two Language Types

a. *Chichewa: Type 1* [based on Baker, 1988, 413]

*anyamata	anaumb-idw-its-a	mphika	(ndi kalulu)
boys	mold-PASS-CAUS-ASP	waterpot	by hare

for: 'The boys made the waterpot be molded by the hare.'

b. *Chamorro: Type 2* [Baker, 1988, 419, from Gibson, 1980]

si nana	ha na'-ma-fa'gasi	i kareta	ni lalahi
mother	3s CAUS-PASS-wash	the car	OBL men

'Mother had the car be washed by the men.'

The reason for the difference in the languages is related by Baker to the difference in structure posited for these causative sentences. In the structure for type 1 languages given in (24), the PASS- affix which is assumed to be generated in the I^0 position (as discussed in section 3.7.1) cannot be picked up. That is, in type 1 VP-to-COMP movement, the PASS- position is bypassed. Whereas in type 2 V-to-C incorporation, as in the structure in (25), the head movement procedes through the embedded I^0 and therefore it is possible for the PASS- morphology to be picked up. Baker thus offers a structural account of the difference in acceptability of the causative of a passive in type 1 and type 2 languages.

Consider next the TagA possibilities. The combination of the passive morpheme *-in* with the causative is possible, however, as shown in the paradigm in (33) which presents the active, its passive and then the causative plus passive.

(33) Potential TagA Causative of a Passive

a. susulat si Juan ng tula
will.write NOM Juan ACC poem
'Juan will write a poem.'

b. susulat-in ni Juan ang tula
will.write-PASS OBL Juan NOM poem
'The poem will be written by Juan.'

c. pa-susulat-in ni Fe si Juan ng tula
CAUS-will.write-PASS OBA Fe NOM Juan ACC poem
'Juan will be made by Fe to write a poem.'

The combination in (33c) should not be possible in a type 1 causative language. Therefore this evidence appears to contradict our conclusion so far. However, since the passive affix is a suffix, it is difficult to determine whether it is added before or after the causative affix which is a prefix. In fact, (33c) is an example of a passive of a causative, as discussed in the previous section. That is, the verbal morphology in (33c) should be bracketed as [*pa-susulat*]-*in* and not *pa*-[*susulat-in*]. The Case marking indicates that the passive is associated with the verb complex *pasulat* of (33c), not the embedded verb alone *sulat* since the Case on the causer is OBA (the equivalent of a *by* phrase in English) and not NOM. Thus (33c) is not a counterexample.

The conclusion that the causative of a passive does not occur receives further support from the causativization of passives that use a passive prefix *i-* instead of a passive suffix *-in* such as *alok* 'offer'. The active sentence in (34a) is passivized such that the theme is NOM with the verbal morpheme *i-* as in (34b). Since this passive marker is a prefix, it is clear whether it is affixed before or after the causative prefix. Indeed it is impossible to find this passive marker inside the causative morpheme (34c), consistent

with the assumption that TagA has type 1 causatives. Similarly, this holds for other verbs, such as **pina-i-bigay* 'ASP.CAUS-PASS-give', and **papa-i-lagay* 'ASP.CAUS-PASS-put'.

(34) No Causative of *i-* Passive in TagA

a.	nag-alok	si Pedro	sa bata	ng inumin
	XT-offer	NOM Pedro	OBL child	ACC drink
	'Pedro offered a drink to the child.'			
b.	i-a-alok	ni Pedro	ang handog	kay Rosa
	PASS-ASP-offer	OBA Pedro	NOM gift	OBL Rosa
	'The gift will be offered by Pedro to Rosa.'			
c.	*paiaalok	pa-i-RED-alok		
		CAUS-PASS-ASP-offer		

Once again, the passive of a causative which was discussed in 4.3.2.1 can be formed using these same morphemes. Thus *i-pa-aalok* 'PASS-CAUS-ASP.offer' for example, is a well formed verb in Tagalog.

The form of the causative of a passive that would represent a true counterexample of this type is one in which the causer is NOM and the causee is Case marked OBA. The expected verb form might include the active AT marker *mag-* outside the causative on the *-in* passivized form of the verb. This is impossible as shown in (35). Specifically, the AT causative (with a NABS causer and ngA causee) is impossible whether the theme marked OBL or ACC (35a). Further this verb form itself cannot occur no matter what the Case markers (35b).

(35) No Causative of a Passive in TagA

a. *mag-pa-[susulat-in] si Fe ni Juan sa / ng tula
ACT-CAUS-[will.write-PASS] NOM Fe OBA Juan OBL / ACC poem
for: 'Fe will make the/a poem be written by Juan.'

b. *magpasusulatin

Thus consistent with TagA being a type 1 causative language, it is impossible to form the causative of a passive verb[6].

In conclusion, all the evidence supports the fact that TagA has preposition insertion according to properties laid out in section 4.3.1 and discussed further in Baker. Consistent with the fact that TagA uses the preposition insertion Case mechanism, it has no "dative shift" in ditransitives, it has oblique causees in causatives, it has a causand subject in the passive of a causative, and it has no causative of a passive. Thus we have established that TagA is a non-double object type 1 causative language with preposition insertion. Other languages of the same type according to Baker include Malayalam and Turkish. These conclusions about where Tagalog fits into the typology were reached under the assumptions of TagA. Next, Tagalog causatives will be viewed with entirely different Case assumptions under TagE. Interestingly, the result will be very different typologically.

4.3.3 Causatives and Ditransitives in TagE

If Tagalog is considered to be an ergative language, as under TagE, then the basic sentence is not an AT sentence but rather the basic sentence is a PT sentence. (36) shows

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[6]Note that it is not always possible to find the causative of a passive verb in type 2 languages, but rather that their presence is indicative of type 2. That is, the fact that a causative of a passive occurs is sufficient to indicate type 2, but the combination is not necessary in type 2 languages.

a simple transitive sentence with a PT verb and the related causativized sentence with the addition of the *pa-* causative morpheme but with the verbal morphology otherwise kept the same.

(36) TagE: Transitive and Causative

a.	lulutu-in	ni Juan	ang karne	
	will.cook-PT	ERG Juan	ABS meat	
	'Juan will cook the meat.'			
b.	**pa**-lulutu-in	ni Fe	si Juan	ng karne
	CAUS-will.cook-XT	ERG Fe	ABS Juan	OBP meat
	'Fe will make Juan cook some meat.'			

The addition of the causative morpheme *pa-* is associated with a different change in the Case in (36) under TagE than it was in (26) under TagA. The Case on the causer is ERG, the Case on the causee is not oblique but ABS, and the Case on the causand is oblique, but it is OBP, not OBL. Thus in (36b) the Case frame of a causative under TagE is [ERG ABS OBP] whereas in (26b) the Case frame of a causative under TagA is [NOM OBL ACC]. Since the causee *Juan* in (36b) appears in the absolutive Case, the causand *karne* 'meat' is the argument that requires a special Case assigning mechanism in causatives. Under TagE the Case it receives is OBP, a Case also used for the P argument in an antipassive, for example (see section 1.5). This argument is referred to by Baker and others as a 'second object'. The pattern in TagE is thus exactly that which Baker describes as causative type 2. It would be assumed to involve V-to-C incorporation as illustrated in (25) above.

When comparing the causative of a transitive verb and a ditransitive in TagE, there is a parallel, as predicted in Baker's theory. Thus the same Case pattern [ERG

ABS OBP] occurs in a causative like (36b) and in a ditransitive like (37).

(37) TagE: Ditransitive

aaluk-in	ni Pedro	si Rosa	ng handog
will.offer-XT	ERG Pedro	ABS Rosa	OBP gift

'Pedro will offer Rosa a gift.'

A language that has the ability to assign this 'second object' Case in causatives should also make use of the Case possibility for ditransitives. The 'second object' OBP Case is indeed used on the theme *handog* 'gift' in (37). A further prediction is that there should be an alternative way to express ditransitives in which the goal argument is oblique. There is indeed a TagE sentence related to (37) in which the goal *Rosa* is oblique and the theme *handog* 'gift' is absolutive, shown in (38). Thus (37) would be the "dative shifted" form of (38).

(38) Alternative Case Frame for TagE Ditransitive

i-aalok	ni Pedro	kay Rosa	ang handog
XT-will.offer	ERG Pedro	OBL Rosa	ABS gift

'Pedro will offer the gift to Rosa.'

This evidence points to the fact that Tagalog under TagE differs markedly from TagA which was shown in the section 4.3.2 have no possibility of "dative shift". TagA is a non-double object language like other languages that use preposition insertion and TagE is a partial double object language like other languages with 'second object' Case.

In Chamorro, a partial double object language, Baker shows that there is "dative shift" in ditransitives as in (39). Note that the 'second object' Case, *ni*, appears on the theme argument in (39b), just as *ng* appears on the theme argument in the TagE equivalent (37).

(39) Chamorro: Alternation with Ditransitive

[Baker, 1988, 282, from Gibson, 1980]

a. hu tugi' i kätta pära i che'lu-hu
1sS-wrote the letter to the sibling-my
'I wrote my brother the letter.'

b. hu tugi'-i i che'lu-hu **ni** kätta
1sS-wrote-APPL the sibling-my **OBP** letter
'I wrote my brother the letter.'

Like Chamorro, Tagalog under TagE is best seen as a partial-double object language according to Baker's characterization. There are effectively two "objects" in (37), the true object *si Rosa* and the 'second object' *ng handog*, and these are differently Case marked. There is "dative shift" and hence there are two alternating Case patterns for ditransitives: [ERG ABS OBP] in (37) and [ERG OBL ABS] in (38). The observation that TagE is a partial double object language is consistent with the language having type 2 causatives. The special Case assigning mechanism that allows for 'second object' Case in such languages is presented in two ways in Baker. Both approaches are relevant to the issues in this dissertation. Only the first will be outlined here, but another approach involving inherent Case will be relevant in sections 5.5 and 6.2.

4.3.3.1 Case in Antipassives and Applicatives

Some further support for the classification of Tagalog under TagA came from examining the combinations of the passive of a causative in section 4.3.2.1 and of the causative of a passive in section 4.3.2.2. TagE would be expected to have both the passive of a causative and the causative of a passive. Under TagE, however, there is no passive, thus the same test cannot be applied to TagE. It is possible to find evidence for 'second object' Case from examining other grammatical changing processes under TagE,

however. The special 'second object' Case mechanism is invoked not only in causatives and ditransitives, but also elsewhere.

First, it is the same mechanism as that available for the P argument in an antipassive laid out in section 3.5.2. Recall that there is assumed to be incorporation of the P argument into the verb in an antipassive and optional doubling of its θ role by an adjunct PP with OBP Case. Thus it is predicted that the Case on the P argument in antipassives, the theme in "dative shifted" ditransitives and the causand in causatives will be the same Case, since they receive Case by the same Case mechanism. This prediction is borne out under TagE, since all of these nominals are marked with the OBP Case marker, as distinct from other P arguments which are ABS and other obliques which are OBL. Examples of each of these in TagE are given in (40) for comparison.

(40) OBP in TagE

a. *Antipassive*
nag-luto ang bata **ng** karne
APAS-cook ABS child **OBP** meat
'The child cooked some meat.'

b. *Causative*
pa-lulutu-in ni Fe si Juan **ng** karne
CAUS-will.cook-XT ERG Fe ABS Juan **OBP** meat
'Fe will make Juan cook some meat.'

c. *Partial Double Object*
aaluk-in ni Pedro si Rosa **ng** inumin
will.offer-XT ERG Pedro ABS Rosa **OBP** drink
'Pedro will offer Rosa a drink.'

The same is true in Chamorro where the 'second object' Case *ni* is found not only on the causand in causatives, as in (23b) above, and on the theme in partial double object sentences like (39b), but also can occur on the P argument in antipassive sentences as

illustrated in (41b). The sentence in (41a) has the [ERG ABS] Case frame while its antipassive equivalent (41b) has the [ABS OBP] Case frame with *ni* oblique Case on the P argument, parallel to the Tagalog example in (40a).

(41) Chamorro: 'Second Object' Case in Antipassive

[Cooreman, 1987, 131]

a. hu- mantieni i banku
1sE- grasp the chair
'I grasped the chair.'

b. man-mantieni yo' **ni** banku
APAS-hold onto 1sA **OBL** chair
'I held onto the chair.'

In addition to these contexts, there is yet another context in languages where such a Case may be expected to appear, namely, in applicatives[7]. Indeed, the OBP Case does appear on the P argument of applicatives in TagE. An example of an applicative where a beneficiary is ABS is given in (42). The applied affix is *ipag-*, glossed as APP in accordance with the TagE view.

(42) TagE Applicative

ipag-luluto ni Ben **ng** adobo ang bata
APP-will.cook ERG Ben **OBP** adobo ABS child
'Ben will cook adobo for the child.'

As expected the P is *ng* marked like other 'second objects'. The fact that there is an applicative in TagE is an indication that TagE has the special 'second object' Case mechanism. Under TagA there are no antipassives and there are no applicatives. Sentences like (42) are instead taken to be instances of superpassives, where an oblique, namely the beneficiary in (42) is NOM.

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[7]Not all languages that use 'second object' Case will have applicatives.

The conclusion that Tagalog under TagE has 'second object' Case is supported by evidence presented here. Namely it was noted that TagE is a partial double object language, that "dative shift" is possible, and that it is a causative type 2 language. This implies that causees are not oblique but rather are Case marked like P arguments in simple transitives, while causands are in a special Case. This special Case is the 'second object' Case as evidenced by its presence in antipassives and applicatives. Examples provided by Baker and Watanabe (1993) of languages that have type 2 causatives are Chamorro, Chimwini, Japanese and Sesotho. Note that Chamorro is an ergative language whereas the other three languages mentioned are accusative. Thus the ditransitive and causative Case properties discussed are not tied to ergative Case properties *per se*, they are independent. The conclusion that Tagalog has 'second object' Case under TagE is well supported, as is the very different conclusion reached under TagA that Tagalog makes use of preposition insertion.

4.3.4 A Problem for TagA and TagE

There is a problem that remains for the TagA and TagE views of Tagalog causatives, however. The problem stems from the fact that neither view takes all the causative possibilities into account. Under TagA, the *mag-* causative in (43a) like that in (26b) was considered as was its passive with the *i-* verbal morphology in (43c) like the example in (31). There is another form of the causative which was not considered under TagA, however, namely the *-in* causative in (43b). The examples of three ways to express causatives are given in (43) with TagH Case labelling.

(43) Causative Alternatives

a. nag-pa-luto si Fe sa bata ng karne
XT-CAUS-cook NABS Fe OBL child ACC meat
'Fe made the child cook some meat.'

b. pa-lulutu-in ni Fe si Juan ng karne
CAUS-will.cook-XT ERG Fe NABS Juan ACC meat
'Fe will make Juan cook some meat.'

c. i-pa-susulat ni Fe kay Juan ang tula
XT-CAUS-will.write ERG Fe OBL Juan NABS poem
'Fe will make Juan write the poem.'

(43b) could be considered to be another version of the passive of the causative under TagA. Its significance is that it could potentially undermine the argument of section 4.3.2.1 that TagA has the pattern associated with languages having preposition insertion whereby the causand is NOM. While the causand is NOM in examples like (43c), this is not so in (43b). In the *-in* causative in (43b), the causee and not the causand is NABS (or NOM under TagA). As we have seen, the causee is expected to be NABS in languages that have 'second object' Case. When all three causative sentences in (43) are considered, the properties appear to be somewhat mixed.

Similarly, under TagE, only one of the three causatives, namely the *-in* causative in (36b) like that in (43c) was considered in section 4.3.3. The *mag-* causative in (43a) would be considered an antipassive of the causative under TagE, but the status of the *i-* causative under such a view remains a question. Up to this point, the terms causer, causee and causand have been used to refer to participants in causatives and XT has been used as the generic topic marker label. A problem for TagE is revealed upon closer inspection of the participants, which will require some further discussion.

The labels for participants in transitives and causatives are given in (44) repeated from (20) above.

(44) Participant Labels

a. *Transitive*
Jeremy cooked pasta.
A P

b. *Causative of a Transitive*
Terry made Jeremy cook pasta.
causer causee causand

In an English causative sentence like (44b), there are two verbs. The causer is the A of the verb *make*, the causee is the A of the verb *cook*, while the causand is the P of the verb *cook*. When a causative sentence involves just one morphologically complex verb, however, there are two participants in the sentence that can conceivably be treated like the patient of a primary transitive verb. In a type 1 language, the causand will be the P, whereas in a type 2 language, the causee will be the P. This is another way the causative types laid out in 4.3.1 can be characterized.

Turning to Tagalog, A and P are defined in terms of verbal morphology and Case marking in sentences involving primary transitive verbs (see section 1.3.4) which could be expressed either as AT or as PT sentences. Recall that P was defined as the argument that is *ang* marked (or more generally NABS marked) in a PT form, but *ng* marked otherwise. In Tagalog causatives, the causer is the A since it is NABS in sentences like (43a) with *mag-* verbal morphology, but *ng* otherwise. However, there seem at first to be two possibilities for the P argument. It could be either the causee or the causand. Both

(43b) and (43c) bear potential PT verbal morphology[8]. In (43b), the causee is NABS marked, and in (43c), the causand is NABS marked.

In fact, however, only the causand and not the causee is a P argument by the criteria laid out in section 1.3.4. That is, only the causand is treated like the patient of a primary transitive verb. Although the causee is NABS marked in the PT sentence in (43b), it is not *ng* marked otherwise. The AT sentence in (43a) has an oblique causee, and not a *ng* marked causee. Similarly, the BT causative is given in (45), where it can also be seen that the causee is oblique[9].

(45) BT Causative [based on Schachter & Otanes, 1972, 329]

ipag-pa-pa-linis	ko	kayo	ng mesa	sa katulong
BT-ASP-CAUS-clean	ERG.1s	NABS.2p	ACC table	OBL maid

'I'll have the maid clean a table for you.'

Thus the causee in causatives formed on transitive verbs should not be considered to be P arguments. In comparison, the causand (which is *mesa* 'table' in (45) and *tula* 'poem'

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[8]Recall from section 1.3.4 that *-in* was the typical verbal morphology when the patient of a primary transitive verb was NABS, but that there were some primary transitive verbs that use *i-* as well, such as *handa* 'prepare'.

[9]While these BT causative examples do not occur very frequently, McFarland (1985) provides a similar example from a text, employing the verb *ipagpapagawa*, given in (ib) which is related to (ia). (Note that the causee is implicit in the (ib) example).

(i) Text Example [adapted from McFarland, 1985, 42-3]

a. *Basic BT*

i-ga-gawa	kita	ng I.D.
BT-ASP-make	1sE.2sA	OBP I.D.

'I'll make an I.D. for you.'

b. *BT Causative*

sa susunod na linggo,	i-pag-pa-pa-gawa	kita	ng I.D.
OBL next LK week,	BT-PAG-ASP-CAUS-make	1sE.2sA	OBP I.D.

'Next week, I'll have an I.D. made for you.'

in (43c)) is treated like a patient of a primary transitive verb[10]. The causand is NABS marked in the PT sentence (43c) and *ng* marked in the AT and BT sentences in (43a) and (45) respectively. Therefore the causand but not the causee should be considered the P in causativized transitive sentences in Tagalog[11]. It seems then that the relevant comparison to make in TagE is not the one that is presented in (36) between a basic PT sentence and an *-in* causative like (43b). Rather the real PT causative of a transitive, the *i-* causative in (43c), should be compared with a basic PT sentence. This would have the effect of undermining the type 2 characterization laid out in section 4.3.3. since in (43c)

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[10]A similar situation arises for ditransitives where either the goal or the theme could potentially act as the P. With the verb root *alok* 'offer', for example, the goal is NABS marked with the *-in* topic marker (i), and the theme is NABS marked with the *i-* topic marker (ii). In the AT form in (iii), however, the theme is treated as the P with ACC case, whereas the goal is OBL.

i.	aaluk-in	ni Pedro	si Rosa	ng handog
	will.offer-XT	ERG Pedro	NABS Rosa	ACC gift
	'Pedro will offer Rosa a gift.'			
ii.	i-aalok	ni Pedro	kay Rosa	ang handog
	XT-will.offer	ERG Pedro	OBL Rosa	NABS gift
	'The gift will be offered by Pedro to Rosa.'			
iii.	nag-alok	si Pedro	sa bata	ng inumin
	AT.ST-offer	NABS Pedro	OBL child	ACC drink
	'Pedro offered a drink to the child.'			

[11]Note that a different conclusion is reached when causatives formed on intransitive verb roots are considered. The sole argument of the base verb, the causee, is treated like the patient of a primary transitive verb as shown in these examples, since it is ACC marked when the verb is *mag-* marked (i) and it is NABS marked when the verb is *-in* marked (ii).

i.	mag-pa-pa-takbo	si Ben	ng mga aso
	MAG-ASP-CAUS-run	NABS Ben	ACC PL dog
	'Ben will let some dogs run.'		
ii.	pa-ta-takbuh-in	ni Ben	ang mga aso
	CAUS-ASP-run-IN	ERG Ben	NABS PL dog
	'Ben will let the dogs run.'		

This behaviour of the causee in intransitive causatives is identical to that of the P argument of transitive verbs like *luto* 'cook'. Such examples will be given an analysis in section 6.2.2.

the causee is oblique, as in type 1 causative languages.

Thus seemingly coherent analyses of causatives in TagA and TagE were possible, but they were quite different. This is yet again an indication that linguists taking these different views can reasonably posit very different analyses thereby adding to the controversy that abounds in the literature on Tagalog syntax. On reconsideration, however, each view had some inadequacies. A unified account would allow for all three causative possibilities in (43). Just such an account is possible under TagH. The structural assumptions for TagH are laid out in general in chapter 5 and the structure of causatives in TagH in particular is discussed in section 6.2.

4.4 Conclusion

The two Case assignment patterns: ergative and accusative are distinct. Remarkably, it is possible to view Tagalog as having either of these Case patterns. Looking at these two views of Tagalog, referred to as TagA and TagE, is like looking at two different languages. The two Case marking schemes for Tagalog are summarized in the table in (46) for comparison.

(46) Two Case Marking Schemes

Case markers	**TagE**	**TagA**
ang	ABS	NOM
ngA	ERG	OBA
ngP	OBP	ACC
sa	OBL	OBL

These two views are each internally consistent. When syntactic properties like Conjunction Reduction which distinguish between ergative and accusative languages are

considered, with the TagE Case labels, Tagalog behaves syntactically like an ergative language, but with the TagA labels, Tagalog seems to have accusative syntax. Remarkably, then, the diagnostic of Conjunction Reduction can be used to show that one and the same language is ergative or accusative depending crucially on what sentence types are taken to be basic, and related to this, what Case labels are employed.

The discussion of Case mechanisms with respect to causatives and ditransitives also showed up striking differences between TagE and TagA. The particular Case labelling chosen has far reaching consequences, not only because Tagalog seems syntactically ergative under TagE and entirely accusative under TagA, as the Conjunction Reduction diagnostic implied, but also beyond the ergative/accusative classification. Thus TagE and TagA also diverge in other Case-related syntactic phenomena used to classify languages that cut across the ergative or accusative behaviour of languages. TagE is a type 2 causative language and is a partial double object language. TagA, on the other hand, is a type 1 causative language and is a non-double object language. Thus, even phenomena that are not tied directly to the ergative status of the language in question differ widely depending on assumptions about what sentences are basic.

In addition to the fact that the views are so different, it was pointed out that each of TagA and TagE focusses only on a subset of the range of data exhibited in Tagalog. The hybrid view, TagH is much more comprehensive in this respect, and therefore represents an improvement over these views. The analysis of causatives will be relevant in section 5.5 in connection with the proposed structure for Tagalog and in 6.2 where the analysis provided by Baker is recast within newer theoretical assumptions.

Chapter 5: An Economy Approach for TagH

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a recent theoretical advance in the analysis of ergative and accusative languages will be applied to Tagalog. The approach of Murasugi (1992) to the ergative/accusative language distinction makes use of VP internal subjects, two functional categories, and Case checking. Her proposal is couched within the Economy framework of Chomsky (1991), taking the Economy principles as a driving force behind NP movement in particular. The system Murasugi proposes is explicit and elegant, and can be fruitfully applied to Tagalog. The result of applying the system to Tagalog is that a new proposal for the structure of the language can be proposed which expresses its hybrid nature. Finally, this will allow the data presented in chapter 4 to be interpreted with respect to recent theoretical assumptions in the chapter 6, where these phenomena as well as an additional phenomenon are analysed.

After outlining the approach of Murasugi, it will be shown how both TagA and TagE are captured within it. The distinctions between TagA and TagE are thus seen in a new light. The contention of chapter 3 was that neither TagA nor TagE were adequate characterizations of Tagalog. Instead, TagH was proposed, in which three distinct Cases are found in Tagalog. The Murasugi approach is primarily designed to handle Case systems with two structural Cases: ergative-absolutive and nominative-accusative. The approach can be extended, however, to allow for an analysis of TagH. The extension makes use of a mechanism not exploited by Murasugi, but one that is available in the theory, that of inherent Case assignment. The proposal for the structure of Tagalog is

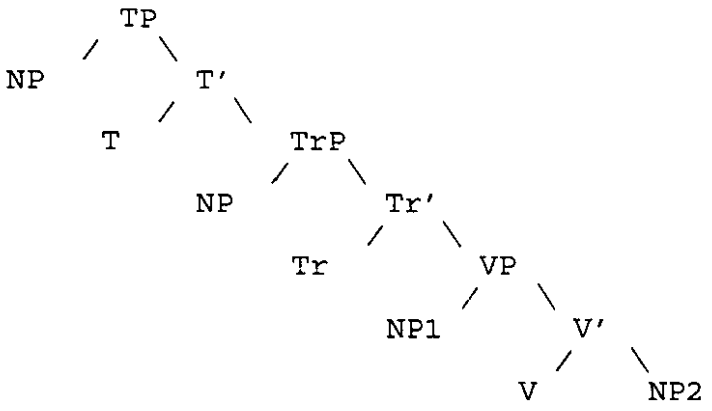
shown to account for AT and PT sentences, for word order, for inflectional morpheme order, for specificity effects, for the binding of reflexives and for two other sentence types: the Recent Past and BT sentences.

At the end of this chapter I will consider how the structure assumed for Tagalog can be thought of in terms of parametric variation among languages. Several parameters concerning the Case systems found in languages are proposed. These parameters interact to give a multitude of options, one of which is the option taken in Tagalog.

5.2 Murasugi (1992)

Murasugi (1992) proposes a universal underlying structure for all languages given in (1). She assumes the two functional categories: T and Tr, but points out that the main difference between her structure and that of Chomsky (1991) is one of labelling. I will outline her approach using T and Tr labels and then will revert to the more standard labels Agr_S and Agr_O. The T projection is associated with Tense and the Tr projection is an indicator of transitivity. That is, the feature [+Tr] occurs in transitive sentences when two Cases need checking. If only one Case is checked in the sentence, then the feature is [-Tr], and only [+Tr] has Case features. These two functional categories provide SPEC positions which act as landing sites for NP movement. Like the structure proposed by Guilfoyle *et al* (1992), outlined in section 3.2, NPs in (1) can be base generated in SPEC of VP position (NP1) and in the COMPL of V position (NP2). Agreement is assumed to be a relation between an NP which has moved into the SPEC of a functional category and the head of that functional category (a SPEC-head relation).

(1) Murasugi's Structure [Murasugi, 1992, 13]



There are four NP positions in the structure in (1), two base generated positions (NP1 and NP2) and two landing sites. There are also assumed to be two levels at which NPs can move: SS and LF. This leads to many potential movement patterns, only two of which are permissible. NP movement from within VP to the functional categories is constrained by Economy principles, as we will see.

Murasugi proposes the following parameter which divides languages into those with strong Case features in the T projection and those with strong Case features in Tr.

(2) Murasugi's Ergative Parameter [Murasugi, 1992, 24]

a. In an accusative language, the Case features of T are strong
b. In an ergative language, the Case features of Tr are strong

When a feature is strong it must be checked at the level of SS and when a feature is weak it is checked at LF. In addition to these two possibilities, when the head of a functional category is [-T] or [-Tr], no Case can be checked in that functional category since it has no Case features. An implication of the ergative parameter is that at SS, SPEC of TP must contain an NP in a tensed sentence in an accusative language, and SPEC of TrP must be filled in a transitive sentence in an ergative language.

5.2.1 Crossing and Nested Paths

Informally, there are two further assumptions which constrain the movement of NPs according to Murasugi's theory. One is that there can be neither crossing nor nested NP movement paths at a given level. The other is that when a Case feature is checked in a functional category, the closest NP with features to check is chosen for fulfilling the feature checking requirement. This permits exactly two patterns for moving the two NPs in a transitive sentence for Case checking: the ergative pattern and the accusative pattern. More formally, the following Economy principles ensure that NP movement is constrained:

(3) Murasugi's Principles of Economy for NP Movement [Murasugi, 1992, 24]

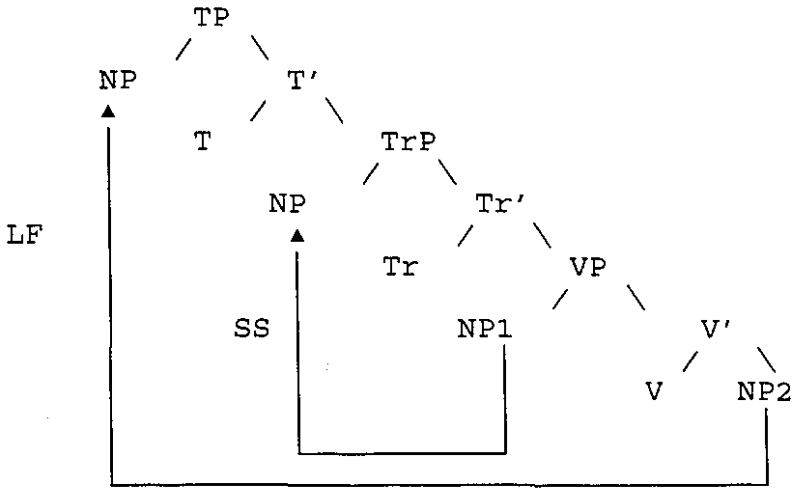
a. At each level of a derivation, a target must take the closest available source NP.
b. At each level of a derivation, a source NP must move to the closest featured target[1].
c. An operation must be done as late as possible (procrastinate).

The ergative pattern with nested paths as in (4) has SS movement to SPEC of TrP and LF movement to SPEC of TP.

---

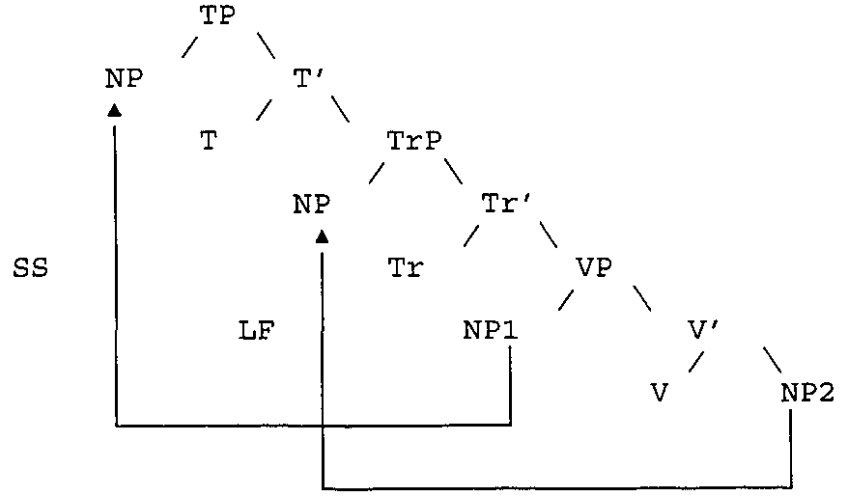
[1]A *featured target* is defined as the SPEC of a functional head which requires its Case features checked and *closest* is defined in terms of least number of intervening positions where an argument may appear. A *source NP* is taken to be an NP that has Case features to check.

(4) Ergative Pattern: Nested Paths [Murasugi, 1992, 23]



The accusative pattern, with crossing paths as in (5), has SS movement to the higher specifier and LF movement to the lower specifier for Case checking.

(5) Accusative Pattern: Crossing Paths [Murasugi, 1992, 22]



There cannot be a language in which both T and Tr are strong features, Murasugi claims, since this would necessitate either crossing or nested NP movement at SS. Similarly, there cannot be a language in which both features are weak because both movements cannot take place at LF, again because of the restriction on crossing and nested paths at

a level. The closest NP to T or Tr is NP1 in the above structures. It is NP1 therefore that must move at SS, in both types of language. Thus these restrictions ensure that only the two movement patterns, those given in (4) and (5), are possible.

In sum, the strength of features determines the pattern of NP movement and is connected to the ergative/accusative status of the language according to the ergative parameter in (2). A similar analysis was provided independently in Campana (1992). The connection between the ergative/accusative status and NP movement was noted in section 3.3. Recall that accusative languages had TRANS movement where ergative languages had PASS movement in basic transitive sentences. However, there was a further type of language distinguished, namely, the hybrid type in which both types of movement could occur in basic transitive sentences. In the sections that follow, TagA and TagE and finally TagH will be considered in light of Murasugi's proposal.

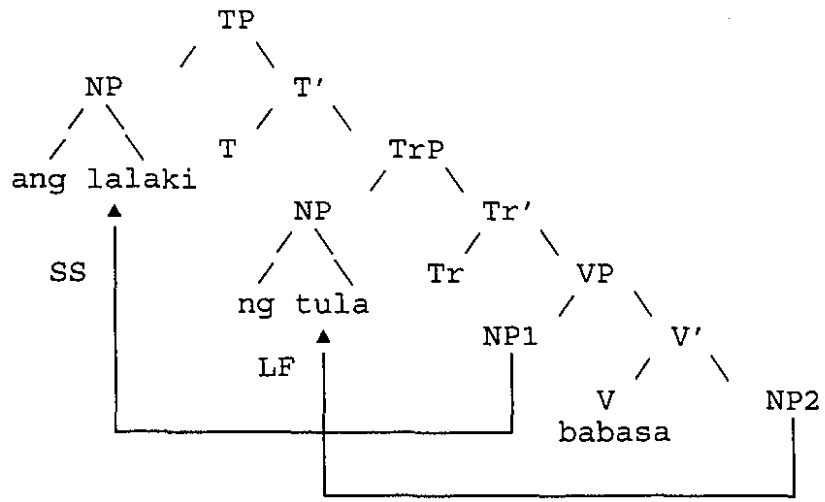
5.2.2 TagA in the Murasugi Structure

If Tagalog is completely accusative then the AT sentence can be analysed just as in the Murasugi structure (5) with crossing paths. The *ang* marked A is Case checked in SPEC of TP at SS and the *ng* marked P is Case checked in SPEC of TrP at LF. An example of this structure for the Tagalog sentence in (6a) is given in (6b) in which NP movement but not head movement is indicated.

(6) TagA: Basic Transitive

a.	babasa	ang lalaki	ng tula
	(AT)will.read	NOM man	ACC poem
	'The man will read a poem.'		

b.



Thus AT sentences like (6a) in TagA could be analysed as in the tree for accusative languages in (6b), with SS movement to SPEC of TP and LF movement to SPEC of TrP. The closest NP is chosen for each of these movements thus the crossing pattern results. Notice that the SS movement in (6b) is that described in chapter 3 as TRANS movement.

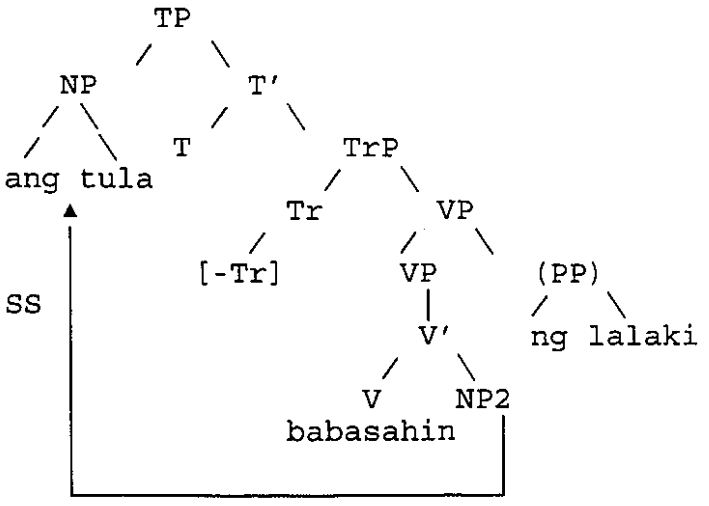
The surface word order is derived as follows. The fully inflected verb with its topic marker and aspect is lexically inserted in the head of V. This head moves at SS through Tr to T. The SS head movement gives the strongly verb initial character of the language. On its way, the verbal head checks the inflectional features that it carries. Thus these verbal features in Tagalog would be strong features that need to be checked at SS. As noted, the Case features of T are strong and so NP movement to SPEC of TP occurs at SS. This could potentially cause a word order problem since the *ang* phrase is not sentence initial in (6a). However, this problem is resolved if the SPEC of TP in (6b) is assumed to be on the right instead of on the left. Recall from section 1.3.3 that the NPs are relatively freely ordered after the verb, but this order does not affect the meaning of the sentence. NPs are hence assumed to undergo scrambling at a late level, after SS.

Under TagA assumptions, the structure of a PT sentence is that of a passive, as shown in (7). In Murasugi's system passives are intransitive, and the TrP is [-Tr], a head feature that needs to be checked with the features of the verb (presumably, then, the head features of a PT verb would be [-Tr]). If the head features of TrP are [-Tr] then no Case is checked in the SPEC of TrP, but in (7) only one NP, the P, needs Case checking. The structure showing NP movement for (7a) is given in (7b).

(7) TagA Passive

a. babasa-hin ng lalaki ang tula
will.read-PT OBA man NOM poem
'The poem will be read by the man.'

b.



There is no SPEC of VP projected in a passive since the A is base generated in a VP-adjunct. This analysis directly captures the TagA approach outlined in section 1.5.1, since the *ng* marked A is considered to be an oblique under that approach.

5.2.3 TagE in the Murasugi Structure

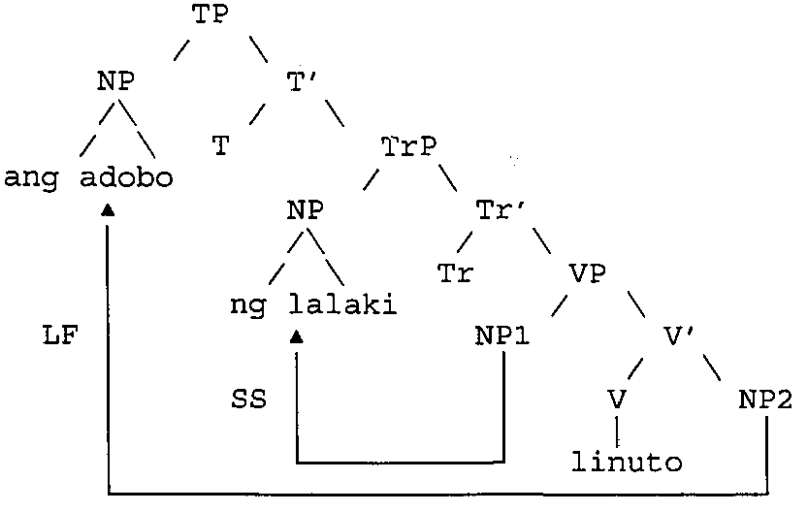
If Tagalog is considered to be entirely ergative as laid out in 1.5.2, then the structure of a PT sentence can be just as in the Murasugi structure with nested paths in

(6). The *ng* marked A moves to SPEC of TrP at SS, and the *ang* marked P moves to SPEC of TP at LF as in (8b), which is the structure corresponding to the Tagalog sentence in (8a).

(8) TagE: Basic Transitive

a. linuto[2] ng lalaki ang adobo
cooked(PT) ERG man ABS adobo
'The man cooked the adobo.'

b.



In ergative languages including TagE according to the parameter in (2), the Case features of Tr are strong. The closest NP needing its Case features checked is NP1, *ng lalaki*, which moves at SS to SPEC of TrP. The NP2, *ang adobo*, can then move at LF to SPEC of TP thereby creating nested paths for this TagE sentence. Notice that the LF movement in (8b) is the same as the PASS movement of chapter 3. Again, there is also assumed to be head movement of the verb to T via Tr.

In TagE, the antipassive AT sentence in (9a) is intransitive since it involves one

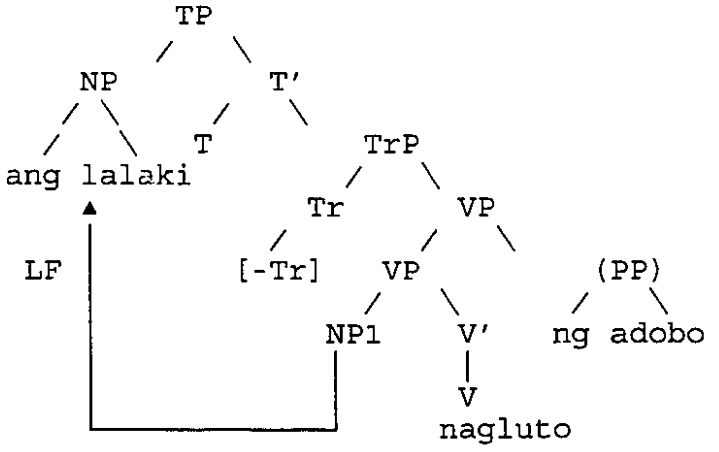
[2]Some speakers prefer the form *niluto*.

structurally Case marked NP and one oblique.

(9) TagE: Antipassive

a. nag-luto ang lalaki ng adobo
AT(ST)-cook ABS man OBP adobo
'The man cooked adobo.'

b.



In Murasugi's structure for antipassives, there is no COMPL of V since there is assumed to be incorporation of the complement nominal into the verb, following the analysis of antipassives in Baker (1988). This incorporation is assumed to take place in the lexicon, before the [V + N] complex is inserted into the structure. The P is optionally realized in an oblique VP-adjunct, and therefore does not need to be Case checked in a functional category dominating VP. The sentence is intransitive and the TrP is headed by [-Tr], as indicated in the structure in (9b). As under the passive analysis, the inflected verb must check its [-Tr] head features in Tr or else the derivation will fail.

Thus Murasugi's system neatly characterizes both TagA and TagE in terms of recent theoretical assumptions. Within each view, the PT and AT sentences are accommodated. The striking differences between the two sentence types under the two views is again highlighted, this time in terms of structure. Not only do TagA and TagE

differ in the syntactic behavior discussed in chapter 4, but they can also be analysed structurally very differently. TagA was analysed as a prototypical accusative language according to Murasugi's proposal in 5.2.2. Similarly, TagE could coherently be analysed structurally exactly as Murasugi analysed typical ergative languages, as presented in this section. On closer examination, however, these analyses are not ideal, as we will see.

5.3 Capturing TagH under Economy Assumptions

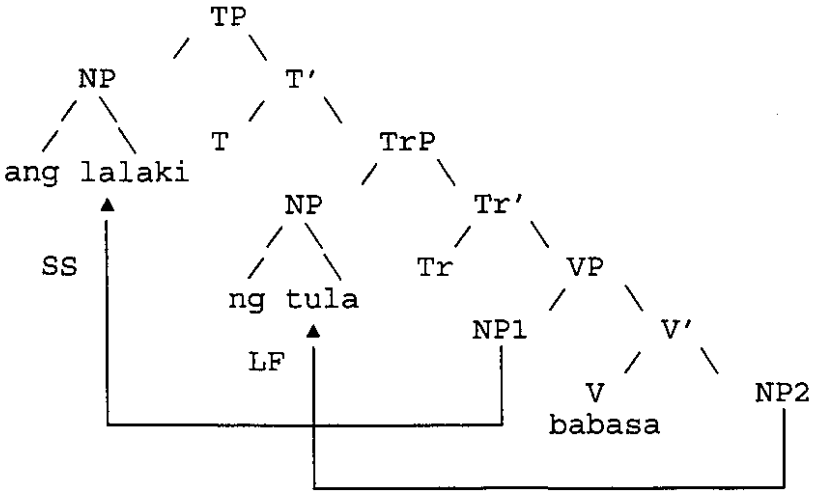
In chapter 3, neither the entirely ergative TagE nor the entirely accusative TagA view was found to be the best for Tagalog. This was due most notably to the non-oblique status of the *ng* phrases. TagH, the hybrid view with three Cases (NABS, ERG and ACC), first described in section 1.5.3, was proposed instead. The three Cases of TagH cannot be checked in the structures proposed by Murasugi which are designed for two Case systems. However, there are, in fact, several ways to capture TagH within Murasugi's system with some additional assumptions available in the theory. One way which will be examined briefly in section 5.3.1 and rejected is to allow strong features to vary within a single language. The other way, which will be covered in the remainder of this section (5.3.2 through 5.3.7), is to allow an extra Case assignment mechanism which provides Case without structural Case checking. The mechanism that I propose is operative in Tagalog is inherent Case assignment within VP. The mechanism itself is discussed in 5.3.2. An analysis of Tagalog which makes use of inherent Case is proposed in 5.3.3. This proposal is shown to allow for an account of word order (5.3.4) and agreement morpheme order (5.3.5), as well as the Recent Past (5.3.6) and non-AT,

non-PT sentences (5.3.7).

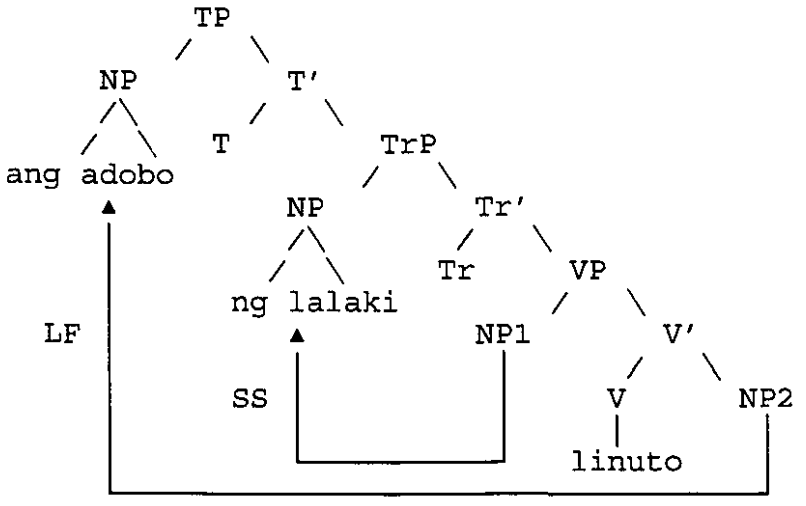
5.4 One Possibility for TagH

The first possible way to accommodate a hybrid analysis under consideration would be to adopt a structure like (6b) for the AT sentences and a structure like (8b) for the PT sentences. These are repeated together here for comparison.

(6b) Potential Structure for AT Sentences (not adopted)



(8b) Potential Structure for PT Sentences



Recall that TagH is assumed to have neither antipassives nor passives and yet it is assumed to have two basic transitive sentences. This proposal captures these aspects of TagH since there are two basic sentence structures: (6b) and (8b), and neither the antipassive (9b) nor the passive (7b) structures with oblique phrases are employed. In AT sentences [+T] would be strong creating the crossing pattern, while in PT sentences [+Tr] would be strong creating the nested pattern. This would capture the desired hybrid character of Tagalog since AT sentences would thus pattern with accusative languages and PT sentences would pattern with ergative languages according to Murasugi's parameter in (2) above. This is tantamount to adding another option to those proposed by Murasugi. Thus a three way parameter extending that of Murasugi in (2) would be as in (10).

(10) Murasugi's Ergative Parameter (Extended cf. (2))

a. In an accusative language, the Case features of T are strong
b. In an ergative language, the Case features of Tr are strong
c. In a mixed language, the Case features of either T or Tr may be strong

The language analysed as such a "mixed" language would exhibit both the ergative nested path and the accusative crossing path patterns in basic sentences. These are both admissible since there is one movement at LF and another at SS in each structure. Thus this analysis applied to Tagalog would correctly treat both AT and PT sentences as basic, as desired. In each of the structures, two Cases would be checked in functional categories. NABS would consistently be checked in the highest category T and *ng* Case, whether ngA or ngP would be checked in the lower functional category Tr.

Working from the same assumptions, Voskuil (1993a) proposes such an analysis

for Malagasy. Voskuil suggests, that Malagasy AT type sentences have a structure as in (6b) with crossing paths and strong T Case features. Malagasy PT sentences are assumed, on the other hand, to exhibit the nested paths of (8b)[3]. Although this is indeed a hybrid of ergative and accusative systems, and may be the best analysis of Malagasy, it is not the right kind of hybrid system for Tagalog, as we will see presently.

This approach will be rejected for Tagalog on the basis of structures where both a ngA phrase and a ngP phrase appear in the same sentence. The first type involves sentences bearing topic markers other than PT and AT. Thus when non-P, non-A nominals are *ang* marked as in all the examples in (11), there are three Cases to check. The *ang* phrase can be Case checked in SPEC of T and the ngA phrase can be Case checked in SPEC of Tr. The problem then is that there is no place for the ngP phrase to be Case checked. These NPs are indicated in bold in the examples.

(11) Non-PT, Non-AT Sentences

a. i-pag-lu-luto ng lalaki **ng adobo** ang asawa
BT-PAG-ASP-cook ERG man **ACC adobo** NABS wife
'The man will cook adobo for his wife.'

b. p-in-ag-lutu-an nila **ng pansit** ang kaldero
ASP-PAG-cook-LT 3p.ERG **ACC noodles** NABS pot
'They cooked pansit in the pot.'

c. ipang-hi-hiwa ng kawal **ng karne** ang lanseta
IT-ASP-cut ERG soldier **ACC meat** NABS knife
'The soldier will cut some meat with a knife.'

Voskuil (1993a) looks at an equivalent sentence type in Malagasy and provides an

[3]Voskuil uses Agr instead of T and Tr, and allows for the nested paths pattern by means of special properties of the Case on the A in PT sentences and by altering the Economy principles.

alternative analysis for it. He suggests that these are nominal-equational sentences in which the initial word in such sentences is really a nominal that takes two arguments. His claim is essentially that this complex nominal is equated with the Malagasy equivalent of the *ang* phrase to give a meaning along the lines of: 'His wife is who the man will cook for' for a sentences like (11a). It was noted in section 3.3.3 that the nominal-equational view of Tagalog is not adopted in this study. In particular, it was shown that nominal phrases but not verbal phrases were islands for PP extraction. By this criterion, therefore, sentences that I assume to be verbal could be distinguished from nominals. I would predict that PP extraction should be possible from sentences like (11a) embedded as in (12) because I assume that *ipinagluluto* is verbal. Taking a view like Voskuil's (1993a) view, it would be assumed to be nominal and hence extraction should not be possible. In fact, as example (12) shows, extraction of a PP is indeed possible in this context.

(12) PP Extraction from a BT clause

saan$_i$ sinasabi ni Ben na [ipinag- lalaki ng adobo ang babae t$_i$]?
where say ERG Ben LK BT.ST-co... ERG man ACC adobo NABS woman
'Where did Ben say the man cooked adobo for the woman?'

Sentences like (11a) are given an analysis in under my proposal in section 5.6.5.

The second type of problematic sentence where ngA phrases and ngP phrases co-occur is the Recent Past construction, which was first presented in section 1.3.7. In the Recent Past there is no *ang* phrase and hence, in terms of the Economy approach, no Case features are checked in T. Thus the Case features of T in Recent Past sentences are neither weak nor strong, rather, T has no Case features. However, there can be two

ng marked NPs (A and P) as, for example, in bold in (13).

(13) Recent Past

kaluluto	lang	**ng** lalaki	**ng** adobo	para sa asawa
RP.cook	just	**ERG** man	**ACC** adobo	for OBL spouse

'The man just cooked adobo for his wife.'

Here too we can apply our extraction test to the sentence. We again find that indeed a PP can be extracted in such sentences:

(14) PP Extraction from the Recent Past

saan$_i$	nila	sinabi	na	[kaluluto	lang	ng lalaki	ng adobo t_i]?
where	they	said	LK	RP.cook	just	ERG man	ACC adobo

'Where did they say that the man just cooked adobo?'

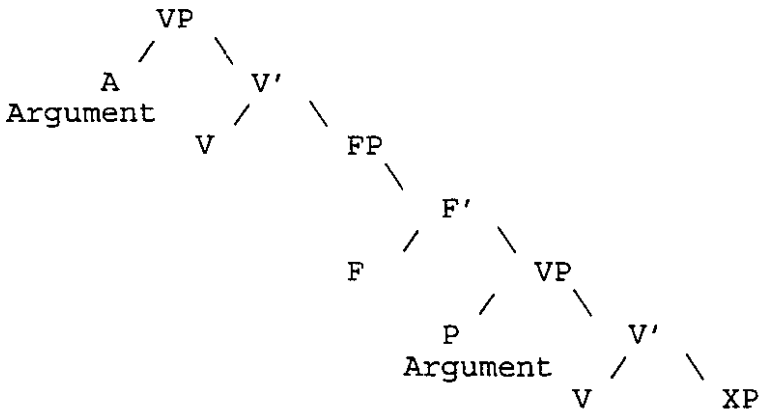
The fact that PPs can be extracted is evidence that *kaluluto* is verbal and not nominal. Therefore, Recent Past sentences are not compatible with a nominal-equational view.

To restate the problem in Murasugi's terms, the Recent Past cannot be accommodated under the analysis we have been considering for Tagalog in which there are crossing paths in AT sentences and nested paths in PT sentences. Neither NP in (13) could move to SPEC of TP since, as we have noted, in the Recent Past T has no Case features. Furthermore, the *ng* phrases cannot both be Case checked in TrP. This leaves the problematic situation in which one NP cannot get Case checked. This problem is resolved in section 5.6.4 under my proposed analysis.

A similar type of problem arises for Murasugi's proposal with regard to a small set of languages that have three agreement morphemes, such as Abkhaz and Basque (Murasugi, 1992, 206). As she notes, it is insufficient to propose a third functional category outside VP to accommodate the additional Case checking since this would

require crossing or nested paths at the same level, contrary to assumption. This problem could be resolved with some additional assumptions that are available. First, there are proposals such as Travis (1991, 1992, forthcoming) for including functional categories between two VP projections which could accommodate such languages. Her proposed structure is given in (15).

(15) Split VP Structure [adapted from Travis, 1992, 139]



Thus, if there is a functional projection FP (assumed to be headed by Aspect by Travis, 1992) below the A argument in its SPEC of VP, then three agreement morphemes could be expected in some languages. Two categories would be above the top VP as has been assumed, and one category would correspond to FP. Similarly, if there is structural Case checking permitted in the functional category below the A argument in SPEC of the top VP then it would be possible to structurally Case check three NPs without violating the constraints[4]. I will not pursue this line of inquiry and posit such an intermediate functional projection. Another approach is taken in Woolford (1993). She proposes on the basis of evidence from Nez Perce that some verbs assign lexical ergative Case. She

[4]For details see Travis (forthcoming).

also proposes that some NPs are Case checked in Agr phrases while others are Case checked within VP. This approach allows for an account of a what Woolford calls a four-way Case system. I propose in the spirit of these two proposals that one Case can be assigned within VP in Tagalog, thereby allowing a three Case system. This will enable me to accommodate a hybrid analysis while maintaining the assumptions of Murasugi.

5.5 The Inherent Case Alternative for TagH

The use of inherent Case opens up a further possibility not exploited by Murasugi (1992). Inherent Case is introduced into the theory in Chomsky (1981) and elaborated somewhat in Chomsky (1986a), Belletti (1988) and Baker (1988). A standard example of inherent Case in English is that on the theme in a double object sentence like (16), where the NP *a book* is assumed to bear inherent Case.

(16) English Inherent Case [Chomsky, 1981, 170]

John gave Bill a book.

As pointed out in Chomsky (1981), the inherently Case marked NP is assigned Case by the verb *give*. It is a Case that is assigned to an NP that bears a particular relation to the verb, namely, the NP is assigned a theme θ role by the verb. Under the assumptions of Chomsky (1981), the mechanism by which inherent Case is assigned is similar to structural Case assignment. Some differences are that the NP need not be adjacent to the verb to receive inherent Case, as is evident in (16) where the NP *Bill* intervenes and that inherent Case is assumed to be assigned before S-Structure. Under newer assumptions,

the inherent Case assignment mechanism is radically different from the mechanism by which NPs are associated with structural Case. Namely, structural Case is Case that is checked in a functional category after NP movement, whereas inherent Case is assigned to an NP within VP underlyingly. I propose that ngP Case in Tagalog is an instance of inherent Case and that the ngP phrase does not, therefore, require Case checking outside the VP.

Before outlining in section 5.6 the proposed structure for Tagalog, which makes use of inherent Case, reasons for calling ngP an inherent Case will be discussed in the remainder of this section. I will note at the outset that there are surprisingly few characterizations of the inherent Case assignment mechanism available. Furthermore, inherent Case has been employed somewhat differently by different authors. I will show that the properties exhibited by the Tagalog ngP phrase are consistent with some of the properties of inherent Case enumerated in the literature. While inherent Case has been associated with a particular role, under my conception of the notion, inherent Case assignment is related to a particular structural position. That position in turn is generally associated with a particular role.

Let us start by considering the properties noted by Chomsky which we have already seen. One property of inherently Case marked NPs that is exhibited by the *ng* P is that it is governed by V at DS but need not be adjacent to V after DS. In Tagalog, the verb always head moves overtly so there is clearly no SS adjacency requirement for ngP Case assignment. This property may not be relevant under recent assumptions, however. A further property we have seen is that an inherent Case NP is expected to be

associated with a particular role. Indeed, the *ng* NP in question seems to have this property, although the exact status of roles such as theme is not clear in the theory. Given the structural assumptions made, as mentioned, it may be more appropriate to think of inherent Case as restricted to a certain position rather than to a certain θ role. I assume that the external θ role is associated with the SPEC of the highest VP, whereas the theme θ role is associated with the COMPL of V position, or when there is a series of embedded VPs in more complex sentences, this role is associated with the SPEC of a VP that is directly selected by a verb, as in Larson (1988). Inherent ERG Case can be assigned to an NP in the structural position associated with the external argument and inherent ACC Case can be assigned to an NP in the structural contexts normally associated with the theme role. Inherent ERG Case is not available in Tagalog, but it is claimed here that Tagalog makes extensive use of inherent ACC Case. We will see evidence in section 6.2.2 that the structural restriction on inherent Case assignment is, in fact, superior to a restriction in terms of θ role. Finally note that the inherent ACC Case is unique in a clause.

These properties and others are mentioned by Baker (1988) in his discussion of inherent Case. He makes use of inherent Case assignment in analysing various sentence types, and, of particular interest here, in sentences involving morphological causatives. That the *ng* Case on P arguments is inherent Case can be motivated further by looking at causatives in Tagalog. It was noted in chapter 4 that TagA had preposition insertion as a Case assigning mechanism. TagE, on the other hand, used the mechanism of 'second object' Case assignment. This 'second object' Case found on the causand, is relevant to

the discussion here of inherent Case since the Case on the causand is the same *ng* Case found in simple sentences. The relevant example of a causative, repeated from section 4.3, is given in (17) with TagH labelling. The 'second object' in this example is *ng karne* 'meat'.

(17) Causative with Inherent Case

pa-lulutu-in	ni Fe	si Juan	**ng karne**
CAUS-will.cook-PT	ERG Fe	NABS Juan	**ACC meat**

'Fe will make Juan cook some meat.'

The main point I wish to make at this juncture is that the 'second object' in a causative is reanalysed as the NP that bears inherent Case according to Baker (1988)[5]. Thus Baker's view that the Case on the causand in certain causatives is inherent Case coincides with the present proposal that Tagalog's ngP is inherent Case in general. The analysis of causatives will be discussed in detail in section 6.2.

Another source in the literature on inherent Case is Belletti (1988). She argues for Italian and other languages that partitive Case is an inherent Case. Belletti (1988) provides an example given in (18a) of overtly marked inherent partitive Case in Finnish (on *kirjoja*), which contrasts with structural accusative Case in (18b) (on *kiriat*).

(18) Finnish Partitive Case is Inherent Case [from Belletti, 1988, 1]

a.

hän	pani	kirjoja	pöydälle
he	put	book.PARTITIVE.p	on the table

'He put (some) books on the table.'

[5]In fact Baker does not stop at the inherent Case analysis, but goes on to further alter the analysis of 'second object' Case assignment to an instance of abstract N incorporation. I will not consider this option here.

b. hän pani kiriat pöydälle
he put book.ACC.p on the table
'He put the books on the table.'

Indeed, partitive NPs are naturally rendered by ngP phrases in Tagalog as in the following examples.

(19) Inherent Case on Partitive NPs

a. nakakita ang bata ng mga ibon
AT.saw NABS child ACC PL bird
'The child saw some birds.'

b. kumain tayo ng kanin
AT.ate NABS1p ACC rice
'We ate some rice.'

While inherent Case is used only with a special meaning in the examples discussed by Belletti, in Tagalog, it seems to be used on a wider range of indefinite NPs, only some of which are partitive. In other words, the partitive use of ngP Case is just a subset of its functions. One of the characteristics of the Tagalog Case system is that inherent Case is extensively used.

A final point addressed by Belletti (1988) relevant to the discussion here is that inherent Case is assumed to be an optional Case in the sense that it is assigned only when needed. According to her characterization of the languages she looked at, a transitive verb assigns inherent partitive Case when the P is indefinite, but structural accusative Case otherwise. Under the analysis proposed here, I also assume that inherent Case is assigned in Tagalog when the P is indefinite but otherwise need not be assigned. Definite P arguments are Case checked structurally by moving to the SPEC of the highest functional category in a PT structure. The connection between inherent Case marking and

specificity of the ngP phrase will be discussed in section 5.6. The point here is that like the partitive NPs with inherent Case discussed by Belletti, the ngP inherent Case is assigned to NPs that can, under certain conditions, appear instead with structural Case.

To sum up, the ngP phrases were found to have many of the properties that have been attributed to NPs bearing inherent Case. Instead of coining a new term for Case that is assigned within VP as opposed to Case that is checked in functional categories, I have called this inherent Case. The ngP Case is generally only associated with NPs bearing a certain role. This is due to the fact that it is assigned only in a certain structural configuration. That is, inherent ACC Case is assigned by V to an NP in COMPL of V if there is one (or it may be assigned to an NP in the SPEC of a VP that is directly selected by a V). The ngP Case appears in contexts where the analysis of Baker (1988) posits inherent Case assignment, in particular, it appears on the causand argument in morphological causative sentences. In accordance with Belletti's observations, NPs with a partitive reading are inherent partitive Case NPs and these are translated as ngP NPs in Tagalog. Finally, the ngP Case alternates with a structural Case, as is typical of NPs bearing inherent Case. Having pointed out that ngP phrases exhibit many inherent Case NP properties, let us turn to the proposal for Tagalog structure which makes use of ngP as an inherent Case.

5.6 The Proposed Structure for TagH

If Tagalog has the extra mechanism of inherent Case assignment available, then it is possible to offer another account that can accommodate the hybrid hypothesis, where

Tagalog has three non-oblique Cases, not just two. The proposal for available cases in Tagalog can be summarized as follows. There are three Cases available in Tagalog basic sentences: structural NABS, structral ERG and inherent ACC. Each of these Cases is associated with a particular structural configuration, as laid out in (20). Under an Economy account structural Case checking is the preferred mode of meeting Case requirements. Inherent ACC Case is used under different conditions, normally when the P argument is non-specific. The special Case assigning mechanism, preposition insertion, however, is used as a last resort, and will become relevant in section 6.2.

(20) *Available Cases in Tagalog*

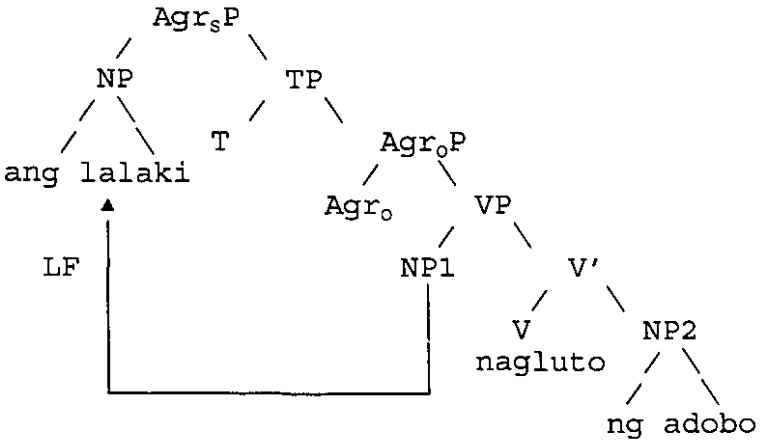
structural NABS	Checked in the SPEC of Agr_S, NP originates anywhere within VP.
structural ERG	Checked in the SPEC of Agr_O, NP originates in the highest SPEC of VP.
inherent ACC	Assigned within VP to the NP in COMPL of VP, or else in the SPEC of a VP that is directly selected by a verb.
inserted OBL	Special preposition insertion mechanism can be invoked as a last resort.

Recall that the inherent ACC under my conception is not restricted to a particular role but rather is associated with an NP that originates in a particular structural configuration, as described in (20). Having reviewed these Case assumptions we are now in a position to examine the structural assumptions in detail.

The structures I propose for the AT and PT sentences are as in (21) and (22). The node labels are those more standardly assumed, Agr_S, T, and Agr_O, following Chomsky (1991), but note that Agr_O is a misleading label since it will not correspond to a position for objects in the analysis. Only the relevant heads and intermediate projections are

included in the trees hereafter. Consider first the structure for AT sentences in (21).

(21) Structure for AT Sentences

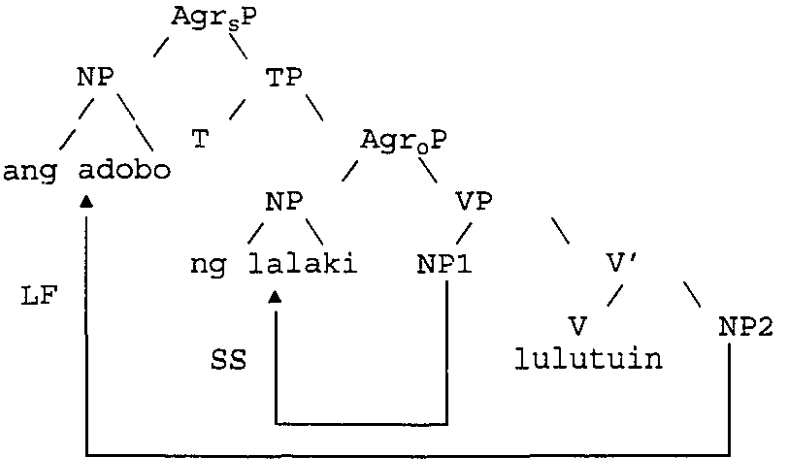


Nag-luto	ang lalaki	ng adobo
AT.ST-cook	NABS man	ACC adobo

'The man cooked adobo.'

Notice that (21) is much like the antipassive structure in (9b) in that the same NP movement occurs, TRANS movement, described in section 3.3. It differs from the antipassive, however, since there is no adjunction of an oblique phrase to VP. Instead the P is in its base position as a complement to V. In this COMPL of V position, the NP can get inherent ACC Case, which is realized as *ng* in Tagalog. In the structure, NABS Case is checked in SPEC of Agr$_S$. The Case features of Agr$_S$ are weak and this movement takes place at LF. Next consider the PT structure given in (22).

(22) Structure for PT Sentences



lulutu-in ng lalaki ang adobo
will.cook-PT ERG man NABS adobo
'The man will cook the adobo.'

The structure in (22) is like that in (8b). The A moves to the SPEC of Agr$_O$P at SS, while the P moves to SPEC of Agr$_S$P at LF. This is the standard nested path pattern found in ergative languages[6]. Along with this, the Case features of Agr$_O$ are strong, and those of Agr$_S$ are weak.

The movement of NP2 in (22) is PASS movement, as was discussed in section 3.3. Thus the structures proposed in (21) and (22) are natural extensions of those developed in chapter 3 since they involve the PASS and TRANS movements discussed in section 3.3.1. However, the analysis presented here differs in two important respects from the proposal sketched in chapter 3. In (22), there is the addition of movement of NP1 to SPEC of Agr$_O$P. In (21), there is no additional movement but there is the addition of

[6]One way to construe the analysis proposed here is that it is like suggesting that Tagalog has predominantly ergative structure with an unusual antipassive construction, one in which the P is not actually demoted but rather receives Case by a different mechanism.

inherent Case assignment which differs from structural Case checking.

Let us consider the possibilities for Case in such an analysis. An NP that undergoes movement for structural Case checking can be said to have a [+SCase] feature[7]. That feature is spelled out as NABS Case if the checking takes place in SPEC of Agr_S and it is spelled out as ERG Case if the checking takes place in SPEC of Agr_O. This accounts for the fact that there are no sentences with two NABS phrases or two ERG phrases in Tagalog, since two NPs cannot be Case checked in the same specifier position. An NP that does not need Case checking in a functional category has a [-SCase] feature. In terms of the Economy principles laid out in (3), such NPs are not source NPs for checking the [+SCase] features in the functional SPECs. These [-SCase] NPs include NPs that get Case in prepositional phrases and NPs that receive inherent Case. An NP with inherent Case must be generated in the right structural configuration for this Case, and furthermore it must be non-specific (see section 5.6.3). Thus a P argument will be [+SCase] in a PT sentence but [-SCase] in a grammatical AT sentence. The A argument will be [+SCase] in both PT and AT sentences. If the A argument is generated with a [-SCase] feature, the mechanism of preposition insertion available in Tagalog could be invoked, but structural Case checking is more economical. In languages with inherent ERG Case, such A arguments would be able to meet their Case requirements by inherent Case assignment. In a PT structure like (22), the Case features of Agr_O are strong and Agr_O must check the closest [+SCase] NP, which is the A in SPEC of VP. The A in a

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[7][SCase] is used instead of Murasugi's [Case] to signify a structural Case feature as distinct from inherent Case. NPs with inherent Case are [-SCase].

PT sentence is therefore realized with ERG Case, *ng* in (22). In an AT structure, however, the Agr_O is not strong or weak but rather it has no Case features, or put another way, it is [-Agr_O]. In the AT structure in (21), then, no SPEC is projected for Agr_O. I propose that the verbal morphology associated with AT structures (*-um-*, *maka-*, *mag-*) is an indicator that Agr_O has no Case features. Formally, AT morphology adds a head feature [-Agr_O] which is checked in the head of Agr_O, and it has no Case features associated with it, on a par with the [-Tr] feature in Murasugi's system. Note, however, that a [-Agr_O] feature does not imply that the clause is intransitive under my analysis, since the P argument can meet its Case requirements inside VP with inherent Case.

This account ensures that all and only the possibilities attested for AT and PT sentences are permitted. That is, the examples in (23) are ruled out.

(23) Impossible Sentences

a. *bumasa ng bata ang tula
AT.read child NABS poem
for: 'The child read the poem.'

b. *babasahin ang bata ng tula
will.read.TT NABS child poem
for: 'The child will read a poem.'

In (23a) the *ng* Case cannot be inherent ACC Case since the NP is not in the correct configuration, rather it is in the highest SPEC of VP underlyingly. The *ng* Case cannot be the spell out of ERG Case since in sentences with AT morphology, no ERG Case can be checked in Agr_O. In (23b), since the verb *babasahin* is transitive and there is no AT morphology, Agr_O has a strong [+SCase] Case feature that needs checking. It cannot be checked by the NP *tula* since there is a closer source NP. Therefore this derivation fails.

Finally, intransitive sentences are antoher sentence type to consider. The sole argument of an intransitive, the S, may originate in the SPEC of VP (if the verb is unergative) or it may originate in the COMPL of V position (if the verb is unaccusative). See section 3.7 for a discussion and examples. In either situation, this NP can satisfy its Case requirements if it is [+SCase], and so it does. That is, in intransitive structures, there is no structural ERG available, but Agr_S has Case features. Intransitive verbs often appear with the verbal morphology associated with AT verbs. As noted, this morphology is an indicator that Agr_O has no Case features. Nothing forces this NP to move at SS and so it moves at the level of LF. We will see some additional examples along these lines when other sentence types are considered in sections 5.6.5 and 5.6.6.

In sum, then, the proposed analysis has the following characteristics. The NABS NPs, *ang* phrases in the examples, whether A or P arguments, are always in SPEC of Agr_S, but not until the level of LF. The ERG argument arguments, ngA phrases, move to SPEC of Agr_O at SS. Finally, the ACC P arguments, ngP phrases, remain inside the VP at all levels. These possibilities are summarized in the chart in (24).

(24) Summary of NP Positions at Syntactic Levels

NPs	Base	SS	LF
NABS NP	inside VP	inside VP	SPEC of Agr_S
ERG A	SPEC of VP	SPEC of Agr_O	SPEC of Agr_O
ACC P	inside VP	inside VP	inside VP[8]

One further observation is that, contra the analysis outlined and rejected in section 5.3, the Case features of Agr_S are consistently assumed to be weak, while those of Agr_O are

[8]The ACC P can be the COMPL of V or the SPEC of a VP that is directly selected by V.

consistently strong, if they are present. In the next few sections, aspects of the proposed structure will be supported with various kinds of evidence.

5.6.1 Word Order

The correct ordering of the NPs in the sentences is derived in the proposed structures. The head movement is assumed to be overt, giving verb initial sentences. The NP movement to SPEC of Agr_S is assumed to take place covertly, at LF. This allows for a structure in which all the SPECs are on the left. Recall from section 5.2.2 that under TagA the SPEC of the highest functional category had to exceptionally be assumed to be on the right. The only overt NP movement is that of the A to the SPEC of Agr_O in non-AT sentences. While there is scrambling of NPs in Tagalog, which obscures the ordering, there is still some preference in the respective ordering of NPs that is telling. In particular, the SS movement of the A to SPEC of Agr_O can account for the fact that there is a preference in Tagalog for the ERG argument to appear immediately after the verb.

The movement of the A to SPEC of Agr_O is usually string vacuous since head movement of the verb to sentence initial position is also at SS. Thus there is little direct evidence for the SS movement of the A. It is an assumption in this theory that there will be such movement for Case checking. Beyond this, however, there is an ordering possibility available to some speakers which does provide direct evidence. This possibility can be accounted for if the A is assumed to move to SPEC of Agr_O[9]. Recall from section 3.4.1 that, in sentences with negation, the ERG argument could optionally

[9]Sityar (1994) presented this word order possibility in Cebuano with a different structural account.

appear preverbally. An example illustrating this possibility is repeated in (25b) together with (25a), which shows the more standard ordering in which the A follows the verb.

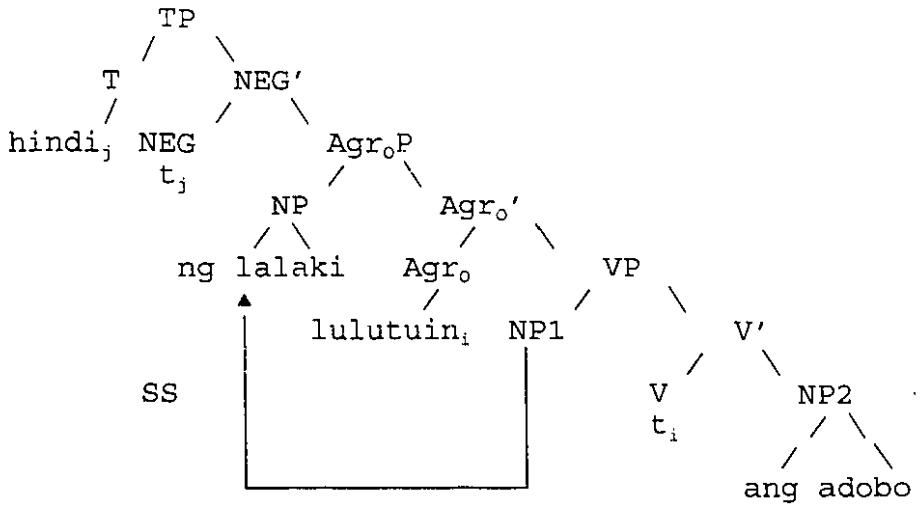
(25) Ordering Possibilities of ERG Argument with Respect to Heads

a. hindi lulutu-in ng lalaki ang adobo
NEG will.cook-PT ERG man NABS adobo
'The man will not cook the adobo.'

b. hindi ng lalaki lulutu-in ang adobo
NEG ERG man will.cook-PT NABS adobo
'The man will not cook the adobo.'

Negation is assumed to head its own functional category, NEGP, between TP and Agr_oP. I propose that in sentences with negation, verb movement proceeds as usual as far as Agr_o and then there are two options. Either the verb movement stops there and NEG moves to T by itself, or else the verb may adjoin to NEG and the two heads can move together to T. In sentences like (25a), the latter option is taken ensuring that the two heads, NEG and V, remain in sentence initial position. In sentences like (25b), however, the former option is taken and the verb remains in Agr_o as shown in the structure in (26).

(26) Partial SS Representation for (25b)



Crucially then, the movement of the ngA phrase is not string-vacuous in (26) since it is assumed to move to SPEC of Agr_O, which is between NEG and Agr_O containing the overt heads *hindi* and *lulutuin*, respectively. The word order found in sentences like (25b) can thus be taken as evidence that there is SS movement of the ngA phrase to SPEC of Agr_O.

The attested ordering of NPs in Tagalog is thus consistent with the proposed structure. Moreover, the fact that there is a preference for the A to appear immediately after the verb in non-AT sentences is predicted. In addition, the possibility that the *ng* A can appear preverbally when negation is present provided evidence that movement to SPEC of Agr_O is overt.

5.6.2 Agreement Morpheme Order

Some further potential evidence for the proposed structure comes from agreement morpheme order. One set of facts that Murasugi (1992) uses in support of her proposal is the respective order of agreement morphemes in languages that show agreement for

both A and P arguments. Murasugi suggests that the order should reflect the head movement of the V complex. Thus in the nested paths structure the agreement morpheme that should appear closest to the verb root should be the one that agrees with the A argument, and the agreement morpheme which is further out should be the one that agrees with the P argument. The pattern is reversed in a crossing paths structure.

This test cannot be applied to Tagalog since Tagalog verbs do not show agreement for both arguments. However, there are two agreement morphemes found in Agta, a Northern Philippine language. The example of a PT sentence from Agta in (27) shows the two agreement morphemes.

(27) Agta Agreement [Healey, 1960, 35]

g-in-afut-**n-ak** na na sibrung
PT-grab-**3sE-1sABS** now ERG kidnapper
'A kidnapper had grabbed hold of me.'

Note that the agreement that corresponds to the A argument, *-n*, does appear closer to the verb root than the agreement that corresponds to the (null) P argument, *-ak*. If Agta has a similar Case system to that of Tagalog, then this is evidence for the Case checking scheme proposed for Tagalog in (22). This kind of cross-linguistic evidence is only suggestive, however, unless a study of the Agta Case system reveals it to be like that of Tagalog in the relevant respects.

5.6.3 NP Position and Specificity

One factor that can tell us about the structure of Tagalog that has not often been analysed in terms of structure is definiteness. Under some conceptions of phrase structure, the definiteness of an NP is closely tied to its syntactic position. Essentially,

definite NPs are associated with positions outside of VP while indefinite NPs are associated with positions inside VP (see e.g. Diesing, 1992). As noted in Maclachlan and Nakamura (forthcoming), this structural distinction is relevant to the proposal that inherently Case marked NPs remain within VP, whereas other NPs do not.

I have already alluded to the definiteness of ngP phrases, now analysed as inherently Case marked NPs, in section 3.6.1. Let us review the facts. The ngP phrase in AT sentences must be indefinite, as (28) shows.

(28) ACC NP: Exhibits Specificity Effect

mag-babasa	ang bata	ng tula
AT-will.read	NABS child	ACC poem

'The child will read **a** poem.'
*'The child will read **the** poem.'

This is the reason that pronominal and personal NPs can never be ACC NPs, since these correspond to definite NPs. This fact is reported, based on an in-depth examination of definiteness in Tagalog by Adams and Manaster-Ramer (1988), for example. When an NP, such as the ngP phrase, must be interpreted as indefinite, it is said to exhibit a Definiteness Effect, or more appropriately, a Specificity Effect (see Enç, 1991, 16). I contend that the fact that ngP phrases exhibit a Specificity Effect in Tagalog is tied to the fact that these NPs are not Case checked in the SPEC of a functional category.

The NPs that are Case checked outside of VP do not show the same Specificity Effect. The arguments that bear NABS Case are certainly not required to be non-specific, as shown in (29), for both AT and PT sentences. Indeed they are typically specific as in the examples (but see Adams and Manaster-Ramer (1988) for potential counterexamples). These NPs are assumed to always move out of VP according to the analysis of section

5.4.

(29) NABS NP: No Specificity Effect

a. mag-babasa ang bata ng tula
AT-will.read NABS child ACC poem
'**The** child will read a poem.'

b. babasa-hin ng bata ang tula
will.read-PT ERG child NABS poem
'The child will read **the** poem.'

Ergative A arguments can be either specific or non-specific. In other words, ergative NPs are not subject to a Specificity Effect. These NPs are assumed to move to the SPEC of Agr_OP outside VP, and hence are exempt from the VP internal restriction on specificity.

(30) ERG NP: No Specificity Effects

babasa-hin ng bata ang tula
will.read-PT ERG child NABS poem
'The child will read the poem.'
or '**A** child will read the poem.'

The Specificity Effect exhibited by the ngP phrase can be assumed to be symptomatic of the position it occupies in the phrase structure. It is obligatorily non-specific because it is obligatorily within the VP[10]. Thus the VP internal inherent Case proposal is supported by the Specificity Effect exhibited by the ngP phrases.

5.6.4 Binding of Reflexives

The possibilities for binding reflexives within a clause in Tagalog are also consistent with the proposed structure. Reflexives are assumed to be anaphors that are

[10]For more details concerning the Specificity Effect in Tagalog refer to Maclachlan and Nakamura (forthcoming).

subject to binding condition A laid out in (31).

(31) Binding Conditions [Chomsky & Lasnik, 1991, 62]

A. An anaphor must be bound in a local domain
B. A pronoun must be free in a local domain
C. An r-expression must be free

First, since reflexive anaphors are necessarily specific in reference, they are predicted to be unacceptable as the ngP phrase (the Specificity Effect was discussed in the previous subsection). Examples in (32) illustrate this fact. The AT verb *pumuna* can appear with an indefinite ngP phrase (32a), but not with a reflexive ngP phrase (32b).

(32) No ngP Reflexive Anaphors

a. pumuna ang babae ng mga bata
criticize NABS woman ACC PL child
'The woman criticized some children.'

b. *pumuna ang babae ng kaniya-ng sarili
criticize NABS woman ACC 3s-LK self
for: 'The woman criticized herself.'

A reflexive P argument can appear if it is NABS marked, however. Example (33) shows that an ERG argument can bind a NABS P.

(33) NgA Phrase can Bind *ang* Phrase

pinuna ng babae ang kaniya-ng sarili
criticize ERG woman NABS 3s-LK self
'The woman criticized herself.'

While the NPs in (33) are not in the right structural configuration for binding at LF, they are at the level of SS. Thus at SS the ERG argument in SPEC of Agr_O binds the NABS P in its base position in the COMPL of V. At LF, however, the NABS P is in SPEC of Agr_S under the proposed analysis and would not be bound, thereby violating condition

A. Another example in (34) shows that the ngA phrase cannot be bound by the *ang* phrase within its clause[11].

(34) *Ang* Phrase cannot Bind ngA Phrase

*pinuna	ng kaniya-ng sarili	ang babae
criticize	ERG 3s-LK self	NABS woman

'Herself criticized the woman.'

This is expected since at SS the reflexive anaphor binds *ang babae*, an r-expression, thereby violating condition C. Note that this sentence would be expected to satisfy the binding conditions if they held at LF, since the *ang* phrase r-expression could bind the anaphor but not vice versa.

It has been proposed that languages may vary in the level at which the various binding conditions hold (see e.g. Belletti and Rizzi, 1988). Along these lines, I propose that some binding conditions in Tagalog hold at SS, while others must be satisfied at LF. In the sentences involving reflexives presented in this subsection, it was noted that the binding conditions A and C are satisfied at SS. We will see an example in section 6.3 of a context where binding at SS is impossible. In this context, the binding takes place at LF.

5.6.5 The Recent Past

Under the new analysis for the structure of Tagalog proposed in this chapter, the Recent Past can be neatly accommodated. Recall that the main observation about Recent Past sentences is that they exceptionally have no NABS NP (see section 1.3.7). Under the assumptions of the new proposal, in the Recent Past, Agr_S would be exceptionally

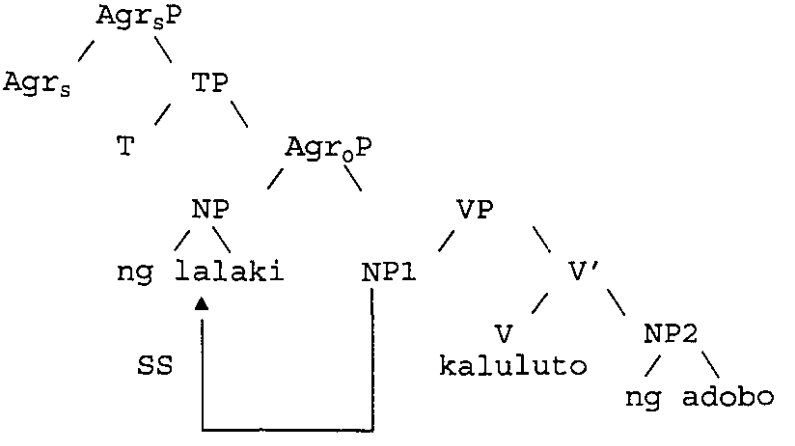
[11]These sentences do not improve if the order of NPs is reversed.

assumed to have no Case features. The morpheme *ka-* in the Recent Past can be assumed to be a reflex of this. Just as AT verbal morphology (*-um-*, *maka-*, *mag-*) was taken to indicate that Agr_O has no Case features, RP morphology (*ka-*) is taken to indicate that Agr_S has no Case features. The proposed structure for a sentence like (35a), is given in (35b).

(35) Structure for the Recent Past

a. kaluluto lang ng lalaki ng adobo
RP.cook just ERG man ACC adobo
'The man just cooked adobo.'

b.



The NP1 in SPEC of VP requires Case checking and moves at SS to SPEC of Agr_O which has strong Case features. There is no movement of the NP2 since it is [-SCase] and can fulfil its Case requirements in place by the mechanism of inherent Case assignment. Concomitantly, there is no movement to SPEC of Agr_S in (35b), and Agr_S has no Case features. The Recent Past is thus handled under the structural proposal of this section, unlike under the nominal-equational proposal of section 5.3. With no filled SPEC of Agr_SP, the Recent Past is an interesting construction to consider in conjunction with other syntactic phenomena. It will come up again in chapter 6.

One additional point to note is that the SS movement of the ngA phrase is consistent with the fact observed in Guilfoyle *et al* (1992) that the first NP in a Recent Past sentence is interpreted as the A. Thus in (36) where the sentence might be expected to be ambiguous, only the first NP, *ng leon*, is interpreted as the A.

(36) A Interpretation in the Recent Past [Guilfoyle *et al*, 1992, 396]

kakakain	ng leon	ng tigre
RP.eat	ERG lion	ACC tiger

'The lion ate the tiger.'
*'The tiger ate the lion.'[12]

5.6.6 Non-AT, Non-PT Sentences

In addition to providing structures for AT and PT sentences, structures for sentences bearing other topic markers, such as BT sentences, can be provided under the same general assumptions. First consider how the analysis for a simple AT sentence would be extended to an AT sentence which has a beneficiary introduced in a prepositional phrase, as in (37).

(37) AT Sentence with *para sa* Beneficiary

mag-luluto	ang lalaki	ng adobo	para sa asawa
AT-will.cook	NABS man	ACC adobo	PARA SA spouse

'The man will cook adobo for his wife.'

The beneficiary is introduced as a PP complement to V in the structure for (37) presented in (38).

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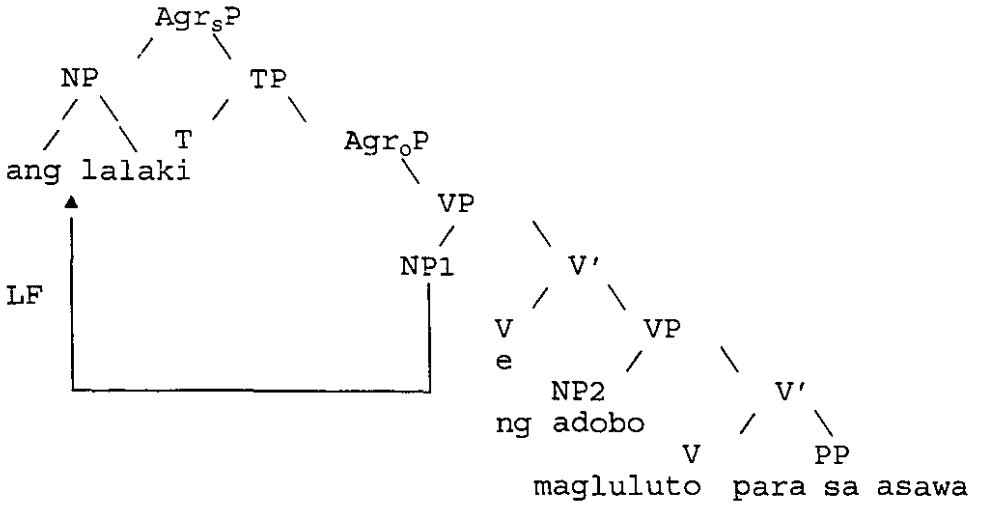
[12]Note that the ngP argument does not show a Specificity Effect in this Recent Past example. See Maclachlan and Nakamura (forthcoming) for an account.

(38) Structure for (37)



The structure in (38) involves VP shells following Larson (1988). That is, a VP headed by an empty V introduces the A argument in its SPEC (NP1) and the empty V selects another VP headed by the overt verb. This VP introduces the P argument in its SPEC (NP2) and the beneficiary PP, *para sa asawa*, in its COMPL[13]. Since there is AT morphology in the sentence, only one structural Case can be checked. NP1 may get Case if it is [+SCase] but cannot otherwise meet its Case requirements. Therefore it is the NP that moves for structural Case. NP2 cannot then be [+SCase] in a successful derivation. NP2 is, however in the right structural configuration to receive inherent Case. In the structure, there is no NP that is in COMPL of V (rather there is a PP in this position), therefore, inherent Case can be assigned to the SPEC of the lower VP which is selected by the empty V. The beneficiary meets its Case requirements within PP.

Now turning to the analysis of a BT sentence, like that in (39a), the beneficiary,

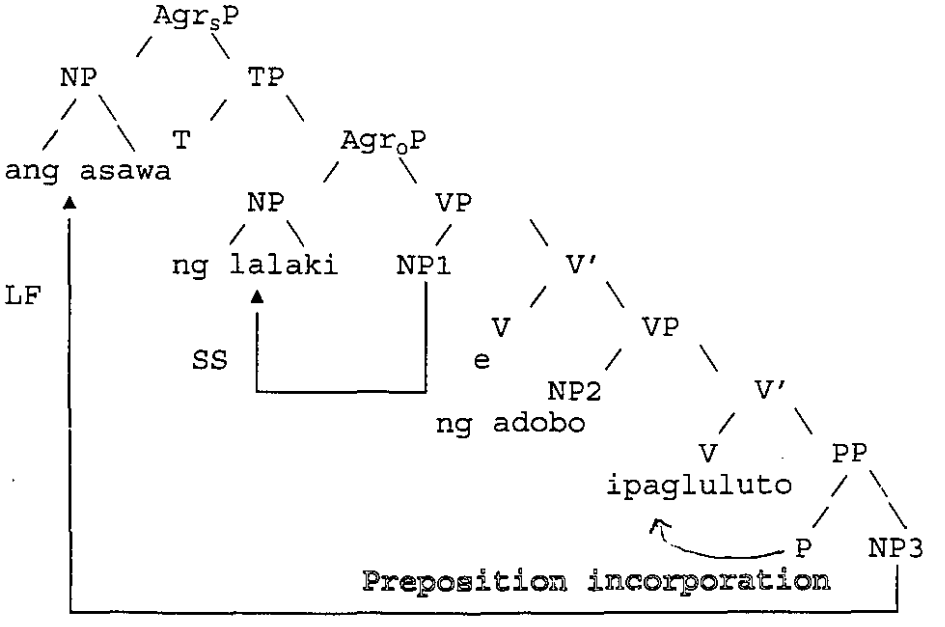
[13]Alternatively, the Beneficiary could be assumed to be adjoined to VP without assuming a VP shell structure.

asawa 'spouse', appears in NABS Case. The structure assumed for (39a) is given in (39b).

(39) Structure for a BT Sentence

a. ipag-luluto ng lalaki ng adobo ang asawa
BT-will.cook ERG man ACC adobo NABS spouse
'The man will cook adobo for his wife.'

b.



The beneficiary in (37) gets Case within the PP and also receives a θ role from the preposition. Notice, however, that in the BT sentence in (39a) there is no *para sa* preposition. I assume, following a proposal by Kroeger (1990), that BT sentences like (39a) involve preposition incorporation along the lines of Baker (1988). Underlyingly, *para sa* assigns a beneficiary θ role to the NP and this complex preposition incorporates into the verb leaving NP3 Caseless. The BT morphology (*i-*, *ipag-*) is a reflex of this

incorporation[14]. The beneficiary NP argument of a BT verb must meet its Case requirements in the clause. First, consider the derivation that succeeds. In the structure in (39b), NP1 and NP3 may meet their Case requirements if they are both [+SCase]. If NP2 is also [+SCase], then this feature cannot be checked. The derivation does work if NP2 is [-SCase], however, since there is a PP in COMPL of V and NP2 occurs as the SPEC of a VP selected by the empty V and hence NP2 can get inherent Case. In such a structure, NP1 is the closest NP with Case features to check and so it moves at SS to SPEC of Agr_O which has strong Case features. NP3 must check its Case features at LF in SPEC of Agr_S. At LF, NP3 is the closest NP with Case features to check, thus even though the movement is over a long distance, the Economy principles in (3) allow this movement. If NP1 is [-SCase], then it will not be able to meet its Case requirements since inherent ERG Case is not available in Tagalog. If NP3 is [-SCase], then it cannot meet its Case requirements either. NP3 cannot get inherent Case from the V since it occurs inside a PP, not as the COMPL of V itself. A BT verb cannot be inserted into a structure with a *para sa* preposition on the beneficiary, since the BT verb results from the incorporation of that preposition. This ensures that only the beneficiary will receive NABS Case in a sentence containing a BT verb. A beneficiary NP cannot receive NABS Case in a non-BT sentence since the beneficiary NP must get a θ role from *para sa*. Similar incorporation analyses are possible for LT and IT sentences where locative and

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[14]The BT morphology can be considered to be the incorporated preposition. Interestingly, in the example given the INC aspect morphology follows the incorporated preposition. This may be due to the fact that the reduplication typically affects the verb root. For example in causatives, reduplication may affect the causative prefix *pa-* or the base verb root (e.g. *mag-pa-pa-sulat*: AT-INC-CAUS-write, or alternatively *mag-pa-su-sulat*: AT-CAUS-INC-write).

instrumental prepositions would be assumed to incorporate into the verb. The analysis accounts for the connection between the BT, LT and IT verbal topic morphology and the θ role of the NABS NP in these sentences. In sum, the beneficiary can be either (a) an NP requiring Case in a BT clause where its preposition has incorporated, as in (39a) or (b) an NP inside a PP in which its Case requirements are met in non-BT clauses, such as the AT sentence in (37).

Note that the set of Economy principles used here, following Murasugi (1992), allows long movement and does not require short movement like some other conceptions. Under my proposal, the movement from NP3 to the highest SPEC is accomplished in one long movement, not several short movements. Some other conceptions of Economy require shorter movements, but more of them. These approaches would posit intermediate projections which provide SPECs as landing sites for NP movement. One example of a possible intermediate projection that would create shorter NP movement paths in Tagalog is AspP proposed in Travis (1992, forthcoming) and illustrated in the structure in (15) above.

To sum up, the BT sentence was accommodated within the same structural assumptions which were made for AT and PT sentences at the outset of this section with a preposition incorporation analysis. Similarly, the proposed structure for Tagalog allowed for an account of the Recent Past as well as specificity, reflexives, word order and morpheme order.

5.7 Parameters and TagH

In section 5.3.1 a preliminary possibility for the parametric difference that sets Tagalog apart from accusative and ergative languages was considered. In particular, if the strength of features is permitted to vary within a single language, then a mixed language could result. The extended parameter is repeated in (40) with Agr_S and Agr_O replacing Murasugi's T and Tr projections following Chomsky (1991).

(40) Ergative Parameter (Extended cf. (2), (10))

a. In an accusative language, the Case features of Agr_S are strong
b. In an ergative language, the Case features of Agr_O are strong
c. In a mixed language, the Case features of either Agr_S or Agr_O may be strong

This mixed language type is indeed one that is intermediate between an ergative and an accusative language but does not correspond to the type of language that is exemplified by Tagalog. The type of mixed language in (40c) would exhibit crossing paths in some transitives and nested paths in others (never both in one sentence). However, Tagalog as it has been analysed in this chapter is not this kind of intermediate language. It has been analysed rather as one that exhibits nested paths in some transitive sentences, and one that never exhibits crossing paths in transitive sentences. In terms of strength of features, I claim Tagalog never has strong Agr_S Case features, but only has strong Agr_O Case features in some basic transitives (PT), but not others (AT). As such, the system is closer to an ergative system than to an accusative system, yet it remains a system that falls between these two. That is, Tagalog would be the ergative type in (40b), while under the analysis of Malagasy presented in section 5.4, that language would be the mixed type in (40c). I suggest that there are other parameters that function in conjunction with this kind

of parameter, which I will also revise somewhat, that allow for the Case system in Tagalog in addition to those languages accounted for by Murasugi and others.

Recall that in section 3.3, a typology was characterized in terms of movement with three possible options. These options can be phrased in terms of a parameter similar, but not identical to (40) as follows:

(41) Parameter 1 in Terms of Movement

a. In an accusative language there is TRANS movement in basic transitive sentences
b. In an ergative language there is PASS movement in basic transitive sentences
c. In a hybrid language there may be either TRANS or PASS movement in basic transitive sentences

This parameter differs from (40) since only the movement to SPEC of Agr_S is relevant, and the level at which this movement takes place is not. According to (41) Tagalog would not be like an ergative language in (41b), but rather it is the hybrid type of (41c), as is Malagasy according to the analysis discussed in section 5.4.

In addition to this parameter, there is another in (42) which takes into consideration the Case checked in SPEC of Agr_O, but also allows for Cases that are not structurally Case checked. Recall that the typology of section 3.3 was also restated in terms of Case in section 3.4. While typical ergative and accusative languages have two-Case systems, Tagalog was characterized as having a three-Case system. These Case options could be stated in parametric terms as follows:

(42) Parameter 2 in Terms of Case

a. The non-oblique Cases available in an accusative language are NABS and ACC
b. The non-oblique Cases available in an ergative language are ERG and NABS
c. The non-oblique Cases available in a hybrid language are ERG, NABS and ACC

These two parameters are similar in allowing the same range of possibilities, but they

give a different persective on the language types than was afforded by the parameter in (40). According to (42), Tagalog is a hybrid type with all three non-oblique Cases as in (42c). Another language of this type is Malagasy as analysed by Voskuil (1993a) and discussed in 5.4. The difference between these two languages lies in the fact that ACC is structural in Malagasy and checked in SPEC of Agr_O but ACC is inherent in Tagalog. This difference is captured in another parameter having to do with available Case mechanisms to be discussed next.

As proposed in Baker (1988), languages vary in what special Case mechanisms are available. In terms of the current proposal, the NPs that have a [-SCase] feature can satisfy their Case requirements in various ways in languages of the world. One way is for an NP to occur within a PP where it can satisfy its Case requirements instead of requiring structural Case within Agr_S. Certain NPs, such as the causee in a causative sentence, need not be Case checked in Agr_S or Agr_O because they can occur instead inside a PP via preposition insertion. Another way that an NP selected by a V can be [-SCase] but still fulfill its Case requirements is for it to receive inherent Case within VP. This can be inherent accusative Case or inherent ergative Case, depending on the structural configuration in which the NP occurs, and on whether such mechanisms are available in the language. I claim that Tagalog has preposition insertion as we will see in section 6.2.1 and that it has inherent accusative but not inherent ergative Case.

In our discussion in chapter 4, we saw that preposition insertion and inherent Case assignment are Case mechanisms that are used in contexts such as causatives where there are extra NPs needing Case. These mechanisms are generally used in non-basic clauses

where two structural Cases are checked and a third needs a Case. I claim that such mechanisms may be extended in some languages to be commonly used in basic transitive sentences where only one Case is checked structurally. Tagalog is a language that makes extended use of inherent accusative Case assignment. As we will see in detail in section 6.2, Tagalog uses preposition insertion in addition to the extended inherent accusative Case assignment in contexts like the causative.

Thus languages vary according to whether Case mechanisms like inherent Case are available in basic transitive sentences or whether such Case mechanisms are reserved for non-basic sentences. This variation can be stated as the parameter in (43).

(43) Parameter Based on Extended Inherent Case

a. In structural Case languages, inherent ERG and ACC are not available in basic transitive sentences.
b. In inherent ergative Case languages, inherent ERG is available in basic transitive sentences.
c. In inherent accusative Case languages, inherent ACC is available in basic transitive sentences.

Tagalog is an example of a hybrid language that is the type described in (43c).

Next consider how the parameters given interact. First consider the possibilities for hybrid languages. Hybrid languages all have TRANS and PASS movement, following (41c), and three Cases: ERG, NABS and ACC, following (42c), but there is also variation within this language type depending on whether ERG or ACC is a structural Case or an inherent Case that is used in basic transitive sentences. In a hybrid language, then, any of the options in (43) can hold. If ERG and ACC are never inherent in basic transitives as in (43a), then both are structurally Case checked in SPEC of Agr_O, and we have a language like Malagasy as analysed by Voskuil (1993a). If ACC is structural, but

ERG is an available inherent Case as in (43b), then we have a language that is closer to being an accusative language but that has a passive-like sentence with inherent ergative Case on the A. An example of such a language is Hindi as analysed by Mahajan (1990). Finally, if ERG is structural but ACC is inherent then we have a language like Tagalog.

The options in (43) are compatible not only with hybrid languages but also with the other language types in (41) and (42). Inherent ACC can be available in an accusative language and presumably inherent ERG can be available in ergative languages. The former option coincides with the analysis of Finnish provided by Belletti (1988), for example. Thus if inherent ACC is used in Finnish basic transitive sentences then the object is indefinite, but otherwise structural ACC may be used (see (18) above).

A further option with respect to the parameter in (43) is that a language can be both an inherent ergative and an inherent accusative language. The analysis of Nez Perce presented by Woolford (1993) suggests that this may be a language in which inherent ERG and inherent ACC are available in basic transitive sentences, as inherent Cases have been viewed here (see section 5.5). Woolford characterizes Nez Perce as having a four-way Case system. In particular, she proposes that in Nez Perce there is (a) structural nominative Case, (b) structural objective Case, (c) inherent ERG, and (d) structural ACC. The structural ACC is "assigned/checked by the verb inside the VP" (Woolford, 1994, 2) and therefore would be considered to be an inherent Case under assumptions made here. In terms of the present proposal, then, this is a system with structural NABS and ACC, but also one with inherent ERG and inherent ACC used in basic transitive sentences. Once again the Case system of this language falls between ergative and

accusative systems and is best thought of as a hybrid system, yet it differs from the other hybrid systems mentioned. This variation is captured by the interaction of parameters proposed in this section.

To recap, what sets Tagalog apart from other languages is as follows. Tagalog is neither a fully accusative language, nor a fully ergative language, but it is a hybrid type with a three-Case system as expressed in (41c) and (42c). Further, it is a language where inherent ACC is available in basic transitive sentences, as expressed in (43c). The three parameters in (41), (42), and (43) all interact to account for the type of Case system in Tagalog as it compares to other languages. These parameters could certainly be refined further by taking more Case systems of the world languages into consideration.

As a final point, which I will only make briefly since it takes the discussion well beyond the central topic of this work, these parametric differences can be thought of diachronically. It seems plausible that in a Case system that is intermediate between two systems, there will be an increase in the number of available Cases. Thus a shift from one system to another will begin with the introduction of an extra Case. For example, we can start from, say, an accusative language with options (41a), (42a) and (43a), namely, a language that has NABS and ACC structural Cases and only TRANS movement in basic sentences. First, the preposition on the A in a passive will be reanalyzed as an ergative Case that is structurally checked. This extra Case changes the system from a two-Case system to a three-Case system which is a switch from option (42a) to option (42c). This shift also involves a switch from (41a) to (41c), namely, since the passive is

now a basic sentence with two Cases checked, PASS movement is possible in basic sentences. As the shift proceeds, accusative Case which is checked structurally will begin to alternate with inherent accusative Case in basic transitives. Eventually, no accusative case will be structural. This involves a switch between (43a) and (43c). I claim that Tagalog is at this point. If the shift continues in the same direction, then the inherent accusative Case will be reanalyzed as a preposition. This will result in a structural Case language since (43c) will revert to (43a), but one that is ergative. The only movement in basic sentences will be PASS and the Cases will be ERG and NABS. That is, it will be an ergative system with (41b) and (42b) as options. For a discussion of the shift between ergative and accusative systems see Estival and Myhill (1988). Interestingly, in their diachronic paper they find that languages like Tagalog occupy an intermediate position in the continuum of languages they propose. They specifically note:

> In these Austronesian languages [Tagalog, Maori and Malay], the passive has developed farther enough towards being functionally an ergative that there is some dispute about whether some of them are ergative or not. This debate is evidence that these languages are mid-way along our continuum and that the beginning of the syntactic reanalysis may already have obscured the data. O [what has been called the P argument here] still maintains syntactic subject properties, but it is an open question whether these languages should be analyzed as still nom/acc or already deep ergative. [Estival & Myhill, 1988, 474-475]

5.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, structures for Tagalog AT and PT sentences were proposed. These structures capture the idea that Tagalog has two transitive sentence types and also that it has a Case system that is a hybrid of accusative and ergative Case systems. The main

theoretical innovation used was one laid out in Murasugi (1992). Ergative languages have nested paths and accusative languages have crossing paths, one NP movement proceeding at each level of representation. The proposal that Tagalog uses both of these, nested paths for PT sentences and crossing paths for AT sentences was evaluated and found to be lacking. Recent Past and BT sentences could not be accommodated under such a proposal, for example.

The Recent Past and BT sentences were accommodated, however, under the assumption that there is an additional Case mechanism used in Tagalog AT sentences, namely inherent ACC Case assignment. The addition of such a mechanism in basic transitive sentences gave Tagalog three non-oblique Cases instead of the usual two. In basic transitives there are thus two possibilities. In PT transitives, NABS and ERG Cases are checked in functional categories, Agr_S and Agr_O respectively. In AT transitives, NABS is checked in SPEC of Agr_S and inherent ACC is assigned within VP.

The assignment of inherent Case inside VP was found to be consistent with the syntactic phenomena presented. The inherently Case marked NP was found in other inherent Case contexts such as in causatives. This NP, unlike other NPs, was also shown to exhibit a Specificity Effect which was assumed to be associated with its position within VP. Finally, if reflexives are assumed to be bound at SS then the attested binding possibilities can be accounted for. All these effects in Tagalog are given an account with the assumption that the structural position of the inherently Case marked NP is within VP.

The Case system of Tagalog was also considered in terms of parametric

differences that set it apart from other world languages. It was proposed that Tagalog has a three-Case hybrid system with inherent ACC Case available in basic transitives. This was captured as an interaction of three proposed parameters. One concerned movement to SPEC of Agr_S, another concerned non-oblique Cases available in languages and a third concerned whether languages permitted inherent Case, whether ergative or accusative, in basic transitive sentences.

Chapter 6: Complex Sentences and the Proposed Structure

6.1 Introduction

I am now in a position to reconsider some syntactic phenomena which have already been introduced in this dissertation, such as causatives and conjunction reduction, and to examine another which is new in this chapter, namely, raising. In chapter 5, I discussed syntactic phenomena in simple sentences having to do with the proposed structure directly. In this chapter, starting with causatives, I will discuss additional syntactic phenomena involving complex sentences which can be analysed using the proposed structure. Recall that with respect to both constructions discussed in chapter 4 Tagalog behaved very differently under TagA and TagE analyses. In section 6.2 and 6.3, unified analyses of the phenomena are presented and these account for the observed behaviour under a TagH view. Finally, I will point out that raising is commonly found in accusative but has not been observed in ergative languages. It will be shown that raising is possible, in a sense, in Tagalog, but it is achieved through different means than raising found in accusative languages. The analysis of raising provided is plausible, given Tagalog is a language that is shifting between ergative and accusative systems.

6.2 The Analysis of Causatives

Recall from the discussion of morphological causatives in section 4.3 that the type of causative observed in Tagalog seemed to differ under the TagE and TagA views. Under TagE assumptions, Tagalog seemed to be a type 2 causative language with 'second object' Case assignment. As noted in section 5.3, the 'second object' Case in causatives

described in section 4.3 can be considered to be inherent Case (Baker, 1988). Under TagA, however, the causatives seemed to be type 1 with preposition insertion as an available Case mechanism. These characterizations were not unproblematic, as noted in section 4.3.4. The causatives can be reanalysed using the new structural assumptions of chapter 5 in a unified way, however. This analysis takes into consideration some of the more recent literature on morphological causative constructions, namely, Watanabe (1993) and Li (1990).

6.2.1 Case Mechanisms of TagH

With the TagH structure in mind, we can address the question of what Case parameters are exhibited by TagH. We can ask whether it is a partial double object language or a non-double object language and whether it is causative type 1 or 2. My claim is that TagH exceptionally makes use of not one, but two special Case assigning mechanisms discussed in Baker (1988) in ditransitives and in causatives: preposition insertion and inherent Case assignment. As a result of having more than one special Case assigning mechanism, TagH is predicted to have a mixture of properties. For example, because it has inherent Case, it should have a "dative shift" alternation in ditransitives like type 2 languages and because it has preposition insertion it should also have oblique causees like type 1 languages. We will see that this is indeed so and that with both special Case mechanisms, TagH exhibits more than one possible causative sentence pattern.

First, consider the causatives themselves. If inherent Case appears on the causand, then the causee can surface as a NABS NP. An example showing the causand, *karne*

'meat', with inherent Case in a causative is repeated from chapter 4 in (1)[1].

(1) Causative with Inherent Case

pa-lulutu-in	ni Fe	si Juan	**ng** karne
CAUS-will.cook-IN	ERG Fe	NABS Juan	**ACC** meat

'Fe will make Juan cook some meat.'

Alternatively, the causee can show up as an oblique by preposition insertion of *sa* or *kay*, as in (2).

(2) Causative with Preposition Insertion

i-pa-susulat	ni Fe	**kay** Juan	ang tula
I-CAUS-will.write	ERG Fe	**OBL** Juan	NABS poem

'Fe will make Juan write the poem.'

Note further that both Case assigning mechanisms can be employed in a single sentence. Several types of examples are provided in (3) in which the causee appears with the inserted oblique preposition *sa* or *kay* and the P argument appears with inherent accusative Case, ngP.

(3) Preposition Insertion and Inherent Case

a. *MAG Causative*

nag-pa-luto	si Fe	**sa** bata	**ng** karne
MAG-CAUS-cook	NABS Fe	**OBL** child	**ACC** meat

'Fe made the child cook some meat.'

b. *BT Causative* [based on Schachter & Otanes, 1972, 329]

ipag-pa-pa-linis	ko	kayo	**ng** mesa	**sa** katulong
BT-ASP-CAUS-clean	1sE	NABS.2s	**ACC** table	**OBL** maid

'I'll have the maid clean a table for you.'

---

[1]As discussed in section 4.3.4, the AT and PT type topic markers cannot be straighforwardly glossed as such since it is not obvious which NPs are Ps and which are As in causative sentences. It is clear that AT morphology does occur, but two different PT morphemes occur on causatives. Previously, I glossed them all as XT, but here I will use the affix itself (MAG-, -IN, I-) as the gloss to distinguish them.

c. *Recent Past of Causative*

Ka.pa-pa-sulat	lang	ng titser	**kay** Lou	**ng** tula
RP-CAUS-write	just	ERG teacher	**OBL** Lou	**ACC** poem

'The teacher just made Lou write a poem.'

Both Cases occur in the *mag-* form of a causative in (3a), and similarly in the causative example (3b) repeated from section 4.3.4, in which a beneficiary is NABS marked, and finally, when a transitive causative occurs in the Recent Past, where there is no NABS Case (3c).

The possibility of having two Case assigning mechanisms raises the question of whether TagH is a type 1 causative language, or a type 2 causative language or whether it is both. The most salient distinguishing feature of the causative types is the Case found on the causee. The examples in (2) and (3a) show that the causee can be oblique as in type 1 languages if preposition insertion is employed. The causee can also surface as the NABS NP while the causand appears with inherent accusative Case as in (1). This is indicative of a type 2 language pattern. In this sense then, Tagalog seems to have not only a hybrid Case system, but also to be a hybrid causative type.

Next, consider some other properties laid out in section 4.3.1. In ditransitives, since there is an inherent ACC Case available in TagH as in type 2 languages, there is an alternation in ditransitives as shown in (4).

(4) Ditransitive Alternation

a.

aaluk-in	ni Pedro	si Rosa	ng inumin
will.offer-IN	ERG Pedro	NABS Rosa	ACC drink

'Pedro will offer Rosa a drink.'

b.

i-aalok	ni Pedro	kay Rosa	ang handog
I-will.offer	ERG Pedro	OBL Rosa	NABS gift

'Pedro will offer the gift to Rosa.'

Similarly, with inherent ACC Case available, applicatives are expected to be possible in TagH as they were in TagE. An example of an applicative repeated from section 4.3.3.1 is given in (5).

(5) Applicative under TagH

ipag-luluto ni Ben ng adobo ang bata
BT-will.cook ERG Ben ACC adobo NABS child
'Ben will cook adobo for the child.'

Passive and causative combinations which were sources of confirming evidence for available Case mechanisms under TagA can be considered in determining the available Case mechanisms under TagH. Note however that there is no passive *per se* under TagH. That is, instead of a passive - active alternation as under TagA, there are simply two alternative transitive sentences under TagH: PT and AT. First, recall from section 4.3.2.1 that the passive of a causative combination resulted in a NOM causand for type 1 and a NOM causee for type 2 causative languages. Under TagH, either of these arguments can become NABS, as the examples in (1) and (2) illustrate. The fact that either argument can become NABS in TagH is not surprising if TagH has both special Case assigning mechanisms available. Second, the evidence from the causative of a passive combination presented in section 4.3.2.2 was based on the possibility of picking up affixes in the functional categories during incorporation. Under the Economy approach taken here, a similar explanation for the fact that topic morphology does not occur between the causative affix and the verb root is possible, as we will see. Thus Tagalog seems to have a mixture of properties. As discussed in section 4.3.1, the differences between the causative types described in Baker (1988) were attributed to

structural differences. The structure for Tagalog causatives will be considered next, and it will be shown that all three Tagalog causative sentence types can be accommodated in one structure.

6.2.2 Structure of Causatives

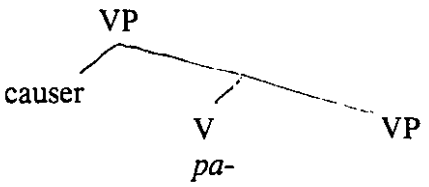
Consider how causative sentences could be analysed given the assumptions about Tagalog structure of chapter 5. First, the analysis of Baker (1988) must be recast according to more recent theoretical approaches. In particular, with the addition of VP internal subjects, the distinction between V-to-C movement and VP-to-COMP movement is no longer effective in capturing the Case possibilities in causatives. If a VP includes not only the complement but also a SPEC of VP subject, then VP-to-COMP movement would not result in the causee needing Case by preposition insertion (see section 4.3.1 for details of the VP-to-COMP movement analysis). Furthermore, the change from Case assignment to Case checking in functional categories also changes the possibilities for the analysis of causatives. Although some alterations are necessary, the verb incorporation analysis can be maintained in general.

Instead of two different incorporation patterns, the difference between the two types of causatives is assumed to lie in their differing selectional properties according to Watanabe (1993). That is, he proposes that a type 1 causative verb selects a reduced embedded clause (Agr_O), whereas a type 2 causative verb selects a full sentential complement (Agr_S). His proposal is couched within Minimalist assumptions which are somewhat different from the Economy assumptions made here. We can provide a structure for Tagalog drawing upon Watanabe's (1993) Case checking analysis. We need

not assume selection of Arg_S nor Agr_O by the Tagalog causative verb *pa-* for two reasons. First, I claim that in Tagalog no Case checking is possible in the embedded clause, but since both preposition insertion and inherent Case are available, Case requirements can be met. Secondly, my assumptions differ from those of Minimalism in allowing long distance NP movement. Watanabe's Agr_O is used purely as a landing site to shorten the movement path in his type 1 structure. We can assume rather that VP is selected directly. This predicts that, as noted in section 4.3.2.2, topic morphology does not occur inside the causative morpheme. According to Li (1990), bound causative verbs universally select VP directly. However, Li is working within different assumptions (he assumes I^0 and Case assignment as opposed to two functional projections and Case checking, for example). I will not assume that VP is selected directly universally, but rather that it is appropriate to assume that it is in Tagalog under my assumptions. The general assumptions about structure that I make follow neither those of Li (1990) nor those of Watanabe (1993), rather they follow those of Murasugi (1992). The causative structure in which VP is selected by *pa-* will be sufficient to accommodate causatives in TagH.

Before considering the structures of the full causative sentences, consider the substructure proposed for the causative verb itself, which is common to all the structures. The causative verb *pa-* is assumed to select a causer argument and a VP complement. The proposed substructure before any movement is therefore as in (6).

(6) Underlying Substructure of a Causative



Next we can see how this substructure is used in the analysis of causatives of both transitive and intransitve verbs.

Recall that in the causative of transitive sentences any of the three arguments can appear in the NABS Case. The paradigm of examples we wish to account for is given in (7), all of which are repeated from above.

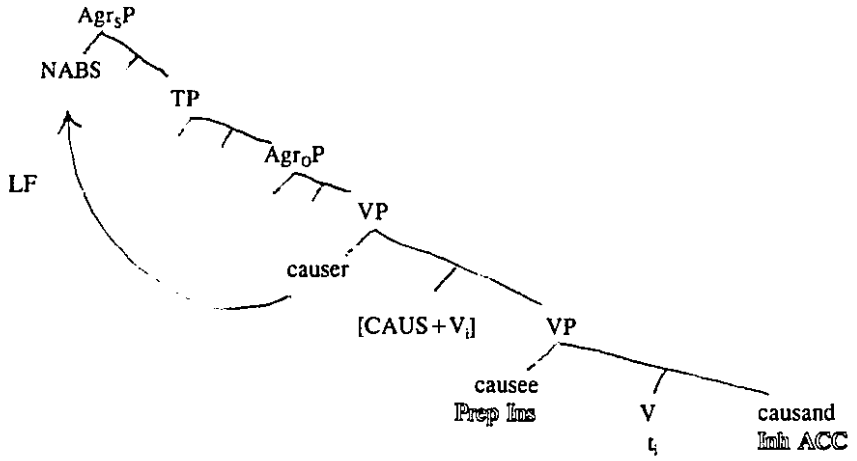
(7) Causative of Transitive Alternatives

a.	nag-pa-luto	si Fe	sa bata	ng karne
	MAG-CAUS-cook	NABS Fe	OBL child	ACC meat
	'Fe made the child cook some meat.'			
b.	pa-lulutu-in	ni Fe	si Juan	ng karne
	CAUS-will.cook-IN	ERG Fe	NABS Juan	ACC meat
	'Fe will make Juan cook some meat.'			
c.	i-pa-susulat	ni Fe	kay Juan	ang tula
	I-CAUS-will.write	ERG Fe	OBL Juan	NABS poem
	'Fe will make Juan write the poem.'			

The structures assumed for these sentences will be given in (8), (9) and (10) respectively.

First, the structure for (7a) in which the causer is NABS is provided in (8).

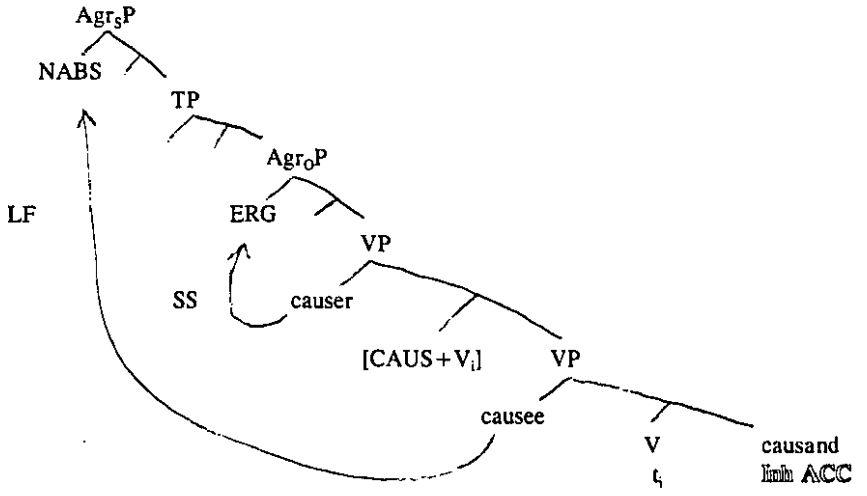
(8) Structure for Tagalog *mag-* Causative of Transitive



The embedded verb incorporates into the causative verb, and although it is not indicated in this structure or those that follow, the complex [CAUS + V] head is assumed to continue to head move to Agr_O, T and Agr_S. The causer in (8) moves within its clause for Case checking at LF. The causand gets inherent Case since it is in the COMPL of V position. The causee is left Caseless since with AT morphology, the matrix Agr_O has no Case features. Preposition insertion is therefore invoked as a last resort to satisfy the Case requirements of the causee. If the causand or the causee were [+SCase] instead, the derivation would fail since only one structural Case can be checked in an AT structure, and the causer has no alternative means of meeting its Case requirements.

The causee can alternatively move for Case checking with the appropriate change in verbal morphology and appear as the NABS NP as in (7b) represented in the structure in (9).

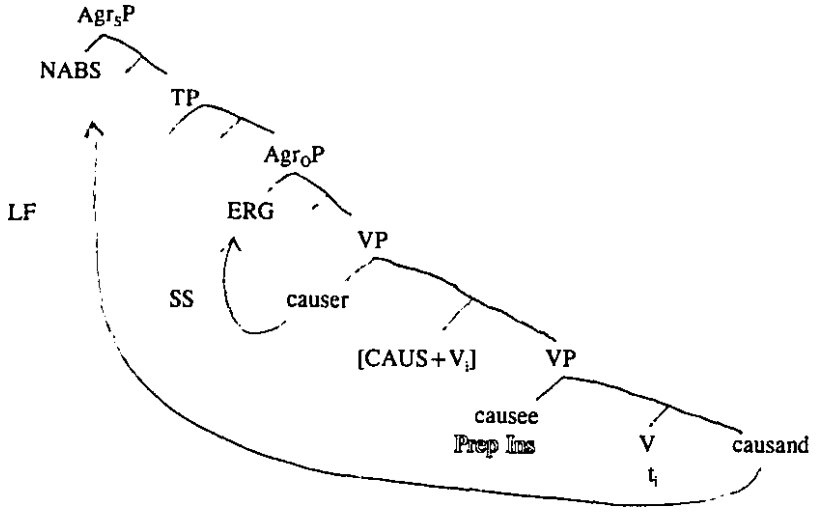
(9) Structure for Tagalog *-in* Causative of Transitive



In this structure, the causee gets Case checked in SPEC of Agr_S while the causer gets its ERG Case checked in SPEC of Agr_O. There is no need for preposition insertion since the causee can be Case checked by moving to the matrix Agr_S. The causand is non-specific and again gets inherent ACC Case in COMPL of V position. The structure satisfies the NP movement constraints proposed by Murasugi (1992) since one movement (to SPEC of Agr_O) takes place at the level of SS, and the other movement (to SPEC of Agr_S) takes place at LF. If the causand were [+SCase] instead, then it would not be able to check that Case feature in the structure since the two structural Case checking positions are filled. If one of these positions is available, however, then such a derivation would succeed. This is exactly what happens in the example we will consider next.

There is a final alternative in which the causand moves to the matrix SPEC of Agr_S for NABS Case as illustrated in (7c) and represented structurally in (10).

(10) Structure for Tagalog *i-* Causative of Transitive



In (10), ERG Case can be checked in the SPEC of Agr_O since there is no AT morphology. The causer is the closest NP with features to check and therefore it gets Case checked in that position. This time the causand does not require inherent Case as a non-specific NP, rather it is [+SCase] and therefore must move for Case checking to SPEC of Agr_S at LF. In this structure, then, preposition insertion must again be invoked for the causee.

Next let us turn to some examples where there is no causand, namely examples of causatives of intransitives. These can be expressed in two ways. The possibilities are illustrated for the causative of the intransitive verb *takbo* 'run'.

(11) Causative of Intransitive Alternatives

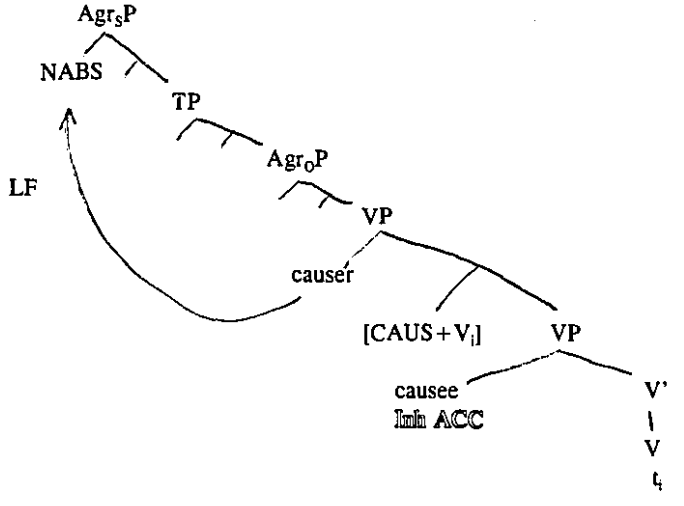
a. mag-pa-pa-takbo si Ben ng mga aso
MAG-ASP-CAUS-run NABS Ben ACC PL dog
'Ben will let some dogs run.'

b. pa-ta-takbuh-in ni Ben ang mga aso
CAUS-ASP-run-IN ERG Ben NABS PL dog
'Ben will let the dogs run.'

Consider the Cases that appear in (11). First, notice that either the causer (11a) or the causee (11b) can appear with NABS Case. Second, notice that the causee in (11a) bears the *ng* Case marker. These Case facts follow from my analysis. The structures I propose for the sentences in (11) are given in (12) and (13) below.

As noted in section 3.7, intransitive verbs could have their sole argument in either SPEC of VP or COMPL of V position underlyingly. The position of the argument of an unergative verb like 'run' is SPEC of VP. This is represented structurally in (12) which corresponds to (11a).

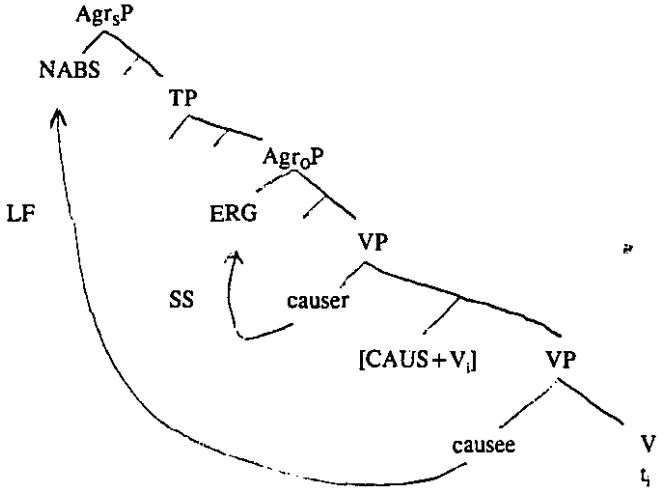
(12) Structure for Tagalog *mag-* Causative of Intransitive



When an unergative verb is causativized, there is no causand, there is only a causee. Since there is no COMPL of V, the causee in the SPEC of a VP selected by a V may receive inherent Case. Note that this pattern could only be found in languages where VP is selected directly by the causative verb. Note further that this example suggests that inherent Case is more appropriately restricted in terms of structure rather than in terms of θ role, as proposed in section 5.5. An NP which is not a theme, namely the causee,

receives inherent ACC Case in (11a). In (12), the causer is Case checked in SPEC of Agr_S and no Case is checked in SPEC of Agr_O since there is AT morphology on the verb. If the causee were generated instead with a [+SCase] feature, then the derivation would fail because that feature could not get checked. The causee must therefore be [-SCase]. As a result the causee appears with the *ng* Case marker. If there is no AT morphology in a causative of an intransitive, then it is possible for the causee to be [+SCase] as in example (11b), structurally represented in (13).

(13) Structure for Tagalog *-in* Causative of Intransitive



In this structure, Agr_O does have Case features and so the causer is Case checked in its SPEC. The causee can then be Case checked in SPEC of Agr_S. Neither inherent Case assignment nor preposition insertion are necessary. These structures once again adhere to the constraints on movement proposed by Murasugi (1992) and used here. There are neither crossing nor nested paths at a single level in the structures. Similar analyses are possible for the causatives of unaccusative verbs. In these sentences the sole argument of the embedded verb is a causand. It is generated instead in a COMPL of V, in which

it can receive inherent Case, or in the absence of AT morphology from which it can move for Case checking. The resulting Case patterns are the same as those exhibited by the causative of an unergative in (11).

Thus all the different causative alternatives of (7) and (11) can be accommodated easily in the one structure. This is possible since Tagalog makes less use of structural Case checking than the languages under consideration in Watanabe (1993), for example. Tagalog has two special Case mechanisms: preposition insertion and inherent Case assignment therefore it can depend less on structural Case checking. The availability of two special Case assigning mechanisms gives rise to a mixed causative type, which is neither strictly type 1, nor strictly type 2. The Case mechanisms normally assiciated with both types are available. We saw in section 5.7 how the availability of additional Cases was key to the parameter which sets Tagalog apart from typical ergative and typical accusative languages.

6.3 The Analysis of Conjunction Reduction (CR)

Recall from chapter 4 that the sentences relevant to CR were like the following (repeated from section 4.2.3).

(14) CR with Backwards Coreference

[mag-hihintay]	at	[mag-bibintang	ang kawal	ng heneral]
AT-will.wait	and	AT-will.accuse	NOM soldier	ACC general

'ec will wait and the soldier will accuse a general.'

≠ a general will wait (P)

= the soldier will wait (A)

In the construction, there is an empty category in one conjunct that takes its reference

from an overt NP in the other. It was noted that the NP which is taken to be coreferent with the empty category is always a NABS NP. Recall further that the coreference relation was shown to be syntactic when the empty category was in the first conjunct, otherwise, discourse context comes into play leading to a wider range of possibilities.

6.3.1 The Empty Category in CR

First we can determine the kind of empty category involved. Both conjuncts contain fully inflected verbs and hence Case is checked in the SPEC of Agr_S of each. The empty category in CR constructions in Tagalog cannot be PRO, but rather it must be a small pro, since it is a Case checked category. As a small pro, this empty category is subject to condition B of the binding theory. The binding conditions are provided in (15) (these were also applied in section 5.6.4).

(15) Binding Conditions [Chomsky & Lasnik, 1991, 62]

A. An anaphor must be bound in a local domain
B. A pronoun must be free in a local domain
C. An r-expression must be free

An element is bound if it is c-commanded by an antecedent NP with which it is coindexed. C-command is in turn defined as follows:

(16) C-command [Chomsky & Lasnik, 1991, 16]

a c-commands *b* if *a* does not dominate *b* and
every maximal projection that dominates *a* dominates *b*.

Note that the pro in CR does not freely take its reference as would be expected of pro, however. That is, this pro is obligatorily bound and must take its reference from an NP within the sentence. The particular properties associated with this pro are similar to the properties of obligatorily bound pro discussed by Murasugi (1992) which are in

turn like the properties of an anaphor discussed by Iatridou (1986), as we will now see.

Iatridou (1986) shows that the Modern Greek anaphor *ton eafton tou* is subject to condition A of the binding theory (see (15) above) like anaphors in other languages. More importantly, she points out that there is another Modern Greek anaphor, *o idhios*, which is not subject to condition A. Instead this anaphor must be bound within its sentence but cannot be bound within its own clause, as the facts in (17) show.

(17) Modern Greek Anaphor Binding [Iatridou, 1986, 768]

a. o Yanis theli o Costas na voithisi ton idhio
John wants Costas helps O IDHIOS
'John$_i$ wants Costas$_k$ to help himself$_{i/*k}$.'

b. o Yanis theli o Costas na voithisi ton eafton tou
John wants Costas helps TON EAFTON TOU
'John$_i$ wants Costas$_k$ to help himself$_{*i/k}$.'

According to Iatridou (1986), then, the anaphor *o idhios* is subject to condition D: it must be "bound in the whole sentence but free in the governing category" (Iatridou, 1986, 769). Let us call this kind of anaphor a DNP for an NP that is subject to condition D. We can rephrase the condition proposed by Iatridou in the same terms as the above conditions in (15) for convenience as (18).

(18) Binding Condition D [rephrased from Iatridou, 1986, 769]

D. A DNP must be bound in its wide domain but free in a local domain

This condition D applies not only to overt anaphors, as it did in Greek, but as with the other binding conditions it can also be applied to empty categories. Murasugi (1992) does exactly this. She suggests that in many ergative languages, there are instances of obligatory pro binding in subordination constructions like the one in example (19) from

Niuean.

(19) Niuean: Obligatory pro Binding [Murasugi, 1992, 172]

ne manako	a laua$_i$	[ke ec$_i$	mamate]
PST want	NOM 3p	SUBV	die.PL

'They wanted to die.'

The embedded clause is subjunctive and the bound empty category (ec$_i$) receives Case, unlike PRO in English. The relevant condition Murasugi (1992) invokes for the binding of this pro is condition D suggested by Iatridou (1986) for overt anaphors. Thus the empty element in (19) as analysed by Murasugi is a DNP in our terms.

Examples of obligatory pro binding that are very much like this one are also found in Tagalog. Namely, in embedded clauses, a bound empty category can alternate with an overt NP without any change in verbal morphology. Two pairs of examples that illustrate the pattern are given in (20) and (21).

(20) Tagalog Obligatory pro Binding in AT Clause

a.

nais	nila$_i$	-ng	magluto	**ang** bata$_i$	ng karne	para kay Julio
want	3p	LK	AT.cook	**NABS** child	ACC meat	for OBL Julio

'They want the child to cook meat for Julio.'

b.

nais	nila$_i$	-ng	magluto	ec$_i$	ng karne	para kay Julio
want	3p	LK	AT.cook	**NABS**	ACC meat	for OBL Julio

'They want to cook meat for Julio.'

In (20a), the embedded clause is AT and NABS Case on the A is checked in the lower SPEC of Agr_S. Unlike in English where no Case can be checked in Agr_S in a tenseless clause, Case is checked in Agr_S in Tagalog (in the absence of Recent Past morphology which was discussed in section 5.6.5) regardless of whether a clause has aspect. In (20b), the form of the embedded clause is identical to that in (20a), except that the A is not

overt. Presumably the same Case is checked on that null A. The empty bound element is assumed to be Case checked and hence is an obligatorily bound pro, not a PRO. Similarly in PT embedded clauses as in (21), I claim that the A, whether overt or empty, is Case checked.

(21) Tagalog Obligatory pro Binding in PT Clause

a.	sinubukan	ni Juan	na	kurut-in	**ng** babae	si Lina
	tried(PT)	ERG Juan	LK	pinch-PT	**ERG** woman	ABS Lina
	'Juan tried (to get) the woman to pinch Lina.'					
b.	sinubukan	ni Juan$_i$	na	kurut-in	**ec**$_i$	si Lina
	tried(PT)	ERG Juan	LK	pinch-PT	**ERG**	ABS Lina
	'Juan$_i$ tried PRO$_i$ to pinch Lina.'					

In (21a), the Case on the A, *ng babae*, is checked in SPEC of Agr_O, which is possible in the absence of AT morphology. Alternatively, with the same verb form and the same Case checking features available, the A can be an empty category. I claim that this empty category is also an obligatorily bound pro, unlike in English where the empty category in similar contexts is PRO. This pro obeys condition D in being bound by the ERG NP in the matrix clause in (20b) and (21b). In each case, binding condition D can be assumed to hold either at SS or at LF.

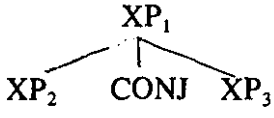
Returning to our discussion of CR, I propose that the empty category in backwards CR is also an obligatorily bound pro that is subject to condition D. It is an anaphoric pro in the sense that it cannot take its reference from outside the sentence. It is, however, bound by an NP outside of its clause. In CR, the pro is not in a subordinate clause and bound by an NP in a matrix clause, as was the case for the pro in examples (19), (20), and (21), but rather pro is in one conjunct and is bound by an NP in another

conjunct.

6.3.2 The Phrase Structure of Conjunctions

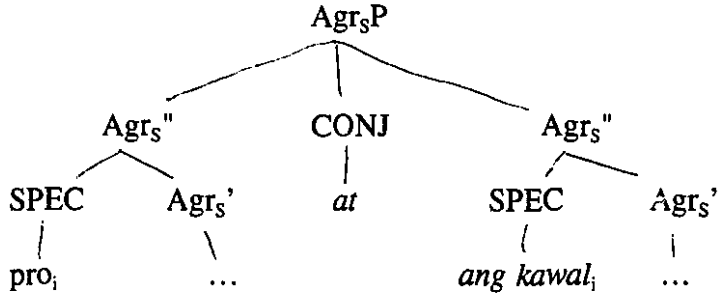
Consider the configuration in which the CR pro binding occurs. Assume first that the structure of conjoined clauses is flat as in (22).

(22) Flat Conjunction Structure



A problem with this structure arises immediately. The problem is that in CR, the clause containing the binder and the clause containing the pro are in a parallel positions in their respective clauses. This is illustrated in the partial LF tree representation of a sentence like (14), given in (23).

(23) CR Binding: In a Flat Structure

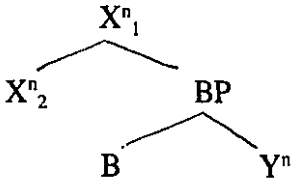


In the conjunction structure in (23), there is a conjunction of two projections of Agr_S. These are represented as Agr_S" nodes in the structure. The maximal projection of both Agr_S" nodes is represented as the Agr_SP node in the structure. The Agr_SP is simultaneously a maximal projection of both Agr_S" nodes, while neither Agr_S" projection is maximal itself. In this structure, the SPECs of the Agr_S" projections are in a mutual

c-command relationship since the maximal projection that dominates them both is Agr_SP. Since pro is c-commanded by *ang kawal*, it can be bound by it in accordance with condition D. However, if the binder *ang kawal* in one conjunct can bind pro in the other conjunct, then the binder itself, an r-expression, would be bound by pro. This cannot be the case since the pro would then induce a violation of condition C (that r-expressions must be free).

There are other proposals in the literature for the phrase structure of conjunction to consider. Following a suggestion of Munn (1992), the structure of conjunction can be assumed to be hierarchical, with one conjunct adjoining to another. The structure for conjunction that he proposed, is given in (24), where "X and Y are projections of the heads of the conjoined constituents" (Munn, 1992, 19).

(24) Conjunction by BP Adjunction [Munn, 1992, 18]



Using an adjoined BP (for Boolean Phrase), as indicated in the structure in (24), Munn (1992) accounts for some binding asymmetries in coordinate structures. For example, in the conjunction of NPs in English, a pronoun in the second conjunct can be coindexed with an r-expression in the first conjunct (25a) but not vice versa (25b).

(25) Binding Asymmetries in Conjunction [Munn, 1992, 20]

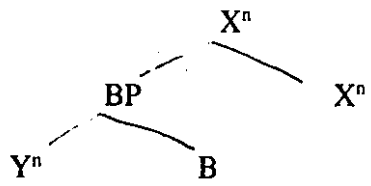
a. $John_i$'s dog and he_i / him_i went for a walk.
b. *He_i and $John_i$'s dog went for a walk.

As noted by Munn, in (24), X^n_1 is a projection of X^n_2 but not of Y^n, in contrast to the flat

structure in (22) where both conjuncts project simultaneously to the same maximal projection (XP_1). This alleviates the problem at hand since one conjunct in (24), X^n_2, asymmetrically c-commands the other conjunct, Y^n, in our context, it is the SPEC positions that are relevant.

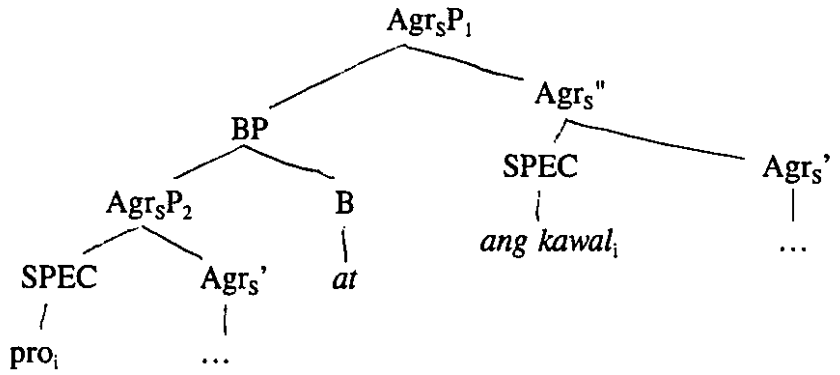
In English, the BP adjoins to the right, as in (24). However, in Tagalog, it seems that BP can adjoin either to the right, or in backwards coreference examples, the BP adjoins to the left as in (26).

(26) Left BP Adjunction



The relevant category of X and Y in (26) for our CR sentences can be taken to be Agr_S. The partial LF representation for a sentence like (14) involving CR, then, would be as in (27).

(27) CR Binding: Hierarchical Structure



Here *ang kawal* in the SPEC of Agr_S" does not violate condition C as was the case in the

flat structure in (23) since the BP maximal projection dominates pro but not *ang kawal*. As such, this r-expression is not c-commanded and hence is not bound by pro in (27). The pro, however, is bound by *ang kawal* as desired, since Agr_SP_1 is the maximal projection of Agr_S" in the adjunction structure, and hence by the definition in (16), the SPEC of Agr_S" c-commands into Agr_SP_2. This analysis immediately accounts for the fact that the coreferent NP in CR must be a NABS NP. Other candidates for the coreferent NP are further embedded within Agr_S" and hence do not c-command into Agr_SP_2. The generalization about CR thus follows from the structural assumptions made. The pro is appropriately bound by a NABS r-expression that is within its sentence, Agr_SP_1, but not within its clause, Agr_S", in accordance with condition D.

Note that the binding of pro in this construction takes place at LF. Consider the structure in (27) again. At SS, the binder *ang kawal* is not in SPEC of Agr_S. Therefore there can be no binding relation between *ang kawal* and pro at SS, since there is no c-command relation between them. The earliest possible level at which there can be binding between conjuncts is at LF when the SPEC of Agr_SP is filled. Thus binding between conjuncts must hold at LF. Recall that condition D could be satisfied either at SS or LF in the subordination constructions discussed in 6.3.1 (see (20) and (21) above). It was noted in 5.6.4 that the binding conditions may hold at different levels. Condition D might be expected to hold at LF while at the same time condition A holds at SS. Thus CR is handled, using the proposed structure, as an instance of obligatory pro binding.

6.4 Raising in Tagalog

A final complex sentence configuration that will be considered in terms of the proposed structure is raising. In raising constructions an NP which is an argument of an embedded verb may occur in a matrix clause containing a particular kind of verb, a raising verb. The alternating configurations without and with raising are provided schematically in (28).

(28) Potential Raising Configurations

a. [$V_{raising}$ [A V P]]
b. [A_i $V_{raising}$ [ec_i V P]]

The A in (28b) is not an argument of the raising verb but rather is an argument of the embedded verb. Raising is thus analysed within Principles and Parameters theory as an instance of NP movement of A from the position of ec_i in (28b). While raising is commonly found in accusative languages, it is noted in Murasugi (1992, 64) that ergative languages do not generally have raising, although she notes that languages like Tongan and Niuean do seem to exceptionally have raising. Here, we can gain some insight by examining the properties of raising in a hybrid language like Tagalog.

First, since this complex sentence type has not yet been discussed, the data will be presented. An example of a raising verb in Tagalog is the verb *magmukha* 'to appear'. An NP which is an argument of the embedded clause raises to become the nominative argument of *magmukha* as this pair illustrates.[2]

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[2]Sentences involving raising with *magmukha* were acceptable to one speaker I worked with, who had clear judgements concerning the construction. Unfortunately, these judgements could not be verified with other speakers for whom such raising was not acceptable.

(29) Raising of NABS S

a. nag-mukha -ng [palagi natutulog si Ben]
AT-appeared -LK often MA.sleeps NABS Ben
'It appeared that Ben sleeps often.'

b. nag-mumukha **si Ben** na [palagi ma-tulog **ec**]
AT-appears **NABS Ben** LK often MA-sleep **NABS**
'Ben$_i$ appears NP-t$_i$ to sleep often.'

In both sentences, the NP *si Ben* is the sole argument of the intransitive embedded verb, *tulog* 'sleep'. In (29b), the NP indicated in bold has raised to the matrix clause, as is evidenced by the fact that it appears before the linker *na* (see section 1.3.2), which connects clauses in Tagalog. The verb form of *tulog* changes in aspect mirroring the change in tense in the English sentences, however the Tagalog aspect need not change as in English raising, as will be discussed section 6.4.1. In addition to NABS S, NABS A arguments can also raise to the matrix clause, as illustrated in the following pair of sentences.

(30) Raising of NABS A

a. nag-mumukha-ng [kumain ang bata ng adobo]
AT-appears-LK AT.eat NABS child ACC adobo
'It appears that the child ate adobo.'

b. nag-mumukha **ang bata** na [kumain **ec** ng adobo]
AT-appears **NABS child** LK AT.eat **NABS** ACC adobo
'The child$_i$ appears NP-t$_i$ to have eaten adobo.'

The verb *magmukha* cannot take an argument itself. That is, it cannot appear with an argument that is not an argument of the embedded verb, as shown in (31), indicating that it does indeed act like a raising verb. *Magmukha* assigns no θ role, so the NP *si Fe* has no role in (31).

(31) *Magmukha* is a raising verb

*nagmukha si Fe -ng [luminlang ang babae ng kawal]
AT.appeared NABS Fe -LK AT-betray NABS woman ACC soldier
for: 'Fe appeared that the woman betrayed a soldier.'

Thus raising in Tagalog seems to work like raising in English as can be seen in the English translations in the above examples.

As in English, where it is possible to passivize the embedded verb so that the P argument raises, a NABS P can raise in Tagalog. The pair in (32) shows that with a PT lower verb, *nilinis* 'was cleaned', the NABS P argument *ang buong bahay* can raise.

(32) Raising of NABS P

a. nag-mukha-ng [nilinis ni Fe ang buong bahay]
AT-appeared-LK cleaned(PT) ERG Fe NABS whole house
'It appeared that the whole house was cleaned by Fe.'

b. nag-mukha **ang buong bahay** na [nilinis ni Fe **ec**]
AT-appeared **NABS whole house** LK cleaned(PT) ERG Fe **NABS**
'The whole house$_i$ appeared NP-t_i to have been cleaned by Fe.'

As in English, where it is not possible to raise the P if the embedded clause is not passivized, the sentence must be PT for the P to raise in Tagalog, as indicated in (33), where the embedded verb is in AT form.

(33) Raising of ACC P

*nagmumukha **ang mangga** na [kumain ang bata **ec**]
AT.appears **NABS mango** LK AT.ate NABS child **ACC**
for: 'The mango$_i$ appears that the child ate NP-t_i.'

There is a generalization in English that only nominative NPs may raise, just as in Tagalog a generalization is that only NABS NPs may raise. This conclusion concurs with that of Kroeger (1993, 30) who presents similar facts using different types of raising

verbs, including verbs such as *pinagiisipan* 'is thought to' and *inasahan* 'was expected to'.

6.4.1 Raising as NP-movement

Since the raising facts presented are similar to those in English, the analysis may be expected to be the same. However, there is a crucial difference between Tagalog and English that is relevant to the analysis of these sentences. In the analysis of English raising, the fact that the embedded clause is tenseless motivates the raising of a Caseless NP to the matrix clause. Consider the verb forms in the raising examples above. In (29), the verb form changes, but in (30) and (32), the verb forms in each pair are identical, whether there is raising or not. This is problematic for an NP movement analysis of raising.

Put another way, NP movement in raising constructions in English is motivated by the fact that the NP is Caseless in its own clause. The NPs that undergo raising in Tagalog are not Caseless in their embedded positions, since the topic markers are present, indicating that NABS Case has been checked. If the NPs are not Caseless then the NP movement is not motivated. There must be an alternative analysis for these sentences.

6.4.2 Raising as Wh-movement

I propose another analysis of raising in Tagalog that is unconventional but that overcomes the problem of motivating movement. This alternative analysis involves moving a null operator (indicated with the symbol Op below) as proposed for certain English constructions in Chomsky (1981) and elsewhere. This null operator movement

is wh-movement, not NP movement and hence it need not be Case motivated. Such an analysis thus resolves the dilemma of motivating the movement in the raising constructions. We will see that this analysis differs from the analysis of raising in Niuean sketched in Massam (1994) which does not involve wh-movement. After laying out the proposed analysis in more detail we will see that there is some supporting evidence for the hypothesis that raising in Tagalog involves wh-movement. Namely, raising is subject to the same constraints as wh-movement, it resembles *tough* movement which has a similar analysis and finally, it licenses parasitic gaps.

6.4.2.1 The Empty Category in Raising

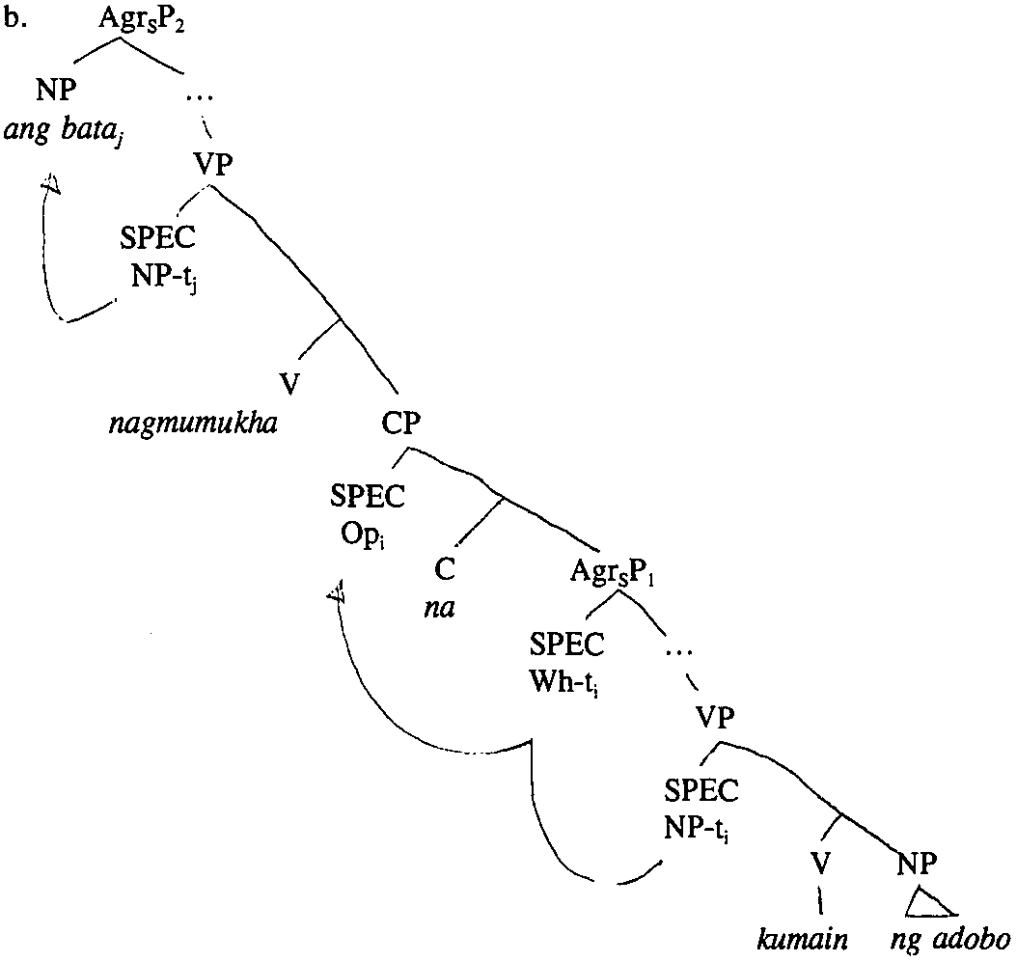
The structure is given below and the analysis is as follows: A null operator is generated in the base position where the NP would have "raised" from. In this position the operator receives a θ role but generally no Case. From here it NP-moves to the SPEC of Agr_SP where it receives Case. The Case marked operator then wh-moves to the SPEC of CP position. The "raised" NP that appears in the higher clause is in fact base generated there under this analysis. We can assume that this NP is generated in SPEC of the matrix VP and it can satisfy its Case requirements if it is [+SCase] by moving at LF for Case checking to the matrix SPEC of Agr_SP position. The resulting empty categories in the embedded clause are thus (a) the operator in SPEC of CP, (b) usually a wh-t in SPEC of Agr_SP, which is bound by the operator in SPEC of CP, and (c) the NP-t left in the base position of the operator. This type of derivation will be referred to as wh-raising to distinguish it from the analysis of raising that involves NP movement. In fact, there is no raising *per se* in wh-raising since the "raised" NP is base generated

in the matrix clause. The proposed structure for a raising sentence like (30b), repeated in (34a) is given in (34b).

(34) Wh-Raising Structure

a. nag-mumukha **ang bata** na [kumain ng adobo]
AT-appears **NABS child** LK AT.eat ACC adobo
'The child appears to have eaten adobo.'

b.



The verb movement is not indicated in the structure, but is assumed to occur at SS. The movement of the other elements is represented and it takes place at LF. The NP, *ang bata*, which is assumed to be base generated in SPEC of VP, can bind the operator yielding the correct interpretation. The θ role assignment operation is assumed to be

carried out by predication, following Williams (1980). Recall that the raising verb could not license an argument itself (31). An NP can only be licensed in the SPEC of Agr_SP of a raising verb if there is a null operator below. In (31), for example, there is no operator for the NP *si Fe* to bind and the sentence is ungrammatical.

Thus I suggest that the crucial movement in Tagalog raising is not NP-movement, but rather it is wh-movement and will suggest why this mechanism might be found in a language like Tagalog in section 6.4.4. This analysis overcomes the problem of motivating the movement in raising constructions brought up in sections 6.4.1. An NP occurs felicitously in the matrix clause containing a raising verb only when there is an operator in the lower clause.

6.4.2.2 Wh-movement Constraints

As a result of assuming a wh-movement analysis, the mechanism employed in raising is the same as that in relativization, and this has consequences in the grammar. As expected, the same overall generalization holds of both processes. It was noted in section 1.3.8 that generally only *ang* phrases can be extracted in relativization. Here we have seen that only *ang* phrases can wh-raise. In support of the wh-raising analysis I will show next that not only does this overall generalization hold of both processes but the exceptions to the generalization also hold of both relativization and raising. Specifically, there are some exceptions to the generalization that only *ang* phrases can be extracted that were outlined in Cena (1979). These include the possibility of extracting *ng* possessors, *ng* comitatives and *ng* phrases of comparison. I will show that whenever extraction of a non-*ang* NP is possible, so is wh-raising of that NP.

Possessors are marked with a genitive *ng* marker. Under certain conditions, the *ng* possessors can be extracted. Thus the possessor *ng lalaki* in (35a) can be extracted in relativization as in (35b), for example.

(35) Extraction of Possessor of NABS

a. umalis [ang aso ng lalaki]
AT-left NABS dog NG man
'The man's dog left.'

b. gusto ko **ang lalaki**-ng umalis [ang aso t]
like ERG-1s **NABS man** -LK AT.left NABS dog
'I like the man whose dog left.'

c. *umalis [ang aso ang lalaki]
AT-left NABS dog NABS man
for: 'The man's dog left.'

This extraction possibility is unusual since relativization generally targets only *ang* phrases. In (35b), an *ang* phrase that contained the possessor is left behind and only the possessor itself is extracted. If left in place, the possessor cannot be an *ang* phrase, as (35c) illustrates. If raising uses the same mechanism, as I am claiming, then raising of possessors should also be possible. This is indeed the case, as shown in (36).

(36) Wh-Raising of Possessor of NABS

nagmumukha **ang lalaki**-ng umalis [ang aso t]
AT.appears **NABS man** -LK AT-left NABS dog
'The man appears to be whose dog left.'

Furthermore, where possessor extraction is not permitted, neither is possessor raising. While possessor extraction is possible from a NABS phrase as in (35), there is no possessor extraction possible from a ngA phrase, for example, as illustrated in (37).

(37) No Extraction of Possessor of ERG

*gusto ko **ang babae**-ng linuto [ng nanay t] ang adobo
like 1sERG **NABS woman**-LK cooked(PT) ERG mother NABS adobo
for: 'I like the woman whose mother cooked the adobo.'

Parallel to (37), there is no possessor raising from a ngA phrase, as shown in (38).

(38) No Wh-Raising of Possessor of ERG

*nagmumukha **ang babae**-ng lutuin [ng nanay t] ang adobo
AT.appears **NABS woman**-LK cook.PT ERG mother NABS adobo
for: 'The woman appears to be whose mother cooked adobo.'

The fact that raising is subject to the same constraints as relativization supports the analysis that raising is wh-movement.

Next consider further evidence along these lines. Other exceptional types of *ng* phrase extraction involve the *ng* arguments of comitative and comparative constructions. These examples, originally discussed in Cena (1979), are analysed within an Economy approach in Nakamura (1993). I have chosen examples which are more clearly verbal than those presented in Cena (1979) to illustrate my point. The first type of construction is the comitative *ka-* construction (39a). Indeed the *ng* marked NP of a comitative verb like *kinaibigan* (ASP-ka-friend) can exceptionally be relativized (39b), unlike most *ng* marked NPs in Tagalog.

(39) Comitative Extraction

a. kinaibigan ng kawal ang babae
made.friends NG soldier NABS woman
'The soldier made friends with the woman.'

b. gusto ko **ang kawal** na [kinaibigan t ang babae]
like 1sERG **NABS soldier** LK made.friends NABS woman
'I like the soldier that made friends with the woman.'

The same *ng* argument can be raised, contrary to the generalization that only *ang* phrases can raise, but in support of the raising as wh-movement analysis.

(40) Comitative Wh-Raising

a. nag-mukha-ng [kinaibigan ng kawal ang babae]
AT-appeared-LK made.friends NG soldier NABS woman
'It appeared that the soldier made friends with the woman.'

b. nagmukha **ang kawal** na [kinaibigan t ang babae]
AT-appeared **NABS soldier** LK made.friends NABS woman
'The soldier appeared to make friends with the woman.'

Finally, extraction of a non-*ang* phrase can also occur in the comparative *kasing*-construction. The construction involves a *ng* phrase of comparison, as shown in (2a). This *ng* phrase can be extracted by relativizing in (2b), again contrary to the *ang*-only restriction on relativization.

(41) Extraction of *ng* Phrase of Comparison

a. kasing-taas ng lolo ang nanay
KASING-tall NG grandfather NABS mother
'Grandfather is as tall as mother.'

b. naka-kilala ako **ng lalaki** na [kasing-taas t ang nanay]
AT-met 1sNABS **ACC man** LK KASING-tall NABS mother
'I met a man who is as tall as mother.'

As predicted, the *ng* phrase of comparison can also be raised, (42).

(42) Wh-Raising of *ng* Phrase of Comparison

nag-mumukha **ang lolo** -ng [kasing-taas t ang nanay]
AT-appears **NABS grandfather** LK KASING-tall NABS mother
'Grandfather appears to be as tall as mother.'

For an Economy-based analysis of these wh-movement possibilities in Tagalog, see Nakamura (1995). The point here is that the generalizations, and the subtle exceptions

to it, apply to both wh-extraction and wh-raising, which would be expected if the same syntactic mechanism is responsible for deriving both phenomena.

6.4.2.3 *Tough* movement and Raising: a Parallel

Not only is raising parallel to relativization, but there is another parallel to be made between these raising constructions and *tough* constructions. *Tough* movement has also been considered to be an instance of wh-movement (see e.g. Chomsky 1981, 1986a). Furthermore, it was argued that *tough* constructions in Tagalog in particular can involve wh-movement in Montalbetti *et al* (1983). They provide the *tough* construction in (43).

(43) *Tough* construction [Montalbetti *et al*, 1983, 8-9]

madali-ng basahin [ang libro-ng iyan]
easy-LK read-PT NABS book-LK that
'That book is easy to read.'
'It is easy to read that book.'

Note the two different meanings associated with the sentence. They suggest the ambiguity of the sentence stems from optional (and string vacuous) wh-movement of the NP *ang libro-ng iyan* 'that book'. Evidence that the NP can belong to the matrix clause comes from the fact that the NP can occur before elements belonging to the matrix clause, and before the linker. In (44b) for example, the raised NP *ang libro* preceeds the PP [*para sa bata*], and the linker *-ng*.

(44) *Tough* movement [Montalbetti *et al*, 1983, 9]

a. madali para sa bata-ng basahin ang libro
easy for OBL child-LK read-PT NABS book
'It is easy for the child to read the book.'

b. madali **ang libro** para sa bata-ng basahin
easy **NABS book** for OBL child-LK read-PT
'The book is easy for the child to read.'

Examples like (44b) are taken by Montalbetti *et al* to be derived from (44a) by direct wh-movement of *ang libro*. The NP is assumed to wh-move to a position outside the embedded clause and then is reanalysed as a part of the matrix clause. Under more recent assumptions, the construction might also be analysed as involving wh-movement but the wh-movement would be of a null operator. The Tagalog *tough* construction in (44b) could be analysed as null operator movement with base-generation of the matrix subject and predication, along the lines suggested by Chomsky (1986a) for English *tough* constructions. Thus there is another construction type in Tagalog that could be given an analysis much like the analysis of raising proposed in section 6.4.2.1. This makes the wh-raising analysis seem more plausible, since the same null operator mechanism seems to be operative elsewhere in the language. Schematically, the parallel LF structures can be represented as in (45).

(45) Wh-Raising and *Tough* Configurations

a. $[\ A_j \quad V_{raising} \quad [\ Op_{ij}\ [LK\ \ Wh\text{-}t_i\ \ V\ \ P\ \ NP\text{-}t_i]]]$
b. $[\ A_j \quad V_{tough} \quad [\ Op_{ij}\ [LK\ \ Wh\text{-}t_i\ \ V\ \ P\ \ NP\text{-}t_i]]]$

The relation represented by the j indices is a binding relation, not a movement relation. There is movement only in the embedded clause and this movement chain is represented with the i indices.

A further point to make regarding the three-way parallel between *tough* constructions, wh-extraction and wh-raising in Tagalog is as follows. We saw in the previous section that the latter two processes could exceptionally operate on *ng*

possessors. A further example of this exceptional wh-movement is provided here. It is shown that *tough* constructions can also operate on *ng* possessors. Since all three processes are analysed as instances of wh-movement, this result is expected.

It has already been shown above that the *ng* possessor of an *ang* S argument can be extracted. The following pair shows that the *ng* possessor of an *ang* P argument can also be extracted in relativization.

(46) Extraction of Possessor of NABS P

a. naririnig ko [ang awit ng ibon]
can.hear 1sERG NABS song NG bird
'I can hear the bird's song.'

b. gusto ko **ang ibon** na naririnig ko [ang awit t]
like 1sERG **NABS bird** LK can.hear 1sERG NABS song
'I like the bird whose song I can hear.'

In raising, analogously, the *ng* possessor (*ng ibon na iyon*) in (47a) can wh-raise leaving behind the *ang* P (*ang awit*) as in (47b).

(47) Raising of Possessor of NABS P

a. nag-mumukha-ng naririnig ko [ang awit [ng ibon na iyon]]
AT-appears-LK can.hear 1sERG NABS song NG bird LK that
'It appears that I am able to hear the song of that bird.'

b. nag-mumukha **ang ibon na iyon** na naririnig ko [ang awit t]
AT-appears **NABS bird LK that** LK can.hear 1sERG NABS song
'That bird appears to be whose song I am hearing.'

In *tough* movement, the *ng* possessor can also move from its base position leaving behind the *ang* P. The basic sentence is given in (48a). A *tough* construction is given in (48b) and a sentence where *tough* movement has occurred, as indicated by the position of the NP before the linker *na*, is given in (48c). Note that in (48c) there are two *ang* phrases,

whereas a single clause can never contain two *ang* phrases.

(48) *Tough* movement of Possessor of NABS P

a. nakilala ko [ang awit ng ibon na iyon]
recognize 1sERG NABS song NG bird LK that
'I recognized the song of that bird.'

b. madali-ng makilala [ang awit [ng ibon na iyon]]
easy-LK recognize NABS song NG bird LK that
'It is easy to recognize the song of that bird.'

c. madali **ang ibon na iyon** na makilala [ang awit t]
easy **NABS bird LK that** LK recognize NABS song
'That bird is easy to recognize the song of.'

Evidence from *tough* constructions thus lends support to the analysis proposed here that Tagalog raising is actually wh-movement.

6.4.2.4 Parasitic Gap Evidence

Further support for the raising as wh-movement analysis can be gleaned from evidence from parasitic gaps. Parasitic gaps are licensed by the trace left by wh-movement. The empty category (ec_i) of chains of the form [wh-word$_i$, wh-t_i, ec_i] or for null operator movement, [Op_i, wh-t_i, ec_i] are known as parasitic gaps (see Chomsky 1982, 1986a). A standard example of a parasitic gap licensed by a wh-phrase is given in bold in (49a), and an example showing that the same kind of parasitic gap is not licensed in the absence of wh-movement is given in (49b).

(49) Wh-movement Licenses a Parasitic Gap [Chomsky, 1986, 111]

a. Which book$_i$ did you file ec_i [without reading **ec_i**]
b. *The book can be filed ec_i [without reading **ec_i**]

In arguing for a null operator analysis of *tough* movement constructions, Raposo (1987) shows that *tough* movement can also license parasitic gaps in European Portuguese, as

in English.

(50) European Portuguese: *Tough* movement licenses a parasitic gap
[Raposo, 1987, 105]

Esses relógios são difíceis de arranjar sem abrir primeiro.
'Those watches are difficult to repair without opening first.'

In Tagalog, the issue of whether parasitic gaps are licensed is obscured by the widespread dropping of pronouns in discourse, see section 4.2.1. In an example of a Tagalog sentence which is not expected to license a parasitic gap, like (51), the pronoun is optional, unlike in the English translation.

(51) Tagalog Optional Pronouns

inayos	ni Juan	ang relos	na hindi na	binuksan	muna	(ito)	
repaired	ERG Juan	NABS watch	without	open	first	3sNABS	

*'Juan repaired the watch without opening first.'
'Juan repaired the watch without opening it first.'

In applying the test of parasitic gap licensing, this could present a problem. Namely, it is difficult to determine whether the missing element is a parasitic gap or simply a dropped pronoun. However, on examination of contexts which should license parasitic gaps, it seems that an overt pronoun is not acceptable in Tagalog. Consider examples of wh-questions, which are known to license parasitic gaps in general, in Tagalog in (52).

(52) Wh-movement with a parasitic gap

a.

ano ang	inayos	ni Juan	na hindi man lang	binuksan	muna	ec
what	repaired	ERG Juan	without even	open	first	NABS

'What did Juan repair without even opening first?'

b.

*ano ang	inayos	ni Juan	na hindi man lang	binuksan	muna	ito?
what	repaired	ERG Juan	without even	open	first	3sNABS

for: 'What did Juan repair without even opening it first?'

In (52a), I claim the wh-movement has licensed a parasitic gap. In (52b), with an overt

pronoun instead of a parasitic gap, the sentence is unacceptable[3]. This latter sentence would be expected to be acceptable if the empty category in (52a) was a discourse dropped pronoun.

Next the test can be applied to the Tagalog raising construction. The raising should also license a parasitic gap if my wh-movement analysis is correct. I would predict that an overt pronoun is not possible when raising has occurred. Indeed this prediction is borne out as this pair of examples demonstrates.

(53) Raising licenses a Parasitic Gap

nagmumukha	**ang relos**	na aayusin...
Appears	**NABS watch**	LK repair

a. ... na hindi man lang buksan muna
without even open first
'The watch appears to be repaired without even opening first.'

b. *... na hindi man lang buksan muna ito
without even open first 3sNABS
for: 'The watch appears to be repaired without even opening it first.'

The Tagalog example in (53a) contains a parasitic gap, whereas its counterpart in English cannot. This is due to the fact that in English, raising does not involve wh-movement of an operator, whereas in Tagalog it does. The movement in English raising is NP movement and NP traces do not license parasitic gaps. Thus the fact that Tagalog raising licenses parasitic gaps supports the analysis of Tagalog raising as an instance of wh-movement.

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[3]In contrast, in some dialects of English, a pronoun is acceptable in parasitic gap contexts.

6.4.3 Raising from a Recent Past clause

A final point is that, given the analysis of the Recent Past construction of section 5.6.5, I would predict that when the embedded verb is in the Recent Past and hence no embedded argument is nominative, then either argument can raise. This is indeed the case as the examples in (54) demonstrate.

(54) Wh-Raising of P or A in Recent Past

a. nag-mukha **ang buong bahay** na kalilinis lang ni Fe
AT-appeared **NABS whole house** LK RP.clean just ERG Fe
'The whole house appeared to have just been cleaned by Fe.'

b. nag-mukha **si Fe** na kalilinis lang ng buong bahay
AT-appeared **NABS Fe** LK RP.clean just ACC whole house
'Fe appeared to have just cleaned a whole house.'

Because the SPEC of Agr_sP is available as a landing site in the Recent Past, an operator generated in either NP position, SPEC of VP or COMPL of V, can wh-move through this position and on to the SPEC of CP. Similarly, either NP can be extracted (as illustrated in section 1.3.8).

6.4.4 Implications of Wh-Raising

Raising in Tagalog is unlike raising in English due to the fact that raising in English only proceeds from a Caseless embedded position, whereas in Tagalog there is no such restriction. The analysis presented here accounts for this difference since the raising examples in Tagalog are argued to be derived through wh-movement of a null operator as opposed to NP movement of an overt phrase. The former type of movement proceeds from a Case marked position while the latter is Case-driven movement. One question that arises is why a language like Tagalog would have wh-raising. One plausible

answer is that the construction is a reasonable emulation of the raising construction found in accusative languages like English. Since there is no motivation for NP movement that would exactly emulate such raising, another strategy is used. That is, wh-raising makes use of a mechanism available elsewhere in the language, namely in *tough* constructions (see section 6.4.2.3). If Tagalog is indeed a language that is shifting between an ergative and an accusative system, as has been my thesis, then this wh-raising is a prime example of a construction that shows the shift in action. If the shift is from an intermediate system towards a wholly accusative system, then wh-raising will undergo reanalysis as an instance of an NP raising construction. In particular, it will be reanalysed as Case-driven movement. If the shift is in the other direction towards a wholly ergative system, then Tagalog will likely lose this wh-raising possibility. As noted, ergative languages do not seem to have the relevant kind of raising via NP movement.

An example of another language that also appears to be in the process of reanalysis along these lines is Niuean. Raising in Niuean has received some attention because of its unusual characteristics (e.g. Seiter, 1980, Levin & Massam, 1988, Massam, 1994). In particular, raising in Niuean shares with raising in Tagalog the fact that it proceeds from a Case marked position.

(55) Raising in Niuean

[Seiter, 1980 cited in Levin & Massam, 1988, 254]

a. kua kamata [ke hala he tama e akau]
Perf begin SUBV cut ERG child ABS tree
'The child has begun to cut down the tree.'

b. kua kamata **e tama** [ke hala e akau]
Perf begin **ABS child** SUBV cut ABS tree
'The child has begun to cut down the tree.'

c. kua kamata **e akau** [ke hala he tama]
Perf begin **ABS tree** SUBV cut ERG child
'The child has begun to cut down the tree.'

It is not clear whether Niuean can be given the same operator movement analysis that I have proposed for Tagalog. There are some properties that differ from Tagalog that would require explanation. For example, the embedded clause must be a clause introduced by the subjunctive subordinator *ke*, as is the case in the examples in (55). Such a restriction would not be expected to hold of wh-movement. Massam (1994) maintains that raising in Niuean is not like wh-movement. She suggest rather that such raising examples involve fronting by NP movement within the embedded clause and from this fronted position, NP movement can proceed to the higher clause. Therefore Niuean may be using a different strategy to emulate raising in accusative languages. This is an area I will leave for future research. The main point is that Niuean as an ergative language would not be expected to have raising, but the properties of "raising" exhibited in Niuean are exceptional in some of the same ways that "raising" in Tagalog is exceptional. This behaviour may indicate that Niuean is also shifting between systems.

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen that if the structure proposed in section 5.6 is assumed, then several types of complex sentences can be accounted for. These included two complex sentence types described in chapter 4 in terms of the ergative and accusative views of Tagalog: morphological causatives and conjunction reduction. The analyses in this chapter show that such phenomena can be accounted for under a hybrid view.

There are three alternative ways to express morphological causatives of transitive verbs. This was so because where languages typically make use of one special Case assigning mechanism, Tagalog has two such mechanisms. The availability of both the Case mechanism typically available in type 1 causative languages and the Case mechanism typically available in type 2 causative languages gives Tagalog some properties of both causative types. The three causative of transitive possibilities as well as the two causative of intransitive possibilities were analysed within a single structure that builds directly upon that of chapter 5.

The phenomenon of conjunction reduction was accounted for in a hierarchical conjunction structure as an instance of obligatorily bound pro which is subject to condition D of the binding theory. This analysis correctly captures the constraint that holds of conjunction reduction that only the NABS phrase may confer to an empty NP in another conjunct.

Finally, another complex sentence type, raising, was considered in this chapter. The analysis of raising also has implications for the hybrid nature of Tagalog and how it fits into the ergative/accusative continuum. In particular, raising to subject is not generally found in ergative languages but it is common in accusative languages. Since Tagalog is intermediate between the two systems, its raising construction can be thought of diachronically as a construction about to be reanalysed or as one about to disappear. In particular, whereas raising is normally an instance of Case-driven NP movement, as in (56b), in Tagalog, the effect of raising is accomplished by a strategy of wh-movement of a null operator, as in (56c).

(56) Raising Configurations

a. [$V_{raising}$ [A V P]]
b. [A_i $V_{raising}$ [NP-t_i V P]]
c. [A_j $V_{raising}$ [Op_{ij} [LK Wh-t_i NP-t_j V P]]]

In this connection, it was shown that Tagalog raising obeys the same subtle constraints as wh-extraction, that the null operator movement mechanism is operative elsewhere in the language, namely in *tough* constructions, and furthermore, that raising licenses parasitic gaps in Tagalog.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

In this work, I have considered three different ways to view the Case marking system in Tagalog. The particular labelling of Cases for these different views, introduced in chapter 1, is summarized in (1).

(1) The Three Case Perspectives

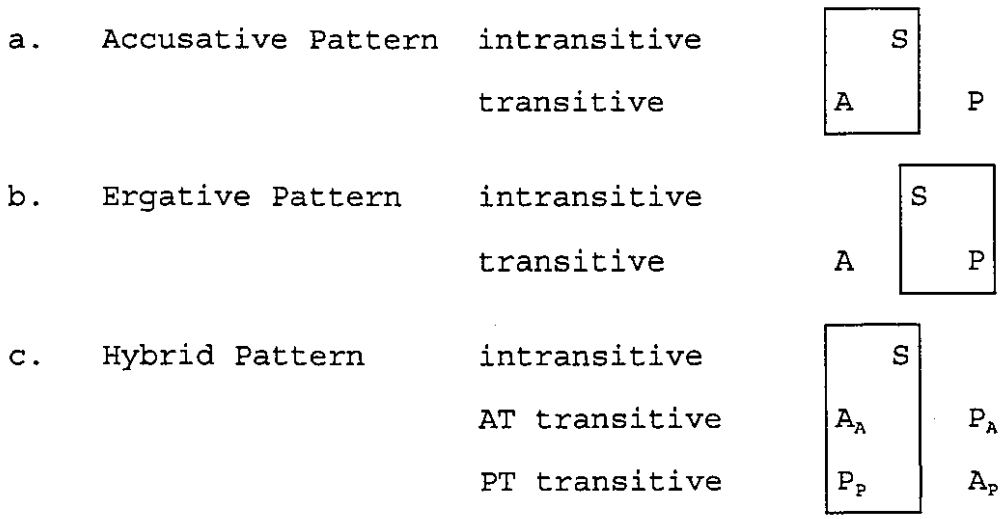
Case markers	TagE	TagA	TagH
ang	ABS	NOM	NABS
ngA	ERG	OBA	ERG
ngP	OBP	ACC	Inherent ACC
sa	OBL	OBL	OBL

If TagE Case labelling is assumed, then Tagalog appears to be an entirely ergative language. This ergative nature is manifested not only in the labelling of Cases, but also in syntactic behaviour as in conjunction reduction. If, on the other hand, the TagA labelling is assumed, Tagalog appears to be an entirely accusative language. It behaves like an accusative language with respect to syntactic phenomena like conjunction reduction. These two views of Tagalog differ in other respects as well. In particular, it was shown that TagE and TagA had different properties with respect to the morphological causative construction, for example. These points were discussed in chapter 4.

Neither of these views was taken to be a proper characterization of Tagalog. Rather it was a third view of Tagalog, TagH, that was proposed here. This view is a hybrid of the TagA and TagE views in the sense that it has some properties of both systems, and indeed has a mixture of the TagA and TagE Case labels as shown in (1).

We have seen that in an accusative language, the S argument patterns with the A argument of a transitive and not with the P, as schematized in (2a). In an ergative language, the S argument patterns instead with the P argument and not with the A, as in (2b). I claim in chapter 2 that the best characterization of Tagalog is as a hybrid language that has two basic ways to express transitive verbs. Such a pattern is schematized in (2c).

(2) Accusative, Ergative and Hybrid



These two different ways to express transitive verbs correspond in Tagalog to the two different topic forms AT and PT, examples of which are given in (3).

(3) Two Basic Transitive Sentences

a. nagluto ang lalaki ng adobo
AT-cooked NOM man ACC adobo
'The man cooked adobo.'

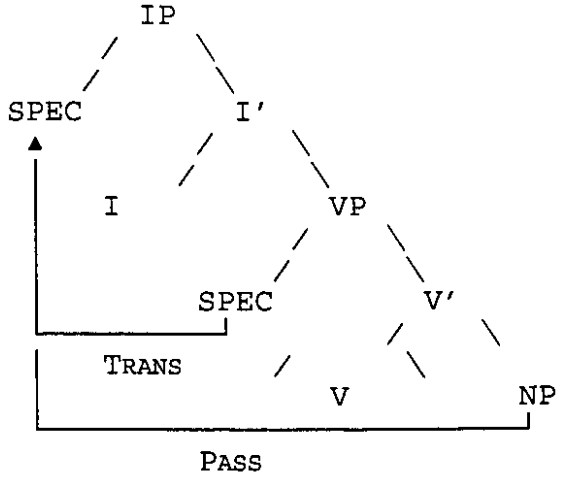
b. lulutuin ng lalaki ang adobo
will.cook-PT ERG man ABS adobo
'The man will cook the adobo.'

Tagalog is thus assumed to have these two basic sentence types where other languages typically have just one. This characteristic of Tagalog was explored in two ways. First,

the evidence presented in chapter 2 suggests that the two Tagalog sentence types in (3) are both relatively unmarked constructions as compared to non-basic sentence types (such as the passive in English) according to such factors as text frequency, early acquisition and morphological complexity. Secondly, it is suggested that the two basic transitives are amenable to a structural analysis in which both are basic as compared to non-basic sentence types. The crucial distinguishing factor in the analysis laid out in chapter 3 is whether there is assumed to be θ role assignment to a bound morpheme and doubling of that role by an adjunct, as there is in a non-basic passive, for example.

The difference between ergative and accusative languages is interpreted structurally in chapter 3. In a structure where there is a VP-internal subject position, there are two movement possibilities illustrated in (4).

(4) Two Movements to SPEC of IP: PASS and TRANS



Where basic sentences in ergative languages involve the movement labelled PASS in the structure in (4), accusative languages involve the movement labelled TRANS in (4). A hybrid language like Tagalog then has TRANS movement in AT sentences like (3a) and

PASS movement in PT sentences like (3b).

A typology in terms of these movement possibilities available in basic sentences is thus proposed. It is summarized in the last column in the table in (5). The positions in (4) are not only associated with different movement possibilities, but they are also considered to be unique positions for Case assignment. In particular, the SPEC of IP is associated with nominative or absolutive Case. Additionally, the SPEC of VP is associated with ergative Case and the complement of V position is associated with accusative Case. The typology can thus be restated in terms of the Cases that are available in the various language types. In an accusative language, nominative and accusative Cases are available but there is no ergative Case. In an ergative language there is absolutive and ergative Case but no accusative available. Finally in a hybrid language, there are more than just two Cases available. Tagalog has ergative and accusative Cases as well as a Case that collapses nominative and absolutive. Thus whereas languages typically have only two non-oblique cases available, hybrid languages like Tagalog have three. These Case possibilities are also summarized in the table in (5) where *str* stands for a Case available as structural Case and *str/inh* stands for Cases available as either structural or inherent Case, depending on the language.

(5) Basic Sentence Types in Terms of Case and Movement

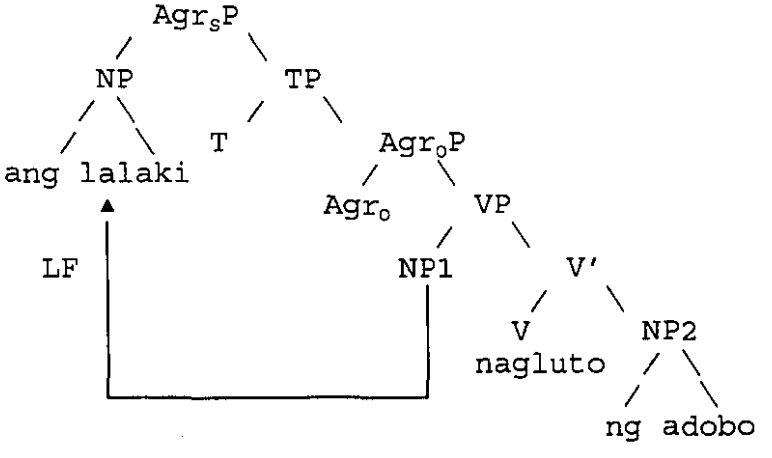
Language Type	Example Language	Cases Available NABS	ERG	ACC	Movement in Basic Sentences
Accusative	English	str	no	str/inh	TRANS
Ergative	Inuktitut	str	str/inh	no	PASS
Hybrid	Tagalog	str	str/inh	str/inh	TRANS or PASS

As mentioned, Cases like ERG and ACC can be available either as structural Cases or

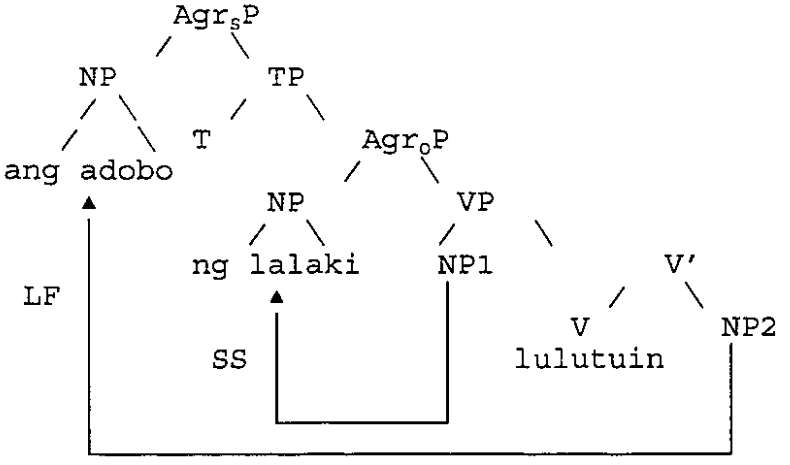
as inherent Cases. In Tagalog, NABS and ERG are structural, whereas ACC is an inherent Case. Thus the system in Tagalog differs from that of languages like English where accusative is generally structural and no ergative Case, structural or inherent, is available.

These ideas are considered in terms of a recent theoretical approach known as Economy (the particular conception is that of Murasugi, 1992). In such an approach, Case is checked as opposed to being assigned. Interestingly, the Case checking options are constrained by Economy principles in such a way that two, but not three Cases can be checked. In order to capture the three Case system of a hybrid language, the special Case mechanism of inherent Case assignment, which is available as an alternative in Principles and Parameters Theory was employed. Thus it is claimed that ACC is a Case that is assigned within VP in Tagalog and not one that is checked in a functional category like the other Cases. The structures I propose for the Tagalog AT and PT sentences from (3) are given in (6) and (7) respectively.

(6) Structure for AT Sentences



(7) Structure for PT Sentences



The proposal for satisfying the Case requirements is as follows: (a) NABS Case is checked in the SPEC of Agr_SP at LF in both structures; (b) in the AT structure (6), inherent ACC Case is assigned to the P argument within the VP; and (c) in the PT structure (7), the ERG Case on the A is checked at SS in the SPEC of Agr_OP.

A variety of syntactic phenomena were discussed in connection with this proposal for the structure of TagH in chapter 5 that lent support to the analysis. Furthermore, the structural proposal was shown to extend to complex sentences in chapter 6. First, morphological causatives were analysed as verb incorporation. Second, an account of the conjunction reduction facts was given. Finally, an analysis for raising constructions was provided in which raising was not the standard NP movement as in (8b) but rather was taken to be an instance of wh-movement of an operator as in (8c).

(8) Raising Configurations

a.	[$V_{raising}$	[A V P]]
b.	[A_i $V_{raising}$	[NP-t_i V P]]
c.	[A_j $V_{raising}$	[Op_{ij} [LK Wh-t_i NP-t_i V P]]]

This latter analysis was seen as a strategy for emulating raising typically found in

accusative languages that might plausibly be employed by a language that falls between an ergative and an accusative language.

Both the movement and Case possibilities considered in chapter 3 (summarized in (5) above) are restated in chapter 5 as the parameters given in (9) and (10) and this interacts with another parameter concerning inherent Case given in (11). Thus the way Tagalog differs from other languages can be interpreted as a combination of these parametric differences.

(9) Parameter in Terms of Movement

a. In an accusative language there is TRANS movement in basic transitive sentences
b. In an ergative language there is PASS movement in basic transitive sentences
c. In a hybrid language there may be either TRANS or PASS movement in basic transitive sentences

(10) Parameter in Terms of Case

a. The non-oblique Cases available in an accusative language are NABS and ACC
b. The non-oblique Cases available in an ergative language are ERG and NABS
c. The non-oblique Cases available in a hybrid language are ERG, NABS and ACC

(11) Parameter Based on Extended Inherent Case

a. In structural Case languages, inherent ERG and ACC are not available in basic transitive sentences.
b. In inherent ergative Case languages, inherent ERG is available in basic transitive sentences.
c. In inherent accusative Case languages, inherent ACC is available in basic transitive sentences.

The settings for Tagalog are options (9c), (10c) and (11c). Namely, it is a hybrid language that has a three-Case system, and one of these Cases, ACC, is an inherent Case.

Some questions left for future research include: (1) Which other languages are

characterizable as hybrid languages of the same sort as Tagalog, and how do they differ? (2) How would the hybrid nature of Tagalog be captured structurally in other theoretical approaches to syntax? (3) What are the special properties of languages that choose other options in the proposed parameters and can the present analysis be extended to capture them? (4) What other languages use wh-raising?

This dissertation has explored the possibility that Tagalog is neither accusative nor ergative but rather that it is a language that is a hybrid of these two language types. This view of Tagalog was found to be the best characterization of the language. A specific proposal for capturing the hybrid nature of Tagalog was advanced. The proposed structure for Tagalog basic sentences follows the assumptions of a current approach to syntactic theory, with the addition of the inherent Case assignment mechanism which is also available in the theory. The proposal allowed for a discussion of the relevant parameter settings for a language like Tagalog and for further analysis of syntactic behavior found in Tagalog. The hybrid nature of Tagalog was thus captured structurally.

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