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Still None of the Above**

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Schachter (1976, 1977) claimed that the syntactic properties that are associated with subjects in most languages are divided between two different NP types in Tagalog and other Philippine languages, with the consequence that, contrary to standard assumptions, *subject* is not a syntactic universal. Subsequently there have been several proposals to the effect that Tagalog does in fact have well-defined subjects. This paper reviews in detail three such proposals: Kroeger's (1993) proposal that one of Schachter's two NP types is actually the subject; Guilfoyle, Hung and Travis's (1992) proposal to the effect that Tagalog underlying structures contain two structural subject positions; and the proposal of various researchers that Tagalog is an Ergative language, so that the subject-identification problems it presents reduce to those of Ergative languages in general. The paper finds all of these proposals problematic and concludes that Tagalog does indeed challenge the universality of the subject, and that, rather than being a syntactic primitive, the subject may instead be a composite of the semantic and pragmatic properties associated with the two subject-like NP types found in Tagalog.

1. Introduction

In two papers written some years ago (Schachter 1976, 1977), I argue that Philippine languages in general, and Tagalog in particular, show a curious indeterminacy with regard to which noun phrase in a clause is the grammatical subject. There is, I suggest in these papers, no single type of noun phrase in the clauses of Tagalog or other Philippine languages that has a monopoly on the properties commonly associated with subjects in other languages. Instead, there is an unexpected division of these properties between two distinct noun phrase types, the "Actor" and what I shall now, following Kroeger (1993), call the "Nominative NP".¹

In recent years a number of linguists have reconsidered the question of the subject in Tagalog (and, in some cases, certain other Philippine languages), and a number of different proposals have emerged. These proposals are all to the effect that Tagalog does in fact have well-defined subjects, but the proposals vary in their identification of just which noun phrases the *subject* label should apply to. In this paper I first discuss, in sections 2.0-2.10, the most thoroughly argued of these proposals: the proposal of Kroeger (1993), that the Nominative NP is in fact the subject. I also discuss, in sections 3.0-3.6 and 4.0-4.4 respectively, two other proposals: the two-structural-subjects analysis of Guilfoyle, Hung and Travis (1992), and the Ergative analysis, first suggested in print, to my knowledge, in Payne (1982). My conclusions are briefly stated in section 5. First, however, in the balance of the present section, I present a sketch of basic Tagalog clause structure.

Tagalog is a predicate-initial language. Basic clauses with predicate verbs consist of a verb followed by one or more case-marked noun phrases. The case marking of all but one of these noun phrase has semantic significance, indicating semantic roles such as Actor, Patient, etc. In the case of the Actor, the semantic role in question is what may be called a *macrorole*, a role

that subsumes several distinguishable thematic relations. In the case of the Actor macrorole, the subsumed relations include Agent, Experiencer, and others. For any given verb, however, as proposed in Schachter (1986), there is in fact a systematic relationship between the Actor macrorole and one particular thematic relation in the set of relations (or "thematic grid") associated with that verb. Specifically, assuming a universal thematic hierarchy of the type proposed in Jackendoff (1972), the macrorole of Actor is always associated with the *highest* thematic relation in the verb's thematic grid. Thus, since Agent is at the top of the thematic hierarchy, if the thematic grid contains an Agent, the Agent is always the Actor. If, on the other hand, the thematic grid does not contain an Agent, then whatever other thematic role in that particular grid is highest in the hierarchy is the Actor.

As noted above, there is one noun phrase in the clause whose case marking does not indicate the semantic role of its referent. Rather, the case marking of this noun phrase is semantically neutral, and the semantic role of the referent of the phrase is instead indicated by an affix on the verb. Certain verbal affixes, for example, indicate that the neutrally marked noun phrase is to be interpreted as the Actor, others, that it is to be interpreted as the Patient, etc. It seems reasonable, following Kroeger, to identify the neutrally marked noun phrase as "the Nominative NP", since Nominative case marking is characteristically semantically neutral, with semantic interpretation that is sensitive to verbal affixation: cf. the interpretation of Nominatives in active vs. passive clauses in a language such as Latin.²

The relationship between verbal affixation and the semantic role assigned to the Nominative NP is illustrated in the following examples. The examples all involve the same verb stem, *sulat* 'write', and the same array of semantic roles: Actor (A), Patient (P), Direction (D), and Beneficiary (B).³ In each example the Nominative NP is marked by the common-noun Nominative (N) marker *ang*. In (1)a the verbal affix is Actor-Nominative (AN), so the Nominative NP is interpreted as the Actor; in (1)b, (1)c, and (1)d, the verbal affixes are, respectively, Patient-Nominative (PN), Direction-Nominative (DN), and Beneficiary-Nominative (BN), and the Nominative NPs have the corresponding respective interpretations.⁴

- (1) a. Sumulat ang bata ng liham sa abogado para sa babae.
 wrote-AN N child P letter D lawyer B woman
 'The child wrote a letter to a/the lawyer for a/the woman.'
- b. Sinulat ng bata ang liham sa abogado para sa babae.
 wrote-PN A child N letter D lawyer B woman
 'A/The child wrote the letter to a/the lawyer for a/the woman.'
- c. Sinulatan ng bata ng liham ang abogado para sa babae.
 wrote-DN A child P letter N lawyer B woman
 'A/The child wrote a letter to the lawyer for a/the woman.'
- d. Isinulat ng bata ng liham sa abogado ang babae.
 wrote-BN N child P letter D lawyer N woman
 'A/The child wrote a letter to a/the lawyer for the woman.'

Tagalog also has basic clauses in which there is no verb, but instead a predicate noun phrase, adjective phrase, or prepositional phrase. In these clauses too there is a Nominative NP, playing, I shall argue in section 2.7, the semantic role of Actor. Some examples of clauses with nonverb predicates are:

- (2) a. Estudyante ang bata.
 student N child
 'The child is a student.'
- b. Gutom ang bata.
 hungry N child
 'The child is hungry.'
- c. Nasa bahay ang bata.
 in house N child
 'The child is in the house.'

Various other aspects of Tagalog structure will be presented in the course of the discussion that follows, but the above provides sufficient background for starting to consider the proposed analyses of the subject in Tagalog to which we now turn.

2.0. The Nominative-subject analysis

Kroeger (1993) proposes that the Nominative NP is the subject in Tagalog and offers a set of eight arguments in support of this proposal. He also considers two of the arguments presented in Schachter (1976) in support of an analysis of the Actor as subject and claims to have neutralized one of these arguments and weakened the other.

Kroeger's eight arguments in favor of analyzing the Nominative NP as a subject are all of the same basic form (which is also the form of the arguments presented in Schachter (1976)): viz., property x, which is associated with the subject in languages in general, is associated exclusively with the Nominative NP in Tagalog. The sheer *number* of arguments that Kroeger presents in favor of the Nominative-subject analysis is certainly impressive, and initially most of the arguments appear to be well-taken on the basis of the data presented. However, after checking Kroeger's data and considering additional relevant data, I find that only two of Kroeger's eight arguments, to be discussed in sections 2.1 and 2.2, remain entirely intact, while two others, discussed in sections 2.3 and 2.4, remain *essentially* intact but require some weakening of the claim that the subject properties in question are *exclusive* to the Nominative NP. With regard to the four remaining arguments, by contrast, I find that two, discussed in sections 2.5 and 2.6, offer no evidence at all that is relevant to choosing between the Nominative NP and the Actor as subject, and that the remaining two, discussed in sections 2.7 and 2.8, can actually, when additional relevant data are taken into consideration, be turned into arguments *against* the Nominative NP, and in favor of the *Actor*, as subject.⁵

The discussion of Kroeger's proposed analysis concludes, in sections 2.9.0-2.9.2, with a critique of his arguments against the identification of the Actor as subject, and with a summary, in section 2.10, of the findings in the preceding sections.

2.1. Quantifier Float

As first observed in Schachter and Otnes (1972), the quantifier *lahat* 'all' may in certain cases be said to "float" away from the noun phrase which it is understood as quantifying and occur (with an optional preceding "linker" morpheme) in a position immediately after the verb. The quantifier in such cases is always understood as quantifying --and thus having "floated" away from -- the Nominative NP. In (3)a, for example, *lahat* is understood as quantifying the Actor Nominative NP, in (3)b the Patient Nominative NP, and in (3)c the Direction Nominative NP.

- (3) a. Sumusulat na *lahat* ang mga bata ng mga liham sa mga kaibigan.
write-AN L all N pl child P pl letter D pl friend (L = linker, pl = plural)
'All the children write letters to friends.'
- b. Sinusulat na *lahat* ng mga bata ang mga liham sa mga kaibigan.
write-PN L all A pl child N pl letter D pl friend
'Children write all the letters to friends.'
- c. Sinusulang *lahat* ng mga bata ng mga liham ang mga kaibigan.
write-DN-L all A pl child P pl letter N pl friend
'Children write letters to all the friends.'

Now Bell (1983), in a discussion of Cebuano, a language closely related to Tagalog, has proposed that, if only one syntactic type of noun phrase launches floating quantifiers, this syntactic type is necessarily the subject. This proposal is adopted by Keenan (1976), who includes the ability to launch floating quantifiers in his list of "subject properties." ⁶ Keenan suggests that this ability is attributable to the fact that subjects generally have autonomous reference, and this suggestion is elaborated in Schachter (1977).

An alternative account of the relation between subjects and floating quantifiers can be based on the observation that the quantifier in a floating-quantifier construction is adjoined to the verb, and thus adverbial. As noted by Jackendoff (1972), certain adverbs are "subject-oriented", in the sense that they are understood as expressing information about the subject. One might reasonably propose that the quantifier in a floating-quantifier construction is such a subject-oriented adverb. In any event, the fact that verb-adjoined quantifiers in Tagalog are invariably understood as referring to the Nominative NP does support the identification of the Nominative NP as the subject.

2.2. Control of secondary predicates

Kroeger considers certain sentences involving what he calls "secondary predicates." These are what have traditionally been called subject and object complements, such as *drunk* and *raw* in the English translations of (4)a and b.

- (4) a. Naghain na lasing si Maria ng isda.
served-AN L drunk N Maria P fish
'Maria served fish drunk.' (Maria was drunk.)

- b. Inihain na hilaw ni Maria ang isda.
 served-PN L raw A Maria N fish
 'Maria served the fish raw.' (The fish was raw.)

Kroeger correctly points out that in sentences like those of (4), the secondary predicate must be interpreted as being predicated of the referent of the Nominative NP. Thus (5) has only the semantically anomalous interpretation (indicated by #) in which it is the fish, the referent of the Nominative NP, that is drunk.

- (5) # Inihain na lasing ni Maria ang isda.
 served-PN L drunk A Maria N fish
 'Maria served the fish drunk.' (The fish was drunk.)

Kroeger notes that it is only when a secondary predicate occurs in a position immediately following the verb that it must be interpreted as referring to the Nominative NP. When a secondary predicate occurs later in the sentence, its reference is not sensitive to case marking, but is determined on other grounds, as illustrated by the following examples:⁷

- (6) a. Naghain si Mary ng isda kay John na hilaw.
 served-AN N Mary P fish D John L raw
 'Mary served fish to John raw.' (The fish was raw.)
 b. Inihain ni Mary ang isda kay John na hilaw.
 served-PN A Mary N fish D John L raw
 'Mary served the fish to John raw.' (The fish was raw.)

Kroeger also notes the similarity between the interpretive restriction on secondary predicates in immediately post-verbal position and the interpretive restriction on floated quantifiers. In this case too, it is noteworthy that the constituent that is interpreted as referring to the Nominative NP is adjoined to the verb (note the linker between the verb and the secondary predicate). Once again, then, it can be argued that we are dealing with a subject-oriented adverb, and that the observed interpretive restriction is evidence for the subjecthood of the Nominative NP.

2.3. Relativization

Kroeger, following Schachter (1976, 1977), claims that only Nominative NPs can be relativized, and this is indeed the case insofar as the arguments or adjuncts of most predicate verbs are concerned. Consider the following examples. (Tagalog relative clauses are formed with an introductory linker, and with ellipsis of the noun phrase understood as coreferential with the antecedent.)

- (7) a. Nagbigay ang maestra ng libro sa bata.
gave-AN N teacher P book D child
'The teacher gave a book to a/the child.'
- b. Lyon ang maestrang nagbigay ng libro sa bata.
that N teacher-L gave-AN P book D child
'That's the teacher that gave a book to a/the child.'
- c. * Lyon ang librong nagbigay ang maestra sa bata.
that N book-L gave-AN N teacher D child
- d. * Lyon ang batang nagbigay ang maestra ng libro
that N child-L gave-AN N teacher P book

From a sentence like (7)a, with its Actor-Nominative verb, can be formed a relative clause in which the Actor is understood as coreferential with the antecedent, but not one in which the Patient or the Direction is so understood (cf. examples (7)b-d). And examples to the same effect could be constructed showing that, in relative clauses with Patient-Nominative and Direction-Nominative verbs, only the Patient and the Direction respectively can be understood as coreferential with the antecedent.

Now according to the "accessibility hierarchy" for Relativization proposed by Keenan and Comrie (1977), if only one syntactic type of noun phrase in a language can be relativized, that syntactic type must be the subject. Thus, assuming the correctness of Keenan and Comrie's proposal, the evidence presented thus far supports an analysis of the Nominative NP as the subject in Tagalog.

However, as was first noted by Cena (MSa) some years ago, while it is true that non-Nominative arguments and adjuncts of predicate verbs generally cannot be relativized, certain other types of noun phrases can be -- a fact which somewhat undermines the proposed accessibility hierarchy itself, as well as the inference with regard to the subjecthood of the Tagalog Nominative NP drawn by Schachter (1976, 1977) and by Kroeger. Specifically, Cena points out that what he calls comitatives (COM), genitives (GEN), and agents of comparisons of equality (ACE), such as the italicized noun phrases in (8)a-c, can all be relativized, as shown by the examples of (9)a-c respectively.

- (8) a. Mabait ang anak *ng doktor*.
kind N child GEN doctor
'The child of the doctor is kind.'
- b. Kasama *ng doktor* ang anak.
with COM doctor N child
'The child is with the doctor.'
- c. Kasingtaas *ng doktor* ang anak.
as:tall:as ACE doctor N child
'The child is as tall as the doctor.'

- (9) a. lyon ang doktor na mabait ang anak.
 that N doctor L kind N child
 'That's the doctor whose child is kind.'
 b. lyon ang doktor na kasama ang anak.
 that N doctor L with N child
 'That's the doctor that the child is with.'
 c. lyon ang doktor na kasingtaas ang anak.
 that N doctor L as:tall:as N child
 'That's the doctor that the child is as tall as.'

It appears that the three categories of relativizable NPs that Cena has identified in examples such as these can all be assimilated to the single category of Genitive, and that in general a Genitive NP either within a Nominative NP (as in (8)a) or occurring as a complement of a nonverbal predicate (as in (8)b-c) may be relativized.⁸

Moreover, while it is true that non-Nominative arguments of predicate verbs generally cannot be relativized, there is an exception to this generalization. This exception occurs in the case of arguments of verbs inflected for the recent-perfective aspect. Verbs inflected for this aspect, unlike those inflected for other aspects, do not assign Nominative case to any of their arguments. Instead, all arguments of recent-perfective verbs have semantically significant non-Nominative case marking, as in the following example, in which each of the three arguments is case-marked for its semantic role.

- (10) Kabibigay lang ng maestra ng libro sa bata.
 just:gave just A teacher P book D child
 'The teacher just gave a book to the child.'

Now it turns out, as noted by McGinn (1988), that *any* argument of a recent-perfective verb can be relativized, as in the following examples.

- (11) a. lyon ang maestrang kabibigay lang ng libro sa bata.
 that N teacher-L just:gave just P book D child
 'That's the teacher who just gave a book to the child.'
 b. lyon ang librong kabibigay lang ng maestra sa bata.
 that N book-L just:gave just A teacher D child
 'That's the book that the teacher just gave to the child.'
 c. lyon ang batang kabibigay lang ng maestra ng libro.
 that N child just:gave just A teacher P book
 'That's the child that the teacher just gave a book to.'

The appropriate generalization with regard to relativization thus seems to be that, for predicate verbs that *assign* Nominative case, only the Nominative NP can be relativized, but for predicate verbs that do not assign Nominative case, there is no such restriction.

It is therefore clear that relativizability is not a property *unique* to Nominative NPs, a fact that weakens the force of Kroeger's argument that the relativizability of the Nominative NP identifies it as the subject.

2.4. Possessor Ascension

Kroeger notes the existence in Tagalog of constructions like (12), which, adopting the terminology of Relational Grammar (see, e.g., Bell 1983), he calls Possessor Ascension:

- (12) Si Juan, kinagat ng aso ang anak.
 N Juan bit-PN A dog N child
 'Juan, a dog bit his child.'

Kroeger analyzes such constructions as involving the topicalization of a possessor phrase; for example, (12) is, by this account, derived by topicalizing the possessor phrase of (13):

- (13) Kinagat ng aso ang anak ni Juan.
 bit-PN A dog N child GEN Juan
 'A dog bit Juan's child.'

Kroeger claims that only Nominative NPs can launch the ascension of a possessor, and he assumes, without any explicit argumentation, that if only one syntactic type of noun phrase has this ability, that type must be the subject.⁹ And it is in fact the case that non-Nominative arguments or adjuncts of verbs cannot launch Possessor Ascensions, as Kroeger illustrates with the following example:

- (14) * Si Juan, kumagat ang aso sa anak.
 N Juan bit-AN N dog D child
 'Juan, the dog bit the child.'

As in the case of Relativization, however, it turns out on further investigation that a property of possessive genitives within Nominative NPs is shared by genitives within non-verbal predicates as well. Thus (15) a and (16)a, which Kroeger would presumably analyze as involving the topicalization of the genitives of (15)b and (16)b respectively, are well-formed:

- (15)a. Si Juan, kakwarto si Bob.
 N Juan roommate N Bob.
 'Juan, Bob is his roommate.'

- b. Kakwarto ni Juan si Bob.
roommate GEN Juan N Bob
'Bob is Juan's roommate.'
- (16) a. Si Juan, anak ang maestra.
N Juan child N teacher
'Juan, the teacher is his child.'
- b. Anak ni Juan ang maestra.
child GEN Juan N teacher
'The teacher is Juan's child.'

So in this case too, Kroeger's argument that Nominative NPs evidence a presumed property of subjects must be weakened when a broader set of examples is considered. Nonetheless, it seems that hosting Possessor Ascension, like Relativization, is a property that is correctly ascribed to Nominative NPs and not to (non-Nominative) Actors (except, in the case of Relativization, to Actors of recent-perfective verbs). Thus, to the extent that hosting Possessor Ascension is indeed a subject property, it favors the identification of the Nominative NP, as opposed to the Actor, as subject.

2.5. Subject obviation

Kroeger cites the following examples as involving "subject obviation": i.e., the obligatory zero anaphora of the subject of a subordinate clause that is coreferential with the subject of the main clause.¹⁰

- (17) Tinukso ni Juan ang bata, kaya umiyak.
teased-PN A Juan N child resulting cried-AN
'Juan teased the child, with the result that it cried.'
- (18)a. Tinanong ni Derek si Marvin, bago umalis.
asked-DN A Derek N Marvin before left-AN
'Derek asked Marvin before he left.' (Marvin left)
- b. Nagtanong si Derek kay Marvin, bago umalis.
asked-AN N Derek D Marvin before left-AN
'Derek asked Marvin before he left.' (Derek left)

Subject-obviation constructions have been noted in enough languages to make it a reasonable inference that, if a subordinate-clause argument is obligatorily absent under conditions of coreference with a main-clause argument, the arguments in question must both be subjects. Thus, if we take the above examples at face value, since it is obviously the Nominative NP of the subordinate clause in these examples that is absent under conditions of coreference with the Nominative NP of the main clause, the examples argue for the identification of the Nominative NP as the subject.

However, these examples cannot in fact be taken at face value, at least insofar as the judgments of my Tagalog consultant are concerned. In the first place, this consultant does not accept the claim that the zero Nominative NP in the subordinate clauses of these examples must be interpreted as coreferential with the overt Nominative NP of the main clauses. Instead he finds the examples ambiguous. For example, as far as he is concerned, in the case of both (18)a and (18)b, it is unclear whether it is Derek or Marvin who left. And while it is true that, in the case of (17), the semantics of teasing makes it likely that it was the child, rather than Juan, who cried, if we choose a main verb with more neutral semantics, we again get the same type of ambiguity. For example, in (19), it is as unclear in the Tagalog sentence as it is in the English translation whether it was Fe or Amparo who cried.

- (19) Hiniwalayan ni Fe si Amparo, kaya umiyak.
 parted-DN A Fe N Amparo resulting cried-AN
 'Fe parted from Amparo, so she cried.'

Moreover, as far as this consultant is concerned, there is no "obviation" in sentences (17)-(18), since the zero anaphora in the subordinate clauses of these sentences is *optional*. As shown in (20) and (21), an overt Nominative pronoun, with ambiguous reference (if we put aside the influence of the semantics of teasing in the case of (20)), may occur in the dependent clauses.

- (20) Tinukso ni Juan ang bata, kaya umiyak siya.
 teased-PN A Juan N child resulting cried-AN N-3sg (3sg = 3rd-person-singular pronoun)
 'Juan teased the child, with the result that he/it cried.'
- (21)a. Tinanong ni Derek si Marvin, bago umalis siya.
 asked-DN A Derek N Marvin before left-AN N-3sg
 'Derek asked Marvin before he left.'
- b. Nagtanong si Derek kay Marvin, bago umalis siya.
 asked-AN N Derek D Marvin before left-AN N-3sg
 'Derek asked Marvin before he left.'

Obviously, at least in the Tagalog of this consultant, the sentences under consideration offer no evidence in support of the identification of the Nominative NP as a subject.

2.6. Conjunction Reduction

Kroeger claims that Tagalog has a Conjunction-Reduction construction in which a Nominative NP is omitted under conditions of coreference with a following Nominative NP in a coordinate construction. An example of this construction is:

- (22) Huhugasan ko _____ at pupunasan mo ang mga pinggan.
 will:wash-AN A-1sg and will:dry-PN A-2sg N pl dish (2sg = 2nd-person-singular pronoun)
 'I'll wash and you'll dry the dishes.'

According to Kroeger, parallel constructions involving omission of non-Nominatives are impermissible, and he precedes the following examples with the marking "?*", presumably indicating that they are at best questionable.

- (23) a. Niluto ang pagkain _____ at hinugasan ang mga pinggan ni Josie.
 cooked-PN N food and washed-PN N pl dish A Josie
 'Josie cooked the food and washed the dishes.'
 b. Naghuhuli ang ama ko _____ at nagtitinda ang ina ko ng isda.
 catch-AN N father my and sell-AN N mother my P fish.
 'My father catches and my mother sells fish.'

However, for my consultant at least, the examples of (23)a and b, involving omission of a non-Nominative Actor and Patient under conditions of coreferentiality with a following non-Nominative Actor and Patient respectively, are entirely acceptable. Indeed, this consultant also finds entirely acceptable constructions like the following, in which two non-Nominative arguments are omitted from the initial clause of a coordinate construction:

- (24) Nagbigay _____ si Maria _____ at nagpahiram ng pera si Juan sa kanila.
 gave-AN N Maria and lent-AN P money N Juan D D-3pl (3pl = 3rd-person-plural pronoun)
 'Maria gave and Juan lent money to them.'

Kroeger does not make it entirely clear why he believes that, if the Conjunction-Reduction facts are as he assumes, this necessarily favors the identification of the Nominative NP as the subject. But given the facts as just presented, it seems that the omission of noun phrases that are referentially and syntactically identical with following noun phrases in coordinate constructions is permitted quite generally and has no bearing at all on the issue of the identification of the Tagalog subject.

2.7. Number agreement

Tagalog has a limited amount of optional pluralization of verbs and predicate adjectives in agreement with a plural argument. Since agreement of predicates with subjects is a very widespread phenomenon cross-linguistically, it is certainly appropriate to examine the facts of plural agreement in Tagalog to see if they shed any light on the identity of the Tagalog subject. Kroeger argues that they do, and that they in fact support the hypothesis that the Nominative NP is the subject. However, I believe that in this case the facts that Kroeger cites, when taken together with other relevant facts, actually argue *against* the identification of the Nominative NP, and in favor of the identification of the Actor, as the subject.

Kroeger notes that the agreement of Actor-Nominative verbs with plural (Actor) Nominatives, as in (25), is equally compatible with the identification of either the Nominative NP or the Actor as the subject.

- (25) a. Nagsisikain na ang mga bata ng hapunan.
 eat-AN-pl already N pl child P supper
 'The children are eating their supper already.'
- b. * Nagsisikain na si Maria ng hapunan.
 eat-AN-pl already N Maria P supper
 (for: 'Maria is eating her supper already.')

He claims, however, that there are also cases where there is plural agreement of a verb with a Nominative NP that is not an Actor, and cites in support of this claim the following examples:

- (26) Pinagbubuksan niya ang lahat ng mga bintana.
 opened-PN-Int A-3sg N all GEN pl window (Int = Intensive)
 'She opened all the windows.'
- (27) Pagsusulat ni Linda ang mga liham.
 will:write-PN-Int A Linda N pl letter
 'Linda will write the letters.'

But Kroeger is mistaken in regarding the verbs in (26) and (27) as pluralized forms. They are instead, as my gloss indicates, *intensive* forms, used to indicate that the action expressed by the verbs is performed intensively, repeatedly, or the like. Thus, unlike the genuinely *pluralized* Actor-Nominative verb of (25), the intensive non-Actor-Nominative verbs of (26) and (27) can in fact co-occur with a singular Nominative NP, as the following examples show:

- (28) Pinagbubuksan at pinagsasara niya ang bintana.
 opened-PN-Int and closed-PN-Int A-3sg N window
 'She kept opening and closing the window.'
- (29) Pinagsusulat ni Linda ang kaniyang pangalan.
 wrote-PN-Int A Linda N her name
 'Linda kept writing her name.'

Thus, agreement of verbs with plural arguments does not in fact favor the Nominative-subject hypothesis over the Actor-subject hypothesis, but is instead equally compatible with either hypothesis.

What, then, of the plural agreement of adjectives? Kroeger cites the following examples to show that predicate adjectives may indeed be marked to agree with plural Nominative NPs:

- (30)a. Matatalino ang mga batang Intsik.
 pl-bright N pl child-L Chinese
 'The Chinese children are bright.'
 b. * Matatalino si Armand.
 pl-bright N Armand
 (for: 'Armand is bright.')

But it seems to me that there is good reason to regard examples like (30) as analogous to the examples of (25), with their Actor-Nominative verbs: good reason, that is, to identify a Nominative NP that occurs with a predicate adjective as also an Actor.

In section 1, I observed that, given the thematic grid of a verb, the Actor is appropriately identified with the argument in this grid that is highest in a thematic hierarchy of the kind proposed in Jackendoff (1972). But surely predicates other than verbs must also have thematic grids, in the sense that they also assign thematic roles to their arguments. In English, for example, only those predicate adjectives that can be understood as assigning the role of Agent to their subjects can co-occur with a progressive verb form, as illustrated by:

- (31)a. John is being nasty.
 b. * John is being tall.

It is, to be sure, undeniably the case that the thematic grids associated with predicate adjectives do not show the variety of those associated with verbs. Typically predicate adjectives, like predicate nominals and predicate prepositional phrases, are intransitive, taking only a single argument and thus having only a single role in their thematic grids. But just as it is appropriate in Tagalog to assign the macrorole of Actor to the single argument of an intransitive *verb*, so it is appropriate to assign this macrorole to the single argument of an intransitive predicate of any other type.

Consider in this connection:

- (32)a. Nagutom ang bata.
 got:hungry-AN N child
 'The child got hungry.'
 b. Gutom ang bata.
 hungry N child
 'The child is hungry.'
- (33)a. Gumaling ang bata.
 got:well-AN N child
 'The child got well.'

- b. Magaling ang bata.
 well N child
 'The child is well.'

The verbs in (32) a and (33)a are intransitive inchoative verbs formed from adjective stems; the corresponding adjectives are the predicates of (32)b and (33)b respectively.¹¹ Let us assume that the thematic grids associated with the verbs of (32)a and (33)a identify the single arguments of these verbs as Experiencers. The verbs themselves have standard Actor-Nominative morphology, and the Nominative NP, with its Experiencer role, is noncontroversially assigned the macrorole of Actor. Analogously, the arguments of the predicate adjectives of (32)b and (33)b, also Experiencers, should also be assigned the Actor macrorole.

Now it in fact turns out that there is also *morphological* evidence to support the identification of the single argument of a predicate adjective as an Actor: namely, the fact that in certain constructions this argument is assigned Actor case marking. Consider the following sentences:

- (34)a. Kay talino ng mga batang Intsik!
 Ex bright A pl child-L Chinese (Ex = exclamatory)
 'How bright the Chinese children are!'
- b. Napakatalino ni Armand.
 Int-bright A Armand
 'Armand is very bright.'

These sentences are illustrative of a set of exclamatory and intensive constructions in which a predicate adjective is marked not as a Nominative NP but rather as a non-Nominative Actor. And if the argument of a predicate adjective is an Actor, then examples like (30) involve agreement not only with the Nominative NP but with the Actor as well and thus offer no help in the choice between the Nominative -subject and the Actor-subject hypotheses.

But now note that the exclamatory and intensive constructions illustrated in (34) also allow optional pluralization of the adjective in agreement with a plural argument, as in:

- (35)a. Kay tatalino ng mga batang Intsik!
 Ex pl-bright A pl child-L Chinese
 'How bright the Chinese children are!'
- b. * Kay tatalino ni Armand.
 Ex pl-bright A Armand
 (for: 'How bright Armand is!')

- (36)a. Napakatatalino ng mga batang Intsik.
 Int-pl-bright A pl child-L Chinese
 'The Chinese children are very bright.'
- b. * Napakatatalino ni Armand.
 Int-pl-bright A Armand
 (for: 'Armand is very bright.')

It thus seems that there *are* some cases of number agreement in Tagalog that permit a choice between the Nominative -subject and the Actor-subject hypotheses -- i.e., cases like those in (35) and (36) -- and that in these cases it is the Actor-subject hypothesis that is actually chosen!

2.8. Raising

So-called Raising constructions -- i.e., constructions in which a noun phrase that is interpreted as if it were the subject of a subordinate clause occurs as a syntactic constituent, but not an argument, of a superordinate clause -- are sufficiently common across languages to be used as a test for subjecthood. While contemporary grammatical theories analyze these constructions in various ways, not necessarily deriving them, as had certain earlier theories, by positing a movement rule that actually "raises" the subject of a subordinate clause into a superordinate clause, these theories do, nonetheless, generally agree in identifying the relevant superordinate-clause constituent as the subordinate-clause *subject*.¹² Thus, whatever one's theoretical leanings, one might find support for the Nominative-subject hypothesis in a demonstration that only Nominative NPs can undergo Raising in Tagalog. I shall argue below, however, that Kroeger's attempted demonstration to this effect is flawed, and that in fact when the full range of relevant constructions is taken into consideration, the Raising data are at best equivocal with regard to the choice between the Nominative-subject and the Actor-subject hypotheses and can, indeed, be construed as favoring the latter.

Kroeger cites the following as examples of Raising in Tagalog:

- (37) Pinag-usapan si Marcos na malapit nang mamatay.
 said-PN N Marcos L near already-L die-AN
 'Marcos was said to be about to die.'
- (38) Pinag-iisipan si Corazon na mabuting pangulo.
 think-PN N Corazon L good-L president
 'Corazon is thought to be a good president.'
- (39) Inasahan ko ang pambansang-awit na awitin ni Linda.
 expected-PN A-1sg N national:anthem L sing-PN A Linda (1sg = first-person-singular pronoun)
 'I expected the national anthem to be sung by Linda.'

Let us consider the implications of these examples for the identification of the Tagalog subject. In all three of the examples, then, the raised NP is clearly understood analogously to a Nominative NP cooccurring with the subordinate predicate: cf.

- (40) Mamamatay si Marcos.
will:die-AN N Marcos
'Marcos will die.'
- (41) Mabuting pangalan si Corazon.
good-L president N Corazon.
'Corazon is a good president.'
- (42) Aawitin ni Linda ang pambansang-awit.
will:sing-PN A Linda N national:anthem
'Linda will sing the national anthem.'

But in two of the three examples, (37) and (38), the raised NP also corresponds to the *Actor* of the subordinate predicate. This is obviously so in (37), in which the subordinate predicate is an Actor-Nominative verb (cf. (40)), but it is also, if less obviously, so in (38), assuming that the case presented in section 2.7 for assigning the Actor metarole to the argument of a predicate *adjective* holds as well for assigning this metarole to the argument of a predicate *NP*, as in (41). Thus these two examples are equally compatible with the Nominative-subject and the Actor-subject hypotheses.

In example (39), however, the Nominative NP of the subordinate predicate is distinct from the Actor (cf. (42)), and it is the Nominative NP that has been raised. A crucial question is thus whether an Actor that is *not* also a Nominative NP can be raised. Only if it *cannot* would Raising provide the basis for a legitimate argument in favor of the Nominative-NP-subject hypothesis.

Now consider, in this connection, example (43):

- (43) Inasahan ko si Linda na awitin ang pambansang-awit.
expected-PN A-1sg N Linda L sing-PN N national:anthem
'I expected Linda to sing the national anthem.'

In this case it is clear that the raised NP corresponds to a non-Nominative *Actor* NP in the subordinate clause (cf. (42)). (As a constituent of the superordinate clause, however, this NP does have Nominative case marking -- a matter to which I shall return below.) It thus seems that non-Nominative Actor NPs are as capable of undergoing Raising as are non-Actor Nominative NPs, a fact from which one might be led to conclude that Raising constructions are irrelevant to the choice between the Nominative-subject and the Actor-subject hypotheses. Why, then, does Kroeger think that they are relevant?

The answer to this question lies, unfortunately, in disagreements about the facts. Obviously the grammaticality of an example like (43) is crucial to the question at issue here, and there is no doubt that, for my Tagalog consultant at least, the

grammaticality of this example is noncontroversial. I must note, however, that Kroeger marks precisely this same example (his (17)c, p. 28) ungrammatical! Similarly, Kroeger marks ungrammatical the following example (his (18)b, p. 29), in which again a non-Nominative Actor appears to have been raised, and which again my consultant finds perfectly well-formed:

- (44) Gusto ko si Charlie na lutuin ang suman.
 want A-1sg N Chalie L cook-PN N suman
 'I want Charlie to cook the suman.'

Some additional examples of this same type of construction, elicited from my consultant, are:

- (45) Pinag-uusupan si Lindang basahin ang Bibliya araw-araw.
 say-PN N Linda-L read-PN N Bible every:day
 'Linda is said to read the Bible every day.'
- (46) Pinag-iisipan si Bob na ibigin si Mary.
 think-PN N Bob L love-PN N Mary
 'Bob is thought to love Mary.'

In these examples too the non-Nominative Actor of a subordinate clause appears to have been raised into a superordinate clause (and marked as Nominative in this clause). So if we assume that the grammaticality facts are as presented here, it appears that the Actor is as capable as the Nominative NP of undergoing Raising, and we might conclude, as suggested above, that Raising constructions, like the so-called Subject Obviation and Conjunction Reduction constructions discussed in 2.5 and 2.6, are simply irrelevant to the identification of the subject in Tagalog.

But there is, in fact, reason to think that *some* of the putative examples of Raising presented above may properly be accounted for not by Raising (or its counterparts in current grammatical theories) but rather by a general reordering process of a type that is not specific to subjects. This kind of reordering, which is widespread among case-marking languages such as Tagalog, is what Ross (1968) calls "Scrambling". There is no doubt that Tagalog is a Scrambling language. In simple clauses with predicate verbs, for example, only the initial position of the verb is fixed, and post-verb noun phrases may in general occur grammatically in any order. For example, while the order shown in (47)a probably represents the commonest ordering of the NPs of this sentence, all of the orders shown in (47)b-f are also grammatical:

- (47)a. Ibinigay ni Pedro ang pera kay Juan.
 gave-PN A Pedro N money D Juan
 'Pedro gave the money to Juan.'
- b. Ibinigay ni Pedro kay Juan ang pera.
 c. Ibinigay ang pera ni Pedro kay Juan.
 d. Ibinigay ang pera kay Juan ni Pedro.
 e. Ibinigay kay Juan ni Pedro ang pera.

- f. Ibinigay kay Juan ang pera ni Pedro.

Now Scrambling in Tagalog is commonly limited to constituents of the same simple clause. But there *are* cases in which certain constituents of a subordinate clause appear to be moved, by means of Scrambling, into a superordinate clause. Consider the following examples:

- (48)a. Nagpilit si Joe na magbigay ng pera kay Bob.
 tried-AN N Joe L give-AN P money D Bob
 'Joe tried to give Bob money.'
 b. Nagpilit si Joe kay Bob na magbigay ng pera.
 tried-AN N Joe D Bob L give-AN P money
 'Joe tried to give Bob money.'

In both (48)a and (48)b, the directional phrase *kay Bob* is interpreted as an argument of the subordinate verb *magbigay* 'to give' rather than of the superordinate verb *nagpilit* 'tried'. But while in (48)a *kay Bob* remains within the subordinate clause syntactically, in (48)b, it occurs, presumably as a result of Scrambling, as a constituent of the superordinate clause.

Interestingly, among the constituents that may sometimes be moved out of a subordinate and into a superordinate clause by means of Scrambling are certain Nominative NPs, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (49)a. Pinilit ni Joe na bigyan ng pera si Bob.
 tried-PN A Joe L give-DN P money N Bob
 'Joe tried to give Bob money.'
 b. Pinilit ni Joe si Bob na bigyan ng pera.
 tried-PN A Joe N Bob L give-DN P money
 'Joe tried to give Bob money.'

Here it is the Nominative NP *si Bob* that occurs as a syntactic constituent of the subordinate clause of which it is an argument in (49)a, but as a syntactic constituent of the superordinate clause in (49)b.

Now (49)b bears a certain resemblance to some of the putative *Raising* constructions discussed above, and sentences like (49)b have in fact been classified as Raising constructions by at least one analyst, Dell (1981). The way in which (49)b is like the putative Raising constructions is that both contain in their superordinate clauses a Nominative NP that is interpreted not as an argument of the superordinate predicate but, rather, as an argument of a subordinate predicate. But (49)b differs significantly from any putative Raising construction in its semantics. From a semantic point of view, the superordinate predicate of (49)b is not a typical Raising predicate, but, rather, a typical *Control* predicate. In Control constructions (cf. section 2.9.2, below, for a fuller discussion of such constructions in Tagalog), there is an argument of a superordinate predicate that controls the interpretation of an understood argument of a subordinate predicate. Moreover, in languages in which the identity of the subject is noncontroversial, the controlled argument of the subordinate predicate is always its subject. For example, in the English translation of (49)b (and the identical translations of (48)a-b and (49)a, all involving the typical

Control predicate *try*), it is the subject of *give* whose interpretation is controlled by *Joe* . But if the predicate of (49)b is a Control predicate, it cannot simultaneously be a Raising predicate, the two types of predicates being syntactically and semantically incompatible.

So (49)b is not a Raising construction, but is instead, presumably, a Scrambling construction, in which case a Nominative NP, as suggested above, may in some cases be "scrambled" into a superordinate from a subordinate clause. But if this is so, then certain of the putative *Raising* constructions themselves may *also* be products of Scrambling! Let us reconsider, in this connection, two of the potential candidates for a Raising analysis considered above, (39) and (43) (repeated below for convenience) and compare them with their presumed non-Raising counterpart, (50).

- (39) Inasahan ko ang pambansang-awit na awitin ni Linda.
 expected-PN A-1sg N national:anthem L sing-PN A Linda
 'I expected the national anthem to be sung by Linda.'
- (43) Inasahan ko si Linda na awitin ang pambansang-awit.
 expected-PN A-1sg N Linda L sing-PN N national:anthem
 'I expected Linda to sing the national anthem.'
- (50) Inasahan ko na awitin ni Linda ang pambansang-awit.
 expected-PN A-1sg L sing-PN A Linda N national:anthem
 'I expected that Linda would sing the national anthem.'

The crucial fact here has to do with the case marking in the three examples. Note that in (39) the case marking is identical to that in the non-Raising (50). It is thus possible to derive (39) simply by an appropriate Scrambling of the constituents of (50). In (43), by contrast, the case marking differs from that in (50). Where *Linda* in (50) is marked with the personal-name Actor marker *ni* , *Linda* in (43) is marked with the personal-name Nominative marker *si* . Therefore no mere rearrangement of the constituents of (50) by means of a process like Scrambling can yield (43). Similarly, it would not be possible to derive any of (44)-(46) simply by rearranging the constituents of the corresponding non-Raising constructions, since in each case the same kind of case-marking change is also required.

It therefore seems to me that, taken in their entirety, the putative Raising data, far from supporting Kroeger's claim that the Nominative NP is the subject in Tagalog, instead provide the basis for an argument for the *Actor* as subject: namely, that constructions that appear to involve the Raising of a non-Nominative Actor (as in (43)-(46)) cannot be reanalyzed as products of a non-subject-sensitive rearrangement process like Scrambling, while those that involve the putative Raising of a non-Actor Nominative (as in (39)) can be so reanalyzed. There are two important provisos, however. The first is that the grammaticality judgments assumed here with regard to examples like (43)-(46) are borne out by the judgments of Tagalog speakers in general. The second is that there be developed explicit Raising and Scrambling analyses of the constructions in question -- analyses that would go well beyond the ambitions of the present paper.

2.9.0. Kroeger's critique of the Actor-subject analysis

Kroeger considers two of the arguments presented by Schachter (1976) in support of a possible identification of the Actor as subject. One of these arguments has to do with Reflexivization, the other with Control. In both cases, Kroeger brings into consideration some relevant data not considered by Schachter, and argues that, when the full range of data is considered, the facts do not support the identification of the Actor as subject. Rather, he argues, Reflexivization and Control in Tagalog are, for the most part, indifferent to grammatical functions such as subject and are instead to be explained primarily on a semantic basis. The Reflexivization and Control cases are discussed below in sections 2.9.1 and 2.9.2 respectively.

2.9.1. Reflexivization

Schachter (1976) notes that a non-Nominative Actor can be the antecedent of a reflexive but cannot itself be reflexivized, while the reverse is true of a non-Actor Nominative. (51)a-b are illustrative:

- (51)a. Iniisip nila ang kanilang sarili.
 think-DN A-3pl N their self
 'They think about themselves.'
 b. * Iniisip sila ng kanilang sarili.
 think-DN N-3pl A their self
 '*Themselves think about them.'

In (51)a, the non-Nominative Actor *nila* is the antecedent of the reflexive non-Actor Nominative *ang kanilang sarili* and the sentence is grammatical. In (51)b, on the other hand, the non-Actor Nominative *sila* is the prospective antecedent of the reflexive non-Nominative Actor *ng kanilang sarili* and the result is ungrammatical. Schachter observes that, in languages in which the identity of the subject is not in doubt, the subject can antecede a reflexive but cannot itself be reflexivized (cf. the English translations of (51)a-b). Thus it appears that in Tagalog it is the Actor rather than the Nominative NP that is subjectlike with regard to Reflexivization.

However, Kroeger cites with approval an argument of Andrews (1985), based on the observation that certain constituents *other than* Actors may also antecede reflexives, as is illustrated in (52):

- (52) Iniabot niya sa bata ang kaniyang sariling larawan.
 handed-PN A-3sg D child N his self-L picture
 'He_i handed the child_j a picture of himself_{i,j}.'

(52), like its English translation, is ambiguous: the antecedent of the reflexive may be either the Actor or the Direction.

From such examples, Andrews concludes -- and Kroeger concurs -- that Reflexivization in Tagalog is not sensitive to syntactic factors (such as the identity of the subject) at all, but is instead entirely governed by a semantically-based principle, the Thematic Hierarchy Condition on Reflexives proposed by Jackendoff (1972). The hierarchy of thematic roles that Jackendoff posits (translated in terms of the roles and macroroles referred to in this paper) has Actor at the top, Direction in

the middle, and Patient at the bottom, and the proposed Thematic Hierarchy Condition on Reflexives is to the effect that "A reflexive may not be higher on the Thematic Hierarchy than its antecedent." This condition would presumably account for the ambiguity of (52) just as it does that of its English translation.¹³

But I believe that this argument is inconclusive. It does certainly appear to be the case that Tagalog Reflexivization obeys the Thematic Hierarchy Condition. But this in itself hardly entails that Tagalog Reflexivization does not *also* obey the kinds of syntactic constraints on Reflexivization that are observed in other languages. After all, Jackendoff himself, while postulating the Thematic Hierarchy Condition on Reflexivization for English, nonetheless concludes that a full account of English Reflexivization also requires the postulation of certain syntactic conditions. And there does seem to be evidence of at least *some* syntactic conditions on Reflexivization in Tagalog as well.

Consider, for example:

- (53) Nakita ng sugo sa Papa ang kaniyang sarili sa salamin.
 saw-PN A envoy D pope N his self Loc mirror (Loc = Location)
 'The envoy to the Pope saw himself in the mirror.'

(53), like its English translation, is unambiguous. The reflexive can be interpreted as coreferential only with *sugo sa Papa* 'the envoy to the Pope', not with *Papa* 'the Pope' alone, even though coreference with the latter would be consistent with the Thematic Hierarchy Condition on Reflexivization. Presumably the interpretive restriction on (53) has to do with syntax and is to be accounted for by an appropriate syntactic condition -- a prominent candidate being the c-command condition on Reflexivization postulated in the Government-Binding theory of Chomsky (1982).¹⁴

Now the fact that there are *some* syntactic conditions on Reflexivization in Tagalog does not, of course, entail that Tagalog obeys *all* of the syntactic conditions on Reflexivization that have been found to hold in other languages. In particular, I know of no evidence that the syntactic notion "subject" is necessary to an account of Reflexivization in Tagalog, and I thus concede Kroeger's basic point in this regard. On the other hand, if it should turn out, as has sometimes been proposed (e.g., by Perlmutter and Postal (1974), cited in Bell (1983), and by Keenan (1976)), that the notion of "subject" is relevant to a *universal* account of Reflexivization, then in Tagalog it is certainly the Actor, rather than the Nominative NP, that shows the relevant "subject property" of being able to control the reference of reflexives.

2.9.2 Control

"Control" is the term that has come to be used for constructions involving what, in early work on generative grammar, was referred to as "Equi-NP Deletion". In a Control construction, there is a superordinate predicate one of whose arguments does double duty semantically. Not only does this argument play a role in the argument structure of the superordinate clause itself; it is also the controller of the reference of an unexpressed or pronominal argument (hereafter the controllee) of a subordinate predicate.¹⁵

In languages in which the identity of the subject is nonproblematic, it is the subject of the subordinate predicate that regularly serves as controllee -- hence, the interest of this construction for researchers concerned with the identity of the

subject in Tagalog. As it turns out, however, the facts regarding Control constructions in Tagalog are equivocal, with the controllee corresponding to the Actor in some cases and to the Nominative NP in others.

The Actor-controllee construction, illustrated in the examples of (54), is the more common one, and is cited by Schachter (1976, 1977) as supporting the identification of the Actor as the subject.

- (54)a. Nag-atubili siyang humiram ng pera sa bangko.
hesitated-AN N-3sg-L borrow-AN P money D bank.
'He hesitated to borrow money from a/the bank.'
- b. Nag-atubili siyang hiramín ang pera sa bangko.
hesitated-AN N-3sg-L borrow-PN N money D bank.
'He hesitated to borrow the money from a/the bank.'
- c. Nag-atubili siyang hiraman ng pera ang bangko.
hesitated-AN N-3sg-L borrow-DN P money N bank.
'He hesitated to borrow money from the bank.'

In these examples, the Actor in each case serves as the controllee. In (54)a, the subordinate verb happens to be Actor-Nominative, so the controllee corresponds to the Nominative NP as well as to the Actor. But in (54)b-c, with their non-Actor-Nominative subordinate verbs, the controllee corresponds to a non-Nominative Actor.

Other researchers, however, beginning with Dell (1981), have pointed out that there are also cases in which the controllee is not the Actor but the Nominative NP. Such cases usually involve a marked subordinate verb form that I shall call the resultative. A brief introduction to the resultative is in order here, as background to a consideration of the use of resultative verbs in Control constructions.

Morphologically, the resultative is marked by the prefix *ma-* (or its realis-aspect allomorph *na-*) in non-Actor-Nominative verbs and by the prefix *maka-* (or its realis allomorph *naka-*) in Actor-Nominative verbs. Semantically, the difference in meaning between resultative and unmarked ("neutral") verbs is characterized as follows in Dell's (1983) thoughtful study of these forms: "One uses a neutral form when one intends to assert that a certain Maneuver took place, but one wants to remain non-committal as to whether it did actually bring about the intended Result; on the other hand, one uses [a resultative] form when the main business at hand is to assert that a Result, intended or not, was actually achieved." (p. 181)¹⁶

Two common uses of the resultative may be translated into English by *manage to* + verb (the so-called "ability" reading of the resultative) and *happen to* + verb (the so-called "involuntary action" reading), as in (55)a, adapted from Dell (1983); compare the reading of the unmarked verb in (55)b.

- (55)a. Nahipo niya ang dingding.
R-touched-PN A-3sg N wall. (R = resultative)
'He managed/happened to touch the wall.'

- b. Hinipo niya ang dingding.
 touched-PN A-3sg N wall.
 'He touched the wall (on purpose).'

These and the various other uses of the resultative noted by Dell have in common, as he observes, a shift (vis-à-vis the unmarked form) in the assignment of responsibility for bringing about a result: the role of the Actor is downplayed when a resultative verb is used, and the role of other factors, such as propitious circumstances, is highlighted.

With this background, let us turn now to Control constructions involving a (non-Actor) Nominative controllee and a resultative subordinate verb. In the interpretation of such constructions, it is always the case that the referent of the Nominative controllee is being assigned at least some share in the responsibility for the controlled event. This is apparent in the following examples, adapted from Kroeger (1993).

- (56)a. Nag-atubili si Mariang mabigyan ng pera ni Ben.
 hesitated-AN N Maria-L R-give-DN P money A Ben
 'Maria hesitated (to allow herself) to be given money by Ben.'
 b. Inutusan ko si Mariang mahalikan ni Pedro.
 ordered-DN A-Isg N Maria-L R-kiss-DN A Pedro.
 'I ordered Maria (to allow herself) to be kissed by Pedro.'

Here the referent of the nominative controllee, Maria, is understood as being more than just the object of Ben's generosity in (56)a or Pedro's affection in (56)b; instead, by allowing herself to be involved in the specified events, she makes a contribution to bringing these events about.

In explaining the semantics of examples like (56), Kroeger adapts Sag and Pollard's (1991) treatment of problematic examples of Control in English, such as (57):

- (57) Mary was promised by John to be allowed to leave.

This example is problematic because it involves an apparent exception to the otherwise valid generalization that with *promise* and other control predicates belonging to the same semantic class (which Sag and Pollard call the COMMITMENT class), the controller regularly corresponds to the COMMITTOR (i.e., in the case of *promise*, the one who makes the promise). In (57), on the other hand, if, as appears to be the case, Mary is indeed the controller, then the controller corresponds, exceptionally, to the COMMISSSEE (the one to whom the promise is made). Sag and Pollard's proposed solution to this problem involves what they call "causative coercion". They point out that in the interpretation of a sentence like (57), the COMMITTOR (John in (57)) is in fact understood as promising to cause the event expressed in the subordinate clause (Mary's being allowed to leave), and they propose that in the semantic representation of such sentences there is an "interpolated causer" whose reference is controlled by the COMMITTOR. Thus, on their analysis, the semantic representation of (57) is similar to that of:

- (58) John promised Mary to cause her to be allowed to leave.

In (57) as in (58), they propose, *promise* shows the usual COMMITTOR control. The difference is that in (58) the controllee is the subject of an overt verb, *cause*, while in (57) the controllee -- i.e., the interpolated causer -- is the subject of a covert causative predicate.

Now in Tagalog, Kroeger suggests, there is a more systematic way than there is in English of expressing causative coercion in Control constructions: namely, the use of a resultative subordinate verb. Kroeger's proposed account of examples like (56)a-b is, I confess, not entirely clear to me, but I believe that he is proposing that in examples of this kind there is a covert causative predicate, and that the actual controllee of the Control construction is an argument of this covert predicate: i.e., the interpolated causer, corresponding to the unexpressed subject of 'to allow herself' in the English translations of (56). On this analysis, examples like (56) turn out not to be exceptions to the rule of Actor controllees in Tagalog since the interpolated-causer controllee does in fact have Actor-like semantics. (As noted above, Maria in (56)a-b is understood as a quasi-Actor, in that she shares responsibility for the events in which she is involved.)¹⁷

Thus far we have seen examples of Control constructions with Actor controllees and unmarked subordinate verbs, such as (54), and examples with (at least superficial) Nominative controllees and resultative subordinate verbs, such as (56), and these examples certainly reflect the dominant pattern. There are, however, also a few cases in which there are Actor controllees with resultative verbs, and there may also be cases in which there are Nominative controllees with unmarked verbs. An example of the former is (59)a (cf. (59)b):

- (59)a. Inutusan ko si Mariang mailuto ang pagkain pagdating ko.
 ordered-DN A-lsg N Maria-L R-cook-PN N food arriving A-1sg
 'I ordered Maria to get the food cooked by the time I arrived.'
- b. Inutusan ko si Mariang iluto ang pagkain pagdating ko.
 ordered-DN A-lsg N Maria-L cook-PN N food arriving A-1sg
 'I ordered Maria to cook the food when I arrived.'

In (59)a, the use of the resultative verb is sanctioned by the resultative semantics of 'getting the food cooked'; with an unmarked verb, as in (59)b, this semantic cast is absent.¹⁸

As for constructions with Nominative controllees and unmarked subordinate verbs, Kroeger claims that these are permitted by a few specific Control predicates, with which they may occur as variants of constructions with *resultative* subordinate verbs. One such Control predicate, according to Kroeger, is *himok* 'persuade', as in the examples of (60), in which (60)a-b illustrate Nominative controllees with unmarked and resultative subordinate verbs respectively, while (60)c illustrates that *himok* also occurs in Actor-controllee constructions.

- (60)a. ? Hinimok ko si Mariang halikan ni Pedro.
 persuaded-DN A-lsg N Maria-L kiss-DN A Pedro.
 'I persuaded Maria to be kissed by Pedro.'

- b. Hinimok ko si Mariang mahalikan ni Pedro.
persuaded-DN A-Isg N Maria-L R-kiss-DN A Pedro.
'I persuaded Maria (to allow herself) to be kissed by Pedro.'
- c. Hinimok ko si Mariang halikan si Pedro.
persuaded-DN A-Isg N Maria-L kiss-DN N Pedro.
'I persuaded Maria to kiss Pedro.'

For my consultant, however, (60)a is ungrammatical, and it is not clear whether his dialect in fact includes any grammatical cases of Nominative controllees with unmarked subordinate verbs.

Now that we have surveyed the rather complicated facts of Control constructions in Tagalog, we may ask what one is to make of these facts. *Prima facie*, at least, it seems to me that the facts offer support for the basic claim made in Schachter (1976, 1977): i.e., that the properties associated with subjects in most languages are divided between two different constituents in Tagalog, the Actor and the Nominative NP. Indeed, the facts just surveyed might appear to offer *stronger* support for this claim than the facts presented in the earlier papers themselves, in which only examples of Control constructions involving Actor controllees were considered. For, what the fuller range of facts shows is that -- quite apart from the existence in Tagalog of some putative subject properties that are exclusive to Actors and some that are exclusive to Nominatives (as documented in earlier sections of the present paper) -- there is also at least one putative subject property, i.e., occurrence as the controllee in a Control construction, which is *shared* in Tagalog by the two subject-candidate constituents.¹⁹

This, however, is certainly not the conclusion reached by Kroeger, whose case for identifying the Nominative NP as the sole Tagalog subject we have been examining. Rather, Kroeger rejects the idea that occurrence as a controllee is necessarily a property of subjects and suggests instead that, in Tagalog at least, Control involves two different mechanisms, only one of which has relevance to subjecthood. Kroeger proposes that the major mechanism involved in Control constructions in Tagalog, the one involved in constructions in which the Actor is the controllee, is one that is sensitive to semantic rather than syntactic constraints. If I understand him correctly, this mechanism is involved not only in cases with obvious Actor controllees, such as (54), but also in cases with resultative subordinate predicates and what Kroeger analyzes as interpolated-causer controllees, such as (56). (But with regard to the latter, see the caveat in note 17.) Kroeger suggests that the mechanism involved in these cases is what Bresnan (1982) calls *anaphoric control*.

The second mechanism that Kroeger proposes for Control constructions is apparently relevant only to constructions like (60)a, which involve a Nominative controllee and an unmarked subordinate verb. (But it is possible that Kroeger also intends for this mechanism to be at least one of those involved in constructions with a Nominative controllee and a *resultative* subordinate verb, such as (56) or (60)b -- again, see note 17.) According to Kroeger, constructions like (60)a are examples of "Subect-Subject-Equi (SSE)", since, he claims, they require that both the controller and the controllee be "subjects": i.e., Nominative NPs. The mechanism that Kroeger proposes for *these* cases is Bresnan's (1982) *functional control*.

But it seems to me that there are serious problems with at least the first of these proposals -- i.e., the proposal that the Actor-controllee cases involve anaphoric control. For the Tagalog constructions in question simply do not have the characteristics that the proposed analysis would lead one to expect. Let us see why this is the case.

According to Bresnan, anaphoric-control constructions contain zero pronouns. In English, anaphoric control is postulated for examples like the following:

- (61)a. Louise signaled to Ted to follow her.
- b. Mary wished to leave.

The infinitives in these examples, on Bresnan's analysis, have zero pronominal subjects, but the restriction of anaphoric control to the subjects of nonfinite verbs is, she suggests, not universal. (In Malayalam, for example, Bresnan proposes that there are zero-pronoun objects as well as subjects and that zero pronouns co-occur with finite as well as nonfinite verbs.) One property, however, that holds for anaphoric-control constructions across languages is that the postulated zero pronouns involved in these constructions must have nominal distribution: that is, *overt NPs* must be able to occur grammatically in (essentially) the same contexts. Compare, for instance, the following examples to those of (61):

- (62)a. Louise signaled to Ted for everyone to follow her.
- b. Mary wished (for) John to leave.

But in Tagalog, Actor controllees, which Kroeger wishes to analyze as instances of anaphoric control, do *not* necessarily have the distribution of overt NPs. Indeed, Kroeger himself notes the existence in Tagalog of "obligatory control predicates...(which) do not allow their complement clause to contain an Actor which is not coreferential with the controller (as in a "for-to" complement in English)." (p. 90) The following are (in adapted form) among the examples that he uses to illustrate obligatory control:

- (63)a. Binawalan ko si Mariang awitin ang "Dahil sa iyo".
forbade-DN A-1sg N Maria-L sing-PN N because D you
'I forbade Maria to sing "Because of you".'
- b. * Binawalan ko si Mariang awitin ni Linda ang "Dahil sa iyo".
forbade-DN A-1sg N Maria-L sing-PN A Linda N because D you
'*I forbade Maria for Linda to sing "Because of you".'

Bawal 'forbid', like its English counterpart, is an obligatory-control predicate. It occurs in a Control construction such as (63), but not in a non-Control construction with an overt NP in lieu of a controllee. Thus if, as Kroeger proposes, (63)a is analyzed as a case of anaphoric control, it differs crucially -- and inexplicably -- from cases for which anaphoric control has been postulated in other languages.

Moreover, Kroeger gives no reason why anaphoric control should be restricted to *Actors* in Tagalog when this type of semantic restriction on anaphoric-control constructions is generally precluded. For while Bresnan, as noted above, allows for a certain amount of language-particular variation in anaphoric-control constructions, she does propose as a *universal* that the zero pronouns that occur in these constructions must assume a "semantically unrestricted grammatical function" such as

subject or object, rather than one of the "semantically restricted grammatical functions" associated, for example, with oblique NPs (cf. Bresnan 1982, p. 380)²⁰

Kroeger's proposed account of examples like (60)a, involving Bresnan's "functional control", may also be problematic. The cases in point would presumably involve what Bresnan (1982) calls "lexically induced functional control", in which the lexical entry for a Control predicate maps two different grammatical functions -- one the function of the controller, the other the function of the controllee -- onto a single syntactic constituent.²¹ For constructions involving this type of Control, Bresnan posits a universal "Lexical Rule of Functional Control", according to which the controllee always has the grammatical function of (complement) subject and the controller always has one of the unrestricted grammatical functions such as subject or object.²²

Now as noted above, Kroeger refers to cases like (60)a as involving "Subject- Subject Equi", in which both the controller and the controllee must be subjects. So, if this label is indeed accurate for the entire set of constructions that Kroeger proposes to analyze as involving functional control (i.e., the set of constructions with Nominative controllees and unmarked, nonresultative subordinate verbs), then the constructions in question do obey Bresnan's proposed universal rule. But is this in fact the case? Crucial to answering this question is the grammaticality, for speakers who accept (60)a, of examples like the following:

- (64) ? Sino ang naghimok kay Mariang halikan ni Pedro?
who N persuaded-AN D Maria-L kiss-DN A Pedro
'Who persuaded Maria to (allow herself to) be kissed by Pedro?'

In (64), the controller, *kay Maria*, is a directional complement that presumably does not have one of Bresnan's unrestricted grammatical functions. The example thus violates the proposed Lexical Rule of Functional Control and, if it is acceptable to speakers who accept (60)a, it is problematic for Kroeger's account.²³

In any event, the problems previously noted for the analysis of the alleged *anaphoric* -control constructions seem to me to be sufficient to cast serious doubt on Kroeger's proposals. I thus believe that the facts of Control constructions in Tagalog retain their force as evidence for the *division* of a subject property between the Actor and the Nominative NP.²⁴

2.10. The Nominative-subject analysis: summary of findings

A total of ten arguments of Kroeger's bearing on the identity of the subject in Tagalog have now been reviewed: eight arguments in support of the Nominative-subject hypothesis (cf. sections 2.1-8) and two in rebuttal to the Actor-subject hypothesis (cf. sections 2.9.1-2). Of these ten arguments, four of those in support of the Nominative-subject hypothesis have been found to be either valid as presented or valid with certain qualifications. The arguments found to be valid as presented are those having to do with Quantifier Float and the control of secondary predicates, discussed in sections 2.1 and 2.2 respectively. (There is, however, some question about whether these are in fact two *independent* arguments, or whether there is a single generalization to be made, covering both quantifiers and secondary predicates, to the effect that "subject-oriented adverbs" in Tagalog are oriented toward the Nominative NP -- see discussion in section 2.2.) The arguments found to be valid with certain

qualifications are those having to do with Relativization and Possessor Ascension (cf. sections 2.3 and 2.4). The qualifications here have to do with whether or not relativizability and the hosting of Possessor Ascension are appropriately identified as *subject* properties, given that in Tagalog these properties are shared by Nominative NPs and certain clearly non-subject NPs. However, it is certainly true that among the arguments of verbal predicates that assign Nominative case to one of their arguments, it is only the Nominative NPs that may be relativized or may host Possessor Ascensions. Thus, *if* Relativization and the hosting of Possessor Ascensions are indeed characteristic of subjects, the facts regarding them support the Nominative-subject hypothesis.

The remaining four arguments that Kroeger offers in support of the Nominative-subject hypothesis have been found to be invalid. In two of the four cases, those having to do with subject obviation and Conjunction Reduction, the phenomena in question turn out to be simply irrelevant to the choice between the Nominative NP and the Actor as subject (cf. sections 2.5-6), at least if one assumes the correctness and generalizability of my consultant's judgments. In the remaining two cases, those having to do with number agreement (section 2.7) and Raising (section 2.8), I have argued that, when a fuller range of data than Kroeger considers is taken into account, the phenomena in question in fact favor the *Actor*-subject hypothesis.

In the case of number agreement, in most instances the NP with which a predicate may agree is simultaneously the Nominative NP and the Actor, and in these cases it is just not possible to say which of the two statuses of the NP is relevant to the agreement facts. There are, however, valid cases of number agreement with non-Nominative Actors and no valid cases of number agreement with non-Actor Nominative NPs. Thus it proves to be the Actor rather than the Nominative NP that in this case has the putative subject property.

As for Raising, the facts are rather complicated -- and also, unfortunately, there are again some apparent factual disagreements between my consultant and Kroeger's sources. However, if we again assume the correctness and generalizability of my consultant's judgments, then there are no indisputable cases of the Raising of Nominative NPs, since the putative cases of (non-Actor) Nominative-NP Raising that Kroeger presents are all alternatively analyzable as word-order rearrangements reflecting the operation of an independently motivated Scrambling rule. On the other hand, there *are* cases of the apparent Raising of Actors, cases in which an alternative Scrambling analysis is impossible because of a difference in case-marking between the non-Nominative Actor that occurs in the non-raised construction and the Nominative Actor that occurs in the corresponding construction that is the presumed result of Raising.

We have also seen that there are problems with Kroeger's attempted rebuttal of two arguments that have been claimed to favor the identification of the Actor as the subject: the arguments concerned with Reflexivization (cf. section 2.9.1) and Control (cf. section 2.9.2). With regard to the former, Kroeger acknowledges that Actors are relevant (and Nominative NPs irrelevant) to Reflexivization, but he proposes that Reflexivization in Tagalog is to be explained entirely in terms of a semantic Thematic Hierarchy that has no bearing on the identity of a syntactic subject. However, it is not the case that Reflexivization in Tagalog is entirely indifferent to syntax, and if, as has been claimed in the theoretical literature, subjecthood is *universally* relevant to Reflexivization, then it is certainly the Actor that shows the putative subject property. As for Control, this is another rather complicated picture, but it is quite clear that controllee status is assigned in some cases to the Actor and in others to the Nominative NP: a split with respect to a *single* putative subject property that is perhaps the strongest support of all for concluding that neither type of NP can properly claim to be *the* subject in Tagalog.

We thus arrive, at the end of this review, at an approximately equal division of putative subject properties between the Nominative NP and the Actor. The Nominative NP is subject-like with respect to the perhaps combinable properties of

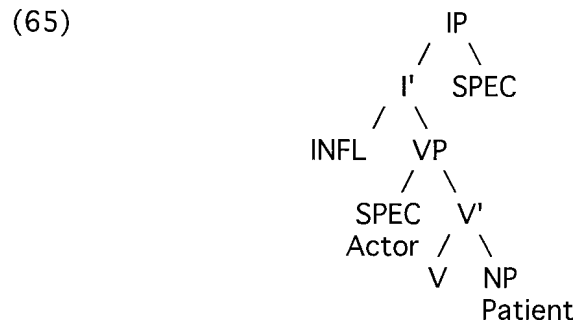
Quantifier Float and the control of secondary predicates, as well as with respect to Relativization and Possessor Ascension. The Actor is subject-like with respect to number agreement, Raising, and Reflexivization. And both the Nominative NP and the Actor are subject-like with respect to Control. It therefore seems clear that Kroeger has not proven his case for identifying the Nominative NP as the sole subject in Tagalog, and that, while some of the specific claims of Schachter (1976, 1977) regarding the split in putative subject properties between the Actor and the Nominative NP require revision, the general case for such a split remains essentially intact.

3.0. The two-structural-subjects hypothesis

One plausible response to the observed split in putative subject properties in Tagalog is to propose that the syntactic structures of the language in fact contain two distinct subject constituents, each associated with a proper subset of subject properties. Any such proposal must necessarily be theory-dependent, reflecting the kinds of syntactic structures a particular theory makes available. For example, in the so-called standard theory of Chomsky (1965), one might have proposed that the two relevant constituent types are the deep subject (i.e., [NP,S], the NP immediately dominated by S, in deep structure) and the surface subject ([NP,S] in surface structure). Or, in the Relational Grammar framework of Perlmutter and Postal (1974), one might have proposed that the two constituent types are the initial subject of a clause (the subject of the lowest dominating S before the application of any relation-changing rules) and the cyclic subject of the clause (the subject after application of all relation-changing rules). (The latter proposal was in fact made by Paul Postal (personal communication) shortly after the publication of Schachter (1976); see Schachter (1977), pp. 301-304, for a discussion of some problematic aspects of this proposal.)

A recent avatar of this kind of proposal is to be found in Guilfoyle, Hung and Travis (1992) (hereafter, GHT), which, in the context of a more general analysis of Austronesian languages, addresses the split in subject properties in Tagalog within the framework of a version of Chomsky's Government Binding (GB) theory. This is the version advocated in, e.g., Fukui and Speas (1986) and Kuroda (1988), in which all arguments of a predicate are generated initially within VP. In such an analysis, GHT suggest, certain subject properties are associated with constituents in [SPEC,VP] (Specifier of VP) position and others with constituents in [SPEC,IP] (Specifier of Inflection Phrase) position.

GHT propose (65) as the D-structure of basic two-argument clauses in Tagalog and other Austronesian languages:²⁵



The proposal is that a given verb in Tagalog assigns Case to all but one of its arguments. The argument to which a verb does not assign Case varies with the verb's voice: if, for example, the verb is AN, it fails to assign Case to the Actor, while if it is PN, it fails to assign Case to the Patient. The argument to which Case is not assigned by the verb may move to the [SPEC,IP] position in order to receive Nominative case from INFL. Alternatively, if the voice of the verb is AN, the Actor may remain in [SPEC,VP] and receive Nominative case in situ from INFL, which has the capacity to govern down into the [SPEC,VP] position. (In any event, prior to S-structure, the verb itself always moves to INFL, thus accounting for its initial S-structure position.)

GHT make two significant claims for this analysis. The first has to do with accounting for the kind of alleged word order asymmetry illustrated in (66) and (67).²⁶

- (66)a. Bumili ang babae ng tela.
bought-AN N woman P cloth
'The woman bought some cloth.'
b. Bumili ng tela ang babae.
bought-AN P cloth N woman
'The woman bought some cloth.'

- (67)a. Binili ng babae ang tela.
bought-PN A woman N cloth
'A/The woman bought the cloth.'
b.(?) Binili ang tela ng babae.
bought N cloth A woman
'A/The woman bought the cloth.'

As these examples show, a Nominative Actor may freely occur either adjacent or non-adjacent to the verb, as in (66). A non-Nominative Actor, however, is normally adjacent to the verb, as in (67)a (although, for my consultant at least, (67)b is also acceptable). This difference is accounted for under the GHT analysis as follows. In AN clauses, such as (66), the Actor may receive Nominative case from INFL either in situ, i.e., in its D-structure verb-adjacent position in [SPEC,VP], or in [SPEC,IP]. In non-AN clauses, such as (67), on the other hand, the Actor remains in [SPEC,VP] while the NP that is not case-marked by the verb moves to [SPEC,IP] to receive Nominative case from INFL. (I return to the matter of the word order in such examples in section 3.5, below.)

The second significant claim that GHT make for their analysis has to do with the central concern of the present paper. This is the claim that the analysis provides a satisfactory explanation of the observed split in subject properties in Tagalog between the Nominative NP and the Actor. The basic idea here is that subject properties that are associated with the Nominative NP are properties of the [SPEC,IP] while those that are associated with the Actor are properties of the [SPEC,VP]. GHT deal with four of the subject properties discussed in Schachter (1976,1977): Reflexivization, Extraction, Quantifier Float, and Equi-NP deletion. ("Extraction" is essentially equivalent to my "Relativization" (cf. section 2.3),²⁷ while "Equi-NP deletion" is

equivalent to my "Control" (cf. section 2.9.2.) I discuss the GHT proposals with regard to these four properties in sections 3.1-3.4, finding problems with all but one of the proposals, the proposal on Reflexivization. Then, in section 3.5, I discuss two additional problems posed by the GHT analysis, and finally, in section 3.6, I summarize my findings with respect to the analysis.

3.1. Reflexivization

GHT suggest that the split in subject properties in Tagalog and other Austronesian languages is one between properties that are "theta sensitive" (i.e., sensitive to theta -- or semantic -- roles) and those that are not. They note that a similar split has been proposed for English by Williams (1987). But where Williams proposes a split between a set of grammatical properties "concerned exclusively with relations between theta roles...and one concerned with positions," (GHT, p. 151), GHT propose a positional account of *both* the theta-sensitive *and* the non-theta-sensitive sets. The non-theta-sensitive properties are, they propose, associated with the [SPEC,IP] position, into which NPs with a variety of semantic roles may be moved. The theta-sensitive properties, on the other hand, are associated with the [SPEC,VP] position, in which only an NP with the semantic role of Actor may occur.

Reflexivization is clearly a theta-sensitive property in Tagalog. (Recall Kroeger's proposal to deal with Reflexivization exclusively in terms of Jackendoff's Thematic Hierarchy Condition -- cf. section 2.9.1.) Thus GHT propose that it is associated with [SPEC,VP]. In the GB framework, Reflexivization is subject to the binding theory, according to which a reflexive must be c-commanded by its antecedent (cf. note 14 for an explanation of c-command). Under the GHT proposal, it is clear that, at least as far as so-called A-positions (i.e., positions in which an argument may appear in D-structure) are concerned, the Actor always asymmetrically c-commands any other arguments or adjuncts of a predicate (cf. (65)). Therefore, since the binding theory is a theory of A-binding, holding of relations between A-positions, the GHT analysis correctly predicts that the Actor can serve as the antecedent of a reflexive and cannot itself be reflexivized. (Cf. examples (51), section 2.9.1.)

3.2. Extraction

As was noted in section 2.3, among the arguments and adjuncts of a predicate verb, only the Nominative NP may generally be relativized -- or, in GHT's terms, extracted. Thus, under the GHT analysis, Extraction is a subject property that is associated with the [SPEC,IP] node. GHT propose that, while Extraction of a constituent filling [SPEC,IP] (i.e., an NP that has moved into [SPEC,IP] to receive Nominative case) is allowed, Extraction of a constituent *across* a filled [SPEC,IP] is not. In the latter case, they suggest, Extraction is barred by "some type of locality...(which) might be determined within the framework of relativized minimality (Rizzi 1990) or barriers (Chomsky 1986...)." (p. 393)

In an appendix to their paper, GHT note that their proposal permits them to account successfully for the one instance in which extraction of a *non-Nominative* argument of a predicate verb is permitted: namely, when the verb is in the recent-perfective aspect. As was discussed in section 2.3, verbs in the recent-perfective are unique in assigning semantically significant (i.e., non-Nominative) case to all of their arguments rather than selecting one for Nominative-case assignment, and these verbs are also unique in allowing any of their arguments to be relativized. Examples (10) and (11), repeated below as (68) and (69), illustrate these points:

- (68) Kabibigay lang ng maestra ng libro sa bata.
just:gave just A teacher P book D child
'The teacher just gave a book to the child.'
- (69) a. Lyon ang maestrang kabibigay lang ng libro sa bata.
that N teacher-L just:gave just P book D child
'That's the teacher who just gave a book to the child.'
- b. Lyon ang librong kabibigay lang ng maestra sa bata.
that N book-L just:gave just P teacher D child
'That's the book that the teacher just gave to the child.'
- c. Lyon ang batang kabibigay lang ng maestra ng libro.
that N child just:gave just A teacher P book
'That's the child that the teacher just gave a book to.'

Under the GHT proposal, the movement of an argument to [SPEC,IP] to receive Nominative case is precluded in a recent-perfective clause by the fact that every argument of such a clause is assigned case by the verb. Thus the [SPEC,IP] position always remains unfilled in a recent-perfective clause and the condition that bars extraction across a filled [SPEC,IP] fails to apply, predicting the grammaticality of examples like those of (69).

In the same appendix to their paper, however, GHT also note a problem for their proposal: namely, the fact that, under their analysis, [SPEC,IP] apparently need not be filled in an AN clause, since Nominative case may be assigned to the Actor in situ (cf. (66)a, above), yet there is still no possibility of extracting a non-Nominative NP from such a clause. To deal with this problem, they propose what appears to be a rather ad hoc solution: viz., that "even when there is no movement, the (AN) morphology of the verb still Case-marks the SPEC of IP, licensing a pleonastic *pro* in this position. This pleonastic will be coindexed with the [Nominative NP], preventing movement of any other [NP]." (p. 411)

But there is a more serious problem for their proposal: namely, the fact that there *are* constructions in which there is Extraction of a constituent other than the Nominative NP itself out of a clause containing a Nominative NP. These are constructions such as (9)b-c, repeated below as (70)a-b, in which the extracted constituent corresponds to a Genitive complement of a nonverbal predicate: cf. (71)a-b (a slightly modified version of (8)b-c, above).

- (70)a. Lyon ang doktor na kasama ang anak.
that N doctor L with N child
'That's the doctor that the child is with.'
- b. Lyon ang doktor na kasingtaas ang anak.
that N doctor L as:tall:as N child
'That's the doctor that the child is as tall as.'

- (71)a. Kasama ng doktor ang anak.
 with GEN doctor N child
 'The child is with the doctor.'
- b. Kasingtaas ng doktor ang anak.
 as:tall:as GEN doctor N child
 'The child is as tall as the doctor.'

Given the grammaticality of examples like those of (70), it appears that GHT really have no principled way of generating all and only the grammatical cases of Extraction in Tagalog. This is not to say that there is some other obviously available account that fares better in this regard, given the apparently somewhat arbitrary composition of the set of extractable constituents in Tagalog. But the burden of proof is on those who claim to have an explanation.

3.3. Quantifier Float

As was noted in section 2.1, when the quantifier *lahat* 'all' is adjoined to a predicate, it is consistently interpreted as quantifying the Nominative NP. This is illustrated in the examples of (72) (a repetition of (3), above), in which *lahat* is interpreted as referring to the Nominative Actor in (72)a, the Nominative Patient in (72)b, and the Nominative Direction in (72)c:

- (72)a. Sumusulat na lahat ang mga bata ng mga liham sa mga kaibigan.
 write-AN L all N pl child P pl letter D pl friend
 'All the children write letters to friends.'
- b. Sinusulat na lahat ng mga bata ang mga liham sa mga kaibigan.
 write-PN L all A pl child N pl letter D pl friend
 'Children write all the letters to friends.'
- c. Sinusulang lahat ng mga bata ng mga liham ang mga kaibigan.
 write-DN-L all A pl child P pl letter N pl friend
 'Children write letters to all the friends.'

Since Nominative case is, under the GHT analysis, assigned to a constituent in [SPEC,IP], GHT naturally propose to associate Quantifier Float with this node.²⁸ Specifically, they propose that floating quantifiers are "licensed in the same way as adverbs -- in particular, subject-oriented adverbs." They go on to explain that "Travis (1988) proposes that [subject-oriented] adverbs...are adjoined to INFL and licensed by the AGR[eement] feature in INFL. Since this feature is coindexed with the NP...in the SPEC of IP position, it has the effect of relating the adverb to this NP....In the Tagalog [Quantifier Float examples], *lahat* 'all' is adjoined to INFL and licensed by the AGR feature in INFL. Since INFL is coindexed with the NP in the SPEC of IP, the quantifier will be interpreted with the [Nominative] NP." (pp. 392-393)

The similarity of floated quantifiers to subject-oriented adverbs, which was noted above in section 2.2, is nicely captured by GHT's proposal. And the proposal also extends rather easily to an additional subject property of the Nominative NP, one that

is not discussed by GHT: namely, the property of control by the Nominative NP of the interpretation of secondary predicates -- cf. discussion in section 2.2. There is, however, a problem in reconciling GHT's proposal about agreement with certain other agreement facts of the language.

In section 2.7, above, I argue that *number* agreement in Tagalog is a property associated with the *Actor* rather than with the Nominative NP. For while in many cases the constituent with which a predicate (optionally) agrees in number is both an Actor and a Nominative NP, there are also cases in which there is number agreement with an Actor that is *not* a Nominative NP. Moreover, pace Kroeger, there are no cases in which there is number agreement with a non-Actor Nominative NP. Thus, since, under GHT's analysis, the Actor is regularly associated with [SPEC,VP], it would appear that the AGR feature in INFL, which is clearly involved in the GB account of number agreement, must be coindexed with the NP in [SPEC,VP] rather than, as GHT's account of Quantifier Float would require, with the NP in [SPEC,IP]. Possibly there is some motivated way of dividing AGR into two subsets of features, one subset agreeing with [SPEC,VP], the other with [SPEC,IP], but I know of no proposal along these lines. In the absence of any such proposal, I must conclude that GHT's suggested account of Quantifier Float is at best problematic.

3.4. Equi-NP deletion

GHT group Equi-NP deletion (or Control) together with Reflexivization as a theta-sensitive property -- which indeed it is (cf. Sag and Pollard, 1991). Therefore, according to their hypothesis, Equi-NP deletion should, like Reflexivization, be consistently associated in Tagalog with the [SPEC,VP] node rather than with the [SPEC,IP] node: i.e., with the Actor rather than with the Nominative NP.

On the other hand, GHT also note that in GB theory "the phenomenon of Equi-NP deletion...is described in terms of the presence of PRO in control structures," and that "[s]ince PRO may appear only as the subject of an uninflected INFL, its presence is, in effect restricted to the SPEC of IP position." (pp. 390-391) But this would suggest, that, under GHT's analysis of Tagalog, Equi-NP deletion should be consistently associated with the Nominative NP rather than with the Actor. Hence, there appears to be a paradox.

In fact, as is illustrated at length in section 2.9.2, and as GHT themselves note, Control in Tagalog may actually be associated with *either* the Actor *or* the Nominative NP. Compare, for example, (73) (a repetition of (54)b), in which the "Equi target", or controllee, is the Actor and (74) (a repetition of (56)a), in which it is the Nominative NP.

(73) Nag-atubili siyang hiramín ang pera sa bangko.
hesitated-AN 3sg-L borrow-PN N money D bank.
'He hesitated to borrow the money from a/the bank.'

(74) Nag-atubili si Mariang mabigyan ng pera ni Ben.
hesitated-AN N Maria-L R-give-DN P money A Ben
'Maria hesitated (to allow herself) to be given money by Ben.'

But while GHT note the relevant descriptive facts, their analysis does not account for them. They do suggest that, in a GB analysis of Tagalog, "PRO appears in two different positions...SPEC of VP and SPEC of IP" (p. 391), but they do not say how this

distribution of PRO can be reconciled with GB theory. Given the structure that GHT propose for Tagalog, the occurrence of PRO in [SPEC,IP] seems to me to be particularly problematic for them, since the distribution of PRO, like that of reflexives, is supposedly (as GHT themselves observe on p. 392) subject to the binding theory. As was noted in section 3.1, the GB binding theory is a theory of relations between *A-positions*, positions in which arguments may occur in D-structure. But in GHT's account of Tagalog, [SPEC,IP] is definitely *not* such a position.

It thus seems to me that, like Extraction and Quantifier Float, Equi-NP deletion is in fact not adequately accounted for by GHT's proposed analysis.

3.5. Other problems with the two-structural-subjects analysis

In addition to the problems noted above, I would like to discuss two other problems posed by the GHT analysis. One of these problems has to do with an inconsistency between the GHT analysis and the GB theory of phrase structure; the other has to do with certain inadequacies in GHT's proposed account of Tagalog word order.

With regard to phrase structure, the GB account of this (in common with the account of phrase structure in various other current models) incorporates some version of X-bar theory. According to X-bar theory (cf., for example, Jackendoff (1977)), category-particular phrase-structure rules (such as rules for the expansion of NP or VP) are replaced by category-neutral rule schemata that apply to a generalized phrasal category, XP -- equivalently, X-double-bar or X'' --, where X is a variable ranging over categories. Now since the beginnings of X-bar theory in Chomsky (1970), it has always been the case that in a given language the constituents of X'', namely, [SPEC,X''] and X', occur in the same linear order regardless of the category value that is assigned to X. The ordering of these constituents is parametric, with grammars free to choose between the ordering [SPEC,X'']-X' and the ordering X'-[SPEC,X'']. But it has *not* been thought to be the case that, within a single language, one category or subset of categories may be SPEC-initial and another SPEC-final. Yet if we look at (65), this is precisely what GHT propose for Tagalog and other Austronesian languages. Specifically, IP in (65) is SPEC-final while VP is SPEC-initial.

In a footnote to their paper (note 2, p. 379), GHT do mention this problem and propose that there is a systematic basis for the ordering difference: namely, that it is "a distinction between specifiers of functional categories and specifiers of lexical categories." Their hypothesis is thus that functional (i.e., nonlexical) categories, such as IP, are SPEC-final while lexical categories, such as VP, are SPEC-initial. If this hypothesis is correct, then the exceptionality vis-à-vis X-bar theory of GHT's proposed D-structure for Austronesian languages is at any rate a kind of principled exceptionality. But in fact, at least as far as Tagalog is concerned, GHT's hypothesis about a generalizable split between the structure of functional categories and that of lexical categories is *not* correct. For, although GHT claim in the cited footnote that "unfortunately...there is no evidence for SPEC of C[complementizer]P ([since] questions take the form of clefts of predicate structures)," there is in fact ample evidence that all movements in Tagalog into what might be analyzed as SPEC of CP (or SPEC of some other functional category higher than IP) are *leftward* movements into SPEC-initial position.

Consider the following examples of two different types of constituent-fronting constructions that Schachter and Otnes (1972) call, respectively, *Ay* Inversion and Emphatic Inversion.²⁹ (In each case, the first example is of the fronting construction, the second of the corresponding non-fronting structure.)

- (75)a. Ang mga anak ay kayamanan ng mga magulang.
 N pl child I wealth GEN pl parent (I = Inversion marker)
 'Children are the wealth of their parents.'
- b. Kayamanan ng mga magulang ang mga anak.
 wealth GEN pl parent N pl child
 'Children are the wealth of their parents.'
- (76)a. Dito magtatayo ng bahay si Juan.
 here will:build-AN P house N Juan
 'It's here that Juan will build a house.'
- b. Magtatayo ng bahay si Juan dito.
 will:build-AN P house N Juan here
 'Juan will build a house here.'

The SPEC node that would be analyzed as the target of movements in a GB account of examples like (75)a and (76)a is obviously initial, not final, contrary to what GHT's hypothesis about a split between functional and lexical categories predicts. It therefore seems that the inconsistency between GHT's proposed Austronesian D-structure and standard assumptions of X-bar theory has no systematic basis, at least in the case of Tagalog, and thus remains a problem for the GHT analysis.

To turn now to word order, the ordering of post-verb NPs in Tagalog is, as was noted in section 2.8, essentially, free, as shown by the examples of (77) (a repetition of (47)), in which the first example represents probably the most common order, but all of the other orderings are grammatical.³⁰

- (77)a. Ibinigay ni Pedro ang pera kay Juan.
 gave-PN A Pedro N money D Juan
 'Pedro gave the money to Juan.'
- b. Ibinigay ni Pedro kay Juan ang pera.
 c. Ibinigay ang pera ni Pedro kay Juan.
 d. Ibinigay ang pera kay Juan ni Pedro.
 e. Ibinigay kay Juan ni Pedro ang pera.
 f. Ibinigay kay Juan ang pera ni Pedro.

GHT are aware that "Tagalog has fairly free word order" and propose "that there must be some sort of scrambling rule and, in particular, PP extraposition, to account for the various permutations of the orders of post-verbal elements." (p. 394) But their analysis nonetheless makes certain claims about *basic* constituent ordering, and it is these claims that I wish to question here.

First, GHT claim that the basic ordering of the Nominative NP is clause-final (except in the case of AN clauses, where there are two alternating basic orderings of the Nominative Actor, clause-final and immediately post-verbal -- cf. (66)a-b).

Their grammar would, for example, generate (77)b, with its clause-final Nominative NP (and its immediately post-verbal Actor) as basic, giving this ordering priority over that in (77)a, which, as noted above, in fact probably represents a more common ordering pattern.

Second, given the inclusion of Scrambling in their grammar, GHT's claim to have accounted for certain observed word-order asymmetries becomes dubious. Specifically, they claim to have an account of the fact that in AN clauses such as (66) a Nominative Actor may freely occur in either immediately-post-verbal position or clause-final position, while in non-AN clauses such as (67) a non-Nominative Actor is normally immediately post-verbal. This account is based on their proposal that Nominative case may be assigned to the Actor either in [SPEC,VP] or in [SPEC,IP], but may be assigned to a non-Actor only in [SPEC,IP]. But now note that, if there is a Scrambling rule, then this rule would presumably generate alternative orderings for both AN and non-AN clauses, on the one hand making GHT's dual case-assignment mechanism for AN clauses superfluous and on the other making their attempt to prevent alternative orderings in non-AN clauses ineffectual.

In fact, however, I believe that it is in any case misguided to seek to build the observed ordering asymmetries into the syntax, and that there is instead a basically pragmatic reason why non-Nominative Actors normally occur immediately after the verb: namely, an avoidance of a potential ambiguity. The ambiguity in question has to do with the fact that the Tagalog case-marking system is a rather impoverished one, with the same small set of case markers used to mark a number of semantically distinguishable cases. In particular, the system does not distinguish between the marking of (non-Nominative) Actors and the marking of Genitives. Therefore, if an Actor NP immediately follows a noun that can accept a Genitive complement, the possibility arises of a Genitive, rather than an Actor, interpretation for this NP. For example, (77)c above allows for two different interpretations, according to whether *ni Pedro* is taken to be the Actor argument of *ibinigay* 'gave' or the Genitive complement of *pera* 'money'. In the former case, the sentence means 'Pedro gave the money to Juan,' in the latter, 'Pedro's money was given to Juan.' (The same type of dual interpretation arises in the case of (77)f, in which, once again, *ni Pedro* immediately follows *pera*.) Now the Genitive interpretation is in fact the preferred interpretation of such ambiguous NPs, and I would suggest that this is because, when an Actor interpretation is intended, the placement of the Actor in immediately post-verbal position -- a position in which a Genitive interpretation is precluded -- has to a degree become grammaticized.

But the grammaticization is at most only partial. For the placement of the Actor in some position other than an immediately-post-verbal one, while perhaps not common, is also not unacceptable, particularly in cases where, for one reason or another, a Genitive interpretation of the Actor is not available. Thus my consultant finds (77)d and e, in which *ni Pedro* cannot be interpreted as a Genitive complement to the noun it follows, *Juan*, preferable to (77)c and f. He also finds the following sentence, in which, again, *ni Pedro* cannot be interpreted as a Genitive complement, quite acceptable.

- (78) Ibinigay iyon ni Pedro kay Juan.
 gave:PN N-that A Pedro D Juan
 'Pedro gave that to Juan.'

In sum, then, the GHT account of word order is questionable on grounds of both observational and descriptive adequacy.

3.6. Summary of findings: the two-structural-subjects analysis

According to the two-structural-subjects analysis, Tagalog syntactic structures include two subject-like positions, [SPEC,VP] and [SPEC,IP]. [SPEC,VP] is the D-structure position, and often also be the S-structure position, of the Actor; [SPEC,IP] is unfilled at D-structure, but is in most cases the S-structure position of the Nominative NP. Thus, what GHT claim is, in essence, that the subject-like properties of the Actor and the Nominative NP are associated, respectively, with the [SPEC,VP] and [SPEC,IP] nodes.

It turns out, however, that there are problems for the two-structural-subjects analysis with respect to three of the four properties that GHT consider. The one nonproblematic property is Reflexivization. Here, according to the GB analysis that GHT assume, the [SPEC,VP] node asymmetrically c-commands all other A-positions. Thus the analysis correctly predicts that the Actor, since it is in [SPEC,VP], can be the antecedent of a reflexive but can never itself be reflexivized.

With respect to the two properties that GHT associate with the [SPEC,IP] node, Extraction and Quantifier Float, their proposals work fairly well for the limited range of data they discuss but not when a wider range of relevant facts is taken into consideration. In the case of Extraction (e.g., Relativization), GHT propose that there can be extraction *from*, but not *across*, a filled [SPEC,IP] node. They thus predict that no constituent other than the Nominative NP itself can be extracted from a clause containing a Nominative NP -- a prediction that fails to account for the permissible extraction of certain Genitive NPs.

As for Quantifier Float, while it is indeed the case that the launching of floating quantifiers is restricted to Nominative NPs, GHT's specific proposal for dealing with the phenomenon as an instance of *agreement* proves to be problematic. For this proposal entails, within the GB model that GHT assume, that the values of the AGR feature in INFL be determined by the NP in [SPEC,IP]. But I have shown in section 2.7 that *number* agreement in Tagalog is consistently determined by the Actor rather than the Nominative NP. And agreement with the Actor presumably entails, in the GHT framework, that the values of the AGR feature be those of the NP in [SPEC,VP] -- an apparently irreconcilable conflict.

The fourth property that GHT consider, Equi-NP Deletion (i.e., Control), is split between the Actor and the Nominative NP, but their proposal does not account for this split. Instead, the proposal appears to require that Equi-NP Deletion be restricted to the Actor. This is because, within GB theory, Control is subject to the Binding Theory, which is a theory of so-called A-positions. According to the GHT analysis of Tagalog, while [SPEC,VP] is an A-position, [SPEC,IP] is not. The analysis thus seems, incorrectly, to preclude Equi-NP Deletion of the Nominative NP.

In addition to problems in their account of subject properties, two other problems with the GHT analysis were noted: an apparently arbitrary departure from a standard assumption of the X-bar theory of phrase structure, and certain inconsistencies and empirical inadequacies in the proposed account of word order. Altogether, then, the two-structural-subjects analysis proposed by GHT appears neither to offer a solution to the problem of the Tagalog subject nor to be a generally viable account of the language's structure.

4.0. The Ergative analysis

In recent years a number of scholars have proposed that Tagalog is an Ergative language, and some have further suggested that the peculiarities of Tagalog with regard to the identification of the subject may be explained, at least in part, on the basis of the language's ergativity. Among those who have proposed an Ergative analysis of Tagalog are Payne (1982), Cooreman et al. (1984, 1988), De Guzman (1986, 1988), and Blake (1988). Their arguments are summarized and critiqued in sections

4.1-4.4. In the balance of the present section, I present a summary account of ergativity in general, followed by a brief description of the proposed Ergative analysis of Tagalog.

The term Ergative has traditionally been used to characterize a system of case marking that contrasts with the familiar (Nominative-)Accusative system of Indo-European languages. In an Accusative system, the subject of an intransitive clause has the same case marking (i.e., Nominative) as the agent of a prototypical transitive clause while the patient of the transitive clause has a different case marking (Accusative). In an Ergative system, on the other hand, the subject of an intransitive clause has the same case marking (Absolutive) as the *patient* of a prototypical transitive clause while the *agent* of the transitive clause has a different case marking (Ergative). Follow Comrie (1978), we may use the symbol S (reminiscent of "subject") for the single argument of an intransitive clause and the symbols A and P (reminiscent of "agent" -- or, for that matter, "Actor" -- and "patient") for the two arguments of a transitive clause. We may then make the following generalizations: in an Accusative system, S and A are marked the same and P is marked differently; in an Ergative system, S and P are marked the same and A is marked differently.³¹

Just as Accusative languages often have a clause type, the passive, in which the patient rather than the agent is Nominative, so Ergative languages often have a clause type, the *antipassive*, in which the agent rather than the patient is Absolutive. Like passive clauses, antipassive clauses are intransitive, so their Absolutive-marked agent may be identified as an S (the single argument of an intransitive clause). Antipassive clauses may lack patients altogether (just as passive clauses may lack agents), but if a patient is present, it is expressed not as a term or direct argument of the verb, but, rather, as an oblique or "chômeur".³²

In the literature on ergativity, a distinction has come to be made between *morphological* and *syntactic* ergativity. Morphological ergativity has to do with the case-marking system described above. Syntactic ergativity is found when the syntax of a language treats S and P alike and A differently. As pointed out by Anderson (1976), among others, the majority of morphologically Ergative languages are in fact syntactically *non-Ergative*, in that their syntax (like that of Accusative languages) quite consistently groups together S and A, rather than S and P. Thus the absence of syntactic ergativity in a language does not necessarily entail the absence of morphological ergativity. On the other hand, the *presence* of syntactic ergativity apparently does entail the presence of at least some morphological ergativity -- cf. Dixon (1979), p. 133.

Even in languages described as showing syntactic ergativity, however, the grouping together of S and P appears to be limited to a rather small subset of syntactic processes: namely, certain processes involving coreference across clause boundaries, such as Relativization and Conjunction Reduction. Dixon (1979) proposes using the term "(syntactic) pivot" for the target of such coreference-related processes, e.g., the relativized argument of a relative clause or the deleted coreferential NP of a Conjunction Reduction construction. Adapting his terminology somewhat, we can say that syntactically ergative languages have at least some "{S,P} pivots", while languages without syntactic ergativity have exclusively "{S,A} pivots". From this it follows that, if it can be shown that a language has any {S,P} pivots (as has been suggested for Tagalog -- see section 4.3), this language must be syntactically Ergative -- and, ipso facto, morphologically Ergative as well.

In discussions of the syntax of ergative languages, there has been some inconsistency in the application of the term "subject". Dixon proposes reserving the term for the set {S, A} in Ergative and Accusative languages alike, and he objects to the practice of certain other scholars (he cites Keenan (1976) and Keenan and Comrie (1977) in this regard) who identify the set {S, P} as the subject in at least *syntactically*

Ergative languages. If we adopt Dixon's usage and assume, for the moment, that Tagalog is a syntactically Ergative language, then it might be possible to explain the observed division of syntactic labor between what I have been calling the Actor and the Nominative NP as a division between "subject" properties (those associated with the Actor) and "pivot" properties (those associated with the Nominative NP, which would, under the Ergative analysis, be identified as the "Absolute NP" -- see below).

In addition to morphological and syntactic ergativity, a notion of *discourse* ergativity has been advanced in the literature, especially in Cooreman et al. (1984, 1988). A language is said to show discourse ergativity "if the bulk of transitive events in discourse are coded by the ergative clause type" (i.e., a clause type in which P, rather than A, is marked the same as the S of an intransitive clause) (Cooreman et al., 1984, p. 29). A language that shows discourse ergativity must presumably also be morphologically Ergative as well (though I shall in fact challenge this presumption later, in section 4.4), but it need not be -- and typically is not -- syntactically Ergative.

With this background, we can now briefly summarize the proposed Ergative analysis of Tagalog. The basic claim of this analysis is that the transitive clause type that I have been calling "Patient-Nominative" (PN), e.g., (79)a, is actually Ergative, while the clause type that I have been calling "Actor-Nominative" (AN), e.g., (79)b, is actually antipassive.

- (79)a. Kinain ng bata ang kanin.
 ate-PN A child N rice
 'A/The child ate the rice.'
- b. Kumain ang bata ng kanin.
 ate-AN N child P rice
 'The child ate some rice.'

According to the Ergative analysis, *ang* in the above examples is a marker of Absolute, rather than Nominative, case, while the *ng* of (79)a marks Ergative case and the *ng* of (79)b marks an oblique case (or, in a Relational-Grammar framework, a *chômeur*). Morphologically, the verb in (79)a, according to this analysis, has basic transitive affixation, while the verb in (79)b carries the same intransitive affixation as the verb in (80) (in which, again, the case marker that I identify as Nominative is, according to the analysis, Absolute).

- (80) Tumawa ang bata.
 laughed-AN N child
 'The child laughed.'

We are now in a position to present and discuss the arguments that have been offered in support of an Ergative analysis of Tagalog, and to discuss as well the possible implications of such an analysis for the central concern of the present paper, the subject relation in Tagalog. To anticipate my findings, I shall argue that, although the case for discourse ergativity in Tagalog, discussed in section 4.1, is quite strong, the cases for morphological and syntactic ergativity, discussed in sections 4.2.0-4.2.1 and 4.3 respectively, are unconvincing. These findings are summarized, and certain inferences are drawn from them, in section 4.4.

4.1. Discourse ergativity

As noted above, discourse ergativity is defined on the basis of the relative frequency of two types of transitive clauses: those in which *P* is case-marked like the *S* of an intransitive clause, and those in which *A* is so case-marked. If the former clause type is more common, then ipso facto the language shows discourse ergativity; if the latter is more common, it does not. With regard to Tagalog, then, the relevant question is: what is the relative frequency in discourse of PN and AN transitive clauses? And the answer appears to be that PN clauses are more frequent. Cooreman et al. (1984, 1988) report that, in a count of PN and AN transitive clauses in texts taken from Bloomfield (1917), approximately three-fourths of the clauses are PN.³³ And there is no reason to think that these findings are atypical of the language as a whole.

Indeed, there is good reason to think that PN clauses are, in some sense, the unmarked transitive clause type in Tagalog. In two unpublished papers written in the 1970's, Cena (MSb, MSc) offers a number of different kinds of evidence to the effect that PN transitive clauses in Tagalog are more basic than AN transitive clauses. There are, for example, some apparently transitive PN clauses that either have no AN counterparts or that have AN counterparts that are more restricted in their distribution than the corresponding PN clauses. Examples of the former are several classes of verbs that Schachter and Otanes (1972) classify as "pseudo-transitive": e.g., the verbs in (81)a and (82)a. (Cf. the ungrammatical AN counterparts in (81)b and (82)b.)

- (81)a. Binagalan nila ang lakad nila.
 slowed-PN A-3pl N walk their
 'They walked slowly.'
- b. * Nagbagal/Bumagal sila ng lakad nila.
 slowed-AN N-3sg P walk their
- (82)a. Inagad ni John ang kampanya.
 do:without:delay-PN A John N campaign
 'John waged the campaign without delay.'
- b. * Nag-agad/Umagad si John ng kampanya.
 do:without:delay-AN N John P campaign

Examples of AN verbs that are more restricted in their distribution than their PN counterparts are verbs whose PN forms occur in both main and relative clauses but whose AN forms occur only in relative clauses: e.g.,

- (83)a. Tinakot ng lalaki ang bata.
 frightened-PN A man N child
 'A /The man frightened the child.'
- b. * Tumakot ang lalaki ng bata.
 frightened-AN N man P child

- c. lyon ang batang tinakot ng lalaki.
 that N child-L frightened-PN A man
 'That's the child that a/the man frightened.'
- d. lyon ang lalaking tumakot ng bata.
 that N man-L frightened-AN P child
 'That's the man that frightened a child.'

A further indication of the unmarked character of PN transitive clauses is the fact that such clauses are apparently acquired by children before AN transitive clauses, as reported in studies by Tucker (1971) and Segalowitz and Galang (1978), cited in Cena (MSc). (See also section 4.2.1 for evidence of the unmarked morphological character of PN verbs.)

In sum, there seems to be no reason to doubt -- and good reason to believe -- that Tagalog is indeed a language with discourse ergativity, as this is defined by Cooreman et al. (But see section 4.4 for a discussion of the relation between so-called discourse ergativity and ergativity in the traditional --i.e., morphological -- sense.)

4.2.0. Morphological ergativity

In the Ergative analysis, as noted above, the case markers and case-marked forms that I have been calling Nominative are identified as Absolutive, those that I have been calling Actor markers and forms are identified as Ergative, and those that I have been calling Patient markers and forms are identified as obliques (or *chômeurs*). Thus, in the absence of other evidence, the two analyses of case marking are essentially notational variants, each making the same case distinctions but assigning different labels to the cases. It is therefore of interest to look elsewhere in the morphological system of Tagalog for evidence bearing on the question of ergativity, and advocates of the Ergative analysis have indeed found some supplementary morphological evidence in support of their analysis.

Specifically, two arguments have been presented to the effect that the verbs that occur in PN clauses are morphologically less marked than those that occur in AN (transitive) clauses, one in Payne (1982) (based on data from Cena (MSc)), the other in Blake (1988). The assumption underlying these arguments is the reasonable one that, just as in an Accusative system, active morphology is generally unmarked vis-à-vis passive morphology, so in an Ergative system, the morphology of verbs in ergative clauses is generally unmarked vis-à-vis that of verbs in antipassive clauses.

Payne (1982) points out that there are certain transitive verb stems that may optionally occur without affixation (and thus be *literally* "unmarked"), and that in such cases the stem is always interpreted as PN rather than AN: compare the affixed examples in (84) with their unaffixed counterparts in (85):

- (84)a. Hinahawakan ni Mary ang libro.
 is:holding-PN A Mary N book
 'Mary is holding the book.'
- b. Humahawak si Mary ng libro.
 is:holding-AN N Mary P book
 'Mary is holding a book.'

- (85)a. Hawak ni Mary ang libro.
 hold A Mary N book
 'Mary is holding the book.'
- b. * Hawak si Mary ng libro.
 hold N Mary P book

And Blake (1988) points out that the two realis forms, the perfective and the imperfective, of the commonest class of PN verbs (those whose infinitives are formed with the suffix *-in*) have no voice affixation, while the corresponding forms of AN verbs are affixed for voice. The chart in (86), expanded and adapted from Blake's Table 1 (p. 79), presents some relevant verbs formed with the stem *sulat* 'write'.³⁴

	Irrealis		Realis	
	Infinitive	Future	Perfective	Imperfective
Actor focus (AN)	sumulat	susulat	sumulat	sumusulat
Patient focus (PN)	sulatin	susulatin	sinulat	sinusulat
Benefactive focus (BN)	isulat	isusulat	isinulat	isinusulat
Directional focus (DN)	sulatan	susulatan	sinulatan	sinusulatan

As Blake persuasively argues, the infix *-in-* that occurs in the realis PN forms of (86) is not appropriately analyzed as a voice (or "focus") marker, since it is found in *all* non-AN realis forms (cf. the BN and DN realis forms in (86)). Blake, who analyzes BN, DN, etc. clauses as products of the advancement of non-patients to patient or object status (cf. section 4.3), describes *-in-* as a marker of transitivity. (Alternatively -- and, I believe, preferably -- *-in-* can, following Cena (MSc), be regarded as a marker of realis aspect. The relevant point here, in any event, is that *-in-* is not a *voice* marker.) Since the reduplicating prefix that occurs in the imperfective is clearly an aspect marker, it follows that the two realis PN forms are totally unmarked for voice. In the AN realis forms of (86), on the other hand, the infix *-um-* is the same infix that occurs in the AN infinitive, and is noncontroversially a voice marker. Thus the PN realis forms are unmarked vis-à-vis the AN forms, as the Ergative analysis predicts.³⁵

Although these morphological arguments for the Ergative analysis have some force, I believe that there are also strong morphological arguments *against* the Ergative analysis. I now turn to these arguments.

4.2.1. Morphological arguments against the Ergative analysis

From the point of view of providing a plausible account of Tagalog morphology, the most serious weakness of the Ergative analysis stems from the way in which this analysis treats AN clauses that contain both an A and a P. As indicated above, such clauses are analyzed as antipassives, and as such are claimed to be derived from more basic transitive clauses with PN verbs. This derivation may seem plausible enough when just the AN and the PN verb forms themselves are considered, but there turn out to be significant problems with such a derivation when a fuller range of Tagalog verb forms is taken into account.

By way of background to a presentation of these problems, let me briefly summarize certain aspects of the morphology of AN verbs. Putatively antipassive (henceforth PA) AN verbs, then, show essentially the same range of affixes as do single-argument intransitive (henceforth I) AN verbs. The most common affixes in both cases are *-um-* and *mag-* (which may, following De Guzman (1978), usefully be analyzed for certain purposes as consisting of the AN affix *-(u)m-* and the stem-forming affix *pag-*), although certain other affixes also occur in both PA and I AN verbs: e.g., *mang-* (analyzable as *-(u)m-* plus *pang-*), *ma-*, *maka-*, etc. In some cases certain semantic, syntactic, or morphological generalizations can be made about classes of roots that select *-um-*, *mag-*, or one of the other AN affixes. (For various such generalizations cf. Schachter and Otanes (1972) and Ramos (1974).) In many other cases, however, the choice of the AN affix appears to be a matter of arbitrary lexical selection.³⁶ In particular, the AN affix found in a PA verb *cannot* in general be predicted from the corresponding PN verb form. (See below for some discussion of PN affixation.) Thus, for example, corresponding to PN verbs whose infinitive is formed with the suffix *-in*, we find some PA AN verbs formed with *-um-* (e.g., AN *sumulat*/ PN *sulatin* 'write', AN *tumahi*/ PN *tahiin* 'sew'), and others formed with *mag-* (e.g., AN *magluto*/ PN *lutuin* 'cook', AN *magplantsa*/ PN *plantsahin* 'iron'). Similarly, corresponding to PN verbs formed with the suffix *-an*, we find both *-um-* and *mag-* PA AN verbs (e.g., AN *humawak*/ PN *hawakan* 'hold', AN *lumunas*/ PN *lunasan* 'cure' vs. AN *magbukas*/ PN *buksan* 'open', AN *magwalis*/ PN *walisan* 'sweep').

With this background, we can now turn to the morphological problems that PA verbs pose for the Ergative analysis. The basic problem is that, regardless of whether an AN verb is I or PA, it is quite regularly the case that the AN affixation is at the heart of the elaborate system of verbal derivational morphology that is found in Tagalog. That is, once it is known, for example, whether an AN verb is formed with *-um-* or *mag-*, it is possible to predict a large number of other, derived verb forms. No such prediction, on the other hand, is possible on the basis of knowledge of the PN affixation.

Consider first the formation of gerunds. Tagalog has two types of gerunds, aspectless gerunds and perfective gerunds. For both types, the gerund formation is predictable on the basis of the AN, rather than the PN, form. For aspectless gerunds the generalization is: if the AN affix is *-um-*, the gerund is formed by prefixing *pag-* to the verb base; if the AN affix is *mag-*, the gerund is formed by prefixing *pag-* plus a reduplicating syllable to the verb base.³⁷ For perfective gerunds the generalization is: if the AN affix is *-um-*, the gerund is formed by prefixing *pag(ka)ka-* to the verb base; if the AN affix is *mag-*, the gerund is formed by prefixing *pag(ka)ka-* plus an *optional* reduplicating syllable to the verb base. These generalizations hold whether the AN verb is PA (such as *tumahi* 'sew', *magplantsa* 'iron') or I (such as *bumuti* 'become good' or *magbunga* 'bear fruit'), as illustrated in (87).

(87) AN verb	Aspectless gerund	Perfective gerund
<i>tumahi</i> 'sew'	<i>pagtahi</i> 'sewing'	<i>pag(ka)katahi</i> 'having sewn'
<i>bumuti</i> 'become good'	<i>pagbuti</i> 'becoming good'	<i>pag(ka)kabuti</i> 'having become good'
<i>magplantsa</i> 'iron'	<i>pagpaplantsa</i> 'ironing'	<i>pag(ka)ka(pa)plantsa</i> 'having ironed'
<i>magbunga</i> 'bear fruit'	<i>pagbubunga</i> 'bearing fruit'	<i>pag(ka)ka(bu)bunga</i> 'having borne fruit'

Note that for the PA AN verbs, no prediction about gerund formation can be made on the basis of the corresponding PN verbs. For example, both *tahi* 'sew' and *plantsa* 'iron' form PN verbs with *-in*, a fact which offers no basis for predicting the differences

in gerund formation. Therefore, under the Ergative analysis, with its identification of the PN forms as basic and the (PA) AN forms as derived, one would somehow have to "route" gerund formation through antipassive formation for these cases, while still allowing gerund formation to operate directly in the case of I AN verbs.

Similar problems for the Ergative analysis arise in the case of some of the verb forms that take part in the complex voice system of Tagalog, specifically some of those that assign to the Nominative NP a role other than that of Actor or Patient. A case in point is those verbs that assign the role of Beneficiary to the Nominative NP, as illustrated in the examples of (88).

- (88) a. Itinahi ni Maria ng damit ang bata.
 sewed-BN A Maria P dress N child
 'Maria sewed a dress for the child.'
- b. Ipinagplantsa ni Maria ng damit ang bata.
 ironed-BN A Maria P dress N child
 'Maria ironed a dress for the child.'

As noted above (and discussed further below, in section 4.3), Blake suggests that, under the Ergative analysis, such verbs may be analyzed as resulting from the "advancement" of an initially oblique nominal to "object" status. In the case of basically intransitive verbs, the presumed derivation would be from I AN verbs and constructions. And in the case of basically transitive verbs, the presumed derivation would be from basic PN verbs and constructions. But the fact is that, in those cases in which the form of such a derived verb is predictable from some presumably more basic form, it is *always the AN* rather than the PN verb on which a prediction can be based. Thus for BN verbs the relevant generalization is: if the AN affix is *-um-*, the BN affix is *i-*, while if the AN affix is *mag-*, the BN affix is *ipag-*, as illustrated in the following examples:

(89)	<u>AN form</u>	<u>BN form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	tumahi	itahi	'sew (for)'
	tumakbo	itakbo	'run (for)'
	magplantsa	ipagplantsa	'iron (for)'
	magluksa	ipagluksa	'wear mourning (for)'

Again, the derived affix pattern cannot be predicted from the *PN* verbs,

The problem that BN verbs pose for the Ergative analysis is the same problem as was noted above for gerunds: once more it is the AN morphology that underlies the derived formations. While the Ergative analysis can capture this generalization in the case of *I* AN verbs, in the case of *PA* AN verbs it cannot. For, according to the Ergative analysis, the *PA* AN verbs are themselves derived from more basic PN verbs. And, since the PN verb forms do not provide any basis for the relevant morphological generalizations, there must again be an awkward, entirely analysis-dependent, "routing" of derivations through the antipassive.

There are various other cases in which Tagalog derivational morphology is predictable on the basis of AN rather than PN forms. Examples include the formation of Locative Nominative verbs, of certain causative verbs (as noted by De Guzman (1986)), and of the recent-perfective aspect (cf. Schachter and Otnes, 1972, pp. 314, 326, and 372 respectively).

Altogether, then, there can be no doubt, as observed above, that it is the *AN* verb that is at the heart of Tagalog verbal derivational morphology -- a serious difficulty for an Ergative analysis that treats all transitive *AN* verbs as themselves derived.

Also problematic for the Ergative analysis's account of Tagalog morphology, it seems to me, is the mere fact, noted above, that the *PA AN* affix selected by a particular root cannot in general be predicted on the basis of the *PN* affix selected by that root.³⁸ By the same token, however, it is certainly not the case that the *PN* morphology is itself predictable on the basis of the corresponding *AN* morphology. I therefore believe that the morphological evidence argues for the general independence from one another of corresponding *AN* and *PN* forms -- and indirectly argues as well for the independence of the constructions in which these forms occur, contra the Ergative analysis.

Before leaving the subject of morphology, I would like to return to Blake's markedness argument, presented in section 4.2.0. Blake observes that the perfective and imperfective forms of certain *PN* verbs have no voice-marking affixes. These are verbs that in their future and infinitive forms indicate their *PN* status with the suffix *-in*. Since the *PN* verb forms in question are literally unmarked for *PN* in the perfective and imperfective, Blake argues that *PN* is itself unmarked, which is consistent with the Ergative analysis.

However, while the pattern of affixation in question is indeed the commonest one for *PN* verbs, it is neither the case that all *PN* verbs show this pattern nor that the pattern is exclusive to *PN* verbs. Blake identifies the affixes *-an* and *i-* as *DN* and *BN* respectively, but there are also many common *PN* verbs that are formed these affixes: e.g., the *PN* verbs *labhan* 'launder', *tikman* 'taste', *ihanda* 'prepare', *ipinid* 'close'. There are also many common verb roots that select *-in* (and its zero aspectual alternant) to form *DN*, rather than *PN*, verbs. These include both ditransitive verbs and simple directional verbs, as illustrated in (90) and (91) respectively:

(90) Alukin mo ang bata ng kendi.³⁹
offer-DN A-2sg N child P candy
'Offer the child candy.'

(91) Akyatin mo ang puno.⁴⁰
climb-DN A-2sg N tree.
'Climb (up) the tree.'

Thus, even leaving aside the fact, noted by Blake himself, that there are some unaffixed *AN* forms (namely, future forms of *-um-* verbs -- cf. note 35), the case for the morphological unmarkedness of *PN* verbs is considerably less clear than Blake suggests. In sum, I think that, although there is some morphological evidence that supports the Ergative analysis, there is enough morphological evidence against it to make the case for morphological ergativity in Tagalog highly problematic.

4.3. Syntactic ergativity

As was explained in section 4.0, syntactic ergativity involves the choice of the set {S,P} rather than the set {S,A} as the so-called syntactic pivot: i.e., the target of such coreference-related syntactic processes as Relativization and Conjunction

Reduction. But although Payne (1982) does claim that Tagalog makes this pivot choice, the evidence for the claim is thin. To be sure, it is true that, under an Ergative analysis, *Relativization* in Tagalog does target S and P but not A. (Cf. section 2.3. As noted there, the usual target for Relativization in Tagalog is what I have been calling the Nominative NP. Under the Ergative analysis, this NP would be identified as an Absolutive-marked S or P.) But I know of no evidence that *Conjunction Reduction* similarly targets just those NPs that would be identified as S or P under an Ergative analysis. Indeed, although Payne, in a summary chart (Chart II, p. 93), does identify this set of NPs as the "pivot across coordinate constructions" in Tagalog, in his actual discussion of such constructions (p. 85) he merely cites a claim by Foley and Van Valin (1977) to the effect that the NPs in question are the *preferred* targets of Conjunction Reduction. And Foley and Van Valin themselves acknowledge (p. 302) that this is *merely* a preference, and that other NPs may also serve as Conjunction-Reduction targets. (For further evidence on this score, cf. section 2.6, above.) Since the Relativization facts are accounted for just as well under a non-Ergative as under an Ergative analysis, there really seems to be no good basis for identifying Tagalog as a syntactically Ergative language.

However, some of those who have advocated an Ergative analysis of Tagalog, while not pressing the case for syntactic ergativity per se, have offered other syntactic arguments in favor of the Ergative analysis. The bulk of these arguments involve claimed advantages of the Ergative analysis, in which PN transitive clauses are identified as basic and AN transitive clauses as derived (i.e., as antipassives), over an alternative analysis, sometimes called the Passive analysis, in which AN transitive clauses are identified as basic and PN transitive clauses as derived (i.e., as passives). One such argument, found in De Guzman (1988), is adapted from an argument developed by Gerds (1980) in favor of an Ergative analysis of another Philippine language, Ilocano. The argument is to the effect that, within a Relational Grammar framework, certain syntactic generalizations can be made more elegantly under an Ergative analysis than under a Passive analysis. Consider, for example, the fact that in Tagalog (and Ilocano) some syntactic generalizations must make reference to what I have been calling the Nominative NP, others to the Actor, and still others to the intersection of the Actor and the Nominative NP.⁴¹ Under a Passive analysis, according to De Guzman and Gerds, a Relational Grammar would identify the Nominative NP as a "Final 1", the Actor as an "Initial I", and the intersection of the two as an "Acting 1". Under an Ergative analysis, on the other hand, the three could be referred to entirely in terms of Final structure, as, respectively, "Final Absolutive", "Final Subject", and "Final Nuclear Terms" -- an arguably more elegant result.⁴² However, whatever force this argument has is lost if one accepts neither the Ergative nor the Passive analysis, opting instead for an analysis (for which I shall argue in section 4.4) in which both AN and PN transitive clauses are "basic", in the sense that neither clause type is derived from the other. While 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!), I believe that the analysis itself has considerable support, given the evidence presented in this paper.

Another syntactic argument based on the preferability of the Ergative analysis to the Passive analysis is to be found in Blake (1988). Blake points out that, under the Ergative analysis, verbs with voices other than AN or PN, such as DN, BN, or Instrumental-Nominative (IN), can be analyzed as resulting from "advancements to direct object", a quite common phenomenon among the languages of the world. That is, just as Patients, which are the direct objects of basic (PN) transitive clauses, are marked as Absolutive under the Ergative analysis, so are the *derived* "direct objects" that result from advancements. On the other hand, under the Passive analysis, it is not possible to analyze the derived-voice constructions as resulting from advancements to direct object. For under the Passive analysis it is the AN transitive clauses that are taken as basic, and there is no advancement process through which Directionals, Beneficiaries, or Instrumentals are assigned the case

marking of the direct objects of basic clauses (i.e., the Accusative). Instead, DN, BN, and IN clauses must result, under this analysis, from direct advancement of the Directional, Beneficiary, or Instrumental to Nominative-marked subject -- according to Blake, a typological rarity.

But in order for Tagalog to have "advancements to direct object", it must, first of all, *have* direct objects, and it is not obvious that it does. Gil (1984) has argued that, just as Tagalog splits the set of properties associated with subjects in most languages between two different sets of NPs, so it splits the usual set of "object properties" between two different sets of NPs -- in this case dividing the properties in question between the Patient and the NP marked with *ng*.⁴³ If Gil's arguments are correct -- and I find them rather persuasive -- then Tagalog does not in fact have well-defined direct objects any more than it has well-defined subjects. So perhaps neither Blake's proposed "advancements to object" *nor* the alternative that he rejects of direct "advancements to subject" is involved in the derived voices.

Supporting this conclusion is the fact that the range of semantic roles that can be "advanced" to Nominative in the derived voices of Tagalog is wider than the range of roles attested in advancements to object (let alone, direct advancements to subject) in other languages. Thus, in addition to DN, BN, and IN voices, there are, for example, the Cause-Nominative(CN), Locative-Nominative (LN) and Referential-Nominative (RN) voices illustrated in (92), (93), and (94) respectively:

- (92) Ikinaluha ni Nena ang usok.
 teared-CN A Nena N smoke
 'The smoke made Nena's eyes tear.'

- (93) Kinamatayan niya ang bundok na iyon.
 died-LN A-3sg N mountain L that
 'He died on that mountain.'

- (94) Pinag-usapan nila ang giyera.
 talked-RN A-3pl N war
 'They talked about the war.'

And a complete listing of derived voices would include still others (cf. Schachter and Otnes, 1972, pp. 310-330). It may be, then, that the derived-voice system of Tagalog and other Philippine languages is properly seen as something *sui generis*, rather than as involving the kinds of advancements that have been posited for either Ergative or Accusative languages. (Moreover, with regard to Blake's specific Ergative proposal, there is, as I argued in section 4.2.1, clear evidence to the effect that it is *AN* rather than *PN* verbs that underlie derived voices *morphologically*.)

Another kind of argument based on the alleged preferability of the Ergative to the Passive analysis has to do with the status of the Patient in an AN transitive clause. Under the Ergative analysis, the clause type in question is an antipassive intransitive, and the Patient is analyzed as in an oblique or a *chômeur* (cf. note 32), while under the Passive analysis, the clause type in question is a basic transitive clause in which the Patient is an object, and thus an argument or term.

Blake (1988) claims that there is both semantic and syntactic evidence favoring the account of the Patient in the Ergative analysis over that in the Passive analysis. The semantic evidence has to do with the fact that the Patient in an AN transitive clause must normally be interpreted as indefinite. This type of semantic restriction is, as Blake points out, common for Patients in antipassive clauses in Ergative languages, and he notes the occurrence of a similar restriction in such noncontroversially Ergative languages as Dyirbal (Dixon, 1972) and Yup'ik Eskimo (Payne 1982). On the other hand, if AN clauses are analyzed as basic transitive clauses, as they are under the Passive analysis, the indefiniteness of the Patient is unexpected and unexplained.

Blake also argues that the Patient in an AN transitive clause shows the kind of syntactic behavior that is consistent with its putative oblique/chômeur status under the Ergative analysis, but is inconsistent with its putative argument/term status under the Passive analysis. Specifically, he notes that there are certain movement processes that apply to both Actors and Patients in PN clauses and to Actors in AN clauses, but that fail to apply to Patients in AN clauses. One example is the process of *Ay* Inversion (cf. note 29), in which a nominal is placed in clause-initial position and followed by the inversion marker *ay*. For example, given the verb-initial PN clause in (95)a, *Ay* Inversion allows either the Actor, as in (95)b, or the Patient, as in (95)c, to be placed in initial position:⁴⁴

- (95)a. Binili ng babae ang bigas.
bought-PN A woman N rice
'A/The woman bought the rice.'
- b. Ang babae ay binili ang bigas.
 N woman I bought-PN N rice
 'The woman bought the rice.'
- c. Ang bigas ay binili ng babae.
 N rice I bought-PN A woman
 'A/The woman bought the rice.'

On the other hand, given the verb-initial AN clause in (96)a, *Ay* Inversion allows the Actor but not the Patient to be placed in initial position -- cf. (96)b-c.

- (96)a. Bumili ang babae ng bigas.
bought-AN N woman P rice
'The woman bought some rice.'
- b. Ang babae ay bumili ng bigas.
 N woman I bought-AN P rice
 'The woman bought some rice.'
- c. * Ang/Ng bigas ay bumili ang babae.
 N/P rice I bought-AN N woman

If, as Blake argues, susceptibility to movement processes is precluded for chômeurs, these grammaticality facts follow automatically from the Ergative, but not from the Passive, analysis.

However, as Blake himself acknowledges in a footnote (note 3, p. 82), not all movement processes may, in fact, be precluded for Patients of AN clauses. De Guzman (1988) cites as grammatical, presumably on the basis of her own intuitions, contrastive constructions like (97)a, in which the Patient occurs in clause-initial position, with omission of the usual Patient case marker *ng* -- cf. (97)b.

- (97)a. ? Saging magbibigay ang babae sa bata(, hindi kendi).
 banana will:give-AN N woman D child not candy
 'The woman will give the child a *banana* (, not *candy*).'
 b. Magbibigay ang babae ng saging sa bata.
 will:give-AN N woman P banana D child.
 'The woman will give the child a banana.'

(My consultant, however, finds (97)a questionable at best.)

Moreover, as Kroeger (1993) points out in a critique of the Ergative analysis, there are certain Control constructions in Tagalog (of a type not previously considered in the present paper) in which the Patient in an AN clause is interpretable as the controller, a property it shares with the Patient in a *PN* clause and with the Actor in either clause type. Thus the AN construction in (98)a shows precisely the same ambiguity as the PN construction in (98)b (and as the English counterparts) with regard to who was entering the bank, the police or the thief.

- (98)a. Nanghuli ang polis ng magnanakaw nang pumapasok sa bangko.
 caught-AN N police P thief when enters-AN D bank
 'The police caught a thief entering the bank.'
 b. Hinuli ng polis ang magnanakaw nang pumapasok sa bangko.
 caught-PN A police N thief when enters-AN D bank
 'The police caught the thief entering the bank.'

Since Control is presumably *not* a capacity of chômeurs in the Relational Grammar framework that Blake assumes, the facts of (98) are problematic for his proposed Ergative analysis.

It therefore seems that, not only are there no clear arguments for syntactic ergativity in Tagalog, but that the majority of the claimed advantages of an Ergative analysis of Tagalog syntax are debatable. It also seems that, even within the preferred theoretical framework (i.e., Relational Grammar) of most of those who have advocated the Ergative analysis, there is as much syntactic evidence *against* as there is *for* such an analysis.

4.4. Summary of findings: the Ergative analysis

I have argued in the preceding sections that, although the case for discourse ergativity in Tagalog is a strong one, the cases for morphological and syntactic ergativity are quite weak, with the evidence that has been offered in support of an Ergative

analysis more than counterbalanced by evidence that can be offered against it. The weakness of the case for *syntactic* ergativity in Tagalog is particularly relevant to the central concern of the present paper, since it has been suggested that the observed split in subject properties in the language might correspond to a split that is found in syntactically Ergative languages between properties associated with the set {S,A} and those associated with the set {S,P}. But it is the weakness of the case for *morphological* Ergativity that is more central to the proper typological classification of the language. For it could, in principle, certainly be the case that Tagalog, like the majority of noncontroversially Ergative languages, is morphologically Ergative without showing syntactic ergativity.

To quickly review the findings of the preceding sections, section 4.1 acknowledges that Tagalog satisfies Cooreman et al.'s (1984, 1988) criterion for discourse ergativity, in that "the bulk of transitive events in discourse are coded by the ergative clause type" (i.e. a clause type in which P, rather than A, is case-marked like the S of an intransitive clause), and notes additional evidence of various kinds to the effect that "the ergative clause type" is unmarked. Section 4.2.0 summarizes the arguments of Blake (1988) and Payne (1982) for the morphological unmarkedness of PN verbs, while section 4.2.1 raises various objections to the Ergative analysis's account of Tagalog morphology: chiefly, the identification of AN transitive verbs as antipassives, an identification that appears to be falsified by the central role of AN verbs (whether transitive or intransitive) in the language's derivational morphology. Finally, Section 4.3 argues that there is no persuasive evidence for syntactic ergativity in Tagalog and finds fault with most of the syntactic arguments for an Ergative analysis that are found in the literature. (Given the evidence of Section 4.2.1 that Tagalog is not morphologically Ergative, it would in fact have been paradoxical to have concluded in section 4.3 that the language is syntactically Ergative, at least if one assumes the proposed entailment relation between syntactic and morphological ergativity noted in section 4.0).

Now what does it mean for a language to show discourse ergativity if, at the same time, it cannot be comfortably analyzed as an Ergative language in the traditional, morphological sense (let alone as a syntactically Ergative language)? A reasonable inference, it seems to me, is that "discourse ergativity" itself is something of a misnomer. That is, although all genuine (i.e., morphologically) Ergative languages may well show the discourse property of favoring transitive clauses in which P, rather than A, carries the same case marking as the S of an intransitive clause, this does not necessarily entail that *only* Ergative languages show this property. Tagalog does show the discourse property in question, but, I believe, is not morphologically Ergative. The problem, it seems to me, comes down to assuming too limited a typology, in which any language that is not Accusative is necessarily Ergative. I believe that Tagalog poses a challenge to such an assumption -- just as it (still) poses a challenge to the assumption that there are well-defined subjects in all languages.

5. Conclusion

I first became interested in the question of the subject in Tagalog in the mid-1970s when I began to think about an inconsistency between my practices as a Philippinist and my preachments as a teacher of theoretical syntax. Specifically, although the universality of the subject function was taken for granted in the theories that I taught in my syntax classes, I had somehow managed to co-author a rather lengthy reference grammar of Tagalog (Schachter and Otanes 1972) without once finding a need to refer to this supposedly universal syntactic function! This failure to refer to the subject had certainly not resulted from any conscious decision on my or my co-author's part. Rather, it seemed to be the case that our investigations of the grammar of the language had simply never led us to make generalizations in which the subject function was involved -- a

result that would have been unthinkable if we had been investigating in comparable detail the grammar of, say, English or some other familiar European languages.

On the other hand, our grammar of Tagalog did mention at every turn either the Actor or the "Topic" (the latter being what I now, following Kroeger (1993), am referring to as the Nominative NP -- cf. note 1), and I believe that it would, in fact, have been impossible for us to have made much headway in describing Tagalog without referring to *these* functions. But might it not be the case, I now asked myself, that one of these functions, or perhaps their intersection, actually *was* the subject? The answer that I arrived at (cf. Schachter 1976) was that this was not the case, and that a correct description of Tagalog need not -- indeed, should not -- make any reference at all to the supposedly universal subject function.

Not surprisingly, there were, and are, many syntacticians for whom this is an unacceptably radical conclusion. In the present paper, I have reviewed the arguments of three such syntacticians or groups of syntacticians: Kroeger (1993), who argues that the Nominative NP is in fact the subject; Guilfoyle, Hung and Travis (1992), who argue that Tagalog has two structural subjects, one corresponding to the Actor, the other to the Nominative NP; and the advocates of an Ergative analysis of Tagalog (among them Payne 1982 and Blake 1988), for whom the problem of subject identification in Tagalog is reducible to the (presumably solvable) problem of subject identification in Ergative languages in general.

For the reasons spelled out in the preceding sections, I have not been persuaded of the overall strength of the cases made by any of these researchers, and I remain convinced that the usual assumption of the universality of the subject function is falsified by Tagalog (and perhaps, indeed, by Philippine languages in general, since at least those other Philippine languages with which I have some familiarity, such as Ilocano and Cebuano, appear to be structurally quite similar to Tagalog). I believe that this falsification is itself an important, albeit negative, contribution to a theory of syntactic universals. On the more positive side, I believe that the grammar of Tagalog does have a contribution to make to a theory of syntactic universals by suggesting that the subject function that is found in most languages may itself be a composite of more basic, genuinely universal functions.

In Schachter (1976, 1977), I suggested that the Actor and the Nominative NP in Tagalog have two different kinds of "prominence", role prominence and referential prominence, and that, whereas in most languages these two different kinds of prominence are typically combined in the subject and are thus hard to tease apart, in Tagalog they are easily distinguished. The prominence of the Actor is semantic. The Actor always corresponds to the thematic role in a given predicate's thematic grid which is highest in the universal Thematic Hierarchy (cf. section 1). The prominence of the Nominative NP, on the other hand, is pragmatic, being a matter of reference.

While NPs with other case markings may in general be either referential or nonreferential, a Nominative NP is necessarily referential. Typically it is definite (either specific or generic), as in (99).

- (99) Matamis ang kendi.
 sweet N candy
 '(The) candy is sweet.'

It may, however, if preceded by *isa* 'one', have an indefinite-specific reading, as in (100), an example adapted from Bloomfield (1917).

- (100) Nasalubong niya ang isang batang babae na nakabisikleta rin.
 passed-PN A-3sg N one-L child-L woman L rode:bike-AN also
 'He passed a girl who was also riding a bike.'

But a Nominative NP, because of its necessary referentiality, may never have an indefinite- nonspecific reading. Thus, for example, there is no Nominative NP in existential sentences, and the indefinite-nonspecific NPs of such sentences are introduced instead by special existential morphemes, as in the examples of (101):

- (101)a. Mayroong kendi sa kahon.
 there:is-L candy D box
 'There's candy in the box.'
 b. Walang kendi sa kahon.
 there:isn't-L candy D box
 'There isn't any candy in the box.'

The universality of the Actor is self-evident, on the assumption that a Thematic Hierarchy is part of universal semantics. As for the Nominative NP, it is not the case marking itself, but, rather, the referential pragmatics underlying its deployment -- i.e., the need to distinguish referential from nonreferential NPs -- that is self-evidently universal. It therefore seems clear that there are universal semantic and pragmatic underpinnings for the syntactic properties associated, respectively, with the Actor and the Nominative NP in Tagalog. It also seems clear, by the same token, that there are universal semantic and pragmatic underpinnings for the syntactic properties associated with the subject in those languages in which the subject bears both the role-related properties of the Tagalog Actor and the reference-related properties of the Tagalog Nominative NP -- that is, in most, but not in all, languages.

Notes

1. In my earlier papers I referred to this noun phrase as the "Topic". This label, however, has certain inappropriate connotations. For example, although the noun phrase in question is, like a well-behaved Topic, necessarily referential, it differs from such a Topic in not necessarily being "what the sentence is about." The appropriateness of Kroeger's "Nominative NP" label is explained later in this section.

2. Advocates of the Ergative analysis discussed in sections 4.0-4.4 could argue on the same kind of grounds for the appropriateness of labeling the noun phrase in question the "Absolute NP". For reasons explained in sections 4.2.1 and 4.3, however, I believe that the Ergative analysis is problematic, so I have opted for borrowing the Nominative NP label from Kroeger.

3. "Direction" is a macrorole, a conflation of Goal and Source thematic roles, which are in general not morphologically distinguished. Some verb stems, e.g., those meaning 'give', assign the Direction macrorole to a Goal; others, e.g., those meaning 'receive', assign it to a Source.

4. The verbal affixes that indicate the semantic role of the Nominative NP may be prefixes, infixes, or suffixes. Details of verbal morphology are, however, ignored in glosses in this paper, which in all cases arbitrarily suffix the gloss of the role-indicating affix to the gloss of the verb itself.

5. It is disquieting that in many cases the grammaticality judgments of the Tagalog consultant with whom I worked were markedly at variance with those reported by Kroeger. My consultant, Reuben Domingo, was born in the Greater Manila area to Tagalog-speaking parents and grew up with Tagalog as his primary language. Approximately forty years old at the time this research was done, he had lived in the United States for the preceding five years but continued to use Tagalog daily with his compatriots. In those many cases where Reuben's judgments differed from those reported by Kroeger, I did my best to recheck in follow-up sessions. Reuben's judgments remained firm, but it is of course possible that, in some cases at least, they are eccentric. Certainly in all the cases that I discuss where there are disagreements about grammaticality judgments, it would be important to know whether Reuben's judgments are representative of Tagalog speakers in general. I am satisfied, however, that these judgments hold for Reuben himself, and are thus reflective of at least one native grammar of Tagalog.

6. The publication dates of the Bell and Keenan papers are misleading. Keenan cites as his source for the claim that subjects may launch floating quantifiers the 1974 Linguistic Institute lectures of David Perlmutter and Paul Postal. Although Bell's paper was not published until 1983, it was in fact written in 1974 and was one of Perlmutter and Postal's sources.

7. Kroeger says that secondary predicates "may either appear within the NP which they modify, or they may occur in immediately post-verbal position." (p. 30) Actually, as the examples of (6) show, secondary predicates that are not in immediately post-verbal position do not actually occur "within the NP which they modify." In any event, the interpretation of such secondary predicates appears to follow the essentially the same rules as apply in English. For a syntactically based account of these rules, see Bresnan (1982), and for an alternative, thematically based account, see Schachter (1984).

8. The identification of the italicized phrases of (8)b-c as genitives is plausible if we translate the heads of the predicates of these sentences as nouns, meaning, respectively, 'companion', and something like 'partner in tallness'. The translations given in the text, 'with' and 'as tall as', are Cena's, but the proposed translations as nouns is supported by the occurrence in *kasama* and *kasingtaas* of what appears to be the same productive prefix, *ka-*, that occurs, e.g., in *kaklase* 'classmate', *kakwanto* 'roommate', *ka-opisina* 'officemate', etc.

9. The assumption appears to be a plausible one, given, for example, the apparent similarity in form and function between the Tagalog Possessor Ascension construction and the so-called Double Subject construction that occurs in such languages as Chinese, Japanese, and Korean. For some illustrations and discussion of the latter, see Li and Thompson (1976).

10. The translations of the examples, with which I take issue below, are Kroeger's.

11. The morphology of inchoative verbs is predictable from that of the corresponding adjectives. Tagalog has two major morphological classes of adjectives: unaffixed adjectives and *ma*-adjectives (adjectives formed with the prefix *ma*-). The inchoatives of unaffixed adjectives are formed with the verbal prefix *ma*- while the inchoatives of *ma*-adjectives are formed with the infix *-um-*. Both verbal prefixes are Actor-Nominative prefixes that also occur in various non-inchoative verbs, both transitive and intransitive.

12. In the Government-Binding theory of Chomsky (1982), certain constructions that had earlier been analyzed as involving Raising, the so-called "Raising to Object" constructions, are reanalyzed as involving "Exceptional Case Marking", while others, the so-called "Raising to Subject" constructions, are still analyzed as involving Raising. In other theories, such as Lexical Functional Grammar (Bresnan 1982) and Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar (Gazdar et al. 1985), there is no actual Raising involved in the analyses of any of these constructions, but, *mutatis mutandis*, the analyses, as noted, still identify a constituent of a superordinate clause with the *subject* of a subordinate clause. In any event, regardless of the possible inappropriateness of the "Raising" label, I shall, for convenience, continue to use this label in the discussion that follows, at least until the point below at which I suggest an alternative account of some of these constructions.

13. Actually, it is not entirely clear whether Jackendoff's Thematic Hierarchy condition, as he presents it, would apply to (52) or its English translation, the question being whether the thematic role of the reflexive in these sentences is included in the rather incomplete set of thematic roles that comprises Jackendoff's hierarchy. It would not be unreasonable, however, to identify the reflexive in (52) as the Theme (or, in my terminology, Patient) of *larawan* 'picture' (which is, in turn, the Theme of *iniabot* 'handed'), in which case the Thematic Hierarchy Condition does presumably cover the facts of (52).

14. A constituent c-commands its sisters and their constituents. If the antecedent of a reflexive must c-command it, as Chomsky claims, then it seems clear that in (53) *Papa* must be ruled out as a potential antecedent, since, as a constituent of *sugo sa Papa*, it fails to c-command the reflexive.

15. In English the controllee is always unexpressed rather than pronominal. As noted by Sag and Pollard (1991), however, in many languages -- Sag & Pollard cite as examples Serbo-Croatian, Japanese, and Halkomelem Salish -- the controllee is a resumptive pronoun. Tagalog allows both possibilities. Although an unexpressed controllee is the norm, my consultant generally accepts a resumptive-pronoun controllee as a grammatical, if redundant, alternative. Since the form of the controllee does not appear to be relevant to the issues at hand here, I shall, without further comment, use the more common, unexpressed-controllee alternative in all examples of Tagalog Control constructions.

16. Dell follows Schachter and Otnes (1972) in referring to resultatives as "Ability-Involuntary-Action" ("AIA") verbs, a label that identifies two of their most common uses (see text below). Kroeger (1993) refers to resultatives as "nonvolitives", a label that highlights one of these uses. I have chosen the "resultative" label as a more accurate reflection of the semantic range of the forms, although I regret adding yet more terminological variation to the field of Tagalog studies.

17. My confusion about Kroeger's analysis of examples like (56) has to do with how he proposes to account for the *overt* Control constructions in these examples -- i.e., the constructions involving the resultative verbs. These constructions are presumably, on his analysis, complements of covert causative predicates, but how are such complements in fact to be analyzed?

Given that *overt* causative predicates in general induce so-called "Raising to Object" (cf. note 12, above), does this hold for *covert* causatives as well? Or do examples like (56) perhaps contain *two* Control constructions, one covert, with an interpolated-causer controllee, and the other overt, with a Nominative-NP controllee? Pending a clearer understanding on my part of what Kroeger has in mind, I must leave these questions unanswered.

18. Kroeger does not cite any examples like (59)a and in fact claims that they do not occur: "When the embedded verb is marked for non-volitive mood [i.e., is marked as resultative] . . . the controllee must be the [Nominative NP], and not the Actor." (p. 95) However, for my consultant at least, there is no doubt that such examples are well-formed.

19. Actually, Control constructions are the *second* potential candidate we have encountered for a putative subject property that may be shared by the Actor and the Nominative NP, the first being Raising. But as argued in section 2.8, above, it may also be the case that only the Actor plays a role in Raising.

20. It is not really clear to me just where Kroeger would place the Tagalog Actor within Bresnan's system of semantically restricted vs. semantically unrestricted grammatical functions. Kroeger does say that "non-nominative Actors in Tagalog are always terms" (p. 40), so perhaps after all Tagalog Actors have one of the "semantically unrestricted grammatical functions" -- but if so, which?

21. Bresnan recognizes a second type of functional control, "configurationally induced". This she posits for cases involving subjectless gerundive and adjectival adjuncts which are not licensed by a particular predicate, as in:

- (i) Sure of winning, Mary entered the competition.
- (ii) John passed Mary in the hall yesterday, drunk as usual.

22. Readers familiar with Bresnan's work will recognize the incompleteness of my account of the Lexical Rule of Functional Control. For a fuller discussion of this rule, and a critique of it, I refer the reader to Schachter (1985), pp. 481-2.

23. Since my consultant does not accept (60)a, his judgment of (64) (which he also rejects) is , unfortunately, irrelevant.

24. While there is general agreement in the theoretical literature that Control *is* a subject property, i.e., that controllees are universally subjects, there are exceptions. One highly relevant exception is to be found in Sag and Pollard (1991), pp. 83-92. These authors give up the generalization that controllees are universally subjects *partly on the basis of Kroeger's analysis of Tagalog* , and instead propose that controllees are universally "external arguments" (cf. Williams 1980). In English, they suggest, external arguments regularly corresponds to subjects, but in Tagalog they regularly correspond not to subjects but to Actors. Sag and Pollard do claim, however, to find certain minority Control patterns in each of these languages that ape the majority pattern in the other. The relevant Tagalog examples of such minority patterns are not cited, but presumably they are those that Kroeger analyzes as involving functional control. The relevant English examples include certain cases of causative coercion for which I find the proposed account less than perspicuous. At any rate, I suspect that Sag and Pollard might not have considered giving up the controllee-subject hypothesis in favor of the controllee-external-argument hypothesis had it not been for their familiarity with Kroeger's work on Tagalog!

25. I have replaced GHT's labels "Agent" and "Theme" with "Actor" and "Patient" respectively for the sake of consistency with my terminology elsewhere.

26. These examples are not GHT's, but illustrate the same point as their more complex examples in (25), p. 395.

27. GHT's examples of Extraction all involve WH-questions, which in Tagalog typically take the form of Cleft Sentences in which a question word is the predicate and a headless relative clause is the Nominative NP: e.g.,

Sino ang bumili ng damit.
 who N bought-AN P dress
 'Who (is the one who) bought a dress?'

Headless relative clauses obey the same constraints as other relative clauses with regard to which constituents may and may not be relativized.

28. For cases like (72)a, in which GHT assume in-situ assignment of Nominative case to the Actor in [SPEC,VP], they also assume a pleonastic *pro*, coindexed with the Nominative NP, in [SPEC,IP] -- cf. the preceding section; thus they can still associate Quantifier Float with [SPEC,IP]. For cases like (72)b, where the Nominative NP is not in the clause-final position that GHT assign to [SPEC,IP], GHT assume the application of a Scrambling rule that follows the agreement rules relevant to their account of Quantifier Float. The agreement account of Quantifier Float is discussed immediately below; GHT's general account of Tagalog word order is discussed in section 3.5.

29. The precise pragmatic function of *Ay* Inversion is not entirely clear. Schachter and Otnes (p. 485) identify it as a marker of formal style, but a study of its actual use in discourse remains to be done.

30. However, the orderings in (77)c and (77)e present certain processing problems -- see discussion below.

31. In some writings on ergativity, such as Dixon (1979), the symbols *S*, *A*, and *O* (reminiscent of "object"), rather than *S*, *A*, and *P*, are used for the syntactic/semantic relations in question, and some advocates of an Ergative analysis of Tagalog adopt this notation. Hereafter, where the literature refers to *O* (or object), I shall sometimes substitute *P*, without further comment.

32. "Chômeur" is one of the syntactic relations postulated by Relational Grammar, the theoretical model assumed in De Guzman's and (to some extent) Blake's papers presenting an Ergative analyses of Tagalog. A distinction is made, in the Relational Grammar framework, between chômeurs and obliques. Chômeurs are demoted terms. They arise from the demotion of a subject, object, or indirect object, and are not themselves eligible for any further relation-changing processes. Obliques, on the other hand, are always "initial" grammatical relations, and may undergo certain relation-changing advancements to term status.

33. Cooreman et al. distinguish, on the basis of word order, two types of PN clauses, verb-initial PN clauses, which they label "ergative", and clauses with an initial *P* followed by the inversion marker *ay*, which they label -- curiously, in my view -- "passive". A total of 281 clauses containing both *A* and *P* are included in their count, and of these, 213, or approximately 76%, are PN. (166 of the 213 are "ergative" and 47 are "passive".

34. I have added the infinitive forms to Blake's table. I have also added the "Irrealis" and "Realis" labels, as well as the boldface marking of affixes (which will be maintained in subsequent morphologically oriented examples), and have replaced Blake's "Locative" with "Directional". The parenthetical labels, "(AN)", etc. in (86) are those that I have used throughout this paper for what Blake refers to as "Actor focus", etc.

35. Blake does note that the *future* AN form shown in (86) is unmarked for voice (the reduplicating prefix in this form being aspectual), but he argues (p. 80) that "this does not detract from the ergative analysis since the future can hardly be taken to be the unmarked tense aspect."

36. The affix-selection situation is further complicated by the fact that there are many roots that form I or PA AN verbs with both *-um-* and *mag-*, usually with some difference in meaning. For example, certain roots form "basic" AN verbs with *-um-* but also form "intensive" AN verbs -- indicating frequent, prolonged, or purposeful performance of an activity -- with *mag-*: e.g., *lumakad* 'walk' / *maglakad* 'walk (intensively)', *kumain* 'eat' / *magkain* 'eat (intensively)' (cf. Schachter and

Otanes, 1972, p. 337). With regard to the morphological generalizations to be made later in this section, it is the *basic* AN affix that matters, so, e.g., the morphological behavior of the roots for 'walk' and 'eat' is like that of other *-um-* roots.

37. There are additional predictabilities from AN forms when the full range of AN affixes is considered: e.g., if the AN affix is *mang-*, the aspectless gerund is formed by prefixing *pang-* plus a reduplicating syllable to the verb base. Such additional predictabilities are also to be found in the other cases of AN-sensitive derivational morphology to be discussed below. But since the predictions based on *-um-* vs. *mag-* AN forms are sufficient to illustrate the point being made, the additional predictabilities will henceforth be ignored.

38. . There may be some partial exceptions to this generalization. For example, it appears to be the case that roots that form simple transitive PN verbs with *i-* always form the corresponding PA AN verbs with *mag-*, rather than with *-um-* or one of the other AN affixes.

39. The PN verb that corresponds to *alukin* in (90) is formed with *i-*: cf.

lalok mo sa bata ang kendi.
offer-PN A-2sg D child N candy
'Offer the child the candy.'

40. The reason that *akyatin* in (91) is analyzed as DN rather than PN is that its AN counterpart, *umakyat*, takes a Directional rather than a Patient complement: cf.

Umakyat ka sa puno.
climb-AN N-2sg D tree
'Climb (up) the tree.'

41. See above, sections 2.1-2.9.2, for extensive discussion of this matter. De Guzman's inventory of properties generalizable on the Actor, on the Nominative NP, and on the intersection of the two largely overlaps the inventory I present above, and such differences as there are are irrelevant to the theoretical point at issue here.

42. In Relational Grammar, 1 is "the name of the subject relation" and 2 is the name of the direct object relation -- cf. Perlmutter and Postal (1983). In explaining the various terms used in the Passive and Ergative analyses of Tagalog, De Guzman says (p. 327), "In the P[assive] A[nalysis]..., the terms Final 1 and Initial 1 can easily be distinguished by referring the particular stratum where they appear. Acting 1's include initial 1 and final 1....In the E[rgative] A[nalysis], the term Final Absolutive includes initial or final 1 of the intransitive, final 2 of the transitive and final 1 of the antipassive. Final Subject refers to final 1 regardless of whether it is marked erg or abs. Lastly, Final Nuclear Terms refers to final 1's and Final 2's." De Guzman cites Gerdts (1980) to the effect that the Ergative Analysis is to be preferred to the Passive Analysis because it need not "resort to global devices, i.e. making reference to 'initial level' and to 'acting terms'."

43. *Ng* is the marker of common-noun Patients in non-PN clauses and of common-noun Actors in non-AN clauses.

44. The placement of the Actor in initial position entails a change in case marking. Compare the marking of the Actor in (95)a and (95)b. In (95)a it is marked by the common-noun Actor marker *ng*, while in (95)b it is marked by the common-noun *Nominative* marker *ang*. The marker *ng* never occurs clause initially. The change from *ng* to *ang* correlates with a change in the definiteness of the referent, as the translations show.

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