Voice and Case in Tagalog:

The coding of prominence and orientation

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Abbreviations

AV Actor Voice
CAUS Causative
DEM Demonstrative pronoun
GEN Genitive Case
DAT Dative Case
IPVF Imperfective
INCL Inclusive
INSTR Instrument
IRR Irrealis
LK Linker
NMZ Nominalization
NOM Nominative Case
NONACT Non-Actor
NEG Negator
PFV Perfective
PL Plural
POT Potentive
PPN Personal Proper Noun
PREP Preposition
REAL Realis
RED Reduplication
REFL Reflexive Marker
ST.CAUS Stative Causative
STAT Stative
UV Undergoer Voice

1/2/3s first/second/third person singular
1/2/3p first/second/third person plural

1. Introduction: Voice and Case in Tagalog

The analysis of voice and case in Philippine languages such as Tagalog has been a source of discussion since the beginning of the last century (cf. Blake 1906, Bloomfield 1917, Ramos 1974; Schachter 1976, Himmelmann 1987, Ramos and Bautiste 1986, Shibatani 1988, Kroeger 1993, Machlachlan 1996, Nolasco 2005 etc.). While there have been various attempts to classify languages such as Tagalog as either accusative (Bell 1979), ergative (Payne 1982, De Guzman 1988, Blake 1988) or active (Drossard 1984), the number of linguists attributing a new type to Philippine languages like Tagalog, thus classifying them as pragmatic voice systems (Klaiman 1991), hybrid languages (Machlachlan 1996), P(hilippine)-voice languages (Sells 1998) or symmetrical voice languages (Foley 1998) is rising. On the first account Tagalog voice is valence-changing, on the second it is valence-neutral. There is thus very little consensus as to what exactly is the nature of the linking system and what should be considered its distinctive characteristics. The present Thesis seeks to provide some answers to these questions by taking a closer look at the semantic contributions of the voice affixes and the restrictions we find with respect to voice and subject choice.

If not indicated otherwise, all data in this thesis were provided by my Tagalog consultants (age 25-45), or, if taken from online sources or Bloomfield's (1917) famous collection of Tagalog texts, at least discussed with them. As one would expect, speakers differ at times in their grammaticality and acceptability judgements. As far as I am aware, this cannot be attributed to particular dialects. All of my consultants grew up in central Manila and consider Tagalog their mother tongue. However, they have been exposed to more than one Philippine language and speak for the most part more than three different languages. There is no doubt that the nature of the languages they speak and have been exposed to may influence their judgements. I will mention diverging opinions on data all through the thesis, but focus on majority judgements for my analysis.

The following two sections of this chapter give a rough sketch of the linking devices, the case markers and the voice affixes, and the questions they raise. The third section focuses on the goals and the structure of this thesis.

1.1 A linking system beyond traditional typologies

In traditional analyses of linking systems (cf. Shibatani 1988) it is assumed that it is a characteristic function of voice to select a certain argument of the verb as the syntactic pivot

(nominative argument)[1] of the sentence. In languages that exhibit active and passive voice, the argument selected as syntactic pivot is said to be the logical subject of transitive verbs in active sentences and the logical object of transitive verbs in passive sentences. In languages that show active and inactive marking, the agent is the syntactic pivot with verbs marked as active and the patient with verbs marked as inactive. Finally, in languages that exhibit active and middle marking, the syntactic pivot is often said to be the argument denoting the unaffected argument in active sentences and the affected participant with verbs marked for middle voice (e.g. Klaiman 1991, Shibatani 2005; for an alternative view, see Kaufmann 2002). In all these cases, one of these choices of syntactic pivot tends to be considered as the unmarked or basic one. The marked choice frequently requires additional marking on the verb and a demotion to oblique of the unselected argument (of the respective argument pair). In general, there are clear and rather rigid restrictions as to which arguments in a sentence can be selected as syntactic pivot and which cannot.

Philippine languages like Tagalog are different and interesting, as almost every argument of a verb, core and non-core, can become the nominative argument of the sentence without affecting the case marking of the remaining arguments. In other words, for any given voice form, no argument need be demoted to oblique. An example is given in (1a-d). The Actor voice affix /*mag*-/ (in (1a) /*nag*-/ due to the fusion of /*mag*-/ and the realis prefix /*in*-/) identifies the Actor as the nominative argument, while in sentences (1b) and (1c) a non-Actor argument is identified as the nominative argument by one of the respective Undergoer voice affixes (/*i*-/ and /*-an*/). Note that Foley & Van Valin's (1984) term 'Undergoer' is used here as a cover term for all non-Actor voice forms, while 'Actor' is used in the sense of the highest argument[2] in a given argument structure. Note that nominative-marking is said to always yield a specific reading. This fact is often stressed as important in the description of the voice system and sometimes also put forward as the key to voice selection. The referential restriction on the nominative argument and the large array of participant roles it may be chosen from are taken to be a testimony to the pragmatic origin of the voice system. Interestingly, as the comparison between the sentences in (1a) and (1c) shows the *ng*-marked Undergoer regularly gets translated by an indefinite article or without article (as non-specific) in Actor voice sentences, but not in Beneficiary voice sentences, indicating that *ng* is not simply an indefinite article.

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[1] A discussion of the use and validity of the notion subject in Tagalog can be found in chapter 2 and of the designation 'nominative' for the case markers *ang* and *si* in chapter 3.

[2] See chapter 3 for an explanation of the notion 'highest argument'.

(1) a. *Nag*-bigay **ang** babae **ng** liham **sa** kapit-bahay.
AV:mag.REAL-give NOM woman GEN letter DAT neighbour
'The woman gave a letter to the neighbour.'

b. *I*-b<in>igay **ng** babae **ang** liham **sa** kapit-bahay.
UV:i-b_{stem}<REAL>give GEN woman NOM letter DAT neighbour
'The woman gave the letter to the neighbour.'

c. B<in>igy-*an* **ng** babae **ng** liham **ang** kapit-bahay.
b_{stem}<REAL>give-**UV:an** GEN woman GEN letter NOM neighbour
'The woman gave the neighbour a letter.'

Sometimes even a more peripheral argument like an instrument can receive nominative case. However, for the verb given here, the use of instrumental voice is restricted and not easily accepted in basic predicate-initial sentences, which are the main focus of this thesis.[3]

Approaches tied to a binary structural distinction with respect to case systems (accusative vs. ergative) often take on one of these voice forms as the basic form. On morphological grounds, however, no verbal voice form in (1) can be considered as basic, as all verbs consist of a verb stem plus a distinct voice affix (e.g. Schachter 1976, 1977, 1995). There is no default instance from which the other voices are derived. It can be noted furthermore that the Actor argument does not become oblique as it would be expected to do, if the voice forms in (1b) and (1c) were true passives. Unlike Actors in passive sentences, the non-nominative Actor in Tagalog remains an integral part of the Undergoer voice sentences and retains many subject-properties, such as reflexive binding, controlling of an actor gap in the second coordinated clause, deletion in imperatives, deletion in the second coordinated clause and controlling of a gap in subordinated clauses (Shibatani 1991, Kroger 1993, Shibatani 2005).[4]

The nominative argument, however, also shows a number of subject properties, e.g. extractability, control of floating quantifiers and gaps in *samptan* ('while') clauses (cf. Shibatani 1991 for the discussion of more subject properties). Therefore Tagalog is often cited as a prime example for a split-subject language. Note furthermore that the non-nominative Actor is marked by the same case marker (the genitive marker *ng*) as the non-nominative

[3] Even in cleft-sentences that will be shown to be less restricted, forms like *ipangbigay* for Instrument voice and *pagbigayan* for Location voice are rare for obvious pragmatic reasons.
[4] It could be suggested that at least functionally the different Undergoer voice forms equal passives. However, as the sample conversation in the appendix shows, the distribution of Undergoer voice does not correspond at all to the distribution of passives in accusative languages.

Theme argument in the sentences in (1). Hence, neither on morphological grounds nor on syntactic or semantic grounds does it seem necessary and justified to identify two *ng*-markers, one for oblique arguments and one for core arguments. If voice is defined as outlined above as a means to indicate and manipulate the grammatical status of arguments, then Tagalog seems to defy a classification as a canonical accusative or a canonical ergative language, a fact reflected in the nomenclature of the case markers in Kroeger (1993): nominative: *ang*, genitive: *ng*,[5] dative: *sa*.

It has been argued sometimes that there is a need to distinguish two *ng*-markers, as the Actor-marking *ng* is preferably understood as specific, while the Patient-marking *ng* is preferably understood as non-specific. However, the latter finding is true only for genitive-marked Patient arguments in Actor voice sentences, as the translation of the Undergoer voice sentence in (1c) shows. The example in (2) illustrates that with voiceless verb forms, genitive-marked Patients may get a specific reading as well. Given that the recent perfective verb in (2) has no voice affix, it appears without an argument marked for nominative case. In this case, the Actor argument and the Theme argument both bear genitive case and receive a specific reading. Both arguments are obligatory for the sentence to be grammatical.

(2) Kabi-bigay **ng** babae **ng** liham **sa** kapit-bahay.
REC.PFV-give GEN woman GEN letter DAT neighbour
'The woman has just given the neighbour the letter.'

Kroeger (1991/1993) points out two 'tests'[6] to argue for the argument status (the non-obliqueness) of *ng*-marked Actors and Undergoers: (i) control of participial adjuncts and (ii) adjunct fronting, i.e. emphatic inversion with an intonation break. Participial adjuncts are verb forms which occur in an adverbial position introduced by *nang*. The following sentences show that the controller of the participial adjunct may be either the *ang*-marked argument or

[5] The reason for designating *ng* as the genitive marker is that the arguments of nouns bear this case marker; see chapter 3.

(i) (ang) liham **ng** kapit-bahay 'the/a neighbour's letter'
(NOM) letter GEN neighbour

[6] There is a third test – control of participial complements – to prove the argument status of *ng*-marked Actor arguments (only). Participial complements are imperfective verbs which occur as complements of verbs such as *abut* 'find'. If the verb in the complement position is in the non-Actor voice form, the controllee may be either the *ang*-marked noun or the *ng*-marked Actor (Kroeger 1993:41). As my consultants have reservations with respect to these data, I chose to leave them out.

the *ng*-marked Undergoer in (3a) or the *ng*-marked Actor in (3b) respectively. As a consequence the sentences are ambiguous just like the English translations.

(3) a. Nang-huli ng magnanakaw ang polis nang p<um>a~pasok[7] sa bangko.
AV:mang.REAL-catch GEN thief NOM police LK <AV>[REAL]IPFV~enter DAT bank
'The police caught (a/) the thief entering the bank.' (Kroeger 1991:58)
Readings: a. when they entered the bank,
b. when he entered the bank

b. B<in>isita ni Juan ang hari nang nag-i~isa.[8]
<REAL>[UV]-visit GEN Juan NOM king LK AV:mag.REAL-IPFV~one
'Juan visited the king alone (either Juan or the king is alone).' (Kroeger 1993:43)

The second observation is that neither *ang*-marked phrases nor *ng*-marked Undergoers or Actors may undergo adjunct fronting to become the focus of the sentence, as illustrated in (5a-d). Only true adjuncts and *sa*-phrases may appear in the sentence-initial position (4). Note that the fronted phrases (given in brackets) attract clitic pronouns, which shows that they are not outside of the clause.

(4) **Grammatical cases of Adjunct Fronting** (Schachter 1972: 496-498)

a. [Bukas ng gabi] siya a~alis.
tomorrow LK evening 3s.NOM IPFV~go_away
'Tomorrow evening he will go away.'

b. [Sa akin] nila i-b<in>igay ang premyo.
DAT 1s.NONACT 3p.GEN UV:i<REAL>give NOM reward
'To me they gave the reward.'

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[7] /*um*-/-infixation breaks up the reduplicated CV-syllable that signals imperfective in (3a).

[8] *Sa*-arguments cannot control according to Kroeger.

(i) B<um>isita si Juan sa hari nang nagiisa.
<AV>[REAL]-visit NOM Juan DAT king LK alone
'Juan visited the king alone'. (= Juan is alone, NOT: the king is alone) (Kroeger 1991:52)

However, most of my consultants found the structure of this sentence awkward and proposed the (unambiguous) structure *Bumisita nang nagiisa si Juan sa hari*.

(5) **Ungrammatical cases of Adjunct Fronting** (Kroeger 1991:56)

a. *[Ang premyo] nila i-b<in>igay sa akin.
NOM reward 3p.GEN UV:i<REAL>-give DAT 1s.NONACT
'The reward is what they gave me.'

b. *[Ng premyo] sila nag-bigay sa akin.
GEN reward 3p.NOM AV:mag.REAL-give DAT 1s.NONACTOR
'A reward they gave to me. '

c. *[Ng papel] na iyon niya b<in>alut-an ang libro.
GEN paper already this.NOM 3s.GEN <REAL>pack-UV:an NOM book
'With this paper she wrapped the book.'

d. *[Ng guro] iyon i-b<in>igay sa akin.
GEN teacher this.NOM UV:i<REAL>give DAT 1s.NONACTOR
Intended: 'A teacher gave this to me.'

The data examined so far suggest that Foley & Van Valin (1984) are correct in analyzing *ng* as a marker for core arguments and in claiming that the Tagalog case system defies a simple classification as either ergative or accusative (for similar views, see Kroeger 1993, Schachter 1995). Still, supporters of the ergative view continue to put forward semantic and syntactic criteria in support of their analysis, which will be reviewed in chapter 3. It has to be acknowledged in this context that in recent years a broader, semantically based understanding of voice has developed (cf. Klaiman 1991, Shibatani 2005) due to a deepened interest in middle languages and languages of the Philippine type. In this view voice is simply any kind of system that regulates in what ways nominal positions in basic sentences are assigned or correlate with roles that pertain with participants in the event. This mapping may be based on argument-structural, semantic or pragmatic criteria.

Furthermore, as has been pointed out by various linguists working on non-Indo-European case systems, there are different kinds of ergative languages, among them ergative languages like Sama (Walton 1983) that show no demotion of the Undergoer argument. Given that languages characterised as ergative tend to form a rather heterogenous group, an ergative analysis cannot be dismissed per se based on Kroeger's tests. However, an overview of some of the most recent approaches to the Tagalog voice system suggests that it is a rather language-specific concept of ergativity that is needed to account for the Tagalog system.

1.2 Questions raised with respect to the case markers

The linking system presented here raises multiple questions. The most general one concerns the nature of case marking and its status for a typology of case linking. If the highest (Actor) and the lowest (Patient) argument of a verb may both bear genitive case, it is obvious that reference to an argument hierarchy is not necessary to account for the distribution of this case marker in Tagalog. But does this mean that the argument hierarchy in general is not needed for the distribution of case markers? Foley & Van Valin (1984) suggest that apart from the core argument marker *ng*, Tagalog only has an oblique marker *sa* and the syntactic pivot marker *ang*. Even though sentences with two nominative-marked arguments are rare in Tagalog compared to other Philippine languages like Agutaynen (Quakenbush 2005: 181), they are possible if the Actor is a left-dislocated topic, as the example in (6a) shows. Data like these make the analysis of *ang* as a 'topic marker', which may mark a clause topic as well as a sentence-initial hanging topic seem appealing (cf, Foley & Van Valin 1984). However, there are restrictions, as visible in the example in (6b). The marker *ang* cannot license just any argument as sentence-initial topic.

(6) **Contrastive fronting with Actor and Undergoer voice** (De Guzman 1995: 56-57)

a. Ang nanay, lu~lutu-in (niya) ang isda.
NOM mother IPFV~cook-UV:in 3S.GEN NOM fish
'The mother, (she) will cook the fish.'

b.*Ang isda, mag-lu~lutu ang nanay.
NOM fish AV:mag-IPFV~cook NOM mother
'The fish, the mother will cook.'

In order to determine the exact nature of the marker *ang*, we need to clarify the principles underlying its distribution. It is furthermore important to know whether the gaps we find in the distribution of this marker have to be attributed to its function or can be viewed as a side effect of other principles important to argument linking, e.g. voice marking principles. As case and voice marking are closely related, we also need to determine whether the well-known restrictions we find with respect to voice marking, e.g. the ungrammaticality of the Actor voice forms of verbs like 'to fear' (*tumakot*), 'to astonish' (*gumulat*), 'to starve' (*gumutom*) in basic sentences, are idiosyncratic exceptions or follow clear semantic principles. The basic idea further pursued in this thesis is that restrictions and strong preferences regarding voice affix choice are linked to verb and event semantics. If voice

affixes profile the centre of interest, then some verb meanings may be so specific that the subject, i.e. the centre of interest and the predication base, may be already lexically-determined, so that some kind of linguistic effort is needed to choose a different argument.

As mentioned before, it has been put forward by Klaiman (1991), Machlachlan & Nakamura (1997), Bisang (2002) and others that the key to Tagalog case marking and voice choice is specificity; in other words, the restrictions we find and the case marker distribution we end up with are said to be largley determined by this parameter. It is crucial to note in this context that *ang* is not the only case that induces a specific reading of arguments. Under certain conditions, which will be discussed in chapters 4 and 5, a specific non-nominative Undergoer argument may (and from some speakers' point of view should) get dative case (7). Note that the marker *ang* has more than one function in (7): an argument marking function and the function to render the verb phrase referential.

(7) a. Ang babae ang[9] naka-kita ng/**sa** aksidente.
NOM woman NMZ AV:maka.REAL-see GEN/DAT accident
'The woman is the one who saw a/the accident.'

b. Gayunman, um-ibig ang babae **sa** lalaki.[10]
However AV.REAL.love NOM woman DAT man
'However, the woman loved the man.'

The examples in (7) make it quite clear that a simple semantic approach, where *ang* is analysed as a specificity marker and *sa* as a locative marker (e.g. Himmelmann 2005b), does not always help to predict the distribution of case markers.

It has been further suggested that pragmatic salience (Foley & Van Valin 1984, Klaiman 1991, Shibatani 1991, Langacker 2008 among others) is of importance for Tagalog case marking. Hence, the prominence associated with the nominative argument is sometimes used in the sense of grammatical salience, then again in the sense of referential or pragmatic salience. In general, there is consensus among functionally oriented linguists that Foley &

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[9] Note that *ang* does not only have a participant-marking function, but also the function to nominalise (see chapter 5).

[10] Context*: Noong unang panahon, isang magandang babae ang nakilala ng isang kakaibang lalaki. (...) Ipinagtapat naman ng engkanto na buhat siya sa lupain ng mga pangarap, at hindi sila maaaring magkasama.* ≈ 'Once upon a time a beautiful woman met a strange/odd man. (...) The spirit (=the man) declared frankly that he was from the region of dreams, and that they could not become companions.' (Source: *Alamat ng saging* (http://hawaii.edu/Filipino/Related))

Van Valin's (1984: 145-148) characterisation of the syntactic pivot in Tagalog as partly pragmatic in nature, but 'tightly integrated into the clause and associated with the verb', is correct. However, it is not quite clear what exactly this means. Foley & Van Valin (1984: 143) state, on the one hand, that 'discourse functions affect the choice of pivot' and on the other hand, they also share the conviction that 'specificity overrides all other discourse considerations.' Then again, they point out that specific verbs require certain pivots, so that voice-marking gaps can be observed (ibid. page 145). All of this means that verb semantics, referential properties of arguments and pragmatic functions need to be considered to properly describe the function of *ang*-marking and to explain existing restrictions with respect to the genitive/dative alternation, illustrated in (7), and the acceptability/non-acceptability of certain pivot choices in contexts to be discussed in chapter 5.

A large part of this thesis is concerned with exploring the notion of prominence and the interaction of the three different domains pointed out in Foley & Van Valin. The idea that voice choice and nominative marking in Tagalog is prominence marking, and should be described accordingly, is shared by Philippinists like Nolasco (2005) and Nolasco & Saclot (2006), who, however, have a notion of prominence that differs from the one to be presented in this thesis, and centers around the concept of semantic transivity.

I intend to shed light on the notion of prominence and the mechanism of argument linking in this thesis by taking a closer look at the different levels on which prominence can be evaluated. There are four levels of salience to be considered: one global level of salience and three more local levels of salience that are central to the predication. An argument can be more prominent than another argument on:

(i) **the discourse-structural level,** i.e. 'prominence' in terms of the relevance for the flow of a story, with discourse-structurally salient and discourse coherence establishing participants being the most prominent;

(ii) **the information-structural level**, i.e. 'prominence' in terms of the two information-structural sublevels focus/background and topic/comment, with focus and topic arguments being more salient than arguments that are part of the background or the comment;

(iii) **the event-structural level**, i.e. 'prominence' in terms of arguments that are central to the predication versus such that are not, e.g. Undergoers are more prominent than Actors for result-oriented verbs like *kill* and *frighten*, as they

provide information about the properties of the Undergoers, but not about the specific action of the Actors;

(iv) **the referential level**, with highly animate and referential arguments being more prominent than inanimate and non-referential arguments.

All of these levels have been mentioned in one way or the other in literature on Tagalog. The latter three will be shown to play a prominent role in the analysis of voice and case marking and existing restrictions and possibilities in basic sentences. There is a need to explain in full detail what exactly is meant by notions like 'information-structural' or 'event-structural prominence': is the former simply captured by the distinction 'old' versus 'new' and is the latter simply affectedness? Quite obviously a deeper understanding of the Tagalog linking system presupposes a systematic investigation of the interaction of all these semantic-pragmatic-syntactic parameters along which prominence is evaluated. Up to this point, there has been no systematic study taking into account the competition and interaction between referential, event-structural as well as information-structural types of prominence to describe nominative marking and voice choice in P(hilippine)-type languages like Tagalog. One part of this thesis is devoted to this exploration.

There is no doubt that these levels interact, not only in Tagalog, but in general. As is well-known, with certain predicates the definiteness of the Undergoer argument has a direct bearing on the event-structural interpretation of the verb. While for verbs like 'to greet' or 'to love' the specificity of the Undergoer argument is not event-structurally important, it does affect event structure for verbs taking incremental objects, turning them from activity-denoting ('eat cake') into accomplishment-denoting verbs ('eat a(certain)/the cake'). Specificity does not only interact with the event-structural level, but also with the discourse- and the information-structural level: discourse-salient arguments tend to be specific, although they need not be, and arguments in contrastive focus are very often specific, but need not be either, as the following example in (8) shows.

(8) **Guro** ang t**<um>**akot kay Jose.
teacher NOM <AV>$_{[REAL]}$-afraid DAT Jose
'It was a teacher who frightened Jose (the one who frightened Jose was a teacher).'

I will argue in this thesis that we have to assume a ranking between the three levels of local salience in order to give a comprehensive account of Tagalog case marking and voice and case marking preferences and restrictions.

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1.3 Questions raised with respect to the voice markers

Nominative marking crucially depends on the voice affixes. Therefore they are at the heart of the second part of this study. In many analyses of Tagalog, the voice markers are characterised in terms of thematic roles (cf. Constantino 1965, Ramos 1971, Naylor 1975, De Guzman 1996 etc.), although it has been noted by Ramos (1974), Carrier-Duncan (1985) and others that there is no true one-to-one correspondence between affixes and thematic roles. Ramos (1974) was among the first to point out that the traditional description of Philippine voice systems in terms of thematic roles has some flaws, e.g. the Tagalog Undergoer voice affix /*i-*/ corresponds to more than one thematic role, i.e. the Objective role in (9a), the Beneficiary role in (9b) and the Instrumental role in (9c). On the other hand, Ramos' Objective role can be referred to by more than one voice affix, as the sentences in (10) show.

(9) a. [Objective] I-tago mo ang bola.
UV:i-keep 2s.GEN NOM ball
'(You) keep the ball.'

b. [Benefactive] I-bili mo siya ng kotse.
UV:i-buy 2s.GEN 3s.NOM GEN car
'(You) buy a car for him.'

c. [Instrumental] I-punas mo ang trapo.
UV:i-wipe 2s.GEN NOM rag
'(You) use the rag to wipe.'

(10) a. [i-] I-tapon mo ang basura.
UV:i-throw 2s.GEN NOM garbage
'(You) throw the garbage (away).'

b. [-an] Hugas-an mo ang pinggan.
wash-**UV:an** 2s.GEN NOM plate
'(You) wash the plates.'

c. [-in] Lutu-in mo ang ulam.
cook-**UV:in** 2S.GEN NOM viand
'(You) cook the viand.' (Ramos 1974:4)

The following examples of transitive verbs compatible with more than one Undergoer voice (UV) affix provide further evidence that the characterisation of the UV suffixes in terms of semantic or thematic roles is not sufficient to account for their distribution. The examples in (11) illustrate that /-*in*/ and /-*an*/ identify the same thematic role, here Goal/Location, with the verb stem *akyat* 'to go up, rise'. Instead of a contrast regarding subject choice, we get a difference with respect to the verb's valence and meaning. Suffixing /-*an*/ to the verb stem *akyat* 'to go up' induces a direct causative reading, 'to bring up'.[11]

(11) a. Akyat-**in** mo ang kanya-ng kuwarto.
go_up-**UV:in** 2S.GEN NOM 3S.DAT-LK room
'Go up (upstairs) to his room.'

b. Akyat-**an** mo ang kanya-ng kuwarto ng mga libro.
go_up-**UV:an** 2S.GEN NOM 3S.DAT-LK room GEN PL book
'Bring the books up (upstairs) to his room.'

This is a productive pattern with all verbs of directed motion, but not with manner of motion verbs. For a manner of motion verb like *lakad* 'to walk' in (12) affixing /-*an*/ does not result in a similar change of meaning and valence. Once again, both Undergoer voice suffixes pick out the same argument, here the one denoting the path, albeit different properties of the path: the property singled out by /-*in*/ is associated with the length of the path, the property singled out by /-*an*/ is associated with the surface of the path. While affixing /-*in*/ yields the reading that the path has to be traversed completely, affixing /-*an*/ yields no such implication, as in (12). The voice affixes thus determine the aspectual (event-structural) properties of the verb in ~~a~~ different ways. While the alternation in (12) can be described in terms of a telicity/atelicity–distinction, the difference between (11a) and (11b) boils down to a difference in causality for directed motion verbs.

[11] The causative meaning is not systematically introduced by the affix /-*an*/. For a manner of motion verb like *lakad* 'to walk' (12) affixing /-*an*/ does not result in a similar change of meaning and valence as for the path verb *akyat* 'to go up'.

(12) a. Lakar-**in** mo ang Luneta/ ang lahat ng daan.
walk-**UV:in** 2S.GEN NOM Luneta/ NOM all GEN way
'Walk up to Luneta /all the way.' (cf. Bloomfield 1917:132)

b. Lakar-**an** mo ang damo.
walk-UV:an 2S.GEN NOM grass
'Walk (on) the grass.'

Example (13) finally shows a verb that is compatible with only one of the suffixes, namely */-an/*. Once again, this fact is not easily accounted for by referring to the thematic role of Location.

(13) Asah-**an** mo ang kaniya-ng pagdating bukas.
anticipation-**UV:an** 2S.GEN NOM 3S.DAT-LK arrival tomorrow
'Expect his arrival tomorrow.'

As thematic roles are a handy way of referring to the voice affixes, they are still used in most of the recent works on Tagalog. However, as the function and distribution of Tagalog voice affixes is not thoroughly explained by the thematic role analysis, alternative analyses have been suggested. An overview of various analyses of the voice affixes in terms of affectedness (Himmelmann 1987, Lemaréchal 1991, Nolasco 2005) and transitivity (Starosta 2002, Nolasco & Saclot 2005) is given in chapter 6. In general authors differ as to whether P-type voice alternations are considered valence-neutral or not and as to which affixes are deemed part of the system. It is instructive to look at works in which explicit arguments for analytical choices are provided.

The frequent semantic shifts induced by the voice markers when affixed to a verb are often stated without further explanation. Two were illustrated in (11) and (12), one more is shown in (14) below.

(14) a. L<um>abas **si Pedro** ng bahay / sa kapit-bahay.
<AV>[REAL] go_out NOM Pedro GEN house/ DAT neighbour
'Pedro left a house/the neighbour('s house).'

b. Ni-labas(-an) [12,13] ni Pedro **ang kapit-bahay**.
REAL$_{[UV]}$-go.out(-UV:an) GEN Pedro NOM neighbour
'Pedro went out to (meet) his neighbour (e.g. he went out to fight with his neighbour).' (p.c. Reyal Panotes)

A comprehensive approach to the linking system needs to take the voice markers and their semantic functions into account. Similarly, gaps in the applicability of voice markers, as illustrated in (15), need to be considered.

(15) a. *T**<um>**akot **siya** kay Jose.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$ afraid 3s.NOM DAT Jose
Intended: 'He frightened Jose.'

b. T**<in>**akot niya **si Jose**.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$ afraid 3s.GEN NOM Jose
'He frightened Jose.' (cf. Schachter & Otanes 1972: 152)

c.**??** P**<um>**atay ang mga bata ng aso.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$ dead NOM PL child GEN dog
Intended: 'The children killed a dog.'

d. P-**<in>**-atay ng mga bata ang aso.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$-dead GEN PL child NOM dog
'The children killed the dog.' (cf. Saclot 2006: 3)

Voice marking gaps, preferences and regularities in meaning shifts will be addressed in the second part of this thesis. They are relevant to the concept of event-structural prominence and orientation.

1.4 Goals and structure of the thesis

1.4.1 The goals

The primary goal of this thesis has been to make sense of the many puzzling responses I got from native speakers when trying to elicitate or check data. The responses were puzzling,

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[12] With predicates starting with sonorants like /*l*/, the /*in-*/ may appear as the prefix /*ni-*/.

[13] Speakers differ as to whether or not they need the suffix /*-an*/ to get this reading.

because existing descriptions of the case and voice system had led me to form wrong hypotheses. A large part of this book is therefore concerned with the discussion of current descriptions of Tagalog data and the contribution of new data. I endeavour to enlarge the scope of the debate about how best to capture voice and case in Tagalog by focusing on three aspects: (i) restrictions with respect to *ang*-marking and the genitive/dative alternation, (ii) restrictions with respect to voice choice and (iii) meaning shifts induced by voice choice. I contribute in three ways:

- Firstly, by providing a more complete description of the function and the distribution of the three case markers. In line with Nolasco (2005) and Nolasco & Saclot (2005) I argue that the so-called nominative marker *ang* is a prominence marker, and, thus, the opposite of an unmarked subject case marker. However, my analysis diverges considerably from their account in that I assume that nominative marking in Tagalog is determined by prominence considerations on three competing levels: the referential, the event-structural and the information-structural level. Based on these complex prominence considerations admissibility conditions for nominative marking are formulated, which in turn are of importance in the analysis of the genitive/dative alternation and the restrictions it is subject to, which can be modelled within an optimality theoretic account. The admissibility conditions for subject selection will also be referred to in order to account for the ungrammaticality of fronted Undergoers in Actor voice sentences like in (6b).
- Secondly, by taking a closer look at the differences between voice markers, the motivation behind voice marking preferences and a number of shifts in meaning induced by voice markers. I will argue that differences between the Actor voice affixes /*um*-/ and /*mag*-/, when affixed to the same stem, should be explained in functional terms, i.e. as signalling a relative difference in complexity of the event template associated with a given stem, rather than with reference to semantic notions like ‘control’ or ‘degree of implication in the event’ (cf. Himmelmann 1987, Lemaréchal 1991). The Undergoer voice affixes /*-in*/ and /*-an*/, on the other hand, will be argued to reflect and be sensitive to differences in event-structure-related properties, as first put forward in Latrouite (2001). The proposal is in line with the general view advanced here that the voice affixes themselves do not systematically *cause*

and *derive*, but *reflect* differences in argument structure and event structure (cf. Rackowski 2002 for a similar view) by operating within the meaning space opened up by the respective verb classes. The voice affixes can thus be taken as a window into the situation frame evoked by a specific verb stem and provide good evidence that a more fine-grained decomposition of verb meaning is desirable and necessary to account for the distribution of, and semantic effect associated with, voice affixes.

- Finally, I will elaborate on the central notion of event-structural prominence and the role it plays for different classes of verbs. I will show that voice gaps and significant shifts in meaning arise with verbs that exhibit an inherent orientation toward one of the participants. The notion of event-structural prominence will prove useful in explaining the meanings that arise when a participant the verb is not inherently oriented toward is added. Neutral verbs, which are not clearly oriented toward one participant or the other, also exhibit differences in meaning depending on whether Actor or Undergoer voice is chosen. These meaning shifts are subtler and will be shown to have the status of inferences. I will furthermore illustrate that voice choice with these verbs is influenced by the relative referential prominence of the arguments and by information-structural considerations. As the sample conversation in the appendix shows, Foley & Van Valin's claim that specificity considerations outrank discourse-functional considerations cannot be confirmed.

The two latter points complement the first point, as they are involved in the development and elaboration of the notion of event-structural prominence used in the overall description of the linking system. By exploring all three levels of prominence and their role in case and voice marking I aim to contribute to a better understanding of what it means for a language to have a grammaticalised pragmatic voice system.

1.4.2 The structure

Chapter 2 gives a brief survey of certain aspects of Tagalog grammar. This chapter is mainly aimed at an audience without background knowledge of Tagalog. There does not seem to be a single basic grammatical concept commonly agreed upon as a starting point for an analysis, so in an attempt to avoid contributing to the terminological confusion that plagues Philippine linguistics, I will explain my terminological choices and take a stand on the most crucial

controversial issues. **Chapter 3** sketches the theoretical background of this thesis and discusses some of the challenges that Tagalog represents for theories that assume a level of lexical representation. **Chapter 4** gives an overview of recent approaches to the case system, many of which support an ergative or ergative-like view of the Tagalog case system (De Guzman 1988, Machlachlan 1996, Machlachlan & Nakamura 1997 etc.) and stress the role of specificity for case marking. Special emphasis will be given to arguments and interesting data put forward in support of two homophonous case markers *ng,* an ergative marker and an oblique/inherent case marker. In 4.1 it will be shown that the observable asymmetries between *ng*-marked Undergoers and *ng*-marked Actors do not force the assumption of two homophonous case markers, but can be explained elegantly via reference to unmarked principles of voice selection. Sections 4.2 to 4.4 give an overview of three different approaches to case marking in Philippine languages that acknowledge the extraordinary character of Philippine languages. By discussing these approaches and the features they propose to account for case patterns and alternations, a fuller picture of existing case patterns will emerge. In the course of this discussion it will become clear that 'nominative case' is probably not the most appropriate label for the case particle marking the syntactic pivot; it should rather be thought of as a marker of focal prominence (cf. Nagaya 2009) in the sense of 'focus of attention' marker. Section 4.5 gives a summary of the findings regarding the case markers.

After having shown that each of the three case markers *ang*, *ng* and *sa* may be used to mark specific arguments, I take a closer look at each marker and the context in which it occurs in **chapter 5.** In order to tell apart voice marker function from nominative marking function, *ang*-marking in voiceless sentences is investigated. The marker *ang* as a prominence marker will be shown to be sensitive to two different kinds of prominence in voiceless sentences: information-structural and referential prominence. With voice-marked verbs a third level of prominence comes into play: event-structural prominence. These three different kinds of prominence interact. Special focus will be put on genitive-dative alternations, which have been mentioned here and there in the literature, but never systematically explored in terms of the restrictions that govern them and the principles they obey. The last section of chapter 5 is an attempt to fill this gap and shows that the most essential and intriguing of the three kinds of prominence with respect to case and voice marking is event-structural prominence.

Chapter 6 gives an overview of existing approaches to the voice affixes. The difference between Actor and Undergoer voice has been recurringly described in terms of a difference in transitivity (Starosta 2002, Nolasco 2005, Nolasco & Saclot 2005) and with reference to the

notion of affectedness (Himmelmann 1987, Lemaréchal 1991, Nolasco 2005). One of the most recent approaches to voice affixes views Tagalog voice marking also as prominence marking (Nolasco 2005). Differences in meaning associated with the different Actor and Undergoer voice affixes that are observed and described in the literature will be explored and discussed. In the discussion of these differences, it will become clear that some of the proposed semantic parameters are not relevant, while a few others have the status of cancellable inferences. I will try to sharpen this notion and show the link to and divergences from my notion of event-structural prominence. It will become clear that voice preferences and meaning shifts are related to this notion.

Chapter 7 gives a summary of findings in this thesis, their theoretical implications and a critical outlook.

2. Tagalog Essentials

This chapter gives a brief summary of those aspects of Tagalog grammar that are relevant to the present thesis. It is one intriguing peculiarity of the debate surrounding Tagalog that there is not a single basic grammatical concept commonly agreed upon as a starting point for an analysis. Therefore, it is necessary to explain and justify one's terminological choices. Sections 2.1 to 2.3 give a basic grammar overview for readers not familiar with the language, while shortly addressing hotly debated issues like the question if there are lexico-syntactic categories, i.e. verbs (verb phrases) and nouns (noun phrases) in Tagalog. Section 2.4 gives a short overview of the discussion surrounding the classification of the Tagalog verbal system as a focus or voice system, while section 2.5 deals with the nature of the verb affixes and the question as to whether they are derivational or inflectional.

2.1 Basic sentence structure & categories

Basic sentences in Tagalog are predicate-initial. There are no auxiliaries. As a consequence, the following sentences (16a-d) only consist of two adjacent phrases. All sentences, if not indicated otherwise, are from my own set of data.

(16) **Basic sentences**

a. Masarap ang pagkain.
   delicious NOM food
   'The food is delicious.'

b. Guro ang babae.
   teacher NOM woman
   'The woman is a teacher.'

c. Sa estudyante ang libro.
   DAT student NOM book
   'The book belongs to the student.'

d. Nag-tawa ang artista.
   AV:mag.REAL-laugh NOM actress
   'The actress laughed (loudly).'

Word order is largely free in sentences (17) and phrases (18). There are, however, phonological conditions for the specific ordering of clitic pronouns (Sityar 1989, Schachter 1972: §2.15) and pragmatic conditions that govern the order of constituents (Dery 2005). The most unmarked sentences seem to be those in which the genitive-marked argument precedes the nominative-marked argument; at least this seems to be the most frequent pattern (cf. Himmelmann 1991). Note that the inverse order leads to ambiguity as the genitive-marked argument could also be construed as the possessor of the nominative-marked argument. There is no unanimity with respect to the status and designations of case markers. However, Kroeger's (1993) labels 'nominative' (*ang*), 'genitive' (*ng*) and 'dative' (*sa*) are widely used and also adopted in this thesis. Nominative assignment is determined by verb affixes: in (2) the Undergoer prefix /*i*-/ selects the Theme argument *pera* 'money' for nominative marking. Nominative assignment is determined by verb affixes: in (2) the Undergoer prefix /*i*-/ selects the Theme argument *pera* 'money' for nominative marking.

(17) **Variable sentence structure** (Schachter 1995: 17-18)

a. I-b<in>igay ni Pedro ang pera kay Juan.
UV:i-b$_{stem}$<REAL>give GEN Pedro NOM money DAT Juan
'Pedro gave the money to Juan.'

b. Ibinigay ni Pedro kay Juan ang pera.

c. Ibinigay kay Juan ni Pedro ang pera.

d. Ibinigay ang pera ni Pedro kay Juan.

e. Ibinigay ang pera kay Juan ni Pedro.

f. Ibinigay kay Juan ang pera ni Pedro.

Nominal modifiers may appear before or after the nominal they modify (18). The linker *na* is realized as *ng* after vowels, *g* after nasals.

(18) **Nominal modifiers**

a. ang mabilis **na** babae / ang babae-**ng** mabilis
NOM fast LK woman NOM woman-LK fast
'the fast woman'

b. ang masarap **na** pagkain sa iyon-**g** gabi
NOM delicious LK food DAT that-LK night
'the delicious food on that night'

Complex modifying phrases like complement clauses (19a) and relative clauses (19b) are also linked via the linker *na.* Only nominative arguments can be relativized.

(19) **Complex modifiers** (Maclachlan 1996:9)

a. Um-asa si Ruth **na** pu~punta sa palengke
AV:um.REAL-hope NOM Ruth LK IPFV~go DAT market
'Ruth hoped to go to the market.'

b. Gusto ko ang bigas **na** b<in>ili ni Rosa sa palengke
like 1s.GEN NOM rice LK b_{stem}<REAL>$_{[UV]}$buy GEN Rosa DAT market
'I like the rice that Rosa bought at the market.'

Adverbs that modify verbs are introduced by the linker *nang* (20), which is homophonous to the orthographically distinct genitive marker *ng*.

(20) **Adverbs**

T<um>akbo siya **nang** mabilis.
<AV:um>$_{[REAL]}$run 3s.NOM LK quick
'He ran quickly.'

2.2 Lexical versus syntactic categories

The examples in (1) show that all content words may occur as predicates. Similarly, all content words may appear as semantic heads of noun phrases or as modifiers (Lemaréchal 1982, 1989, Himmelmann 1991, 2008, Naylor 1995). A crucial observation, discussed in greater detail in Himmelmann (2008), is that word forms marked for aspect and other functional categories usually associated with verbs can appear without further derivation in prototypical nominal environments, e.g. after case markers, as the example in (6b) shows. The verb stem *sabi* 'statement' (inflected for imperfective via reduplication of the first syllable) carries the Undergoer voice suffix /*-in*/. When used with a verbal predicate as in (6a), the affix /*-in*/ selects the argument expressing the content of the statement for nominative assignment; i.e. /*-in*/ 'assigns' nominative case to the Theme argument. In the nominal environment in (6b), /*-in*/ also selects the Theme argument, but the Theme argument identified by the voice affix is now the (non-overt) referential argument of the nominal *sasabihin*. (6c) and (6d) show

that the voice-marked form may also appear after each of the other nominal markers, i.e. *ang* and *sa*. The examples are simplified versions of sentences found in Bloomfield (1917:30/31).

(21) **Verbal and nominal uses of voice and aspect-mood marked forms**

a. **Sá~sabih-in** ng sundalo **ang katotohanan.**
IPFV~statement-UV:in GEN soldier NOM truth
'The soldier will tell the truth.'

b. Nag-hintày siya **ng sà~sabíh-in** ng sundálo.
AV:mag.REAL-wait 3S.NOM GEN IPFV~statement-UV:in GEN soldier
'He waited for that which was going to be said by the soldier.'
(= 'He waited for what the soldier would say.')
(cf. Bloomfield 1917: 331, simplified)

c. H<in>intáy niya **ang sà~sabí-hin** ng sundálo.
<REAL>[UV]wait 3S.GEN NOM IPFV~statement-UV:in GEN soldier
'He waited for the soldier's statement.'

d. Mag-ingat~ingat ka **sa mga sá~sabih-in** mo.
AV:mag-RED~careful 2S.NOM DAT PL IPFV~statement-UV:in 2S.GEN
'Be very careful with what you are going to say.'

Verb forms carrying voice affixes and the imperfective marker may also appear in constructions with quantifiers, including the existential quantifier *may*. The referential argument of these predicates is always the argument determined by the respective voice affix. In (7), it is the Theme argument that is selected by the Undergoer voice affix /*i*-/. Because it is existentially bound, it does not appear as an independent NP in the sentence.

(22) **Existential sentence** (Himmelmann 2008: 267)

May **i-pá~pa-kita** ako sa iyo.
EXIST UV:i-IPFV~CAUS-visible 1S.NOM DAT 2S.NONACTOR
'I have something to show you.'

These data reveal that lexical categories and morphological categories in Tagalog are not in a one-to-one correspondence relation to syntactic categories. However, this should not be viewed as evidence that there are no lexical categories. Himmelmann (2008) and others have

pointed out that Tagalog content words clearly fall into different classes on the morpho-lexical level. Firstly, as Matsuda-French (1988) has shown, oftentimes there is a clear difference in stress pattern between event-denoting content words and object-denoting content words in many cases. Table 2.1 shows that the event-denoting Actor voice forms differ predictably with respect to secondary stress from the object-denoting forms. Given the resulting meaning of the nominal forms, it is very clear that they are derived from the corresponding verbal forms. The referential argument of the nominal forms is the argument determined by the voice markers of the verbal forms.

Table 2.1 Stress patterns of verbal and nominal forms

Stem	**Verbal Form**	**Nominal Form**
tindá 'merchandise'	mag**tì**tind**á** 'x will sell'	m**à**gtitind**á** 'seller'
aral 'teaching'	mag**àá**ral 'x will study'	m**à**ga**á**ral 'student'
gawa 'deed'	gawa**í**n 'x is to be done'	g**à**w**á**in **'**work'
inom 'beverage'	inum**ín**[14] 'x is to be drunk'	**ì**n**ú**min 'drink'
pasok 'entry'	pas**ú**kan 'x is to be entered'	p**à**s**ú**kan 'entrance'
laro 'play'	laru**á**n 'x is to be played in'	l**à**r**ú**an 'playground'

Secondly, as Himmelmann (2008) points out, verbs and nouns differ with regard to morphological possibilities (e.g. only voice-marked forms may take aspect-mood affixes) and the meaning alternations associated with various formal derivations.[15]

2.3 Case marking

Tagalog exhibits three morphologically distinct case markers that have received a number of different labels over the years. While many studies (e.g. Nolasco 2005, Aldridge 2004, DeGuzman 1988 etc.) analyse the Tagalog case system as an ergative one, this is not the view taken in this thesis for reasons developed further in chapter 4. The labels in Table 2.2 go back to Kroeger (1991). The status of the case markers will be discussed in detail in chapters 4 and 5. As can be seen in Table 2.2 and 2.3, nouns, personal names and pronouns each have their own set of case markers.

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[14] Note that suffixation leads to a morphophonemic change of the vowel.

[15] For a different view, see Kaufman (2009).

Table 2.2 Nouns and personal names

	NOMINATIVE	GENITIVE	DATIVE
Nouns	ang	ng (*pronounced* nang)	sa
Personal Names	si	ni	kay

Table 2.3 Pronouns

	NOMINATIVE	GENITIVE	DATIVE
1.s	ako	ko	(sa) akin
2.s	ikaw, ka	mo	(sa) iyo
3.s	siya	niya	(sa) kanya
1.pl exclusive *1.pl inklusive*	kami tayo	namin natin	(sa) amin (sa) atin
2.pl	kayo	ninyo	(sa) inyo
3.pl	sila	nila	(sa) kanila

The case forms in the second column of Table 2.2 and Table 2.3 are called genitive rather than accusative markers by Kroeger, as they mark not only verbal, but also nominal complements, as illustrated in (23a). Topical possessors are expressed by preposed non-Actor pronouns, as in (23b), that usually follow the dative marker. For this reason this set of affixes is often glossed as dative in certain analyses.

(23) **Non-topical versus topical possessors**

a. ang bahay **ko** / **ng** turo
NOM house 1sg.GEN/ GEN teacher
'my/ the teacher's house (the house of mine/of the teacher)'

b. ang **akin-g** bahay
NOM 1sg.NONACT-LK house
'my house'

It is not possible to give an outline of the case system without reference to the voice system, as the affixes on the verb identify the argument that gets marked by *ang*. This identification function is usually described with reference to the respective thematic/semantic role of the concerned argument. For the sake of presentation I will adhere to this simplified analysis of the affixes in this subsection. The following sentences in (24) exemplify the basic

characteristics of the Tagalog linking system. These examples are slightly unnatural in that Philippine languages, like most languages, have a strong preference for no more than one full NP per clause. However, they are grammatical and illustrate that the prefix /*um*-/ (which surfaces as an infix after consonants) identifies the Actor as the nominative argument (24a), while the suffix /*-in*/ identifies the Theme argument (24b), /*-an*/ the Source argument (24c) and the prefix /*i*-/ the Beneficiary argument (24d). Note that the case marking has implications for the interpretation of noun phrases: *ang*-phrases get a specific reading, while genitive Theme arguments tend to get a non-specific reading. The less preferred reading is given in brackets.

(24) **Verb with different voice affixes**

a. H**<um>**iram **ka** ng libro sa aklatan para sa anak ko.
h_{stem}<AV:um>borrow 2S.NOM GEN book DAT library for DAT child 1S.GEN
'(**You**) borrow a book in (a/)the library for my child!'

b. Hiram-**in** mo **ang libro** sa aklatan para sa anak ko.
borrow-UV:in 2S.GEN NOM book DAT library for DAT child 1S.GEN
'(You) borrow **the book** in (a/)the library for my child!'

c. Hiram-**an** mo ng libro **ang aklatan** para sa anak ko.
borrow-UV:an 2S.GEN GEN book NOM library for DAT child 1S.GEN
'(You) borrow a/(the) book **in the library** for my child!'

d. **I**-hiram mo ng libro sa aklatan **ang anak ko**.
UV:i-borrow 2S.GEN GEN book DAT library NOM child 1S.GEN
'(You) borrow a/(the) book in (a/)the library **for my child**!'

Dative and genitive case assignment is not affected by the verb affix choice. Actors that are not identified by a voice affix on the verb always receive genitive case. The same is valid for non-Actors like Themes, unless a Theme is explicitly marked for specificity by the dative marker *sa*.[16] Native speakers differ in how easily they allow dative marking for specific Themes. Locative, Source, Beneficiary and other non-Actor arguments, here subsumed under the notion of Undergoer, always get dative case, if they do not get marked as nominative.

It is important to note that the role label 'Actor' is not used here in the same sense as the

[16] This is a case of differential object marking, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

notion originally coined by Foley & Van Valin (1984). The Actor argument is simply the first or highest argument of a verb in argument-structural terms, where argument structure is viewed as mirroring the order of temporal involvement of the participants in the run-time of the event. Therefore we find Actor voice also with unaccusative verbs that take semantic Patients rather than Agents, as in (25).

(25) ***/um-/*** **with Patients**

a. L**<um>**agpak ang malaki-ng poste.
l_{stem}<AV:um>$_{[REAL]}$fall NOM big- LK post
'The big post fell down.' English (1977: 352)

b. B**<um>**asag ang pinggang.
b_{stem}<AV:um>$_{[REAL]}$break NOM plate
'The plate broke.'

Forms without voice affixes, e.g. the recent perfective form (26a) and derived event nouns (26b), do not 'assign' nominative case (but may co-occur with *ang*-marked arguments, see chapter 4). According to Schachter and Otanes (1972), the affix /*pag*-/ derives gerunds (see Palmer 2003) for a more detailed analyses of the poly-functionality of this affix.

(26) **Forms without voice affixes**

a. Kahi-hiram pa lamang ng babae ng libro sa aklatan.
REC.PFV-borrow just GEN woman GEN book DAT library
'The woman has just borrowed the book in the library!'

b. Pag-hiram ng babae ng libro sa aklatan para sa anak.
PAG-borrow GEN woman GEN book DAT library for DAT child
'The woman's borrowing of the book at the library for the child.'

2.4 A few remarks on controversial issues and terminological disputes: Topic versus Subject, Focus versus Voice

Going back to Healey (1960:103), many Tagalog experts, e.g. Kerr (1965), Schachter & Otanes (1972), Schachter (1976) and Naylor (1995), call the verb affixes, illustrated in (24), *focus affixes*. The notion 'focus' is used in a rather idiosyncratic way here: the affixes are deemed focus affixes in the sense that they profile (focus attention on) a certain argument role

in the sentence. This argument becomes the (referentially) prominent one and is marked by *ang* (Drossard 1984: 27). It is usually referred to as the (grammaticalised, clause-internal) topic argument, while *ang* is referred to as the topic marker. *Ang* does not simply mark some kind of special discourse topic, however. Discourse pragmatic studies like the one by Coreman, Fox and Givón (1988) have shown that in terms of topic continuity and referential distance the genitive-marked Actor argument is more topical than the nominative-marked Patient argument. Moreover, Kroeger (1993) and others have shown that *ang*-marked arguments may bear either the topic or the focus function, if these notions are defined in terms of given (topic) and new (focus): in (27a), the inverted nominative argument is the topic (marked by *ay*), while in (27b) the *ang*-inverted nominative argument bears pragmatic focus.

(27) **Topic versus Focus** (Kroeger 1993)

a. Siya ay nag-ba~basa ng diyaryo.
3s. NOM AY AV:mag.REAL-IPFV~read GEN newspaper
'She is reading a newspaper.' (answer to: what is she doing?)

b. Siya ang nag-ba~basa ng diyaryo.
3s. NOM NOM AV:mag.REAL-IPFV~read GEN newspaper
'She is the one reading a newspaper.' (answer to: who is reading a newspaper?)

Note, however, that there are many competing definitions of the notions topic and focus that do not rely on the distinction of old versus new, e.g. Reinhart (1981) defines topic in a semantic-pragmatic way as the element introducing the referent under which the information contributed by the proposition is stored and through which the truth of the proposition is assessed. Based on this definition the pronoun *siya* could probably qualify as the topic expression in both sentences.

Linguists like Bloomfield (1917), Blake (1925), McKaughan (1962) and Kroeger (1993) analyse the *ang*-marked argument as the subject of the sentence. Accordingly, they use the label *voice marker* instead of *focus marker* for the verb affixes, thereby avoiding the confusion that arises if the notions of 'focus' and 'topic' are used in two different senses. However, the definition of the grammatical function 'subject' has its own share of problems, as Schachter (1976) and Foley & Van Valin (1984) have shown. The notion 'subject' usually subsumes a conglomerate of semantic, syntactic and pragmatic properties (Keenan 1976) that are grammatically relevant. If this traditional view is taken, then Tagalog is a split subject language with a share of the subject properties falling on the Actor and another share of

subject properties falling on the *ang*-marked argument. Kroeger suggests a more restrictive definition of subject. He distinguishes between grammatical tests that are sensitive solely to the syntactic (referential) status of an argument and those that are sensitive to its semantic status (its semantic role). Only the former are said to identify subjects. The typical 'subject' tests he recurs to are quantifier floating, control of secondary predicates and relativization (compare Schachter 1976). Kroeger's idea is close in spirit to Foley & Van Valin's distinction of different privileged syntactic arguments, ie. the semantic (role-related) pivot and the pragmatic (reference-related) pivot.[17] As grammatical functions like subject and object play no role in the linking mechanism assumed in this thesis, there is no need to elaborate on the controversy that surrounds the notion of subject in Tagalog. However, the point that is important here is that Kroeger chooses the label 'nominative' for the marker *ang,* because from a typological perspective nominative is the prime candidate for subject case. One obvious problem with this is that nominative case is traditionally expected to be the *unmarked* or default case. However, as could already be seen in example (26a), *ang* is not the default case that surfaces in every kind of sentence; and Tagalog *ang* is NOT an unmarked case either, as it explicitly introduces information, e.g. regarding referentiality. This will be seen even more clearly in chapters 3 and 4, which focus on case linking. With properties like referentiality being one of the relevant factors for case distribution in Tagalog, the linking system differs largely from Indo-European case-linking languages. Together with Nagaya (2009) and others, I regard *ang* as the marker for the constituent of primary prominence. I will continue to use the terms 'nominative' and 'prominence marker' interchangeably for the designation of *ang.* The notion of prominence will be further developed in chapters 5 and 6.

Before we turn to verbal marking, one more aspect of the 'subject' analysis needs to be addressed, i.e. the assumption that the affixes in Tagalog form a voice system. Voice is generally viewed as a system affecting nominative assignment and (in most cases) argument structure. Wunderlich (1997) and Dixon & Aikhenvald (2000) identify four argument structure-changing operations that differ in whether they yield argument reduction or argument extension and in whether the change affects the Semantic Form of the verb or the Thematic Structure (i.e. the argument structure). The following table is taken from Stiebels (2000).

[17] For further tests see Kroeger (1993).

Table 2.4 Argument changing operations

	argument extension: operation on SF (new predicate)	**argument reduction:** operation on TS (binding of argument)
highest argument concerned	Causative	Passive
lowest argument concerned	Applicative, Resultative	Antipassive, N-Incorporation

The sentences in (24) do not warrant the idea that Tagalog voice affixes systematically serve the function of argument reduction or extension. While the Undergoer voice affix /*i*-/ seems to promote an optional, peripheral argument to the status of an obligatory (core) argument, /*um*-/, /-*in*/ and /-*an*/ do not seem to extend the argument structure via new predicates. There are other examples, however, in which the affixation of /*um*-/ versus /-*an*/ *unequivocally* induces a change in argument structure and a clear difference in verb meaning. An example is given in (28), where the same verb stem /*akyat*/[18] 'to go up' gets a basic movement reading with the Actor voice affix /*um*-/, while it receives a causative reading with the Undergoer voice affix /-*an*/.

(28) a. **Um-**akyat **ka** sa puno.
AV:um-go_up 2S.NOM DAT tree
'Climb up/on the tree!'

b. Akyat-**an** mo ng libro **si Juan**.
go_up-UV:an 2S.GEN GEN book NOM Juan
'(You) bring the book up(stairs) **to Juan**!'

The examples in (24) and (28) already exemplify the difficulty to subsume the function of Tagalog voice affixes under one of the patterns in Table 2.4. Kaufmann (2002) notes that the same is true for the function of middle voice markers. She analyses middle voice not as an operation, but as a means to mark classes of verbs with deviating control properties. Based on the deviating control properties, certain changes in argument linking arise. While deviating control properties are not the central issue for the Tagalog voice system, chapters 6 will show that other event structural properties are. For the present analysis, nothing hinges on whether or not the Tagalog system is called a voice system or a focus system. The first notion stresses

[18] Note that the literal translation of the stem is not 'to go up' but something like 'the act of rising, the rise'. Stems that are translated with the corresponding verbal concept are put in slashes / / in order to indicate that it is the more abstract concept associated with the stem that is alluded to.

the system's argument structure-related effects, the second its reference-related effects (cf. Himmelmann 2002). The interdependence and interaction of both levels is what makes the Philippine system unique and calls for a coherent representation and explanation. As the notion 'focus' is used differently in general linguistics and is therefore misleading, I will adhere to the notion of voice in the sense of Klaiman's and Kaufmann's basic voice, although I subscribe to the view that voice markers serve to profile arguments in a semantic and pragmatic way, as also suggested by Langacker (2009).

2.5 Verbal marking: aspect, mood and voice

Voice and aspect-mood marking are closely intertwined morphologically. Thus, a study focusing on the nature of the voice system cannot ignore aspect-mood marking. Most traditional accounts consider aspect-mood marking, together with voice marking, to be inflectional (Cena 1996, Huang 1993, Holmer 1996, De Guzman 1978, 1997). Aspect-mood marking is completely general and regular in Tagalog and carries over to newly borrowed forms from English such as *magkiss* 'to kiss' and *magbasketbol* 'to play basketball'. In this sense it seems legitimate to speak of aspect-mood inflection. There are two morphological markers for aspect-mood marking:

- The realis prefix /*in*-/ (which appears as an infix with consonant-initial stems) introduces the feature [+begun] (cf. Wolfenden 1961, i.e. with non-stative verbs the denoted event is viewed as 'begun' with respect to the reference time, and stage level states are viewed as holding at the given reference time (cf. Bloomfield's 'actual mode'). */in-/* appears in present tense and past tense contexts.
- CV-reduplication of the initial consonant and vowel of the stem (the vowel of the reduplicant is always long) introduces the feature [-completed]:[19] the denoted event is viewed as 'not completed' with respect to the reference time, thus the designation 'imperfective' marker (cf. Kroeger 1993). In isolation, CV-reduplication may yield a future or contemplated situation with dynamic predicates, whereas it yields a habitual or progressive reading (past or present) with predicates marked by the realis marker.

[19] The event is viewed as [-completed] in the sense that *the end-point* does not lie before the time of the utterance. It can coincide with the time of the utterance though, as it does in recent perfective forms (see example (26a)).

The paradigms in Table 2.5 show the four possible aspect-mood combinations with five different voice affixes:

(i) the form specified for neither mood [+realis] nor aspect [+imperf], only bearing a voice marker: this form is used much like the infinitive or the subjunctive in Indo-European languages, i.e. in negated sentences, imperative sentences and other subordinate sentences requiring the subjunctive,

(ii) the form marked for [+realis] only: in the absence of the overt marking of [+imperf] the default reading is a perfective one, i.e. that the event is understood as completed with respect to the reference time,[20]

(iii) the form marked for [+imperf] only: given the contrast with the form also marked for [+realis] this form is interpreted as denoting a [-realis] event: it appears preferably in future contexts,

(iv) the form marked for [+realis] and [+imperf]: this form is used for events viewed as ongoing with respect to the reference time.

As pointed out by Kroeger (1995), following Schachter and Otanes (1972), Tagalog is a 'relative tense' language, thus the realis-imperfective form is used in contexts, in which English would use either a past progressive, a present progressive or a present habitual. Table 3.5 gives an overview of the aspect mood paradigm found with the active verb /*bili*/ 'to buy'. The translations show that the Actor voice affix *mag-* often induces a change in meaning. The semantics of voice affixes will be discussed in detail in chapters 6 and 7.

Table 2.5 Aspect-mood paradigms for /*bili*/ 'to buy'

a.

Actor Voice /-um/	*- realis*	*+ realis*
- imperf	**b<um>ili** (***x*** *is) to buy*	**b<um>ili** ***x*** *(has), (will have) bought*
+ imperf	**bi~bili** ***x*** *will buy*	**b<um>i~bili** ***x*** *is/was buying/buys*

[20] This does not imply that the result associated with this verb has been brought about at the time of reference, as Dell (1983) notes:

(i) Ni-labas ng lalake ang bahay, pero may malaki-ng bato sa harap nito,
REAL-go_out GEN man NOM house but EXIST big-LK stone DAT door this
The man stepped out (tried to step out) of the house, but there was a big stone blocking the door,

kaya hindi siya maka-labas.
so not 3S.NOM *maka*-go_out
so he could not get out.

b.

Actor Voice /-mag/	*- realis*	*+ realis*
- imperf	**mag-bili** (***x*** *is) to sell*	**nag**[21]**-bili** ***x*** *(has) sold*
+ imperf	**mag-bi~bili** ***x*** *will sell*	**nag-bi~bili** ***x*** *is/was selling*

c.

Patient Voice /-in/	*- realis*	*+ realis*
- imperf	**bil-hin** *x is to buy* ***y***	**b<in>ili** *x (has) bought* ***y***
+ imperf	**bi~bil-hin** *x will buy* ***y***	**b<in>i~bili** *x is/was buying* ***y***

d.

Locative Voice /-an/	*-realis*	*+ realis*
- imperf	**bil-han** *x is to buy at* ***y***	**b<in>il-han** *x (has) bought at* ***y***
+ imperf	**bi~bil-(han)** *x will buy at* ***y***	**b<in>i~bil-han** *x is/was buying at* ***y***

e.

Beneficiary Voice /i-/	*- realis*	*+ realis*
- imperf	**i-bili** *x is to buy z for* ***y***	**i-b<in>ili** *x (has) bought z for* ***y***
+ imperf	**i-bi~bili** *x will buy z for* ***y***	**i-b<in>i~bili** *x is/was buying z for* ***y***

It is obvious from the paradigms above that voice and aspect-mood marking are morphologically interdependent. Every approach that takes morphological form seriously needs to comment on three points:

(i) the lack of the realis prefix /*in*-/ in /*um*-/-verbs (2.5.a),
(ii) the lack of the voice suffix /-*in*/ in the realis form of so-called Patient voice verbs (3.5.b),
(iii) the order of affixation in general.

With respect to (i) two explanations have been proposed. Reid (1992) suggests that vowel syncope and assimilation resulted in geminate nasal clusters in what he calls the completive aspect[22] form of /*um*-/-verbs. Followed by a simplification of the geminate consonant

[21] Following Wolff (1973) /*nag*-/ is analysed as the reduced form of *m-in-ag*, after progressive nasal assimilation and vowel deletion.

[22] Note that in many Philippine languages /*in*-/ marks indeed completion, even if it does not in Tagalog. '/*in*-/ in Tagalog (and Bikol, Bisayan, Mansaka, Palawan) marks an action that has begun. This is an innovation typically found only in the general mode (Starosta, Pawley and Reid 1982).

clusters, every trace of the realis affix /*in*-/ finally disappeared: *um-in -> um-n -> um-m -> um-*. An alternate analysis put forward by Reid treats the language as having two /*um*-/-infixes: /*um*-$_1$/ in non-finite forms and /*um*-$_2$/ in [+begun/+realis] forms. The second analysis, thus, stipulates a form-specific allomorph of /*in*-/ in order to capture the fact that, due to paradigmatic contrast, the *um*-form is understood as comprising two meanings. The first analysis, on the other hand, states that meaningful morphological material disappeared due to a singular phonological process possibly striving towards easy and effortless pronunciation. Given that there are Philippine languages like Itbayaten (Larson 1986:165, *t-om-in-waw* 'answered) and Agutaynen (Reid 1992:74; *k-im-in-uran* 'rained') that exhibit traces of the affix /*in*-/ with /*um*-/verbs (with /*-um*/ showing vowel harmony in Agutayinen) Starosta, Pawley and Reid's (1982) analysis is highly plausible.

A similar problem arises with forms like *binili* which do not exhibit a voice affix. Note that there is no Philippine language where the two affixes (realis and Patient voice) co-occur. The affixes seem to belong to the same inflectional paradigm. Starosta, Pawley and Reid (1982) give a diachronic explanation:

> 'Historically, though, it is apparent that the completive aspect marker /in-/ and the objective voice affix /-in/ were derivational alternatives. The former was a derivational affix *<in> that derived nouns that were the result of the action of the verb, as in Tagalog b<in>ili 'something that was bought'. The latter was a derivational affix *-en that derived nouns that would receive the action of the verb, as in *bilhin* 'something to be bought'. They could not co-occur.' (Starosta, Pawley and Reid 1982: 162-163)

This historic background and the homophony of the realis prefix /*in*-/ and the voice suffix /*-in*/ motivated Lemaréchal (1991) to analyse the realis prefix as a Patient voice affix identifying the Patient argument as fully affected, while the homophonous suffix was said to identify the Patient argument as merely 'envisaged'. There are at least two reasons for rejecting this analysis: firstly, this account seems to run into problems with intransitive Actor voice forms like the one in (14). The surface form of this affix requires an explanation: it is commonly assumed that the combination of the Actor voice prefix /*mag*-/ and the realis marker /*in*-/, resulting in the form *m-in-ag* turns into /*nag*-/ after vowel deletion and progressive nasal assimilation (cf. Lawrence 1976). Note, however, that there is neither an envisaged nor a fully affected patient in the sentence in (14).

(29) Nag-tawa ako.
AV:mag.REAL-laugh 1S.NOM
'I laughed out loud/a lot.'

Secondly, realis /*in-*/ is also used with verbs that take objects that are usually not perceived as fully affected in the sense that they undergo some change of state (30).

(30) B**<in>**ati ng babae **ang lalaki**.
<REAL>[UV]greet GEN woman NOM man
'The woman greeted the man.'

The data in (29)–(30) suggest that /*in-*/ does not directly provide information such as 'the patient is the referential pivot' or 'the patient is fully affected'. Still, it is obvious that certain information on participants can be inferred from an event-structural feature like [+begun]. The beginning point of the runtime of an event (implied by [-begun]) tends to be associated with the Actor (and his intention to do something), while the developing phase and the endpoint of the runtime of an event (implied by [+begun]) tend to be associated with the Undergoer in terms of temporal succession of participant involvement. This inference relation is mirrored in spoken Tagalog: very often the bare unmarked stem may be used when the event-structurally prominent argument is singled out as the syntactically and referentially prominent argument, i.e. the Actor argument in irrealis contexts, as in (31a) and (16b) (the event has not yet begun, hence, per default, the beginning point – and with it the Actor – is in the centre of interest) and the Undergoer argument in realis contexts (31c) (the event has already begun, hence, per default, the developing phase – and with it the Undergoer – is in the centre of interest). As (31d) illustrates, it is not possible to get a realis reading of a bare stem when the Actor is marked as the prominent argument by the nominative marker.

(31) a. Um-uwi na tayo, Daddy! **Uwi** na tayo!
AV:um-go_home already we.NOM D go_home already 1PL.NOM
'Let us go home, Daddy! Let us go home!'

b. **Hampas** na kayo, mga bata, sa mga langgam!
beat already 2PL.NOM PL Kind DAT PL ant
'(You) beat the ants, children!'

(Himmelmann 1987:165)

c. **Hawak** ni Mary ang libro.
hold GEN Mary NOM book.
'Mary held/holds the book. '

d. ***Hawak** ng libro si Mary
hold GEN book NOM Mary.
'Mary held/holds a book.' (Schachter 1995: 42-43)

Can these facts help us understand the lack of certain affix combinations in today's Tagalog or are we dealing with unsystematic gaps? The fact that there does not seem to be a single Philippine language in which the prefix /*in*-/ and the suffix /-*in*/ co-occur is striking and seems to call for a semantic explanation. As has already been pointed out above, the prominence of the Undergoer (Patient) in realis-marked forms can be inferred and, from a semantic point of view, is expected: due to the realis marker the event is viewed as begun, shifting the attention from the beginning and the Actor, who incites the beginning, to the developing phase and its properties, which in the case of transitive verbs manifest themselves with respect to the Undergoer. In the case of a transitive verb, the event can only be understood as manifested as a whole at the reference time if both of the arguments are fully involved. A further marker explicitly picking out the Undergoer (Patient/Theme) is not necessary and perhaps not even desirable in terms of an economic system (cf. Altjohann 1998). Note that under this view only /-*in*/ is considered a real Undergoer voice affix. The Patient prominence induced by the realis affix is viewed as a default interpretation or an inference, albeit as one that can be viewed as grammaticalised in the meantime. For this reason the affix /-*in*/ is glossed as REAL$_{[UV]}$ in this thesis.

For the sake of completeness, it is to be noted that the Actor voice affixes /*um*-/ and /*mag*-/ as well as the Undergoer voice affixes are restricted to dynamic verbs. Stative verbs take a different set of affixes. The full aspect-mood paradigm of stative verbs is given in Table 2.6. Both tables are based on Himmelmann (2002). The designations in parentheses have been proposed by Drossard (1984) and are often more revealing with respect to the function of the affixes. Some forms are very infrequent and bear lexicalised meanings (e.g. *kagalitan* 'to get scolded by' derived from *galit* 'anger').

Table 2.6 STATIVE voice affixes

Actor Voice (Experiencer V.)	*Theme Voice (Patient V.)*	*Locative Voice (Mental Cause V.)*	*Conveyance Voice (Stative Cause V.)*
/maka-/	**/ma-/**	**/ka-/ /-an/**	**/i-ka-/**

Table 2.7 Paradigm for /*galit*/ 'to anger'

	ST.AV	*St. (Theme)*	*ST.LV*	*ST.CV*
Irrealis/Perfective	**maka**-galit	**ma**-galit	**ka**-galit-**an**	**i-ka**-galit
Irrealis/Imperf.	**maka**-gá~gálit	**ma**-gágálit	**ka**-gá~galit-**an**	**i-ka**-gá~galit
Realis/Imperf.	**naka**-gá~gálit	**na**-gágálit	**k**<in>**a**-gá~galit-**an**	**i-k**<in>**a**-gá~galit
Realis/Perfective	**naka**-galit	**na**-galit	**k**<in>a-galit-**an**	**i-k**<in>**a**-galit

Apart from active and stative, Himmelmann distinguishes a third set of affixes, the potentive voice forms, which add the meaning 'to be able to'. Two of the stative voice forms are identical to potentive voice forms: the affixes /*ma-*/ and /*maka-*/. There are no gaps in these paradigms.

Table 2.8 POTENTIVE voice paradigm for /*bili*/ 'to buy'

	AV	*TV*	*LV*	*CV*
Irrealis/Perfective	**maka**-bilí	**ma**-bilí	**ma**-bilh-**án**	**ma-i**-bilí
Irrealis/Imperf.	**maka**-bí~bilí	**ma**-bí~bilí	**ma**-bí~bilh-**án**	**ma-i**-bí~bilí
Realis/Imperf.	**naka**-bí~bilí	**na**-bí~bilí	**na**-bí~bilh-**án**	**na-i**-bí~bilí
Realis/Perfective	**naka**-bilí	**na**-bilí	**na**-bilh-**án**	**na-i**-bilí

Voice is usually considered an inflectional category. Lemaréchal (1991) draws attention to the fact that the inflectional view of Tagalog voice affixes implies the assumption of 35 arbitrary verb classes, as suggested in Schachter & Otanes (1972, chapter 5).

Table 2.9 Voice affix paradigms (Lemaréchal 1991: 335)

	Verbes transitifs		Verbes directionnels		Verbes à deux objets		
Rôle	AGT	PAT	AGT	DESTINATION	AGT	PAT	DESTINATION
1	ma-	i-pa	ma-	-an			
2	ma-	ma—an	ma-	ka-an			
3	ma-	pa-an	ma-	pa-an			
4	maka-	ma-					
5	maka-	ma—an					
6	mag-	-an	mag-	-an	mag-	i-	-an
7	mag-	i-			mag-	i-	-in
8	mag-	-in			mag-	-in	-an
9	mag-	i- pag-			mag-	i--pag	pag- -an
10	mag-	pag- -an	mag-	pag—an	mag-	i-	pag- -an
11	mang-	-an					
12	mang-	-in	mang-	-in			
13	mang-	i- pang-	mang-	ma-	mang-	i-pang	pag- -an
14	mang-	pang- -an	mang-	pang- -an			
15	mang-	pang- -in					
16	um-	-an	um-	-an	um-	i-	-an
17	um-	-in	um-	-in	um-	-in	-an

Schachter & Otanes only distinguish the three verb classes given in the table. Quite a few of their classes contain only one or two verbs. Due to the arbitrariness of their verb list, there is no sense in discussing it in detail.

The reasons given in support of the inflectional view (e.g. De Guzman 1997) are: (i) voice is a form of subject agreement and agreement is inflectional, (ii) it forms paradigms and (iii) it is productive, i.e. it carries over to functional words, as shown in (32), and newly borrowed loan words as in (33).

(32) *ano* ‘what’

um**-ano* ‘to do what’ *anu-**hin ‘to do what with sth.’

*anu-**han*** ‘to do what on so./some place’ ***i**-ano* ‘to do what with or for so./sth.’

(33) *target*

*t-**um**-arget* ‘to target’ *target-**in*** ‘to target sth.’

*pag-target-**an*** ‘to target sth. on sth/on behalf of so.’

*i-**pang**-target* ‘to target st. with sth.’

Meaning, form and distribution of voice affixes are to a certain degree predictable.[23] However, the data given suggest a form of productivity and regularity with respect to thematic roles and morphological realisation that is misleading. In many cases productivity is subject to restrictions. For example, in contrast to the examples above, it is not possible for the affix /*i*-/ to pick out or freely introduce a Beneficiary argument with the stem *takbo* ‘run’ in (34a). Neither does /*i*-/ introduce a Beneficiary with the stem *diskribe* ‘describe’, as shown in (34c). Rather, as (34b) and (34d) show, /*i*-/ picks out the Theme argument with these stems. The example in (34e) finally shows that the Beneficiary cannot be singled out by another voice affix either.

(34) a. *I-(pag)-takbo mo siya!
UV:i-(PAG)-run 2S.GEN 3S.NOM
‘Run for him!’

b. I-takbo mo siya kaagad sa ospital!
UV:i-run 2S.GEN 3S.NOM at once DAT hospital
‘Bring her to the hospital at once.’

c. *I-diskribe mo ako ng iyong i-p<in>ag-bili!
UV:i-describe 2S.GEN 1S.NOM GEN DEM-LK UV:i-PAG<REAL>sell
‘Describe to me what you sold!’

d. I-diskribe mo sa akin ang iyong i-p<in>ag-bili.
UV:i-describe 2S.GEN DAT 1S.NONACTOR NOM DEM-LK UV:i-PAG<REAL>sell
‘Describe to me what you sold!’

e. *Diskriba-han mo ako ng iyong i-p<in>ag-bili.
Describe-UV.an 2S.GEN 1S.NOM GEN DEM-LK UV:i-PAG<REAL>sell
‘Describe to me what you sold.’

---

[23] Note that *target* takes the instrumental prefix /*pang*-/ in addition to /*i*-/, whereas *ano* ‘what’ only takes /*i*-/ to identify the Instrumental phrase as the *ang* phrase.

Furthermore, there are forms that convey very special semantic/pragmatic implications that do not seem to be predictable based on the hypothesis that the voice affixes are inflectional affixes merely signalling semantic roles. The so-called Patient suffix /*-in*/ yields the reading 'to break into y' (35a) when affixed to *pasok* 'enter', rather than the neutral reading 'to go into y' like the prefix /*um-*/ (35b). Similarly, the affixation of the Patient voice suffix /*-in*/ induces a shift in meaning in the *Aktionsart* interpretation of the verb /*langoy*/ 'to swim' (36). Idiosyncratic changes as well as systematic changes in meaning with certain verbs or verb classes are expected if the voice affixes are analysed as derivational affixes, but unexpected if they are viewed as inflectional affixes.

(35) a. P<um>asok ka ng bahay!
<AV:um>go_into 2S.NOM GEN house
'You go into the house!'

b. Pasuk-in mo ang bahay.
go_into-UV:in 2S.GEN NOM house
'You break into the house!'

(36) a. L<um>angoy ka sa ilog!
<AV:um>swim 2S.NOM DAT river
'You swim in the river!'

b. Languy-in mo ang ilog!
swim-UV:in 2S.GEN NOM river
'You swim (across) the river (= from its beginning to its end)!'

It should be added that the affixation of voice markers turns simple object-denoting content words like *damit* 'clothes', *anak* 'child', *baboy* 'pig' into event-denoting content words: *magdamit* 'to dress', *maganak* 'to give birth', *magbaboy* 'to sell pigs'.

For all of these reasons, many linguists prefer to analyse Tagalog voice markers as derivational in nature (Starosta, Pawley & Reid 1982, Voskuil 1993, Starosta 1986, 2002, Himmelmann 1991, 2002). Starosta (2002) sums up the arguments in favour of the derivational analysis as follows: (i) Tagalog voice affixes produce verbs with altered perspectives (by profiling or adding one of the participants), (ii) most verbs may not take the complete set of voice affixes and (iii) some voice forms are marginal and convey special

semantic and pragmatic implications that are not always predictable. Note that two of the points mentioned are valid for aspect-mood marking, too. As pointed out in (16), aspect-mood marking is sufficient to profile a participant in spoken Tagalog: certain phases of the event are profiled leading to certain participants being profiled and, thus, to different perspectives. Furthermore, depending on the semantics of the stem, certain aspect mood combinations are awkward, too, and as a result they are not used. For example, semelfactive and stative predicates denote situations that cannot easily be perceived as ongoing or not yet completed. It has been suggested lately that voice affixes serve to signal the Aktionsart of verbal forms in Austronesian languages (Ross 2002, Huang 2000). If this is true, certain systematic gaps are expected. This point will be further reviewed in chapter 6.

With respect to the question of whether or not aspect, mood and voice marking is inflectional or derivational, Reid (1992) points out that, if only aspect and mood were inflectional and voice marking derivational, the order of affixation would be quite surprising. Forms like *i-b-in-i-bili* show that aspect (CV-reduplication of the onset: *bi-bili*) applies before realis marking (*b-in-i-bili*) in Tagalog, while voice applies last (*i-b-in-i-bili*). If the derivational voice affix were to apply first (*i-bili*), aspect inflection should lead to the form *i-i-bili* and subsequent mood inflection to the form *in-i-i-bili*. However, this form does not exist.

It could be argued that all affixes that are first and foremost semantic operators determining the semantic interpretation of words tend to be more derivational than inflectional (in showing gaps, allowing for idiosyncratic lexicalized forms etc.). Following this line of thought, one would have to analyse Tagalog mood and aspect affixes – markers that help relate the event-structural properties of the event to the reference time – as derivational in nature as well. The close morphological and functional interaction of these markers with voice, as discussed above, is a further hint that they should be of the same nature as the voice affixes, i.e. derivational. The conclusion that there is no lexical category that can be faithfully described as 'verb' if there is only derivation and no inflection is not compelling. Following Wunderlich (1996: Minimalist Morphology) I consider both, derivation and inflection, to be part of the lexicon. The decisive factor for the lexical category 'verb', thus, is not the inflectional nature of the marking, but the marking itself: verbs express a relationship between individual arguments and a situation argument and both the relationship and the situation itself can be further specified in terms of categories like voice, mood and aspect.

2.6 Summary

In this chapter I have given a basic outline of those parts of Tagalog grammar that are of relevance for this study and I have explained my terminological choices. It was shown that both components of the Tagalog linking system, case and voice, exhibit unique traits that need to be accounted for.

The case system is special in that (almost) every argument of the verb can be assigned nominative case. While nominative case marks syntactically prominent arguments, some verbs do not assign it, e.g. the recent perfective forms (see chapter 1, example 2). Moreover, case assignment has strong implications for the reading of noun phrases as specific or non-specific, but does not unambiguously determine it (see chapter 5). While there is no morphological evidence for the fact that *ang* assignment changes the status or the case marking of the remaining arguments, many, if not most, Tagalog specialists (Blake 1925, Cena 1977, Payne 1982, De Guzman 1988, Starosta 2002, Nolasco 2005 etc.) advocate an ergative analysis of Philippine languages that they extend to the case system. Chapter 4 will give an overview of these approaches and discuss the data put forward in support of the respective analyses.

On top of the case system, the voice system was argued to be special in that it serves to promote a broad array of semantic arguments to the function of syntactic pivot and affects the semantics of verbs in ways outlined and discussed in chapters 7 and 8. Given this semantic function of the affixes a theory of verb meaning representation is needed. In the next chapter I will discuss two approaches, Lexical Decomposition Grammar (Wunderlich 1997) and Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 2005) embracing lexical decomposition as a means for the representation of verb meaning and as an indispensable basis for predicting linking in the languages of the world. Voskuil (1993) has argued that lexical decomposition approaches are doomed to fail in trying to account for Tagalog. As the discussion in the next chapter will show, Tagalog exhibits indeed a few peculiarities that require some thought as to what kind of decomposition is needed to capture the data.

3. Some Theoretical Considerations

The two domains of interest to this thesis, i.e. case markers and voice affixes, are usually explored within theories of linking. Most of the work done in this thesis has been influenced in one way or the other by the two theories I have been working in, Lexical Decomposition Grammar (LDG; Wunderlich 1997, 2000, Kaufmann 1995, Stiebels 1999, 2000) and Role and Reference Grammar (RRG; Foley & Van Valin 1984, Van Valin & La Polla 1997, Van Valin 2005**).** Even though I do not adopt either framework for the purpose of this thesis, both contain important elements and insights helpful for the description of Tagalog.

Altjohann (1998) and Latrouite (2001) attempted an analysis of case and voice within Lexical Decomposition Grammar and observed two interesting problems regarding the relation of argument structure and verb meaning. Like many theories of linking, LDG assumes that the argument structure of a verb can be predicted based on its meaning. Verb meaning is decomposed into components that are deemed necessary to make explicit those aspects of word meaning that are grammatically relevant and necessary for predicting and explaining properties of lexical items, such as the regularities in the expression and distribution of arguments. This level, which is assumed in many lexical approaches in the form of a predicate-argument structure, is called the Semantic Form (SF) in LDG and the Logical Structure (LS) in RRG. The Semantic Form of verbs is a partial semantic decomposition into primitive predicates like BECOME (used to express a change in a property) and MOVE, representing the grammatically relevant aspects of meaning, and verb-specific constants like COOK or DEAD, meant to capture more idiosyncratic aspects of single verbs. The verb 'to hand (someone something)' would be decomposed in LDG as shown in (1). The Semantic Form in (1) expresses that 'x manipulates an object y with his hands and as a result some person z comes to possess y.' The variable (s) signals that the expression refers to a situation.

(1) LDG-representation of 'to hand someone something':
{HAND (x, y) & BEC (POSS (z, y))} (s)

Semantic representations in LDG are minimal, because, following Bierwisch (1983) and Bierwisch & Lang (1987), one central tenet of the theory is that semantic representations of words comprise more than one level of meaning. In addition to the level of Semantic Form, LDG assumes the semantically more articulate level of Conceptual Structure (CS), which is

part of the cognitive system and comprises world knowledge as well as thematic, temporal, causal and event structural information. In other words, the Conceptual Structure subsumes information that is assumed not to directly affect argument realisation, but to constrain both the form and the interpretation of the Semantic Form via a number of principles (cf. Kaufmann 1995, Wunderlich 1997, Kaufmann 2005). These principles have been presented and discussed in great detail in Kaufmann 1995 and are of no concern for the present purposes.

Based on a semantic representation like (1), the argument structure, i.e. the Theta (=thematic) Structure (TS) in LDG terms, can be derived via successive λ(Lambda)-abstraction. As a notational convention, the order of individual argument variables in the Theta Structure mirrors the order of individual argument variables in the Semantic Form. From the LDG point of view, if theta roles/arguments are considered to be of a certain type, e.g. Beneficiary, Theme or Agent etc., then these considerations are based on a mixture of world knowledge and the nature of certain SF-predicates. They are viewed as purely conceptual and, thus, as part of the Conceptual Structure (CS).

(2) Theta-Structure Semantic Form

λy λz λx λs[24] {HAND (x, y) & BEC (POSS (z, y))} (s)

The Theta Structure sequence of λ-bound argument variables represents the interface between semantics and morphosyntax and is supposed to provide a basis for predicting the morphosyntactic realization of arguments. Theta-roles in TS are referred to based on their relative hierarchical position coded by the features [+/- hr] 'there is a/no higher thematic role' and [+/- lr] 'there is a/no lower thematic role'. These in turn allow for the determination of the case marker (or other morphosyntactic linker) that is the most compatible and the most specific – in short the optimal linker – for the respective argument position due to its own feature specification in terms of the features [hr] and [lr]. In an accusative language like German, we would, thus, get the linking shown in (3) for a ditransitive verb.[25]

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[24] The situation argument also has a reflex in morphosyntax, as tempus, mood or aspect markers may specify it further.

[25] Dative case is too specific for any other position than the intermediate and is more specific than accusative case, so dative wins and marks the intermediate argument. Accusative case bears a feature that clashes with the specification of the highest (right-most) argument and is therefore only acceptable for the argument in the lowest (left-most) position. Nominative case, the most unspecific linker, is assigned to the position the other arguments may not link to due to feature clash.

(3) λy λz λx λs {HAND (x, y) & BEC (POSS (z, y))} (s)

+hr	+hr	**-hr**	**Nominative: [ ]**
-lr	+lr	+lr	**Accusative: [+hr]**
			Dative: [+hr, +lr]
↓	↓	↓	
ACC	**DAT**	**NOM**	
ng	**sa**	**ang**	

Altjohann (1998) notes that an approach to the Tagalog case system in terms of argument hierarchy is problematic because of the distribution of the Tagalog case markers: nominative *ang*, which may link to any position, overwriting the other markers, represents a marked choice to signal prominence (rather than an unspecified linker), while genitive *ng* may link to the highest role and the lowest role, i.e. to positions with incompatible feature specifications, suggesting that this case marker must be similarly unspecified in terms of the given feature as nominative. It was found that - in order to account for the distribution of the (case) markers - the difference between Actor versus Undergoer voice choice needs to be worked out in more detail, so that the criteria for prominence choice would become clearer. Furthermore, the seemingly obscure principles ruling the possibility of genitive/dative alternations needed to be uncovered in future research. Both issues are addressed in detail in the subsequent chapters.

While the argument-structural features were considered problematic for the analysis of case markers, the global distinction between [-hr] 'there is no higher role' and [+hr] 'there is a higher role' were found to reflect the basic distinction between Actor voice markers and Undergoer voice markers appropriately. The notions Actor and Undergoer, which are widely used in the labeling of the two sets of affixes, express, in their original meaning (Foley & Van Valin 1984), the semantic difference between referents of arguments that dispense energy or emanate force in an event and those that are affected by an event. In RRG, these two classes or argument roles are known as macroroles. However, the following examples show that the so-called Actor voice affix /*um*-/ may be used to signal arguments that are affected (4a, b) as well as those that are active (4c). Both cases can be captured by describing the arguments in (4) as [-hr]-arguments ('there is no higher argument than this one'), while Undergoer voice affixes can be characterized as [+hr]-arguments ('there is a higher argument than this one').

(4) a. B<um>agsák ang baso.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$fall NOM vase
'The vase fell.'

b. D<um>anas siya ng mga paghamak sa kanya.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$suffer 1s.NOM GEN PL humiliation DAT 3s.NONACT
'(S)he suffered humiliations from him/her.'

c. T<um>awa ang bata.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$laugh NOM child
'The child laughed.'

There is only one small set of intransitive verbs that take the Undergoer voice affix */-in/*: a group of predicates that incorporate an effector.[26] This effector is usually a disease or some other kind of obvious infliction with an inherent dynamic and internal force to bring about change, as illustrated in (5). Clearly, in these specific cases, the only syntactic argument in the sentence is not the only argument on the semantic level. There is also the effector argument that influences and affects the referent of the nominative argument. In terms of CAUSE & EFFECT reasoning, it is easy to conceive of the effector as the higher argument in the event, therefore the analysis of the Undergoer affix */in-/* in terms of the feature [+hr] ('there is a higher role') is not called into question by these data.

(5) a. Ni-lagnat/l<in>agnat ang guro.
REAL$_{[UV]}$-fever NOM teacher
'The teacher had fever/was feverish.' (≈ The teacher was affected by fever)

b. T<in>igdás ako.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$measles 1s.NOM
'I had the measles.' (≈ I was affected by measles)

c. Ni-langgám ang pagkain.
REAL$_{[UV]}$-ant NOM food
'The food was infested/covered with ants.' (≈ The food was affected by the ants)

Himmelmann (2005b) subsumes all non-Actor voice forms, Patient/Goal voice, but also Instrument, Beneficiary and Location voice, under the label 'Undergoer' voice. This makes sense as all these voices share the information that there is another argument that is higher than the argument singled out by the voice affix, i.e. they signal the information [+hr] 'there is

[26] This shows once again that Tagalog challenges claims to universals in the literature, like the one that agents (effectors) are never incorporated in a predicate (cf. Baker 1988).

a higher role'. Note that conceptually 'being the highest argument' corresponds to either denoting the first participant in terms of temporal involvement in the event, or to being the causer in a cause-effect chain, or the salient figure in a figure-ground chain. As can be seen in the examples in (6a, b), a Beneficiary or Location argument is never[27] coded by the so-called Beneficiary/Locative voice suffix */-an/,* if it is the highest argument, rather they are profiled by the Actor voice affixes /*um-*/ and */mag-/* in this case.

(6) a. T<um>ubo siya diyan.
<AV>[REAL]profit 3S.NOM DEM.GEN
'He profited from this.'

b. Nag-i~iwi ng mga pulgas ang gusgusi-ng aso.
AV:mag.REAL-IPFV~harbour GEN PL flea NOM shaggy-LK dog
'The shaggy dog harbours fleas.' (English 1977: 435)

From what has been said so far, it is clear that the macroroles Actor and Undergoer have to be understood in structural terms, and not in purely semantic terms, to correctly capture the overall distribution of Actor versus Undergoer voice. One level beyond this, a further semantic, thematic or structural differentiation is necessary to account for the differences among the various Undergoer voice affixes and the various Actor voice affixes. Suggestions in the literature are reviewed and discussed in chapter 6.

The characterisation of voice affixes in Philippine languages has rarely been attempted in decomposition approaches. Wu (2006), who analyses the Austronesian language Amis within Role and Reference Grammar (cf. Van Valin & LaPolla 1997, Van Valin 2005), notes that oftentimes more than one semantic presentation can be associated with a certain voice form of a verb. She also notes differences in meaning between Actor voice and Undergoer voice forms that have an unclear status and are signaled by optional constants in her semantic representations.

In general there seems to be great scepticism that the inventory of current decomposition approaches is sufficient to insightfully describe the voice affixes; see Voskuil (1996) for a very critical assessment of the usefulness of decompositional theories in the analysis of

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[27] This claim is slightly too strong, as there is a small set of intransitive stative verbs that denote the excretion of physical liquids like *pawisan* 'to sweat' and *duguan* 'to bleed' that may take the voice affix /*-an*/.

Tagalog voice and in general. Not only multi-valent verbs like transfer verbs, but also manner of motion verbs like /takbo/ 'run' may take a multitude of voice affixes, as the examples in (7) show. Thus, voice options are not fully determined by the lexical core meaning associated with a verb stem. It seems to make more sense to think of them as (pragmatically) licensed options within the *situation frame* evoked by a given verb stem.

(7) a. T<um>akbo siya. Actor
<AV>[REAL]run 3s.NOM
'He ran.'

b. Takbuh-in mo ang marathon/ ang 3 milya! Path
run-UV 2s .GEN NOM marathon/ NOM 3 miles
'(You) run the marathon/the three miles!'

c. Takbuh-an mo siya! Patient/Goal /Source
run-LV 2s .GEN 3s.NOM
'(You) run him over/ to him/ away from him.'

d. I-t<in>akbo niya ang pera sa loob![28] Theme
CV< REAL>run 3s. GEN NOM money DAT outside
'He ran outside with the money!'

f. `I(pag)takbo mo nga ng Marlboro sa tindahan ang table no.5. Beneficiary
CV(pag)run 2s.GEN please GEN Marlboro DAT store NOM table no. 5
`Please run (with/to get) Marlboro from the store for (the customer at) table 5.'

(Nolasco 2005:15)

The purpose of this thesis is not to give a thorough survey of verbs and their voice affix classes (which has been attempted before, cf. Ramos' (1986) *Handbook of Tagalog verbs*), and discuss the entirety of patterns and their differences, which may well be a futile enterprise for a non-native speaker of Tagalog. According to Kaufman (2009), a lot more voice/verb stem combinations are possible than have been mentioned in the literature and in dictionaries. Instead of exploring the vast field of possibilities, this thesis seeks to explore and explain the restrictions that have been mentioned over and over again in the literature. Why are certain

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[28] ***www.youtube.com/watch?v=XiIknAo4Nd4; McDonald's manager, ninakawan ang sarili niyang branch!***

Full sentence: *Inutusan* ***niya*** *ang isa sa kanyang mga employado na buksan ang safe, at* ***itinakbo niya*** *ang pera sa loob.* 'He ordered one of his employees to open the safe and he ran outside with the money.'

case patterns and case alternations not attested? Why are certain voice forms blocked or strongly dispreferred? What motivates certain changes in meaning we find due to a different choice in voice affixation? For the purpose of answering these questions, capturing verb class distinctions is important. Therefore certain aspects of decompositional theories are very useful.

3.1 Fundamental distinctions in semantic representations

Note that theories like Role and Reference Grammar as well as Lexical Decomposition Grammar (among others) make a fundamental distinction between verbs that express first and foremost a specific activity on the part of the Actor and no specific result on the part of the Undergoer (8A) versus verbs that specify first and foremost a specific result on the part of the Undergoer and no specific activity on the part of the Actor (8B). RRG representations are more elaborate than LDG representations, as they encode Aktionsart distinctions. In (8Aii, Bii) we find **do**' for an activity, which may be further specified as in (8Aii) by the verb-specific predicate **wash,** or unspecified as signaled by ∅ in (8Bii), and BECOME for a gradual change in the property of the Undergoer. We will return to these distinctions below.

(8) A. **Specific activity, no specified result with respect to Undergoer**
   i. LDG: {**WASH** (x, y)} (s)
   ii. RRG: [**do**' (x, [**wash'** (x, y)])][29]

   B. **Non-specific activity, event-specific result with respect to Undergoer**
   i. LDG: {ACT (x) & BECOME (**DEAD** (y))} (s)
   ii. RRG: [**do'** (x, ∅)] CAUSE [BECOME **dead**' (y)]

Apart from these two groups, there are verbs that provide specific information on both, the Actor and the Undergoer, as shown in (9). Note that the more elaborate representations in RRG are helpful in distinguishing verbs in (9Aii), where the Undergoer does not delimit the event, from (9Bii), where (s)he does. The difference between INGR and BECOME, both of which indicate a change of state, is that the former signals an instantaneous change (here at the end of a process), while the latter signals a gradual change over time and can be decomposed into PROCESS + INGR. In chapter 6 we will see that the distinction of these

[29] While the default interpretation is that the object having been washed is clean, this is by no means necessary.

three classes plays a crucial role for the level of event-structural prominence of arguments and the acceptability of voice forms.

(9) A. **Specific activity, optional event class-specific result**

i. LDG: {**EAT** (x, y) & BECOME (**CONSUMED** (y))} (s)

ii. RRG: [**do'** (x, [**eat**' (x, y)]) & INGR **consumed**' (y)]

B. **Specific activity targeting Actor and Undergoer**

i. LDG: {**PUNCH** (x, y)} (s)

ii. RRG: [SEML **do´** (x, [**use´** (x, (**fist** (z)))]) & **come.into.forceful.contact´** (y, (z))]

As can be seen from the decompositions in (9), RRG relies on Vendler's (1967) famous distinction between states, accomplishments, achievements and activities, augmented by the category of points (semelfactives), as classified in (10) (cf. Van Valin & La Polla 1997). Semelfactives are considered to be atelic, as they do not bring about a result state.

(10) **States**: atelic, non-dynamic state of affairs
[*'be on the bed, 'be tired', 'like Jim'*].
Activities: atelic, dynamic state of affairs
[*'x sing', 'x roll', 'x shine'*]
Points (semelfactives): atelic, punctual state of affairs without result state
[*'x flash', 'x cough'*]
Achievements: telic, punctual state of affairs involving a result state
[*'x pop up', 'x shatter', 'x blow up'*]
Accomplishments: telic state of affairs involving progressive change
[*'x fall on the floor', 'x melt', 'x learn Swahili'*]

A number of well-known tests have been proposed to tease out the event-structural properties of the events denoted by the respective verbs, helping to decide whether the event denoted is active or not[30] ('occurs with adverbs like *violently, energetically, vigorously, actively, dynamically*'), punctual or developing over time ('occurs with adverbs like *quickly, slowly*, occurs with *for/spend an hour*, occurs with *in an hour*') and whether there is a result state or

[30] A further test is the existence of the progressive form. However, without a clear analysis of the progressive it is hard to say what exactly the existence of a progressive form says about the event-structural properties of an event denoted by a verb (see Piñon & Naumann 1999 for a discussion of the intricacies of the progressive and current analyses).

not (‘can be used as stative modifier’). The table in 3.1 shows the proposed decomposition templates. State verbs are represented by simple stative predicates, while logical structures of activity verbs contain the predicate **do’** which signals dynamicity and unboundedness (and – given tests like the compatibility with adverbs like *energetically, vigorously, violently* – possibly the idea of dissipating energy). Note that agentivity is considered an implicature that can arise with animated arguments. **INGR**(ESSIVE) signals an instantaneous change implying a result state, while **SEML** signals an instantaneous change without result state and **BEC**(OME) a progressive change with result state.

Table 3.1 Basic logical structures [31]

State	**Activity**	**Achievement**	**Accomplishment**	**Semelfactive**
pred’(x)	**do**’(x,[pred’(x) *or* **do**’(x,[pred’(x, y)])	**INGR** pred’(x) *or* **INGR** pred’(x,y)	**BEC** pred’(x) *or* **BEC** pred’(x, y)	**SEML** pred’(x) *or* **SEML** pred’(x,y)

Numerous works (Bertinetto 1997, Verkuyl 1993, Sokol 1999, Mori, Löbner & Micha 1992 among others) have shown that assigning verbs to one of the four (five) classes is in many cases problematic. Oftentimes the classes seem to be too coarse and too few to capture certain patterns (e.g. François 1989, Marin & McNally 2005 among others). Other times the proposed tests are simply not available or inconclusive in a given language.

For Tagalog it is sometimes suggested that the Actor-Undergoer voice distinction may be one of aspectual class (cf. chapter 6). However, note that if there is some kind of event-structural dimension to the distinction, it is most likely not one in terms of the classes given in table 3.1. An achievement verb like /dating/ ‘arrive’ may appear in Actor voice form and in Undergoer voice form and always denotes an achievement.

(11) a. D<um>ating ako sa kaniya-ng bahay.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$arrive 1S.NOM DAT 3S.NONACT-LK house
‘I arrived at his house.’

b. D<in>atn-an ko ang kaniya-ng bahay.
<REAL>$_{ARRIVE}$-LV 1S.GEN NOM 3S.NONACT-LK house
‘I arrived at his house.’

[31] In English all of these types of verbs exhibit a causative alternant. Thus, CAUSE is a completely unrestricted operator in this framework (α CAUSE β, where α and β are Logical Structures of any type).

(A)telicity tests, like the compatibility of verbs with adverbial phrases like *in an hour* or *for an hour*, are also fraught with problems because both phrases tend to be coded as *sa isang hora(s)* in texts. As illustrated in (12), the *sa*-phrase is systematically ambiguous between a bounded/telic and an unbounded/atelic reading regardless of whether Actor or Undergoer voice is chosen, although, without further context, there seems to be a preference for the *in an hour* reading in (12b), according to my consultants. Sometimes *sa loob ng isang hora* 'inside an hour' or *para sa isang hora* 'for an hour' are suggested, but neither truly corresponds to the English translation. and the latter is not attested in texts and rejected by my consultants altogether.

(12) a. B<um>asa ako ng libro niya sa isa-ng hora.
<AV>[REAL]read 1S.NOM GEN book 3S.GEN DAT one-LK hour
'I read her book for/in an hour.'

b. B<in>asa ko ang libro niya sa isa-ng hora.
<REAL>[UV]read 1S.GEN NOM book 3S.GEN DAT one-LK hour
'I read her book for/in an hour.'

In support of the hypothesis that the Actor-Undergoer voice distinction cannot be equated with the distinction between activites and accomplishments, another well-known set of data discussed by Dell (1983) may be adduced. The sentence in (13) shows that with the Undergoer voice affix /-*in*/, the result associated with the action performed by the Actor can be cancelled through context. However, cancelling the result is not possible with the abilitative/resultative *ma*-form of verbs, as the sentence in (14) shows.

(13) **Action verb with cancellable result** (Dell 1983: 187-188)
a. In-alis ko ang mantsa, pero naubusan ako kaagad ng sabon,
REAL[UV]-go_away 1S.GEN NOM stain but run.out.of 1S.NOM promptly GEN soap
'I removed (rather: tried to remove) the stain, but I promptly ran out of soap,

kaya hindi ko na-alis
therefore not 1S.GEN ABIL:ma.REAL-go_away
therefore I did/could not remove it.'

(14) **Result verb with uncancellable result** (Dell 1983: 187-188)

a. Na-alis ko ang mantsa, pero naubusan ako kaagad ng sabon,
ABIL:ma.REAL-go_away 1S.GEN NOM stain but run.out.of 1S.NOM promptly GEN soap
'I removed (rather: managed to remove) the stain, but I promptly ran out of soap,

*kaya hindi ko na-alis
therefore not 1S.GEN ABIL:ma.REAL-go_away
therefore I did/could not remove it.'

Based on these data, Kroeger (1993:83) arrives at the conclusion that action predicates in Tagalog assert a maneuver and the intention to bring about a result, but not the result itself. The result is only implicated. Result predicates (marked by *ma-/na-*), on the other hand, are said to assert the result and presuppose the action. Kroeger (1993) recurs to RRG-style decompositions and suggests that action predicates should contain the Logical Structure predicates DO' for agency and **INTEND** for intention in order to distinguish action from result predicates. This would give us a representation similar to the one given in (15a).

(15) a. action predicate: *to remove*
[DO' (x, [**do'** (x, [**remove'** (x, y) ∧ INTEND (x, [BECOME **removed'** (y)])])])]
b. result predicate: *to remove*
[[**do'** (x, [**remove'** (x, y)])] CAUSE [BECOME **removed'** (y)])]]

These representations are not unproblematic for the following reasons: (i) the representation in (15a) gives the impression that all action predicates are necessarily verbs taking intentional agents, which is not the case, as we will see in the coming chapters; and (ii) the fact that the action is only presupposed in result predicates is not captured in the decomposition (15b). Clearly, the question is how to capture presuppositions and implicatures in semantic decompositions. One suggestion has been put forward by Park (1995). Park represents Korean verbs that only implicate a final result with a possibility operator @, as in (16). This operator signals that the result may be brought about, but does not have to be brought about.

(16) action predicate: *to remove* with possibility operator @
[[**do'** (x, [**remove'** (x, y)])] @ CAUSE [BECOME **removed'** (y)])]]

Similar suggestions with respect to the meaning of Undergoer voice in terms of properties like 'intentionality' have been made by Nolasco (2005) and Saclot (2006). These will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 6.

There is additional evidence that verb forms are not tightly linked to one Aktionsart class. A good point in case is the affix /*ma-*/ which signals that a result has been brought about, but may either yield a dynamic two-place predicate with an abilitative reading (17a) or a one-place predicate with a stative reading (17b) with the same stem. It is this second reading of *ma*-verbs that motivated Kroeger to assume that the action is only presupposed with these verbs. Similarly, stative verbs like 'to love' and 'to sleep' are happily translated as either stative or dynamic change of state verbs, as (17c, d) show.

(17) **Stative versus eventive readings for the same voice form**

a. Na-alis ko ang mantas.
POT:ma.REAL-go_away 1S.GEN NOM stain
'I removed (managed to remove) the stain.'

b. Na-alis ang mantas.
STAT:ma.REAL-go_away NOM stain
'The stain is/was removed'

c. Um-ibig ang babae sa lalake.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$love NOM woman DAT man
'The woman loved/fell in love with the man.'

d. Na-tu~tulog ang babae.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$-IPFV~sleep NOM woman
'The woman is asleep/is falling asleep.'

To my knowledge, there are no comprehensive studies on Vendler classes in Philippine languages based on the well-known tests cited in Van Valin/LaPolla 1997 apart from the already mentioned work by Wu (2006). Wu notes many problems with respect to the tests she applies; one of the most serious is that speakers do not seem to agree on resulting meanings when the tests are applied and tend to offer more than one meaning. Given that even the most fundamental distinction between static and dynamic verbs does not seem to be coded by verbal affixes in an unambiguous way in Philippine-type languages, this finding is not surprising. It is obviously not easy to classify verbs according to their aspectual classes, as has

also been pointed out by Saclot (2006), who is a native speaker of Tagalog, unfortunately without further explication. However, Saclot still stresses the role of telicity and voice choice for incremental verbs based on a number of different tests discussed in chapter 6.

3.2 Participant-orientation in Tagalog

From a cross-linguistic perspective, there seems to be evidence that aspectual structure and thematic structure both play a role in determining argument structure and argument realisation. This, however, does not necessarily imply that they play the same role in all languages. I suggest that they may do so to different degrees depending on whether the language is an event-centered language or a participant-centered language. In contrast to languages like English and German, Tagalog is strongly participant-oriented. This fact is reflected on the one hand in its argument-focusing voice morphology, on the other hand in its lexicon in general. Instead of abstracting away from situations, as is done in languages like English and German for example in the case of 'to wash (hands, face, laundry etc.)', the Tagalog lexicon has a strong tendency to develop object-specific verbs, as shown in the examples (18)-(20) for 'to wash', 'to cut' and 'to lie'. The examples are taken from English (1977) and do not represent an exhaustive list. Note that the stems very often do not denote the object, but the action involving the object.

(18) 'to wash'

a. *mag-hilamos* 'to wash the face' (*hilamos* 'washing of face')
b. *mag-hinaw* 'to wash the hands/feet' (*hinaw* 'washing of hands and feet')
c. *mag-mumog* 'to wash the mouth' (*mumog* 'washing of the mouth')
d. *mag-laba* 'to wash clothes' (*laba* 'laundry')
e. *mag-gugo* 'to wash hair' (*gugo* 'shampoo')

(19) 'to cut'

a. *gumupit* 'to cut with scissors' (*gupít* 'cut made by scissors')
b. *tumaga* 'to cut with a bolo' (*tagâ* 'incision made by bolo')
c. *tumabas* 'to cut (out) a dress' (*tabas* 'cut of dress')
d. *tumiba* 'to cut down a plant' (*tibâ* 'cutting of a plant')
e. *pumugot* 'to cut off a head' (*pugot* 'headless')
f. *mang-hinuko* 'to cut off nails' (*hinuko* 'cutting of finger- or toenails')

(20) ‘to lie’

a. *humigâ* ‘to lie in a flat position on the ground’ (*higâ* ‘lying down, horizontal’)

b. *tumihaya* ‘to lie on one’s back’ (*tihaya* ‘lying flat on one’s back’)

c. *dumapâ* ‘to lie on one’s stomach’ (*dapâ* ‘lying face down’)

d. *humandusáy* ‘to lie prostrate’ (*handusay* ‘lying prostrate’)

In a participant-centered language, it is very likely that the linking system is less influenced by Aktionsart distinctions than by properties of participants. This is not to deny that the properties of the participants may play a role for the aspectual interpretation of verbs. While it would be nice if the three Undergoer affixes coded the difference between the three different kinds of changes associated with the distinction semelfactive/achievement/accomplishment, this does not seem to be the case. Rather, as Himmelmann (1987) and others suggested Undergoer voice affixes seem to encode the relative degree of affectedness (a notion that needs a clear definition to be of use) and more fine-grained aspects of event participants. This is a very prominent view in Philippine linguistics and will also be reviewed in chapter 6.

As the examples in (21a, b) with the verb *to open* show, the Undergoer argument *the door* may be signaled on the verb by either */i-/* or */-an/*. It has been suggested that this is because a door is a complex object and can be thought of as the moving part (of the door) (identified by /*i-*/) or the non-moving opening that can be blocked or unblocked (identified by /*-an*/). In contrast to *the door*, the Undergoer argument *the eye* is only coded with */i-/* in Tagalog, suggesting that it is viewed as something moving and not as a simple opening, as illustrated in (21c, d).

(21) a. Bukas-an mo ang pinto!
open-UV:an 2S.GEN NOM door
‘You open the door.’

b. I-bukas mo ang pinto!
UV:i-open 2S.GEN NOM door
‘You open the door.’

c. I-bukas mo ang bike lane!
open-UV:an 2S.GEN NOM bike lane
‘You open the bike lane!’

d. #Buks-an mo ang bike lane!
open-UV:an 2S.GEN NOM bike lane
Intended: 'You open the bike lane!'

The voice affixes seem to look into the finer semantics of the argument expressions that the verb selects, i.e. their 'qualia structure' according to Pustejovsky (1995). In the examples in (21), the nature of the constitutive parts of the object denoted by the argument expression seem to be relevant for the acceptability of the voice affixes. While a door consists of a moveable doorpanel (profiled by *i-*) and an opening (profiled by *–an*), the bike lane only consists of the latter, so that the *i*-form of the verb is rejected with this object argument.

Similarly, properties like ability and intention, mentioned in the analysis of the data above, are much less about abstract Aktionsart notions than about properties of the referents of arguments. The question is, of course, whether these meaning components should be thought of as part of the voice affix function or inferences.

Neither LDG nor RRG propose decomposition representations conceived for languages with a linking system that is first and foremost participant-centered and sensitive to very fine distinctions on that level, although within RRG there have been first attempts (cf. Foley & Van Valin 1984, Van Valin & Wilkins1996).

For the time being, the important point to note here is that it seems to be difficult to come up with reliable tests for verbal Aktionsart classes in Tagalog,and that the voice markers do not seem to mirror classic Aktionsart distinctions. This does not mean that the distribution of the voice markers does not depend to a certain degree on the Aktionsart *possibilities* associated with a particular verb. However, in this case we do not talk about the basic Aktionsart class a verb lexicalises, but rather about a set of Aktionsart classes it may denote due to the different scenarios that are conceptually possible. A more conceptually-based approach to event-structures was developed by Latrouite & Naumann (1999a, b, c) and Naumann (2000). As this theory will be taken up again in chapter 6, a short outline is presented in the next section.

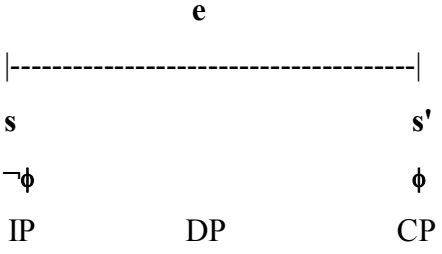
3.3 Verbs and their event structure

Starting from the basic idea that verbs denote a set of events of a certain event type (Chierchia 1998 speaks of 'kinds') and that dynamic verbs express changes, Latrouite (2001) assumes that an event type can be characterised via event-structural properties that manifest themselves with respect to the participants involved in the event. Verb classes, in turn, can be

defined with reference to these event-structural properties. These ideas go back to DES (Dynamic Event Semantics) as first envisioned in Naumann (1995) and further developed in Latrouite & Naumann (1999, 2000a, b) and Naumann (2000). In this framework, non-stative verbs are analysed as expressing or at least presupposing changes. The intuitive notion of change comprises two perspectives that are complementary to each other: (i) something (an object: event, action) which brings about the change (a view generally held in Event Semantics), (ii) something (a result) that is brought about by the change which did not hold before the change occurred (a view generally held in Dynamic Logic).

For the verb phrase 'eat an apple', *change as an object* is the event of type 'eating' and *change as a transformation* is a state in which there is a complete apple transformed into a state where the apple no longer exists. For the activity verb 'run', *change as an object* is the event of type 'running' and *change as a transformation* is a state s transformed into a state s' relative to which someone has traversed a non-empty path. The relation between the two perspectives can be described in terms of Moens and Steedmans' (1988) nucleus-structure. The execution sequence (runtime) of an event can be split into a beginning point (inception point) s at which a certain property ϕ does not hold, an end-point (culmination point) s' at which the property ϕ holds, and a development portion on which the event occurs (22).

(22)



$\alpha(e) = s$	beginning-point of e	(Inception Point: IP)
$\omega(e) = s'$	end-point of e	(Culmination Point: CP)
$\tau(e) = (s, s')$	execution sequence of e	(Development Portion: DP),
$[\tau(e) = \{s'' \mid s \leq s'' \leq s'\}]$		

The relation between changes as objects and changes as transformations of states is in general not one-to-one, but one-to-many, i.e. an event brings about different results and therefore corresponds to different transformations of states. In the case of an event e of type '(*x*) *walk all the way (to Luneta)*' at least two sorts of results can be distinguished:

(i) the minimal result that must be brought about for an event to classify as an event of type 'walking', i.e. a non-empty path has been traversed

(ii) the maximal result that can be brought about by an event of type 'walking': x is at/hasreached z (e.g. Luneta).

If only the minimal result is brought about, the event is of type activity ('x walks (in Luneta)'). If in addition to the minimal result the maximal result is brought about, the event is of type accomplishment ('x walks all the way (to Luneta)'). Thus, different types of results are constitutive of different aspectual classes.[32] As has been shown in Latrouite & Naumann (1999a), by decomposing events into results with respect to partaking participants, it is not only possible to describe and characterise Vendler's aspectual classes in a more formal way, but also numerous other classes (e.g. the class of transfer verbs) that may be of relevance in a language.

The difference between minimal and maximal results can be described as follows: while maximal results *only* hold at the endpoint of an event and at no other point of the execution sequence, minimal results hold at intermediate points of the execution sequence. These results are called minimal because they refer to a change that must be brought about minimally (e.g. 'a non-empty path has been traversed'), so that an event can be classified as being of the same type as the event denoted by the verb (of type 'walking', for instance). In more technical terms: minimal results hold at intermediate points, which are end-points of sub-events that are of the same type as the event denoted by the verb; i.e. in the case of the activity 'to walk', these sub-events must be 'smaller' walking events (e.g. two steps).[33] The table in 3.2 sums up the informal definitions of the two types of results given in this section.

Table 3.2 Types of Results

Maximal result. The result that holds only at the endpoint of the execution sequence and at no other point.
Minimal result. The result that holds at intermediate points of the execution sequence (that are end points of sub-events that are of the same type as the event denoted by the verb).

[32] It was noted in the Introduction that the Tagalog voice affixes /-*in*/ and /-*an*/ induce exactly this difference in meaning when affixed to the verb stem *lakad* 'to walk'.

[33] Results holding at endpoints of sub-events, but are *not* of the same basic event type as the verb are all the results brought about that constitute a necessary part of a walking event, but do not yet constitute a step or a small series of steps that can be classified as 'walking'. Note that, indeed, Tagalog verbs seem to be able to refer to this very first phase of the execution sequence (Dell 1983).

Analysing Tagalog Undergoer voice affix distribution, Latrouite/Naumann (1999a) propose the following characterization of verb classes.

Table 3.3 Charaterisation of verb classes

Type of event	**Minimal result**	**Maximal result**
Atomic:		
Point/Achievement[34]	no	**yes**
Transfer	no	**yes** (2)
Non-atomic:		
Activity	**yes**	no
Accomplishment	**yes**	**yes**

The distinction between atomic and non-atomic events refers to the overall structure of events. Atomic events are either *instantaneous events* or *P-atomic events*. The execution sequence of atomic instantaneous events, denoted by point verbs and achievement verbs, consists of a singleton, $\alpha(e) = \omega(e)$ (the beginning-point equals the end-point).[35] They do not have proper parts and they presuppose the existence of another event of which they are the boundary. Examples are the point (semelfactive) verb 'knock' (23) and the achievement verb 'arrive' (24). For 'knock', the result ('sound produced by hitting against something') holds at the only point of the execution sequence. This result can only be evaluated with respect to the execution sequence of the presupposed event, e.g. 'the moving of the hand towards the door'. As the event of type 'knocking' constitutes the endpoint of the presupposed moving event, the result holding at this point has to be classified as the maximal result.

(23) *katok* 'to knock'

$e_{presupposed}$ e

----------|----------

s = s'

$\neg\phi$ ϕ $\neg\phi$

[34] Points and achievements as well as other aspectual classes are further differentiated in Latrouite & Naumann (2000). For one of the differences between points and achievements see further below.

[35] For a diverging perspective see Rothstein (2004).

Achievement verbs like ‘arrive’ differ from point verbs in that they imply the result to be valid for a certain amount of time even after the event has taken place. Concerning the evaluation of the result, however, they are comparable to point verbs, e.g. for ‘arrive’ the result (‘x is located at y’) holds at the only point of the corresponding execution-sequence. Once again, this result can only be evaluated with respect to the presupposed event, i.e. the moving of x towards y. It follows that the result has to be classified as the maximal result.

(23) *dating* ‘to arrive’

$e_{presupposed}$ e

----------|----------

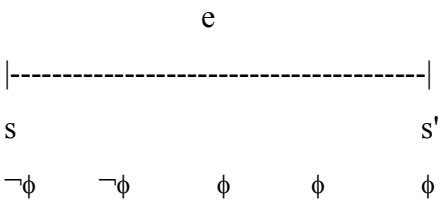
s/s'

¬ϕ ϕ ϕ

P-atomic events denoted by transfer verbs like ‘give’ and ‘take’ are not necessarily instantaneous, although an instantaneous reading is perfectly compatible with their meaning. Regardless of the question whether they denote instantaneous events or events with an extended runtime, they can be characterised as events of type P that do not have proper initial stages of the same basic type. This means that, if we assume the two results, ‘x is not (no longer) at y’ and ‘x is at z’ to be associated with an event of type ‘giving’, both properties need to be valid for an event to be able to classify as a transfer event. If only ‘x is not at y’ is valid, y might simply have lost x, and if only ‘x is at z’ is valid, z might simply have found x; neither result in itself is enough to qualify for a transfer. Hence, both results are maximal results. They differ, however, in one respect: while the result ‘x is at z’ implies the result ‘x is not at y’, the result ‘x is not at y’ does not imply the result ‘x is at z’. This implication hierarchy can be taken as a basis to distinguish the two kinds of results. As chapter 6 will show, this distinction will indeed be necessary to account for the Tagalog data.

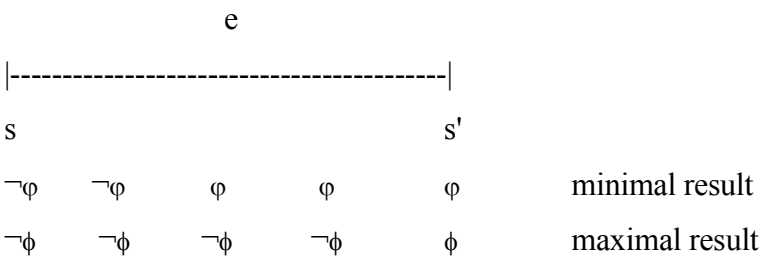
In contrast, non-atomic events, denoted by accomplishment verbs and activity verbs, are events of a certain type P that do have initial stages of the same basic type P. In the case of the activity verb ‘run’, the result (‘non-empty path traversed’) holds at intermediate points of the execution-sequence of an event of this type. Thus, the result has to be classified as a minimal result. (The negative evaluation of the result at the beginning of the execution sequence refers to the preparatory phase of the running event, e.g. bending the knees, lifting one foot etc.)

(25) *takbo* ‘to run’



For accomplishment verbs like ‘eat’, two results have to be evaluated, the result ‘partial decrease in the mass of an object’ and the result ‘mass of the object equals zero’. While the first result holds at intermediate points of the execution sequence and thus qualifies as a minimal result, the second result only holds at the endpoint and qualifies as a maximal result.

(26) *kain* ‘to eat’



As already mentioned, decomposing events into results with respect to partaking participants provides a basis for describing and characterising not only Vendler’s aspectual classes in a more formal way, but also numerous other classes that may be of grammatical relevance in a language. In fact, this approach offers a basis for describing all sorts of verb taxonomies, aspectual taxonomies and non-aspectual taxonomies (as shown in Naumann 2000).

4. The Nature of the Case System: Different Approaches

Among the many analyses that have been proposed, the ergative view, which often implies the stipulation of two homophonous *ng*-markers, is probably the most widespread. Table 4.1 gives an overview of the most frequently used case labels.[36]

Table 4.1 Comparison of case marker labels

Case markers	*Tagalog as Ergative* (e.g. Payne 1982, Starosta 2002, De Guzman 1997, Aldridge 2004)	*Tagalog as Erg-like system* (e.g. De Guzman 1988, Maclachlan 1996, Nakamura 1996)	*Tagalog as Accusative system* (e.g. Bell 1978)	*Tagalog as Acc-like system* (e.g. Bloomfield 1917, Kroeger 1991/3)
ang	ABS	NOM (=ABS)	NOM	NOM
ng $_{\text{Actor}}$	ERG	ERG	$\text{OBL}_{\text{Agent}}$	GEN
ng $_{\text{Patient}}$	$\text{OBL}_{\text{Patient}}$	GEN/ $\text{ACC}_{\text{inherent case}}$	ACC	GEN
sa	OBL	OBL	OBL	DAT

During the 1970s, relational grammarians like Bell (1978) and Perlmutter and Postal (1977) have analysed verbs with the voice affixes /*mag*-/ and /*um*-/ as active and verbs with /*i*-/, /-*in*/ and /-*an*/ as passive, suggesting an accusative analysis of the case system. However, starting with Cena (1977 an increasing number of linguists, e.g. Payne (1982), De Guzman (1988), Starosta (2002), Aldridge (2004), Nolasco (2005), have suggested that Tagalog is ergative.

As already mentioned in the introduction, Kroeger (1993) came up with three tests to show that *ng*-marked Actors and Undergoers never lose their status as core arguments, regardless of the voice form that is chosen. This is not yet compelling evidence against ergativity per se. It has been noted by Dixon (1972), Blake (1977), Van Valin (2005) and others that in quite a few ergative languages the Undergoer argument is never treated as a peripheral argument, but retains its status. Van Valin (2005) suggests that the difference between the passive of accusative languages and the antipassive of ergative languages 'lies in

[36] Some Tagalog specialists like Himmelmann (2005b) use the labels *Spec*(ificity marker) for *ang*, *Loc*(ative) for *sa* and *Gen*(itive) for *ng*. The prediction of case distribution and case alternations is not a major concern of these descriptions, as they think of these markers not as case markers per se, but particles.

the different syntactic potential of actor vs. undergoer. Actor arguments are powerful syntactically and typically possess many controller and pivot properties, while undergoers typically do not. Hence leaving an undergoer as a direct core argument, regardless of whether it is a macrorole or not, is unlikely to lead to confusions regarding the agreement controller, reflexive antecedent or pivot in certain constructions. On the other hand, having the actor remain a direct core argument leads to potential ambiguity with respect to reflexive control, control of missing arguments in complex constructions, etc.' (Van Valin 2005: 117).

Clearly, the case labels used in the previous chapter and in the transcriptions above indicate that the ergative hypothesis is not adopted in this thesis. Before I turn to my own analysis, I will first review a number of previous approaches to the case system, most importantly the data put forward in support of the ergative/ergative-like view. Moreover, I will lay out why I think classic phrase structure approaches to languages like Tagalog are problematic and why I prefer a lexicalist approach. The goal of the first part of the chapter is not only to provide a critical evaluation of arguments that have been put forward in support of other analyses – especially in support of two homophonous case markers *ng*$_1$/*ng*$_2$, and nominative assignment in terms of phrase structure – but also to give an overview of all relevant data and language facts determining case assignment in Tagalog. Oftentimes different accounts are based on different sets of data, stressing different facts about the language. My aim is to look at the entire range of facts that need to be incorporated into an approach to the case system.

4.1 Reviewing data put forward in support of the ergative view

The ergative view has been prevalent since the 1980s and is still the most widespread. The arguments put forward comprise all levels of grammar:

(i) *Morphology*: Undergoer voice (UV) is less marked than Actor voice (AV) (= The ergative form is less marked than the antipassive form).

(ii) *Syntax*: there is morphological and there is abstract case. *Ng*-marked Actors in UV constructions and *ng*-marked Undergoers in AV constructions are not assigned case in the same position, as they do not have the same syntactic possibilities; thus, in terms of abstract case, two *ng*-markers must be assumed.

(iii) *Semantics*: AV is semantically less transitive than UV; evidence is the non-specific reading of Undergoers in AV constructions and their specific reading in UV constructions.

4.1.1 Morphological evidence put forward in support of the ergative analysis

The morphological argument surely is the weakest and has been discussed and refuted repeatedly by linguists like Schachter (1976, 1977), Foley & Van Valin (1984) and Kroeger (1993). Still, it keeps reappearing, sometimes in less controversial, but also less conclusive versions like 'UV is marked differently from AV' (Starosta 2002). While there are verbs that are less morphologically complex in their UV form (1b) than in their AV form (1a), there are also examples in which the AV form is morphologically less complex (2a, b) than the UV form (2c). Recall that the affix /*ma*-/ in (1b, c) is sometimes analysed as a simple stative marker and sometimes as an Undergoer voice stative marker. For reasons of simplicity I will treat /*ma*-/ as one of many Undergoer voice affixes here, but see chapter 7 for a more detailed discussion of /*ma*-/.

(1) **Actor voice more complex than Undergoer voice** (Maclachlan 1996:21-23)

a. **Naka**-kita ang lalaki ng hayop.
AV:maka.REAL-see NOM man GEN animal
'The man saw an animal.'

b. **Na-**kita ng lalaki ang hayop.
UV:ma.REAL-see GEN man NOM animal
'The/a man saw the animal.'

c. **Na-**tulog ang lalaki.
UV:ma.REAL-sleep NOM man
'The man slept.'

(2) **Undergoer voice more complex than Actor voice** (Maclachlan 1996: 25-27)

a. Ba~basa ang lalaki ng tula.
IPFV~read NOM man GEN poem
'The man will read a/the poem. '

b. La~lakad ang lalaki.
IPFV~walk NOM man
'The man will walk.'

c. Ba~basa-**hin** ng lalaki ang tula.
IPFV~read-UV:in GEN man NOM poem
'The poem will be read by the/(a) man.'

It has already been pointed out in the previous chapter that it is not rare to use verbs without affixes (i.e. voice affixes and the realis affix) in spoken Tagalog. Relevant examples are repeated in (3) and (4). The default choice for *ang*-assignment, however, is not always the Undergoer, as might be expected under the ergative hypothesis. The context plays an important role: in realis contexts it is the Undergoer (3), whereas in irrealis contexts it is the Actor (4).

(3) **Realis context without voice marking** (Schachter 1995: 42-43)

a. **Hawak** ni Mary ang libro.
Hold GEN Mary NOM book.
'Mary held/holds the book. '

b. #**Hawak** ng libro si Mary
Hold GEN book NOM Mary.
'Mary held/holds a book. '

(4) **Irrealis context without voice marking** (Himmelmann 1987: 165)

a. <Um>uwi na tayo, Daddy! **Uwi** na tayo!
<AV:um>go_home already 1 p.NOM D go_home already 1p.NOM
'Let's go home, Daddy! Let's go home!'

b. **Hampas** na kayo, mga bata, sa mga langgam!
beat already 2p.NOM PL Kind DAT PL ant
'Beat the ants, children!'

Thus, neither in written nor in spoken Tagalog is one voice form morphologically more basic or more marked than the other. Rather, the data above show that there are some unmarked or morphologically less complex forms in both paradigms. Note furthermore that Tagalog is not morphologically ergative in the sense that the Actor argument of a transitive verb bears a case different from the subject argument of an intransitive unaccusative verb, as illustrated in (5) for the verbs *drink* and *fall*. No difference in case marking – and interestingly none in voice marking[37] either – is observed.

[37] Obviously, unaccusative verbs that take a Patient argument call the status of /*um*-/ as an Actor voice affix into question. We will return to this problem in chapter 6.

(5) a. <Um>i~inom ang nanay ng gatas.
<AV:um>[REAL]IPFV~drink NOM mother GEN milk
'The mother is/was drinking milk.'

b. B<um>agsak ang nanay sa putik.
<AV:um>[REAL]fall NOM mother DAT puddle
'The mother fell into the puddle.' (cf. Rackowski 2002a: 114)

The fact that none of the core arguments is morphologically marked as oblique, neither in the AV-construction nor in the UV-construction, is dismissed as a mere surface phenomenon by advocates of the ergative hypothesis. The approaches differ as to whether they insist on the intransitivity of AV-forms (De Guzman 1997, Starosta 2002) or whether they merely insist on the existence of two different *ng*-markers (Maclachlan 1996, Maclachlan & Nakamura 1997). Three syntactic tests have been pointed out in support of the fact that *ng*-marked Undergoers are oblique (or at least 'different' from ng_{Actor}): (i) GEN/DAT-alternations, (ii) fronting in negated sentences and (iii) NOM/GEN-alternations.

4.1.2 Syntactic tests & semantic assessments in support of the ergative analysis

In chapter 2 it was mentioned that Actors and Undergoer common nouns bear genitive case. In contrast, Undergoer pronouns (which are only used for animate objects) and personal names *always* bear dative case (6b) if they are not marked by *ang*. This is true even if corresponding common nouns are usually linked by the genitive marker *ng* with the same verb (6a). This observation plus the fact that for some speakers even common nouns may bear dative case to receive a specific reading is judged by Starosta (2002) and others, who analyse dative as an oblique case marker, to be a clear indication of the oblique character of the Undergoer in Actor voice sentences. However, for many speakers the possibility of optional dative marking is restricted to marked topic constructions like (7), while in the case of Undergoer pronouns and personal names dative marking is neither optional nor restricted to the topic construction. Due to voice selection rules that will be discussed in the next chapter, for Actor voice to appear in the sentences below the topic construction must be chosen in (7).

(6) **Undergoer coded by either *ng* or *sa*, depending on the type of noun**

a. Naka-kita siya **ng** aksidente.
AV:maka.REAL-visible 3S.NOM GEN accident
'He saw an accident.'

b. Siya ang naka-kita **kay** Jose/**sa** kanila.
3S.NOM NOM AV:maka.REAL-visible DAT Jose/DAT 3PL.NONACTOR
'He is the one who saw Jose/them.' (cf. Schachter & Otanes 1972)

(7) Siya ang naka-kita **sa** aksidente.
3S.NOM NOM AV:maka.REAL-visible DAT accident
'He is the one who saw the accident.'

An Actor argument, on the other hand, may not be coded by dative in Undergoer voice sentences (8a), even if it is a pronoun or a proper noun. It must always receive genitive case (8b).

(8) **Actor argument in Undergoer voice always coded by *ng*** (p.c. Reyal Panotes)
a. *Na-kita sa kanila /kay Loida si Jose.
UV:ma.REAL-visible DAT 3P.NONACTOR/DAT Loida NOM Jose.
Intended :'They/Loida saw Jose.' or 'Jose was seen by them/Loida.'

b. Na-kita nila /ni Loida si Jose.
UV:ma.REAL-visible 3P.GEN/GEN Loida NOM Jose.
'They/Loida saw Jose.'

The conclusion that these data are evidence for the obliqueness of Undergoers in AV-constructions (and, hence, an oblique *ng*-marker) and the termhood of Actors in UV-constructions (and, hence, an ergative *ng*-marker) is hardly compelling. In fact these data shed more light on the nature of the dative case marker *sa* than on the nature of the case marker *ng*. *Sa* is obviously restricted to non-highest (Undergoer) argument positions and, in addition to this, can be used to mark high referentiality or specificity. The particle *ng* on the other hand seems to be underspecified in terms of argument hierarchy and unspecified for specificity. (This will become clearer in the following section, where specificity effects are discussed in more detail.) As pronouns and proper nouns denoting personal names are prototypically regarded as highly referential and therefore specific, obligatory dative marking is easily explained.

Another syntactic test in support of the distinction of two *ng*-markers has been put forward by Maclachlan (1996): only ng_{Actor} phrases may be positioned preverbally after

negation (9a). Positioning a *ng*$_{\text{Patient}}$ phrase preverbally yields an ungrammatical sentence (9b).

(9) **Fronting and negation** (Maclachlan 1996: 85)

a. Hindi	ng lalaki	lu~lutu-in	ang adobo.
NEG	GEN man	IPFV~cook-UV:in	NOM adobo
'The man will not cook the adobo.'			
b.*Hindi	ng adobo	mag-lu~luto	ang lalaki.
NEG	GEN adobo	AV:mag-IPFV~cook	NOM man
'The man will not cook adobo.'			

A few of my Tagalog consultants hesitantly accept sentences like (9a). They consider it bad style and insist that it is rarely used. My contention is that these sentences are formed in analogy to sentences containing unstressed pronouns. The negator *hindi* attracts phonologically unstressed particles to the preverbal position (10a). As there is no set of phonologically unstressed Undergoer personal pronouns for animates, these cannot be attracted to this position (10b). However, it is possible to take up an Undergoer by an unstressed demonstrative pronoun, as shown n (10c).

(10) a. Hindi	niya	lu~lutu-in	ang adobo.
NEG	3S.GEN	IPFV~cook-UV:in	NOM adobo
'The man will not cook the adobo.'			
b.*Hindi	sa kaniya	mag-lu~luto	ang lalaki.
NEG	DAT 3S.NONACTOR	AV:mag-IPFV~cook	NOM man
Intended: 'The man will not cook him.'			
c. Hindi	nito	mag-lu~luto	ang lalaki.
NEG	GEN.DEM	AV:mag-IPFV~cook	NOM man
'The man will not cook this.'			

It could be argued that for those few speakers who accept the sentence in (9a), the marked, preverbal position highlights the respective argument in one way or other, suggesting that the difference in grammaticality judgement could possibly be traced back to the principle of voice choice introduced in chapter 5. However, it is clear that marginal constructions with very low acceptance like (10a) do not present a good testing ground for any kind of hypothesis, disregarding the actual analysis.

De Guzman (1996:56-57) draws attention to another set of data in order to argue for the ergative analysis and the necessity of stipulating two different case particles *ng*: while Actor arguments may occur sentence-initially (as contrastive topic/focus[38]) and are marked by nominative case in Undergoer sentences (11a), Undergoers in Actor voice sentences may not (11b-d). Hence, only Actors are subject to GEN/NOM alternations, Undergoers are not.

(11) **Contrastive fronting with Actor and Undergoer** (De Guzman (1995:56-57)

a. Ang nanay, lu~lutu-in (niya) ang isda.
NOM mother IPFV~cook-UV:in 3S.GEN NOM fish
'The mother, (she) will cook the fish.'

b. *Ang isda, mag-lu~luto ang nanay.
NOM fish AV:mag-IPFV~cook NOM mother
Intended reading: 'The fish, the mother will cook.'
Impossible reading: 'The fish will cook the mother'

c. *Si Loida, mag-bi~bisita ang nanay (sa kaniya).
NOM Loida AV:mag-IPFV~visit NOM mother DAT 3S.NONACTOR
Intended reading: 'Loida, the mother will visit her.'
Impossible reading: 'Loida will visit the mother.'

d. ??Ang isda, mag-lu~luto (nito) ang nanay.
NOM fish AV:mag-IPFV~cook GEN.DEM NOM mother
Intended reading: 'The fish, the mother will cook.'
Impossible reading: 'The fish will cook the mother'

Following De Guzman's line of thought, the lack of GEN/NOM-alternations for Undergoer arguments in AV-sentences is evidence for their oblique status, and the oblique status in return is the explanation for the ungrammaticality of the examples. Sells (2000) rejects the ergative analysis on the basis of Kroeger's tests and gives a different explanation: only arguments that are linked by a clause-internal resumptive pronoun may be preposed. As there are no pronouns for non-human referents, there is no resumptive pronoun for the Undergoer

[38] According to Schachter & Otanes (1972:493) both the element before the pause and the element after the pause carry contrastive meaning. According to my Tagalog consultants only the first element carries contrastive meaning and a natural context for this kind of sentence is, for example, a situation where someone is telling on someone else. The referent of the left-dislocated element is thus viewed as one out of a set of possible referents. In this sense the left-dislocated element brings new – in the sense of 'given in context, but presented as new' – information and can be called contrastive *focus*.

argument *fish* in (11b). Sells considers dative pronouns to carry lexical rather than structural case; therefore they are not acceptable resumptive pronouns from his point of view, and cannot license the extraction of the Undergoer in (11c). As mentioned before, this analysis of dative as a purely lexical case marker is questionable in light of the fact that all pronouns in non-Actor position are necessarily dative, regardless of the status and the case marking of the corresponding common noun. Recall furthermore that it would be possible to have a demonstrative pronoun instead of a personal pronoun, as shown in (11d). Still, this resumptive pronoun does not seem to make the sentence a lot more acceptable.

The data in (11) show once again that there is an important asymmetry between Actor and Undergoer arguments that is best considered in the broader context of the cross-linguistic asymmetry between Actor versus Undergoer arguments, as described by Van Valin (2005:117). The syntactic explanation Sells offers in order to explain the acceptability judgements in (11) is not needed if it can be shown that Undergoer voice is obligatory in Tagalog as soon as the Undergoer outranks the Actor in terms of focal prominence. We will return to this point in the next chapter, where my own analysis is developed.

The question that remains is: how do we account for the possibility of double *ang*-marking, i.e. the *ang*-marking of the Actor argument in an UV sentence? This issue has been neglected in many approaches to the Tagalog case system, and is especially tough for classic phrase structure approaches. Sells offers an interesting alternative.

4.2 Sells (1998, 2000): Nominatives as A-bar phrases

On Sells' approach to Philippine languages *ang* is not considered to be the structural default case for subjects, but the default case for NPs in A-bar positions. Consequently it is to be expected that more than one argument can be marked for *ang*. However, there are restrictions, as not every NP can be *ang*-marked. Sells argues that in Philippine-type languages clause-internal *ang*-NPs need to be linked in an A-bar type relationship to a pronominal in the clause, which is an overt pronominal in Kapampangan and a null pronominal in languages like Tagalog. This null pronominal is said to be the grammatical subject, which is identified via the respective voice affix on the verb. On this view, a sentence like (11a) above is grammatical because the clause-internal *ang*-phrase is linked by the null pronominal (which is licensed by the voice morpheme on the verb) and the clause-external *ang*-phrase by a resumptive pronoun. The ungrammaticality of (11b), on the other hand, would be due to the lack of an overt resumptive pronoun for the Undergoer argument *fish*. Obviously there would have to be a ban on dative pronouns (and possibly demonstrative pronouns) as acceptable

resumptive pronouns, because they do not seem to license extra-clausal *ang*-phrases, as shown in (11c-d).[39]

Apart from the already cited example in (11a), which shows that an NP in a left-detached focus position is nominative even if the pronominal it is related to in the lower clause is not, there are further examples that seem to indicate that nominative is an A-bar case. Sells points out that only adjuncts (12a) and nominative arguments (12b) may appear sentence-initially in '*ay*-topic' constructions, suggesting that nominative arguments and adjuncts form a homogenous group, i.e. an A-bar group.[40] Note that *ay*-fronting differs from the fronting examples in (11) in that usually there is no pause between the sentence-initial phrase and the rest of the sentence, i.e. the phrase preceding *ay* is not detached from the clause, but within the clause in the position immediately preceding the core, which can be shown via its interaction with enclitic particles (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 429, 485). Therefore, on Sells' account, we do not find and need resumptive pronouns in these sentences, as the clause-internal A-bar position is licensed by the voice morphology.

(12) **Ay-fronting with adjunct and *ang*-marked argument**

a. Doòn ay ná-kita nilà ang isa-ng ma-lakì-ng higante.
DIST.LOC AY UV:ma.REAL-visible 3p.GEN NOM one-LK ST:ma-size-LK giant
'There they saw a great giant.' (Bloomfield 1917: 32)

b. Ang isa-ng ma-lakí-ng higante ay ná-kita nilá.
NOM one-LK ST:ma-size-LK giant AY UV:ma.REAL-visible 3p.GEN
'A great giant they saw.'

A word of caution is in place here. To my knowledge *ay*-inversion is still poorly understood. Schachter & Otanes (1972: 488) note that the range of 'adjuncts' that may move to the fronted position in the *ay*-construction is rather limited, e.g. it is not possible for time adverbs like *(nang) gabi* '(in the) evening' or prepositional phrases with *tungkol sa (giyera)* 'about the (story)' to be *ay*-fronted, but it is acceptable for the time adverb *(noong) Lunes* 'on Monday' and the causal adverbial *dahil doon* 'because of that'. Furthermore, as has been noted by

[39] This is a somewhat arbitrary restriction, as there are languages that allow for dative resumptive pronouns, e.g. German. (*Der große Polizist, ich hatte ihm meine Geldbörse anvertraut*.)

[40] However, recall that Kroeger's adjunct fronting was not possible with *ang*-marked phrases, suggesting that in a phrase structural approach adjuncts should be in Spec, IP while *ang*-phrases should be positioned in Spec, CP.

Richards (2005: 390) among others, a fair number of Tagalog speakers accept for the Actor to be fronted in the *ay*-construction despite Undergoer voice morphology on the verb, as shown in (13b), while Undergoers may never be fronted in these constructions if the verb is marked for Actor voice, as illustrated in (13c). This is very similar to the pattern we observed in (11) above. Interestingly, if the Actor is higher in referentiality than the Undergoer, e.g. if it is 1st person, while the Undergoer is 3rd person, as in (13d), fronting becomes less acceptable again. This shows that in Tagalog relative prominence in terms of role and referentiality, rather than the status of the argument as core argument or adjunct, plays a role in the acceptability of fronting. Given all of these data, it is difficult to maintain that *ay*-fronting is a simple and clear-cut case of adjunct fronting..

(13) ***Ay*-fronting with Actors and Undergoers** (cf. Richards 2005: 380)

a. B<in>ili niya ang tela.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$buy 1s.GEN NOM cloth
'He bought the cloth.'

b. Siya (a)'y b<in>ili ang tela.
3s.NOM AY <REAL>$_{[UV]}$buy NOM cloth
'He bought the cloth.'

c. *Ang tela ay b<um>ili ako.
NOM cloth AY <AV>$_{[REAL]}$buy 1s.NOM
Intended: 'He bought the cloth.'

d. *Ako ay b<in>ili ang tela.
1s.NOM AY <REAL>$_{[UV]}$buy NOM cloth
Intended: 'I bought the cloth.'

Following Bell (1979), Sells points out another set of double nominative constructions: possessor ascension. Out of a nominative phrase a possessor may be moved into the sentence-initial focus position, i.e. out of the (clause-internal) A-bar phrase the possessor of the Actor argument may be moved to the focal A-bar position. Possessor ascension out of other phrases is not possible. The sentences in (14) show this for Cebuano; the same is true for Tagalog, as sentences (15b) in contrast to (15d) show. Interestingly, my consultants were hesitant about the example in (15f), even if they did not rule it out.

(14) **Possessor ascension in Cebuano** (Sells 2000: 135)

a. Nagka-dugo ang mga ba'ba' sa sakup ni Iyo Bruno.
AV:mag.REAL.KA-blood NOM PL mouth DAT group GEN Iyo Bruno
'The mouths of Iyo Bruno's group were bloody.'

b. Ang sakup ni Iyo Bruno nagka-dugo ang mga ba'ba'.
NOM group GEN I B AV:mag.REAL.KA-blood NOM PL mouth
'Iyo Bruno's group, their mouths were bloody.'

c. Mi-putol na siya sa sungay sa baka.
AV:mi-cut_off already 3s.NOM DAT horn DAT cow
'He has already cut off the cow's horns.'

d. ***Sa/***ang baka mi-putol na siya sa sungay.
DAT/NOM cow AV:mi-cut_off already 3s.NOM DAT horn
Intended: 'The cow, he has already cut off his horns.'

(15) **Possessor ascension in Tagalog** (p.c. Ellen Flores)

a. D<um>ugo ang bibig ng kapatid ni Iyo Bruno.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$blood NOM mouth GEN brother GEN Iyo Bruno
'The mouth of Iyo Bruno's brother was bloody.'

b. Ang kapatid ni Iyo Bruno, d<um>ugo ang bibig niya.
NOM brother GEN Iyo Bruno <AV>$_{[REAL]}$blood NOM mouth 3s.GEN
'Iyo Bruno's brother, his mouth was bloody.'

c. P<um>utol siya ng sungay ng kalabaw.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$cut_off 3s.NOM GEN horn GEN cow
'He has cut off the cow's horn(s).'

d. ?**Sa/***Ang kalabaw, p<um>utol siya ng sungay niya.
DAT/NOM cow <AV>$_{[REAL]}$cut_off 3s.NOM GEN horn 3s.GEN
Intended: 'The cow, he has cut off his horn(s).'

e. P<in>utol niya ang sungay ng kalabaw.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$cut_off. 3s.NOM NOM horn GEN cow
'He has cut off the cow's horn(s).'

f. ?Ang kalabaw, p<in>utol niya ang sungay niya.
NOM cow <REAL>[UV]cut_off 3s. GEN NOM horn 3s.GEN
Intended: 'The cow, he has cut off his horn(s).'

On Sells' account of nominative as an A-bar position marker, the grammaticality judgements on certain double nominative sentences may be explained. There is, however, a set of data that calls into question the idea of (null) pronominals licensing *ang*-NPs. In the recent perfective Tagalog verbs come without voice marking. As a consequence they do not assign *ang*-case (16a). However, it is possible to prepose the Undergoer argument and mark it by *ang* (16b), despite the fact that there is no resumptive personal pronoun for human Undergoer arguments and disregarding the fact that there is no voice morphology to license a null pronominal either. Not all, but many speakers also find it possible for the Actor argument to move to the sentence-initial position and be marked by *ang* (16c) (compare Richards (2005) for a similar finding). These grammaticality judgements seem to be are rather problematic for the pronominal analysis.

(16) a. Kabi-bigay na lamang ng nanay ng liham sa guro.
REC.PFV-give just only GEN mother GEN letter DAT teacher
'The mother has just given a letter to the teacher.'

b. Ang liham ay kabi-bigay na lamang ng nanay sa guro.
NOM letter ay REC.PFV-give just only GEN mother DAT teacher
'The letter, the mother has just given (it) to the teacher.'

c. ?Ang nanay ay kabi-bigay na lamang ng liham sa guro.
NOM mother ay REC.PFV-give just only GEN letter DAT teacher
'The mother has just given a letter to the teacher.'

Existential sentences are equally problematic for this approach. As will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, Actor arguments usually get marked for nominative in existential Undergoer voice sentences like (17).

(17) **May** **i-**pà~pa-kíta ako sa iyó.
EXIST UV:i-IPFV~CAUS-visible 1s.NOM DAT 2s.NONACT
'There is something I have to show you.' (Himmelmann 2002: 10)

If, as these sentences above suggest, *ang* basically 'licenses itself' (Sells 2000: 120), even regardless of the presence of pronouns licensed by voice affixes, then we need a different approach to explain the grammaticality judgements with respect to the sentences discussed in this chapter. In the next chapter, I will suggest that the prominence evaluation principles underlying voice choice and *ang*-marking are the key to the solution.

Regardless of the problems posed by recent perfective forms, Sells has contributed significantly to further research by making double *ang*-marking an issue and pointing out that discourse functions (in his approach NADJ – Nominative adjunct – and FOCUS) must be defined and taken into account for nominative assignment. It seems to be obvious that discourse functions and information structure cannot be ignored for Tagalog case assignment; and it is equally clear that referential properties are just as important for case distribution in Tagalog. In Sells' approach, specificity is more of an epiphenomenon, following from his assumption that nominative NPs are linked by null pronominals licensed by the respective voice morphemes. Note, however, that the argument identified by the voice morphology need not be specific/referential in the sense of being individualised and/or identifiable in a given context (cf. Givón 1978: 293). It may for example be generic, i.e. it may refer to a whole class, as in (18a), or to a new and not identifiable member of a class (as its representative for its class) as in (12), here repeated as (18b).

(18) **Generic, contextually non-identifiable and non-specific nominative arguments**

a. Ang mga bata ay dapat mag-pakita ng iya-ng ina.
NOM PL child AY should AV:mag-respect GEN their-LK mother
'Children should respect their mother.' (English 1977: 864 simplified)

b. Doón ay ná-kita nilá ang isa-ng ma-lakí-ng higante
DIST.LOC AY UV:ma.REAL-see 3P.GEN NOM one-LK MA-size-LK giant
'There they saw a great giant.' (Bloomfield 1917: 32)

c. Guro ang nag-bigay ng aklat sa bata.
Teacher NOM AV:mag.REAL-give GEN book DAT child
'It was a teacher who has given a/the book to the child.' (Potet 1995: 27)

Whether or not the cases of genericity exemplified in the sentences in (18a-b) can be subsumed under the notion of specificity is a matter of definition. As long as we do not equate the notion of specificity with 'individuation', it surely can be defined in such a way as to

comprise these two cases. There seems to be only one counterexample to the claim that the argument identified by the voice morphology must be specific: in the topic construction (18c) the argument identified by the voice affix may appear without the marker *ang* in order to indicate true non-specificity. As far as I am aware, the majority of linguists analyse the sentence-initial noun phrase as a predicate rather than an argument of the verb. I will not pursue the discussion surrounding this particular construction any further, but see Law (2005) for possible problems with the predicate view.

Specificity effects are an intriguing and important issue in Philippine languages. The question is, of course: which place and function do we attribute to a feature like [+/-specific]? Most recent approaches see specificity as the key to Tagalog case marking. I discuss and present two of them in the next section. It will become obvious that, even though these approaches differ in important points, they basically face the same drawbacks.

4.3 Maclachlan (1996), Rackowski (2002a, b): Specificity as the key to Tagalog case marking

Maclachlan (1996) and Maclachlan & Nakamura (1997), who advocate a variant of the ergative hypothesis, make specificity (equating it with a translation of the respective NP by 'a certain/specific', i.e. identifiability of the referent to the speaker) a central tenet of their approach to the Tagalog case system. Based on her own findings and backed by a similar proposal by Schachter (1976), Maclachlan (1996) suggests that Actor and Undergoer voice forms should be considered basic voice forms,[41] acknowledging that neither of the two forms is less transitive than the other. At the same time Maclachlan still sees a need to distinguish two kinds of *ng*-markers: an ergative *ng*-marker for Actors and an *inherent* case marker (which she calls accusative) of the same form for Patients.[42] Thus, the main difference from canonical ergative languages, from Maclachlan's point of view, is the status of the object case

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[41] Two findings speak in favour of this analysis. First of all, both voice forms have **high text frequency**. Constantino (1971: 126) reports that out of 500 sentences taken from short stories, 41% were AV and 30,4% were non-AV (22,6% were non-verbal). A similar result was obtained by McFarland (1984: 236), who examined 5000 sentences: 1344 sentences were AV (*um-*: 645, *m/nag-*: 452, *m/naka*: 247), whereas 1660 sentences were UV *(-in/in-:* 842, *m/na*: 818). Secondly, both forms are **acquired early.** While Galang (1982), examining a group of 3-8 year-old children, found that the youngest children were producing more UV than AV forms as far as *um-* and *mag-* verbs are concerned, De Guzman (1992), who studied the acquisition of the *maka*-class, stressed that AV forms were produced and comprehended earlier than UV forms.

[42] Case labels are of no importance to Maclachlan; her main focus is on VP-internal versus VP-external case marking.

in antipassive (i.e. AV) constructions: while in most ergative languages the object is marked by an oblique marker, it is said to receive *inherent case* in Tagalog, i.e. a structural case assigned within VP and restricted to arguments bearing the Patient role. Adams and Manaster-Ramer's (1988) study of specificity effects is cited as evidence for the Patient's distinct syntactic position within VP. Briefly stated, their findings are that ng_A phrases may be either specific or non-specific, while ng_P phrases *must be non-specific.* The latter property is argued to be a characteristic of VP-internal complements. The aforementioned fact that there are only personal pronouns for ng_A forms, but not for ng_P forms is considered to be related to this specificity requirement. Instrumental complements marked by *ng* (19) are not considered, but it could probably be argued in this framework that they form a third group of arguments with a distinct syntactic position and thus a distinct case marker $ng_{Instrument}$. (According to my consultants, instrument phrases are preferably understood as specific, but compare Rackowski (2002b), who got different judgements.)

(19) H<in>iwa ko ng kutsilyo ang cherry para kay Coralie.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$cut 1s.GEN GEN knife NOM cherry for DAT Coralie
'I cut the cherry for Coralie with the knife.'

A serious problem for this account is that the data are not as straightforward as Maclachlan & Nakamura (1997) suggest. It is not always the case that *ng*-marked Patient arguments must be non-specific. In Beneficiary constructions like (20) they can get both a specific or a non-specific reading.

(20) **Beneficiary construction with specific Patient argument** (Rackowski 2002b:472)
Hindi i-pag-luto ng lalaki ng adobo ang asawa.
NEG UV:i-PAG-cook GEN man GEN adobo NOM wife
'The man will not cook (the) adobo for his wife.'

Rackowski (2002a), who, like Maclachlan, works within a phrase structure framework and also attributes a central role to specificity (a feature to be checked and inducing movement from VP to the subject agreement position in her analysis), accounts for the specific reading of *ng*-marked objects in Beneficiary constructions by a tucking-in mechanism: specific Patients/Themes that have received VP-internal case (*ng*) are allowed to raise and tuck in below the Beneficiary subject after the features of v (here specificity of the Beneficiary

argument) have been checked. As T-agreement only spells out the features of the closest argument, the verb does not show a Patient voice affix, but a Beneficiary voice affix. This mechanism helps to explain the two possible readings of *ng*-marked Undergoers in a Beneficiary construction. However, there are many more cases that make it difficult to maintain that objects marked by *ng* really do have the distinctive property of non-specificity that is said to be characteristic of VP-internal arguments. Two problematic examples are noted by Maclachlan and Nakamura themselves: the recent perfective construction (21a) and cleft constructions (21b). In both contexts, the so-called Specificity Effect for their – as they call it – inherently case-marked objects is neutralized for no apparent reason, i.e. a *ng*-marked object can get and preferably gets a specific reading in these contexts.

(21) ***Ng*-marked Undergoers with specific reading** (Maclachlan & Nakamura 1997)

a. Ka-kakain na lamang **ng** leon **ng** tigre
REC.PFV-eat just only GEN lion GEN tiger
'The lion has just eaten the/(a) tiger.'

b. Siya ang naka-kita **ng** aksidente/duktor.
3S.NOM NOM AV:maka.REAL-visible GEN accident/doctor
'He (was the one who) saw the/(an) accident/doctor.'

As Himmelmann (2005b) points out, relative clauses as in (22) provide a further counterexample.

(22) **Relative clause with specific *ng*-marked Undergoer** (Himmelmann 2005b:368)

..sa mga lalaki na mang-ibig **nung(noón)** kanya-ng anak.
DAT PL man LK AV:mang-love GEN.DIST 3S.NONACT-LK child
'(so he held a contest) between the men who courted his child.'

Similarly, if the highest argument in an AV construction possesses the Undergoer participant, as in the example in (23), the *ng*-marked Undergoer is preferably understood as specific.

(23) **Possessor construction with specific *ng*-marked Undergoer**

Nag-dá~dalá silá ng sarili nilá-ng banda ng músika.
AV.REAL-IPFV~bring 3P.NOM GEN self 3S.GEN-LK band LK music
'They bring their own band.' (Bloomfield 1917:48, quoted by Himmelmann 1991: 48)

A further example of an Actor voice sentence with definite Undergoer marked by *ng* is given in (24).

(24) **Actor voice sentences with definite Undergoer** (Bowen 1965:193)

a.	H<um>a~halik	ng kamay	ang bagong-kasal	na
	<AV>[REAL]IPFV~kiss	GEN hand	NOM newlyweds	LK

sina	Mario at Mameng	sa	kanila-ng		ninong. [43]
NOM.PL	Mario and Mameng	DAT	3S.NONACTOR-	LK	godfather

'The newlyweds, Mario and Mameng, kiss the hand of their godfather.'

As Rackowski (2002b:100) states: 'These data lead to the descriptive generalization that, if a specificity-related shift is blocked for some reason, an argument may still be interpreted as specific in its base position, even if it would otherwise receive a non-specific interpretation in that position.' Thus the generalization seems to be that UV arguments marked by *ng* are not obligatorily non-specific, but may be specific, either because they may (co-)raise and tuck in to get a specific reading or because the specific reading happens to be available in the base position for reasons unknown. This weakens the approach, in which specificity is said to be one of the driving forces behind movement to the subject position (vP edge) and non-specificity is seen as a distinctive sign of VP-internal case assignment. Aware of the existence of Actor voice sentences with specific Undergoers, supporters of the specificity hypothesis like Rackowski (2002a) sometimes suggest that examples like those in (21)-(24) are cases of bridging in the sense of Asher & Lascarides (1998), i.e. a noun phrase not marked for specificity may exceptionally receive a specific interpretation if the text it appears in would not be coherent otherwise. Another advocate of the specificity hypothesis, Aldridge (2004:70), is aware of the problem of different notions of specificity and attempts to narrow down the scope of her notion of 'specificity' by trying to exclude bridging cases from it: she states that contextually inferred definiteness is '(...) bridging (...) and need not be assumed to involve specificity'. While this negative characterisation is meant to explain the examples

[43] One consultant points out that the sentence sounds better if the Undergoer is marked by *sa* and the possessor argument adjacent to the possessed:

(i)	H<um>a~halik	sa (kaliwang)	kamay	ng	kanila-ng	ninong
	<AV>[REAL]IPFV~kiss	DAT (left)	hand	GEN	3S.NONACT- LK	godfather
	ang bagong-kasal	sina	Mario at Mameng.			
	NOM newlyweds	NOM.PL	Mario and Mameng			

'The newlyweds, Mario and Mameng, kiss the (left) hand of their godfather.'

with definite Undergoers and Actor voice morphology like the ones in (21)-(24), it still does not provide a formal definition of her notion of specificity underlying her analysis. Furthermore, given that many Tagalog speakers accept and some even insist on overtly marking the specificity of the Undergoer in Actor voice sentences by choosing *sa* instead of *ng*, the idea of specificity as a mere inferential byproduct of discourse interpretation is hardly convincing for all of the problematic examples.

Remember that it is not only possible for an object marked by *ng* to receive a definite or specific reading, but, contrary to Rackowski's claim that voice affixes pick out subjects that raise to check the feature 'specificity', the argument they single out need not be specific in the sense of existentially presupposed, as the examples in (25) show. Law (2006) cites further examples containing instances of non-specific *ang*-phrases. We will come back to this point in the next chapter.

(25) **Non-specific *ang*-phrases** (Law 2006: 163)

a. I-bi~bigay niya sa akin **ang** tasa, kung mayroon.
UV:i-IPFV~give 3S.NOM DAT 1S.NONACTOR NOM cup if exist
'He will give me a cup, if there is any.'

b. Basa-hin mo ang libro at sabi-hin mo sa aking,
read-UV:in 2S.GEN NOM book and tell-UV:in 2S.GEN DAT 1S.NONACTOR
'Read the book and tell me

kung ma-ki~kita mo **ang** mali sa libro.
if UV:ma-IPFV~visible 2S.GEN NOM mistake DAT book
whether you see any mistake in the book.'

There are problems if one chooses to put the explanatory burden on the notion of specificity alone, all the more if there is not clear-cut definition of. specificity. Due to all the unanswered questions and problems that arise with regard to a semantically (i.e. specificity-) based and role-related distinction between two case markers of the same morphological form, I prefer to to take the morphological form seriously and refrain from stipulating two different *ng*-markers.[44] Moreover, it does not look promising to dwell on the notion of specificity alone,

[44] Or even three if the *ng*-marking of instruments in sentences like (i) are considered:
(i) B<in>alut-an niya ng papel na iyon ang libro.

regardless of its definition.

Although Rackowski's work differs in some important points from Maclachlan's work,[45] there still are a lot of similarities due to the fact that both work in a classic phrase-structural approach to the Tagalog case system. Given the (relatively) free word order in languages like Tagalog, there is no strong evidence for structural asymmetries among argument positions and, thus, for configurationality. The tests cited by Rackowski, anaphor binding and pronominal variable binding, have been shown not to depend on syntactic, but semantic relations in many languages (compare Van Valin 2005 and others). Within phrase structure approaches, this fact is often reflected by stating that it is the base positions and not the derived positions that determine phenomena like reflexive binding. Rackowski (2002b:37) shows the same for Tagalog. In short, it is always the Actor that binds the Undergoer, regardless of the case and the final position of the Undergoer. Similarly, the phenomenon of pronominal variable binding in Tagalog is such that it cannot be elegantly explained in terms of hierarchical syntactic relations either. Note that, although the *ang*-argument (analysed as the subject) should be the highest in the tree, it is possible for the genitive-marked Actor argument (which is lower in the tree) to bind a variable within the subject phrase, as (26a) shows.

(26) **Variable binding** (Rackowski 2002b:42)

a. M<in>a~mahal ng kanya-ng$_i$ ama <u>ang bawat anak$_i$</u>.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$IPFV~love GEN 3S.NONACT-LK father NOM every child
'<u>Every child$_i$</u>, his/her$_i$ father loves.'

b. M<in>a~mahal ng bawat$_i$ ama <u>ang kaniya-ng anak$_i$</u>.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$IPFV~love GEN every father NOM 3S.NONACT-LK child
'<u>His child$_i$</u>, every father$_i$ loves.'

Once again reference to the base position of the arguments is needed to account for these data in terms of c-command. However, as the binding relation also holds the other way around (the Undergoer subject may bind the variable within the Actor phrase), as shown in (26b), we need

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<REAL>pack-UV:an 3S.GEN GEN paper already this NOM book
'She wrapped the book with this paper.'

[45] To name a few: Rackowski does not assume two homophonous *ng*-markers, *ang* is termed the 'subject' case instead of absolutive/nominative case (which is reserved for the external argument in her account) and voice is considered a form of case agreement with the argument that needs to move to Spec, vP to check its features and get subject case.

to refer not only to base positions, but also to derived positions in order to maintain that it is really c-command and syntactic hierarchical relations that are relevant to the binding facts. Why we should have to refer once to base positions and once to derived positions remains a puzzle and represents a serious problem for this approach.

Causatives, like those in (27), raise another crucial question with respect to classic phrase structure accounts like Nakamura & Maclachlan's and Rackowski's, namely the question concerning the status and (case licensing) position of Causee arguments.

(27) **Causatives with *ng*- and *sa*-marked Causee**

a. Nag-pa-iyak siya **ng** bata.
AV:mag.REAL-CAUS-cry 3S.NOM GEN child
'He made a/the child cry.'

b. P<in>a-iyak niya **ang** bata.
<REAL>[UV]CAUS-cry 3S.GEN NOM child
'He made the child cry.'

c. Nag-pa-sulat siya **sa** bata ng mga liham.
AV:mag.REAL-CAUS-write 3S.NOM DAT child GEN PLURAL letter
'He made (a)/the child write letters.'

d. P<in>a-sulat niya **ang** bata ng mga liham.
<REAL>[UV]CAUS-write 3S.GEN NOM child GEN PLURAL letter
'He made the child write letters.'

If Causees are to be subsumed under the notion of Patient arguments, as the sentence in (27a) suggests, why do they, depending on the valence of the base verb, sometimes bear genitive (*ng*) (called 'inherent Patient case' by Maclachlan and 'structural object case' by Rackowski) (27a) and sometimes dative case (*sa* in (27c))? Note that the sentences in (27b) and (27d) clearly show that both Causees are morphologically treated the same way and identified as theme arguments by the same voice affix in Undergoer voice. This should be considered evidence that both Causees have the same thematic role and presumably the same syntactic status. Thus, if case distribution is about syntactic positions only, it is not to be expected that one Causee is marked by *ng* and the other marked by *sa*. Note once again that in both examples the Causee is preferably understood as being specific, regardless of case marking.

Aldridge (2004: 364-382) discusses some more possible drawbacks to Rackowski's account that are of no relevance to the present thesis.

On a more general note, it is doubtful that there is evidence for clause-internal specifier positions where nominative or *ang*-case is assigned. Indeed evidence for the kind of configurationality needed to justify a phrase structure approach is scarce and the examples cited are oftentimes problematic and controversial according to my consultants. As Sells (1998, 2000) points out, even for Philippine languages that exhibit a more rigid word order than Tagalog, phrase structure accounts seem somewhat strained and unconvincing, given that in those languages the nominative NP preferably or exclusively appears as *the third phrase of the sentence* if it does not denote the Actor (Sells cites Pangasinan (Mulder & Schwartz 1981), Cebuano (Bell 1979), Kalagan (Collins 1970), Isnag (Barlaan 1986), Balangao (Shelter 1976)). I am not aware of any phrase structure account trying to explain why the third position in a sentence should be the default position for the subject/*ang*-phrase in Philippine languages. Last but not least, in both approaches discussed in this section, voice affixes are reduced to some kind of theta or case agreement markers. This is not satisfactory in the face of verb meaning alternations induced by voice affix choice and the fact that often times more than one voice affix may pick out the same thematic argument with the same verb stem (cf. chapter 6). There is no one-to-one correspondence between thematic roles and voice affixes nor between cases and voice affixes (cf. Ramos 1974). The case agreement analysis makes it necessary to semantically decompose verbs in order to argue for different syntactic positions in which different cases (surfacing as different agreement affixes) are assigned. While I subscribe to the view that the decomposition of verb meaning is very helpful and important to explain the Tagalog voice system, I am sceptical of treating semantics as autonomous syntax.

4.4 Aldridge (2004): Different types of ergativity

Aldridge accommodates many of the problems of previous phrase structure approaches by stating the well-known fact that there are two types of ergative languages, those that exhibit demotion and those that do not. In her view, Tagalog antipassives, just like Dyirbal antipassives, are not about demotion, but the absence of promotion. She suggests furthermore that absolutive case in ergative languages like Tagalog is not the subject case. It may be checked in either subject or object position. In her analysis, absolutive case is said to be checked by *v* if the verb is transitive (Undergoer voice), and checked by T (ASP) if the verb is (syntactically) intransitive (Actor voice/antipassive). This way Aldridge is able to explain that absolutive Undergoers (which do not rise to T) retain object-like properties and that ergative

Actors (which stay the external argument in *v*P) behave like subjects with respect to phenomena like binding and control. She thus presents a phrase structure approach that mirrors the importance of the notions of Actor and Undergoer regardless of their case marking. However, even with these changes, pronominal variable binding in Tagalog remains a puzzle. Aldridge's account is primarily concerned with verb-initial word order and extraction constraints and not with the central topic of this thesis, i.e. the explanation of case patterns or voice affix functions. She heavily relies on grammatical functions like subject and object, which forces her to assume the existence of two different *ng*-markers. Her evidence for the configurationality of Tagalog comes from binding (which, as argued above, can be explained with reference to semantic roles instead of phrase structure), applicatives and movement of the absolutive Undergoer phrase into the postverbal position. The latter is said to change binding relations in such a way that the antecedent in the absolutive phrase may bind a pronominal in an ergative phrase. All of my consultants rejected her example as 'somehow understandable, but strange and difficult to parse'.[46] Thus the overall impression that evidence for syntactic configurationality in Tagalog is scarce and controversial remains. While Aldridge's approach offers very interesting insights with respect to extraction phenomena, it has little to say about case patterns, case alternations, voice selection and voice alternations in Tagalog and linker restrictions. Furthermore, utilising the notion of specificity, it encounters the same problems as the approaches discussed above. Because of this, and in the face of all the arguments given here and in the previous section against two homophonous *ng*-markers and a phrase structure approach to the Tagalog case system, I maintain that the best framework for describing Tagalog case and voice is not a phrase-structural one.

4.5 Conclusion and synopsis

The conclusion of this chapter is consistent with previous analyses suggested by Himmelmann (1991, 2005b), Shibatani (1988) and others who characterise Tagalog neither as a classic accusative nore a classic ergative language. Furthermore I have argued against the voice-licensed null pronominal analysis and the role of specificity as the all-decisive factor governing nominative marking. It was shown that *ng*-marked Undergoer arguments are not necessarily non-specific (ex. (21)-(24)) and that *ang*-marked arguments need not be specific (ex. (24)). The picture we get in terms of specificity and case marking is not clear-cut. Rather

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[46] On the other hand, all of my consultants accept the following sentence, which gets marked as ungrammatical in Aldridge (2004:194).

(i) M<in>a~mahal ng nanay niya ang anak ni Juan.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$IPFV~love GEN mother 3S.GEN NOM child GEN J
'His$_i$ mother loves Juan$_i$'s child.'

it seems to be a matter of tendency. *Sa*-marking was for the most part not of paramount interest to the approaches depicted in this chapter. With respect to the case markers the following picture emerged:

(i) **The marker *ng***:

The case marker *ng* itself is not specified for specificity, neither positively nor negatively (cf. McFarland 1978). Context, plausibility, information structure and possibly other factors all seem to play a role in whether or not a *ng*-marked argument may be interpreted as specific or non-specific. It may be mapped to the highest and lowest argument on a given argument hierarchy, i.e. to those arguments that Van Valin (2005) calls core-arguments of a verb. On top of this, *ng* may mark instrument and measure arguments.[47] And this is not all, as the following chapter will show.

(ii) **The marker *sa*:**

Sa seems to exhibit a sensitivity to argument structure, as the causative data in (27) have shown: the Causee only receives dative case if the base verb is transitive. With intransitive base verbs the Causee always receives genitive case (cf. Van Valin & La Polla 1997: §9.2.2). *Sa* is furthermore restricted to non-highest arguments and may mark specificity for non-nominative Undergoer arguments in contexts that need yet to be determined.

(iii) **The marker *ang*:**

Ang has often been labeled a specificity marker. Given sentences with two specific arguments and only one of them marked by *ang*, it is clear that *ang* must be more than a simple specificity marker and that there must be additional factors contributing to the selection of the respective *ang*-argument.

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47 (i) P<in>utol niya **ng** gulak ang kahoy.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$cut 3s.GEN GEN bolo NOM wood
'He cut the wood with a bolo.' (McFarland 1978: 157)

(ii) B<in>asag niya **ng** bato ang bintana.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$break 3s.GEN GEN rock NOM window
'He broke the window with a rock.'

The reasoning that, if *ang* marked arguments are understood as specific and if the voice morphology identifies the *ang*-marked argument, then voice selection must be first and foremost about specificity is not conclusive. This will become clearer in the next chapter, in which we take a closer look at the marker *ang* and at the principles behind differential object marking. It will be argued that Tagalog *ang* is a prominence marker and that voice marking is about semantic and pragmatic prominence. This has been stated before by Philippinists like Matsuda-French (1988), Himmelmann (2005) and Nolasco (2005).

The data in this section have not only provided a general picture of case marker distribution, but also shown that there is a clear asymmetry between Actors and Undergoers with respect to *ang*-marking and occurrence in the preverbal position: while Actor arguments may occur preverbally — in clause-external, left detached positions as well as clause-internally (cf. *ay*-inversion) — in Undergoer voice constructions, Undergoers may not freely appear preverbally in Actor voice constructions. This is generally seen as one more instance of the general patient-orientedness of the Tagalog linking system. Katagiri (2005) suggests that preverbally *ang* marks 'textual topics', while it marks sentence topics, e.g. aboutness topics in the sense of Reinhart 1982), in the postverbal field. Thus, according to this view, voice marking is sensitive to a specific kind of topic notion, while *ang* marking is taken for both discourse and sentence topics. Fleshing out these notions and their relationship to the level of referentiatliy and to verb semantics is the goal of the following chapters. As a next step, chapter 5 will explore the basic principles of *ang*-marking in voiceless and voiced sentences in order to shed light on when and why a certain argument may or may not be singled out and get marked by *ang*. For this exploration it is necessary to (i) systematise the data from this section, (ii) supplement them with further data in order to provide a more complete picture of case marking patterns, and (iii) show the relation between *ang*-marking and the dative-genitive case alternation, i.e. differential object marking.

5. The Markers *ang*, *ng* and *sa*

In the previous chapter both *ang* and *sa* were observed to mark specific arguments, and even *ng* was shown to be able to occur with specific arguments, calling the idea that specificity could be the decisive factor for case distribution and voice marking into question. It was furthermore observed that the argument hierarchy does not play a key role for the case patterns either. Therefore questions arise as to what does play a key role and how the distribution of the markers and the differences between them are best captured. In sections 5.1-5.3, I discuss each of the three markers *ang*, *ng* and *sa* and the contexts they appear in. The goal of this chapter is to give an overview of the function and characterisation of these markers without delving too deeply into the multi-functional nature of the voice markers. To this end, section 5.1 starts by focusing on the usage and interpretation of the marker *ang* in the absence of voice affixes. While voice affix choice and *ang*-marking are clearly interrelated, they can be teased apart, because there is voice marking without nominative assignment, e.g. with weather verbs, and nominative assignment without voice marking. Given the interrelation between voice and nominative assignment, the first section on *ang*-marking is not yet exhaustive and only serves as the basis for making a first stab at the prominence-marking function of *ang* and the role of specificity therein. We thereby prepare the ground for a comparison of *ang* with the other two markers. As far as the voice affixes are concerned, the data presented in this section will be complemented by those in chapter 6, which deals in detail with verb semantics and the interrelation of voice marking and nominative marking.

5.1 The marker ang

As the overview in chapter 4 has shown, *ang* has often been labeled a specificity marker. Given sentences with two specific arguments and only one of them marked by nominative, i.e. either the Actor or the Undergoer as shown in (1) and (2), it is clear that the nominative marker must be more than a simple specificity marker. There have to be additional factors governing the selection of the respective nominative argument and thus voice choice, and it is the purpose of this chapter to determine these factors.

(1) **/bati/ 'greet' with two specific arguments**

a. B<um>ati **si Pedro** sa akin.
<AV:um>[REAL]greet NOM Pedro DAT 1S.NONACTOR.
'Pedro greeted me.'

b. B<in>ati ako ni Pedro.
<REAL>[UV]greet 1S.NOM GEN Pedro
'Pedro greeted me.'

(2) **/*suntok*/ 'hit' with two specific arguments** (Saclot 2006: 10)

a. S<um>untok **si Pedro** kay Jose.[48]
<AV:um>[REAL]hit NOM Pedro DAT Jose
'Pedro hit Jose.'

b. S<in>untok ni Pedro **si Jose**.
<REAL>[UV]hit GEN Pedro NOM Jose
'Pedro hit Jose.'

Note that it is not possible to have two nominative arguments in a basic verbal clause, even if both arguments are clearly specific, as shown in (3).

(3) **No double *ang*-marking within a basic clause**

a. *Ayaw si Juan ang mansanas.
dislike NOM Juan NOM apples
'Juan does not like the apples.'

b. *S<um>untok si Juan si Pedro.
<AV:um>[REAL]hit NOM Juan NOM Pedro
'Juan hit Pedro.'

This is not the case in all Philippine languages. In Agutaynen, for example, the nominative marker *tang* may mark both arguments if they are specific, as shown in the examples in (4b) and (4d). The data reveal that, just like in Tagalog, specificity is not the decisive factor for determining voice choice in Agutaynen. Which argument is singled out as prominent by the voice affixes must be determined by different factors. Note that, given the possibility of double nominative marking, the examples in (4a) and (4c) are not ambiguous regarding the specificity of their genitive arguments.

[48] All of my consultants accepted this examply by Saclot, but it seems that there are speakers of Tagalog that do not easily accept the Actor voice form for a verb like 'hit' with basic word order. It is clear that the Actor voice form is more marked and gives rise to a certain interpretation of the sentence explained in Saclot (2006) and discussed further down below.

(4) **Agutaynen** (Quakenbush 2005: 181)

a. Mag-pa-deng **tang** lali **ta** balay.
IRR.AV-CAUS-build NOM man GEN house
'The man will build a house.'

b. Mag-pa-deng **tang** lali **tang** balay.
IRR.AV-CAUS-build NOM man NOM house
'The man will build the house.'

c. I-pa-deng **ta** lali **tang** balay.
IRR.UV-CAUS-build GEN man NOM house
'Men/a man will build the house.'

d. I-pa-deng **tang** lali **tang** balay.
IRR.UV-CAUS- build NOM man NOM house
'The man will build the house.'

While the distribution of nominative marking is governed by slightly different principles in Agutaynen and Tagalog, the two languages are similar in that the argument identified by the sentence-initial voice-marked verb is obligatorily marked by *ang/tang* and understood as specific in basic sentences – in Agutaynen obligatorily so, in Tagalog preferably so. I suggest that Agutaynen *tang* is first and foremost a specificity marker, while Tagalog *ang* signals first and foremost argument prominence. This is in line with recent proposals made by Langacker (2006), Nolasco (2005, 2006) and Nagaya (2010), who call the *ang*-marked noun phrase the argument of (focal) prominence. (They take 'focal' as a cognitive notion that is related to focus of attention.) The question of how this kind of argument prominence is to be defined and determined in Tagalog will be answered in the following sections. Obviously, one level on which argument prominence can be evaluated is referentiality. Out of all the factors that contribute to high referentiality, special stress has been placed on specificity, as was shown in the last chapter.

Recall from chapter 4, example (29), that if we follow Givón (1978) in assuming that a specific reading of an NP is pretheoretically characterisable as the certainty of the speaker about the identity of the referent of that NP, or von Heusinger (2002) in assuming that specificity means that a specific argument is referentially anchored in discourse, then none of the highlighted *ang*-marked arguments in (29), repeated here in (5a) and (5b), can be

characterised as specific or as higher in referentiality compared to the Actor argument, which is individuated, identifiable and definite (and animate) in all of these examples.

(5) **Non-specific *ang*-phrases** (Law 2006: 163)

a. I-bi~bigay niya sa akin **ang** tasa, kung mayroon.
UV:i-IPFV~give 3S.NOM DAT 1S.NONACTOR NOM cup, if exist
'He will give me a cup, if there is any.'

b. Basa-hin mo ang libro at sabi-hin mo sa akin,
read-UV:in 2S.GEN NOM book and tell-UV:in 2S.GEN DAT 1S.NONACT
'Read the book and tell me,

kung ma-ki~kita mo **ang** mali sa libro.
if UV:ma-IPFV~visible 2S.GEN NOM mistake DAT book
whether you see a(ny) mistake in the book.'

c. Maari na niyan-g sabihin ang anuman dito.
POSSIBLE LK 3S.GEN-LK say-UV:in NOM whatever here
'He can say anything/whatever here.'

(*May hiyas pa sa liblib*, Ronnie M. Halos, Pilipino Star Ngayon, August 12, 2010)

The same is true if specificity is understood in terms of existentially presupposed. In (5a) and (5b) the existence of *ang tasa* 'a cup' and *ang mali* 'mistakes', respectively, is not assumed, nor have they been mentioned in a prior context, according to Law (2006). Similarly, in the case of (5c) the reference of the *ang*-phrase is neither predetermined nor mediated by referential anchoring to another discourse item. If *ang* is in fact not a specificity marker in the sense above, why are *ang*-phrases preferably understood as specific? I suggest that the tendency to interpret *ang*-phrases as specific can be traced back to the interaction of (i) the function of voice marking, (ii) information flow in Tagalog basic sentences, and (iii) to the fact that *ang* developed from a nominative article fused with a demonstrative pronoun (Reid 1978), as outlined in the following subsections. All three factors contribute to the interpretation of *ang*-phrases as specific, but they do not enforce that *ang*-phrases must be specific. The basic idea is that a former definite article got grammaticalised into a prominence marker that identifies the pivot in a clause. Rendering an argument prominent (or profiling it, in Langacker's (2008) terminology) is first and foremost a pragmatic process. However, as

soon as pragmatic or semantic processes get grammaticalised (here in terms of a case system), we can expect for certain changes to occur and restrictions to arise.

Foregrounding of an argument may be based on a number of different properties, so that specificity considerations may become less important. This may explain the few cases that contain non-specific prominent arguments. As is well-known, language interpretation/ processing is to a large degree a question of plausibility, and plausibility relies on many interacting factors (Gibson 2004, Lecture at Ealing Autumn School), last but not least on context.

5.1.1 The semantics of ang: A historical explanation for specific readings

Recall from chapter 2 that *ang* regularly appears in basic clauses without verb-like elements to distinguish referring elements from predicating ones, e.g. *ang* may appear in front of a *sa*-marked noun phrase, as shown in (6b). The corresponding sentence without *ang*-marking of the *sa*-phrase is given in (6a). In (6b) *ang* is best translated as 'the one'.[49] The function of *ang* in (6b) is obviously to render the possessive predicate phrase referential. This function is different from the participant marking function in verbal clauses we have discussed so far. It has to be noted that sentences like in (6) are very rare these days and may well represent an older stage of Tagalog.

(6) ***Ang* in non-verbal clauses** (Bowen 1965: 49)

a. Sa bunso ang manika.
DAT baby NOM doll
'To the baby belongs the doll.'

b. **Ang sa bunso** ang manika.
NOM DAT baby NOM doll
'The one/thing that belongs to the baby is the doll.'

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[49] Of course all nominal markers may be translated as English 'the one' in certain contexts, as shown in (i) and (ii).

Schachter & Otanes (1972:153)

(i) G-in-ambala siya *ng k-um-a~kain*.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$disrupt 3s.NOM GEN <AV>$_{[REAL]}$IPVF~eat
'*The one who was eating* disrupted him.'

(ii) *Para sa mga pa~pasok sa iskwela* ang mga ito.
for DAT PL IPVF~go DAT school NOM PL DEM. NOM
'These are *for the ones who are going to school*.'

It may be recalled from chapter 2 that so-called equational sentences containing two *ang*-marked phrases are quite common in Tagalog. It is sometimes suggested that the nominal predicate, *guro* 'teacher' in (7a) below, is simply rendered referential in a sentence like (7b), i.e. *ang guro* is analysed as the definite predicate and *ang babae* as the argument. Note, however, that it is not possible for a pronoun, personal name or demonstrative to occupy the so-called argument position, as pointed out by Schachter and Otanes (1972: 530) for the sentence in (7c). However, a pronoun may fill the so-called predicate position. This is unexpected under the given analysis. If, instead, we take the sentence-initial phrase to be the argument and the second phrase to be the predicate, then the acceptability judgements correspond to the judgements we would get for the corresponding English sentence. As sentence (7d) shows, if the pronoun occurs prior to the predicate the sentence is acceptable. The translation and the restrictions with respect to the positions suggest that the initial phrase is probably not the predicate, but rather the preposed argument. This implies that sentences like (7b) and (7d) would then be analysed as argument-predicate constructions. Sentences like these have been termed 'specificational' by Pavey (2008). In her analysis the second phrase is a pragmatic predicate that further specifies the argument.

(7) **Double *ang* in voiceless sentences**

a. Guro ang babae.
   teacher NOM woman
   'The woman is a teacher.'

b. Ang guro ang babae.
   NOM teacher NOM woman
   'The woman is the teacher.'

c. ??Ang Americana siya/ iyon/ si Helen.
   NOM American 3s.NOM/ DEM.NOM/NOM Helen
   Intended meaning: 'She/this one/Helen is the American.'
   ??The American is she/this one/Helen.'

d. Siya ang Americana.
   3s.NOM NOM American
   'She is the American.'

Focus sentences containing verbal predicates like (8a) also contain the *ang*-marker in the function of a nominaliser, rather than in the function of a case marker identifying a participant in the event. I use a different gloss than NOM whenever the function of the marker is exclusively that of a nominaliser. Obviously, the two functions are not incompatible. The basic assumption here is that the pivot marking function of *ang* developed later. Recall that in some Philippine languages like Agutaynen there is no case marker exclusively for pivots.

Interestingly, *ang* may even appear in front of personal names instead of the marker *si*, as exemplified in (8a) and (8b), thereby changing the reference of the personal name and turning it from an individual concept noun referring to a specific person into a sortal concept noun referring to the name (cf. Löbner 1985, 2011).

(8) ***Ang* with personal names** (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 127)

a. **Si Pedro-ng marunong** **ang** h<in>a~hap ko
NOM Pedro-LK wise NMZ <REAL>$_{[UV]}$IPFV~look_for 1s.GEN
'Pedro the wise is the one I am looking for.'

b. H<in>a~hap ko **si Pedro-ng marunong**.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$IPFV~look_for 1s.GEN NOM Pedro-LK wise
'I am looking for Pedro the wise.'

c. H<in>a~hap ko **ang Pedro-ng marunong**.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$IPFV~look_for 1s.GEN NOM Pedro-LK wise
'I am looking for a Pedro who is wise.'

For the most part '*ang*-marking' has been used as synonymous with 'nominative marking' in the course of this thesis, although nominative personal names are usually marked by *si* and pronouns and demonstrative pronouns exhibit extra sets for nominative marking. Given that there is a choice between *si* and *ang* for personal names resulting in an obvious semantic difference, it is clear that we subsume a number of markers under the notion 'nominative' that on some level share the same distribution and, as I will argue, the function of prominence marking, but are not completely identical in terms of referentiality.

According to Reid (1978, 2002), *ang* developed out of the reconstructed Proto-Philippine nominative article **ʔi* fused with the demonstrative **na*, and the linker *-N*, which is commonly used to relate modifiers and articles to the following noun phrase. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to review the historical evidence for this claim; however, it does not seem

implausible. Hence, it can be argued that one of the reasons why *ang*-phrases are often interpreted and translated as specific goes back to the etymology of *ang*.

The fact that *ang*-marking in basic verbal clauses is (i) to a large degree obligatory with common noun phrases, (ii) underlies restrictions, i.e. it may not appear more than once within a basic verbal clause (recall that the double-*ang* sentences above are not basic but marked sentences, as the argument is focused, preposed and precedes the predicate), and (iii) may even be used with non-specific arguments suggests that some kind of bleaching of the semantic content of *ang* in favour of a strengthened role at the sentence level has taken place. Support for the bleaching hypothesis comes from two sets of data. Firstly, it has been observed in conversational Tagalog (e.g. by Reid 1978 and Himmelmann 2005b) that *ang* is frequently replaced by *yung,* a form that corresponds to the distal demonstrative *iyon*. Nagaya (2010) argues that *yung*, in contrast to *ang*, has retained a very high degree of referentiality and is restricted to appropriate contexts. It is, thus, to be considered the highly referential alternative to the marker *ang*. Secondly, as data in Schachter & Otanes (1972) show, *ang* may appear with quantifiers like *bawa't* 'each', *lahat* 'all', *kahit* 'any', i.e. in contexts where the translation of *ang* as 'the one(s)' would be misleading, as shown in (9) for basic sentences and (10) for topic sentences.

(9) **Optional *ang* with quantifiers in basic sentences** (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 534)

a. Na-rito na (ang) lahat ng tao.
   MA.REAL-here already NOM all GEN people
   'All the people are here now.'

b. Gamitin mo (ang) kahit (na) anuma-ng pinggan.
   use-UV:in 2S.GEN NOM any LK whatever-LK dish
   'Use any dish!'

(10) **Optional *ang* with quantifiers in topic sentences** (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 486-87)

a. (Ang) lahat ng tao ay na-rito na.
   NOM all GEN people AY MA.REAL-here already
   'All the people are here now.'

b. (Ang) kahit (na) anuma-ng pinggan gamit-in niya.
   NOM any LK whatever-LK dish use-UV:in 3S.GEN
   'He will use any dish.'

The sententences in (9) and (10) illustrate that prominent arguments need not be marked by *ang* or some other element indicating nominative case if they are preceded by quantifiers like *kahit*, *bawa't* or *lahat*, which clearly identify the syntactic and semantic function of the lexical item as that of a referring (noun) phrase. At least one of the quantifiers, *kahit* 'any', does not seem to be compatible with a specific reading of the argument it accompanies, regardless of how specificity is defined. This clearly indicates that even if *ang*-marking developed from a demonstrative, its function is no longer first and foremost about specificity marking in these examples.

5.1.2 The role of information flow for specific readings

In addition to the diachronic explanation given above to account for the preference to interpret *ang*-phrases in basic sentences as specific, two more points can be mentioned. As already pointed out by Naylor (1986), information flow in Tagalog basic sentences goes 'from the general to the specific'. In basic sentences the voice affix on the sentence-initial verb identifies, and in some sense introduces, the prominent argument in terms of what is commonly called its thematic role. In other words, the voice affix on the sentence-initial verb already establishes the topic of interest with respect to which the speaker depicts the event. The postverbal nominal phrase specifies the information provided by the sentence-initial voiced verb further. Clause-internal topic is to be understood here as characterised in Lambrecht (1994). It is a presupposed phrase, but presupposed in the sense that 'the topic referent is expected to play a role in a given proposition, due to its status as a center of interest (...). One therefore ought not to say that a topic "is presupposed", but given its discourse status, it is presupposed to play a role in a given proposition' (ibid.: 151). Obviously the voice affix on the verb providing information on the prominent participant in the event propels the expectation that the referent of the nominative argument is already in the speaker's mind and crucial for the event. Thus, in line with our pretheoretic characterisation of specificity in terms of 'certainty of identity', in most cases, it seems reasonable to expect that the referent of the participant chosen as prominent by the speaker is specific. This is valid unless the context or the presence of a non-specific quantifier suggests otherwise. If this view is accepted, then the tendency to attribute a specific reading to the *ang*-marked argument in basic sentences may be seen as resulting on the one hand from the (original) semantics of *ang* and on the other hand from the interaction between the identification function of the voice affixes and unmarked information flow in basic sentences.

All this leads to the conclusion that the specific interpretation associated with *ang*-marking is a strong tendency, a default reading, resulting from the three (and possibly more[50]) components mentioned above. If *ang* is not first and foremost a specificity marker, how is *ang*-marking motivated and determined? I suggest that the motor for *ang*-marking in verbal clauses is the respective prominence of the arguments. Prominence may and must be appraised and determined on a number of different levels. The specificity of an argument will be shown to play a role, but only a limited one.

5.1.3 Nominative marking without voice marking

In trying to determine the exact relationship between voice morphemes and nominative marking, it is important to note that there are sentences without voice-marked verbs, but with nominative-marked arguments (11b, c) and sentences with verbs marked for Undergoer voice and nominative-marked Actor arguments, resulting in the famous double *ang*-sentences already discussed in chapter 4, here repeated in (12)). Possible, but less preferred readings are given in brackets.

(11) **Pseudo-verbs with and without *ang*-marked arguments**

a. Ayaw ng bata ng mansanas.
dislike GEN child GEN apple
'The/ (a) child does not like (the) apple(s).'

a'. Ayaw ng bata kay Juan.
dislike GEN child DAT Juan
'The/ (a) child does not like Juan.'

b. Ayaw ng bata <u>ang mansanas</u>.
dislike GEN child NOM apple(s)
'The/ (a) child does not like the apple(s).'

c. ?Ayaw ng mansanas <u>ang bata</u>.
dislike GEN apple NOM child
'The child does not like apples.'

(Schachter & Otanes 1972: 265)

[50] For an interesting study on different factors contributing to the interpretation of nominal phrases as definite in a language without article system, see Singh (1994).

(12) **Double *ang*-marking** (De Guzman 1995: 56-57)

Ang nanay,	lu~lutu-**in**	(niya)	**ang isda**.
NOM mother	IPFV~cook-UV:in	3S.GEN	NOM fish

'The mother, (she) will cook the fish.'

The examples above remind us that we do not always need voice markers to license nominative marking. Note that the non-acceptability of double *ang*-marking in basic Tagalog verbal clauses cannot be traced back to some more general uniqueness constraint ensuring unique marking of every argument for better identifiability. It is possible for the genitive marker *ng* to appear more than once in a given clause, as the example in (11a) shows. The same is true for dative, as the recent perfective example in (13) below illustrates. While this is possible, these sentences are rare and usually dispreferred, most obviously for parsing reasons. Note that in voiceless sentences like (13) the order of the arguments is not free; the Actor argument has to follow the predicate.

(13) **Recent Perfective** (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 374)

Kapa-pa-sulat	pa lamang	**ng** Tatay	**kay** Jose	**ng** liham	**sa** diyaryo.
REC.PFV-CAUS-write	just only	GEN father	DAT Jose	GEN letter	DAT newspaper

'(The) Father[51] has just had Jose write a/the letter to the newspaper.'

The marker *ang* differs from the two markers *ng* and *sa*. Double *ang*-marking can only be observed on the sentence level. On the clause level, however, only one argument, the most prominent, may be marked by *ang*. The notion 'clause', as used here, corresponds roughly to what Van Valin (2005) calls the 'core' in RRG. The core comprises the predicate and its arguments (in basic word order). According to Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), there are two positions that may precede the core: the precore slot and the left-detached position. The difference between the two positions is that the left-detached position does not attract clitics, whereas the precore slot does. According to this criterion, the focalised *ang*-marked phrases are in the precore slot, as the sentence in (14a) shows. Topics followed by a pause, like (12) above, are in the left-detached position and do not attract clitics like the question particle *ba* and the speech act particle *nga*, while *ay*-topics likewise occupy the precore slot and attract clitics, as (14b) shows.

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[51] Schachter & Otanes (1972) translate *ng Tatay* as 'Father' instead of 'the father', using it as a title.

(14) a. Siya *nga* *ba* **ang** tunay na SSL?
3s.NOM indeed QUEST NMZ real LK SSL
'Is (s)he indeed the real SSL?'

b. Ma-pa~patakbo (niya) ang bayan, kung
POT:ma-CAUS-IPFV~run 3s.GEN NOM country if
'Can he run the country, if

siya *nga* **ay** hindi alam ang buhay ng isang may-asawa?
3s.NOM indeed AY NEG know NOM life GEN one-LK EXIST-spouse
he does not really know the life of a spouse?'

(www.abs-cbnnews.com/.../madam-auring-sees-no-2010-wedding-noynoy-shalani)

Prominence can be assessed with respect to a number of dimensions: an argument may be more prominent than another in terms of referentiality, in terms of its information-structural import or in terms of its importance for the event denoted by the verb. It is this last level that is relevant to an analysis of the voice system and will be investigated in the second part of this thesis by focusing on verb classes and the function and semantics associated with the voice markers. In the remainder of this chapter, however, we will be mostly concerned with the role of referential properties of arguments and information structure. Possible prominence scales with respect to these two levels, which are regularly mentioned in the literature (e.g. Silverstein 1976, Van Valin & LaPolla 1997, Aissen 1999 etc.), are given in (15).

(15) **Prominence Scales**

a. *Referentiality scale*: Personal pronoun (1/2>3) > Proper name > Definite NP > Indefinite specific NP > Non-specific NP

b. *Animacy scale*: Human > Animate > Inanimate

c. *Information structure scales*: Focus (new) > Background (old), Topic > Comment

As we will see in what follows, the referentiality scale needs to be slightly modified for Tagalog, i.e. proper names are not treated homogeneously: while personal names receive special marking, proper names of locations etc. do not. Animacy obviously is relevant here, too. In the following we will take a closer look at how certain problematic sets of data in Schachter & Otanes' (1972) well-known *Tagalog Reference Grammar* can be explained based on the assumption that prominence can be evalued on more than one level.

5.1.4 Prominence in terms of specificity and information structure

Tagalog speakers are free to profile neither the Actor nor the Undergoer argument as prominent and, thus, mark neither by *ang*,[52] if there are no voice affixes for a verb. This leads to a simple genitive-genitive pattern, as in (11a) above, if the Undergoer is a simple noun, and to a genitive-dative pattern, as in (11a'), if the Undergoer is expressed by a personal name or a pronoun. For convenience the examples are repeated in (16). Recall that Undergoers expressed as personal names and pronouns are always marked by dative in Tagalog if they are not profiled by a voice affix. Typical verbs appearing without voice marking are the so-called pseudo-verbs *kailangan* 'need', *gusto* 'like', *ibig* 'love', *nais* 'want' and *ayaw* 'dislike'. Note once again that the order of the arguments in (16b) determines that *ng bata* is understood as the emoter and *si Juan* as the target of the negative feelings.

(16) **Voiceless pseudo verbs with and without *ang*-marked arguments**

a. Ayaw ng bata ng mansanas.
dislike GEN child GEN apple
'The/ (a) child does not like (the) apples.'

a'. Ayaw ng bata kay Juan.
dislike GEN child DAT Juan
'The/ (a) child does not like Juan.'

b. Ayaw ng bata ang mansanas.[53]
dislike GEN child NOM apple
'The/ (a) child does not like the apple.'

c. ?Ayaw ng mansanas ang bata.
dislike GEN apple NOM child
'The child does not like apples.' (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 265)

In (16a) both arguments may be understood as either specific or non-specific. Still, there is a tendency to interpret the animate Actor argument as specific and the inanimate Undergoer

[52] In some cases, like the gerund, profiling an argument does not seem to be allowed. This suggests that these forms profile the situation, not an individual argument. However, speakers seem to vary in their grammaticality judgements. Some treat those forms like pseudo-verbs, some do not.

[53] Apparently, this sentence cannot be used to express 'the child does not like apples'.

argument as non-specific.[54] If the Undergoer is a pronoun or a personal name, as in (16a'), then obviously both arguments are (preferably) construed as specific. Interestingly, it is possible for a specific Undergoer to get profiled and marked by *ang,* as shown in (16b). Profiling the specific Actor argument and marking it by *ang*, as done in (16c), is more restricted than profiling the specific Undergoer argument, according to my consultants. This is in line with the often-cited observation that specific Undergoers tend to be chosen over specific Actors for nominative marking (Naylor 1986, Nolasco 2005). In other words, specific Undergoers tend to be more prominent than specific Actors in Tagalog, for reasons we will go into further below.

For the group of speakers who allow the Actor argument to be profiled and marked by *ang* in basic sentences like (16c), this seems to be limited to the two pseudo-verbs *gusto* 'like' and *ayaw* 'dislike' (compare Schachter & Otanes 1972: 263 for similar findings). Even with these two verbs there are certain restrictions. Note that in (16), the Undergoer argument is a third person singular noun phrase just like the Actor argument. It is only in this case that speakers accepting *ang*-marking of the Actor argument see no problem in profiling either the Undergoer (16b) or the Actor (16c).

Interestingly, if the Undergoer is specific as well as identifiable, i.e. if it is a pronoun or a personal name, then the Undergoer is *not* eligible for nominative marking according to these speakers' judgements, as illustrated in (17a) (for a similar result, see Schachter & Otanes 1972: 263). They prefer for the Undergoer to be marked by dative case in sentences like (17b). Note that dative in contrast to nominative case unambiguously codes the non-Actor status of arguments (which may represent a processing advantage for the hearer when faced with a sentence that contains two arguments referring to humans).

(17) **Voiceless pseudo-verb with highly referential animate Undergoers**

a. *Ayaw ko si Juan /siya.
dislike 1s.GEN NOM Juan/3s.NOM
'I dislike Juan/him.'

b. Ayaw kay Juan /sa iyo si guro.
dislike DAT Juan /DAT 2s.NONACT NOM teacher
'The teacher dislikes Juan/you.'

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[54] This tendency is also found in languages like Hindi, as Singh (1994) has shown.

Regardless of possible processing advantages, the lack of nominative marking of the Undergoer is unexpected, if nominative marking is analysed as a means to signal a high degree of referentiality or specificity. The case pattern seems to be equally unexpected if nominative marking is analysed as a prominence marking, at least given the assumption that a specific Undergoer argument is considered more prominent than a specific Actor argument in Tagalog. However, if one accepts that prominence can be determined on different levels, the examples above are less of a puzzle. I suggest that this small group of speakers treats the *ang*-marker as an information-structural prominence marker in these examples. My consultants indicated that the *ang*-marked Actor in sentences like (17b) is more 'salient' and somehow contrastive. For them, the *ang*-marked Actor is stressed and has to appear in the phrase-final position, as shown in (17b). More fieldwork needs to be done on these constructions and their marked pragmatic status. A discourse-pragmatic study with various groups of speakers would be desirable to determine the exact functional status of the sentence-final Actor argument. This would help uncover the principles underlying the option of *ang*-marking with this class of voiceless verbs for different groups of speakers. This, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Recall that the marked pragmatic function of contrastive focus always licenses nominative marking. Even speakers who only accept the profiling and nominative marking of definite Undergoer arguments in basic sentences with pseudo-verbs may single out the Actor argument as the prominent argument and mark it by *ang* if it appears in the preverbal focus position, as in (18a). The example in (18b) shows the corresponding Undergoer-focus construction.

(18) **Focus construction with the pseudo-verb *ayaw***

a. Ang bata ang ayaw ng mansanas/kay Juan/sa akin.
NOM child NMZ dislike GEN apple/DAT Juan/DAT 1S.NONACT
'It is the child who does not like (the) apple(s)/Juan/me.'

b. Si Juan ang ayaw ng bata/niya.
NOM Juan NMZ dislike GEN child/3S.GEN
'It is Juan whom the child/he does not like.'

Leaving aside for the moment the minority judgments above, we arrive at the following general observations in terms of prominence and nominative marking of arguments at this

point. Note that the first observation in (A) below accounts already for the fact that, if there is an *ang*-marked argument in a basic clause (or the core-level in RRG), it cannot possibly be more than one, as it is impossible for two or three different arguments of a predicate to be characterised as 'the most prominent argument.' Recall from the discussion of the examples in (13) that this restriction is only limited to the basic clause (or the core in RRG terms) and does not extend to pragmatically marked positions at the left edge of the basic clause.[55]

(A) **If there is a most prominent argument in a basic clause, it is marked by *ang*.**

(⇒ There is no double *ang*-marking on the basic clausal level: ***[*ang ang*]** $_{\text{basic clause}}$.)

***Ang*-marking is licensed if**

(B) **an argument is the most prominent argument in terms of specificity:**

(i) A specific argument is more prominent than a non-specific argument: **[+spec] > [-spec]**

(ii) A specific Undergoer argument is more prominent than a specific Actor argument: **[+spec]/[+hr] > [+spec]/[-hr].**

***Ang*-marking is obligatory if**

(C) **an argument is the most prominent in terms of information structure:**

An argument with a pragmatically salient function is more prominent than an argument without a pragmatically salient function.

(i) A focused argument is more prominent than a non-focused argument: **focalised > non-focalised**.[56]

If we think of prominence in terms of markedness, then the observation in (Bii) is cross-linguistically valid. As Comrie (1979: 19) points out, cross-linguistic studies have shown that there is a statistical correlation between semantic-pragmatic properties and the syntactic functions of argument roles: '... in natural languages, certain grammatical relations tend to be characterised by certain features, in particular subjects tend to be definite, animate, and topic

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[55] Sentences with *ang*-focalized arguments have the same equational structure as basic sentences like *ang babae ang guro* ('the woman is a teacher') introduced in chapter 2. The first phrase is thus not in a pragmatically marked phrase outside of the basic clause.

[56] Note that in most of the cases discussed so far, 'focus' meant syntactically focalised, i.e. realised in the position before the predicate. As Dery (2005) has argued, focus is not restricted to this position.

(thematic); while direct objects tend to be indefinite, inanimate, and rhematic.' Although Comrie formulated his principle in terms of grammatical relations here, the observation is generally viewed as one appropriate for describing logical subjects and logical objects (cf. Primus 2012), i.e. it is a generalisation characterising the highest argument and the lowest argument, respectively. It is the former and not the latter that is expected to exhibit a high degree of referentiality. As studies on differential object marking (e.g. Aissen 2003, Jaeger 2007, Bickel 2008, Primus in press) show, it is very common for languages to overtly mark cases where the correlation of semantic role and degree of referentiality diverges from the expected default. In other words, Undergoers that are specific often receive overt (or special) morphological marking, possibly as a means to 'help' the hearer process sentences by signaling clearly where default assumptions and expectations are not met.

The observation in (C) shows that prominence can also be understood in a different way, on a more global level. Relevance theorists (Sperber & Wilson 2004) state that receiving communication is a process of sifting through the available input to find the communication of most relevance. Messages tend to carry information about the ostensive relevance of their content. This enables the receiver to infer which bits of information are the most important ones. Obviously, the sender has a considerable degree of control over what he wants the hearer to perceive as relevant and important. In Tagalog, nominative marking seems to be a means of marking the most relevant information, i.e. the information that yields what Relevance theorists call *the greatest positive cognitive effect*: new and contrastive information (in the sense of information adding to or modifying the knowledge base) yields a greater positive cognitive effect than old information. It could be argued that the observation in (B) likewise characterises a way of modifying the knowledge base of the hearer. The speaker, aware of the fact that the hearer expects the lowest argument to exhibit a low degree of referentiality, draws attention to the fact that this default assumption is wrong by means of case marking (and with voiced-marked verbs, including verbal affixes that explicitly signal the Undergoer status of the argument).

Note that information-structural prominence in terms of 'focus' (here exhaustive, contrastive focus) outranks the prominence that arises through the correlation of high referentiality and argument role, as the sentence in (18a) has exemplified. Therefore, the few examples discussed in this chapter already show that even with voiceless verbs, the determination of nominative marking cannot be reduced to the notion of specificity.

5.1.5 Nominative marking with voiced verbs and double ang-marking

It has been stated that the freedom of interpretation that we witnessed in example (16a) for the genitive-marked Undergoer argument vanishes if the Actor is profiled by a voice affix and marked by *ang*. In this case the Undergoer is (more or less) necessarily interpreted as non-specific. Why should this be so? Based on the findings up to now, oneexplanation would be that, if no other prominence scale interferes (e.g. the scale of information-structural prominence), a specific Undergoer is considered more prominent than a specific Actor in Tagalog, and needs to be marked for prominence by the nominative case. Thus, if the Undergoer is not explicitly marked by nominative in an information-structurally unmarked sentence, the default interpretation is that it is non-specific. What has been recognized as a predominant, albeit loose tendency for voiceless predicates is often stated as a seemingly non-violable principle for voice-marked verbs. Examples exhibiting Actor voice (i.e. a nominative-marked Actor) in a basic sentence in which the Undergoer is as specific as the Actor and does not bear nominative case are often judged ungrammatical in Tagalog, as illustrated in (19a, b) below. Recall that speakers often recur to *sa*-marking of common nouns to indicate specificity. More will be said about this in section 5.3.

In contrast to the examples in (19a, b), sentences like (19c), in which the Undergoer is not specific, are considered to be grammatical. In (19d) the specific Undergoer seems to enforce Undergoer voice and nominative marking. Classic examples like (19) and (20a, b) are regularly cited to argue for the patient primacy or ergativity of Tagalog (Nolasco 2005). However, exceptions to this rule of thumb were given in the last section in (1). (20c) shows that a change in aspect also changes speakers judgements of voice forms. More so-called exceptions will be taken up again in the next section.

(19) **Actor voice of perception verb incompatible with definite Undergoer argument**

a. ***Naka**-kita[57]	siya	kay Jose/sa kanila.
POT.AV:maka.REAL-visible	3s.NOM	DAT Jose/DAT 3p.NONACT
Intended: 'He saw Jose/them.'		
b. ***Naka**-kita	ako	sa aksidente.
POT.AV:maka.REAL-visible	1s.NOM	DAT accident
Intended: 'I saw the accident.'		

[57] Stative perception verbs take the set of potentive voice affixes.

c. **Naka**-kita ako ng aksidente.
POT.AV:maka.REAL- visible 1s.NOM GEN accident
'I saw an accident.'

d. **Na**-kita niya ang aksidente.
POT.UV:ma.REAL-visible 3s.GEN NOM accident
'He saw the accident.'

(cf. Schachter & Otanes 1972: 383)

(20) **Actor voice of causal verb incompatible with definite Undergoer argument**

a. *T**<um>**akot siya kay Jose.
<AV>[REAL]fear 3s.NOM DAT Jose
Intended: 'He frightened Jose.' (cf. Schachter & Otanes 1972: 152)

b. T<in>akot niya si Jose.
<REAL>[UV]fear 3s.GEN NOM Jose
'He frightened Jose.'

c. T**<um>**a~takot ng mga negosyante ang rallies.
<AV>[REAL]IPFV~fear GEN PL entrepreneur NOM rallies
'The rallies frighten (the) entrepreneurs.'

(simplified from Pilipino Star Ngayon, December 12, 2000, *Mag-rally or tumahimik*)

As stated before, the grammaticality judgements in (19) and (20a, b) could be argued to hinge on the fact that [+spec] in the context of Undergoer is more prominent than in the context of Actor and that this form of prominence, which is responsible for *ang*-marking, also induces Undergoer voice marking. Recall, however, that specific Undergoers do not enforce Undergoer voice if the Actor argument appears in the focus position and ends up being more prominent than the specific Undergoer argument in terms of information structure, as in (21). Given the equational structure of focus constructions, focused Undergoers also enforce Undergoer voice regardless of their specificity, as exemplified in (21c). Actor voice with an non-specific focused Undergoer is not acceptable, as shown in (21d).

(21) **Actor focus construction with definite Undergoer argument versus Undergoer focus construction with indefinite Undergoer**

a. Siya ang **naka**-kita kay Jose/sa aksidente.
3s.NOM NMZ POT.AV:maka.REAL-visible DAT Jose/DAT accident
'He is the one who saw Jose/the accident.'

b. Siya ang t<**um**>akot kay Jose.
3s.NOM NMZ <AV:um>$_{[REAL]}$fear DAT Jose
'He is the one who frightened Jose.'

c. Guro/ang guro ang **na**-kita ko.
teacher/NOM teacher NMZ POT.UV:ma.REAL-visible 1s.GEN
'A teacher/ The teacher is what I saw.'

d. *Guro ang **naka**-kita ako.
teacher NMZ POT.AV:maka.REAL-visible 1s.NOM
Intended: 'A teacher is what I saw.'

In the examples above, information-structural prominence only means [+focal]. Note, however, that if the Actor appears in the sentence-initial topic position marked by *ay*, we get the same grammaticality judgements as for the basic word order sentences in (19a, b), i.e. Actor voice is not accepted with a specific Undergoer (22a, b). Speakers tend to disprefer Actor voice even more if the Undergoer is animate and definite. The problem here is the combination of Actor voice and the highly referential Undergoer. Unproblematic, on the other hand, is the *ang*-marking of an Actor in the topic position if the Undergoer argument is non-specific, as in (22c), or if the sentence is in Undergoer voice, as in (22d). We will get back to double *ang*-sentences further below. For the time being, it is sufficient to keep in mind that *ang*-marking and voice marking do not always go together. *Ang* may mark different kinds of prominence, but out of two prominent arguments, the more prominent one will win and enforce the corresponding voice form based on principles discussed further down below.

(22) **Actor topic construction**

a. *Siya ay **naka**-kita kay Jose/sa kanila.
3s.NOM AY POT.AV:maka.REAL-visible DAT Jose/DAT 3p.NONACT
'He saw Jose/them.'

b. ?Siya ay **naka**-kita sa aksidente.
3s.NOM AY POT.AV:maka.REAL-visible DAT accident
'He saw the accident.'

c. Ang nanay ay **naka**-kita ng aksidente.
NOM mother AY POT.AV:maka.REAL-visible GEN accident
'The mother saw an accident.'

d. Ang nanay ay **na**-kita ang guro.
NOM mother AY POT.UV:ma.REAL-visible NOM teacher
'The mother saw the teacher.'
Impossible reading: 'The teacher saw the mother.'

For some speakers, sentences like (23a, b) are possible if the Actor argument is a first or second person pronoun and, thus, more prominent with respect to the person hierarchy. The relevant example is given in (23).

(23) **Actor voice with first person Actor in the topic position**

Ako ay **naka**-kita kay Jose/sa kanila.
1s.NOM AY POT.AV:maka.REAL-visible DAT Jose/DAT 3p.NONACT
'I saw Jose/them.'

In (23), the Actor argument coded by *ako* is topical, while the Undergoer coded by *kay Jose* is in the comment position of the sentence; therefore the Actor is more prominent than the Undergoer in terms of information structure, as well as in terms of referentiality, given that [+1/+2] is ranked higher than [+3] on the referentiality scale in (15). The example in (23) suggests that, for this group of speakers, prominence in terms of a high position on the person hierarchy combined with prominence on the information-structural scale in terms of topic conspire to license and even enforce Actor voice, as shown by the examples in (24) below. Although topics by themselves do not generally enforce the choice of voice, as illustrated in the examples in (22d) and (24c), many speakers do not accept Actor topics coded by first and second person pronouns in Undergoer voice sentences, as shown in (24a) and (24b), and insist on Actor voice in these cases. Consequently, double *ang*-marking is only accepted if the Undergoer argument is equally or more referential than the Actor with respect to animacy and person hierarchy. Note that there is a special portemanteau pronoun for first person Actor

acting on second person Undergoer, as illustrated in (24d). Judgements with respect to first person acting on second and second person acting on first vary, as illustrated in (24e, f). Speakers find (24e) easier to accept if the portemanteau pronoun *kita* (1S.GEN>2S.NOM) is used. (24f) seems to be generally dispreferred. In general, the sentences are felt to be very marked and are avoided, so that the evidence for [+2]>[+1] is rather weak.

(24) **Undergoer voice with first, second and third person Actor in the topic position**

a *Ako ay b<in>ili ang tela.
1S.NOM AY b_{stem}<REAL>$_{[UV]}$buy NOM cloth
Intended: 'I bought the cloth.'

b. *Ako/*Ikaw ay s<in>untok ang mandurukot.
1S.NOM/2S.NOM AY s_{stem}<REAL>$_{[UV]}$hit NOM thief
Intended: 'I/you hit the thief.'

c. Ang babae/Siya ay s<in>untok ang mandurukot/ako.
NOM woman/3S.NOM AY s_{stem}<REAL>$_{[UV]}$hit NOM thief/1S.NOM
'The women/she hit the thief/me.'
(cf. Richards 2005:390-391)

d. S<in>untok kita.
s_{stem}<REAL>$_{[UV]}$hit 1S.GEN>2S.NOM
'I hit you.'

e. Ako ay s<in>untok ?ka/ kita
1S.NOM AY s_{stem}<REAL>$_{[UV]}$hit 2S.NOM / 1S.GEN>2S.NOM
Intended: 'I hit you.'

f. ?Ikaw ay s<in>untok ako.
2S.NOM AY s_{stem}<REAL>$_{[UV]}$hit 1S.NOM
Intended: 'You hit me.'

Note that the difference in judgement with respect to the acceptability of double *ang*-marking in (24a) and (24c) cannot be attributed to a difference in syntactic structure, as suggest by De Guzman (1995) for a different set of double *ang*-marking sentences. Instead, referential properties of the arguments seem to influence the judgements. The data we have seen so far suggest that prominence in terms of the person hierarchy (only) plays a role in the context of topicality. If an argument is more prominent than another in terms of discourse topicality

(marked by *ay*) and person hierarchy, then this argument needs to be *ang*-marked and marked on the verb via the corresponding voice affix, as the examples in (24a, b) have shown. The combination of referentiality and topicality can be seen as a more specific case of (C): [+1, +2]$_{\text{topicalised}}$ > [+3]$_{\text{non-topicalised}}$. If an argument is the most specific and the most information-structurally salient, then it is obviously more prominent than an argument that is only specific, therefore the former outranks the latter with respect to voice selection. Based on the data that we have discussed so far, a rather complex picture emerges with respect to voice choice and nominative marking.

(25) *Ang*-marking is licensed if

(B) **an argument is the most prominent argument in terms of specificity:**

(i) A specific argument is more prominent than a non-specific argument: **[+spec] > [-spec]**

(ii) A specific Undergoer argument is more prominent than a specific Actor argument: **[+spec]/[+hr] > [+spec]/[-hr].**

(C) **an argument is the most prominent in terms of information structure:**

(i) A focused argument is more prominent than a non-focused argument: **focalised > non-focalised**.

(ii) A topical argument is more prominent than a non-topical argument: **topicalised > non-topicalised**.

(iii) A topical [+1, +2] argument is more prominent than a [+3] argument: **[+1, +2]$_{\text{topicalised}}$ > [+3]$_{\text{non-topicalised}}$**

Recall that *ang*-marking on the clausal level does not prevent *ang*-marking on the sentence level. So the topicality principles do not directly interact with the other constraints. The topical arguments discussed above all occur outside of the basic clause. Evidence for this is prosodic, as my consultants confirm that *ay* can be replaced (and followed) by a pause in the sentences above. Kaufmann (2005) notes that only focused arguments attract clitics and form a prosodic unit with the rest of the clause and topical constituents may not.[58] Hirano (2005)

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[58] **Clitic placement with focus and topic** (cf. Kaufman 2005: 179)

(ii) a.Sa Bulakan *sila* l<um>angoy. ‘It was in Bulacan that they swam.’
DAT B 3p.NOM <AV>$_{[\text{REAL}]}$swim

b.Sa Bulakan ay lumangoy *sila.* ‘In Bulacan, they swam.’
DAT B AY <AV>$_{[\text{REAL}]}$swim 3p.NOM

points out that Tagalog, just like Japanese, exhibits different kinds of topic constructions: a so-called 'syntax-based topic construction', in which the topic is an argument of the verb – in this construction the voice form necessarily has to correspond to the argument that is topicalised – and a 'pragmatics-based topic construction'. Both kinds of topics are introduced by *ay* and both give rise to *ang*-marking. The important thing to note here is that in the *ay*-sentences above in (24c, e, f), the preposed argument does not attract the pronoun clitics. This is evidence that the constructions above are pragmatics-based topic constructions and that the *ang*-marked phrase is outside of the clause in a left-detached position.

As mentioned before and as could be seen in the example in (18a), information-structural prominence in terms of focus (25Ci) outranks referentiality considerations (25B), as far as voice choice on the clausal level is concerned, i.e. a focused argument always determines voice selection regardless of its referential properties. In contrast to focality (25Ci), simple pragmatic topicality (25Cii) does not compete with (25B) and determine voice choice, as the sentence in (22c) has shown. However, if an argument is more prominent than another in terms of discourse topicality and the person hierarchy, then this argument needs to be *ang*-marked and be marked on the verb via a voice affix, as the examples in (25a, b) illustrate.

Having discussed the relation between principles (25B) and (25C), the question arises as to what the relationship between (25Ci) and (25Cii) is like. As just mentioned, *ay*-topicality operates outside of the clause. Given the peripheral position of topics, topical arguments are not subject to the double *ang*-marking restriction within a clause (*[ang ang]$_{clause}$) that follows from (A). The example in (26) illustrates that focal and topical constituents may cooccur and both get marked with *ang*.

(26) **Ang** akala niya ay **si** Red Riding Hood ang k<um>a~katok.
NOM belief 3s.GEN AY NOM Red Riding Hood NOM <AV>$_{[REAL]}$IPFV~knock
'Her belief is that Red Riding Hood is knocking.' (Hirano 2006:39)

Note that the example in (26) differs from the examples we have seen so far, since the topic is not an argument of the verb. Therefore, it does not matter that the topical argument is specific and occupies the same position on the person hierarchy as the Actor argument. The properties of non-arguments do not determine voice selection and, thus, cannot block Actor voice. This is because only referential properties of verb arguments are checked regarding their relative referential prominence. As the acceptability judgements in (24) have shown, the theoretical

option of having two *ang*-marked arguments in a sentence is often blocked. Clause-external realisation of an argument is obviously not a free ticket for double *ang*-marking. Double *ang*-marking with verb arguments is only found in Undergoer sentences, and only Actors may get *ang*-marked as information-structurally prominent in these constructions. This is related to principles concerning voice choice. As we have seen, if a topical Actor argument is considerably more prominent in terms of the animacy hierarchy and the person hierarchy than the Undergoer, then Undergoer voice is rejected, as the examples in (24a, b) have shown. If a topical Actor argument is less prominent or equally prominent on the animacy and person hierarchies, on the other hand, then Undergoer voice is accepted, as illustrated in (24c).

The conclusion is that, in order to account for the acceptability of double *ang*-marking constructions, we need to take into account a number of competing principles that govern voice selection, rather than only the description of the environments in which the case marker *ang* may occur. (27) gives the two unviolable voice selection rules we have observed in this section with voice verbs.

(27) If an argument

- is **focalised** or
- **[+1, +2]$_{\text{topicalized}}$,**

then it enforces the voice form it corresponds to (e.g. an Actor argument enforces Actor voice and an Undergoer argument Undergoer voice).

Given that an Actor argument may more freely get marked by *ang* without inducing Actor voice, we also need to note the principles of Actor voice selection to capture the data we have seen so far in this section. Note that these principles correspond to the prominence principles noted for *ang*-marking. (28iii) hints at the fact that there are more data to consider than only the data in this section. These will be discussed in the next section.

(28) **Principles for Actor voice selection in Tagalog**

Actor voice is chosen or grammatical

(i) if the Actor is [+focal],

(ii) if the Undergoer is at the same time lower on the information-structural hierarchy and the person hierarchy than the Actor,

(iii) if the Actor is more specific than the Undergoer (and prominent on the event-structural level)

In all other cases **Undergoer voice** is chosen.

Note that it is not clear if we should assume a ranking between (28i) and (28ii). If (28ii) is violable and ranked lower than (28i), then we will expect a sentence like *Ako ay ang tela ang binili* 'As for me, the cloth is what I bought' not to be ruled out on the ground of voice selection principles. However, as can be gleaned from the English translation already, it is hard to construe a context in which such a very marked sentence would sound natural and good to consultants. The judgements I got so far are inconclusive, but suggest that there may indeed be a ranking. This would leave us with one inviolable principle (28i) and two violable ones (28ii) and (28iii), which can be outranked.

Note that what has been said so far neatly explains De Guzmans's fronting examples in Chapter 4, example (11), here repeated in (29), which were argued to be grammatical/ ungrammatical for syntactic reasons. Now the grammaticality judgements can be explained based on the guidelines of voice selection given in (28) and the licensing principles of *ang*-marking given in (A)-(C). The sentence in (29a) is grammatical because the Actor is realised clause-externally; therefore, the *[*ang ang*]$_{\text{basic clause}}$-principle is not violated by its nominative marking. Although the topical Actor is information-structurally more salient than the Undergoer, it is not focal and it does not outrank the Undergoer on the person hierarchy. Thus, none of the Actor voice licensing rules in (28) apply and interfere.

The sentence in (29b), on the other hand, is ungrammatical because the Undergoer is more prominent on two levels; it is information-structurally more prominent and specific, i.e. as specific as the Actor. Therefore, Actor voice is rejected in this sentence.

(29) **Double *ang*-marking** (De Guzman 1995:56-57)

a.	ang nanay,	lu~lutu-**in**	(niya)	**ang isda**.
	NOM mother	IPFV~cook-UV:in	3s.GEN	NOM fish
	'The mother, (she) will cook the fish.'			
b.	*ang isda,	mag-lu~luto	**siya**.	
	NOM fish	AV:mag-IPFV~cook	3s.NOM	
	Intended: 'The fish, s/he will cook.'			

According to the voice selection principle in (28), the voice affix should correspond to the most prominent argument. In all of the ungrammatical topic sentences in this section, this principle is violated, as the topical argument is more prominent than the one singled out by the voice affixes.

Recall that all of the above does not prevent nominative-marked noun phrases from appearing in front of the particle *ay* if they are not arguments of the voiced verb and thus do not compete for prominence on the clause level with the event-structurally prominent argument, as was shown (26). Summing up, a second nominative marker to signal the information-structural prominence of an argument that is not singled out by the voice affixes is only possible if the information-structurally prominent argument exhibits lower prominence on some other level.

5.1.6 Other forms of prominence: voiced verbs and inherent orientation

While the voice selection principles are helpful for explaining the grammaticality judgements for the data discussed so far in this section, data in the last chapter and studies by Nolasco (2005) and Saclot (2006) have shown that there is more to voice selection and nominative marking than merely referentiality and information-structural considerations. There are many verbs that, unlike the verb stems /*kita*/ 'seen, visible' and /*takot*/ 'fear', allow Actor voice in basic sentences even if the Undergoer is a personal name, i.e. definite. One example is given in (1), here repeated in (30), and another example in (31).

(30) **/*suntok*/ 'hit' with specific Undergoer** (Saclot 2006: 10)

a. S<um>untok	**si Pedro**	kay Jose.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$hit	NOM Pedro	DAT Jose
'Pedro hit Jose.'		
b. S<in>untok	ni Pedro	**si Jose**.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$hit	GEN Pedro	NOM Jose
'Pedro hit Jose.'		

(31) **/*nood*/ 'watch' with specific Undergoer** (Saclot 2006: 10)

a. Na-nood	**si Alex**	ng Extra Challenge.
MA.REAL-watch	NOM Alex	GEN extra challenge
'Alex watched Extra Challenge.'		
b. P<in>anood	ni Alex	**ang Extra Challenge**.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$watch	GEN Alex	NOM extra challenge
'Alex watched (the) Extra Challenge.'		

Note that there is a decisive difference between the verbs discussed in the last section and the verbs in (30)-(31). While the stems of the verbs /*kita*/ 'visible' and /*takot*/ 'fear' describe a property of the Undergoer, the verbs in (30)-(31) describe a specific kind of activity. These data suggest that we can make a distinction between inherently Actor-oriented and inherently Undergoer-oriented verbs and possibly verbs that are not inherently oriented. In (30) the activity denoted, i.e. the punctual surface contact between the Actor and the Undergoer, may be analysed as neither centering on the Actor nor on the Undergoer, and as such the verb may be viewed as neutral with respect to its inherent orientation. In (31), however, the activity denoted clearly describes the Actor and its activity and, thus, the verb can be analysed as inherently Actor-oriented. Note that inherent orientation does not necessarily determine voice selection, but is obviously a pre-condition in cases where voice and nominative marking diverges from the principle [+spec]/[+hr] >> [+spec]/[-hr] discussed above. In other words, with an Actor-oriented verb an Actor may be construed as more prominent than the specific Undergoer on grounds that are unrelated to referentiality, but directly related to the construal of the event. I will call this kind of prominence 'event-structural prominence'. Different construals often lead to differences in interpretation of the verb and, thus, to semantic shifts that will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Pursuing these shifts here would take us too far away from the case markers and too deep into considering the semantics of the voice affixes and individual verbs. For the time being, it is sufficient to keep in mind that, in addition to the factors discussed so far, verb meaning also plays a role in whether or not nominative marking of an Actor argument in basic sentences is acceptable, as in (30)-(31), or disfavoured, as in the examples in (19) and (20). Note that in the sentences in (5), in which we unexpectedly noticed *ang*-marking of non-specific Undergoer arguments, the verbs, /*kita*/ 'visible' and /*bigay*/ 'gift, thing given', were also inherently Undergoer-oriented.

So far, it has become very clear that, while specificity and information-structural prominence may suffice to account for *ang*-marking with voiceless and some voice-marked predicates, there is a certain form of prominence at work in voice selection and nominative marking with active verbs that has not yet been discussed in the last chapter and the sections above, namely event-structural prominence. For the upcoming comparison to the other case markers, it is only important to retain that nominative marking fulfils the function of marking prominent arguments, that prominence can be evaluated at more than one level, and that the most prominent argument is the one signalled on the verb by an affix. The table in 5.1 lists the findings. Voice choice in bold letters signals either obligatoriness or a strong preference for this choice.

Table 5.1 Voice choice and argument properties

Actor	**Undergoer**	**Examples**	**Voice choice**
[**+spec**]	[-spec]	19c, 22c	➔ **AV** /UV (***verb dependent***)
[+spec]	**[+spec]**	21 a, b 30, 31	➔ **UV**/ AV **(*verb dependent*)**
[+spec]	[α spec], **[+foc]**	21c	➔ **UV** (obligatory)
[α spec] [**+foc**]	[+spec]	21a, b	➔ **AV** (obligatory)
[+top] [+1/+2]	[+3]	23	➔ **AV (**obligatory for some**)**

Shibatani (1981) emphasizes the pragmatic nature of nominative marking and the voice system. In addition to this, we find a grammaticalised clause-level function of nominative marking. In the following sections we will take a closer look at the function and distribution of the case markers *ng* and *sa* in comparison to *ang*.

5.2 The marker ng

As stated before, the case marker *ng* itself is not specified for specificity, neither positively nor negatively (cf. McFarland 1978). It may be mapped to the highest and lowest argument on a given argument hierarchy, i.e. to those arguments that Van Valin (2005) calls core-arguments of a verb. On top of this, *ng* may mark Instrument and Measure arguments, as shown in (32a, b) and (32c, d) respectively.

(32) ***ng*-marked instrument and measure arguments**

a. P<in>utol niya **ng** gulak ang kahoy.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$cut 3s.GEN GEN bolo NOM wood
'He cut the wood with a bolo.' (McFarland 1978: 157)

b. B<in>asag niya **ng** bato ang bintana.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$break 3s.GEN GEN rock NOM window
'He broke the window a rock.'

c. T<um>í~timbáng akó **ng 110 libra**.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$IPFV~weigh 1s.NOM GEN 110 pounds
'I weigh 110 pounds.' (English 1977: 1180)

d. L<um>akad akó **ng 10 milya**.
<AV>[REAL]walk 1s.NOM GEN 10 miles
'I walked 10 miles.'

Reid (1978) and Himmelmann (1991) suggest that *ng* (pronounced [nang]) developed out of the combination of the attributive marker *na* and the general linker *ng* and marks object-denoting entities that are attributes to the verb, in Drossard's (1992) terminology 'referential attributes'.[59] In terms of a featural approach to case, as the one developed within LDG, genitive *ng* would be the unmarked case then. In Himmelmann's (1991, 2005b) view, *ng* should not be considered a core argument marker, as it marks arguments with roles that are not traditionally considered core roles, as shown in (32), and as its homophonous equivalent *nang* marks attributes that do not have the status of arguments, e.g. time and manner adverbs, as exemplified in (33).

(33) ***nang*-marked attributes** (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 437, 443, 452)

a. Bakit siya mag-ta~trabaho nang Linggo?
why 3s.NOM AV:mag.IRR-IPFV~work LK Sunday
'Why do you work on (a) Sunday?'

b. T<um>ira ako roon nang 1950.
<AV>[REAL]live 1s.NOM there LK 1950
'I lived there in 1950.'

c. Kailangan natin-g k<um>ain nang mabilis.
must 1p.NOM-LK <AV>[REAL]eat LK fast
'We have to eat fast.'

Note that, even if one accepts that the two markers are not homophonous but identical, this still does not imply that the analysis of *ng* as an unmarked linker would have to be abandoned. However, it would mean that *ng* cannot be analysed as a core argument marker. Himmelmann (1991) and Ross (2002) argue indeed that this set of data is evidence for the lack of a core

[59] Himmelmann points out the difference between the two homographic *ng*'s, genitive *ng* and the linker *ng*, in his example given in (iii). The linker *ng* in contrast to the genitive marker *ng* yields a property reading, rather than a referential reading.

(iii) bata-***ng*** dalaga bata **ng** dalaga
child-LK girl child GEN girl
'The small girl' 'the child of the girl' Himmelmann (1991:7)

argument/oblique argument status in Tagalog. Note, however, that the attribute function of the marker *nang* and the participant-marking function of the marker *ng* are difficult to equate, e.g. *mabilis* marked by genitive *ng* instead of attributive *nang* would mean 'the fast one' (the plural form, marked by CV-reduplication, is frequently used: *ng/sa mga mabibilis* 'the fast ones').

Ross (2002) points out that a *nang/sa* alternation can be observed for time attributes, suggesting that this is the same alternation we find for the participant-marking *ng*. Note, however, that the alternation with respect to time attributes is three-fold between *noong*, *nang* and *sa.* According to Schachter and Otanes (1972: 438-442) *nang Lunes* means 'on Monday', while *sa Lunes* means 'next Monday' and *noong Lunes* 'last Monday'. All of the above suggests that it makes sense to acknowledge two different functional elements that happen to be homophonous, but are not homographic for a good reason.

It is not the case that *ng* as an unmarked linker introduces and licenses all kinds of adjuncts or even all kinds of Instrument adjuncts. While Instrument phrases in the form of *sa pamamagitan ng x*: 'by the means of x' can appear with a large number of verbs, only a restricted number of verbs permit the realisation of an Instrument argument marked by the genitive marker. Specifically, only verbs that subcategorise for Instruments may mark them with *ng*. Ramos (1974: 35, 109) lists verbs of surface contact like /*palo*/ 'to spank', /*sampal*/ 'to slap', /*sinturon*/ 'to hit with belt', /*taga*/ 'to hack', /*suntok*/ 'to box (with fists)', /*kurot*/ 'to pinch (with fingers)', /*saksa*k/ 'to stab (with a bolo)', /*hagupit*/ 'to strike (with a whip)', /*kagat*/ 'to bite (with teeth)', /*pukpuk*/ 'to pound', /*halo*/ 'to mix/stir (with a pestle, fork, spoon etc.)', /*hugas*/ 'to wash', /*punas*/ 'to wipe', /*walis*/ 'to sweep (with a broom)', /*linis*/ 'to clean' and verbs of contact that result in a change in the (internal) structure of objects like /*durug*/ 'to pulverise', /*wasak*/ 'to destroy', /*hiwa*/ 'to slice', /*talop*/ 'to peel'. Note that most of these are also limited to a certain kind of instrument. Sentences like (34a-c), which do not contain any of these specific verbs but attempt to mark the Instrument phrase by *ng*, were rejected by my consultants, although they describe events that prototypically involve the use of an instrument. This shows that a mere evocation of a situation prototypically involving an instrument is not enough to license a *ng*-marked Instrument argument.

(34) **Acceptable and inacceptable *ng*-marked instruments**

a. *Lu~lutu-in	niya	ng kutsara	ang adobo.
IPFV.IRR~cook-UV:in	3S.GEN	GEN spoon	NOM adobo

Intended: 'He will cook the adobo with a spoon.'

b. *Sa~salayak-in niya ng kutsilyo si Lena.
IPFV.IRR~attack-UV:in 3S.GEN GEN knife NOM Lena
Intended: 'He will attack Lena with a knife.'

c. *B<in>igy-an ko ng kutsara si Nini ng jam.
<REAL>give-UV:an 1S.GEN GEN spoon NOM Nini GEN jam
Intended: 'I gave Nini jam with a spoon.'

d. H<in>agupit ko ng sinturon ang kabayo.
<REAL>[UV]whip 1S.GEN GEN belt NOM horse
'He whipped the horse with a belt.'

e. H<in>alo ko ng kutsara ang adobo.
<REAL>[UV]pestle 1S.GEN GEN spoon NOM adobo
'I pestled (stirred) the adobo with a spoon.'

The difference between the stems the voice affixes attach to is obvious: the base stem *luto* denotes the result of being 'cooked' (or the 'meal cooked') and (*pag-*)*salayak* denotes 'the activity of attacking ferociously', while *hagupit* denotes 'the act of hitting with a whip' and *halo* the instrument 'pestle'. Hence, only the latter two denote events with inherent Instrument arguments. In this sense, *ng*-marked Instrument arguments belong indeed to the core arguments of a verb, as they further specify information already provided by the stem. Similarly, a *ng*-marked measure argument, like the measure of a path in (32), is only licensed with verbs like /*lakad*/ 'to walk', /*takbo*/ 'to run', /*lipad*/ 'to fly', /*langoy*/ 'to swim', which denote forward movement of an animate being, traversing a path on the ground, in the air or in the water. Verbs like 'to sweat' and 'to cry', which denote the event of losing some kind of body liquid, also allow for the realization of the inherent argument as *ng*-marked argument, as the sentences in (35) show.

(35) ***ng*-marking of inherent arguments**

a. <Um>iyak ako ng dugo.
<AV>[REAL]cry 1S.NOM GEN blood
'I cried blood.'

b. Nag-pawis ka ba ng dugo?
AV:mag-sweat 2S.NOM QUEST GEN blood
'Did you sweat blood?'

The important thing to retain here is that *ng* is not a preposition which may license adjunct arguments (cf. Kroeger 1993 for a similar view). Seemingly, peripheral *ng*-marked arguments are in fact inherent to the verb meaning. This is in line with Foley and Van Valin's (1984) claim that *ng* only marks core arguments.

5.3 The marker sa

As has been pointed out repeatedly, e.g. by Ramos (1974), Himmelmann (1991) and Fortis (2000), *sa* is an underspecified (spatial) preposition.[60] *Sa* marks Location arguments with activity and process verbs, unless these denote an inherent direction; in those cases the *sa*-phrase may get either a Goal or a Source reading. Locations are typically understood as definite or specific. *Sa*-marking is found with adjuncts, as in (36a, b), as well as with Source and Goal arguments that a verb requires, as shown in (36c-f). The marker *sa* is never found with Actors; it is confined to Undergoer arguments.

(36) ***sa*-marking on spatial adjuncts and arguments**

a. Nag-luto ako ng isda **sa kusina.**
AV:mag-cook 1S.NOM GEN fish DAT kitchen
'I cooked fish in the kitchen.'

b. B<um>asa siya ng libro **sa kusina**.
<AV>[REAL]read 3S.NOM GEN book DAT kitchen
'He read a book in the kitchen.'

c. D<um>ating siya **sa akin-g bahay.**
<AV>[REAL]arrive 3S.NOM DAT 1P.NONACTOR-LK house
'He arrived at my house.'

d. P<um>asok ako **sa bahay.**
<AV>[REAL]enter 1S.NOM DAT house
'I entered the house.'

e. L<um>abas ako **sa bahay.**
<AV>[REAL]leave 1S.NOM DAT house
'I left the house.'

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[60] Although *sa* may be used for marking all kinds of adjuncts. It is then best viewed as the short form of one of the more complex prepositions it usually appears with, *dahil sa* 'due to/because of', *hanggang sa* 'until', *tungkol sa* 'about' etc.

f. T<um>awid ako **sa kalye.**
<AV>[REAL]cross 1S.NOM DAT street
'I crossed the street.'

Likewise, the complement of social interaction verbs that require animate Undergoers is marked by *sa* (e.g. /*tulong*/ 'to help', /*bati*/ 'to greet', /*salubong*/ 'to meet', /*usap*/ 'to converse with', /*laban*/ 'to fight with', etc.). Obviously these Undergoers could also be analysed as Goals in the sense of 'argument toward which the action is directed', as illustrated in (37a-d).

(37) ***sa*-marked animate Undergoers**

a. T<um>ulong ako **sa bata.**
<AV>[REAL]help 1S.NOM DAT child
'I helped the child.'

b. B<um>ati siya **sa bata**.
<AV>[REAL]greet 3S.NOM DAT child
'He greeted the child.'

c. <Um>ahit ako **sa lalaki.**
<AV>[REAL]shave 1S.NOM DAT man.
'I shaved the man.'

d. S<um>alubong siya **sa kanila** sa paliparan.
<AV>[REAL]meet/welcome 3S.NOM DAT 3P.NONACTOR DAT airport
'He met/welcomed them at the airport.'

It is sometimes proposed that verbs that take *ng*-marked Undergoers are transitive and verbs that take *sa*-arguments are intransitive (e.g. Starosta 2002). This analysis is problematic since dative *sa* is frequently used as a differential object marker for arguments that are animate and/or definite, as the next section will show. If one takes up Hopper and Thompson's (1980) characterisation of transitivity, then verbs with definite Undergoers are more transitive than verbs that take indefinite Undergoers. It would, thus, be unexpected to find intransitive marking in the more transitive case, as also commented on by Katagiri (2005). While it is common knowledge that there are *ng*-*sa* alternations in Tagalog, a systematic presentation of where and under which circumstances alternations are possible is still missing and will be provided in the next section. As we will see, the notion of Actor-orientation is helpful in

describing the distribution of the markers, as is the basic idea already hinted at in Comrie (1977) that differential marking is about hearer economy, in the sense that differential object marking only occurs if it represents a processing advantage with respect to the discourse referents introduced by the verb arguments.

5.3.1 Ng/sa-alternations

While the data in the previous section seem to indicate that *sa* is confined to a set of semantic roles coding spatial information, note that *ng*-marking is possible and frequent with achievement verbs of directed motion and also with the social interaction verb /*bati*/ 'to greet', as shown in (38). /*bati*/ 'to greet' seems to be the the exception to the rule that social interaction verbs have to assign dative case. This may be due to the fact that greeting someone can also be construed as a directed motion. It has to be pointed out, however, that the *ng*-argument of /*bati*/ is more often the uttered greeting itself than the Goal argument, as in *Bumati si Lola ng 'Hola'* 'Lola said 'Hola' (as a greeting)' *or* in *Bumati si Lola ng magandang araw kay Leni* 'Lola wished Leni a good day'.

(38) ***ng*-marked Goal and animate Undergoer**

B<um>ati	siya	**ng bata**.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$greet	3S.GEN	GEN child

'He greeted a/(the) child.'

It seems reasonable to assume that *ng*-marking is the basic marking of the Undergoer argument of the verb in (38) and that *sa*-marking is chosen to explicitly mark the definiteness of the Undergoer argument with these verbs.

The social interaction verbs /*tulong*/ 'to help', /*salubong*/ 'to meet and welcome', and /*ahit*/ 'to shave' in (37), on the other hand, belong to a group of verbs that are lexicalised as exclusively taking dative complements. Overt marking of the [+hr]-status of the animate Undergoers in social interaction verbs makes sense, as it helps the speaker to easily distinguish the different roles of the two animate arguments the verb takes. Recall also that personal names and pronouns are obligatorily marked by the dative marker when they do not code the Actor argument. The explicit marking of animate Undergoers clearly represents a processing advantage (cf. Comrie 1977). The reanalysis of the Tagalog dative marker as a marker of definite and animate [+hr]-arguments is very much in line with what Comrie (1977)

and Givón (1976) have observed and pointed out for the dative marker in languages as diverse as Spanish, Hindi, Ge'ez and Neo-Aramaic.

However, seemingly in contrast to the finding that *sa* is chosen to overtly signal the definiteness of an Undergoer argument, the examples in (39) show that *ng* – and not *sa* – is regularly used to mark arguments expressed by proper names like *Saudi Arabia* in (39a) or *Malolos Crossing* in (39b), a well-known highlevel overpass that crosses over a highway intersection approximately 45km from Manila. A first example of a *ng*-marked proper name was provided in (25) in chapter 4, here repeated as (39c). Rather than being the exception, *ng*-marked proper names are very common, as the examples in (39) show.

(39) a. D-um-ating **ng Saudi Arabia** ang mga muslim para l<um>ahok
AV.REALIS-arrive GEN S.A. NOM PL muslim for <AV>[REAL]participate
'The muslims arrived in Saudi Arabia in order to participate

sa paglalakbay sa banal na Mekka.
DAT pilgrimage DAT sacred LK Mekka
in the pilgrimage to sacred Mekka.'
(CRI online Filipino, 2010-10-21, *Mga Muslim, dumating ng Saudi Arabia para sa paglalakbay*)

b. D<um>ating kami **ng Malolos Crossing**.
<AV>[REAL]arrive 1p.NOM GEN Malolos Crossing
'We arrived at Malolos Crossing.'
(http://www.tsinatown.com/2010/06/see-you-in-paradise.html)

c. Na-nood si Alex **ng Extra Challenge**.
MA.REAL-watch NOM Alex GEN Extra Challenge
'Alex watched Extra Challenge.' (Saclot 2006: 10)

d. Nag-ba~basa si Alex sa kanila **ng Bible**.
MAG.REAL-IPVF~read NOM Alex DAT 3p.NONACTOR GEN Bible
'Alex reads/was reading the Bible to them.'

The question arises as to why proper names are treated differently from personal names and from common nouns designating locations or expressing definite referents. The answer, I suggest, is a functional one. Firstly, the reference of locational proper names is per se definite. No additional marker is needed to signal definiteness, unlike in the case of common nouns. Moreover, location names, in contrast to personal names, imply that the referent of the

argument expression is inanimate. If one argument is animate and the other inanimate, the speaker does not need additional cues to keep Actor and Undergoer argument apart with an activity verb. If we think of differential object marking as a means to provide a processing advantage to the hearer (cf. Aissen 2003 and Primus in press), then it is understandable that – in contrast to common nouns – easily identifiable inanimate arguments expressed by proper names do not require *sa*-marking. Note, however, that *sa*-marking is perfectly good and acceptable to many speakers in this case.

If we assume that *ng* is the unmarked case, then it is indeed more economical to keep the basic marker, instead of taking the marker *sa* in a case where *sa*-marking (i) does not provide any additional information in terms of definiteness and (ii) is not needed to help distinguish the roles of the two arguments.

5.3.2 Sa-marking and Actor-orientation

Alternations between *ng* and *sa* are not only found with verbs of directed motion, but also with activity verbs like /*basa*/ 'to read', as was shown in (39). Further examples are given in (40a-e). Note that *ng*-marked Undergoers may receive a plural/generic reading. It is these cases that are meant when the optionality of the plural marker *mga* is mentioned.

(40) a. Ba~basa ang bata **ng/sa** **libro**.
IPFV~read NOM child GEN/DAT book
'The child will read a/the book.' (Katagiri 2005b: 164)

b. B<um>a~basa ang bata **ng/sa** **libro**.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$IPFV~read NOM child GEN/DAT book
'The child is/was reading a/the book.'

c. Nag-ti~tiis ang mga babae **ng/sa** **hirap**.
MAG.REAL-IPFV~bear NOM PL woman GEN/DAT hardship
'The women bear hardship(s)/the hardship.'

d. Nang-ha~harana ang binata **ng/sa dalaga**.
MANG.REAL-IPFV~serenade NOM young man GEN/DAT lady
'The young man serenades ladies/ the lady.'

e. D<um>a~dalo ako **ng/sa** **meeting**.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$IPFV~attend 1S.NOM GEN/DAT meeting
'I attend meetings/the meeting.' (Bowen 1965: 222)

It has been noted repeatedly that native speakers differ as to how freely they accept *ng-sa* alternations in basic sentences. This is not surprising, given the discussion of factors influencing the prominence of arguments and its relation to nominative marking in section 5.1. Referentiality is one domain in which arguments may differ and outrank each other in terms of prominence, so obviously if the Undergoer is definite and does not enforce Undergoer voice, then this is due to the fact that the Actor is prominent in some other domain. The sentences in (40) above show contexts which facilitate the construal of the Actor as more prominent than the Undergoer. Three reasons can be given why the Actor is perceived as event-structurally prominent in the examples above, so that *sa*-marking of the Undergoer is acceptable.

- Firstly, the verbs themselves describe activities that characterise the Actor – and not the Undergoer. The Undergoer does not undergo a change of state and no result is implied with respect to the Undergoer. Therefore, the verbs can be analysed as inherently Actor-oriented. Note that this argument also holds for the verbs of directed motion, which denote a change of location of the Actor and imply no change with respect to the Undergoer.
- Secondly, the imperfective form of the verb focuses on the repetition, iteration or continuation of the activity of the Actor and, therefore, favours Actor-orientation.
- Thirdly, in the absence of realis marking, as in (40a), the imperfective verb form is understood in the sense that the event has not yet occurred (and will occur in the future). Recall from chapter 2 that it is not uncommon in conversational Tagalog to use bare verb stems and still have nominative marking on one of the arguments. This marking was shown to depend on whether the context is understood as a realis or an irrealis context. In irrealis contexts, i.e. in contexts in which the event has not yet manifested itself, the Actor is viewed as prominent and receives nominative marking, while in realis contexts, it is the Undergoer. This is not surprising, as in the former case we focus on the starting point and the phase prior to the starting point, both of which are more closely related to the Actor than the Undergoer, while in the latter case we focus on the development or end phase of the event, which is mostly characterised by processes involving a change in the Undergoer and its properties.

Note that for *sa*-marking of the Undergoer to be possible, i.e. for definite Undergoers to be acceptable in Actor voice constructions, we need ‘counter-weights’ that justify the higher degree of prominence of the Actor in these cases, so that the definite Undergoer does not

'enforce' Undergoer voice. Inherent Actor-orientation of the verb, imperfectivity and irrealis contexts represent such counter-weights that render the Actor event-structurally more prominent. From all that has been said so far, it follows that event-structural prominence is a matter of degree and the result of a rather complex evaluation process. Therefore speakers feel very certain of the acceptability of *sa*-marked Undergoers in basic sentences if the event-related prominence of the Actor is very high with respect to all of the three domains discussed above, but tend to be less certain if this is not the case.

Given that Actor-orientation and Actor prominence play a role in whether or not a specific Undergoer may be marked by *sa* instead of *ang*, it is not surprising that speakers of Tagalog accept *sa*-marking of Undergoers more freely in focused Actor constructions than in basic sentences, as shown in (41a-d) below. This is to be expected, since prominence in terms of focus has been shown to outrank all other prominence considerations. For some of my consultants, almost all transitive verbs allow for *sa*-marking of the Undergoer in Actor focus constructions. For a larger group *sa*-marking of the Undergoer is restricted to verbs that do not imply a change or a result with respect to the Undergoer, i.e. activity verbs, as mentioned above, but also stative verbs of perception, emotion, cognition as well as verbs of punctual surface contact. One example was already provided in chapter 4, example (11), here repeated as (41a). It should be mentioned that a very small group of speakers only approves of *sa*-marking if the Undergoer is animate – in focus sentences *and* basic sentences. So, there is a broad range of judgements.[61] I have based my discussion so far on the judgements of the largest group and will continue to do so, as they are in line with the few rare examples found in the literature, as well as Schachter and Otanes' (1972) remark on *sa*-marking in their well-known *Tagalog Reference Grammar*.

(41) **Undergoer coded by either *ng* or *sa***

a. Siya ang naka-kita **ng/sa** aksidente.
3s.NOM NOM AV:maka.REAL-visible GEN/DAT accident
'S/he is the one who saw a/the accident.'

[61] The range of judgements cannot be traced back to different dialects of Tagalog at this point. Firstly, there is no study and description of the different dialects of Tagalog, and secondly, even though all my speakers come from Manila, most of them have been exposed to more than one Philippine language within their family units. Multilinguality is the standard in the Philippines. None of my consultants speaks less than three languages.

b. Siya ang <um>ibig **ng/sa** **lalake**.
3s.NOM NOM <AV>$_{[REAL]}$love GEN/DAT man
'S/he is the one who loved a/the man.'

c. Siya ang s<um>untok **ng/sa** **lalake**.
3s.NOM NOM <AV>$_{[REAL]}$hit GEN/DAT man
'S/he is the one who hit a/the man.'

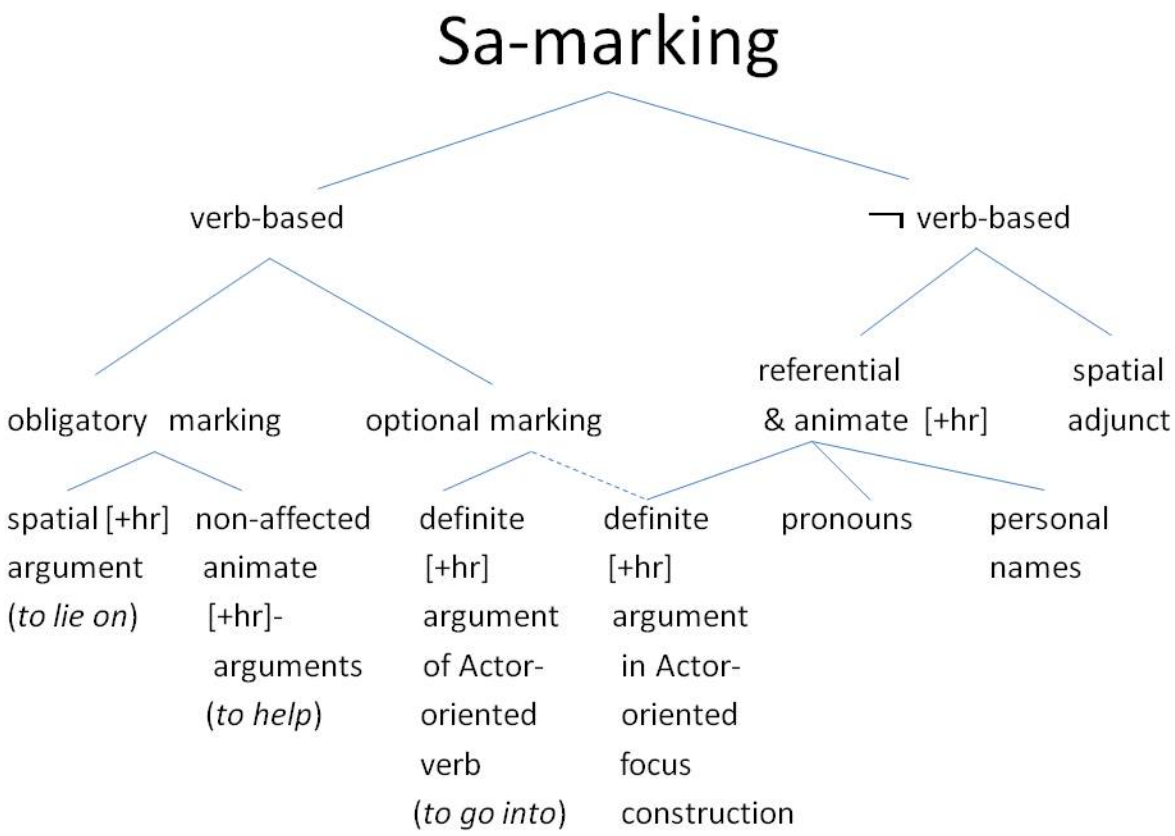
d. Siya ang naka-ala **ng/sa** **kaarawan** ko.
3s.NOM NOM AV:maka.REAL-remember GEN/DAT birthday 1s.GEN
'S/he is the one who remembered my birthday.'

e. <Um>ibig siya **ng/sa** lalake**.**
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$love 3s.NOM GEN/DAT man
'S/he loved/fell in love with a/the man.'

As the example in (41e) shows, the verb *umibig* 'to love' may receive a stative and a dynamic reading and, thus, may also pattern like the verbs of directed motion and the activity verbs above in that it allows *sa*-marking in basic sentences.

The following representation in Figure 1 sums up the contexts in which we find *sa*-marking. Obviously the non-obligatory alternation cases are the more interesting cases, but as the discussion in the next section will show, the obligatory cases also help to provide an insight in the principles, processes and constraints underlying the *ng*-*sa* alternation. As has been argued at length in this section, Actor-orientation is a precondition for *ng*-Undergoer verbs to be able to take *sa*-marking in special contexts.

Figure 5.1



5.3.3 Sa-marking from functional and formal perspectives

The examples we have seen so far show that *sa*, for one, serves to mark adjuncts that specify where an event is located, but also arguments that (i) bear the feature [+hr] 'there is a higher argument role' and, (ii) on top of that, either specify spatial information inherent to the verb meaning or exhibit a high degree of referentiality. Recall that, with highly referential non-nominative Undergoers expressed by pronouns and personal names, dative-marking is obligatory, as was pointed out in chapter 2.

At first glance these two functions do not seem to be interrelated. However, the interrelatedness of these different functions can be motivated. The spatial marker *sa* is extended in its use to spatial arguments, like Goal and Source arguments of verbs that subcategorise for them. A location argument is prototypically not the highest argument of a verb (and indeed Tagalog does not even have a verb for 'contain' that would take a location as its highest argument, but uses the existential marker *may* instead), so that we expect this kind of marking only with [+hr]-arguments; and this is indeed what we find. Hence, in comparison to *ng*, which may mark argument roles at opposing poles of the semantic role hierarchy, i.e.

Actor and Undergoer, and, thus, must be unspecified for [hr/lr], the linker *sa* is restricted to one pole – the [+hr]-pole – and therefore is the only explicit marker for non-Actor arguments.

The processing principle 'expressiveness' (cf. Stiebels 2000) states that arguments with different semantic/thematic roles should be maximally distinct and not be coded the same way, so that processing the sentence becomes easier for the hearer. This is a very general principle that stresses the functional role of case marking for the hearer's processing ease ('hearer economy'). As mentioned before, in Tagalog explicit marking of the [+hr]-status of an Undergoer is only required if the Undergoer exhibits prototypical Actor properties, such as animacy or definiteness. It is easy to understand why animacy should be considered a property of a prototypical Actor, as animate beings usually exhibit all of Dowty's (1991) proto-agent properties like volition, sentience, and the ability to control, cause events and move autonomously. But can definiteness also be viewed as a prototypical Actor property? So far the empirical observation from discourse studies that Actors tend to be topical and, thus, higher on the referential hierarchy, while Undergoers tend to be non-topical and thus lower on the referential hierarchy (cf. Comrie 1981, Jäger 2007, Bickel 2008) is only a Zipfian finding (1935, 1949). Primus (in press) tries to incorporate this finding and seeks to develop a theoretical underpinning in her approach to differential object marking. She suggests that proto-patients (Undergoers) differ from proto-agents (Actors) due to the fact that there is an asymmetric dependency relation, which is reflected in a role-semantic and a referential dependency of the proto-patient (Undergoer) on the proto-agent (Actor). Thus, a*symmetric co-argument dependency* is said to be the underlying criterion for distinguishing prototypical Actors (proto-agents) from prototypical Undergoers (proto-patients). According to Primus' definition, the prototypical Undergoer (patient) is co-argument-dependent in the sense that 'its kind of involvement is dependent on the kind of involvement of another participant, the proto-agent' (ibid. page 73). While this is obvious for the causal affectedness of an Undergoer, which directly results from the causal action of the Actor, Primus states that for a uniform asymmetric co-argument dependency, this should also be true with respect to referentiality, and argues that it is. Primus points out that, while 'The reference of a definite or specific noun phrase is established independently of that of a co-argument in a context-dependent way: the referent is identified by contextual information or by the mutual knowledge of the speaker and hearer, (…) By contrast, the interpretation of an indefinite, non-specific noun phrase[62] is

[62] Primus confines this discussion to the sentence 'Every woman loves a man', where the unspecific reading of the indefinite article results in the interpretation that the man every woman loves can only be identified in relationship to her.

determined by a local binder that is structurally more prominent than it, i.e. c-commands it (cf. Heim 1982)' (ibid. page 76; emphasis A.L.); that is, its reference depends on a structurally superior noun phrase. In terms of asymmetric co-argument dependency, non-specific arguments that tend to be dependent on other arguments for interpretation are not to be expected as proto-agents, while definite arguments are equally unexpected as proto-patients. To sum up, from Primus' point of view, animacy and definite/specific reference of the Undergoer both lead to a departure from the uniform asymmetric co-argument dependency.

Regardless of whether or not one embraces Primus' notion of co-argument dependency or prefers to view the correlation of the highest and the lowest argument with different degrees of referentiality as a mere Zipfian effect, the basic idea is that, if role-wise unexpected semantic properties blur the role distinction of the arguments – which is important for processing – then explicit morphological marking is needed to help the hearer distinguish the arguments. Aissen (2003) formulates such correlations in terms of markedness (reversal) constraints that penalise an unexpected correlation between semantic properties and argument role. As was pointed out in the previous sections, unless the verb does not subcategorise for a dative-marked Undergoer, *sa*-marking of definite arguments is not obligatory in Tagalog, but permitted. Thus instead of a markedness constraint, I suggest that there is a weak, specific expressiveness constraint ***EXPRESS [+hr]/[+def]** requiring the [+hr]-status of a definite Undergoer argument to be expressed overtly. In general, Tagalog seems to favour the underspecified linker *ng*, so that it is fair to assume the existence a high-ranked constraint ***ECONOMY,** which states that marked linkers are to be avoided. Given that speakers allow both markings, no ranking imposes itself (even though they may differ information-structurally). Note that Actor-orientation is always taken for granted and considered a premise in the following discussion of *ng-sa* alternations.

(42) a. ***EXPRESS [+hr]/[+def]:** The [+hr] status of an Undergoer that is definite is to be coded overtly.

b. ***ECONOMY:** Avoid the use of marked linkers.

Recall from the previous chapter that the clearest and most frequent examples of specific *ng*-marked Undergoers in Tagalog are those that involve a possessive ponoun referring back to the Actor, as was shown in chapter 4, example (28), here repeated as (43a). (43b) shows an example of Undergoer expressed by the role designation which is often used as a personal

name, i.e. *tatay* ‘one’s father/dad’.

(43) **Possessor construction with specific *ng*-marked Undergoer**

a. Nag-dá~dalá silá ng sarili nilá-ng banda ng músika.
AV:mag.REAL-IPFV~bring 3p.NOM GEN self 3spGEN-LK band LK music
‘They bring their own band.’ (Bloomfield 1917:48, quoted by Himmelmann 1991: 48)

b. Ako ang nag-ha~hanap ng Tatay (ko).
1s.NOM NOM AV:mag.REAL-IPFV~look_for GEN father (1s.GEN)
‘I am the one who is looking for (my) Father/Dad’.

Data like these may be viewed as supporting Primus’ claim that the concept of asymmetric co-argument dependency plays a role in differential object marking. Clearly, given Primus’ idea of asymmetric co-argument dependency, the referential dependency of the Undergoer on the Actor should be congruent with the hearer’s expectations and, thus, not trigger differential object marking in terms of *sa*-marking. This is indeed what we find in the majority of cases.[63] Following Primus’ analysis, one could state that co-argument dependency of the Undergoer needs to be coded overtly and if it is coded overtly by linguistic material other than case markers, e.g. by a possessive pronoun, then there is no need to code it again. In this respect, Tagalog is economical. Thus, we can assume two more constraints, as stated in (44). Once again, the problem with ordering these violable constraints is that differential object marking in Tagalog is an option, not an obligatory process.

(44) a. ***ASYMMETRIC CO-ARGUMENT DEPENDENCY**: The asymmetric co-argument dependency of the Undergoer has to be overt.

b. ***ECONOMY/PROCESSING EASE**: Avoid marked linkers in the case of clear argument asymmetry.

Recall that there is another set of data that shows that the deviation from role-wise expected properties is not per se a trigger for differential object marking in Tagalog. As the examples

[63] The corresponding sentences with dative marking of the possessed Undergoer phrase are rejected.
(i) *Nag-dá~dalá silá sa sarili nilá-ng banda ng músika.
AV:mag.REAL-IPFV~bring 3p.NOM DAT self 3spGEN-LK band LK music
Intended: ‘They bring their own band.’
(ii) Ako ang nag-ha~hanap sa Tatay (ko).
1s.NOM NOM AV:mag.REAL-IPFV~look_for DAT father (1s.GEN)
INTENDED: ‘I am the one who is looking for (my) Father/Dad’

above in (34) have shown, *ng*-marking is still acceptable – and for most speakers even the preferred option – if the Undergoer argument is expressed by a proper name of a location or of an inanimate entity such as a TV show. As argued in the preceding section, with activity verbs, the argument role and the definiteness of the Undergoer can be easily derived from the proper name itself and there is no ground for processing confusion regarding the two arguments. Consequently, there is even more evidence that economy also plays a role in case marker choices. In line with the economy principle stated in (44b), if there is no processing advantage to taking a marked linker, then the unmarked linker is preferred. If definite reference is already inherent to the meaning of the argument, no extra coding is needed, as stated in (45).

(45) ***ECONOMY/ [+OVERT DEF]:** No marked linkers in the case of overt definiteness of the argument.

Summing up, examples like those in (39) and (43) suggest that whenever the asymmetric co-argument dependency *and* the specificity of the Undergoer are sufficiently clear, e.g. because the Undergoer argument is expressed by a proper name of a location or because a possessive pronoun indicates the referential dependency of the Undergoer argument on the Actor argument, then differential object marking, i.e. *sa*-marking of the specific Undergoer, is not necessary anymore and not even preferred. All of this shows that processing principles are at the core of *sa*-marking. The dative marker cannot simply be analysed as a marker bearing the feature [+specific] that gets checked and mapped to arguments that are likewise [+specific]. If there is no advantage to taking the marked linker, then the unmarked linker is preferred.

The principles discussed so far – which are principles of hearer economy and speaker economy – show how the obligatory *sa*-marking of Undergoers expressed by pronouns and personal names developed. They also explain the obligatory *sa*-marking of Undergoer arguments with a group of verbs accompanied by animate Undergoers that do not undergo any change of state and do not delimit the event, as in the case of /*tulong*/ 'to help'. Finally, as we have seen in (40) and (41), Undergoers expressed by common nouns may be optionally marked by *sa* rather than *ng* in order to express that the Undergoer argument is definite or specific, regardless of whether or not it is animate. As noted above, this alternation is observed with Actor-oriented verbs, i.e. in the presence of event-structurally prominent or information-structurally prominent Actors.

So far, we have only taken a look at two-place predicates. Every theory of case needs to be able to accommodate causative verbs that yield a change in argument structure. This will be the next step.

5.3.4 Causative verbs

Causative data show that the Causee receives dative case if the base verb is transitive, as in (46d), while with intransitive base verbs the Causee receives genitive case, as in (46b) (cf. Van Valin & La Polla 1997: §9.2.2). Genitive-dative alternations in basic sentences with causatives derived from intransitive verbs are rejected (46b), unless the Actor is in focus and thus information-structurally prominent, as in (46c).

(46) **Causatives with *ng*- and *sa*-marked Causee**

a. <Um>iyak ang bata.
   <AV>$_{[REAL]}$cry NOM child
   'The child cried.'

b. Nag-pa-iyak siya **ng/*sa** bata.
   AV:mag.REAL-CAUS-cry 3S.NOM GEN/DAT child
   'He made/let a child cry.'

c. Ang lalaki, nag-p-aiyak **ng/sa** puso ko.
   NOM man AV:mag.REAL-CAUS-cry GEN/DAT heart 1S.GEN
   'The man, he makes my heart cry.'

d. Nag-pa-sulat siya ng liham **sa** bata.
   AV:mag.REAL-CAUS-write 3S.NOM GEN letter DAT child
   'He made/let the child write a letter.'

Note that a causative verb like *nagpaiyak* 'to make someone cry' certainly denotes a change of state in the Undergoer/Causee and therefore is not (i.e. no longer) an inherently Actor-oriented verb. As I have argued in the previous sections, with an inherently Undergoer-oriented verb we would expect a definite Undergoer to trigger Undergoer/Causee voice. As shown in (47), this is indeed what we find. The lack of inherent Actor-orientation explains why without information-structural prominence of the Actor, *sa*-marking, i.e. definiteness marking, of the Causee with intransitive verbs is not acceptable to consultants.

(47) **Causative with definite Undergoer Voice**

P<in>a-iyak	niya	ang bata.
<REAL>[UV]CAUS-cry	3S.GEN	NOM child
'He made the child cry.'		

In the case of causatives derived from transitive verbs, genitive marking of the Causee is generally ruled out (48b).

(48) a. S<um>ulat **ng** mga liham ang bata.
<AV>[REAL]write GEN PL letter NOM child
'The child wrote (the) letters.'

b. Nag-pa-sulat siya *ng/**sa** bata **ng** mga liham.
AV.mag.REAL-CAUS-write 3S.NOM DAT child GEN PL letter
'He made/let a/the child write letters.'

The inacceptablity of the *ng/sa* alternation with causatives derived from transitive verbs can be easily explained with recurrence to the principle ***EXPRESSIVENESS** mentioned before, which states that arguments with different semantic/thematic roles should be coded differently in order to avoid ambiguity and processing problems. According to Carrier-Duncan (1989), the strategy of Tagalog speakers is to mark the Causee by whatever case marker has not yet been assigned by the base verb to the original Undergoer. Consequently, if the base verb takes genitive marking for its Undergoer, the Causee will receive dative case, as shown in (48b). However, if the base verb takes dative marking for its Undergoer, then the Causee will receive genitive case, as shown in (49b). In line with this assumption – and apparently in line with Carrier-Duncan's findings – the causee of causative verbs derived from transitive verbs that subcategorise for a dative Undergoer is then coded by genitive *ng* and not by *sa*, as shown in (49).

(49)a. T<um>ulong siya **sa** mga guro.
<AV>[REAL]help 3S.NOM DAT PL teacher
'I helped the teachers.'

b. Nag-pa-tulong siya ng/***sa** bata **sa** mga guro.
AV:mag.REAL-CAUS-help 3S.NOM GEN/DAT child DAT PL teacher
'He made/let a/the child help the teachers.'

The lack of case alternation may be explained based on processing principles. However, the data still pose a problem to the analysis developed in the preceding sections. Presumably, all causative verbs are inherently Undergoer/Causee-oriented in the sense that they do not encode what kind of action the Actor carries out, but that a change in the action of the Causee is induced. I have argued that inherent Actor-orientation is a precondition for definite Undergoers not to enforce Undergoer voice in basic sentences. The question then remains why Actor voice is possible in the sentences above. The answer is twofold. None of my consultants easily accepted the sentence in (49b) with the given basic word order. While speakers insist that Undergoer/Causee voice sounds more natural, they also point out that if Actor voice is chosen, then either because the Actor is in the initial focus position or because the original Undergoer is left out and the verb receives a reflexive reading, in the sense that the Actor is understood as the immediate Beneficiary/Goal/Theme of the caused event, depending on the respective meaning of the base verb. A more natural use of the verb *nagpatulong* would, thus, be the following in (50). Note that the verb is no longer a ditransitive verb in this case.

(50) Nag-pa-tulong sa bata ang Nanay.
AV:mag.REAL-CAUS-help DAT child NOM mother
i. 'Mother made/let the child help her.'
ii. 'Mother made/let the child help someone.' (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 326)

The example is taken from Schachter and Otanes (1972: 325-327), who suggest that there are two readings to many sentences: the reading that the caused action is directed at the Actor and the reading that it is directed at an unspecific Goal argument. However, according to my consultants, the second reading is marked and has to be coerced through context. Without further context, it is the 'reflexive' reading that the large majority of my consultants attribute to the Actor causative form. Further examples of reflexive uses of causative verbs are given in (51a-c). In the first example in (51a), the Actor is Causer and Causee in one. In (51b), the Causer is at the same time the Goal/Theme of the caused event, and in (51c), the Actor is at the same time Beneficiary/Recipient of the event. What all these examples have in common is

that the Actor is not only understood as the initiating, but also as the one delimiting the runtime of the event.

(51) a. Nag-pa-taba ako dahil sa boyfriend ko.
AV:mag.REAL-CAUS-fat 1s.NOM because.of DAT boyfriend 1s.GEN
'I am letting myself become fat/fattening myself because of my boyfriend.'

b. Nag-pa-huli ang magnakaw sa pulis.
AV:mag.REAL-CAUS-catch NOM thief DAT police
i. 'The thief let himself be caught by the police.'
ii. 'The police let the thief catch someone.' (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 325)

c. Nag-pa-luto ako ng manok kay Rosa.
AV:mag.REAL-CAUS-cook 1s.NOM GEN manok DAT Rosa
'I am making Rosa cook me manok.'

These examples illustrate a fact that I will explore in greater detail in the next chapter on voice marking: if a verb can be analysed as inherently oriented toward one of his arguments, then choosing the voice form that does not correspond to the inherent orientation oftentimes results in special meaning shifts, if the usage is not blocked altogether. The shift in meaning is always such that the prominence of the respective argument is justified. Obviously the *sa*-marking of the Causee in these contexts is possible due to the (coerced) Actor-orientation. Marking the Causee overtly as [+hr]-argument may once again be viewed as representing a processing advantage, helping the listener to keep the two animate arguments apart and identify them correctly as Actor (highest argument) and Undergoer (lowest argument).

5.4 Synopsis

In the first part of this chapter I have explained why *ang* should be analysed as a prominence marker rather than as a mere specificity marker. I have argued that prominence can be assessed with respect to a number of dimensions and that the degree of specificity or referentiality is only one factor in the overall calculation of the respective prominence of an argument. It was shown that, with voiceless verbs, referential prominence is outranked by information-structural prominence and that, with voice-marked verbs, a third level of prominence needs to be taken into account for the assignment of nominative marking: the relevance of the argument for the event. On the basis of these observations the acceptability

and inacceptability of double *ang*-marking constructions was explained as a reflex and result of the principles of voice selection. In a second step it was shown that Actor-orientation, event-structurally or information-structurally, is a necessary precondition for the acceptability of specific or definite Undergoers in Actor voice sentences. I argued that *sa*-marking is only chosen in contexts where a processing advantage is to be expected. It was furthermore observed that voice selection diverging from the inherent orientation of the base verb results in interesting meaning shifts. In the following chapter we will take a closer look at voice affixes and their function, as well as at voice selection, gaps in voice marking and meaning shifts. By doing so, we will also explore and sharpen the notion of event-structural prominence.

6. Voice Marking and Meaning Shifts

In the previous chapter I argued that voice selection and case marking are about prominence marking and that prominence can be evaluated on more than one level. One of these levels was the more global level of information structuring, another one was shown to be the level of referential properties of event participants.

In this chapter I explore the nature of the voice system and take a closer look at the level of event-structural prominence and its role in meaning shifts, voice marking preferences and voice alternations. In the first two sections I review and discuss a few of the best-known approaches to the voice marker system and its function. The approaches differ as to whether they consider the voice affixes to signal a change in transitivity or not. Researchers who do not describe the voice system in terms of transitivity alternations tend to focus on the semantics of individual affixes. These approaches will be reviewed and discussed in section 6.1.

In section 6.2 I take a look at approaches that analyse the Tagalog voice system in terms of transitivity alternations. These approaches focus less on the semantics of individual affixes and more on the overall function of the voice markers. They attempt to determine the criteria for choosing Actor voice over Undergoer voice and vice versa. Special focus is put on an approach put forward in recent years that also defines the function of Philippine voice in terms of prominence marking. In contrast to my notion of prominence, prominence in this approach is viewed as related to different parameters of transitivity and the notion of affectedness. The discussion of the data in sections 6.1 and 6.2 will provide an overview of meaning shifts that are induced by voice marker choice. On the basis of more data, I will argue that not all of the parameters and all of the meaning shifts described have the same status and significance. Finally in section 6.3 I will define the notion of event-structural prominence and explain how certain meaning shifts, voice marker gaps and voice marker preferences can be explained based on this concept.

6.1 Approaches to the voice affixes and their semantics

Voice affixes have been analysed in terms of thematic roles, affectedness and transitivity. All of these approaches provide important insights and have advanced our understanding of Philippine voice systems. Authors differ widely as to whether Philippine-type voice alternations are considered valence-neutral or not and also as to which affixes are deemed part of the system. As mentioned in chapter 2, I take voice to be a system that regulates in what

ways nominal positions in basic sentences correlate with roles that pertain to participants in the event, and therefore entertain a rather broad view of voice. Primary focus will be put on the set of affixes introduced in chapter 2, i.e. */um-/, /-in/, /-an/, /i-/, /ma-/, /maka-/, /mag-/*. These may also appear in complex forms of verbs like the ones in (1). In this section, I will mostly focus on simple verb forms that frequently appear in basic sentences. As Lemaréchal (1998: 98), citing Schachter and Otanes (1972: 315), points out, affixes that signal peripheral arguments rarely occur in basic sentences, but more often in marked constructions like the focus constructions in (1). This is understandable if one assumes that, on the core level, prominence marking is not about the information-structural status of an argument, but about its event-related properties. Obviously it is hard to construe the desk or the pen in (1) as significant for the nature and the properties of the event.

(1) a. ang desk ang p<in>ag-sulat-an[64] ko.
NOM desk NMZ <REAL>ACTION-write-UV:an 1s.GEN
'The desk is where I wrote.' (Lemaréchal 1998: 98)

b. ang lapis ang i-p<in>ang-sulat ko.
NOM pencil NMZ UV:i<REAL>INSTR-write 1s.GEN
'The pencil is what I wrote with.'

6.1.1 Thematic role approach

In traditional analyses, Tagalog voice affixes are often characterised as affixes that determine the thematic role of the subject-phrase (e.g. Constantino 1965, Naylor 1975, Ramos 1971). For example, the suffix */-in/* is said to identify the argument associated with the thematic role Goal (GV: Goal Voice) and */-an/* is said to identify the argument associated with the thematic role Location (LV: Locative Voice) as the nominative argument of the sentence. A prototypical example is cited in (2),[65] where the respective subject of the sentence is underlined:

[64] In line with most recent analysis the prefix /*pag-*/ is glossed here as affix of 'abstract action' (cf. Palmer 2003). It is rather unclear what this means. However, it can be noted that the affixation of /*pag-*/ is necessary when a peripheral argument is selected as the prominent argument, i.e. /*pag-*/ can be viewed as an applicative affix in this context.

[65] For reasons of simplicity, all the examples given are imperatives. Imperatives happen to be the only verb forms in Tagalog that consist only of the verb stem and a voice affix.

(2) a. Kun-**in** mo sa kaniya ang lapis!
Take-GV 2s.GEN DAT 3s NOM pencil
'Get the pencil from him!'

b. Kun-**an** mo siya ng lapis!
Take-LV 2s.GEN 3s.NOM GEN pencil
'Get a pencil from him!'

Ramos (1974) was one of the first to point out that this traditional description of Philippine voice systems does not capture the entire distribution of voice markers inTagalog. It may be recalled from the examples (9) in the introduction, here repeated in (3), that e.g. the UV affix /*i*-/ corresponds to more than one thematic role, i.e. the Objective role in (3a), the Beneficiary role in (3b) and the Instrumental role in (3c).

(3) a. [Objective] I-tago mo ang bola.
UV:**i**-keep 2s.GEN NOM ball
'(You) keep the ball.'

b. [Benefactive] I-bili mo siya ng kotse.
UV:**i**-buy 2s.GEN 3s. NOM GEN car
'(You) buy a car for him.'

c. [Instrumental] I-punas mo ang trapo.
UV:**i**-wipe 2s.GEN NOM rag
'(You) use the rag to wipe.' ' (Ramos 1974: 4)

On the other hand, as mentioned in chapter 3, an Undergoer argument may be signaled by more than one Undergoer affix with certain verbs, as the examples in (4) show. With an accomplishment verb like /*bukas*/ 'to open', which does not take /-*in*/, but shows an alternation between the Undergoer prefix /*i*-/ and the affix /-*an*/, /-*an*/ is confined to arguments that are not moved, while /*i*-/ identifies Undergoers that are moved. As a door can be conceptualized as consisting of a swinging part and an opening (surrounded by a solid frame), both affixes are acceptable. A bike lane, however, is not conceptualized as consisting of a moveable part, so the affix /*i*-/ is not accepted. The sentences in (4a-d) make clear that the affixes are less sensitive to the thematic role of the Undergoer than to the particular nature of the referent of the Undergoer in general or particular aspects of the Undergoer.

(4) a. [-an] Bukas-an mo ang pinto.
open-UV:an 2S.GEN NOM door
'You open the door.'

b. [i-] I-bukas mo ang pinto.
UV:i-open 2S.GEN NOM door
'You open the door.'

c. [i-] #I-bukas mo ang bike lane.
open-UV:an 2S.GEN NOM bike lane
Intended: 'You open the bike lane.'

d. [-an] Buks-an mo ang mata mo.
open-UV:an 2S.GEN NOM bike lane
'You open the bike lane.'

Similarly, there is a voice alternation between /*i*-/ and /-*an*/ for the verb /*luto*/ 'to cook'. On the basis of elicited minimal pairs like in (5a, b), it is difficult to tell apart the meanings, because viand is ambiguous between 'meal' and 'meat'. A few of my consultants suggested that the difference between *iniluto* and *niluto* (or *linuto*) lies in whether or not one wants to focus on the referent of the Undergoer argument as having to be cooked until it is done. If there is no such concept as 'being done' for the object cooked, *iniluto* is preferred, as in the case of *asukal* 'sugar' in (5c). Similarly, if the object is just one ingredient in a cooked meal, then /*i*-/ seems to be preferred, as shown in (5d).

(5) a. [-in] Lutu-in mo ang viand/ dinner.
cook-UV:**in** 2S.GEN NOM meal/ dinner
'(You) cook the viand(= meal)/ dinner.'

b. [i-] I-luto mo ang ulam.
UV:**i**-cook 2S.GEN NOM viand
'(You) cook the viand (=meat).'

c. [i-] I<ni>luto ko ang asukal sa tubig hanggang l<um>apot.
UV:**i**<REAL>cook 1S.GEN NOM sugar DAT water until <AV>thick
'I cooked the sugar in the water until it became thick.'

d. [i-] I<ni>luto ko ang tuna sa itlog.
UV:**i**<REAL>cook 1s.GEN NOM tuna DAT egg
'(You) cooked the tuna with the egg.'

While in these cases, the voice affix alternation does not correlate with an alternation in valency, for some verbs, e.g. verbs of directed motion, this is the case. As may be recalled from example (11) in the introduction, here repeated as (6), transitive verbs of directed motion, like /*akyat*/ 'to go up, rise' and /*pasok*/ 'to go into', are compatible with /-*in*/ and /-*an*/. They may identify the same thematic role, here Goal. As shown in (6b) and (7b), suffixing /-*an*/ to the verb stem of the directional verb instead of /-*in*/, as in (6a) and (7a), induces a direct causative reading, 'to bring up/take up' and 'to bring into', respectively. We thus get a difference with respect to the verb's valence and meaning. As the examples (6c) and (7c) show, the causative reading is not obligatory, a simple 'go up'/'go into'-reading with /-*an*/ is likewise possible. It has to be noted that in colloquial Tagalog, there is a tendency to simplify verb forms and leave out the Undergoer affixes /*i*-/ and /-*an*/, so that we sometimes find *pinasok* in contexts where we would expect *ipinasok* or *pinasukan*. (The situation seems to be expecially confusing with respect to the verb *pinasok*. When I consulted three brothers living in Manila, all three of them gave different judgements.)

(6) a. Akyat-**in** mo ang kanya-ng kuwarto/ang puno.
go_up-UV:in 2s.GEN NOM 3s.DAT-LK room/NOM tree
'You go up (upstairs) to his room/go up the tree.'

b. Akyat-**an** mo ng pagkain si John.
go_up-UV:an 2s.GEN GEN food NOM John
'You take John some food upstairs.' (English 1987:14)

c. Akyat-a**n** mo ang puno.
go_up-UV:an 2s.GEN NOM tree
'You go up on the tree.'

(7) a. Pasuk-**in** mo ang bahay niya.
go_into-UV:in 2s.GEN NOM house 3s.GEN
'You go into/break into his house.'

b. Pasuk-**an** mo ng pagkain si John.
go_into-UV:an 2s.GEN GEN food NOM John
'You bring John some food (inside).'

c. Pasuk-**an** mo ang dumaan/ang Montessory school.
go_into-UV:an 2s.GEN NOM passage/ NOM Montessori school
'You go in through the passage/to a Montessori school.'

In line with the observation that the causative meaning is not systematically introduced by the affix /*-an*/, we also find motion verbs where /*-an*/-affixation does not result in a causative reading. For a manner of motion verb like /*lakad*/ 'to walk' in (8), the voice alternation is strictly restricted to the different ways the Undergoers relate to the event, e.g. as an argument measuring out the event based on its attributes or an argument that does not measure out the event, but is understood as negatively affected by the event. Note that the majority of my consultants reject arguments that cannot easily be conceived of as affected with the verb form *lakaran*, as exemplified in (8b).

(8) a. Lakar-**in** mo ang bahay niya/ ang buong sampung milya.
walk-UV:in 2s.GEN NOM house 3s.GEN/ NOM whole-LK three-LK mile
'Walk (all the way) to his house/the whole three miles.'

b. Huwag lakar-**an** mo ang damo/#ang mabato-ng kalye.[66]
NEG walk-UV:an 2s.GEN NOM grass/NOM stone-LK street
'Don't walk on the grass/#on the stony street.'

b. *Lakar-**an** mo ng pagkain si John.
go_into-UV:an 2s.GEN GEN food NOM John
Intended: 'You bring John some food.' (= You walk to John with food)

These examples show that the thematic role analysis only deals with a part of the function of the affixes. As thematic roles are a handy way of referring to the voice affixes, they are still used as labels in many recent works on Tagalog. However, as the function and distribution of Tagalog voice affixes is not thoroughly explained by the thematic role analysis, alternative analyses have been suggested.

[66] Himmelmann (1987) gives an example with *lakaran* containing the phrase *ang mabatong kalye*. While the sentence is not ungrammatical in the strict sense of the word, my consultants found it awkward and commented that they cannot understand what the speaker is trying to say and why (s)he would choose Undergoer voice when talking about someone walking on a stony street.

Carrier-Duncan (1985) suggests that the voice markers should best be listed in the lexical representation of verbs, as their semantics and their functions, seemingly intricately tied into derivational processes, have not yet been worked out. In her approach the affixes are ordered and, according to this hierarchy, link to the verb's thematic roles, which are also ordered on a hierarchy. This way, Carrier-Duncan can keep an approach comprising semantic participant roles, while at the same time avoiding the difficulty of having to attribute a specific thematic role to each voice affix. However, her approach does not have much to say on voice alternations like those reviewed in (6)-(8).

The practice of Tagalog dictionaries seems to indicate that Carrier-Duncan's view is generally held, since it is common to list every single affix for a verb stem and note the resulting meaning. It is certainly true that there are a fair number of idiosyncrasies due to lexicalisation processes in the Tagalog voice system. However, if Tagalog voices are seen as *basic* (and not *derived*) *voices* in the sense of Klaiman (1991), then one of their functions may be to classify verbs on the basis of semantic properties. This does not mean that lexicalized meanings as well as a certain amount of language-specific idiosyncrasies with respect to semantic verb classes are not to be expected. It should be noted, however, that the overall system is highly productive, as the rapid lexical change in Tagalog reveals: more and more English verbs are constantly being integrated into the Tagalog voice system (McFarland 1998, Himmelmann 1987). Kaufman (2009) goes as far as to claim that there are probably no voice marker gaps, only less frequent forms. This statement seems a bit too strong. There is for instance no /-*in*/ form of /*bukas*/ 'to open'.

As we will see in the following sections, there are voice marker gaps and there are strong voice marker preferences that require an explanation. There are furthermore gaps in the sense that not every voice form yields the same readings and has the same function for every stem, as the examples in (6)-(7) have exemplified. No doubt, the definition of the regularities and criteria that govern the respective morphosyntactic realization of the underlying semantic arguments is of considerable linguistic interest..

6.1.2 Control and affectedness approaches

With reference to prior work by Bloomfield (1917), Pittman (1966), Schachter and Otanes (1972), De Guzman (1978), Drossard (1984) and others, linguists like Lemaréchal (1998) and Himmelmann (1987) mention that the Actor voice affixes differ with respect to the level of control or 'active implication' they convey, while different Undergoer affixes are said to reflect different degrees of affectedness. The following Table 6.1 of Tagalog voice

distribution is provided by Lemaréchal (1998) and based on De Guzman's (1978) verb classes. Lemaréchal distinguishes *um*-verbs ('non-ergative verbs') from *mag*-verbs ('ergative verbs'). The ergative verbs are claimed to express a greater degree of involvement of the Actor than the non-ergative verbs. Therefore, ergative verbs are said to require an additional affix (/*pag*-/, as /*mag*-/ is analysed as /*m*-/ + /*pag*-/) to be able to license the Actor as subject.

Before I turn to the discussion of Lemaréchal's voice distribution table, a word of caution is in place; as Lemaréchal himself notes, this table does not show all the possible affixes a verb may take. For instance, simple intransitive movement verbs like /*takbo*/ 'to run' seems to allow for more than just the two affixes /*um*-/ and /-*an*/. In contrast to what the table suggests, they may also take /*mag*-/, /*i*-/ and also /-*in*/, according to Nolasco (2005a), as shown in (9).

(9) a. Takbuh-**in** mo **siya!**
run-UV:in 2S.GEN 3S.NOM
'(You) run to (try to reach) him!' (cf. Nolasco 2005: 215)

b. Takbuh-**in** mo **ang marathon!**
run-UV:in 2S.GEN NOM marathon
'(You) run the marathon!'

c. **Nag**-takbo ako **ang marathon**!
UV:mag.REAL-run 1S.NOM GEN marathon
'I ran a/the marathon!'

d. **I**-takbo mo **ang akin-g** **Adidas**!
UV:i-run 2S.GEN NOM 1S.NONACT Adidas
'Run with my Adidas!'

Moreover, a verb may appear in more than one semantic (and ultimately morphological) class according to Lemaréchal. Therefore some of the classifications in the table below suggested by him may seem a bit arbitrary.

Table 6.1

Voice distribution according to Lemaréchal (1998: 105-107)

	E R G	*A T*	*I V E*			*N o n*	*E R G*	*A T I*	*V E*
ROLE	*pat*	*dest*	*agt*	*benef*	*loc*	*agt*	*pat*	*dest*	*benef*
CASE MARKING	*ng*	*sa*	*ng*	*para sa*	*sa*	*ng*	*ng*	*sa*	*para sa*
Information verbs **ergative** *a. mention, say* *b. demand, tell, inform etc.* **non-ergative** *complain, write*	 *-in* *i-*	 *-an* *-an*	 *mag-* *mag-*	 *i-pag* *i-pag*		 *um-*	 *i-*	 *-an*	 *i-*
Location verbs WITH MOVEMENT **ergative** *a. throw, put, offer, attach, give* **non-ergative** *receive, take, borrow, collect*	 *i-*	 *-an*	 *mag-*	 *i-pag*	 *pag -an*	 *um-*	 *-in*	 *-an*	 *i-*
Location verbs WITHOUT MOVEMENT **ergative** *a. change of state cook, fry, mix, cut* *b. superficial change wash, whiten, warm, rinse* *c. spatial change install, attach, return* **non-ergative** *engrave, write on, sculp*	 *-in* *-an* *i-*	 }	 *mag-*	 *i-pag*	 *pag -an*	 *um-*	 *-in*	 *-an*	 *i-*

	E R G	*A T*	*I V E*			*N o n*	*E R G*	*A T I*	*V E*
ROLE	*pat*	*dest*	*agt*	*benef*	*loc*	*agt*	*pat*	*Dest*	*benef*
CASE MARKING	*ng*	*sa*	*ng*	*para sa*	*sa*	*ng*	*ng*	*Sa*	*para sa*
Extension verbs **ergative** *take care of, watch over, keep, follow, invite, honour* **non-ergative** *help, save, support, contribute, share, kiss*	*-an*		*mag-*	*i-pag*		*um-*	*-an*		*i-*
Simple transitive verbs **ergative** *a. change of state* *break, hit, destroy, cut* *b. superficial change* *peel, clean, hurt, decorate* *c. positional change* *arrange, raise, put down* **non-ergative** *eat, drink, suck, inhale, make, kill*	*-in* *-an* *i-*	}	*mag-*	*i-pag*		*um-*	*-in*		*i-*
Intransitive simple verbs *a. active* *laugh boil, explose, turn* *b. complete change* *surprised, infested* *c. superficial change* *sweat*	*-in* *-an*					*um-*			
Intransitive movement						*um-*		*-an*	
Intransitive calamity verbs *a. change of state* *burnt, broken, destroyed* *b. superficial change* *humid, surprised, touched* *c. positional change* *immerged*	*-in* *-an* *i-*								

Disregarding certain gaps, the basic idea expressed in this table is that the alternation between /*mag*-/ and /*um*-/ reflects the existence of two classes of verbs. Lemaréchal distinguishes *um*-verbs, or non-ergative verbs, that denote events in which the agent is the most concerned and most interested in the result ('l'agent est beaucoup plus impliqué, intéressé à l'action', ibid. page 113) from ergative verbs, verbs that denote events in which the patient is the most concerned and interested in the result ('le patient est le premier concerné, intéressé par le résultat de l'action', ibid. page 113).[67] It seems to me that this distinction is based on the answer to the question on what participant the central information of the predicate focusses. If the predicate denotes some kind of change with respect to the Undergoer, i.e. a change of state, a superficial change or a change of location, then the verb is classified as ergative, as in the case of the *simple transitive ergative verbs* in table 6.1.

Simple transitive non-ergative verbs like 'to eat' and 'to drink' are argued to be non-ergative, as the agent consumes the patient and therefore it is the participant that is the most interested in and most concerned by the action; i.e. out of the two results the event brings about, (i) the food has undergone a change from existent to non-existent and (ii) the Actor has undergone a change from empty stomach to full stomach, the second is viewed as more important.

As transfer verbs may be either ergative or non-ergative and as their patients undergo a change of location in either case, Lemaréchal points out another criterion to distinguish ergative from non-ergative verbs based on the question 'quel est le participant le plus directement visé par l'action si l'on suppose que celle-ci a abouti à son résultat?' (≈ 'which participant is the most directly targeted by the action if one assumes that it (= the action) has reached its result (state)'; ibid. page 116 [translation Latrouite]). In the case of transfer verbs denoting a transfer away from the Actor, Lemaréchal identifies the goal argument as the one argument that the action is inherently oriented towards. Therefore all verbs denoting centrifugal transfers (a term coined by Pittman 1966 for transfers going away from the Actor) are ergative. Information verbs can be thought of as transfer verbs in the sense that a message (some unit of information) gets transferred from the Actor to some Recipient. It is basically unclear why 'to complain' does not belong to this group, but Lemaréchal acknowledges a certain amout of idiosyncracies.

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[67] For Lemaréchal the distinction is based on the degree of involvement (and possibly effort) on part of the agent: 'Les verbs <<non ergatifs>> impliquent un plus grand engagement de l'agent dans l'action' (ibid. page 114).

The situation is similarly confusing with respect to extension verbs like ‘to watch over’, ‘to survey’ and ‘to invite’ that do not denote a transfer and do not take Undergoers that can be thought of as affected in any of the three ways mentioned, i.e. by a change in state, a change in location or some other kind of superficial change. In contrast to verbs like ‘to help’, ‘to share’, ‘to contribute’, the former are classified as ergative. In all of these cases one could perceive the action denoted as either being in the interest of the agent or the patient. It is not clear inhowfar watching over someone is more patient-oriented than helping someone.

Note that Lemaréchal’s classes seem to be more morphologically than semantically motivated. Therefore a verb like *pumatay* ‘to kill’ ends up being characterised as a non-ergative verb (agent-oriented) verb, although Lemaréchal acknowledges that the meaning of the verb suggests patient-orientation. As argued in sections 6.2 and 6.3, an analysis in terms of patient-orienation is indeed on the right track and explains voice affix preferences with this stem.

Despite some gaps and shortcomings, the table in 6.1 shows clearly that Tagalog makes an important morphological distinction between verbs that denote a transfer away from the Actor and those that denote a transfer toward the Actor, not only in the Actor voice domain, but also in the Undergoer voice domain. In the first case the object moved away from the Actor is identified by the Undergoer voice affix /*i*-/, in the second case the object moved toward the Actor is identified by the Undergoer voice affix /-*in*/. Note that /*i*-/ is the only Undergoer voice affix that is realised as a prefix, i.e. like an Actor voice affix. We will come back to this below in the next section, in which we will take a closer look at at the differences between the Actor voice affixes /*um*-/ and /*mag*-/ as well as the Undergoer voice affixes /-*in*/, /-*an*/ and /i-/ and the notions of control and affectedness that have been suggested for their analysis.

6.1.3 The Actor voice affixes: different degrees of control?

Tagalog is known to exhibit a set of affixes that refer to the Actor. An example of different Actor voice forms with the stem /*kain*/ ‘to eat’ is given in (10). (10a) shows the semantically neutral form with the Actor voice affix /*um*-/. In (10b), the Actor voice affix /*maka*-/ signals that the Actor did not have control, but only had the ability to perform the action, while in (10c), due to affixation with /*mag*-/, the Actor is understood as performing the action in a very intensive way. The prefix /*mang*-/ finally is often used for habitual activities. All of these forms are frequently analysed as complex forms consisting of the Actor voice affix /*m*-/ and a

stem building prefix, *paka-*, *pag-* or *pang-* respectively (see among other Nolasco 2005a). From a morphological point of view this seems to make sense. However, as I wish to avoid discussing the semantics and polyfunctionality of these stem-building affixes in different contexts, I will keep referring to complex forms and their meanings here.[68] Finally the form in (10d) suggests that the Actor has a habit of performing the action regularly. Partly due to these fine distinctions, which Tagalog speakers are forced to make every time they choose a voice form, Drossard (1984a) analyses Tagalog as an active language.

(10) a. K<um>ain ako ng isda.
< AV>$_{[REAL]}$-eat 1s.NOM GEN fish
'I ate fish.'

b. Hindi naka-kain ako ng isda.
NEG AV:maka.REAL-eat 1s.NOM GEN fish
'I could not eat fish.'

c. Nag-kain ako ng isda.
AV:mag.REAL-eat 1s.NOM GEN fish
'I devoured (the) fish/ate a lot of fish.'

d. Nang-ka~kain ako ng breakfast sa Starbucks.
AV:mang.REAL-IPFV~eat 1s.NOM GEN breakfast DAT Starbucks
'I (always) eat my breakfast at Starbucks.'

While the meanings that the affixes /*maka-*/ and /*mang-*/ yield are the same with all verbs (apart from very few exceptions), /*mag-*/ yields a number of different readings depending on the semantics of the verb stem. The following Table 6.2 summarises the differences found with /*um-*/ versus /*mag-*/ on identical stems. It is based on Pittman's (1966) descriptive work. The data are partly taken from English's *Tagalog-English Dictionary*. Table 6.2 shows five more differences between /*um-*/ and /*mag-*/ in addition to the distinction between transfers toward and away from the Actor that were discussed above: the differences concern the domains of causativity, reflexivity/reciprocality, intensity and internal versus external change.

[68] The interested reader is referred to Palmer (2003) for a comprehensive discussion of /*pag-*/ and to Altjohann (1998) for problems regarding the analysis of *pag-* as an 'action' affix.

Table 6.2

***um-* vs. *mag-* on identical stems**

(based on Pittman 1966)

Root	*mag*-form	***um*-form**
ahit 'shave'	*mag-ahit* 'shave oneself' **REFLEXIVE**	*um-ahit* 'shave someone' **NON-REFLEXIVE**
akyat 'ascent'	*mag-akyat* 'bring up something' **CAUSATIVE**	*um-akyat* 'go up' **NONCAUSATIVE**
bili 'purchasing'	*mag-bili* 'sell something' **CENTRIFUGAL**	*b<um>ili* 'buy something' **CENTRIPETAL**
bati 'greeting' *salo* 'eating together'	*mag-bati* 'great each other' *mag-salo* 'eat together' **RECIPROCAL/DUAL**	*b<um>ati* 'greet someone *s<um>alo* 'join someone in eating' **NONRECIPROCAL/NONDUAL**
basa 'reading' *tawa* 'laughter'	*mag-basa* 'study, read a lot/aloud' *mag-tawa* 'laugh out loud' **(REPETITIVE) INTENSIVE**	*b<um>asa* 'to read something' *t<um>awa* 'laugh' **(NONREPETITIVE) NONINTENSIVE**
pula 'red'	*mag-pula* 'wear red' **EXTERNAL COLOUR CHANGE**	*p<um>ula* 'turn red' **INTRINSIC COLOUR CHANGE**

It should be noted that the different meanings yielded by /*mag*-/ differ in frequency. I am only aware of two other stems that receive a reflexive reading when affixed by /*mag*-/, i.e. *magahit* 'to scratch oneself (all over)' in contrast to *kumahit* 'to scratch sth./so.' and *magaral* 'to study, (teach oneself)' in contrast to *umaral* 'to teach so.' The reciprocal reading yielded by *mag*-affixation is similar in nature to the reflexive reading. It is clearly confined to stems expressing social interactions that always require two separate participants – in contrast to the social interaction predicates that do not require two participants and therefore may receive reflexive interpretation with /*mag*-/.

It may be possible and does not seem completely implausible to subsume the distinction of external versus internal colour change under the distinction of 'causative' versus 'noncausative.' The predicate *magpula* 'wear red' (≈'cause oneself to be red') is noted in dictionaries as lexicalised with this particular meaning. Note, however, that nowadays

nagpula and *pumula* are being used interchangeably with the same meaning to 'turn red/to blush', just like most other verbs derived from stems that denote colours.

The centrifugal-centripetal distinction is very rare with one and the same stem. I am aware of three more forms: *umabot* 'to reach for' versus *magabot* 'to hand over'; *umamot* 'to buy at cost price' versus *magamot* 'to sell at cost price.' This does not mean that the overall pattern /*mag*-/ for centrifugal transfer verbs, /*um*-/ for centripetal transfer verbs is rare, as the previous discussion on Lemaréchal's table has shown. This pattern is systematic and regular.

The verb *magbili* could possibly be analysed as 'to cause someone to buy something' (cf. Van Valin 1999) and, thus, as a special case of the causative/noncausative distinction. However, *magbili* is out of use and has been replaced by *magtinda* 'to shop/to buy' to which there is no corresponding *um*-form and which is, thus, more difficult to analyse as a causative form. Nevertheless, this form shows another tendency, which is for /*mag*-/ to occur with object-denoting stems and turn them into verbal predicates. This is the kind of evidence that is usually alluded to when the analysis of /*pag*-/ as an affix of 'abstract action' is presented.

The most frequent meaning change induced by /*mag*-/ affixation, in addition to the intensive reading that /*mag*-/ yields for all kinds of activity verbs, is indeed the causative meaning for verbs of directed motion. The verbs in Table 6.3 are regarded as prototypical examples. While the *um*-verbs are intransitive, the corresponding *mag*-verbs are transitive.

Table 6.3

***um*- vs. *mag*- with verbs of directed motion**

internal/centripetal/noncausative	**External/centrifugal/causative**
b<um>agsak 'to fall'	mag-bagsak 'to overthrow'
p<um>asok 'to go into'	mag-pasok 'to bring into'
p<um>anhik 'to go up(stairs)'	mag-panhik 'to bring up(stairs)'
um-alis 'to leave'	mag-alis 'to remove'
t<um>iwalag 'to leave a group'	mag-tiwalag 'to remove from office'
l<um>akad 'to be in forward motion'	mag-lakad 'to hand-carry'
t<um>akas 'to escape'	mag-takas 'to elope with'
l<um>abas 'come, go outside'	mag-labas 'to take/bring outside'
t<um>ayo 'stand up'	mag-tayo 'to erect'

Note that the reading induced by /*mag*-/ is a *direct* causative meaning, i.e. the Actor is more than an initiator of a process. (S)he is involved in the process from the beginning to the end, and the Actor and the Undergoer are viewed as moving (and in most cases as changing position together) at the same time. Indirect causation in the sense of mere initiation, in

contrast, is expressed via the causative affix /*pa*-/. Given this view, an alternative translation to the causative 'to take x up(stairs)' could be the commitative 'to go upstairs with x' for the verb *magakyat.* Translated like this, many of the so-called causative forms seem more similar to the reciprocal reading, which adds the meaning that two event participants perform the same action at the same time.

For almost all of my consultants, the *mag*-forms in Table 6.3 can also be used without the causative meaning, but with the intensive reading, depending on the context.[69] The form corresponding to *bumagsak* 'to fall down', i.e. *magbagsak*, can then either be understood as 'to crash down' or 'to slam down'.

Pittman does not attempt to develop a unified account of all the readings. However, in view of the fact that the notion of 'control' is often mentioned with respect to the Actor voice affixes, the question can be raised whether all or most of these differences can be viewed as a higher degree of control. The answer is straightforward. Given that a form like *magpula* is used in the sense of 'to blush/turn red', control cannot be the issue here.[70] Therefore we do not even have to try to find reasons why the centripetal act of *taking* could be viewed as less controlled than the centrifugal act of *giving*.[71]

Could the unifying feature behind all the functions of *mag*- be linked to its 'intensification' function? It might be suggested that intensification is to be understood as a highly abstract function that introduces the information that a higher value for a number of parameters is to be assumed. In general, an action is viewed as 'intensive' if some parameter that is associated with a higher degree of activation or effort on the part of the Actor may be understood as having a higher value. These parameters could be verb meaning-dependent, e.g. 'sound volume' for verbs of sound emission (*magtawa* 'laugh out loud') and 'speed of consumption' for consumption verbs (*magkain* 'devour'), or more or less verb meaning-independent like 'plurality of action' for verbs of manner of action (*magtawa* 'laugh a lot', *magkain* 'eat a lot'), i.e. the intensity results from the reading that the action is carried out recurringly over or within a short period of time. (This is, of course, a very rough characterisation.) Note that the reflexive readings, which can be viewed as idiosyncratic

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[69] This observation is in line with Himmelmann's (1987: 97-102), who also points out that all action verbs can take /*mag*-/ (preferably plus reduplication) to signal intensity.

[70] Some of my consultants point out that they do not use *magpula* for inanimate objects, while *pumula* may be used for inanimate objects. Consequently, even if there is not a difference in control, there still seems to be some kind of semantic difference.

[71] See Latrouite (2000) for an attempt to capture the data with the notion of control.

exceptions, likewise come with an intensive interpretation, i.e. *magkamot* does not only mean 'to scratch oneself' but 'to scratch oneself all over', while *magaral* does not simply mean 'to teach oneself' but 'to study.'[72] With respect to reciprocal verbs, one could argue that the parameter of 'plurality of action' is interpreted in terms of 'plurality of processes and/or results', given that reciprocal verbs express that two Actors perform the same action with respect to each other at the same time. It is questionable whether a parameter such as 'plurality of actions/results/processes' also covers direct causative verbs denoting centrifugal transfers in the sense that these verbs express that two arguments move and end up in a different positition.

Finding a common semantic feature behind all these functions is helpful for explaining why the same morphological form is chosen for all of these cases above, but it does not help in the sense that argument-structural changes can be predicted and 'calculated' based on the (semantic) composition of the meaning of the verb stem and some minimal semantic core that all functions have in common. As Wunderlich (2007) points out, if an affix is notoriously polyfunctional, one may doubt that it is useful to think of it as a lexical element with one fixed semantic function. He concludes that, 'affixes often seem to be a constructional device for generating alternative forms with a slightly different or more complex meaning rather than having a unique specific meaning themselves' (ibid. page 7). From this point of view, a stem would then be analysed as associated with a number of scenarios or possible 'verb meanings' that differ in markedness, frequency or complexity. The more complex, marked or infrequent scenario/verb meaning (and/or those scenarios/verb meanings that share a common semantic denominator) would then be 'activated' by a (marked) affix. In terms of the above, /*mag*-/ would signal or hint at the increase in semantic complexity and leave it to the hearer to determine whether a causational or intensive reading of the verb is intended. In such an account much would then be left to contextual semantic adaptation. This seems to be the appropriate approach, because, as mentioned above, some verbs like *magbasa* may be understood as 'read out loud', 'read a lot/study' or 'read intensely' (in the sense of 'devour a book') depending on the context. Note that these interpretations can be traced back to the different kinds of processes a complex cognitive process like *reading* involves. Which variant

[72] Language change since 1966 has been such that a few of my consultants do not know these verbs anymore. Those who do know them tend to use these forms with the intensive meaning regardless of reflexivity, i.e. they would use the verb *magkamot* also in the case of 'to scratch someone all over'.

is chosen would depend on the context. In the case of 'to read out loud', reading is understood in the sense of making symbol-sound connections and producing the sounds. In the case of 'to study', reading is understood as the process of deriving meaning and knowledge from symbols. If the resulting meaning of a voice-marked predicate is a matter of contextual semantic adaptation, then context and how it influences interpretation needs to be represented. For the data just discussed, we furthermore need to be able to represent aspects of meaning that are unrelated to Aktionsart grids, such as sound volume for sound emission verbs.

Note that what is tricky to represent in terms of a solely Aktionsart-based decomposition may be easier to represent in the form of rich semantic frames (Latrouite 2014). Developing a formal frame semantics account is clearly beyond the scope of this thesis, but data like those discussed here point to the fact that the analysis of Tagalog Actor voice affixes could profit from a richer and cognition-based approach to the semantics of verbs.

6.1.4 The Undergoer voice affixes: different degrees of affectedness?

In terms of affectedness, the basic idea mentioned by Himmelmann (1987) is that /*-in*/ contributes the information that the Undergoer argument it singles out is directly or more affected, while /*-an*/ contributes the information that the Undergoer argument is less or not directly affected. The prefix /*i-*/, on the other hand, is said to be associated with the information that the Undergoer is only circumstantially involved and – in many cases – moved. Neither Lemaréchal nor Himmelmann provide a formal definition of the notion of 'affectedness'. Still, if the intuitive understanding of the notion of affectedness as 'undergoing some change', which, according to Lemaréchal, can be substantial or superficial, is accepted, a fair number of verb-suffix combinations seem to be accounted for. On the basis of verb semantics, it is to be expected then that *patay* 'to kill' takes /*-in*/ (11), as it denotes an event that induces a substantial change of state with respect to the patient. The verb *sunod* 'to follow', on the other hand, does not denote a substantial change with respect to its Undergoer (and maybe not even a superficial one) and takes /*-an*/ (12a). However, note that, rather unexpectedly, *sunod* 'to follow' is also found with the affix /*-in*/, as shown in (12b). In this case, affixing /*-in*/ does not result in the reading that the Undergoer will undergo a change of state. The semantic shift is of a different nature: the Undergoer has a different, more significant status for the occurrence of the event. Moreover, the affixation yields a punctual instead of an activity reading.

(11) Patay-**in** mo siya.
kill-**UV:in** 2s.GEN 3s.NOM
'(You) kill him.'

(12) a. Sund-**an** mo siya.
follow-**UV:an** 2s.GEN 3s.NOM
'(You) follow him.'

b. Sund-**in** mo siya / ang iyo-ng ama.
follow-**UV:in** 2s.GEN 3s.NOM/ NOM 2sg-LK father
'(You) obey him/ your father.'

There are more data that seem to be hard to capture. For example, why should the door be considered more directly affected by the knocking event (13) than the dirty clothes by the event of washing (14)?

(13) Katuk-**in** mo ang pinto.
knock-**UV:in** 2s.GEN NOM door
'(You) knock on the door.'

(14) Lab**h-an** mo ang marumi-ng damit.
wash-**UV:an** 2s.GEN NOM dirty-GEN clothes
'(You) wash the dirty clothes.'

I will not go into detail here and discuss every example that Himmelmann (1987) himself has critically analysed and shown to be evidence or counter-evidence for his descriptive generalisations in terms of affectedness. The data discussed in this section suffice to show that the analysis presented here surely gives invaluable insights into predominant tendencies in Tagalog, but does not yet provide – and lays no claim to providing – a fully worked out theory as to what exactly defines the different degrees of affectedness and how affectedness interacts with event structure and argument structure. These questions remain unanswered, mainly because there is a need for defining 'affectedness' and taking a very close look at the semantics of verbs. Suggestions for a definition of affectedness can be found in several of Beavers' papers (e.g. 2006, 20010). Beavers (2010) distinguishes verbs that take affected Undergoers (like *to kill*), verbs that take potentially affected Undergoers (like *to hit*) and verbs that take unaffected Undergoers (like *to follow*). Unfortunately, the distribution of Undergoer

voice affixes does not seem to be captured by this distinction, as a quick look at the data above shows. The examples in (12) take non-affected Undergoers, while the examples in (13) and (14) could both be argued to involve potentially affected Undergoers in the sense that they are physically impinged and that the actions depicted may bring about a result with respect to the Undergoers. In the first case, a possible result or effect of *knocking* could be – like in the case of all the surface contact verbs that Beavers mentions – a change in the surface structure of the object, while in the second case of *washing* it could be a change in the cleanliness of the object. This is the default interpretation. One can also wash one's hair with black tea or vulcano soil to get some kind of effect different from cleanliness. Recall furthermore from chapter 3 that Tagalog distinguishes verbs of washing with respect to what kind of object is washed (hands, hair, clothes), showing that the different kinds of activities are in the focus of attention with these verbs and not the result of the washing process.

Latrouite and Naumann (1999) try to explain the distributional difference between the Undergoer voice affixes /-*in*/ and /-*an*/ in terms of event-structural differences defined within DES (Dynamic Event Semantics, see chapter 3). The basic idea is that these affixes are sensitive to the kinds of results that are brought about during the runtime of an event. Recall that the notion 'result' was not understood in the sense of 'result state', but was a cover term for every little and big change that is brought about during an event. In chapter 3, it was argued that we can distinguish at least two kinds of results, i.e. minimal results that hold at intermediate points of an execution sequence of an event and maximal results that only hold at the endpoint of an execution sequence of an event. It was furthermore shown that Aktionsart classes can be characterised and differentiated with respect to these different results they bring about. For convenience the relevant table is repeated here as Table 6.4.

Table 6.4

Characterisation of Aktionsart classes

Type of event	**Minimal result**	**Maximal result**
Atomic:		
Point/Achievement[73]	No	**Yes**
Non-atomic:		
Activity	**Yes**	No
Accomplishment	**Yes**	**Yes**

[73] Points and achievements as well as other aspectual classes are further differentiated in Latrouite & Naumann (2000). For the purpose of this section, however, this simplified characterisation of the aspectual classes shall suffice.

Latrouite (2000) notes that transitive activity verbs like /*laba*/ 'to wash with water', /*hugas*/ 'to wash/wipe' or /*pagaral*/ 'to study' always take the affix /*-an*/, as illustrated in (15a-c). Note that the voice affix /*-in*/ is unacceptable with these verbs.

(15) a. Lab-**han/*-in** mo ang damit.
wash-**UV:an** / ***-UV:in** 2S.GEN NOM clothes
'(You) wash the clothes!'

b. Hugas-**an/*-in** mo ang pinggan.
wash-**UV:an** / ***-UV:in** 2S.GEN NOM plate
'(You) wash the plate!'

c. Pagaral-**an/*-in** mo ang katesismo.
study-**UV:an** /***-UV:in** 2S.GEN NOM catechism
'(You) study the catechism!'

Table 6.4 shows that activities are characterised by the fact that they do not bring about a maximal result, in contrast to accomplishments, points and achievement. Activities only bring about minimal results with respect to the Undergoer, i.e. results that hold at intermediate points of the execution sequence of an event. Given that the event of 'washing clothes' is associated with a process involving the clothes repeatedly being soaked in water, swirled and rinsed out, possible minimal results holding at intermediate points of the execution sequence of an event of washing are 'the clothes are soaked in water', 'the clothes are rinsed out' for the verb /*labhan*/ 'to wash'. The event of 'wiping a plate', on the other hand, involves surface contact of a cloth or a hand with more than one part of the plate. Therefore, one of the minimal results for *hugasan* 'to wipe' is 'contact with one part of the plate is established.' Finally, in the case of *pagaralan* 'to study', one minimal result is 'knowledge is retrieved by the Actor.' Depending on the conceptualisation of the respective event, more changes and minimal results could be formulated. Note, however, that it is not the exact nature of the minimal result that is important here. Significant are two things: for one, that an activity, in contrast to a state, brings about a number of changes/minimal results, which explains its dynamic interpretation; and secondly, that an activity does not bring about a maximal result that only holds at the endpoint and no other point. Activities that bring about a maximal result turn into accomplishments (active accomplishments in RRG, see Van Valin 2005).

Verbs denoting events that bring about maximal results (= results that only hold at the endpoint of the execution sequence of an event), i.e. point and achievement verbs like /*patay*/

'to kill' or /*linis*/ 'to clean', as well as accomplishment verbs like /*kain*/ 'to eat' and /*basa*/ 'to read' take the affix /*-in*/ in Tagalog, as illustrated in (16a, b). Just like in English, verbs like /*kain*/ and /*basa*/ get an activity reading when no object phrase is present. Once a specific object phrase is added, however, both verbs denote accomplishments, as the sentences in (16c, d) show.

(16) a. Patay-**in/*-an** mo siya.
kill-**UV:in** / ***-UV:an** 2S.GEN 3S.NOM
'(You) kill him.'

b. Linis-**in/*-an** mo ang sahig.
clean-**UV:in** / ***-UV:an** 2S.GEN NOM floor
'(You) clean the floor!'

c. Kain-**in/*-an**[74] mo ang isda.
eat-**UV:in** / ***-UV:an** 2S.GEN NOM fish
'(You) eat the fish.'

d. Basa-**hin/*-an** mo ang lahat ng matanda-ng liham.
read-**UV:in** / ***-UV:an** 2S.GEN NOM all LK old-LK letter
'(You) read all the old letters.'

The distribution of the Undergoer affixes in (14) and (16) can, thus, be explained using the aspectual theory outlined in chapter 3. The idea is that /*-in*/ and /*-an*/ indicate different kinds of results that are brought about with respect to the Undergoer argument during the runtime of the event, i.e. each of the two [+hr]-suffixes corresponds to a certain kind of result: /*-in*/ to the maximal result and /*-an*/ to the minimal result. The Undergoer argument of verbs denoting activities, like the verbs in (14), which are not viewed as specifying a maximal result, is thus always identified by /*-an*/. The Undergoer argument of point, achievement and accomplishment verbs like in (15a-d), which due to their event structure always imply maximal results, is identified by the affix /*-in*/ (cf Latrouite & Naumann 1999).

Note that in the case of the verbs /*kain*/ and /*basa*/, which denote events that also bring about minimal results, we would expect /*-an*/ to be acceptable, albeit with a different meaning of the verb. As the examples in (17) show, there are indeed /*-an*/-marked forms of these verbs..

[74] Some speakers of Tagalog accept this form in the sense of 'to eat from/part of', i.e. they attribute an activity reading to this verb form (see example (18)).

These forms have a different reading that is compatible with the minimal result interpretation associated with the voice affix /-*an*/: in both examples we get an activity reading. In contrast to the examples in (16), the Undergoer does not delimit or measure out the event.

(17) a. Kain-**an** mo ang isda/ang plate.
eat-**UV:an** 2s.GEN NOM fish/ NOM plate
'(You) eat from the fish/from the plate.'

b. Basah-**an** mo ng kuwento ang mga bata hanggang sa naka-tulog sila.
read-**UV:an** 2s.GEN GEN story NOM PL child until DAT can-sleep 3s.NOM
'(You) read the children stories/ the story until they can sleep.'

The example given above in (13), here repeated as (18), also fits the analysis outlined here. While *sundan* 'to follow' is an activity verb and the event it denotes is not delimited by the Undergoer, *sundin* 'to obey' is understood as denoting a punctual event that is delimited by the Undergoer('s will and guidelines).[75] Recall that punctual events cannot be decomposed into true sub-events of the same type as the main event, so that there are no real minimal results.

(18) a. Sund-**an** mo siya.
follow-**UV**:**an** 2s.GEN 3s. NOM
'(You) follow him.'

b. Sund-**in** mo siya / ang iyo-ng ama.
follow-**UV:in** 2s.GEN 3s. NOM/ NOM 2sg-LK father
'(You) obey him/ your father.'

The analysis can also capture the examples in (19a, b), which contain the manner of motion verb *lakad* 'to walk'. Recall that this verb was shown to be compatible with both Undergoer affixes, /-*in*/ and /-*an*/.

[75] The state of being obedient is expressed by the verb *masunurin* 'to be obedient'.

(19) a. Lakar-**in** mo ang Luneta/ ang lahat ng daan.
walk-**UV:in** 2s.GEN NOM Luneta/ NOM all LK way
'Walk up to Luneta /all the way.'

b. Lakar-**an** mo ang Luneta/ang bulaklak niya.
walk-**UV:an** 2s.GEN NOM Luneta/NOM flower 2s.GEN
'Walk in Luneta/ on (over) his flowers.'

Sentence (19a) shows that with the /-*in*/-form *ang Luneta* is understood as the final point at the end of the path that the Actor has traversed, i.e. it is associated with a maximal result that is brought about, while with the /-*an*/-form in (19b) *ang Luneta* is understood as the location of the movement. Note that, while sentences with city names can be found in the literature with verbs like *lakaran*, all of my consultants very much prefer *ang buklaklak* to *ang Luneta* as object of the verb *lakaran*. Section 6.3 will illuminate why such preferences exist.

The Undergoer voice alternation is generally an option for motion verbs as the examples of the directed motion verb /*akyat*/ 'to go up' in (11) in chapter 1 and /*takbo*/ 'to run' in (19) above, here repeated as (20) und (21), have shown. The alternation is productively possible because motion verbs can be made into accomplishment verbs by adding a destination phrase. This is true unless the manner of motion expressed is very specific, as for the verb /*gapang*/ 'to crawl', a point we will get back to in section 6.3.

(20) a. Akyat-**in** mo ang puno.
go_up-UV:in 2s.GEN NOM tree
'You go up/climb the tree.'

b. Akyat-**an** mo ang puno.
go_up-UV:an 2s.GEN NOM tree
'You go up on the tree.'

(21) a. Takbuh-**in** mo siya/ang marathon.
go_up-UV:in 2s.GEN 3s.NOM/ NOM marathon
'You run to (reach) him/the marathon.'

b. Takbuh-**an** mo siya.
go_up-UV:an 2s.GEN 3s.NOM
'You run away from him.'

In both examples, it is possible to define a maximal result for the /-*in*/-affixed forms, i.e. for *akyatin* the maximal result can be phrased as 'x is on the top of the tree' and for *takbuhin* as 'x has covered all of the way (that constitutes y)' or 'x is at y'. With the /-*an*/ forms of the verb, there is no maximal result with respect to the Undergoer; i.e. the referent of the nominative-marked argument is interpreted as not measuring out the event. The shift in meaning in (21b) from 'run toward' to 'run away from' could be argued to be induced by the choice of an affix that signals only minimal results, but not maximal results are brought about.

The analysis of /-*in*/ signaling that the event denoted by the verb form brings about a maximal result with respect to the Undergoer argument, while /-*an*/ signals that the event denoted by the verb form brings about only minimal results, does not capture all cases. Recall that *akyatan* can also receive a direct causative meaning, i.e. 'to bring something up(stairs) to someone'. The maximal result of a transfer obviously concerns all participants involved in the event, as a successful transfer implies that, at the end of the runtime of the event, some participant is without the object transferred and the other participant is in possession of the object. As mentioned before, with verbs denoting transfers away from the Actor we do not get the Undergoer affix /-*in*/, but the Undergoer voice affix /*i*-/. For the sake of the present discussion concerning the difference between /-*in*/ and /-*an*/, I will therefore take a look at a verb denoting a transfer toward the Actor which takes these affixes. In the case of a ditransitive transfer verbs like *kuha* 'to get', illustrated in (22), /-*an*/ identifies the participant that is the goal of the transfer action and /-*in*/ identifies the object transferred.

(22) a. K<**um**>uha ka sa kaniya ng lapis!
K_{stem}<AV>get you.NOM DAT 3s.NONACT GEN pencil
'(you) get the pencil from him.'

b. Kun-**in** mo sa kaniya ang lapis!
get-**UV:in** 2s.GEN DAT 3s.NONACT NOM pencil
'Get the pencil from him.'

c. Kun-**an** mo siya ng lapis.
get- **UV:an** 2s.GEN 3s. NOM GEN pencil
'Get a pencil from him.'

It should be remembered that transfer verbs are also classified as verbs denoting atomic events, as there are no true sub-events that can be said to be of the same type as the main event. Rather,

two maximal results are brought about – in the case of 'x take (y from z)', the result (i) 'y is at (has reached) x' and the result (ii) 'y is not (no longer) at z'. Only one of the two [+hr]-arguments is assigned both maximal results: the argument (y). The example in (22) shows that it is this [+hr]-argument that is identified by /-*in*/. The Undergoer argument denoting the participant (z) who is assigned only the maximal result 'y is not at z' is identified by /-*an*/. As a consequence, the characterisation of the voice affix function needs to be modified as follows.

Table 6.5

Event-structure related function of the UV affixes /-*in*/ and/-*an*/

/-in/ identifies the Undergoer argument that is assigned all maximal results as the prominent argument.
/-an/ identifies the Undergoer argument that is assigned (i) a minimal result or (ii) a true subset of the maximal results as the prominent argument.

It follows that /-*in*/ is only admissible for verb stems that denote events bringing about maximal results, i.e. accomplishment verbs and all atomic verbs like transfer, point and achievement verbs, whereas /-*an*/ is admissible for all verbs denoting events that bring about either a minimal result (i.e. activity and accomplishment verbs) or a number of maximal results (i.e. transfer verbs).

The analysis fares well with respect to the data discussed so far. It can also explain why a verb of directed motion like /*pasok*/ 'to go into/to enter', which denotes a punctual change of state rather than an activity, takes the affix /-*in*/ in (23a), despite the fact that the referent of the Undergoer argument clearly denotes a location. However, having solved one problem, another one arises. If /*pasok*/ is a punctual change of state verb, why may it take the Undergoer affix /-*an*/ as in (23b)? Does it receive an activity reading in this case?

(23) a. Pasuk-**in** mo ang bahay niya.
go_into-UV:in 2s.GEN NOM house 3s.GEN
'You go into/break into his house.'

b. Pasuk-**an** mo ang dumaan/ang Montessori school.
go_into-UV:an 2s.GEN NOM passage/ NOM Montessori school
'You go in through the entrance/to the Montessori school.'

The data I have elicitated and found in books are not conclusive and, as mentioned before, my consultants (even those that belong to the same family unit) differ considerably with respect to the usage of this verb. Note, however, that the referent of the first Undergoer argument *dumaan* 'passage' in (23b) does not denote a location that can be understood as the endpoint of the entering event, but only as the way towards some inner region of an unspecified location. The referent of the second Undergoer argument *Montessori school*, however, denotes a possible endpoint. Still, according to my consultants the verb is not used to express a simple entering process, but to express that the Actor goes to this school regularly as a pupil or as a teacher. Therefore the difference seems to be the same as the difference found in English between 'go to the school', where the school delimits the event, and 'go to school', where the school does not delimit the event. So, as expected, affixing /*-an*/ to a change of state verb yields a shift in meaning.

Note that the reading 'to break into' in (23a) is an implicature. While the connotation of the English phrase 'breaking into' is that the Actor uses more force or that the Undergoer is more negatively affected, speakers stress that neither has to be the case in the Tagalog example. They explain that the inference is due to the fact that the hearer of the sentence suspects some kind of motive on part of the Actor for entering the house, just like some kind of motive was suspected on part of the (running) Actor with respect to his destination in sentence (22) above. Considerations like these drive voice affix choice, as will be discussed in more detail in section 6.2. Voice affix alternations are more pervasive than has been acknowledged so far in the literature on Tagalog. They definitely require more research, preferably on the basis of high quality corpora of spoken and written language.

So far, nothing has been said regarding the difference between /*in-*/ and /*i-*/, which have been shown to be in complementary distribution with respect to transfer verbs. This has been attributed to the direction of the transfer. Note that verbs like /*hiram*/ 'to borrow', /*kuha*/ 'to receive/to get', /*bili*/ 'to buy', which take /*-in*/ for the identification of the moved object (24), center on different ways (some legal, some illegal) in which the agent came into the possession of the object as well as on the difference whether the possession is permanent or temporary.

(24) a. Hiram-in mo ang akin-g lapis!
borrow-UV:in 2S.GEN NOM 1S.NONACT-LK pencil
'Borrow my pencil!'

b. Kun-in mo ang kaniya-g Adidas!
get-UV:in 2s.GEN NOM 3s.NONACT-LK Adidas
'Get his Adidas!'

c. Bilh-in mo ang akin-g Adidas!
buy-UV:in 1s.GEN NOM 1s.NONACT-LK Adidas
'Buy my Adidas!'

Verbs like /*akyat*/ 'to bring upstairs', /*dala*/ 'to handcarry', /*tapon*/ 'to throw', i.e. verbs that take /*i*-/ to identify the moved object, center on the way the object is displaced and/or on the path the object takes (25a-c). In this sense, the second class of verbs is more about movement (manner and direction of movement) of the object than the first. In the case of the first class of verbs, the movement of the object is assumed, but it is not central to the predication. Therefore, Himmelmann's (1987) suggestion to charaterise /*i*-/ by the concept of movement seems to be appropriate. Lemaréchal (1991) suggests 'positional change', but note that movement seems to be the more appropriate characterisation, because instrument arguments are also identified by the affix /*i*-/, as shown in (25f). The sentences in (25d) and (25e) show two other uses of /*i*-/; here the argument signaled by /*i*-/ is understood as moving together with the Actor.

(25) a. **I**-akyat mo ang akin-g Adidas!
UV:i-go_up 2s.GEN NOM 1s.NONACT-LK Adidas
'Bring my Adidas up(stairs)!'

b. **I**-dala mo ang akin-g Adidas kay Leni**!**
UV:i-carry 2s.GEN NOM 1s.NONACT-LK Adidas DAT Leni
'Carry my Adidas to Leni!'

c. **I**-tapon mo ang akin-g Adidas kay Leni**!**
UV:i-throw 2s.GEN NOM 1s.NONACT-LK Adidas DAT Leni
'Throw my Adidas to Leni!'

d. **I**-takbo mo **a**ng akin-g Adidas!
UV:i-run 2s.GEN NOM 1s.NONACT-LK Adidas
'Run with my Adidas!'

e. **I**-lakad kita!
UV:i-walk 1s.GEN>2s.NOM
'Walk with me!'

f. **I**-pang-sulat mo ng liham ang akin-g lapis!
UV:i-INSTR-write 2s.GEN GEN letter NOM 1s.NONACT-LK pencil
'Write with my pencil!'

Note that /*i*-/ is the only Undergoer voice affix that appears in the form of a prefix like the Actor voice affixes. This may be accidental, or it may be linked to the fact that /*i*-/-marked Undergoer arguments exhibit a property like movement that is associated with the Actor and her actions in the beginning of the event.

However, /*i*-/ is not restricted to moving entities. It is also used in contexts in which the mental cause for a feeling on part of the agent is focused on. Therefore it appears frequently with the stative causative affix /*ka*-/, as in (26a). It is likewise used for contexts in which the mental cause for an action is focused on as in (26b). The latter form is often called a beneficiary form and, to my knowledge, rarely used in basic sentences.

(26) a. **I**-k<in>a-galit ng actress ang napabalita-ng buntis ang kanyang anak
UV:i-<REAL>ST.CAUS-anger GEN actress GEN report- LK pregnant NOM her child
'The report that her child is pregnant made the actress angry.'

b. **I**-p<in>ag-sulat ng actress ng liham si Lena.
UV:i-<REAL>ACTION-write GEN actress GEN letter NOM Lena
'The actress wrote the letter for Lena.'

De Guzman (1978) points out that the difference between /*-an*/-marked beneficiaries and /*i*-/-marked beneficiaries is that the former are the actual receivers of the object, but not necessarily the intended beneficiaries, while the latter are the intended beneficiaries, i.e. the motivation for the agent to perform the action.

Recall from example (5), here repeated in (27a-c), that with a creation verb like 'to cook', /*i*-/ is used for Undergoer arguments that are not understood as effected. In Dowty's (1991) terminology, the Undergoer is conceived of as having the Proto-Agent property of existing independently, whereas /*-in*/ identifies the argument that does not exist independently of the event, but is created in the course of the event. As the examples in (27d, e) show, the same is true for the creation verb /*sulat*/ 'to write'. The form *isulat* is used in contexts where the thing written exists independently; this may be for example one's name or the content of a letter (27e). The form *sinulat* (27d), on the other hand, refers to the physical object consisting of a string of symbols.

(27) a. [-in] Lutu-in mo ang ulam.
cook-UV:**in** 2S.GEN NOM viand
'(You) cook the viand!' (Ramos 1974: 4)

b. [i-] I<ni>luto ko ang asukal sa tubig hanggang l<um>apot.
UV:**i**<REAL>cook 1S.GEN NOM sugar DAT water until <AV>thick
'I cooked the sugar in the water until it became thick.'

c. [i-] I<ni>luto ko ang tuna sa itlog.
UV:**i**<REAL>cook 1S.GEN NOM tuna DAT egg
'(You) cooked the tuna with the egg!'

d. [-in] Sulat-in mo ang liham.
write-UV:**in** 2S.GEN NOM letter
'(You) write the letter!'

e. [i-] I-sulat mo ang liham/ang pangalan mo sa papel.
UV:**i-**write 1S.GEN NOM letter NOM name 2S.GEN DAT paper
'(You) write the letter/your name on (the) paper!'

Summing up, the affix /*i*-/ is used to signal non-prototypical Undergoers in the sense that their referents exhibit Proto-Agent propertiers like (i) movement – albeit movement that is not initiated by themselves – (ii) a weak form of (mental) causation that is likewise not controlled by themselves and (iii) independent existence. This may explain why this Undergoer voice affix is coded in the form of a prefix like an Actor voice affix.

6.1.5 Synopsis

In this section I have reviewed a few approaches to the semantics and function of individual voice affixes and the differences between them. The common idea to all approaches is that the voice affixes give information on how the participants they signal are involved in the event. In the approaches discussed, properties like control and affectedness were suggested as central to the analysis of differences between voice affixes. If these two properties were enough to capture the differences, theories of semantic decomposition would only need to add two or three predicates to the inventory of their semantic primitives.

I have argued that the notion of control does not look promising for capturing the differences between the Actor voice affixes /*um*-/ and /*mag*-/ verbs. While I suggested that one may be able to argue for a common abstract feature that underlies the different usages of /*mag*-/,

I also pointed out that this feature is not sufficient to generate all of the different meanings we find – certainly not in the traditional sense of semantic composition of affix function and predicate meaning. In fact the affix /*mag*-/ was shown to be able to derive more than one meaning with one and the same stem. Due to the polyfunctionality of the affix /*mag*-/ , I suggested that this affix serves the function of signaling the more complex or more specific event(s) out of a set of events associated with a verb stem. The hearer can then deduce the particular function with a given stem based on the context.

With respect to the Undergoer voice affixes, I have pointed out that the prefix /*i*-/ signals an Undergoer with Proto-Agent properties. This explains why /*i*-/ is regularly chosen with affixes licensing Instrument (25f) or Beneficiary arguments (26b) (that are not mere Goals but are understood as motivating the occurrence of the event). With verbs showing alternations between /-*in*/ and /*i*-/, the latter also identifies event participants or aspects of event-participants that can be characterised in terms of Proto-Agent properties. Which properties play a role depends on the respective meaning of the verb. In the case of creation verbs, the property of independent existence is an extra-ordinary one for an Undergoer to exhibit, so speakers can use /*i*-/ to signal this fact. In the case of manner of motion verbs or verbs of directed motion, it is the property of moving (traversing a path), which is (usually) associated with the Actor argument, that distinguishes the moved non-Actor argument from all other non-Actor arguments. The fact that an intuitive understanding of affectedness is not sufficient to describe the distribution of the Undergoer voice affixes. Based on voice alternation data I have argued for the description of the distribution of /-*in*/ versus /-*an*/-forms on the basis of event-related properties of the participants denoted. The argument was developed based on two-place predicates that allow more than one Undergoer voice affix. These alternations provide good insight into the differences in semantics and function of the voice affixes. Note that the description developed here with respect to the Undergoer voice affixes /-*in*/ and /-*an*/ started out as an account of why a certain affix is compatible with a certain stem. In a second step it was shown that these affixes 'coerce' the meaning of predicates that may originally be of a different type. As in the case of /*mag*-/, the minimal description of the voice affix function is not enough to derive concrete verb meanings. Rather I assume that based on the properties these affixes are sensitive to, the appropriate event (or set of events) in which the Undergoer has the relevant aspectual properties is activated. This way more than one semantic template can be activated, as in the case of /*takbo*/, where either the goal argument or the path argument can become the nominative-marked pivot. It is obvious that there is more out there in terms of voice alternation minimal pairs than has been described

in this section. The description of more data with respect to alternations is a desideratum of future research.

As has become clear from the discussion in these sections, transitivity is not a big concern in the approaches and analyses considered so far. Himmelmann (2002) characterises languages like Tagalog as 'symmetrical voice languages'. His definition of a symmetrical voice system comprises the view that Actor voice sentences containing a two- or three-place predicate are just as transitive – as far as he considers the notion to be applicable in Tagalog – as their corresponding Undergoer voice sentences. He thinks of a symmetrical voice language as a language with valence-neutral voice alternations. This is close in spirit to what Kroeger (1993) tried to show with his tests with respect to the core argument status of Actors in Undergoer sentences and the core argument status of Undergoers in Actor voice sentences. In the next section, a diverging view is taken. The goal of the approaches to be discussed is the explanation of the overall difference between Undergoer voice versus Actor voice as well as the determination of speaker's motives for choosing one voice over the other.

6.2 Transitivity approaches

6.2.1 Starosta (2002) versus Ross (2002)

Starosta (2002) and others, who argue for an ergative analysis of Tagalog, have suggested that voice affixes differ with respect to transitivity marking. Sentences with Actor voice forms are said to be intransitive, while sentences with Undergoer voice forms are said to be transitive.

Note that this analysis does not refer to the valence of a verb. The examples in (28) from Donohue (2002) illustrate nicely that the voice affixes do not determine the argument structure of a verb, e.g. both voice affixes /*mag*-/ and /-*in*/ appear on transitive (28a, b) and intransitive verbs (28c, d). With the Undergoer voice affix /*i*-/ some forms even allow for a transitive or a ditransitive reading (28e).

(28) a. Mag-kudkod ka ng niyog */mag-/ transitive*
AV:mag-grate 2S.NOM GEN coconut
'You grate some coconut.'

b. Kudkur-in mo ang niyog */-in/ transitive*
grate-**UV:in** 2S.GEN NOM coconut
'You grate the coconut.'

c. Mag-du~dugo ka. */mag-/ intransitive*
AV:mag-IPFV~blood 2S.NOM
'You will be bleeding.'

d. La~lamuk-in ang bahay. */-in/ intransitive*
IPFV~mosquito-**UV:in** NOM house
'The house will be infested with mosquitoes.'

e. I-bukas mo ito. */i-/ transitive, ditransitive*
UV:i-open 2S.GEN NOM this
'Open this/ Open (it) with this.'

For Starosta the dative marker and the genitive marker, when occurring with a non-Actor argument, are both oblique markers. The reasons for rejecting this analysis were laid out in the previous chapter.

Ross (2002), aware of the prevalence of the notion of transitivity in the description of Philippine languages, discusses possible interpretations of the notion of transitivity and their role with respect to a number of Austronesian languages. He distinguishes semantic and morphosyntactic transitivity and points out that the latter is a complex concept comprising (i) the morphosyntactic relationship the argument has to the verb, (ii) the valency of the verb, and (iii) the reference-related properties of the arguments (cf. ibid. page 28). The latter two conditions are viewed as insufficient for determining transitivity, given that in terms of valency a verb can require an oblique argument (*I put the apple* ***on the table*** [emphasis Ross]) and that oblique markers may be used to indicate reference-related information (e.g. specificity), as has been shown in the previous chapter. Based on the fact that genitive *ng* may mark instruments,[76] Ross sees evidence for the view that the *ng*-marker marks core and oblique arguments. He cites an example from Foley and Van Valin (1984:134), which contains three *ng*-marked noun phrases, given here in (29). Ross, distinguishing three homophonous *ng*-markers, uses three different glosses for this marker depending on the argument it occurs with. In accordance with my own analysis I retain the same gloss here for all three occurrences.

[76] Ross also cites Schachter and Otanes' (1972: 440) example of *nang*-marked time phrases and analyses this marker not as homophonous, but identical to the genitive marker *ng*. In chapter 5 I argue against this analysis.

(29) B<in>ilh-an ng lalaki ng isda ng pera ang tindahan.
<REAL>buy-UV:an GEN man GEN fish GEN money NOM shop
'The man bought fish at the shop with the money.'

This sentence is very marked and surely elicited. Nonetheless, it is true that *pera* 'money' can be marked by *ng* with the verb /*bili*/ 'to buy'. Note, however, that the stem *bili*, according to English (1986), has two meanings: 'thing bought' and 'price at which something is bought.' Given the latter meaning, it is clear that money is inherently part of the concept of buying and not just some oblique argument that is only circumstantially associated.

Recall furthermore that *ng* may not be used to mark any kind of circumstantial tool/instrument. The sentences in (30a, b) are not viewed as acceptable with a *ng*-marked instrument – no matter how plausible their usage in a given scenario. This suggests that *ng* really only can mark inherent arguments and not just any oblique. An oblique instrument argument is marked by dative *sa*, as shown in (30b).

(30) a. *Nag-tinda ako ng mga bulaklak ng pera.
AV:mag.REAL-shop 1S.NOM GEN PL flower GEN money
Intended: 'I sold the flowers for money.'

b. B<in>uks-an ko ang pintuhan *ng/sa kutsilyo/ sa akin-g kamay.
<REAL>-open-UV:an 1S.GEN NOM door GEN/DAT knife /DAT 1S.NONACT-LK hand
'I opened the door with the knife/with my hands.'

Not discussing examples like those given in (30), Ross takes his data to mean that *ng* marks obliques. He argues that with respect to morphosyntactic marking, we would have to conclude then that Tagalog only has oblique markers apart from the marker *ang* and that all sentences are intransitive. This, as he points out, is in opposition to Kroeger's (1993:40-48) claim that all voices are equally transitive. A symmetrical voice system would then be one in which all sentences are equally intransitive. Ross, apparently not convinced of his own preliminary conclusion, points out that Tagalog has trivalent transfer verbs where the *ng/sa*-alternation is not available, as discussed in the previous chapter. He furthermore remarks that cross-linguistically it would be uncommon for a language to have two oblique and one core argument marker with trivalent verbs. Therefore his final reasoning is that 'Tagalog happens to be different from the majority of languages in lacking a morphosyntactic distinction between core and oblique arguments other than pivot (…).' Himmelmann (1991) defends the

same position. Without a difference between core and oblique arguments, the question of whether a verb is transitive or not does not arise. Therefore Ross arrives at the conclusion that voice marking cannot be explained in terms of transitivity based on the morphosyntactic criteria just discussed. Given my analysis of the case markers in the previous chapter I agree with this conclusion, albeit for a different reason.

As Ross points out, there is a second definition of transitivity in the literature that is based on semantic criteria rather than morphosyntactic criteria. This view is primarily associated with Hopper and Thompson (1980). Transitivity in the sense of Hopper and Thompson is about an activity 'being carried over or transferred from an agent to a patient. Transitivity in this traditional view necessarily involves at least two participants (…), and an action which is typically EFFECTIVE in some way' (ibid. page 251 [emphasis Hopper and Thompson]). The basic idea defended in their famous paper is that transitivity is a discourse-based notion that is of major significance for grammar. Given the influence of pragmatics on voice marking in Tagalog, this idea is appealing.

Hopper and Thompson identify a list of parameters – 'each of which suggests a scale according to which clauses can be ranked' (ibid. page 251) – that 'involves a different facet of the effectiveness or intensity with which the action is transferred from one participant to another' (ibid. page 252).

Table 6.6

Hopper and Thompson's transitivity parameters

	HIGH	LOW
A. Participants	2 or more	1
B. Kinesis	action	non-action
C. Aspect	telic	atelic
D. Punctuality	Punctual	non-punctual
E. Volitionality	Volitional	non-volitional
F. Affirmation	Affirmative	Negative
G. Mode	Realis	Irrealis
H. Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. Affectedness of O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. Individuation of O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

Hopper and Thompson hypothesize that 'if two clauses (a) and (b) in a language differ in that (a) is higher in transitivity according to any of the features 1A-J, then, if a concomitant grammatical or semantic difference appears elsewhere in the clause, that difference will also show (a) to be higher in transitivity' (ibid. page 255). A similar correlation among low transitive features is implicit. Hopper and Thompson insist that their Transitivity Hypothesis 'refers only to OBLIGATORY morphosyntactic marking or semantic interpretations, i.e it states that the co-variation takes place whenever two values are necessarily present' (ibid. page 255 [emphasis H & T]). If one assumes that Actor voice affixes signal intransitivity and that *sa*-marking is a means to signal specificity and individuation of the Undergoer in cases where Undergoer voice is blocked, then the case alternation examples we have discussed in the previous chapter represent an example of two morphosyntactic features correlating, which clearly belong to opposite poles of the transitivity scale. Furthermore, note that the assumption of the Transitivity Hypothesis together with the presumed grammaticised intransitivity signaled by Actor voice affixes would lead one to expect that *ng*-marked Undergoers should systematically receive a non-individuated and non-specific interpretation. This was shown not to be the case in many of the examples discussed in the previous chapter. Based on the observation that there are specific, individuated *ng*-arguments, Ross (2002:28) arrives at the conclusion that Actor voice forms cannot be analysed as the grammaticisation of a lower level of semantic transitivity in the sense of Hopper and Thompson (1980:289) either. Similar to my own analysis, Ross views the non-referential reading of *ng*-marked Undergoers as a pragmatic inference that arises through contrast with sentences that contain Undergoer voice or Actor voice and the linker *sa* to mark definiteness of the Undergoer argument.

However, as the discussion in the previous chapter made clear, *sa*-marking and/or a definite interpretation of Undergoers is best available in sentences where no crucial change of state with respect to the Undergoer is depicted, i.e. the sentences which are semantically less transitive in Hopper and Thompson's sense. Given this finding, the criteria suggested by Hopper and Thompson are well worth considering in the analysis of voice function and voice selection in Tagalog, all the more as this is indeed the path most pursued by Philippine linguists these days.

6.2.2 Nolasco (2005 a, b), Nolasco and Saclot (2006), Saclot (2006)

Aware of Actor voice sentences with specific Undergoers, Nolasco (2005a, b) and his student Saclot (2006) claim that not specificity, but individuation (among other parameters) is at stake when it comes to assessing the transitivity of sentences in Philippine languages. Like Starosta

(2002) they advance the view that Philippine voice and case express high and low transitivity grammatically and that only Undergoer voice sentences are truly transitive, while Actor voice sentences are said to signal intransitivity. Nolasco (2005a, b) revises Hopper and Thompson's parameters to suit Philippine languages, as shown in table 6.7 (cf. ibid. 2005a: 222). Essentially, Nolasco 'concurs with the characterization that the grammatical patterns in pragmatically simple sentences in PLs [= Philippine languages] are ergative' and that 'the question of language type crucially depends on what constitutes a transitive construction in PLs' (ibid. 2005a: 216). Inspired by Klaiman's (1988) notions 'source of action' and 'most affected entity', he comes up with the following definition:

> 'A transitive construction is one where the source of the action is viewed as distinct from the most affected entity (P). An intransitive construction is one where the source of the action is also viewed as the most affected entity. When the A and the P refer to the same entity, it may also be labeled S' (ibid. page 218).

In other words, affectedness is viewed as the most essential of all criteria for the voice system of Philippine languages. Nolasco does not define the notion of affectedness. However, given that he refers to Klaiman's work, it can be assumed that he holds a view of affectedness that can be called non-traditional in the sense that it comprises the idea that 'performing an action' can also be a form of being affected. We will come back to this point after having taken a closer look at the criteria Nolasco suggests.

Close in spirit to the analysis in this thesis, Nolasco considers voice marking to be determined by prominence. However, his notion of prominence is different from the one presented here. In line with the centrality of the notion of affectedness in his analysis, Nolasco states that 'what Philippine ergativity really means is that speakers give the highest degree of prominence to the *most affected entity*' (Nolasco 2005a: 236). In other words, Nolasco claims that the primary function of the voice affixes is 'to cross-index the most affected entity in the clause' (Nolasco & Saclot 2005: 2; cf. Nolasco 2005a: 236); i.e. Actor voice, signaling intransitivity, identifies the Actor (the sole argument of the verb) as the most affected one, while Undergoer voice, signaling transitivity, identifies the Undergoer as the most affected one. In his papers, Nolasco makes clear that he assumes only a weak grammaticisation of the subject-object relation in the Philippine languages. Therefore his parameters are first and foremost to be understood as factors influencing 'speaker's choice of grammatical structures, especially in the assignment of case to arguments and in the selection of voice affixes'

(Nolasco 2005a: 236). He suggests the following semantic criteria for determining how transitive/intransitive a given (voice) construction is. Divergences from Hopper and Thompson are given in bold letters [emphasis Nolasco].

Table 6.7
Nolasco's parameters for transitivity in Philippine languages

	HIGH	LOW
A. No. of Arguments	**distinct A and P**	**S**
B. Kinesis	Action	State
C. Aspect	Telic	Atelic
D. Punctuality	Punctual	non-punctual
E. Intentionality	**Deliberate**	**Volitional**
F. Particularity	**Particular**	**General**
G. Directionality	**External**	**Internal**
H. Effort	**Effortful**	**Effortless**
I. Affectedness of P	totally affected	partially affected
J. Individuation of P	highly individuated	non-individuated

While Nolasco (2005a) discusses these criteria with respect to a number of Philippine languages, I will only focus on Tagalog in the following discussion. The goal is to determine the nature of these parameters and to critically evaluate their respective relevance and status for voice selection and the description of voice function.

6.2.3 Number of arguments

The first point 'A. Number of arguments' is important to Nolasco's claim that Actor voice forms signal a lower degree of transitivity, because most intransitive verbs take Actor voice affixes for their single argument, regardless of whether or not the argument identified is semantically an agent or a patient. Note that not only intransitive verbs, but also atransitive verbs like weather verbs take the Actor voice affix *um-*. Relevant examples were already mentioned in chapter 3 and are repeated here as (31). Data like these are taken as evidence for the claim that the so-called Actor voice affix is not a marker of the Actor in the literal sense of the word, but an intransitivity marker – in contrast to the Undergoer voice affixes, which Starosta and Nolasco deem to signal a high level of transitivity.

(31) **Atransitive and intransitive verbs with *um-***

a. B<um>agsák ang baso.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$fall NOM vase
'The vase fell.'

b. T<um>awa ang bata.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$laugh NOM child
'The child laughed.'

c. <Um>ulan kagabi.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$rain last night
'It rained last night.'

d. K<um>idlat kagabi.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$lightning last night
'It (=lightning) flashed last night.'

Note that apart from the arguments that have been put forward so far against an analysis of *ng* and *sa* as oblique markers in Actor voice sentences, the existence of atransitive *um*-marked verbs, as exemplified in (31c, d) above, likewise speaks against the analysis of this affix as a clear indicator of intransitivity.

Nolasco (2005b) sharpens his notion of transitivity by analysing syntactically transitive Actor voice verbs like *sumalpok* 'to strike' in (32) as M-intransitive in the RRG sense, i.e. they are viewed as assigning only one macrorole, either Actor or Undergoer.

(32) **Two-place verbs with *um-* (Schachter 1972: 70, cited from Nolasco 2005a: 224)**

a. S<um>alpok ang alon sa bangka.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$strike NOM wave DAT boat
'The wave struck the boat.'

b. S<in>alpok ng alon ang bangka.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$strike GEN wave NOM boat
'The wave struck the boat.'

As argued in chapter 3, the data provide more evidence for an analysis of *um-* as a marker signaling that the most prominent argument is the first in terms of temporal involvement in

the event – either because it initiates the event or because the event manifests itself with respect to it. This analysis can be extended to weather verbs if one accepts that the predicates basically incorporate the only argument, which then is automatically the first and most prominent argument in the event. The information associated with *um-* is, thus, located on the level of semantics, not on the level of macrorole assignment. Note that weather verbs provide indeed counter-evidence to the claim that Actor voice affixes signal M-intransitivity, since there is no macrorole that is assigned or needs to be morphosyntactically realized.[77]

Nolasco (2005b) does not discuss examples of one-place predicates with Undergoer voice affixes, like those in (33), which are also a clear example against the analysis that Undergoer voice signals M-transitivity in the sense of grammatical transitivity.

(33) **Intransitive verbs with *in-***

a. <Ni>lagnat[78] ang guro.
   <REAL>$_{[UV]}$fever NOM teacher
   'The teacher had fever/was feverish.' (≈ The teacher was the target of fever)

b. T<in>igdás ako.
   <REAL>$_{[UV]}$measles 1S.NOM
   'I had the measles.' (≈ I was the target of measles)

c. <Ni>langgám /L<in>anggám ang pagkain.
   <REAL>$_{[UV]}$ant NOM food
   'The food was infested/covered with ants.' (≈ The food was the target of ants)

Note that if the Undergoer voice affix is viewed as signaling transitivity in the examples in (33), then it is only on the semantic level, not on the grammatical level. All predicates in (33) incorporate an argument whose referent is viewed as an affecting entity causing changes in the world, e.g. a disease or a similar infliction. As argued in chapter 3, in these specific cases, due to the predicate-inherent effector there are in fact two arguments involved in the event on the semantic level. In terms of CAUSE & EFFECT and temporal reasoning, it is the predicate-inherent effector that comes first in the event and provokes a certain change in the only syntactic argument of the predicate. Thus, from a semantic point of view, the predicate-inherent affector can be regarded as the higher argument. This explains why the Undergoer

[77] Recall thatTagalog does not have expletive pronouns.

[78] With predicates starting with sonorants like [l], the /*in-*/ may appear as the prefix /*ni-*/.

affix */in-/,* which is associated with the feature [+hr] 'there is a higher role', is chosen for the only argument of the predicate. Note that the examples can hardly be taken to exemplify the distinct coding of the agent and the patient role as in standard transitive sentences.

The question that arises is: does the transitivity analysis fare better for two-place predicates than for one-place predicates, i.e. do syntactically transitive Actor and Undergoer voice sentences differ with respect to criteria like kinesis, aspect, affectedness etc., so that the assumed higher level of transitivity associated with Undergoer voice can be justified?

6.2.4 Kinesis: states versus actions

For reasons not explained, Nolasco (2005a, b) prefers to contrast the notion 'action' with the notion 'state' instead of Hopper and Thompson's notion 'non-action'. As mentioned in chapter 2, stative verbs, i.e. verbs of cognition, perception and position etc., were shown to have their own set of Actor and Undergoer voice affixes, i.e. *maka-* and *ma-*, so that the relevance of the distinction action versus state seems to be rather one between different predicates than one between Actor and Undergoer voice selection in general.

In the case of stative perception verbs *maka-* is used for Actor (perceiver) voice and *ma-* for Undergoer (perceived) voice, as was shown for the verb /*kita*/ 'visible/to see' in the previous chapters and is exemplified here for the verb /*dama*/ 'felt/to feel' in (34). The translation of the stems is taken from English's dictionaries.

(34) **Stative, non-controlled perception verb** (English 1986:361)

a. **Naka**-ramdam(naka-dama)[79] ako ng kirot.
   AV:maka.REAL-felt 1S.NOM GEN pain
   'I felt pain.'

b. **Na**-dama niya ang init.
   UV:ma.REAL-felt 3S.GEN NOM heat
   'He felt the heat.'

Perception verbs that express intention (and possibly a higher degree of dynamicity) take a different set of affixes, as shown in (35).

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[79] English lists two forms that seem to be identical in meaning.

(35) **Dynamic, controlled perception**

a. Turu-an natin ang mga puso na d<**um**>ama ng ginaw.
teach-UV:an 3S.GEN NOM PL heart LK <AV>[REAL]feel GEN chill
'We teach the hearts to sense the chill.'

(http://fc01.deviantart.net/fs25/f/2008/121/c/1/The_Spires_vol_46_Love_and_War_by_spiresunderthesun.pdf)

b. Damah-**in** mo ang energy!
feel-UV:in 2S.GEN NOM energy
'Feel the energy!'

Things are similar, but not identical, for cognition verbs. The cognition verb /*alam*/ 'to know' does not take an affix when oriented toward the Undergoer. Interestingly, when either of the affixes *ma-* and *maka-* is realized, they both indicate the Actor or rather the Cognizer, as exemplified in (36a, b). Note that the *maka*-form seems to be rarely used. One consultant suggested to me that *makaalam* is the abilitative form 'can know'.

(36) **Cognition verb** (English 1986:26)

a. Alam niya ang kanya-ng g<in>a~gawa.
knowledge 3S.NOM GEN 3S.NONACT-LK <REAL>[UV]IPFV~do
'He knows/is conscious of what he is doing.'

b. Ma-alam siya ng Tagalog.
STAT:ma-knowledge 1S.NOM GEN Tagalog
'He knows/is knowledgable in Tagalog.'

c. Sino ang naka-a~alam tungkol sa bagay na ito?
who NOM POT:maka.REAL-IPFV~knowledge about DAT thing LK DEM
'Who knows about this (thing)?'

The data show that Tagalog does not treat all sets of stative predicates the same way. Moreover, the examples raise the question if *ma-* should be analysed as a stative Undergoer affix in the first place. Note that the *ma*-form in (36b) is adjective-like in not inflecting for realis to indicate present tense or past tense. Foley & Van Valin (1984) point out that stative

predicates with *ma-* express properties that are viewed as temporary in contrast to stative predicates without *ma-*. Often-cited examples are *bilog* 'round' versus *mabilog* 'full (e.g. moon)' and *puti* 'white' versus *maputi* 'faded, bleached'. 'Time-point related' may be a better characterisation than 'temporary', since a resultative state may be permanent, but is still time-point related. In the example above, the knowledge is obviously the result of having learnt something in the course of one's lifetime and can thus be rightfully viewed as a time-related property. Interestingly, in contrast to the Actor (or cognizer) voice form *maka-*, it is uncommon for the *ma*-form to be inflected for realis and appear as *naalam.* Recall from chapter 2 that Himmelmann (2006) suggests that we need to distinguish two paradigms with homophonous forms: the potentive paradigm and the stative paradigm. The form in (36b) would count as clearly stative, while examples like the ones in (24a, b) and (36c) would be analysed as potentive predicates, i.e. as predicates that focus on the ability of the Actor.[80]

There is a set of data that suggests that the difference between the two sets of voice affixes *mag-*, *um-*, *-in*, *-an*, *i-* versus *ma-*, *maka-* may be less of a distinction between actions and states than a distinction between control and lack of control. As the examples in (37a, b) show, positional verbs, classified as stative in Himmelmann (2006), take both affixes, *ma-* and *maka-*, to signal the highest argument.

(37) **Position verb** (English 1986: 1023)

a. Naka-patong ang libro sa mesa.
AV:maka.REAL-layer NOM book DAT table
'The book was lying on the table.'

b. Na-patong ang libro sa mesa.
UV:ma.REAL-layer NOM book DAT table
'The book had been put on the table (in a lying position).'

[80] Affixing the other set of voice affixes yields once again a dynamic reading.

(i) Alam-**in** mo kung d<um>ating na siya.
knowledge-UV:in 2s.NOM SUBORD <AV>$_{[REAL]}$arrive already 3s.NOM
'Find out whether he arrived.' (English 1986: 26)

(ii) Ngayon, ikaw ang <**um**>alam sa pagkatao ng iyon-g ama.
Now, 2s.NOM NMZ <AV>$_{[REAL]}$knowledge DAT personality GEN your-LK father
'Now you (are the one who has) found out about the personality of your father.'

c. ***Na**-patong ng aklat ang mesa.
UV:ma.REAL-lie GEN book NOM table
Intended: 'The book was lying on the table.'

The forms in (37a, b) differ semantically in that the *ma*-form, in contrast to the *maka*-form in (37a), signals resultativity and is frequently used in contexts where the Actor accidentally brought about the result.[81] Syntactically the forms in (37a, b) are said to differ in that the latter allows for the realisation of an agent argument, as exemplified in (38a).[82] As Himmelmann points out, this form, which conveys resultativity and less control, can be derived via the affixes /*ma-*/ and /*maka-*/ from every stem that allows for the derivation of an activity verb, here in (38c) the verb *magpatong* 'to put, superimpose'.

(38) **Verbs of non-controlled positioning**

a. Na-patong ko ang libro sa mesa mo.[83]
POT:ma.REAL-layer 1s.GEN NOM book DAT table 2s.GEN
'I managed to/accidentally put the book on your table.'

b. Naka-patong ako ng libro sa mesa mo.
POT:ma.REAL-layer 1s.NOM GEN book DAT table 2s.GEN
'I managed to/accidentally put a book on your table.'

c. Nag-patong siya ng mga libro sa mesa mo.
AV.REAL-layer 3s.NOM GEN PL book DAT table 2s.GEN
'He put (piled up) books on your table.'

Note that the two homophonous *naka*-verbs in (37a) and (38b) differ with respect to nominative assignment. The stative *naka*-verb assigns nominative to the theme argument,

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[81] As pointed out by Himmelmann (2006), some speakers differentiate these two readings by different stress patterns; however, these differences do not seem to be as consistent as they may have been several generations ago, therefore I will not dwell on these suprasegmental phenomena.

[82] As the Undergoer voice form signaling the theme is *ipatong*, the accidental form is more often realized as *naipatong* than as *napatong*, as shown in (i).

Na-i-patong ko ang aking paa sa ihawan ng tiya ko.
MA.REALIS-UV:i-layer 1s.GEN NOM my feet DAT broiler GEN aunt 1s.GEN
'I managed to/accidently put my foot on the broiler of my aunt.'

[83] This sentence is elicited. A natural sentence from the online novel *Sugar coated delusions* is *Napatong ni Larisse yung kamay niya sa ibabaw ng kamay ko*. 'Larisse put her hand over my hand.'

while the dynamic *naka*-verb assigns nominative to the Actor argument. For this reason alone, it seems to make sense to assume two homophonous sets of /*ma*-/, /*maka*-/ affixes. The dichotomy of stative versus potentive voice and the polyfunctionality of the marker *ma*- is a matter of discussion (cf Latrouite 2002) and beyond the scope of this thesis.

Regardless of the actual analysis of this set of affixes, the important point here is that Tagalog has elaborate morphosyntactic means to signal different degrees of stativity and control that cut across the distinction between Actor and Undergoer voice, i.e. stativity or non-action are not exclusively expressed by Actor voice affixes, therefore it is safe to assume that the difference between Actor and Undergoer voice affixes cannot be put down to differences regarding kinesis. Interestingly, Nolasco (2005a) does not discuss the examples just cited, but mentions a different set of data with respect to the distinction of action versus states. One of his examples was given above and is repeated here as (39). His other set of examples is provided in (40).

(39) **Schachter 1972: 70, cited from Nolasco 2005a: 224**

a. S<um>alpok ang alon sa bangka.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$strike NOM wave DAT boat
'The wave struck the boat.'

b. S<in>alpok ng alon ang bangka.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$strike GEN wave NOM boat
'The wave struck the boat.'

(40) **Veronica Siasoco 1996: 80, cited from Nolasco 2005a: 225**

a. (…) i-p<in>rito niya ang kamote.
UV:i-<REAL>fry 3S.GEN NOM camote
'She fried the camote.'

b. (…) nag-prito siya ng kamote.
AV.REAL-fry 3S.NOM GEN camote
'She fried camote.'

In my understanding the differences he notes with respect to the examples do not truly pertain to the distinction between states and actions. In the first case, he suggests that the boat is understood as being pounded more forcefully by the waves in Undergoer voice than in Actor

voice, while in the second case he notes that Actor voice asserts first and foremost the activity of frying camote, but not the result of the camote being fried at the end (although he admits that this is the most likely interpretation). I am unsure of the definition Nolasco presupposes for states and actions and hesitate to speculate based on the data he discusses. However, it seems to me that, if these nuances in meaning reflect a difference with respect to parameters from his list, then the parameters at work should be the parameter of (potential) affectedness in (39) and the parameter of individuation in (40). We will come back to examples like these when discussing the respective parameters.

6.2.5 Aspect

Chapter 2 showed that Actor and Undergoer voice may both appear in perfective and imperfective contexts as well as in realis and irrealis contexts. Still, it was noted in chapter 5 that imperfective and irrealis both facilitate the choice of Actor voice in cases where there usually is a strong preference for the Undergoer voice due to the meaning of the verb and the referential properties of the Undergoer, as exemplified in (41a). Note that the Undergoer is very prominent with a verb like *to frighten*, as the verb denotes a change of state to the Undergoer and the Undergoer is necessarily animate – in contrast to the Actor, who does not need to be animate, as the example in (17b) of chapter 5, here repeated as (41c), shows. For some of my consultants the example in (41b), without voice marking, sounds even better than the example in (41c). In short, imperfectivity supplemented by irrealis makes it easier to perceive the Actor as prominent, but for some speakers imperfectivity alone is already enough to license Actor prominence.

(41) **Actor voice of causal verb incompatible with definite Undergoer argument**

a. *T**<um>**akot siya kay Jose.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$fear 3s.NOM DAT Jose
Intended: 'He frightened Jose.' (cf. Schachter & Otanes 1972: 152)

b. Ta~takot ako sa classmate ko.
IPFV$_{[IRR]}$~fear 1.NOM DAT classmate 1s.GEN
'I will frighten my classmates.'

c. T**<um>**a~takot ng mga negosyante ang rallies.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$IPFV~fear GEN PL entrepreneur NOM rallies
'The rallies frighten (the) entrepreneurs.'

(simplified from Pilipino Star Ngayon, December 12, 2000, *Mag-rally or tumahimik*)

Chapters 2 and 5 argued that imperfectivity has this effect due to the fact that the Actor – in contrast to the Undergoer – is event-structurally strongly associated with the beginning and the developing phase of the event, which is focused in imperfective forms.

It follows that the relationship between Actor voice and imperfectivity is not such that the Actor voice is more prone to signaling imperfectivity (and therefore a less transitive situation) than Undergoer voice, but imperfectivity is a supportive element in making the Actor more prominent than the Undergoer. However, as we have seen, imperfectivity in itself is not enough to enforce Actor voice.

6.2.6 Punctuality, intentionality & effort

Nolasco cites the Actor voice form *nangagat* 'to bite repeatedly' in contrast to the Undergoer voice form *kinagat* 'to bite' in order to show that Actor voice yields a durative or repeated reading, while Undergoer voice yields a punctual reading. As mentioned before, the Actor voice affix *mang-* is indeed a special form signaling habitual and repeated actions. To get a similar effect in Undergoer voice, CV-reduplication of the first syllable of a predicate oftentimes accompanied by the affix *pag-* to indicate repeated or habitual action is required, as shown in Nolasco's (2005a: 226) example of the verb *pinagsusuntok* 'hit repeatedly', derived from /*suntok*/ 'to hit'. The fact that Undergoer voice forms may just as well denote durative events shows that punctuality versus durativity is not at the core of the difference between Actor and Undergoer voice either. The same point can be made based on the distribution of the more frequently used Actor voice affix /*um-*/, which yields the same punctual reading as the Undergoer voice suffix /*-in*/ in the example in (42).

(42) a. K<um>agat ang aso ng/sa buto.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$bite NOM dog GEN/DAT bone
'The dog bit a/the bone.'

b. K<in>agat ng aso ang buto/si Lena.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$bite NOM dog NOM bone/NOM Lena
'The dog bit the bone/Lena.' (cf. Saclot 2006: 5)

Note that the Actor voice form is not considered acceptable with a human Undergoer, as shown in the example in (43).

(43) ??K<um>agat ang aso sa akin/kay Lena.
<AV>[REAL]bite NOM dog DAT 1S.NONACT/DAT Lena
'The dog bit me/Lena.' (cf. Saclot 2006: 5)

So, once again the relationship between Undergoer voice and punctuality is not such that Undergoer voice induces a punctual reading. Rather, the punctuality of the predicate plays a role in enforcing Undergoer voice when the Undergoer is prominent based on its property to be human. We will get back to these data further below in our discussion of event-structural prominence.

Saclot (2006) argues that the difference in acceptability with respect to sentences like (42b) and (43) is a reflex of a different parameter, namely of intentionality. According to her analysis only transitive sentences (i.e. Undergoer voice sentences) are understood as involving an intentional act, while intransitive sentences (i.e. Actor voice sentences) convey the reading that the action was merely voluntary in the sense that it is a natural action for the Actor to perform, regardless of the particular object involved. As bones belong to the things that dogs habitually bite and chew without giving it a second thought, but human beings are not, the act of biting a human being is viewed as more strongly intended by the dog. Apart from the fact that we have seen above that Tagalog has a number of AV affixes that differ with respect to the degree of control they denote, it should be noted that the same explanation cannot easily be extended to the verb /*salpok*/ 'to strike', which is most frequently used in the news to describe unfortunate accidents that are neither natural nor intended. However, we note that once again, the Actor voice form *sumalpok* 'to strike' preferably appears in contexts in which the Undergoer is not human, as in (44a, b), while a human Undergoer makes the Actor voice form sound less acceptable, as in (44c). The acceptability with an animate Undergoer increases if the result of the striking yields a negative result for the Actor, as the sentence in (44d) shows.

(44) a. S<um>alpok ko sa nakaparada-ng kotse
<AV>[REAL]strike 1S.NOM DAT parked-LK car
'I struck the parked car.'

b. S<um>alpok ang sasakyan sa isa-ng sari-sari store na pagmamay-ari ni Ben.
<AV>[REAL]strike NOM vehicle DAT one-LK sari-sari store LK ownership GEN Ben
'The vehicle struck a sari-sari store owned by Ben.'
(*Bombo Radio Philippines*, Saturday, 25 September 2010 18:36)

c. ??S<um>alpok ko kay Lena/sa higante.
<AV>[REAL]strike 1s.NOM DAT Lena/DAT giant
'I struck Lena/the giant.'

d. Dalawa-ng lalaki ang na-sawi nang s<um>alpok sa higante.
two-LK man NOM MA.REAL-unfortunate when <AV>[REAL]strike DAT giant
'Two men were unfortunate (died) when (they) struck the giant.'

Similarly, if the Undergoer is negatively affected by the striking, Undergoer voice is chosen even if the Undergoer is not animate, as the sentence in (45) shows. The examples show that while the ontological status of an argument as animate or not animate, human or not human, plays a role, the conceived affectedness also contributes to the choice of voice.

(45) Isa-ng 15-anyos na babae ang k<um>pirmado-ng na-matay habang
one-LK 15-years LK woman NOM <AV>[REAL]confirm-LK MA.REAL-dead while
'A 15-year old woman was confirmed dead (while/)and

malubha naman ang ina nito matapos salpuk-in ng kotse ang kanila-ng motorsiklo.
MA.serious too NOM mother DEM.GEN after hit-UV GEN car NOM their-LK motorcycle
her mother also seriously (injured) after cars/a car had struck their motorcycle.'
(www.philstar.com/Article.aspx?articleId=236552)

It has been noticed repeatedly for Tagalog, but also for other languages, e.g. Wu (2006) for Amis, that Undergoer voice yields the reading that a higher degree of intentionality is implied. This inference is obviously restricted to animate Actors. The fact that it is an inference can be shown by the fact that it is cancellable, e.g. the sentence in (45) could be followed by a passage explaining that the driver of the car had lost control due to a previous unfortunate incident (*Sa inisyal na pagsisiyasat ng pulisya, nawalan ng kontrol ang kotse na minamaneho ni L. Sapatos matapos nitong mabangga ang isang motorsiklo na nakaparada sa isang kalsada.* 'According to initial police investigations, the car driven by L. Sapatos lost control after he had bumped into a motorcycle parked on a road.') Nevertheless, it is quite intriguing

that a prominent Undergoer, and not a prominent Actor, should induce the inference of a higher degree of intentionality on part of the Actor. Obviously this point requires an explanation.

Nolasco's parameter of 'effort' points into a similar direction as the parameter of intentionality. He notes that Undergoer voice forms are understood in the sense that the Actor pours a greater amount of effort into carrying out an action than in Actor voice. One of his examples is given in (46).

(46) a. L<um>angoy sila sa ilog.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$swim 3p.NOM DAT river
'They went swimming in the river.'

b. <Ni>langoy nila ang ilog.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$swim 3p.GEN NOM river
'They swam the river.' (≈ They conquered the river.) (Nolasco 2005a: 231)

Note that according to my consultants the inference of effort can be cancelled like in *Nilangoy niya ang ilog nang walang hirap* 'He swam the river without effort.' The more obvious change in meaning induced by the choice of Undergoer voice instead of Actor voice with a verb of manner of movement concerns the status of the non-Actor argument. While in Actor voice the non-Actor argument is understood as the location of the activity (46a), in Undergoer voice the non-Actor argument is understood as an incremental theme, measuring out the event (46b), in the sense of Krifka (1998).

6.2.7 Particularity, individuation & affectedness

The parameter of particularity is hard to grasp based on Nolasco's (2005a) description. It is meant to capture cases like the following given in (47), which he describes as signaling the difference between a general leisure-time activity (47a) and 'a conscious, deliberate and particular act undertaken to affect a book' (ibid. page 230), exemplified in (47b).

(47) a. Nag-basa siya ng libro.
AV.REAL-read 3S.NOM GEN book
'He did book-reading.' [Nolasco's translation]

b. B<in>asa niya ang libro.
<REAL>[UV]read 3S.GEN NOM book
'He read the book.' (Nolasco 2005a: 230)

Thus, the parameter of particularity is described with respect to the two parameters 'intentionality' and 'affectedness'. Since there is no definition of the notion 'affectedness' and since it is not clear to me how a deliberate reading can be told apart from a voluntary reading, it is difficult to assess the parameter of particularity with respect to the data given. Note, however, that the most obvious difference in the data can be explained with recurrence to another parameter, namely the parameter of individuation. Obviously, the book is understood as an individuated object in the second sentence, but not in the first. As already discussed in chapter 3, while non-individuated Undergoers are often found in Actor voice sentences, in the case of verbs that do not determine a change of state with respect to the Undergoer, we also find Actor voice sentences with individuated Undergoers, as the sentence in (48) exemplifies for the verb *magbasa*.

(48) Nag-ba~basa siya ng kaniyang blog.
AV.REAL-IPFV~read 3S.NOM GEN 3S.NONACT-LK blog
'He is reading his blog.'

Nolasco (2005) notes that individuation is to be understood as 'exclusivity of a semantic patient', not in the sense of 'grammatical individuation' signaled by pronouns and names. Saclot (2006) chooses the example given in (49) to explicate the concept of individuation.

(49) /*suntok*/ 'hit' with two specific arguments (Saclot 2006: 10)

a. S<um>untok **si Pedro** kay Jose.
<AV>[REAL]hit NOM Pedro DAT Jose
'Pedro hit Jose.'

b. S<in>untok ni Pedro **si Jose**.
<REAL>[UV]hit GEN Pedro NOM Jose
'Pedro hit Jose.'

Saclot (2006) suggests that the speaker chooses Actor voice in (49a) because Jose was not the only one who got hit and that the activity was not specifically directed towards him. Thus, in contrast to (49b), Jose is not understood as the exclusive receiver of the action in (49a).

However, different speakers offer different scenarios: my consultants suggest that Actor voice was chosen because (i) Pedro tried to hit Jose, but did not touch him or (ii) he did hit him, but did not hurt him badly. So in the first scenario given by Saclot, the Undergoer was understood as fully physically affected, but not viewed as delimiting the event because he was not the only one involved, while in the second scenario the Undergoer was viewed as the only one and thus as delimiting the event, but not prototypically affected by it. Both interpretations would be less transitive interpretations according to Nolasco's criteria.

Note, however, that not every Actor voice example can be explained in terms of lack of individuation or affectedness. The following examples in (50) are taken from stories that enable us to determine the context. In all three contexts, the Actor voice form cannot be explained based on the fact that the Undergoer is (i) one among many or (ii) not understood as prototypically affected. The latter is first and foremost true because the verbs /*halik*/ 'to kiss' and /ibig/ 'to love' in (50b, c) do not determine any prototypical change of state with respect to the Undergoer argument. Even the verb /*dala*/ in (50a), which is translated as 'to carry/to bring' in English's dictionary, does not express a change of state per se, but maximally a change of position. The data suggest that the parameter of affectedness of the Undergoer is relevant, but only for a certain class of verbs.

(50) a. Nag-dá~dalá silá ng sarili nilá-ng banda ng músika.
AV.REAL-IPFV~bring 3p.NOM GEN self 3s.GEN-LK band LK music
'They bring their own band.' (Bloomfield 1914:48)

b. H<um>a~halik ng (kaliwang) kamay ang bagong-kasal na
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$IPFV~kiss GEN (LEFT) hand NOM newlyweds LK
sina Mario at Mameng sa kanila-ng ninong.
NOM.PL Mario and Mameng DAT 3s.NONACT- LK godfather
'The newlyweds, Mario and Mameng, kiss the (left) hand of their godfather.'
(Bowen 1965: 193) [84]

[84] One consultant points out that the sentence sounds better if the Undergoer is marked by *sa* and the possessor argument adjacent to the possessed as in the example below:

c. Gayunman, <**um**>ibig **ang babae** sa lalaki.
however <AV>[REAL]love NOM woman DAT man
'However, the woman loved/fell in love with the man.'

(in the context of *Noong unang panahon, isang magandang babae ang nakilala ng isang kakaibang lalaki. Ito ay isang engkanto (...) Ipinagtapat naman ng engkanto na buhat siya sa lupain ng mga pangarap, at hindi sila maaaring magkasama. Gayunman, umibig ang babae sa lalaki*. ≈ 'Once upon a time a beautiful woman met a strange man. He was a spirit. (...) The spirit (=the man) declared frankly that he was from the region of dreams, and that they could not become companions. However, the woman fell in love with/loved the man.'

(from *Alamat ng saging* (http://hawaii.edu/Filipino/Related))

All of these examples clearly contain individuated Undergoers. Individuation of an argument obviously enhances the salience of an entity per se. A non-individuated entity is obviously less discernable and noteworthy. So individuation versus non-individuation clearly should play a role in the prominence of an argument, even it is not all decisive, as the examples above show. We will come back to these examples in the second part of this chapter.

Individuation turns from an influencing feature to being a more decisive parameter if the event-structural interpretation of the verb hinges on this factor. This is true for a certain class of verbs, e.g. for verbs taking incremental objects (51). With verbs that take incremental objects, the individuation of the Undergoer argument changes the meaning of an activity verb to an accomplishment verb, as exemplified in (51) and (52). As is well-known, verbs taking incremental objects are special in that a one-to-one relationship between the run-time of the event and parts of the Undergoer can be established (cf. Krifka 1998). Therefore, an individuated Undergoer is understood as measuring out the event.

H<um>a~halik sa (kaliwang) kamay ng kanila-ng ninong
<AV>[REAL]IPFV~kiss DAT (left) hand GEN 3s.NONACTOR- LK godfather

ang bagong-kasal sina Mario at Mameng.
NOM newlyweds NOM.PL Mario and Mameng
'The newlyweds, Mario and Mameng, kiss the (left) hand of their godfather.'

(51) **Activity readings with Actor voice**

a. S<um>ulat si Pedro ng liham.
<AV>[REAL]write NOM Pedro GEN letter
'Pedro wrote a letter/part of a letter/ letters.'

b. L<um>angoy ka sa ilog.
<AV>swim 2s.NOM DAT river
'Swim in the river.'

c. K<um>ain ako ng isda.
<AV>[REAL]eat 1s.NOM GEN fish
'I ate (a) fish/fishes.'

d. <Um>akyat ako ng/sa bulog.
<AV>[REAL]go_up 1s.NOM GEN/DAT mountain
'I climbed on a/the mountain.'

(52) **Accomplishment readings with Undergoer voice**

a. S<in>ulat ni Pedro ang liham.
<REAL>[UV]write GEN Pedro NOM letter
'Pedro wrote the letter/the letters.'

b. Ni-langoy mo ang ilog.
REAL[UV]swim 2s.GEN NOM river
'Swim (across) the river (= from one side to the opposite side).'

c. K<in>ain ko ang isda.
<REAL>[UV]eat 1s.GEN NOM fish
'I ate the fish/the fishes.'

d. <In>akyat ko ang bulog.
<REAL>[UV]go_up 1s.GEN NOM mountain
'I climbed the mountain (= all the way up to the top of the mountain).'

These examples show that whether a parameter is of significance to voice selection or not depends to a certain degree on the meaning of the verb. If individuation does not induce a shift in event-structural interpretation, it is of less relevance in the determination of voice

choice, as could be gleaned from the example in (50c), the emotional state verb *umibig/ibigin* 'to love', and the surface contact verb /*salpok*/ 'to strike' in (44).

Obviously, more needs to be said on the notion of affectedness, given that Nolasco (2005a) takes affectedness to be of paramount importance in the explanation of the Philippine voice system. For him, affectedness is not only a feature that characterizes patients but also agents. Unfortunately, he does not give a definition of the notion. However, since he alludes to Klaiman's (1988) definition, it is clear that, for him, an entity can also be perceived as affected in virtue of *performing an action*, not only in virtue of undergoing an event. As Klaiman herself views affectedness as a language-specific notion that is 'relative to the parameter of control as defined in any given system' (1988: 62) and thus needs to be determined anew for every single language, there still is a need to specify the concept behind the notion for Tagalog. It seems to me that behind Nolasco's undefined notion of affectedness lurks a similar idea as behind my notion of 'event-structural prominence of participants', which will be explained in more detail in section 6.3.

6.2.8 Directionality

Directionality is Nolasco's cover term for actions that are directed away from the Actor towards an external target and those that are 'inherently internal' (ibid. page 230) or directed towards the Actor. This is not to be understood in the sense of the terms 'centrifugal' and 'centripetal' that were coined by Pittman (1966) in order to describe, among other things, verbs of transfer that denote a transfer toward the Actor, such as *kumuha* 'receive' and *bumili* 'buy', versus transfers directed away from the Actor to some recipient, like *magbigay* 'give' and *magbili* 'sell'.

Nolasco provides the two Tagalog examples in (53) and (54) to exemplify his parameter. The first example in (53a) illustrates that the Actor voice form *bumalik* 'to return' denotes the change of position of the Actor, while with the Undergoer voice form *binalikan* in (53b) the Undergoer does not undergo any change. The Undergoer is rather understood as the goal of the movement and the reason for the change in location of the Actor. Note that the *picking up* of the Undergoer mentioned in the translation is an inference (most likely based on the context in which the sentence was uttered). The second example in (54a) illustrates that the Actor voice form *nagpaluto* 'to make so cook' denotes a reflexive action, in the sense that the caused action is understood as benefitting the Actor. This reading is said not to arise with the Undergoer voice form *pinaluto* in (54b).

(53) a. B<um>alik siya sa pick-up.
<AV>[REAL]return 3S.NOM DAT pick-up
'S(h)e went back to the pick-up truck.'

b. B<in>alik-an niya si Fe sa Broadway Centrum.
<REAL>return-UV:an 3S.GEN NOM Fe DAT Broadway Centrum
'S(h)e went back to pick Fe up at the Broadway Centrum.'

(Edgar Reyes 1994: 76, cited from Nolaso 2005a: 230)

(54) a. Nag-pa-luto ako ng adobo sa nanay ko.
AV.REAL-CAUS-cook 1S.NOM GEN adobo DAT mother 1S.GEN
'I asked my mother to cook adobo (for me).'

b. P<in>a-luto ko ng adobo ang nanay ko.
CAUS<REAL>[UV]-cook 1S.GEN GEN adobo NOM mother 1S.GEN
'I asked my mother to cook adobo.' (≈ I made/had/let my mother cook adobo)

(Nolaso 2005a: 230)

The examples are interesting and necessitate a discussion with respect to Nolasco's notion of affectedness that is said to determine voice choice. The example in (53a) could be explained with reference to affectedness, as the only affected participant in the Actor voice form in (53a) is the Actor who performs the action: (s)he is the one who undergoes a change in location and ends up in a different place. Not surprisingly, it is verbs of directed movement like this that are very often found in Actor voice in texts. Note that the situation is similar in (53b): it is still the Actor who undergoes a change in location. In order to describe the Undergoer in the Undergoer voice construction as affected, the notion of affectedness would have to comprise the concept of 'intentionally involved or envisaged'.

Compare this to the sentences in (54a, b). In a causative construction, it is obviously the Causee that is intentionally envisaged and affected in the sense that (s)he is instigated to move from non-action to action. Anyone who reads a text in Tagalog will find that causative sentences with Undergoer (Causee) voice like (54b) are more frequent than causative sentences in Actor voice. Unfortunately no statistic research focusing on different verb classes has been conducted so far. As pointed out by Nolasco, if Actor voice is chosen in a causative construction, we get a marked interpretation, namely that the Actor is more than just the initiator: (s)he is at the same time the Benificiary/Goal of the caused action. It is thus fair to

conclude that there is a predicate-inherent orientation for a number of verbs that, if overridden, induces a change in the interpretation of the verb. The following section serves to develop and exemplify the notion of event-structural prominence, which is assumed to play a role in the phenomena discussed here.

6.2.9 Summary

In this section I have reviewed a number of approaches to the Tagalog voice system. Many focused on the differences between different Actor or different Undergoer voice affixes respectively. While former approaches were concerned with describing the affixes in terms of argument mapping regularities, more recent approaches have recognized that the affixes indicate in more subtle ways how participants are involved in the event denoted by the respective verb. Special focus was put on the most recent approach by Starosta, Nolasco and Saclot which analyse voice choice and case assignment in terms of prominence marking.

Given that Nolasco's approach has been developed based on Hopper and Thompson's, which was mainly concerned with different degrees of 'actionhood', he compares different scenarios in which an agent acts on a patient. However, it was shown that neither the Actor-related properties (voluntary vs. deliberate, effort vs. effortless) nor the Undergoer-related (partially affected vs. totally affected, non-individuated vs. individuated) or the event-related properties (state vs. action, atelic vs. telic, non-punctual vs. punctual, internal vs. external) suffice when it comes to explaining the entire range of phenomena, e.g. the selection of Actor voice versus Undergoer voice for verbs that denote emotional states like *umibig/ibigin* 'to love/to fall in love' (50c) or surface contact verbs that take or may take inanimate highest arguments (44). Moreover, the parameters suggested were shown to be of differing importance. Some of them were argued to be of little to no importance, e.g. kinesis and punctuality, while others were shown to be cancelable inferences, e.g. the amount of effort put in by the Actor. Other parameters like individuation, affectedness, telicity, and directionality, on the other hand, were shown to interact and to play a more substantial role for a number of verbs.

While Nolasco's approach to describe the Philippine voice system in terms of transitivity and affectedness is certainly most attractive in terms of factors that justify the pragmatic prominence of one event participant over another, it is not unproblematic given the gradual and intuitive nature of his two key concepts. To my knowledge, no existing definition of the notion of 'affectedness' is broad enough to capture all of the cases of voice choice above, including prototypical Actors and Undergoers that are merely goals.

Most importantly, the data in this section have shown that voice affixes may yield different meanings depending on the verbs they attach to and that there are clear voice marking preferences. Given the obvious predicate-relatedness of the respective meaning nuances observed, a systematic distinction of verb classes and a discussion of the systematicity of meaning shifts are needed. This will be provided in the following section.

6.3 Event-structural prominence, voice gaps and verb meaning shifts

6.3.1 Predicate-inherent participant orientation, voice marking gaps and meaning shifts

As already mentioned in chapter 5, section 5.1.6, the basic assumption in this thesis is that the distinction of three major classes of verbal predicates is useful: verbs that are inherently Actor-oriented, verbs that are inherently Undergoer-oriented and verbs that are more or less neutral with respect to their orientation.

In order to evaluate the event-structural salience of an argument, we need to take a look at the meaning components associated with the respective verbs. A verb like *kill* denotes a non-specific activity and a specific result. In frameworks like RRG (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997), LDG (Wunderlich 1997) and similar approaches to lexical decomposition, the respective prominence (or centrality to the predication) of an argument is reflected in the semantic structure/logical form associated with these verbs, e.g. the result-oriented verb *kill* is decomposed into a generic activity predicate **do**' (or ACT), and the general change of state predicate BECOME which takes the specific result predicate DEAD. Hence, the most specific information is associated with the Undergoer (with respect to whom the event manifests itself) and therefore, the Undergoer can be viewed as the most prominent for the predication. Recall that adding the imperfective affix to the stem (i.e. CV-reduplication in (41c)) increased the acceptability of Actor voice for these verbs. As hinted at in the previous section, this fact can also be explained by referring to the notion of event-structural prominence. By depicting the event as ongoing or repeatedly occurring, the continuing influence of the Actor is stressed. The focus is changed from the result of the action, and therefore from the Undergoer that is directly associated with it, to the developing phase of the event and the Actor who is responsible for the beginning and the development of the event. This way, the Actor argument gains more event-structural prominence and, thus, becomes eligible to prominence marking.

Note that the basic idea is that whenever two arguments are equally prominent in terms of their event-structural significance, prominence on one of the other levels will play a role for a given voice choice. Section 6.3.5 will explore this further.

The group of Actor-oriented verbs can be broken down into at least four subgroups: verbs of simple activities like /*tawa*/ 'to laugh', verbs of manner of motion like /*langoy*/ 'to swim' and /*lipad*/ 'to fly' (both restricted to animate beings), verbs of directed motion like /*akyat*/ 'to go up', /*balik*/ 'to return' and /*dating*/ 'to arrive' and activity verbs that allow for incremental interpretations with individuated Undergoers like /*kain*/ 'to eat' and /*sulat*/ 'to write'.

Inherently Undergoer-oriented are verbs that denote first and foremost a result with respect to the Undergoer and no specific activity. The group of Undergoer-oriented verbs comprises clear cases like /*patay*/ 'to kill' and /*sira*/ 'to destroy', which are derived from roots denoting results like *damaged* or *dead* that characterise the Undergoer. Stative verbs, e.g. cognitive verbs like /*alam*/ 'to know' and perception verbs like /*kita*/ 'to see', which are derived from roots meaning *knowledge* and *being visible* respectively, also belong to this group, because in the first case the Undergoer argument denotes the entity that is identified as the content of the cognizer's knowledge, while in the second case it is the Undergoer argument that is attributed the property to be visible.

The third group, which does not have a clear predicate-inherent focus of attention, comprises punctual contact verbs like /*suntok*/ 'to hit', /*salpok*/ 'to strike', /*kagat*/ 'to bite', but also transfer verbs like /*hiram*/ 'to borrow'. I consider these verbs to be more or less neutral with respect to inherent orientation, as the predicate expresses a particular kind of contact between the Actor and the Undergoer. Hence the meaning of the predicate does not center more on one participant than the other. In the case of these verbs, which I will call neutral verbs, differences in prominence cannot be motivated on the level of event-structural prominence, but on one of the other levels, i.e. the level of referential properties of the arguments or the information-structural level. Note that it is probably possible to make finer distinctions within the field of so-called neutral predicates. 'Neutrality' is very likely not an absolute concept. For the data of interest here, it is sufficient to only distinguish these three groups for the time being.

It was the group of neutral verbs and the group of Actor-oriented verbs that were shown to allow for specific and definite Undergoer arguments in Actor voice sentences in the last chapter. The following table illustrates which affixes the three groups of verbs take. Preferred affix choices are highlighted. Recall that the choice of /*mag-*/ instead of /*um-*/ usually yields the reading that the action was performed with a higher degree of intensity, and that with verbs of directed motion /*mag-*/ may yield a causative reading; this specific usage of

the verb form is subsumed under 'transfer verbs'. The highlighted affixes indicate affix preferences and predicate-inherent participant orientation of the verb group.

Table 6.8

Verb classes, inherent participant orientation and strong affix preferences

	AV	**UV**
Actor-oriented		
A. Simple activity	**um-/ mag-**	-an
B. Manner of motion	**um-/mag-**	-in/-an
C. Directed motion	**um-** (mag-)	-in/ i-/-an
D. Incremental activity	**um-/mag-**	-in/-an
Undergoer-oriented		
E. Active	um-/mag-	**-in**
F. Stative	maka-	**ma-**
Neutral		
G. Contact verbs	um-/mag-	-in
H. Transfer verbs	um-/ mag-	-in, -an/ i-(pag-), (pag-) -an

The notion of event-structural prominence implies that the participant is central to the predication in the sense described above. The notion nicely captures voice-marking gaps as well as strong voice marking preferences for Undergoer-oriented verbs which we have seen in the last chapter. Note that in the sentences in (55), Actor voice is always strongly dispreferred regardless of the referential status of the Undergoer. Downright rejected is Actor voice with inherently Undergoer-oriented verbs that require animate Undergoers, as the examples in (55a, c) illustrate. But even with Undergoer-oriented verbs that do not require animate Undergoers, Actors voice is strongly dispreferred, as the example in (55e) demonstrates.

(55) **Voice marking gaps**

a. ***T<um>**akot siya kay Jose/ng bata.
<AV>[REAL]fear 3S.NOM DAT Jose/GEN child
Intended: 'He frightened Jose/the child.' (cf. Schachter & Otanes 1972: 152)

b. T<in>akot niya si Jose.
<REAL>[UV]fear 3s.GEN NOM Jose
'He frightened Jose.'

c. * P**<um>**atay ang mga bata ng aso.
<AV>[REAL]dead NOM PL child GEN dog
Intended: 'The children killed a dog.'

d. P<in>atay ng mga bata ang aso.
<REAL>[UV]dead GEN PL child NOM dog
'The children killed the dog.' (cf. Saclot 2005: 3)

e. **??** S**<um>**ira ang bata ng mesa.
<AV>[REAL]broken NOM child GEN table
Intended: 'The child destroyed/broke a table.'

f. S<in>ira ng bata ang mesa.
<REAL>[UV]broken GEN child NOM table
'The child destroyed the table.' (cf. Saclot 2005: 3)

With all of these verbs, the distribution of Actor voice is restricted to focus constructions, unless a particular aspect-mood form is chosen that renders the Actor more prominent and licenses Actor voice. As was shown in section 6.1.2, a large group of speakers accept Actor voice if the verb form is given in the imperfective (and/or irrealis) form. (For some it is even necessary that the Actor argument is placed sentence-finally (56), in a pragmatically salient position, presumably a focus position, according to Dery 2005). Note that the sentences could have been translated just as well as past tense ('was frightening, always frightened').

(56) a. T**<um>**a~takot ng mga negosyante ang rallies.
<AV>[REAL]IPFV~fear GEN PL entrepreneur NOM rallies
'The rallies are frightening/frighten (the) entrepreneurs.'
(simplified from Pilipino Star Ngayon, December 12, 2000, *Mag-rally or tumahimik*)

b. T**<um>**a~takot sa kanya ang pagpapalaglag sa kanya-ng magiging anak.
<AV>[REAL]IPFV~fear DAT 3s.NONACT NOM abortion DAT 3s.NONACT-LK develop-LK child
'The abortion of her developing child still frightens/is frightening her.'
(www.panitikanngpilipinas17.blogspot.com/)

Consultants who found these sentences awkward did so because the Actor of the sentence is inanimate, and they would have preferred a different voice form, i.e. the stative causative voice form.

With Actor-oriented verbs, it is not voice marking gaps, but rather voice marking options that are puzzling and require an explanation. An intransitive verb like /*takbo*/ 'to run' may take Undergoer voice, and even more than one Undergoer voice affix, as mentioned in section 6.1.3 above. Some more examples are given here in (57). Note that in this case of non-predicate-inherent participant prominence a meaning shift is induced. As we will see in the subsequent section, these shifts in meaning induced by Undergoer voice may vary from verb to verb. This is one of the reasons why shifts in Tagalog verb meaning have frequently been viewed as 'idiosyncratic'. In (57), the Undergoer voice affix /*-in*/ licenses a number of different Undergoer arguments, e.g. the Undergoer argument may denote a person or a group of people the Actor intends to meet (57b), an object the Actor intends to get (57c), or a certain distance the Actor intends to run (57d).

(57) **Verb of movement**

a. T<um>akbo **si Pedro** (sa mesa).
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$run NOM Pedro (DAT table)
'Pedro ran (to the table).'

b. Takbuh-in mo **ang polis**!
run-UV:in 2s.GEN NOM police
'Run to (talk to) the police!'

c. Takbuh-in mo **siya/ ang Marlboro.**
run-UV:in 2s.GEN 3s.NOM/NOM Marlboro
'(You) run to (try to reach) him/to (get) Marlboro!'
(cf. Nolasco 2005: 215)

d. Takbuh-in mo **ang marathon**!
run-UV:in 2s.GEN NOM marathon
'Run the marathon!' (cf. http://www.scribd.com/doc/6784539/salita)

Note that none of these Undergoers are affected in the sense that they undergo a change of state, a change of position or any other kind of change. Therefore the choices in voice form and meaning shifts cannot be accounted for with reference to the concept of affectedness of the Undergoer in the intuitive sense, as suggested in the approaches discussed here. On the contrary, in a certain sense of affectedness (e.g. Klaiman's (1991)), the Actor should be the

most affected in all sentences in (57), as the events expressed manifest themselves first and foremost with respect to the performer of the action (who undergoes a change in location), not with respect to the Undergoers. Therefore, no version of affectedness suggested so far seems to capture these data.

The examples discussed show that, if the notion of event-structural prominence is to capture all of the cases above, it cannot simply be equated with predicate-inherent orientation nor with affectedness (at least not as long as affectedness has not been defined accordingly). In addition to predicate-inherent orientation, we need to consider the consequences of aspect-mood marking for the event-structural prominence of arguments, and we need to consider that the explicit choice of an argument other than the predicate-inherently prominent one is only possible if this argument can be construed as prominent and central for the event, in a way to be defined in the next sections. If it cannot be construed as prominent, then voice gaps are to be expected. Note that the additional bits of meaning given in parentheses in the translations of the sentences in (57) are a reflex of this attempt on the part of the hearer to construe the Undergoer as prominent for the event. Note that a sentence like (58), which contains a mere location as Undergoer argument, is considered to be awkward by my consultants.

(58) #Takbuh-in mo **ang pader**!
run-UV:in 2S.GEN NOM wall
'Run to the wall!'

All of this means that considerations with respect to event-structural prominence are complex. In the subsequent sections I will try to clarify and sharpen the notion of event-structural prominence, its status with respect to the other two levels and its usefulness in predicting meaning shifts.

6.3.2 Event-structural prominence and its relation to the other levels of prominence

The basic assumption already mentioned in the last chapter is that nominative marking and voice choice in Tagalog are about prominence marking, and that prominence can be evaluated on three different levels:

(1) **the information-structural level**

(2) **the event-structural level** (i.e. 'prominence' in terms of arguments that are central to the predication, e.g. Undergoers are more prominent than Actors for result-oriented verbs like *kill* and *frighten*), and

(3) **the referential level** (with highly referential arguments being more prominent than non-referential arguments, and highly referential Undergoers being more prominent than highly referential Actors for reasons explained in detail in chapter 5).

For the topic of this section, i.e. prominence and meaning shifts in verbs, the most relevant level is the level of event-structural prominence. However, before we take a look at the details of what exactly 'event-structural prominence' and 'centrality to the predication' mean, a few remarks are in order with respect to the background assumptions and the interrelationships between the three levels.

As mentioned before, with a number of predicates the specificity and individuation of the Undergoer argument has a direct bearing on the event-structural interpretation of the verb; e.g. for verbs denoting events with incremental objects, the specificity and individuation of the Undergoer is event-structurally important in that it turns the event from an activity ('eat cake') into an accomplishment ('eat a (certain)/the cake'). However, for verbs like /*bati*/ 'to greet' or /*ibig*/ 'to love', the specificity of the Undergoer argument is not event-structurally important.

Specificity does not only interact with the event-structural level, but also with the information-structural level: information-structurally prominent arguments tend to be specific, although they need not be, and arguments in contrastive focus are almost always specific, although they need not be either, as the last two chapters have shown. So this interrelation is somewhat weaker. The data discussed so far suggest that there is a bit of competition between the three levels of prominence, with the tendency of a certain kind of information-structural prominence (ISP) to outrank event-structural prominence (ESP) and referential prominence (RP) for nominative marking, as discussed at great length in chapter 5. The high ranking of the level of information structure is a reflex of the fact that the Philippine voice system is originally a pragmatic system of perspective shifting that got grammaticised to the clause level, as argued by Shibatani (1991) and Foley and Van Valin (1984).

Given the tight interrelation of referential prominence and event-structural interpretation for certain verbs, the ranking between event-structural prominence and referential prominence is less clear at times. However, as the discussion of neutral verbs will show, referential prominence plays a more significant role when event-structural prominence, as defined below, does not come into play. Hence, a ranking ISP >> ESP >> RP can be assumed.

The assumption of the ranking ESP >> RP is necessary in order to explain the acceptability judgements for the examples in (55) and the rejection of Actor voice. The idea is

that, based on the result-oriented meaning of the verbs ‘to kill’ and ‘to frighten’, the Undergoer is more prominent than the Actor on the event-structural level, so that the respective specificity of the arguments can be disregarded.

It was argued in section 5.1 that Tagalog voice and case seem to be a means of marking the most relevant information, in terms of what Relevance theorists call *the greatest positive cognitive effect.* With reference to this notion we have stated that new and contrastive information (in the sense of information adding or modifying the knowledge base) yields a greater positive cognitive effect than old information, and that the identification of clearly individuated and specific arguments yields a greater positive cognitive effect than that of a non-individuated, non-specific argument. Regarding the level of event-structural prominence, it can be stated that arguments that are central to the predication yield a greater positive cognitive effect than arguments that are less central to the predication (and, thus, the event and its interpretation).

6.3.3 Event-structural prominence: definition and explanation of voice preferences

For verbs like ‘to kill’ and ‘to frighten’, it is tempting to think of prominence in terms of affectedness. However, ‘to kill’ and ‘to frighten’ are the exception rather than the standard case as far as the unacceptability of Actor voice forms in the perfective is concerned. Although contact predicates like /*suntok*/ ‘to hit’, here repeated in (59), are usually subsumed under the class of verbs taking affected Undergoers (according to Beavers (in press), potentially affected Undergoers), Actor voice is not ruled out, even if the Undergoer is specific and individuated and thus prominent from the point of view of referential prominence, as in (59a).

(59) **Verb of surface contact with definite Undergoers** (Saclot 2006: 10)

a. S<um>untok **si Pedro** kay Jose.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$hit NOM Pedro DAT Jose
‘Pedro hit Jose.’

b. S<in>untok ni Pedro **si Jose**.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$hit GEN Pedro NOM Jose
‘Pedro hit Jose.’

Obviously, the event denoted by this predicate exhibits a different kind of affectedness than in the case of the predicates *kill* and *frighten*. The predicate *hit* only denotes a certain kind of contact between the Actor and Undergoer, it does not specify any particular property that the

Undergoer exhibits at the end of the runtime of the event denoted. If event-structural prominence is defined in terms of centrality to the predication and if the argument most central to the predication is viewed as the one over which the most specific meaning component of the verb predicates, then we expect both arguments to be equally event-structurally prominent, which is why I have classified contact verbs as neutral verbs. Note that both arguments also exhibit the same high degree of referentiality. Given the observation in chapters 4 and 5 that a specific, highly referential Undergoer should outrank a specific, highly referential Actor for voice choice, if no other level of prominence interferes, we would expect Actor voice in (59a) to be unacceptable.

It has to be noted that many speakers suggest that Undergoer voice is indeed preferred, even though it is not the only possible voice form. This could be explained as the effect of the referential prominence of the Undergoer. Some people may also be tempted to argue that the preference of Undergoer voice is not only due to the referentiality of the Undergoer, but also because the Undergoer could be regarded as slightly more prominent than the Actor in a respect that is event-related. Although the Undergoer is not affected (or at best potentially affected) and does not exhibit a specific result state implied by the verb, the individuated Undergoer argument of a punctual contact verb could still be viewed as delimiting the runtime of the event in the sense that the event of hitting is over (and has to start again) once the contact with the Undergoer is made. The plausibility of this analysis depends on whether one assumes that the concept of delimitation makes sense for verbs that denote punctual events.

Regardless of whether one analyses the arguments as equally event-structurally prominent or as exhibiting only a minor disbalance in event-structural prominence, it is a fact that Actor voice becomes available if scenarios are construed in which the equality in event-structural prominence of the arguments (or slight prominence of the Undergoer) is cancelled. As was mentioned above, different speakers offered different scenarios: Saclot (2006) suggested that the speaker chose Actor voice because Jose was not the only one who got hit and that the activity was not specifically directed towards him; my consultants suggested that Actor voice was chosen because Pedro tried to hit Jose, but did not touch him, or if he did, he did not hurt him badly because the contact was not established in the prototypical way. So in the first scenario, the Undergoer is understood as fully physically affected, but not viewed as delimiting the event, while in the second scenario the Undergoer is viewed as not prototypically involved in the event.

Obviously, a similar reconstruction of the Undergoer as not prototypically involved is

difficult to imagine for an Undergoer-oriented verb like ‘to kill’, which explains why Actor voice is not (easily) available. Note, however, that a reconstruction of the Undergoer as not delimiting the runtime of the event is possible with a verb like ‘to kill’ if the marked scenario of a mass murderer or slaughterer is considered, as in (60). ‘Mass murdering’ or ‘slaughtering’ surely is the intensive variant of ‘killing’, so the preferred Actor voice form in this context is /*mag*-/, not /*um*-/. Adding the imperfective marker makes the sentences even better.

(60) a. Nag-pa~patay siya muli ng mga babe.
AV:mag.REAL-IPFV~dead 3S.NOM again GEN PL women
‘He is again killing women.’

b. (?)Nag-patay siya ng mga toro.
AV:mag.REAL-dead 3S.NOM GEN PL bull
‘He killed/slaughtered bulls.’

While it is clearly difficult to characterise the overall system of Tagalog voice marking choices solely based on the notion of ‘affectedness’, ‘affectedness’ as defined by Tenny (1992), who equates it with the aspectual properties of delimiting and measuring out the event, cannot be ignored when trying to explain voice affix choice. Note that a delimited event is defined by Tenny (1992: 9) as an event that the language encodes as having an endpoint.

So far, event-structural prominence was based on the inherent orientation of a predicate. This conception needs to be adjusted as follows.

(61) **An argument may be event-structurally prominent due to the fact that**

(i) when decomposing the predicate into meaning components, the specific meaning component only provides specific information on this one argument;

(ii) it is crucial for the event because it delimits the runtime or measures out the event.

If both factors come together as in the verb /*patay*/ ‘to kill’, i.e. if the meaning of the predicate centers on the Undergoer and the Undergoer, at least if individuated, delimits the event, we get a verb for which Actor voice forms are only acceptable in special constructions, e.g. the focus construction. If a verb takes an Undergoer that is not more prominent than the Actor

with respect to the first point, but only with respect to the second, then we expect it to exhibit a preference for Undergoer voice, while still allowing Actor voice forms, like in the case of /*suntok*/ 'to hit'.

Note that Tenny's (1992: 9) definition of 'affectedness' in terms of delimitation and measuring out of the event is not sufficient if we want to use this notion to also capture the event-structural prominence of Actors in Actor voice sentences like (59a). In terms of the Tagalog voice system, then, we obviously need a slightly broader concept of 'delimitation of an event'. The only way an Actor can be viewed as delimiting an event, or rather the runtime of an event, is by being considered the only or most important variable that the length of the runtime is related to or depends upon. This reading arises in imperfective sentences.

The notion 'runtime' comprises the start, the developing phase and the end of the event. Thus, in my terminology, it may be either the Undergoer argument or the Actor argument – as a controlling, intentional being – that may delimit the event. One may be a more natural delimiter than the other for certain predicates and lead to a preference for the corresponding voice form. The alternative voice form may then lead to non-prototypical readings of the verb, as the next section shows.

Given all that has been said to far, it is to be expected that, if a verb is a one-place predicate, like /*takbo*/ 'to run' in (57), and takes only one argument, which as a consequence is the most prominent argument event-structurally, then the only way to introduce a new argument as the prominent one is by attributing event-structural prominence to this argument, i.e. the new argument must be interpreted as 'delimiting' (in the sense given above) or measuring out the event.

Before we discuss a number of shifts in verb interpretation in more detail, let us sum up what has been said so far.

(62) **Event-structural prominence in terms of event delimitation**
An argument (a core argument) is event-structurally prominent, in the sense that it delimits the event, if the runtime (including beginning and endpoint) of the event expressed by the verb is viewed as strictly related to this argument.

By 'strictly related' I mean that the referent of the prominent argument is viewed as the crucial participant right from the beginning until the temporal end of the event. With verbs denoting controlled activities as those discussed above, the involvement in the occurrence of

the event implies that the prominent argument is seen as the driving force if it is an animate Actor, or, in the case of a non-acting Undergoer argument, as the reason for the event occurring. Note that the only way an Undergoer can be perceived as having been involved in the controlled activity of an Actor right from the beginning is if (s)he is perceived as causal or motivational to the event.

Let us take a look at the data in (57), here repeated as (63), to exemplify (62) and how it influences the acceptability of prominent Undergoer arguments and the interpretation of Undergoer voice forms of activity verbs.

(63) a. T<um>akbo **si Pedro** (sa mesa).
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$run NOM Pedro (DAT table)
'Pedro ran (to the table).'

b. Takbuh-in mo **ang polis**!
run-UV:in 2s.GEN NOM police
'Run to (talk to) the police!'

c. Takbuh-in mo **siya/ ang Marlboro.**
run-UV:in 2s.GEN 3s.NOM/NOM Marlboro
'(You) run to (try to reach) him/to (get) Marlboro!'
(cf. Nolasco 2005: 215)

d. Takbuh-in mo **ang marathon**!
run-UV:in 2s.GEN NOM marathon
'Run the marathon!' (cf. http://www.scribd.com/doc/6784539/salita)

In all of these cases, the Undergoer does not only delimit the event (63b, c) or measure out the event (63d), but is also construed as the purpose or the motivation behind the event, i.e. the Actor is understood to have started performing this particular activity because of the Undergoer. Recall that if an argument cannot be easily construed as the motivating factor for the Actor to perform an activity, as in (58), here repeated as (64), then the Undergoer voice form is felt to be unfelicitous by my consultants.

(64) #Takbuh-in mo **ang pader**!
run-UV:in 2s.GEN NOM wall
'Run to the wall!'

Saclot (2006) points out a similar example, here given in (65). She remarks that the acceptability of the Undergoer voice form in (65) requires a specific setting, e.g. a restaurant setting that establishes a pre-determined relationship between the Actor and the Undergoer. She describes the data as follows: while in (65a) the returning to the table is about the Actor and her motivation to return, (65b) implies that it is properties of the table that made the Actor return to it, as well as 'a sense of purpose' to accomplish something with respect to the table is implied (cf. Saclot 2006: 8), in other words: the table is viewed as playing the key role for the occurrence of the event. Without such a context, Undergoer voice forms get rejected, as the example in (65c) shows. In order to express the sentence in (65c), Actor voice would have to be chosen.

(65) a. (...) b<um>alik **siya** sa mesa / sa pader
<AV>[REAL]return 3S.NOM DAT table/ DAT wall
'She returned to the table / to the wall'

b. B<in>alik-an ng weyter **ang mesa**.
<REAL>return-UV:an GEN waiter NOM table
'The waiter returned to the table (to do something to the table).' (cf. Saclot 2006:8)

c. ??B<in>alik-an niya **ang pader**.
<REAL>return-UV:an 3S.GEN NOM wall
'He returned to the wall.'

Note that notion of event-structural prominence is related to the ideas of 'perspective' and 'orientation' that are used in Philippine linguistics (e.g. Himmelmann 1987, Lemaréchal 1991, Nagaya 2009). The notions 'perspective' and 'event-structural prominence' are related in that the speaker focuses on one participant in a scene and uses it as the lens for describing the situation.

Turning back to Saclot's *hitting* example, we now can see how the notion of event-structural prominence accounts for the all the inferences, like intentionality and semantic exclusiveness of the patient argument, pointed out by her and discussed in section 6.2. For the Undergoer voice form of the verb 'to hit' in (59b), event-structural prominence of the Undergoer means that Jose was viewed as involved in the event from the beginning until the end. The involvement in the beginning is easily reinterpreted as Pedro's being focused on Jose right from the beginning. Thus the reading that Pedro acted deliberately and intentionally with respect to Jose arises. Furthermore Jose is construed as the only one who was hit, as the run-

time of the event is viewed as directly related to him. If by choosing Actor voice like in (59a), the speaker expresses that the start and the end of the event are strictly related to the Actor and not to the Undergoer, then obviously the interpretation that the Undergoer is seen neither as the reason for the event starting nor as a relevant factor for the event continuing or ending is possible. In other words, the Undergoer's involvement in the event is viewed as neither strictly related to the beginning nor to the end, nor to any other point of the event, and (s)he may be construed as one out of many Undergoers involved in the event. Note, however, that (s)he could just as well be the only one involved, albeit in such a way that (s)he is not viewed as delimiting the event (e.g. because (s)he was not actually touched).

While 'hit' denotes a simple punctual activity with a 'normal' non-decomposable Undergoer, we can imagine that with an activity verb that may take an incremental Undergoer argument (i.e. an Undergoer that is decomposable into definable parts which measure out the event), Undergoer voice will result in a switch from activity reading to an active accomplishment reading[85] of the respective verb. This was indeed shown to be the case in the examples in (51)-(52), here repeated as (66)-(67). Note that the sentences in (66a) and (66b) could have been also translated by conative forms like 'to write at' and 'to eat at'. There is no explicit conative form in Tagalog.

(66) **Activity readings with Actor voice**

a. S<um>ulat **si Pedro** ng liham.
<AV>[REAL]write NOM Pedro GEN letter
'Pedro wrote a letter/part of a letter/letters.'

b. K<um>ain **ako** ng isda.
<AV>[REAL]eat 1s.NOM GEN fish
'I ate fish(/fishes).' [86]

c. <**Um**>akyat **ako** ng/sa bulog.
<AV>[REAL]go_up 1s.NOM GEN/DAT mountain
'I went up a/the mountain.'

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[85] The notion *active accomplishment* was coined by Van Valin and La Polla (1997) for the telic use of activity verbs.

[86] Speakers differ as to whether they need overt plural marking (*mga*) in plural contexts.

d. L<um>angoy **ka** sa ilog.
<AV>swim 2s.NOM DAT river
'Swim (Go swimming) in the river.'

(67) **Accomplishment readings with Undergoer voice**

a. S<in>ulat ni Pedro **ang liham**.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$write GEN Pedro NOM letter
'Pedro wrote the letter (the letters).'

b. K<in>ain ko **ang isda**.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$eat 1s.GEN NOM fish
'I ate the fish/the fishes.'

c. <**In**>akyat ko **ang bundok**.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$go_up 1s.GEN NOM mountain
'I climbed the mountain (= all the way up to the top of the mountain).'

d. <**Ni**>langoy mo **ang ilog**.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$swim 2s.GEN NOM river
'Swim (across) the river (= from one side to the opposite side).'

My consultants point out that the Actor voice sentences can be interpreted as active accomplishments if they occur in a contrastive focus sentence, even if the Undergoer is not explicitly marked as specific by the dative marker *sa,* as shown in (68). In line with the analysis of the voice affixes presented in section 6.2, I take this to mean that Actor voice verbs, in contrast to Undergoer voice verbs, are understood as not specified for the result that is brought about with respect to the Undergoer.

(68) Siya ang k<um>ain ng/sa isda.
3s.NOM NMZ <AV>$_{[REAL]}$eat GEN/DAT fish.
'He is the one who ate fish/the fish.'

6.3.4 More shifts in the interpretation of verb meaning and acceptability judgements

It seems that shifts in meaning are the result of speakers trying to provide a a reason why a certain voice form was chosen in a basic sentence. These shifts in meaning induced by Actor voice versus Undergoer voice vary from verb to verb and some got lexicalized. This is one of the reasons why shifts in Tagalog verb meaning have frequently been viewed as

'idiosyncratic'. For the verb /*labas*/ 'to go out' (69), Undergoer voice seems to result in a change of direction. While in the Actor voice sentence, the Undergoer argument is the place or person that is left, in Undergoer voice the Undergoer argument is construed as the destination of the movement.

(69) a. L<um>abas **si Pedro** ng bahay / sa kapit-bahay.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$go_out NOM Pedro GEN house/ DAT neighbour
'Pedro left a house/the neighbour('s house).'

b. L<in>abas(-an)[87] ni Pedro **ang kapit-bahay**.
<REAL>go_out-UV:an GEN Pedro NOM neighbour
'Pedro went out to (meet) his neighbour (e.g. he went out to fight with his neighbour).'

Once again, the shift can be explained if we recall that event-structural prominence means that the beginning and the runtime of the event expressed by the verb are viewed as strictly related to the prominent argument. Given that Undergoer voice implies that the Undergoer is crucially involved in the occurrence of the event, without further context the sentence (69b) receives the reading that the Undergoer *kapitbahay* (which may mean both *neighbour* and *neighbour's house*) is the reason why the Actor decided to go out: in fact the neighbour is not only construed as the reason, but also the purpose and the goal of this activity. Note that with a non-animate object the interpretation of the Undergoer voice form of *labas* is 'go out to get something' (English 1977: 731), nicely rendering the meaning that it is the Undergoer that is decisive for the decision of the Actor to leave the house and, thus, for the beginning and the runtime of the event. Although *kapitbahay* could be construed as the location 'the neighbour's house' in (69), this interpretationis rarely given by my consultants, presumably because a location cannot straightforwardly be interpreted as motivating someone to go out, unless there is a context that renders this reading plausible.

Another meaning shift that has often been labelled 'idiosyncratic' is shown in (70).

(70) a. P<um>asok **ka** ng/sa bahay.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$go_into 2S.NOM GEN/DAT house
'You went into a/the house.'

[87] Speakers differ as to whether or not they need the suffix /*-an*/ to get this reading.

b. P<in>asok mo **ang bahay**.
<REAL>[UV]go_into 2s.GEN NOM house
'You broke into the house (= went into the house to steal).'

(Himmelmann 1987:113)

Given the characterisation of event prominence above, the resulting meaning is not all that unexpected. The Undergoer voice form of *pasok* 'enter' implies that the Undergoer plays the crucial role for the beginning of the event, i.e. the place the Actor enters into directly motivates his going there, e.g. because the Actor needs to accomplish something in this location. In this case, 'entering a building to accomplish something' got lexicalised into 'entering a building with the purpose of robbing it', rendered by the English translation 'to break into'. Although the English translation suggests otherwise, the process of entering the house does not have to be an act of violence directly affecting the surface of the house, according to my consultants. What counts is that some properties about the house (the contents or imagined contents) are the reason for the entering event to occur. The house is the motivation for and goal of the action in one. Note that with an object like *company* we do not get the 'break into' meaning. In the context of companies and institutions, *pasukin/pinasok* is rather understood as 'entering in order to study/work.'

Comparing the examples we have just discussed to the other motion verbs like /*balik*/ 'to return' and /*takbo*/ 'to run', it becomes clear that the lexicalised meanings of *pasukin* and *labasin* are not that unexpected ('idiosyncratic') at all. All Undergoer voice forms of motion verbs identify the Undergoer not only as a simple location, but as the entity motivating the beginning of the movement on the part of the Actor and the time-span of the event per se, because something has to be accomplished with respect to the 'location'. Examples (71c) and (72c) show this once again for the manner of motion verbs 'to crawl' and 'to walk', respectively: mere locations, even if they delimit the event, are not easily acceptable as prominent Undergoers.

(71) a. G<um>apang **ang bata** sa sahig.
<AV>[REAL]crawl NOM child DAT floor
'The child crawled over the floor.'

b. G<in>apang ng bata **ang doll.**
<REAL>[UV]crawl GEN child NOM doll
'The child crawled to (get) the doll.'

c. #G<in>apang ng bata **ang pader**.
<REAL>[UV]crawl GEN child NOM wall
Intended: 'The child crawled to the wall.'

(72) a. L<um>akad **si Pedro** sa akin-g roses.
<AV>[REAL]walk NOM Pedro DAT my-LK roses
'Pedro walked on/over my roses.'

b. Ni-lakar(-an) ni Pedro **ang aking roses**.
REAL-walk-UV:an GEN Pedro NOM my-LK roses
'Pedro walked on/over my roses (to destroy them).'

c. #Ni-lakar(-an) ni Pedro **ang mabatong kalye**.
REAL-go-UV:an GEN Pedro NOM stone-LK street
Intended:'Pedro walked on a stony street.'

(p.c. R. Panotes, cf. Himmelmann 1987:111) [88]

My consultants find example (71c) awkward and agree that it is never understood in the sense of 'the child crawled to the wall in order to do something with respect to the wall'. This is true for all verbs of motion that denote a very specific way of moving, e.g. (72c). The judgement with respect to (71c) is not very surprising, as it is difficult to think of a purpose with respect to the wall that would motivate or require someone to move on his knees and feet (or choose some other specific way of moving like jumping or limping). In general, it has to be noted that I did not find many examples of Undergoer voice forms with verbs denoting very specific manners of motion in basic sentences. Even sentences like (71b) and (72b) were considered to be rather marked

As the example in (73) illustrates, verbs that do not denote movement may undergo similar shifts in meaning. As English (1986: 466) notes in his dictionary, the (rarely used) active perception verb 'to look out of the window' (73a) turns into a quasi-causative verb in Undergoer voice (73b). This shift in meaning can once again be explained by the need to construe the Undergoer as event-structurally prominent in the sense that (s)he is the motivation for the Actor to perform the activity and also the goal of the activity.

[88] As mentioned before, my consultants disagree with Himmelmann's consultants on the acceptability of this sentence. This may be due to the fact that a sentence presented in isolation is preferably judged with respect to how plausible event-structural prominence of this participant is. This judgement is not surprising if the level of referentiality is not the only level on which prominence is evaluated.

(73) a. D<um>ungaw **si Pedro**.
<AV>[REAL]look out of the window NOM Pedro
'Pedro looked out of the window.'

b. D<in>ungaw[89] ni Pedro **si Mia**.
<REAL>[UV]look out of the window GEN Pedro NOM Mia
'Pedro showed himself to Mia at the window
(≈ Pedro looked out of the window so that Mia could see him).'

In the past few sections I have focused on voice preferences based on the concept of event-structural prominence. Meaning shifts were said to be induced because the verbs in question were inherently oriented toward an argument, so that some sort of coercion process was necessary to interpret an argument that was not the predicate-inherently determined prominent argument as event-structurally relevant.

Table 6.8 above suggests that there are no preferences and restrictions with respect to neutral verbs from the point of view of event-structural prominence. This has been shown to be only half true; there were indeed slight preferences with respect to certain voice forms even with a neutral verb like /*suntok*/ 'to hit'. Given that neutral verbs do not have an inherent orientation, the realm of event-structural prominence is of less concern for these verbs. In the following section I will take a closer look at the factors influencing voice preferences with neutral verbs.

6.3.5 Neutral verbs and voice choice preferences

With verbs that are (rather) balanced with respect to the event-structural relevance of their arguments, we would expect the motivation for voice choice to lie either in the realm of information structure or the realm of referential properties of the arguments. Recall that specificity in itself was not enough to enforce Undergoer voice with these verbs, as was shown and discussed at great length in the previous chapter based on the 'hit' example, here repeated as (74). Both voices are judged to be acceptable, even if consultants tend to prefer (74b) and try to come up with stories for (74a) in terms of less prototypical affectedness of the Undergoer or less intentionality of the Actor to argue for why the Actor may have been chosen as prominent despite a specific Undergoer. If the Undergoer is not human or if the Actor is at the same time the Undergoer, as in (74c) and (74d), then the specificity of the

[89] This verb form is not very common anymore.

Undergoer does not lead to similar discussions regarding affectedness or intentionality, according to my consultants.

(74) /*suntok*/ 'hit' with two specific arguments (Saclot 2006: 10)

a. S<um>untok **si Pedro** kay Jose.
<AV>[REAL]hit NOM Pedro DAT Jose
'Pedro hit Jose.'

b. S<in>untok ni Pedro **si Jose**.
<REAL>[UV]hit GEN Pedro NOM Jose
'Pedro hit Jose.'

c. S<um>untok si Kuto sa katawan niya**.**
<AV>[REAL]hit NOM Kuto DAT body 3s.GEN
'Kut hit (whipped) his body.'

d. S<um>untok si Kuto sa aso niya**.**
<AV>[REAL]hit NOM Kuto DAT dog 3s.GEN
'Kut hit (whipped) his dog.'

Reversely, it was shown in the examples in (42)–(43), here repeated in (75), that if there is a greater difference in ontological properties, i.e. if the Undergoer is human and the Actor is not, then Actor voice is dispreferred, as the comparison of (75b) with (75a) shows. In this case Undergoer voice is strongly preferred (75c).

(75) a. K<um>agat ang aso ng/sa buto.
<AV>[REAL]bite NOM dog GEN/DAT bone
'The dog bit a/the bone.' (cf. Saclot 2005: 5)

b. ??K<um>agat ang aso sa akin/ng bata.
<AV>[REAL]bite NOM dog DAT 1s.NONACT/GEN child
'The dog bit me/a child.'

c. K<in>agat ng aso ang buto/ang bata.
<REAL>[UV]bite NOM dog NOM bone/NOM child
'The dog bit the bone/the child.'

This pattern seems to hold true for contact verbs in general, as the following examples show. Actor voice is always judged to be good with inanimate Undergoers (76a), but not with human Undergoers (76b, c), even if they are not specific. In these cases, speakers strongly prefer the Undergoer voice form, as shown in (76d, e). The sentence in (76f) illustrates that these preferences in voice choice do not exist if the Undergoer and the Actor both are animate but non-human.

(76) a. T<um>uka ang manok ng/sa kain
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$peck NOM chicken GEN/DAT rice
'The chicken pecked rice/the rice.'

b. ??T<um>uka ang manok ng kamay ng beybi
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$peck NOM chicken GEN hand GEN baby
'The chicken pecked a hand of the baby.'

c. ??T<um>uklaw ang ahas ng bata.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$attack NOM snake GEN child
'A snake attacked a child.'

d. T<in>uka ng manok ang kamay ng beybi
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$peck GEN chicken NOM hand GEN baby
'The chicken pecked the hand of the baby.'

e. T<in>uklaw ng ahas ang bata.
<REAL>$_{[UV]}$attack GEN snake NOM child
'The snake attacked the child.'

f. T<um>uklaw ang ahas ng/sa ibon.
<AV>$_{[REAL]}$attack NOM snake GEN/DAT bird
'A snake attacked a/the bird.' (cf. Saclot 2005: 5-6)

The data show that, ontological salience, with human beings outranking non-human beings in terms of referential salience, influences acceptability judgements. Note that, according to Klaiman (1991), ontological salience, which is reflected in every hierarchy of referentiality, is just as much a matter of pragmatic salience as information-structural salience: both depend on the perspective of the speaker, but the former is more a matter of subjectivity than the latter, which seems to be more universally valid as cross-linguistic studies have shown.

6.3.6 Pragmatic voice choice

The discussion of the data above have shown that the grammaticalization of a pragmatic profiling system into a voice system which operates on the clause level within the predication realm of the verb leads to voice gaps, as well as to strong voice preferences and to meaning shifts. These shifts are motivated. Native speakers try to come up with an interpretation that may motivate the speaker's choice of prominence assignment to an argument that is not expected to be coded as prominent in a basic sentence based on the semantics of the verb. Voice choice is no longer as free and unrestricted as would be expected in a purely pragmatic system. Nevertheless, the Tagalog voice system ultimately is still very much a pragmatic system. Interestingly, this fact has not led to an increase in conversation analysis in Austronesian languages. The use of voice forms in conversations may shed light on the pragmatic core of the system and help to understand what information-structural notions, e.g. what kinds of foci or topics are most relevant for the respective voice of a given form.

The following examples are taken from a conversation in Bowen (1965: 208-209). The conversation takes place between two men, Mang Hulyo and Mang Sebyo, during an election. Mang Hulyo is a political leader who supports a candidate who is called Abogado (attorney) and rooster (rooster fights are popular in the Philippines) in this conversation. Abogado's opponent is Ledesma, who is supported by the political leader Kardo. All people involved are well-known to both conversation partners. Therefore, specificity and individuation are certainly not the motivating factors for voice choice in the following sentences in which all four people are known and under discussion. If specificity in the context of Undergoer would require Undergoer voice, all sentences should be in Undergoer voice here. This is not the case, however. Out of 7 sentences only 4 show Undergoer voice. Neither does affectedness seem to play a big role. The importance of an Undergoer (with a manner of motion verb) for the event to occur, however, is obvious here. Note that a conversation like the one cited here cannot be considered as proof for the ideas presented, nor is it elaborate enough to sharpen the information-structural aspect of voice markig, but it can serve to check the compatibility of the ideas presented here with the use of the forms in a conversatin. As we will see the following data are compatible with the ideas presented in this thesis, but it is not clear that they are compatible with the claims of theories stressing the role of specificity, individuation or affectedness.

1MS: Kumusta ba **ang manok** natin?
how QUEST NOM rooster 1p.GEN
'How is our rooster (=**Abogado)**?'

2MH: Mukhan-g i-p<in>ang-ga~gapang ni Kardo sa teritoryo natin **si Ledesma**.
seemingly–LK UV:i-pang<REAL>IPFV~crawl GEN K DAT territory 1p. GEN NOM L
'It looks like Kardo is crawling (campaigning on the sly) in our territory **for Ledesma.**

3MS: Saan **siya** nang-ga~gapang para kay Ledesma? Sa looban?
where 3s.Prom AV:mang.REAL- IPFV~crawl for DAT L DAT interior
'Where is **he (=Kardo)** campaigning for Ledesma? In the interior?'

In line 1 Mang Sebyo (MS) wants to know how the candidate Abogado is doing. Mang Hulyo (MH) answers (line 2) by saying that Kardo has started campaigning for the Abogado's opponent in their territory. How can we explain that Ledesma and not Kardo is chosen as the nominative argument with a clear manner of motion verb? First, note that Kardo is an Actor who acts on behalf of Ledesma, his activity is strictly dependent on Ledesma. So this is in line with the idea presented above that an Undergoer argument is licensed as a nominative argument with a manner of motion verb, if it can be construed as significant for the occurrence, the run-time and possibly the end of the event, which is certainly the case here. More importantly, however, from the point of view of information structure and pragmatic salience, Ledesma is the appropriate choice. The question in line1 concerns one of the political candidates and how he is doing. Ledesma, who belongs to the same class as the person under discussion and competes with him, is directly relevant to the topic under discussion (both referents form a poset in Birner and Ward's (2001) terminology), i.e. his situation is directly relevant to how the other political candidate is doing. Note that with the same verb as in 3MS ('to campaign') and with the exact same participants, Actor voice is chosen in the subsequent sentenc in 3MS, and Kardo is profiled and the location of his activities is questioned. Interestingly, Kardo is not profiled in the answer to this question in line 4, rather Ledesma is profiled again, on whose behalf Kardo is acting. Note that Kardo is still the Actor and Ledesma the Beneficiary in line 4. Mang Hulyo informs Mang Sebyo that Kardo is buying votes on behalf of Ledesma and and Mang Sebyo later on answers that Kardo is even betting someone a lot of money on Ledesma. The verb 'to buy' as a transfer verb has been classified as a verb that is more or less neutral, so we would expect referential properties

of the Undergoer to play a role for voice choice. Obviously one of the non-Actors is human and definite. Not only from the point of referential properties, but also from the point of view of event prominence Ledesma outranks Kardo, the Actor. Kardo's buying votes is once again an activity that is strictly related to Ledesma. In the subsequent reply in line 5 Mang Hulyo draws back the attention to Ledesma. This choice is clearly pragmatic again, as the speaker sets out to provide new information on Kardo and his activities that have no direct bearing on Ledesma.

4MH: Oo. At i-b-in~ibili pa raw niya **siya** ng mga boto.
yes and UV:i-<REAL>IPFV~buy even hearsay 3S.GEN 3S.NOM GEN PL vote
'Yes, and they say he is even buying votes for **him (=Ledesma)**.'

5MS: Balita ko naman, l<um>a~laban **si** **Kardo** ng sanlibo para sa kaniya-ng
news 1S.GEN too <AV>[REAL] IPFV~bet NOM K GEN 3000 for DAT 3S. NONACT-LK

kandidato kay Tino.
candidate DAT T
'I've got news (my news is), too, that **Kardo** is betting Tino three thousand on his candidate.'

Note that by switching to Actor voice and thus Kardo in line 5, the reading arises that Kardo, who is betting a person the interlocutors both know a specific sum of money on Ledesma, is doing this for himself. In reply to this Mang Hulyo switches the focus to his candidate in line 6 by saying that he, Mang Hulyo will also bet money, even more money than Kardo, but on Abogado. Mang Hulyo could have profiled himself or the specific sum of money, but chooses to profile Abogado. This seems to be once again a pragmatically motivated choice, resulting in a contrast between the two candidates. The additional message the hearer seems to get, according to some of my consultants, is that Mang Hulyo does not bet the money for his own benefit like Kardo, but for Abogado's benefit. In line 7 Ledesma is still the focus of attention and also the participant that should be event-structurally prominent given the causative verb with the meaning 'to make big' (=to brag about). In line 8, a count word filling the position of the Undergoer argument is put in the sentence-initial, contrastive, exhaustive focus position and therefore determines voice selection with the verb /sabi/ 'to make a statement'.

6MH: Sabih-in mo i-p-in-u~pusta ko naman ng limang libo

Say- UV:in 2s.**GEN** UV:i-<REAL>IPFV~bet 1s.**GEN** too **GEN** 5000 libo

si Abogado sa kaniya.

NOM attorney **DAT** 3s.**NONACT**

'You tell (him) I'll bet him also five thousand libo **on the Attorney**.'

7MH: I-p-in-ag-ma~malaki nila **si Ledesma** – wala pa namang nagagawa.

UV:i-<REAL>pag-IPFV~big **3**p.**GEN** NOM Ledesma nothing yet too able to do

'They brag about **Ledesma** - (he) has not yet been able to do a thing'

8MS: Ang sabih-in mo – **iisa** ang s-in-a**~**sabi sa miting.

Prom say- UV:in 2s.**GEN** only one NOM <REAL>IPFV~say DAT meeting

'What's more (what you will say), it is only **one thing** he talks about at his meetings.']

Thanks to the statement in line 8, Mang Hulyo has learnt that Mang Sebyo attends Ledesma's meetings and asks the rhethorical question whether Mang Sebyo attends Ledesma's meetings in line 9. The question is in Actor voice, as would be expected with a verb that means 'to be present' and is first and foremost about the Actor. The specificity of the non-Actor (marked by *sa*) is of no relevance here and does not enforce Undergoer voice. In line 10, Mang Sebyo using the same verb ('to be present') answers on purpose with Undergoer voice, suggesting that something about the meetings that he only hints at (alam mo na 'you know why') is the motivationg factor for him to engage in this activity. Note furthermore that the translation in parentheses is what Bowen suggests in order to indicate the difference in meaning between the Actor voice form and the Undergoer voice form, which he translates as 'to cover a meeting', a translation that is almost equivalent to the interpretation ,to attend (something) from the beginning to its end.' As we have seen above, unexpected Undergoer voice forms are frequently interpreted along this line, giving the Undergoer an event-structurally more prominent role.

9MH: Bakit? D-um-a**~**dalo **ka** ba sa papulong niya?

Why? **<AV>[REAL] IPFV~**cover 2s. NOM QUEST DAT meeting 3s.GEN

'Why? Do **you** attend his meetings?'

10MS: D-in-a-daluh**~**an ko **ang mga pamiting** ng dalawa. (Alam mo na).
<REAL>IPFV~cover- UV:an 1S.GEN NOM Pl meeting GEN two
'I attend (cover) **the meetings** on both sides.' (You know why.)

6.3.7 Synopsis

In this section I have reviewed a set of data in which the relative specificity associated with the different thematic roles a verb may take played a minor role or no role at all for the choice of the respective voice forms. I have suggested that a closer look at verb semantics and event structure can be helpful to explain voice gaps and/or the strong preference of certain voice forms. Furthermore it was shown that certain non-Actor arguments were rejected as possible candidates in Undergoer voice sentences, because they could not easily be construed as significant for the event. I have discussed data illustrating how voice selection may lead to interesting shifts in the interpretation of verbs. These shifts have been viewed as idiosyncratic, but are rather systematic if the concept of event-structural prominence and the way it is characterised here is adopted. Event-structural prominence has been argued to be only one out of a number of competing levels of prominence, but it is clearly the salient one when it comes to explaining gaps, acceptability restrictions and the shifts in verb meaning discussed here. Finally I have taken a closer look at a conversation extract to explore to what degree the pragmatic origin of the voice system still influences voice selection and to what degree the data are compatible with the analysis developed here in terms of event-structural prominence. The conclusion is that pragmatics still plays an important role and should receive more attention. A more comprehensive study, preferably with a statistical evaluation based on spoken discourse, is a desideratum of future research.

7. Summary & Discussion

When I started working on Tagalog I was bewildered, because the descriptions of the voice system that I found suggested a freedom in voice choice, as long as the Undergoer was specific, that my consultants did not confirm. I did not understand why certain sentences made them laugh. I did not understand why certain location arguments were good and others rejected with the voice form that was supposed to be Location/Goal voice. I did not understand why certain voice forms were always said to be bad and required contexts that seemed to me rather complex and strange. This thesis is a collection of my solutions to these puzzles.

Two points are central. The first concerns the case system and the notion of specificity. While sentences with specific Undergoer arguments marked by *ng* or marked by *sa* were known and cursorily mentioned in the literature, these examples never were considered in a way that the overall description of Tagalog as a language that promotes the specific Undergoer to subject got fundamentally changed. These examples got treated as random exceptions that were sometimes declared to be cases of bridging, i.e. they were claimed to be non-specific arguments that only got their specific reading through pragmatic inference strategies.

Through the systematization of the data mentioned here and there, it was found that the possibility for an Undergoer to be specific without necessarily turning into a subject was related to the semantics of the verb. Verbs that do not specify a change with respect to the Undergoer, verbs that are not inherently Undergoer-oriented, allow *sa*-marking more easily than other verbs. The most frequent examples found in the literature are therefore perception verbs and activity verbs. It was furthermore found that focusing the Actor also facilitates *sa*-marking of the Undergoer, suggesting that one of the reasons that *sa*-marking is infrequent is because there is indeed a strong preference for a specific Undergoer to be in the focus of attention and get marked by nominative, if the Actor is not more prominent on a different level. In addition, it was shown that it is possible to have double *ang*-marking, as long as voice marking principles are not violated.

Sa is not simply a preposition and a specificity marker. If *sa* were a marker of an individual argument property like specificity, we would expect it to occur more freely, maybe even with specific Actors in Undergoer voice. However, *sa*-marking is very restricted, not only because verb semantics plays a role, but also because *sa*-marking is used in typical

differential object marking contexts, where its purpose seems to be to facilitate the correct processing of a sentence by explicitly marking a non-Actor that exhibits properties like animacy and definiteness, i.e. prototypical Actor properties, as the Undergoer in the sentence. It was shown that proper names referring to Locations or other inanimate entities with definite reference were happily coded by *ng*, given that there is no risk in a sentence with an animate Actor and a Location to mistake the Location for the Actor. The obligatory dative marking of pronouns and personal names in Undergoer position is explained by this characterisation of the function of *sa,* while under the specificity hypothesis marking a pronoun as specific would be highly redundant. However, marking a pronoun so as to make sure it is not mistaken for the Actor makes sense. In the same vein, many lexicalised dative verbs are verbs that obligatorily take an animate Undergoer that is not very much affected, like the verbs 'to follow' and 'to help' etc.

Due to the contrast in case marking in voiceless sentences and voiced sentences, it became apparent that three levels of prominence evaluation seemed to be at play in order to decide what argument could or should get nominative case: information-structural prominence in terms of focus and topic, referential prominence in terms of specificity and animac,y and event-structural prominence in terms of the importance of a participant for the predication expressed by the verb and the construal of the event.

The second important point in this thesis concerned the voice affixes. I argued that voice gaps and strong voice preferences were directly linked to the three-fold contrast among Undergoer-oriented verbs, Actor-oriented verbs and neutral verbs, and the concept of event-structural prominence associated with this distinction. It was shown that Undergoer-oriented verbs subcategorizing for animate Undergoers simply do not allow Actor voice in basic sentences. With these verbs, most speakers only accept the Actor voice form in a marked construction outside of the clause. Some speakers also accept Actor voice if the verb form is marked as imperfective and the Undergoer is not individuated, i.e. if the perception of the Actor as prominent was facilitated.

It was furthermore shown that the choice of voice may lead to subtle meaning shifts. These meaning shifts were said to be induced because the verbs in question are inherently oriented toward an argument, so that some sort of coercion process is necessary to interpret an argument that is not the predicate-inherently determined prominent argument as event-structurally relevant. It was argued that one way to construe an Undergoer as event-structurally prominent with an Actor-oriented verb is by viewing them as tightly related to the beginning, the run-time and the end-point of the event denoted, e.g. by construing them as the

motivation for the Actor performing the respective activity and as the exclusive goal of the Actor's activity. This explains the often noted observation that Undergoer voice forms 'feel' more intentional and that the Undergoers are preferably understood as delimting the activity.

Not only inherently-oriented predicates but also neutral verbs show preferences; these preferences are related to either the level of referential prominence (i.e. arguments referring to humans were shown to be more salient than animals or inanimate entities) or the level of information-structural prominence. In order to further explore the relevance of the level of information-structural prominence an excerpt from a conversation was analyzed, which revealed that pragmatic considerations play a very important role for voice selection. The conversation data are difficult to explain in accounts that take one feature like individuation, specificity or affectedness as the key notion for voice selection, but were shown to be compatible with the assumptions regarding voice selection presented in this thesis.

The most intricate part of the Tagalog linking system was only touched upon briefly, i.e. the semantics and function of the individual voice affixes. The pervasive polyfunctionality of every affix in Tagalog makes it very difficult to describe what exactly the content associated with a certain affix should be. The obvious alternative to declaring a multitude of functions for every voice affix is to view the affixes as heavily underspecified and as operating within a situation frame evoked by a given verb. This is the approach favored here. There is a general consensus that the affixes reflect in what ways a participant is involved in the event, but it was shown that this cannot be captured in terms of thematic roles. The reason is that in cases of alternations, voice affixes may profile different aspects of one and the same referent, e.g. while the Undergoer suffix /*-in*/ signalled with creation verbs that the referent of the Undergoer was effected, the Undergoer prefix /*i-*/ showed that the Undergoer was viewed as existing independently from the creation event. It was therefore suggested that the function of the affixes has to be a very abstract one. While verbal predicates certainly possess a concrete participant structure (or a set of concrete participant structures) with central and peripheral participants, the argument structure can often not be read off from a voice-marked form. For this reason, the Undergoer voice suffixes /*-in*/ and /*-an*/ were argued to exclusively give information about the way the participants are involved in the event in terms of event-structural properties, while the Undergoer voice prefix /i-/ was argued to signal an Undergoer with Actor-related properties, e.g, independent existence, consciousness, mental causation, movement and tight linkage to the beginning of the event. The Actor voice affix /*mag-*/, on the other hand was argued to merely state that it marks the highest argument in a marked subset of events associated with the stem.

What are the theoretical consequences of all these findings? The affixes were neither analysed as inflectional nor derivational in the most traditional sense of the word. They were essentially presented here as 'pointers' providing (i) lexical information in terms of the feature [+/-hr], which explains their linking function, and (ii) a set of semantic conditions they impose, firstly on the compatibility with a predicate and secondly on the properties of the arguments they identify, or as in the case of /*mag*-/ on the semantic scenarios (templates) they identify. The latter explains why these affixes are often characterized as derivational affixes. The combination of a voice affix and a predicate seems to do nothing more than put constraints on possible subcategorization frames as well as on possible event participants in terms of the properties they need to have to be a good candidate for nominative marking. The underspecified forms are then interpreted within a context, either a real context or a context in which they could be felicitously used. An approach favoring underspecification of affixes makes it necessary to come up with fine-grained lexical representation of verb meanings in order to explain the various readings and meanings that can arise. However, given the data presented here, it got clear that a successful theory of linking in Tagalog requires not only the development of conceptual frames evoked by verbs (on which the affixes can operate), but also the representation of conceptual frames evoked by nouns, which allow for a more fine-grained representation of referent properties. Given the fundamental role of pragmatic considerations in the grammatical system of Tagalog, it is important to further reflect on the notion of concept and pragmatic principles. The notion context seems to comprise first and foremost our conceptual knowledge about prototypical scenarios associated with events denoted by verbs (cf. Barsalou 1992) and referents in the world associated with noun phrases,but it can be also be viewed as a more dynamic concept which comprises common ground building and common groud management. The latter have been shown to be intricately linked to information-structural notions like focus and topic (Krifka 2007), which play a crucial role in the selection of voice and case in Tagalog. As most theories of linking are still first and foremost concerned with the syntax-semantics interface, much work is still to be done to integrate all the levels mentioned here into a comprehensive framework doing justice to the linking phenomena witnessed in Tagalog.

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