

GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS IN CEBUANO

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Abstract

Grammatical Relations in Cebuano

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This dissertation analyzes several grammatical systems in Cebuano, a Philippine-type language, spoken by over 20 million people in the Central and Southern Philippines.

First an overview of basic morphology is given to enable the reader to get a picture of the language and better follow the examples and argumentation in this study.

In the chapter on voice, it is argued that Cebuano has four grammatical voices in addition to intransitive: antipassive, active, inverse and passive. The antipassive differs from the other voices by verbal affixation. Passive and inverse voices differ from active voice by word order. Passive differs from inverse by nominal marking of the P argument.

In the chapter on case, it is argued that Cebuano is morphologically ergative.

In the chapter on orientation, the so-called focus system is analyzed. The term “orientation” is proposed as a replacement for the term “focus”. It is argued that orientation is promotion to direct object and thus separate from the voice system. There are four orientations: actor, goal, instrumental and locative. It is argued that the choice of orientation is influenced by transitivity. Clauses with the highest transitivity are in goal focus, then instrumental focus, then locative focus, and finally actor focus, which is a derived intransitive.

In the chapter on topic it is argued that, against the common view, it is the ergative NP that is most topic-worthy and thus most often is the topic.

In the chapter on grammatical relations it is argued that the ergative NP in transitive clauses and the absolutive NP in intransitive clauses is the subject, i.e., the S/A is the subject.

Preface

The work reported in this dissertation was carried out in the Philippines during 1994-1997 and in Finland during 1997-1998. Final adjustments were done in the Philippines during 1998-2000.

I wish to thank my instructors professors Jan-Ola Östman and Fred Karlsson for their invaluable guidance, criticism and numerous discussions.

I am most grateful to Thomas Payne, Jan-Olof Svantesson, Chuck Grimes, Sherri Brainard and David Mead for their comments on my dissertation during its phases of development. I also want to thank Wyn Laidig and Mark Taber, my superiors in the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), for letting me schedule time for this research. I would also like to thank my colleagues in SIL who have stimulated my thinking, and especially Martha Martens for improving on my English and the general readability of the text.

Especially I would like to thank the staff at Maryknoll Institute of Language and Culture (MILC) for letting me study at their institute and for giving me invaluable help even after the course. Similarly I would like to thank Mrs. Elaine Vitikainen, Mrs. Lorebew D. Metillo, Mr. Romeo Robles and other Cebuano respondents for their help during the research.

Finally I would like to thank my wife Susanne Valkama for her encouragement and support over the years, and my children Juhani, Mirjami, Markus and Hannele for their understanding and willingness to give up some of our time together.

Davao, April 2000

K.J.V.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 *Cebuano and background of study*

Cebuano is an Austronesian language. As one of the two largest languages of the Philippines,¹ it can be assumed to be a rather typical representative of the Philippine-type languages.

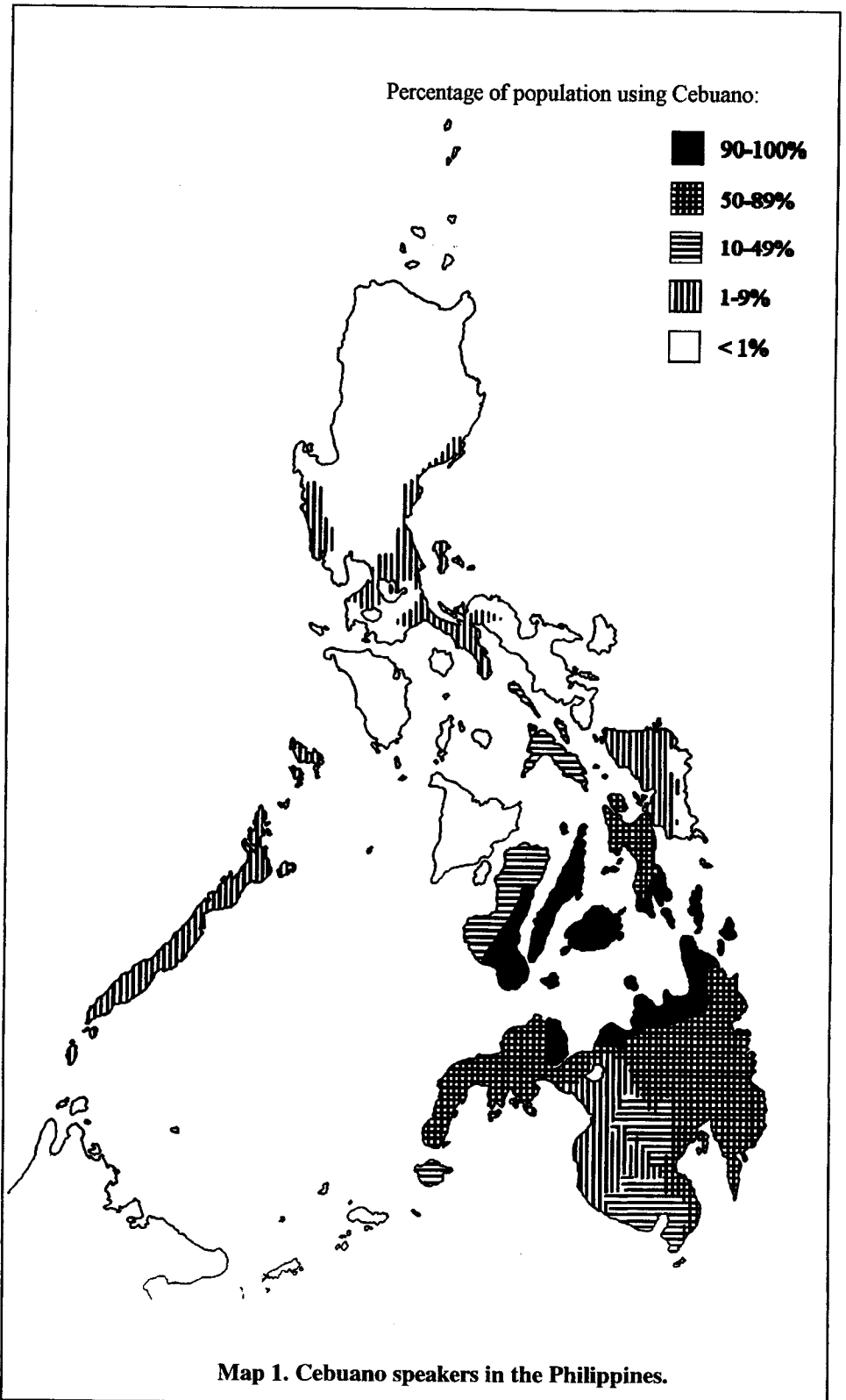
According to Grimes (1996), Cebuano is spoken in the central parts of the Philippines in Negros, Cebu, Bohol, Visayas and in the South in parts of Mindanao. It is Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Western Malayo-Polynesian, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine, Bisayan, Cebuan. Cebuano is also called Visayan and sometimes has the spelling Sebuano. (See map 1 on page 3, which is taken from McFarland (1980). I have changed the spelling of the language to Cebuano.)

My interest in Cebuano started when, after two periods of linguistic research in South Sulawesi, Indonesia (in 1984-1989 and 1990-1992), we moved to the Southern Philippines in 1994. One of the first tasks was to study the major local language and lingua franca of the area, Cebuano. I did this by enrolling in a language course offered by the Maryknoll Institute of Language and Culture, an institute run by the Catholic Maryknoll fathers in Davao City on the island of Mindanao. The function of this institute is to train Catholic priests coming to work in the Philippines to learn the language. My wife used a self-study approach and several of our colleagues used various methods. After studying an Austronesian language spoken in Sulawesi since 1987, it was intriguing to encounter another Austronesian language that was very different, yet so similar. Since I was not satisfied with the written grammars of Cebuano that I found, I started to analyze the language on my own. Most of the results of my study are to be found in this study.

During this linguistic research, I came across a prepublication copy of Payne (1994). I also have been in correspondence with Sherri Brainard, who did her Ph.D. on Karao, spoken in the Philippines, and Chuck Grimes, who did his Ph.D. on Buru, spoken in Maluku, Indonesia. The staff at the Maryknoll Institute has been very helpful to me. Since my command of Cebuano is more theoretical, it has been very good for me to be able to get native speaker input from them concerning the well-formedness of sentences and their meanings. I have also

received help from Mrs. Elaine Vitikainen, whom I met in Davao, but who at the moment lives in Finland, Mrs. Lorebew D. Metillo, Mr. Romeo Robles and others.

¹ Nobleza (1970:1) says that according to the 1960 census, 24.1 % of the population spoke Cebuano and 21% spoke Tagalog. According to Grimes (1996), 24.4% of the population speaks Cebuano.



1.2 *Data, method and purpose of study*

The data that I have is mainly from the Maryknoll Institute during and after the course, plus what I have gathered myself while living in Davao from the linguistic literature available to me, including Wolff's excellent Cebuano-English dictionary (1972). I would call myself a functionalist and typologist, mostly influenced by Givón, Comrie and Halliday.

The main purpose of this study is to show how grammatical relations function in Cebuano. In opposition to the majority view, I will try to show that Cebuano is a morphologically ergative-absolutive language, and that it is the ergative NP that functions as the subject and not the so-called topic or focussed NP, which is marked with ang. In order to do that, one has to first deal with voice, case, so-called focus system and topic, since languages as systems consist of interrelated subsystems. The analyses of voice and so-called focus have a direct bearing on the analysis of grammatical relations. My purpose is to show that the so-called Actor focus/orientation is in fact antipassive. I also argue that the so-called topic marker ang is in fact the absolutive case marker and not a grammaticalized topic marker.

While every linguist aims at objective research, it is my belief that we are influenced by our linguistic environment and background. Thus we wear spectacles colored by our mother tongues and past linguistic research. Most linguists, including myself, did not learn ergative or Philippine-type languages as children. Thus studying ergative languages is challenging and it is no wonder that there are so many different analyses of Philippine-type languages. My own spectacles are colored by my mother tongue, Finnish, and another Austronesian language, Duri, which I have studied since 1987. It is spoken in South Sulawesi, Indonesia.

In linguistics we have methods and the data to work with. We construct hypotheses based on our linguistic background and prepare research questions based on the data. Depending on our linguistic background, we ask different questions and depending on the questions we ask, we get different answers. If we have the wrong assumptions, we will in the end get the wrong analysis. Since it is difficult to empirically falsify our hypothesis, we will accept the analysis that seems best in explaining the data. However, what best explains the data is not totally free from our initial assumptions. One assumption that I tried to avoid in this study is that grammatical subject in a language must have one case only. I think that this is a nominative-accusative bias. I agree with those linguists who argue that case marking has a discriminatory function, i.e., cases help to distinguish who does what to whom. Cases do not index the function of NPs, so that one case should necessarily always assign the same function to an NP.

The influence of the linguistic background on linguistic analyses is readily seen from the history of linguistics. For example, I used to wonder why the Greek grammarians did not have the concept of phrase. This lasted until I started to study Classical Greek, when I realized that with the case markings it was possible to put parts of phrases non-contiguously into a sentence, and thus it was difficult to see the relationship these parts had with each other as members of the same phrase. For an English-speaking grammarian, it is much easier to come up with the idea of a phrase as a syntactic unit.

More specifically, the history of linguistic studies of Philippine-type languages shows how the linguistic background influences the results. When Bloomfield studied Tagalog, he analyzed the so-called goal or undergoer focuses/orientations to be various passives. This is a natural conclusion, if one does not have a concept of antipassive and if one does not think about what function passive has in discourse. Both discourse studies and antipassives were unknown in Bloomfield's time.

Grammatical functions are central to linguistic description and thus they have been the object of research for a long time. It is no surprise that even the definition of subject is not clear. For example Keenan (1976) argues for a definition which is a combination of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features. I prefer Halliday's (1985) approach, where grammatical subject is differentiated from semantic and pragmatic subjects, and each is studied on its own terms.

In addition to the definition of subject being unclear, the notion of subject itself, as a universal category, has been seriously questioned. Beginning with Schachter (1976), the idea has gained popularity that subjecthood features may be distributed on more than one NP in a clause. There are role-related features and reference-related features of subjects. Thus, it is claimed that for many languages one cannot identify one NP as the subject of a clause. There are other schools of linguistics (e.g. LFG), which accept the universality of subject. Bresnan (1982:283, see also Kaplan and Bresnan (1982) and Mohanan (1982)) says that "in lexical-functional theory, grammatical functions are universal, syntactic primitive elements of grammar". I belong to the group which accepts the universality of subject and the identifiability of subjects in clauses. Even though this study does not aim to prove the universality of subject, the discussion concerning the subject in Cebuano sheds light on the issues, and I argue for the subject to be a primitive element of grammar. Thus I do argue against the role and reference school.

1.3 *History of research*

The history of linguistic research of Philippine-type languages goes back to the beginning of this century when Blake (1906, 1916 and 1925) and Bloomfield (1917) analyzed Tagalog as having three passive voices: direct passive, local passive and instrumental passive. The next linguistic development was when the Summer Institute of Linguistics started to study minority languages in the Philippines in 1953. In 1998, SIL had completed work in 35 languages and is actively working on 52 minority languages in the Philippines.

Later some linguists abandoned the passive analysis but retained the equation of voice and focus/orientation. In those analyses, the number of voices is the number of orientations, i.e. each orientation has been equated with one voice. According to Barlaan (1986: 8), linguists who discard the passive analysis but equate voice with focus/orientation include Bell (1976), McKaughan (1958), Thomas (1958), Pike (1963), and Forster (1964).

Wolff (1972) made a lasting contribution by preparing an excellent Cebuano-English dictionary, which also has a grammar sketch in it. He holds to the passive analysis view.

Schachter (1976) wrote a well-known and influential article about subject in Tagalog. He presented a view that no single NP necessarily is the subject of a clause, but that role-related subject properties may be distributed on one NP, and reference-related subject properties on another NP. This distinction has been expressed in the name of a new linguistic theory called Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 1993).

Bell (1976) is a comparison of how RG and TG would analyze the Cebuano subject. She comes to the conclusion that with RG, Actor is the initial subject and the absolutive NP (her nominative NP) is the final subject. With TG, Cebuano does not have a subject. Thus Bell equates absolutive NP with topic.

Payne (1982) is the first to analyze Tagalog as being an ergative language according to Cooreman (1984: 15). Also Gerdts (1980, 1988), and De Guzman (1988) argue for an ergative analysis for several Philippine languages.

French (1987) is an excellent historical overview of the analysis of the focus/orientation system of the Philippine-type languages.

Shibatani (1988) is a study on Cebuano. He classifies Cebuano as a distinct type, not nominative, nor ergative. He argues that the ang-phrase is the prototypical subject, which is also the topic.

Kroeger (1993) is a Ph.D. dissertation on Tagalog. The author comes from a Government and Binding and Lexical Functional Grammar background. Kroeger equates focus with voice. He argues that subject properties are not split between the absolutive (his

nominative) and ergative (his genitive) NPs, but that S and P have all the subject properties. Thus Tagalog would be syntactically ergative.

Payne (1994) is a study of topicality in Cebuano discourse based on referential distance and topic continuity counts. According to those counts, Cebuano has active transitive, passive, inverse and antipassive pragmatic voices. Payne's grammatical voice analysis is more traditional — he interprets the actor focus as intransitive voice, all goal or undergoer focuses as transitive voice, and the locative focus and instrumental focus as applicatives, which also could be called voice.

1.4 Tagalog's role

Since a lot of the argumentation in this study relates to universal or near-universal concepts like subject and topic, and since most of the literature about Philippine-type languages is about Tagalog, I have included some discussion of Tagalog and Tagalog examples in this study. One cannot assume that evidence or argumentation from one Philippine-type language can be transferred into other Philippine-type languages (i.e. if Cebuano is morphologically ergative, that cannot be used as evidence for another Philippine-type language and vice versa). It is likely, however, that many Philippine-type languages share grammatical features, like ergativity. Therefore I feel that using examples from other languages is justified. An additional reason is that in the literature on Tagalog, claims are made concerning other Philippine-type languages. If one wants to deal with that literature, one has to include examples and counter-examples from Tagalog. My hope is also, that if I can convincingly show that Cebuano is morphologically ergative, it gives a good reason to take another look at other Philippine-type languages and see whether they also are morphologically ergative.

1.5 Scope of the study

The first chapter is the introduction and background to the study. In the second chapter, I give an overview of relevant Cebuano morphology. This includes nominal markers, pronoun sets, relevant verb affixes, basic word order and clause types.

In Chapter Three on voice I argue, largely based on Payne's (1994) pragmatic voice analysis, that Cebuano, in addition to intransitive clauses, has four grammatical voices: antipassive, active transitive, inverse, and passive. The role of voice in Cebuano cannot be overestimated. The analysis of voice determines to a great extent the analysis of grammatical

relations. If the various focuses are analyzed as different voices, à la Bloomfield, then an ergative analysis is not possible. Bloomfield's passive analysis dictates also that the so-called topic NP is the subject in the passive clauses. Analyzing the so-called actor focus with lexically transitive verbs as antipassive is also crucial for the ergative analysis.

In Chapter Four on case, I discuss Cebuano case. Case is marked on the personal and demonstrative pronouns and nominal markers in Cebuano. First I explain the basic system, which I claim to be ergative-absolutive. I give evidence why even definite and specific P arguments in Actor orientation are oblique. I point out that there is not just a definite absolutive marker (ang, the topic marker), but also an indefinite absolutive marker (-y). Then I discuss the objections against the ergative-absolutive hypothesis by Schachter, Foley and Van Valin, and Shibatani.

In Chapter Five on orientation, I discuss the orientation (focus) system of Cebuano. The so-called focus is the *sine qua non* of Philippine-type languages. It is the most puzzling feature for beginning language learners. I try to show that the so-called focus is not so peculiar as often described, but simply promotion of non-core NPs to direct object. Cebuano has four orientations: actor, goal, locative, and instrumental. I argue that the motivation behind the distribution of predicates into the various orientations is based on scalar semantic transitivity, Goal orientation being the most transitive, Instrumental orientation medium transitive and Locative orientation low transitive. Actor orientation is intransitive. Analyzing the so-called Actor orientation/focus as intransitive is crucial for the ergative-absolutive hypothesis.

In Chapter Six on topic, I discuss several definitions of topic. I argue against the prevalent view that the absolutive (ang) phrase equals topic in Cebuano. I show that it is rather the so-called 'non-topic actor', i.e. the ergative NP that is most of the time the topic. The notional distinguishing of topic and the absolutive phrase is important for the analysis of the ergative NP as subject, because topic often overlaps with subject.

In Chapter Seven on grammatical relations I discuss the universal or nearly universal notion of grammatical subject in general, and specifically as it applies to Cebuano. First I argue, based on Halliday, that one should distinguish between grammatical, semantic, and logical subjects. I accept the discriminatory function of marking the S, A, and P arguments. I argue from Greek, Finnish and English against the prevalent straightjacketed view that grammatical relations should always and universally be encoded with one morphological case only. After that, I go through several tests of subjecthood and discuss the views of Schachter, Shibatani, and Kroeger, suggesting a modification to Keenan and Comrie's Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy. Finally, I argue that S and A are the grammatical subject in Cebuano.

2 OVERVIEW OF THE BASIC MORPHOLOGY OF CEBUANO

Cebuano is rich in morphology and in this section, I will give an overview of it to enable readers to follow the argumentation and the examples.

2.1 Nominal markers

It is a characteristic feature of the Philippine-type languages to have nominal markers. They can be divided into three groups, which are here given neutral labels: set I, set II and set III. The following Table 1 lists the nominal markers of Cebuano:

	Set I	Set II	Set III
Specific NP	<i>ang</i> 'TOP'	<i>sa</i> 'the'	<i>sa</i> 'the' ²
Non-specific NP	-y 'iTOP'		<i>ug</i> 'a'
Proper name	<i>si</i> 'TOP'	<i>ni</i> 'NA'	<i>ni/kang</i> 'NA' ³

Table 1. Nominal markers of Cebuano.

The following examples, (1) - (4), illustrate the function and use of the nominal markers.⁴ Above the examples there is A indicating the most agent-like NP, and a P indicating the most patient-like NP.

In (1) we have a transitive clause where the most agent-like NP has the set II nominal marker ni. The reason why ni is analyzed as being a set II and not a set III marker is because it is considered a core argument in (1). The most patient-like NP has the set I nominal marker ang. In (2) we have another transitive clause where the most agent-like NP has the set II marker sa and the most patient-like NP has a set I marker, ang. The reason why sa is analyzed as being a set II and not a set III marker is because it is considered a core argument in (2). The markers sa and ni will be discussed more fully in Chapter Four about case. In (3), we have an intransitive construction where the NP si Ruben has the set I marker si and the oblique object has the set III marker kang. In (4) we have the set III marker ug in the most patient-like NP.

² Why sa 'the' is found in both sets will be discussed in chapter four about case.

³ Why ni 'NA' is found in both sets will be discussed in chapter four about case.

⁴ The Cebuano examples and translations are from Maryknoll (1994: 39), the analysis is mine.

Following Himmelmann (1987), I will use the term “orientation” instead of focus or voice. This is because, as I will show in the next chapter, it is wrong to analyze the so-called focus as voice, and because focus is a misleading term for the linguistic phenomenon in question, which is shown in Chapter Six about topic. Following Maryknoll, I will use aspect terminology instead of tense, but I use Wolff’s subjunctive tense for the third group instead of Maryknoll’s term “dependent”. The following Table 3 presents the relevant morphemes. The terminology from Wolff is at the bottom, in the middle is Maryknoll’s terminology and on top is the terminology I chose to use, which is underlined.

From Table 3 below, we can see that e.g. for Actor orientation with Action Not Begun aspect, there are three different prefixes. They indicate finer aspectual differences, which Wolff (1972: xvi) analyzes as future punctual, future durative, and future potential, and which Payne (1994: 322) analyzes as future irrealis, imperfective irrealis and abilitative. The various Actor orientation prefixes are chosen on semantic grounds. The prefix mo- is used with punctual actions, as in mo-palit ‘to buy’; mag- is used with durative actions, as in mag-luto ‘to cook’; and maka- means the ability to do something, as in maka-luto ‘to be able to cook’. In the Goal, Locative and Instrumental orientations, the distinction between the punctual and durative is not marked by affixation. This potential is marked by the ma-, na-, ma/ka- -an, na-, and -an forms.

	<u>Action Not Begun (MILC)</u> Future (Wolff)	<u>Action Begun (MILC)</u> Past (Wolff)	Dependent (MILC) <u>Subjunctive (Wolff)</u>
<u>Actor orientation ‘AF’</u> } Actor focus (MILC) } Active voice (Wolff)]	mo- ‘AFf’ mag- ‘AFf’ maka- ‘AFf’	mi- ‘AFp’ nag- ‘AFp’ naka- ‘AFp’	mo- ‘AFs’ mag- ‘AFs’ maka- ‘AFs’
<u>Goal orientation ‘GF’</u> } Inertant focus (MILC) } Direct passive voice (Wolff)]	-on/-hon ‘GFf’ ma- ‘GFf’	gi- ‘GFp’ na- ‘GFp’	-a ‘GFs’ ma- ‘GFs’
<u>Locative orientation ‘LF’</u> } Terminal focus (MILC) } Local Passive voice (Wolff)]	-an/-han ‘LFf’ ma/ka- -an ‘LFf’	gi- -an/-han ‘LFp’ na- -an ‘LFp’	-i ‘LFs’ ma/ka- -i ‘LFs’
<u>Instrumental orientation ‘IF’</u> } Instrumental/Conveyance Focus (MILC) } Instrumental Passive voice (Wolff)]	i- ‘IFf’ ma- ‘Iff’	gi- ‘IFp’ na- ‘IFp’	i- ‘IFs’ ma- ‘IFs’

Table 3. Basic verb affixes of Cebuano.⁷

⁷There are variants of the forms mentioned in table 3. The forms ni-, ning- and ming- are variants of mi-. The forms naga- and ga- are variants of nag-, and maga- is a variant of mag-. The form ka- is a variant of

The above-mentioned aspectual differences are not important for the purpose of this study.⁸ I will therefore use only one gloss for all of them, i.e. 'AF' for punctual, durative and potential Actor orientation verbs. The reason why I use AF (Actor Focus) instead of AO (Actor Orientation), is because AF, GF, IF and LF are already widely used, and because I think it helps the reader to follow the discussion.

The Action Not Begun – Action Begun – Subjunctive distinction is marked on the gloss line. GFf (f as in "future") is used for Action not begun, GFp (p as in "past or present") is used for Action begun, and GFs is used for subjunctive Goal orientation verbs. Subjunctive is used with the negator wala 'not' and with prohibitive ayaw 'do not' plus imperatives. However, the Actor orientation prefix for imperatives and prohibitives is pag-, not mo-, mag- or maka-.

In the following examples (9) - (18) the basic verb affixes of Cebuano are underlined. On the right column AF stands for Actor orientation (focus), GF stands for Goal orientation (focus), LF stands for Locative orientation (focus) and IF stands for Instrumental orientation (focus). In the discussion below I will use the cover term "undergoer orientation" for the three last ones (i.e. GF, LG and IF).

In (9) we have the punctual Action Not Begun aspect, Actor orientation marker mo-. In (10) we have the abilitative maka- which is also Action Not Begun and Actor orientation. In (11) we have the Action Begun Actor orientation marker mi-, which corresponds with the mo- marker. In (12) we have the durative Action Begun aspect Actor orientation marker mag-.

- | | | | |
|------|---|-----------|----|
| | (set I) | (set III) | |
| (9) | <u>Mo</u> -palit ang tawo ug libro | | AF |
| | AFf-buy TOP man a book | | |
| | 'The man will buy a book.' | | |
| | (set I) | (set III) | |
| (10) | <u>Maka</u> -luto ko -g ⁹ isda | | AF |
| | AFf-cook I a fish | | |
| | 'I am able to cook fish.' | | |
| | (set I) | (set III) | |
| (11) | <u>Mi</u> -palit ang tawo ug libro | | AF |
| | AFp-buy TOP man a book | | |
| | 'The man bought a book.' | | |
| | (set I) | (set III) | |
| (12) | <u>Mag</u> -basa si Juan ug libro | | AF |
| | AFp-read TOP Juan a book | | |
| | 'Juan is reading a book.' | | |

naka-. There is no difference in meaning between these variants. (Wolff 1972: xvi.)

⁸ In Cebuano, there is no split based on aspectual differences compared to split ergative languages, which can be ergative-absolutive in one aspect and nominative-accusative in another aspect.

⁹ ko-g is the short form for ako ug '1st p. sg set I marker' and 'set III non-specific nominal marker'.

In (13) we have the Action Not Begun Goal orientation marker -on. In (14) we have the corresponding Action Begun Goal orientation marker gi-.

- | | | | |
|------|------------------|------------------------------|----|
| | (set II) | (set I) | |
| (13) | Palit- <u>on</u> | sa tawo ang libro | GF |
| | buy-GFf | the man TOP book | |
| | | 'The man will buy the book.' | |
| | (set II) | (set I) | |
| (14) | <u>Gi</u> -palit | sa tawo ang libro | GF |
| | GFp-buy | the man TOP book | |
| | | 'The man bought the book.' | |

In (15) we have the Action Not Begun Locative orientation marker -an. In (16) we have the corresponding Action Begun Locative orientation marker gi- -an.

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|----|
| | (set II) | (set I) | (set III) | |
| (15) | Palit- <u>an</u> | sa tawo si Ana ug libro | | LF |
| | buy-LFf | the man TOP Ana a book | | |
| | | 'The man will buy a book for Ana.' | | |
| | (set II) | (set I) | set (III) | |
| (16) | <u>Gi</u> -palit- <u>an</u> | sa tawo si Ana ug libro | | LF |
| | LFp-buy-LF | the man TOP Ana a book | | |
| | | 'The man bought a book for Ana.' | | |

In (17) we have the Action Not Begun Instrumental orientation marker i-. In (18) we have the corresponding Action Begun Instrumental orientation marker gi-.

- | | | | |
|------|------------------|------------------------------------|----|
| | (set II) | (set I) | |
| (17) | <u>I</u> -labay | niya ang basura | IF |
| | IFf-throw | he/she TOP trash | |
| | | 'He/she will throw away the trash' | |
| | (set II) | (set I) | |
| (18) | <u>Gi</u> -labay | niya ang basura | IF |
| | IFp-throw | he/she TOP trash | |
| | | 'He/she threw away the trash.' | |

2.4 Basic word order and basic clause types

We can begin looking at the basic word order by taking examples of intransitive clauses. The advantage of this is that there is no disagreement as to the subject of the clause. See examples (19) - (21) below, where the phrases are marked with VP, subject, Loc. and Adv.

In (19), the order is VP Subject Loc. The predicate verb misulod is followed by an adverb, after which we have the subject NP si Juan, and finally the locative sa tindahan. In (20) the order is the same, predicate followed by subject and then locative. In (21) we have the predicate mosimba first, followed by the subject siya again followed by an adverb unya.

			(set I)	
	VP	Adv.	Subject	Loc.
(19)	Mi-sulod	dayon	si Juan	sa tindahan
	AFp-enter	immediately	TOP Juan	to shop
	'Juan entered the shop immediately.'			

			(set I)	
	VP		Subject	Loc.
(20)	Mo-adto	ang tawo	sa dagat	
	AFf-go	TOP man	to beach	
	'The man will go to the beach.'			

			(set I)	
	VP		Subject	Adv.
(21)	Mo-simba		siya	unya
	AFf-attend.church	he/she	later	
	'He will go to church later.'			

From these examples we can see that Cebuano is a verb initial language, and thus in pragmatically neutral intransitive clauses the position of subject is after the predicate.

Now we will proceed to transitive clauses. The problem with examples of transitive clauses is that linguists do not agree on the analysis. For example, what Wolff calls passive, several others would call active. Another problem is that linguists do not agree on which NP is the subject and which is the object. Therefore, before going deeper into the linguistic analysis, we will have a look at some simple examples where the translation reflects what the voice of an equivalent English sentence would be, and where we will refrain from giving subject/object labels to the NPs. Instead, we will mark the most agent-like NP with A, and the most patient-like NP with P. See examples (22) - (26) below.

In (22) we have the predicate as the first constituent, followed by the most agent-like NP ni Juan, followed by the most patient-like NP ang pan. In (23) the order is, predicate iputol, most agent-like NP niya, most patient-like instrumental NP ang gabas and the oblique NP sa kahoy. In (24) we have the predicate hugasan, followed by the most agent-like NP nimo, and finally the most patient-like NP ang banyo. In (25) we have the predicate ihiwa, the most agent-like NP niya and then the instrumental NP ang kutsilyo. Finally in (26) we have the predicate ihatag, followed by the most agent-like NP nako and then the most patient-like NP ang gabas.

3 VOICE

3.1 *General issues*

The role of voice in Cebuano analysis cannot be overestimated. The analysis of voice determines to a great extent the analysis of grammatical relations. If the various so-called focuses are analyzed as different voices, à la Bloomfield, then ergative analysis is not possible. Analyzing the so-called Actor focus clauses, which have lexically transitive predicates, as antipassive is a prerequisite for ergative-absolutive analysis. It has been often said that ergative languages do not have the passive voice (see e.g. Jacobsen 1985 and Palmer 1994). I will show that morphologically ergative languages may have the passive voice.

Before we can talk about voice, we need to have a clear understanding of several central concepts that are crucial to voice. The first one is transitivity. This study will adopt Hopper and Thompson's (1980) notion of **scalar semantic transitivity**. With scalar semantic transitivity, one can talk about clauses being more or less transitive, and thus one can compare the degree of transitivity of different clauses. Its counterpart, **grammatical transitivity**, is transitivity as marked in the morphology or in the syntax of the language. Grammatical transitivity gives us two choices for each clause: they are either transitive or intransitive. A third term, **lexical transitivity**, refers to the distinction of whether a certain verb can have two core arguments or only one (i.e. the verb *cut* is lexically transitive because it can have two core arguments, even though it can occur in grammatically intransitive clauses such as 'I am cutting').

Scalar semantic transitivity, by the very nature of its scalarity, offers a language several possible points on a continuum in which to make the formal split between grammatically transitive and intransitive clauses. This dividing line between transitive and intransitive clauses could be whether or not a verb can have an object. In addition, it could be whether the object is specific or definite. Or it could be whether the object is affected or not, or any combination of these and other factors affecting semantic transitivity. Grammatical transitivity, on the other hand, shows where a particular language makes the actual split. In English, a clause with an object NP is grammatically transitive and a clause with only one core argument is grammatically intransitive. This is where English has made the split. In some other languages, a clause with unspecific or indefinite object is intransitive, while only a clause with a specific or definite object is transitive. For example in Duri, an Austronesian language spoken on the island of Sulawesi, the antipassive construction is marked so that the object is no longer cross-

referenced on the verb, thus making the construction grammatically intransitive. In the following Duri examples, number (27) is a derived intransitive (= antipassive), and (28) is an active transitive:

- (27) N-ampaq-naq akuqna kokoq lungkun
 AF-get-1abs 1sg mushroom just.grown
 'I found just grown mushrooms.'
- (28) Akuq ng-kita-i joo kokoq lungkun
 1sg AF-see-3abs that mushroom just.grown
 'I saw that just grown mushrooms.'

As we can see from (28), the *-i* '3abs' refers to the object NP *joo kokoq lungkun*. In (27), the suffix *-naq* '1abs' refers instead to the subject NP *akuqna*, making *kokoq lungkun* an oblique argument, since it is no longer cross-referenced on the verb.

The parameters of scalar semantic transitivity based on Hopper and Thompson (1980) are shown in Table 4 below:

Parameter	High transitivity	Low
1. Participants	two or more central	one participant
2. Kinesis	kinetic	static
3. Aspect	telic	atelic
4. Punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
5. Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional
6. Affirmation	affirmative	negative
7. Mode	realis	irrealis
8. Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
9. Affectedness of P	P totally affected	P not affected
10. Individuation of P	P highly individuated	P not individuated

Table 4. Parameters of transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980).

Based on Table 4, a clause that has two central participants out of which the agent acts volitionally with high potency so that the highly individuated patient is totally affected, is more transitive than a clause where there is a participant who acts accidentally without ever finishing the action.

In addition, I adopt Comrie's usage (1978: 330, 331) in using the symbols **S**, **A**, and **P** to refer to the **prototypical argument types** in intransitive and transitive clauses. The letter 'S' refers to the single core argument of an intransitive clause. The letter 'A' refers to that core

argument of a transitive clause which is the most agent-like. The letter 'P' refers to that core argument of a transitive clause which is the most patient-like. It is to be noted that the letter P is not identical with the semantic case role patient, and the letter 'A' is not identical with the semantic case role agent. The letters A and P are arguments that can encompass many semantic case roles. Foley and Van Valin (1984) would call Actor and Undergoer 'macro roles', but I will not use this terminology. Instead, I will use the term 'undergoer' as part of the term 'undergoer orientation' as a cover term for the Goal (GF), Locative (LF) and Instrumental (IF) orientations.

For derived intransitive clauses (antipassive and passive), the symbol **Sd** is used when needed for the only remaining core argument. Another possibility is to use the symbol **ex-P** for the only remaining core argument of passive, and **ex-A** for the only remaining core argument of antipassive clauses. The symbol **ex-P** is also used when needed to refer to the argument that is demoted to an oblique position in an antipassive construction, and **ex-A** is used when needed to refer to the argument that is demoted to an oblique position in a passive construction. This makes it easier to identify the word order changes of passive constructions and the oblique object of the antipassive clauses.

I use Givón's (1990) term **pragmatic voice**, which is calculated with the means of referential distance and topic continuity. The different pragmatic voices based on the topicality of the A and P arguments are shown in Table 5 below.

Voice	A	P	Comments
Antipassive	High	Low	P non-topical
Active transitive	High	High Med	P topical, but A more so
Inverse	High Med	High	A topical, but P more so
Passive	Low	High	A non-topical

Table 5. Pragmatic voice based on scalar topicality (Givón 1990).

As can be seen from the table, a clause has antipassive pragmatic voice when the A argument is high in topicality and the P argument is low in topicality. This is shown in the fact that P is oblique. In English, a pragmatic antipassive would look like the following: "I am cutting (something)". Here the verb cut is lexically transitive, but it has no definite and referential P argument. Therefore the P argument cannot be topical.

Active transitive pragmatic voice occurs in a clause where the A argument is high in topicality and the P argument is high or medium high in topicality. Thus P is topical, but A is

even more topical. An example of an active transitive clause in English would be: “I am cutting the banana tree”. This clause is clearly transitive and the P argument is both definite and referential.

An inverse pragmatic voice clause is the mirror image of the active transitive. In the inverse voice, the A argument is topical, but the P argument is even more topical. An example of inverse in English would be something like: “... In the first half of the nineteenth century it became an important naval base. The Japanese attacked it unexpectedly during the Second World War. After the war...” In this text about Pearl Harbor, the P argument it would refer to Pearl Harbor, and therefore it would be highly topical and the NP the Japanese would be less topical, even though it is the A argument.

Passive pragmatic voice is displayed by a clause where the A argument is low in topicality and the P argument is high in topicality. Thus it is the mirror image of the antipassive. The passive looks like: “The banana trees were cut”. Here the agent is omitted because it is not important, so it cannot be topical.

As mentioned above, in the comments about antipassive (P non-topical), one should strictly speaking use the symbol ex-P or Sd instead of P, since antipassive is intransitive. Similarly in the comments about passive (A non-topical), one should use the symbol ex-A or Sd, since passive is intransitive.

I will also use the notion of **grammatical voice**, which is the voice system as marked in the morphology and/or syntax of a language. The relationship between pragmatic voice and grammatical voice is not one-to-one. Based on pragmatic voice, a given morphological clause structure (e.g. a certain orientation or focus) could possibly be used for antipassive, active transitive, inverse and passive voice. And, conversely, a certain pragmatic voice could occur in several clause structures (orientations). If a certain structure is one pragmatic voice, say 95% of the time, and another pragmatic voice only 5% of the time, and one cannot find any structural differences, then one can use that fact as one argument to define that structure as one *grammatical* voice. Or, if the other voice can be shown to have a morphologically or syntactically different structure, it can be analyzed as two or more structures, each having different grammatical voice. Thus pragmatic voice can be used as a help in determining the grammatical voice of a certain clause structure.

As should have become clear from the discussion above, the distinction between **semantic** or **pragmatic notions** on the one hand, and **morphological** or **syntactic notions** on the other hand is important. As mentioned above, certain morphological structures can be used in several pragmatic voices. Similarly a certain morphologically marked orientation can be divided into several semantic orientations.

3.2 *Voice in Cebuano*

Starting from Blake (1906, 1916 and 1925) and Bloomfield (1917), several linguists have held the view that, for Philippine languages, the Actor orientation is active and the various undergoer orientations¹⁰ are various passive voices.

It is interesting to note that it is also a common view about ergative languages that they are passive in nature. According to Anderson (1976: 7), this is the most common view and its origins are at least as early as in Schuchardt (1896). Jacobsen (1985: 178) also discusses the passiveness idea and maintains: "...ideas have often been expressed that these [i.e. ergative languages] are inherently passive and that they lack oppositions of voice in the verb..." Jacobsen goes on to say that it is thought that ergative languages lack a passive transformation, since it is not possible to bring the patient into the subject position, because it already is the subject (Jacobsen 1985: 178).

3.2.1 *The passive hypothesis*

Blake (1906, 1916 and 1925) and Bloomfield (1917) analyze Tagalog as having three passive voices: direct passive, local passive and instrumental passive. Shibatani (1988: 85) mentions this as the first possibility, i.e. that Philippine languages are accusative in type, and the undergoer orientation constructions are passive. This view assumes that Philippine languages have grammatical subjects and that they are marked with set I.

Later some linguists abandoned the passive analysis but retained the equation of voice and focus/orientation. In those analyses, the number of voices is also the number of orientations, i.e. each orientation has been equated with one voice. The linguists who discard the passive analysis but equate voice with focus/orientation include Bell (1976), McKaughan (1958), Thomas (1958), Pike (1963), Forster (1964) (taken from Barlaan 1986: 8) and Shibatani (1988).

As the passive analysis continues to be held by some linguists, such as Wolff (1972), Mallinson and Blake (1981: 107), Comrie (1988) and Trosdal (1990), it needs to be discussed here. The relationship between voice and orientation will be dealt with in section 3.2.2.

Since it is the undergoer orientations that are regarded as passive, we will now proceed to have a look at an undergoer orientation clause of the normal order V A P.¹¹ This clause

¹⁰ Undergoer orientation is a cover term for the Goal orientation, Locative orientation and Instrumental orientation.

looks like an active transitive clause, but when compared with an undergoer orientation clause, it looks like a passive. For instance, consider the following two examples: (29), which is undergoer orientation and has the order V A P, and (30), which is also undergoer orientation but has the order V P (A):

- (29) Gi-patay niya ang tawo V A P
 GFp-kill s/he TOP man
 'He/she killed the man.'
- (30) Gi-patay siya (sa usa ka kabaw) V P (A)
 GFp-kill s/he a one carabao
 'He/she was killed (by a carabao).'

The crucial question is what voice are clauses (29) and (30)? Are they the same voice or different voice? If the same, are they both passive or active? If different, is (29) active and (30) passive?

Comrie (1988: 9-23) suggests three syntactic criteria by which a passive construction and an ergative active transitive construction can be identified and distinguished from each other.

- (1) The distribution of subject properties.
- (2) The degree of integration of the A argument into the syntax.
- (3) Markedness.

Comrie himself argues that the Patient/Goal orientation in Tagalog is passive. He also argues that the P argument of an ergative active transitive construction has some subject properties, perhaps only case marking.¹²

Comrie's (1988: 9-23) first criterion is: (1) the distribution of subject properties. According to Comrie, the P argument in both active and passive constructions has some subject properties, but the P argument in a passive construction has more subject properties than the P argument of an ergative active transitive construction. In passive constructions, the clear majority of subject properties are associated with the P (actually the ex-P = Sd) argument.

Comrie's second criterion is: (2) the degree of integration of the A argument into the syntax. The A argument in an active transitive construction must function as a core rather than as an oblique argument. In contrast, the P (= ex-P or Sd) argument in a passive construction is

¹¹ In Payne's (1994: 337) corpus, perfective aspect Goal orientation clauses of the constituent order V A P were clearly more frequent than the order V P A.

¹² I disagree with Comrie that the P argument in ergative active transitive construction shows syntactic subject properties, but for the sake of the present argument, we can ignore that for the time being. This will be discussed in chapter seven about grammatical relations.

the undisputed subject, and the A (= ex-A) is either relegated to an oblique clause or deleted altogether.

Comrie's third criterion is: (3) markedness. The active transitive construction is the unmarked transitive construction, whereas the passive is the derived marked construction.¹³ The unmarkedness of the active transitive construction may be manifested in the following ways: by verbal morphology, which is less complex than the passive; by greater degree of productivity (a wider set of verbs), by greater frequency of occurrence, and by greater distribution throughout the discourse (e.g. it occurs both in backgrounded and foregrounded material).

The two example clauses (29) and (30) serve here as our test. We will now put them through Comrie's criteria and see what we can learn from them.

(1) Subject properties. We will discuss the notion 'subject' more thoroughly in Chapter Seven, so here we will just make some tentative observations. It is clear that the P argument in (30) has all the subject properties, since the A argument is marked with the oblique nominal marker sa, which is shown by the fact that it can be deleted. (The parenthesis shows that it is not obligatory, so it can be omitted.) In (29), the A argument has some subject properties as evidenced by coordination in (31), where (29) is preceded by a coordinated clause. In the second coordinated clause, the subject is omitted, which in (29) was niya 's/he'

(31) Mi-adto si Juan sa kwarto ug gi-patay \emptyset ang tawo
 AFp-go TOP Juan to room and GFp-kill TOP man
 'Juan entered the room and killed the man.'

Therefore, we can say that it is likely that the P argument in (29) has fewer subject properties than the P argument in (30), which is an indication that (29) is active voice and (30) is passive voice.

(2) Syntactic integration of the A argument is the second criterion. In (29), the A argument niya is a set II pronoun and therefore a core argument. The A argument of (30) is demoted to oblique (sa is here a set III nominal marker) or can be omitted altogether, so it is not integrated. This speaks in favor of (29) being active voice and (30) being passive voice.

(3) Markedness is the third criterion. The unmarkedness of (29) is shown by its greater frequency compared to (30). In Payne's corpus (1994: 337), Action Begun [his perfective] aspect Goal orientation clauses of the constituent order V A P were clearly more frequent than the order V P A. The two clauses do not differ by verbal morphology, thus passive is not more

¹³ Mallinson and Blake (1981: 73) say: "The passive typically involves some form of marking on the verb." The word typically leaves the possibility open that there is no special marking on the verb, as I will argue, is the case in Cebuano.

marked morphologically. For this reason, the degree of productivity is not applicable. Furthermore, the discourse distribution is not known.

Most of the facts speak in favor of analyzing (30) as passive. The only fact speaking against this analysis is that the predicate in passive is not more marked morphologically. I argue that, since the majority of facts point to one direction, we can from these observations say that it looks like one cannot equate undergoer orientation with passive as such, but that undergoer orientation can function as a passive with the order V P A (30). In addition to the arguments made above, we may add Shibatani's (1988: 93) argument that the most crucial evidence against the passive hypothesis is the fact that generally speaking, in the undergoer orientations, the agent is not normally omitted.

3.2.2 Voice and orientation

We can now proceed into a discussion of the relationship between voice and orientation. Payne (1994: 322, 323) combines Goal and Locative orientation into one orientation ('focus' in his terminology), the suffix -an of the Locative orientation being an applicative derivational operator. Payne does not, however, discuss Instrumental orientation separately, because the Instrumental and Goal orientations are morphologically identical in the Action Begun Aspect (perfective aspect in his terminology), both having the verbal prefix gi- as marker. Therefore Instrumental orientation was included in his topicality calculations together with Goal orientation, even though Locative orientation (or what is also called 'directional focus' or 'local passive' in the literature) was not included in his calculations (1994: 323).

For Payne, there are only two orientations (foci/focusses): Actor and Goal, the two other orientations (Locative and Instrumental) being applicatives. Thus Payne sees a relationship between voice and orientation, orientation being a grammatical voice system (1994: 323, 335). But one has to remember that he has only two orientations: AF and GF. Thus his GF is the same as my cover term 'undergoer orientation'.

He is also of the opinion that for lexically transitive verbs, all three undergoer orientations (GF, LF and IF) are ergative constructions and the Actor orientation (AF) is antipassive.¹⁴ I agree with Payne with respect to the ergative analysis, but I would not like to combine the undergoer orientations into one orientation, since they are clearly morphologically

¹⁴ This is the second possibility in Shibatani (1988: 85). The third possibility is that undergoer constructions are neither passive nor ergative, but distinct topic constructions. According to Shibatani, this view is usually linked to the view that the notion of subject is not applicable to Philippine languages and that ang-marked nominals are to be treated as topics.

distinct in the Action Not Begun aspect and I believe there is nothing to be gained if we throw away the separate orientation terminology (GF, LF, IF).

Concerning the actual analysis of voice, I argue for the distinction of voice and orientation. As we saw with examples (29) and (30), one orientation can have two voices depending on the word order. Taking an example from English, we can easily argue that the difference of the English clauses (a) and (b):

- (a) John gave the book to Mary.
- (b) John gave Mary the book.

is not that of voice. In a similar manner, the difference of the clauses (c) and (d):

- (c) Gi-hatag ni Juan ang libro kang Mary. (IF)
- (d) Gi-hatag-an ni Juan si Mary ug libro. (LF)

is not that of voice but, rather, that of orientation. It just happens to be so that in Cebuano, not only the beneficiary can be raised to direct object, but also location, instrument, and NPs in other semantic roles. According to Mallinson and Blake (1981: 77), "it is not uncommon for languages to provide means whereby a participant that is a recipient, beneficiary, location or instrument can appear in the position normally occupied by O[bject] and with the same direct or indirect marking as O[bject]".

The analysis of the orientation system as promotion to direct object is in agreement with Brainard (personal communication), who says that generally in the promotion process "the promoted argument is marked like a direct object, and the patient (the unmarked choice for direct object) is demoted and marked like an oblique. (...) Promotion to direct object is not an alternation in voice constructions in the same sense as alternations between active, passive, and antipassive constructions (...)". She also argues that Philippine languages differ from other languages that have promotion to direct object in that there is no unmarked alternative. In the Philippine languages, the verb always has the orientation affix (semantic role affix in her terminology).

We have thus come to the conclusion that voice is to be distinguished from orientation. In the next sections on pragmatic and grammatical voice, we will see how many voices there are in Cebuano.

3.2.3 Pragmatic voice

We can now proceed to discuss pragmatic voice in Cebuano. Table 5 is repeated here for convenience's sake. A clause has the antipassive pragmatic voice, if the A argument has high topicality and the P argument has low topicality. A clause has the active transitive pragmatic voice, if the A argument has high topicality and P has high or medium high topicality. A clause has the inverse pragmatic voice if the A argument has high or medium high topicality and P has high topicality. A clause has a passive pragmatic voice if A has low topicality and P has high topicality.

Voice	A	P	Comments
Antipassive	High	Low	P non-topical
Active transitive	High	High Med	P topical, but A more so
Inverse	High Med	High	A topical, but P more so
Passive	Low	High	A non-topical

Table 5. Pragmatic voice based on scalar topicality (Givón 1990).

Pragmatic voice is a concept based on the notion of topic continuity. Topic continuity is calculated by means of referential distance (RD) and topic persistence (TP). A topic persistence count tells us the number of times the referent is mentioned in the subsequent 10 clauses. The TP figure ranges from 0 to 10, high numbers showing high topicality. The referential distance count tells us how far back (in terms of number of clauses) the last occurrence of the referent is found in the preceding discourse. RD is checked up to 20 clauses, thus the RD figure ranges from 1 to 20, low numbers showing high topicality (Givón 1990: 907-). I will adopt Payne's (1994) topic continuity calculations as the basis of my discussion here. Payne's corpus contained 2,670 clauses of written Cebuano narratives. Using this corpus, he studied the deployment of Goal orientation ('focus' in his terminology) and Actor orientation (focus) verb forms, which were lexically transitive. According to Payne, lexically transitive verbs in Cebuano are those which "1) can occur with the perfective [Action Begun] aspect GF prefix, gi-, with no additional morphology (e.g., the applicative [local passive] suffix -an or causative prefix pa-) AND 2) exhibits the same case frame and basic propositional semantics in the GF and AF forms, e.g. the GF form should not be a causative or a poetic usage" (Payne 1994: 324, 347).

Payne found that the referential distance for Action Begun Aspect (perfective aspect in his terminology) Goal orientation clauses correlates with constituent order. Both the A and P arguments showed high topic continuity (= low referential distance) when they were contiguous to the verb. Payne's findings are presented as Table 6 below (1994: 340, 341). As we can see from this table, with the order V P (A),¹⁵ 67% (26 items) of the P arguments showed high topic continuity, while only 18% (3 items) of the A arguments showed high topic continuity. With the order V A (P), 70% (47 items) of the A arguments showed high topic continuity, and only 9% (4 items) of the P arguments showed high topic continuity.

Continuity	V P (A)		V A (P)	
	A	P	A	P
High (= low RD)	3 (18%)	26 (67%)	47 (70%)	4 (9%)
Medium	6 (35%)	8 (21%)	18 (27%)	10 (23%)
Low (= high RD)	8 (47%)	5 (13%)	2 (3%)	29 (68%)
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 6. Topic Continuity in GF clauses based on RD.

In conclusion, Payne (1994: 342) says that "(1) in [V] A P order, GF constructions tend to code A arguments that are highly continuous and P arguments that are intermediate or low in continuity, and (2) in [V] P A order, GF constructions tend to code P arguments that are highly continuous and A arguments that are either high, medium or low in continuity".

For topic persistence, Payne also found that constituent order is significant for Action Begun Aspect Goal orientation clauses. His findings are presented in Table 7 below (1994: 343, 344). As we can see from the table, with the order V P (A), 50% (14 items) of the P arguments show high topic continuity, whereas only 19% (8 items) of the P arguments show high topic continuity with the order V A (P). A arguments showed high topic continuity both with the order V P (A) (59%), and with the order V A (P) (64%).

Continuity	V P (A)		V A (P)	
	A	P	A	P
High (= high TP)	10 (59%)	14 (50%)	35 (64%)	8 (19%)
Medium	3 (18%)	10 (36%)	17 (31%)	13 (31%)
Low (= low TP)	4 (23%)	4 (14%)	3 (5%)	21 (50%)
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 7. Topic Continuity in GF clauses based on TP.

¹⁵ The parenthesis means that the A argument is optional. Thus V P (A) stands for both the construction types V P A and V P.

For Actor orientation constructions, Payne found that, based on referential distance, constituent order is less sensitive to continuity than it is for Goal orientation constructions. Thus, A arguments in Actor orientation are generally high in topic continuity, whereas P arguments are generally low. Table 8 presents the results of Payne's findings (1994: 344, 345). From this table, it is evident that 40% (4 items) of the A arguments with the order V P (A), and 52% (23 items) of the A arguments with the order V A (P) show high topic continuity, whereas only 10% (2 items) of the P arguments with the order V (P) A, and only 8% (2 items) of the P arguments with the order V A (P) show high topic continuity.

Continuity	V P (A)		V A (P)	
	A	P	A	P
High (= low RD)	4 (40%)	2 (10%)	23 (52%)	2 (8%)
Medium	5 (50%)	10 (45%)	21 (48%)	5 (19%)
Low (= high RD)	1 (10%)	10 (45%)	0 (0%)	19 (73%)
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 8. Topic Continuity in AF clauses based on RD.

Based on topic persistence, Payne found that for AF constructions, A arguments are quite consistently high or medium, and P arguments are quite consistently low regardless of word order. Table 9 indicates the results (1994: 346). We can see from the table that 54% (13 items) of the A arguments with the order V P (A), and 64% (14 items) of the A arguments with the order V A (P) show high topic continuity, whereas 0% (0 items) of the P arguments with the order V (P) A, and only 9% (2 items) of the P arguments with the order V A (P) show high topic continuity.

Continuity	V P (A)		V A (P)	
	A	P	A	P
High (= high TP)	13 (54%)	0 (0%)	14 (64%)	2 (9%)
Medium	11 (46%)	0 (0%)	8 (36%)	3 (14%)
Low (= low TP)	0 (0%)	6 (100%)	0 (0%)	17 (77%)
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 9. Topic Continuity in AF clauses based on TP.

Payne summarizes his study of pragmatic voice of GF and AF constructions as being distributed among the four pragmatic voices in the manner suggested in Table 10 (1994: 348, 354, 355).¹⁶

Voice	Orientation	Constituent Order
Active transitive (A more topical than P)	GF AF	V (A) P V A P (proper name P)
Antipassive (A significantly more topical than P)	AF	V A (P)
Inverse (P more topical than or equal to A)	GF	V P A
Passive (P significantly more topical than A)	GF	V P (A)

Table 10. Pragmatic voice in Cebuano according to Payne.

From Table 10, we can see that Cebuano has all the four pragmatic voices: (1) Active transitive voice, (2) Antipassive voice, (3) Inverse voice, and (4) Passive voice. We can make the following observations.

(1) Goal orientation clauses with the constituent order V (A) P express active transitive pragmatic voice. The A argument is in parenthesis, because it can be zero-pronominalized (see (31) above). Those Actor orientation clauses where the P argument is definite, most often consisting of the kang nominal marker and a personal name, have also active transitive pragmatic voice.

(2) The bulk of Actor orientation clauses expresses antipassive pragmatic voice.

(3) Goal orientation clauses (which in fact included both GF and IF), with the constituent order V P A, have inverse pragmatic voice.

(4) Goal orientation clauses with the constituent order V P (A) have passive pragmatic voice.¹⁷

(5) Some Goal orientation clauses with the constituent order V A P have antipassive pragmatic voice, but Payne (1994: 348-352) explains that the P arguments in those clauses tend to be 'discourse referential'.¹⁸ He suggests that discourse referentiality of the P argument influences the choice of GF versus AF, and topicality influences constituent order. Thus Payne recategorizes these clauses as active transitive (1994: 350, 357). I accept his analysis except

¹⁶ Similar to Payne's findings, Cooreman (1984) found that in Tagalog and Chamorro (spoken in Guam), agent topicality was highest in the ergative (non-Actor orientation) and antipassive constructions, and lowest in passives. Patient topicality was highest in passive constructions, second highest in ergative constructions, and extremely low in antipassives.

¹⁷ Cooreman (1984) reports similarly that the difference between active transitive and passive voice in Tagalog is word order.

¹⁸ According to Du Bois (1980), "a participant is considered to be discourse referential if it is treated as having continuing identity over a span of text. In practice, I consider an argument to be discourse referential if it is: (1) mentioned twice in a span of 20 clauses, (2) 'on stage' given the discourse context, or (3) possessed by

for clauses with physical feeling verbs, which I analyze as inverse. Thus, according to Payne, Goal orientation has three pragmatic voices: active transitive, inverse and passive. On the other hand, Actor orientation has two pragmatic voices: antipassive and active transitive (Payne 1994: 357).

3.2.4 Grammatical voice

Payne's research on pragmatic voice is a good starting point for grammatical voice analysis because its results are quantifiable and falsifiable. It gives concrete evidence on whether a NP is topical or not. Thus when linguists study a language that is not their mother tongue, they can look at the topic continuity results instead of consulting their intuition. Pragmatic voice and scalar topicality can be understood, in the same way as scalar semantic transitivity can, to give a language several possible points on a continuum where to draw the separating line between the various grammatical voices.

It is clear from Payne's results that the majority of lexically transitive Actor orientation clauses have antipassive pragmatic voice. The small minority that was active transitive pragmatic voice is the set of the constructions where the P arguments consist of a proper name, usually preceded by the nominal marker kang. Since kang is a set III nominal marker, and I analyze set III as the oblique set, it can be argued that the clause is grammatically intransitive, even though the P argument is medium high or high in pragmatic topicality. Thus we can analyze even those constructions grammatically as antipassives and say that all Actor orientation clauses, with lexically transitive and intransitive predicates alike, are intransitive, and the prefixes mo-, mag-, maka-, mi-, nag-, and naka- signal intransitivity. To put it in terms of nominal markers and pronouns, Actor orientation constructions with lexically transitive verbs of the type: Vtr + Sd (set I) + ex-P (set III) are antipassive.

The bulk of Goal orientation clauses with the order V (A) P had the active transitive pragmatic voice. This, together with Comrie's three criteria for distinguishing passive and active transitive voices from each other, gives us a strong reason to analyze Goal orientation (with the other two undergoer orientations) with V (A) P constituent order as active transitive grammatical voice. To put it in terms of nominal markers and pronouns, we can say that undergoer orientations of the type: V + A (set II) + P (set I) are active transitive voice.

Similarly, undergoer orientation clauses with the order V P A have the inverse pragmatic voice, and the undergoer orientation clauses with the order V P (A) have the passive pragmatic

The **antipassive**¹⁹ voice has Actor orientation morphology with lexically transitive verbs. Antipassive clauses are therefore derived intransitive and thus instead of having A arguments, they have S arguments. The symbol S can be modified by adding a small 'd' to make it clear that it is derived (Sd).²⁰ The antipassive is of the type: Vtr + Sd (set I) + ex-P (set III). The following examples (35) - (37) illustrate antipassive clauses:

- (35) Vtr Sd(set I) ex-P(set III)
 Mo-putol ikaw ug kahoy
 AFf-cut 2abs a tree
 'You will cut a tree.'
- (36) Vtr Sd(set I) ex-P(set III)
 Mi-buak ako ug samin
 AFp-break 1abs a mirror
 'I broke a mirror.'
- (37) Vtr Sd(set I) kang+P (set III)
 Mag-sumbag siya kang Lando
 AFf-box 3abs dat Lando
 'He will box against Lando.'

As we can see from the clauses above, the predicates have the Actor orientation (AF) prefixes. The most agent-like NP, which is marked with an Sd in the formula above the clauses since it is derived, takes set I nominal markers. The most patient-like NP, which is marked with an ex-P, since it is downgraded to an oblique case, takes set III nominal markers. One special case is the few occurrences of kang + P, where the P argument has medium high or high topicality based on the RD and TP calculations (37).

The syntactic proof of the Actor orientation clauses with lexically transitive verbs being antipassive is the fact that the Actor orientation clauses are grammatically intransitive. The morphological proofs are the AF prefixes, which distinguish these clauses from transitive clauses. The pragmatic proof is that in the vast majority of cases, the scalar topicality of the A is high and the scalar topicality of the P is low (Payne 1994: 346, 348, 357).

The **active** voice has Goal, Locative and Instrumental orientation morphology with the constituent order V (A) P. It is of the type: V + A (set II) + P (set I). The following examples (38) - (40) illustrate active clauses:

¹⁹ Jacobsen (1985: 181-185) describes a transformation which he calls agentive. According to Jacobsen it was Michael Silverstein (1976), who labeled it antipassive.

²⁰ The Person affected semantic orientations of both Goal orientation and Instrumental orientation are also antipassive. The difference between the Actor orientation antipassives and the undergoer orientation antipassives is that the latter have transitive verbal prefixes. The verb roots that can be antipassive in Goal and Instrumental orientations are limited to verbs of physical feeling and adjectives/stative verbs.

- (38) V A(set II) P(set I)
 Gi-patay ni Juan ang tawo
 GFp-kill 3erg Juan TOP person
 'Juan killed the person.'
- (39) V A(set II) P(set I) Obl.(set III)
 Basa-han niya ang bata ug libro
 read-LFf 3erg TOP child a book
 'He will read the child a book.'
- (40) V A(set II) P(set I)
 I-hatag niya ang kutsilyo
 IFF-give 3erg TOP knife
 'He will give away the knife.'

As we can see from the above clauses, the predicates have the undergoer orientation (GF, LF, or IF) affixes. The most agent-like NP, which is marked with an A in the formula above the clauses, takes the set II nominal marker. The most patient-like core NP, which is marked with P, takes set I nominal markers. The indirect object (ug libro in 39) takes set III markers.

The proof of the Goal, Locative and Instrumental orientations being active transitive in their V A P constituent order is the fact that they are all grammatically transitive, the object having set I marking and being definite and referential. The scalar topicality of the A is high and the scalar topicality of the P is high to medium high (Payne 1994: 343, 348, 357).

The **inverse** voice has Goal, Locative and Instrumental orientation morphology with the constituent order of: V + P (set I) + A (set II). The examples (41) - (43) bellow illustrate inverse voice:

- (41) V P(set I) A(set II)
 Gi-tawag man ka nako / *kanako
 IFp-call MAN 2abs 1erg 1dat
 'I have been calling you.'
- (42) V P(set I) A(set II)
 Gi-dala siya ni Ramos / *kang R. didto
 GFp-bring 3abs 3erg Ramos dat there
 'Ramos brought him/her there.'
- (43) V P(set I) A(set II)
 Gi-pilde gyod siya ni Ramos / *kang R.
 GFp-defeat EMP 3abs 3erg Ramos dat
 'Ramos really defeated him/her.'

As we can see from the above clauses, the predicates have the undergoer orientation affix gi-. The most obvious difference between active and inverse is the inverted constituent order. The most agent-like NP, which is marked with an A in the formula above the clauses,

occurs after the P argument and takes set II nominal markers. The most patient-like NP, which is marked with P, takes set I nominal markers. The A argument is not oblique but ergative, which is shown by the fact that set III nominal markers (kanako in (41), kang Rodrigo in (42), and kang Ramos in (43)) are ungrammatical, and that they cannot be deleted.

The change in the word order into V P A is the syntactic proof that examples (41) – (43) are not in the active voice. The pragmatic proof is the scalar topicality of the P, which is high, and the scalar topicality of the A, which is high to medium high (Payne 1994: 343, 348, 357). The P argument is often a personal pronoun or a personal name. Short forms of the absolutive case personal pronouns are often used. The inverse voice is sometimes very close to the passive voice, and this voice is not easy to translate into English. The grammatical difference is that in inverse voice, the A argument is marked with set II nominal marker, i.e. it is still a core argument. In passive voice, the A argument actually is ex-A because it is marked with set III nominal marker, i.e. it is oblique. Therefore ni 'erg' is used in inverse voice and kang 'dat' is used in passive voice. Sa is more difficult to analyze just by looking at the clause, since it is both a set II and a set III nominal marker. The marker ug is easier, because it is unambiguously a set III nominal marker.

The **passive** voice has Goal, Locative and Instrumental orientation morphology with the constituent order of V + ex-P + (ex-A). The agent can be omitted, thus giving the order V S, but that should not be confused with the zero-pronominalization of the actor in active voice, which gives the order V P. According to Payne (1994: 342), "arguments are omitted when their identity is extremely unimportant to the communicative intent of the utterance, as in 'She already ate' (object omission) or 'He was killed in the war' (Agent omission). Arguments are 'zero-pronominalized', on the other hand, when they are so highly continuous that there can be no question as to their identity, as in the same subject coordinate clauses: "Terry came in and Ø sat down". The following examples (44) - (46) illustrate passive voice.

- (44) V ex-P(set I) ex-A(set III)
 Gi-patay siya sa mananap²¹
 GFp-kill 3abs the animal
 'He/she was killed by the animal.'

²¹ To show the difference in function between potential na- and the prefix gi-, the example (44a) would be:

(44a) V ex-P(set I) ex-A(set III)
 Na-patay siya sa auto
 GFp-kill 3abs the car
 'He/she was killed by the car.'

if the person was hit by a car. The difference is that with (44a), it was an accident. In (44), the animal intentionally killed the person.

V ex-P(set I) Obl.(set III)
 (45) Basa-han ang bata ug libro
 read-LFf TOP child a book
 'The child will be read a book.'

V ex-P(set I)
 (46) I-hatag ang kutsilyo
 IFF-give TOP knife
 'The knife will be given away.'

As we can see from the above clauses, the predicates have the undergoer orientation affixes. The most agent-like NP, which is marked with an ex-A in the formula above the clauses, occurs after the P argument, as does the inverse voice. The difference is that in passive voice, the most agent-like NP has an oblique case marking, takes set III nominal markers, and can be deleted. The most patient-like NP, which is marked with ex-P, takes set I nominal markers.

When the A argument becomes oblique, we have syntactic proof of passive voice. The pragmatic proof is that the scalar topicality of P is high and the scalar topicality of ex-A is low and the ex-A can be deleted. The difference between inverse and passive can be seen in the examples (41) - (43) and (44) - (46) above. In example (44), the ex-A mananap can be deleted, and examples (45) and (46) do not have the ex-A argument. In examples (41) - (43) we can see that set III markers kanako in (41), kang in (42) and (43) are ungrammatical.

The difference between antipassive and active transitive is illustrated in the following pair of examples where (47) is active voice and (48) is antipassive voice:

(47) Gi-palit ni Juan ang akong libro **V A P**
 GFP-buy 3erg Juan TOP 1PO book
 'Juan bought my book.'

(48) Mi-palit si Juan sa akong libro **V S ex-P**
 AFP-buy TOP Juan the 1PO book
 'Juan bought my book.'

This loss of transitivity is signaled by the fact that (1) the set II agent ni Juan in (47) has become set I si Juan in (48), thereby increasing its topicality *in relation* to the P argument. (2) The set I P argument akong libro in (47) has become oblique in (48) by virtue of the intransitive affixation on the verb. The marker sa in (48) in itself shows neither obliqueness nor core-ness, because it is used in both kinds of NPs,²² unless the constituent order is taken into consideration. Then one could argue that sa occurring after the most agent-like core NP (si Juan in this case) is oblique, i.e. the set III marker. Conversely, sa would then be the core

argument (a set II marker) only when it is the most agent-like NP and occurs after the predicate and before the other core argument.

Table 11 presents the different constituent orders of the different voices.

Constituents and Case			Voice
V	S = ex-A = Sd Abs. Set I	ex-P Obl. Set III	Antipassive
V	A Erg. Set II	P Abs. Set I	Active transitive
V	P Abs. Set I	A Erg. Set II	Inverse
V	S = ex-P = Sd Abs. Set I	ex-A Obl. Set III	Passive

Table 11. Cebuano voice.

This chapter outlines my argument that Cebuano has four grammatical voices: antipassive, active, inverse and passive. It has been shown that constituent order is the factor determining voice in the undergoer orientations. The order V A P is active, and V P A is passive or inverse. Evidence for the passive voice in Cebuano is important because, as Palmer (1994: 19) puts it, "Passivization involves Objects, not Patients". Thus, if there are passives in Cebuano, then we can claim that the promoted NP used to be an Object. This will prove to be significant in Chapter Seven, when a study of grammatical relations in Cebuano is presented.

Out of the four voices, the existence of the antipassive voice is most crucial for the ergative-absolutive analysis of Cebuano person marking and nominal marker morphology. This analysis is the task of the next chapter.

²² Gault (personal communication) says that in the Sama Bangingi' language of the Philippines, the P argument of an antipassive construction is not always marked as an oblique.

4 CASE

This chapter contains an outline of my argument for an ergative-absolutive analysis of the Cebuano personal pronoun and nominal marker system. I will give evidence why even definite and specific P arguments in Actor orientation are oblique. Finally, I will answer arguments raised by Schachter (1976), Foley and Van Valin (1984) and Shibatani (1988).

4.1 Cebuano personal pronoun sets

Cebuano marks person with personal pronouns which usually follow the verb. There are four sets of personal pronouns. The naming of these sets has usually been done on the basis of the nominative-accusative system. In this chapter I will argue for an ergative-absolutive analysis. Table 2, indicating the personal pronouns, is again presented here for the sake of convenience.

	Set I	Set II	Set III
1st p. singular	akó (ko)	n-áko (ko), áko-ng	(ka)náko
2nd p. singular	ikáw (ka)	n-ímo (mo), ímo-ng	(ka)nímo
3rd p. singular	siyá	n-íya, íya-ng	(ka)níya
1st p. inclusive	kitá (ta)	n-áto (ta), áto-ng	(ka)náto
1st p. exclusive	kamí (mi)	n-ámo, ámo-ng	(ka)námo
2nd p. plural	kamó (mo)	n-ínyo, ínyo-ng	(ka)nínyo
3rd p. plural	silá	n-fla, fla-ng	(ka)níla

Table 2. Cebuano pronoun sets.²³

The forms appearing in parenthesis in sets I and II are optional short forms. In set III, the form in parenthesis (*ka*) is optional, i.e. one can say *kanako* or *nako*. It is to be noted that set III can thus be identical in form with set II. Bell (1976) states the difference between Cebuano set II (her genitive) and set III (her oblique) personal pronoun forms: "the forms do seem to be different since the postposed genitive forms can always be replaced by the preposed genitive forms, while the short forms of the oblique pronouns cannot. Nor can the short forms of the postposed genitive be used in the place of the short forms of the oblique pronouns." The

²³ Maryknoll (1994: 55). I have made minor technical modifications, adding stress and separating ligatures.

set II pronouns have two forms, depending on whether or not they precede or follow their head. Examples (49) - (55) show the usage of set II pronouns:

Set II as a predicate:

- | | Pred | Subject |
|------|--------------------|------------------------|
| (49) | <u>áko</u>
1erg | ang libro
TOP book |
| | | 'The book is mine.' |
| (50) | <u>ímo</u>
2erg | ang kwarto
TOP room |
| | | 'The room is yours.' |
| (51) | <u>íya</u>
3erg | ang awto
TOP car |
| | | 'The car is his.' |

As far as segments go, set II pronouns, when functioning as predicates, are identical to the set I pronouns. The proof that these forms are indeed set II pronouns is in their stress placement. Set I pronouns have ultimate stress (akó for 1. p. sg.) and set II pronouns have penultimate stress. From this data we can also see that set II pronouns in the predicate position are without ligatures, which conversely shows that even the form náko has a ligature. Thus I argue that the basic form of, for example, the first person preposed pronoun is áko (as in (49)).

Ordinary possessive constructions:

- | | | | | | |
|------|----------|------|-----|--------------|------------------------------|
| (52) | Gi-basa | níya | ang | <u>ákong</u> | libro |
| | GFP-read | 3erg | TOP | 1erg | book |
| | | | | | 'He/she is reading my book.' |
| (53) | Gi-basa | níya | ang | libro | <u>náko</u> |
| | GFP-read | 3erg | TOP | book | 1erg |
| | | | | | 'He/she is reading my book.' |

These data show set II pronouns functioning as possessive pronouns.²⁴ From this data we can see that when set II pronouns are in preposed position they have a ligature -ng (ákong in (52)), and when they are in postposed position they have a ligature n- (náko in (53)).

Ordinary non-possessive constructions:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------|-------------|-----|------------------------|
| (54) | Putl-on | <u>náko</u> | ang | kahoy |
| | cut-GFf | 1erg | TOP | tree |
| | | | | 'I will cut the tree.' |

²⁴ It is a common feature of ergative systems that the ergative pronouns are used for possession also. See e.g. Jacobsen (1985: 176, 177), who says that in Eskimo and Tzeltal ergative case is used for possession. According to Mallinson and Blake (1981: 50), "the marking for ergative is rarely exclusive to A function."

- (55) Ákong putl-on ang kahoy
 1erg cut-GFf TOP tree
 'I will cut the tree.'

These data show set II pronouns functioning as heads of NPs. From the data we can see that when they are in preposed position, they have a ligature *-ng* (ákong in (55)), and when they are in postposed position they have a ligature *n-* (náko in (54)). This is identical to the possessive form.

4.2 Cebuano pronoun system

Now that the basic morphology of the personal pronouns is clear, it is time to discuss whether one should analyze the Cebuano pronoun system as being nominative-accusative or ergative-absolutive. An important prerequisite for this discussion is the analysis of the voice system of Cebuano. We saw in Chapter Three that the Actor orientation is grammatically antipassive voice, and that the undergoer orientations with the order V A P are grammatically active voice and with the order V P A, which are the grammatically inverse or passive voice.²⁵ Thus we are now able to identify the S, A and P arguments. This identification is the starting point of our present discussion.

In a nominative-accusative system, the S argument is marked similarly to the A argument and both are different from the P argument. In an ergative-absolutive system, the S argument is marked similarly to the P argument and both are different from the A argument. See Table 12 for the two systems, which is based on Comrie (1978: 330-334):

Nominative-accusative system			
V	S.nom		Intransitive clause
V	A.nom	P.acc	Transitive clause
Ergative-absolutive system			
V		S.abs	Intransitive clause
V	A.erg	P.abs	Transitive clause

Table 12. Patterns for nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive case marking.

The following example sentences (56) - (62) illustrate the Cebuano pronoun system. In the right column, the constituent order of the clauses is marked in bold typeface. Here V

²⁵ To be more accurate, inverse is V P A and passive is V ex-P ex-A.

stands for the verb, S stands for the single argument of an intransitive clause, A stands for the most agent-like NP argument, P stands for the most patient-like NP argument of a transitive clause, and Obl. stands for an oblique argument. The personal pronouns are underlined. Examples (56) – (57) are Actor orientation clauses:

- (56) Mi-adto ikáw sa dagat **V + S + Obl.**
 AFp-go 2abs to sea set I
 'You went to the sea.'
- (57) Mo-tulog siyá **V + S**
 AFf-sleep 3abs set I
 'He/she will sleep.'

In the Actor orientation intransitive clauses (56) and (57), the only core argument is S. The S argument uses set I pronouns (ikáw (56) and siyá (57)). If Cebuano is analyzed as a nominative-accusative system, set I would be called nominative case, but if Cebuano is analyzed as an ergative-absolutive system, set I would be called absolutive case.

The examples (58) – (62) show transitive Cebuano clauses in all three undergoer orientations with mainly pronouns as heads of NPs. The pronouns are underlined, with an adjoining analysis of the clauses indicating the set that the pronouns belong to.

- (58) Putl-on náko ang kahoy **V + A + P**
 cut-GFf 1erg TOP tree set II
 'I will cut the tree.'
- (59) Pusil-on nímo siyá **V + A + P**
 shoot-GFf 2erg 3abs set II set I
 'You will shoot him/her.'
- (60) Gi-buak níya ang samin **V + A + P**
 GFp-break 3erg TOP mirror set II
 'He/she broke the mirror to pieces.'
- (61) I-putol nímo ang gabas sa kahoy **V + A + P**
 IFf-cut 2erg TOP saw the tree set II
 'You will cut the tree using the saw.'
- (62) Palit-an náko siyá ug libro **V + A + P**
 buy-LFf 1erg 3abs a book set II set I
 'I will buy him/her a book.'

From these data, we can see that with the undergoer orientation active clauses, the A argument always has set II pronouns, and the P argument uses set I pronouns.

The intransitive and active transitive data reveals that, as is customary with ergative languages, the S and P arguments are encoded with personal pronouns belonging to the same set (set I), and the A argument is encoded with pronouns belonging to a different set (set II).

4.3 Cebuano nominal markers and demonstrative pronouns

The next step is to see whether the nominal markers follow the same system as do the personal pronouns. As mentioned in the introduction, the nominal markers can also be divided into three sets, as shown in Table 13:

	Set I	Set II	Set III
Specific NP	<i>ang</i> 'TOP'	<i>sa</i> 'the'	<i>sa</i> 'the'
Non-specific NP	-y 'iTOP'		<i>ug</i> 'a'
Proper name	<i>si</i> 'TOP'	<i>ni</i> 'NA'	<i>ni/kang</i> 'NA'
Dem. Pronouns	<i>(ki)ri</i> 'this1' <i>(ki)ni</i> 'this2' <i>(ka)na</i> 'that1' <i>(ka)dto</i> 'that2'	<i>(ni)iri</i> 'this1' <i>(ni)ini</i> 'this2' <i>(ni)ana</i> 'that1' <i>(ni)adto</i> 'that2'	<i>(ni)iri</i> 'this1' <i>(ni)ini</i> 'this2' <i>(ni)ana</i> 'that1' <i>(ni)adto</i> 'that2'

Table 13. Nominal markers and demonstrative pronouns of Cebuano.

The nominal marker sets fall into the same three categories as the personal pronoun sets, so that, for instance, set II can also be used as possessives. The specific marker *sa* and proper name marker *ni* can occur both in set II and set III. They can either be analyzed as two homonyms or as two senses of one lexeme. It is to be noted that the set II and III demonstrative pronouns are identical. All of these have both a long form and a short form. For example, set I demonstrative pronoun meaning 'this1' has both the form *kiri* and the form *ri*. The meanings are as follows: this1 means 'near speaker but not near person spoken to'; this2 means 'near speaker and person spoken to'; that1 means 'near person spoken to, but not near speaker'; that2 means 'not near speaker nor person spoken to' (Maryknoll 1994). In the glossline, for simplicity, I use only glosses 'this' and 'that'.

The following examples illustrate the usage of the nominal markers in intransitive clauses (63) - (66) and transitive clauses (67) - (71):

V S set I Obl. set III
 (63) Mi-adto si Pedro sa dagat
 AFP-go TOP Pedro to sea
 'Pedro went to the sea.'

V S set I
 (64) Mo-tulog si Pedro
 AFF-sleep TOP Pedro
 'Pedro will sleep.'

- V S set I
 (65) Aduna-y kwarta sa lamisa
 exist-iTOP money at table
 'There is some money on the table.'
- V S set I
 (66) Aduna ba-y kwarta sa lamisa?
 exist QM-iTOP money at table
 'Is there some money on the table.'

These data indicate that with the intransitive clauses, the only core argument (si Pedro in (63) and (64)) and (kwarta in (65) and (66)) uses set I markers. This usage is identical with the pronouns. In (65) and (66), we see the -y 'iTOP = indefinite absolutive marker' in existential clauses.²⁶ Phonologically this marker is attached to the word preceding the S argument, but grammatically it belongs to the S argument as shown by the example (66), and is thus a nominal marker.

For evidence, consider the transitive clauses (67) - (71) below:

- V A set II P set I
 (67) Putl-on ni Pedro kining kahoy
 cut-GFf erg Pedro this tree
 'Pedro will cut this tree'
- V A set II P set I
 (68) Gi-buak ni Pedro ang samin
 GFp-break erg Pedro TOP mirror
 'Pedro broke the mirror to pieces.'
- V A set II P set I Obl. set III
 (69) I-putol ni Pedro ang gabas sa kahoy
 IFF-cut erg Pedro TOP saw the tree
 'Pedro will cut the tree using the saw.'
- V A set II P set I
 (70) Palit-an sa tawo si Maria ug libro
 buy-LFf the man TOP Maria a book
 'The man will buy Maria a book.'
- V A set II P set I Obl. set III
 (71) Palit-on sa tawo ang libro kang Maria
 buy-GFf the man TOP book dat Maria
 'The man will buy the book for Maria.'

²⁶ Wolff lists y in his dictionary as "particle showing grammatical relations". 1 subject marker in sentences with nominal, pronominal, numerical or interrogative predicates. ... 2 as subject marker for subjects which express a future condition. ... 3 after deictics, *duna, wala*: there is (was, isn't, etc.) any..." (Wolff 1972: 1130). He lists ang as "1. subject marker" (Wolff 1972: 42) Wolff's deictics is what I call existential clauses. In non-existential clauses -y marks the NP it is attached to. See e.g. (74), which is a question. There -y marks the question word kinsa 'who'.

These examples clearly show that in active clauses with undergoer orientation, the A argument always has set II pronouns, and the P argument has set I pronouns.

From the intransitive and active transitive data, we can see that the nominal markers also function in an ergative-absolutive system, the S and P arguments are marked with set I nominal markers, and the A arguments are marked with set II nominal markers. Oblique arguments are marked with set III markers.

Based on the above observations concerning both pronouns and nominal markers, we can justifiably argue that Cebuano is morphologically ergative-absolutive and thus we can call set I the absolutive case, set II the ergative case and set III dative case.²⁷

As mentioned above, set II nominal markers resemble set II pronouns in that they can be used as possessives, as illustrated by the following examples:

Pronouns functioning as possessives

akong libro 'my book'

libro nako 'my book'

Nominal markers functioning as possessives

libro sa tawo 'man's book'

libro ni Juan 'Juan's book'

*libro kang Juan 'Juan's book'

(libro alang kang Juan 'a book for Juan' is acceptable)

*libro ug tawo 'person's book'

(This is grammatical but it means 'book and man')

This provides evidence for the argument that set II nominal markers ni and sa function as possessives just like other set II pronouns e.g. nako. If set III nominal markers are used (like kang or ug), then the resulting construction is ungrammatical, or if it is grammatical, it means that it is something other than the possessive.

²⁷ Another possibility would be to call it the oblique case. I prefer to use the term 'oblique' as an attribute, rather than a case name. Thus, the term 'oblique' refers to a case or a group of cases, as it may refer to an NP as an oblique NP, i.e. a non-core argument.

4.4 Actor orientation with specific P arguments

As mentioned above, the sa 'specific NP' nominal marker belongs to both set II and set III. Why is it both ergative and dative? My understanding is that for the specific NP Cebuano has collapsed the ergative and dative cases, i.e. instead of two cases, Cebuano has only one. One could therefore categorize it as a non-absolutive case (marked NA on the glossline). But since there is a whole paradigm of markers that can have three cases, it is better to say that sa can be both ergative and dative. Thus sa is ergative when it marks a core NP, and dative when it marks an oblique NP, e.g. a location. And when sa is used as a possessive, it is ergative, functioning like genitive case functions in many nominative-accusative languages.

The marker ni can sometimes occur as a dative. In prepositional phrases, this marker can signal the beneficiary (even though para kang is more common and considered better). It is important to note that in these cases, sa always occurs with a preposition (like para 'for' in (72):

- (72) Mag-dala si Tony ug bulak para ni Alice
 AFF-bring TOP Tony a flower for dat Alice
 'Tony will bring some flowers for Alice.'

The most crucial fact for the ergative-absolutive analysis above is that all Actor orientation clauses, like (35) – (37), are regarded as intransitive. According to Schachter and Otnes (1972: 383), a transitive verb in Tagalog is one that takes an absolutive NP and one or more complements. An intransitive verb is one that takes an absolutive NP, but no complements, only adjuncts.²⁸ In their analysis, the verbs in (35) – (37) have complements and are thus transitive. It is therefore important for my argumentation, that I explain more fully on what grounds one may analyze all Actor orientation clauses as antipassives, even those where the P argument is definite.

The complements in Actor orientation clauses can be of six different kinds: they can be marked with ug, sa, ni, kang, or demonstratives (e.g. niini 'this'), or they can be dative pronouns (e.g. kanako '2.p.sg'). When the P argument is marked with the ug indefinite marker, it is easy to explain that ug is an oblique marker and that grammatical transitivity in Cebuano requires definite objects. Because the ug is an indefinite marker, the noun phrase is

²⁸ According to Schachter & Otnes (1972: 383) a complement is a constituent that can be made into absolutive case. An adjunct is a constituent that cannot be made into absolutive case. The sea in "I went to the sea" is an adjunct, whereas, the bananas in "I cooked the bananas" is complement.

oblique and therefore such a clause is grammatically intransitive.²⁹ This analysis is supported by the scalar topicality counts made by Tom Payne (1994).

The indefinite explanation neither hold for the sa definite marker, nor for the kang or ni dative marker. The sa, kang, and ni marked NPs of Actor orientation clauses can, nevertheless, be interpreted as oblique noun phrases for the following four reasons:

- (1) Scalar topicality counts.
- (2) Usage of sa.
- (3) Usage of ni and kang.
- (4) P argument in Actor orientation clauses cannot be coded by ergative.

(1) The most important reason that these markers can be taken as oblique is based on the scalar topicality counts (i.e. referential distance and topic continuity calculations) of Cebuano mi- and gi- prefixed verbs³⁰ by Payne (1994). His findings include the fact that “the bulk of perfective [action begun] aspect AF [Actor orientation] clauses function as antipassives”.

It is to be noted that since Payne’s study concentrated on lexically transitive verbs, his statistics do not count intransitive Actor orientation clauses. As a result, his statement that the bulk of AF clauses are antipassive says nothing about the frequency of antipassive vs. lexically intransitive clauses.

In Payne’s corpus of 2,670 clauses, only seven out of the 255 Actor orientation perfective aspect clauses were not antipassive (in pragmatic voice terms), and only one had the marker sa (the other six had the marker kang (1994: 321, 335, 354, 355)). The reason for this is that usually the P arguments of Actor orientation clauses are indefinite. When they are specific, they are often not discourse-referential. Payne (1994: 349-352) mentions that “‘discourse referentiality’³¹ better approaches the functional motivation behind the choice of AF vs GF than does the notion of scalar topicality”.

(2) Another reason why the sa marker can be taken to be an oblique marker is the usage of that marker. See examples (73) - (78) below, which demonstrate the usage of the sa marker:

The marker sa can be used for actor:

- (73) I-labay sa bata ang basura
 IFf-throw the child TOP trash
 ‘The child will throw away the trash.’

²⁹ The marker ug is commonly analyzed as an oblique marker by linguists, regardless of whether they agree with me in other parts of their analysis. See e.g. Payne (1994), Bell (1976: 4).

³⁰ Which Payne (1994) calls ‘perfective aspect’ verbs. Wolff (1972) calls these past punctual verbs.

³¹ According to Payne (1994: 350), discourse referentiality is a term coined by Du Bois (1980). “A participant is considered to be discourse referential if it is treated as having continuing identity over a span of text.”

patient:

- (74) Kinsa-y mag-luto sa saging
 who iTOP Aff-cook the banana
 'Who will cook the bananas?'

beneficiary:

- (75) I-hatag niya ang kendi sa bata
 IFF-give 3erg TOP candy the child
 'He/she will give the candy to the child.'

place:

- (76) Mo-adto siya sa Cebu
 Aff-go 3abs the Cebu
 'He is going to go to Cebu.'

instrument:

- (77) Putl-on niya ang kahoy sa sundang
 cut-GFF 3erg TOP tree the machete
 'He will cut the tree with the machete.'

and possession:

- (78) Balay sa tawo kini
 house the person this
 'This is the house of the person.'

These examples indicate that the nominal marker sa is used in a wide range of functions and cannot be said to have a specific role as an oblique marker or as a marker of a core argument. Some linguists have resolved this problem by saying that there are homophones of sa. For example, according to Bell (1976: 4), one sa is genitive and another sa is oblique. I prefer to treat one form as one morpheme, unless there is clear evidence of them being homophones. Even if one could prove that sa in fact has two or more homophones, it would not affect the argument here. For one could not prove that it is the set II sa that occurs in the Actor orientation clauses instead of the oblique sa (set III). Thus it is simpler to analyze sa as a definite marker, or more specifically as a specific marker. If one says: Mopalit ako sa saging 'I will buy the bananas', it is a specific kind, species, of bananas that is going to be bought (MILC, personal communication).³² But even definite and specific patients can be grammatically oblique. And when the bulk of a certain structure is antipassive and intransitive,

³² McFarland (1978:139) says about Tagalog that in simple (i.e. non-relativized) agent orientation clauses the noun phrase marked by a ng particle and having the semantic role of object/patient can never be definite. It seems to me therefore that it might be simpler to show that Tagalog Actor orientation clauses are antipassives, than to show that Cebuano Actor orientation clauses are.

When the opposite is true in many Philippine languages, that oriented items must be definite, it is natural to think that definiteness is a factor of transitivity in those languages. (See e.g. Schachter & Otnes (1972: 60), Naylor (1973: 107), Schachter (1976: 496). Taken from Barlaan (1986: 138).

Barlaan (1986: 88-90) says that in Isneg, when a Goal orientation clause is changed into an Actor orientation clause, the patient NP must become indefinite and sometimes the meaning is changed into partitive, i.e. only part of the patient NP is affected.

it can be argued that the morphology of the structure (i.e. Actor orientation affixes) has the function of marking that structure as grammatically intransitive. Then another marker sa, which is used in various contexts, some of which are clearly oblique (i.e. go to a place), cannot undo the intransitive marking of mi-, mo- etc. So, the argument concerning the marker sa is that at least it cannot be proven to be a core argument marker in an Actor orientation clause. But I also acknowledge that it cannot be proven to be an oblique marker. However, even linguists (like Bell 1976: 42) who do not hold to the ergative-absolutive analysis, analyze the sa-marked P argument noun phrases of Actor orientation clauses as oblique.

(3) Similar to this sa marker are the markers kang and ni. In Payne's (1994) corpus, six Actor orientation Action Begun (his perfective) aspect clauses occur where the P argument noun phrase had the marker kang. Out of those six noun phrases, two had low topicality, two had medium high topicality and two had high topicality. Medium high and high topicality show that the phrases are not pragmatically antipassive. However, when analyzed in terms of grammatical transitivity, it can be explained that kang is an oblique marker. In addition to occurring in P argument noun phrases of Actor orientation clauses with lexically transitive verbs, kang can occur also in oblique beneficiary noun phrases e.g.: I-hatag n-iyá ang libro kang Juan 'He will give the book to Juan'. Because kang may occur in clearly oblique noun phrases and because it never can occur in core noun phrases (i.e. it cannot occur instead of an ergative pronoun), it is reasonable to equate it grammatically with the marker ug, even though pragmatically kang is used in more topical noun phrases than is ug.

(4) Additional evidence for the intransitivity argument of all Actor orientation clauses in Cebuano is that the P argument in Actor orientation clauses cannot be coded by the personal pronouns in the ergative (nor in the absolutive, for that matter). Only the dative (set III) personal pronouns are possible. One example of this is in (79):

(79) Nag-hatod ang imong katabang nimo dinhi.
 AFP-bring TOP your maid 2dat here
 'Your maid brought you here.'

At first (79) seems to be a clause where the P argument noun phrase has an ergative pronoun and it is a grammatically transitive clause. But in fact, the pronoun is dative without the optional ka syllable (MILC, personal communication). This clause thus strengthens the ergative hypothesis. Since the nimo ergative pronoun and nimo dative pronoun are identical in form, the clause is ambiguous to the learner of Cebuano. Why would a language allow such an ambiguity? The reason is that there is no possibility for ambiguity, since the AF verbal prefix tells the hearer/reader that the valence of the verb is one. Only one core argument, the subject, is therefore possible.

Additional examples where the P argument noun phrase is coded by a dative or ni/kang marker are shown below in examples (80) and (81).

- (80) Mo-uban ikaw ni/kang Jose / (ka)niya sa Mati
 AFf-accompany 2abs dat/dat Jose 3dat to Mati
 'You will accompany Jose / him to Mati.'
- (81) Mo-hapit ikaw ni/kang Jose / (ka)nako
 AFf-drop.in 2abs dat/dat Jose 1dat
 'You will drop in at Jose's / my place.'

The symbol / is shorthand for choice. The possibilities are ni Jose, kang Jose, and kaniya. All are in the dative case. At first, it appears that (80) is passive and the translation should be 'You will be accompanied by Jose'. However, on closer inspection this is not the appropriate translation. Instead, You is the actor and Jose is the P argument (MILC, personal communication). The mo- prefix is used also with lexically intransitive verbs such as: Mo-adto siya sa dagat 'He will go to the sea/beach', which does not fit with the passive, but fits well with the antipassive interpretation.

Compare the constructions (80) and (81) with a Goal orientation clause (82):

- (82) Pusil-on ikaw ni Pedro
 shoot-GFf 2abs erg Pedro
 'Pedro will shoot you.'

As we can see, at first glance, clause (82) seems identical with clauses (80) and (81): Predicate + ikaw + ni Jose/Pedro. But in fact, the ni in (82) is ergative (set II) and thus a core argument. The only difference in morphology is the orientation marker, in (82) it is the undergoer orientation -on and in (80) and (81) it is the Actor orientation marker mo-. (82) is inverse voice.

Since we have shown that the lexically transitive Actor focus clauses are intransitive, we can conclude that the ergative analysis is well founded and therefore the pronoun sets can be named ergative, absolutive and dative.

4.5 Arguments against ergative analysis

The conclusion of the above analysis of Cebuano person marking and nominal marker system was that Cebuano is morphologically **ergative-absolutive**. It is important to make a distinction between morphologically and syntactically ergative languages. In morphologically ergative languages, the person marking of the S argument and the P argument pattern similarly in

contrast to the **A** argument. In syntactically ergative languages, the **S** of intransitive clauses and the **P** of transitive clauses are treated similarly by syntactic processes in contrast to the **A** of transitive clauses. Cebuano is not syntactically ergative, but it is morphologically ergative, as was evident above.

Payne (1982, 1994), Gerdtz (1980, 1988) and De Guzman (1988) have argued for an ergative analysis for several Philippine languages. Yet this type of analysis is not universally accepted. Several objections to the morphologically ergative analysis have been raised in the literature regarding Philippine languages. I will next discuss objections and alternative analyses raised by Foley and Van Valin (1984), Schachter (1976) and Shibatani (1988). The arguments are numbered from (1) to (7):

(1) Foley and Van Valin (1984: 135) and Schachter (1976: 495) argue that an ergative analysis is not needed to explain the morphology of the case marking system. This is an epistemological question. Thus, linguistics, as part of the humanities, differs from natural sciences in that the status of explanations is different. In physics, for example, the acceleration of a free-falling object is 9.21 m/s^2 , which can be proven in laboratory tests. Linguistic data cannot be tested in the laboratory and hence the explanations have a different status. A linguistic explanation is accepted if it satisfactorily explains the linguistic data. Thus, after one has found one satisfactory explanation, then one can say that other explanations are not needed. But theoretically, there might be several explanations that are considered acceptable. The situation is complicated because there are several competing linguistic theories and schools. Even within one linguistic theory, there could be several acceptable explanations. Therefore, the existence of one acceptable theory cannot be used as evidence against another explanation. Both can be acceptable and have their own strengths and weaknesses. The ergative analysis explains better the role of the ergative case or the non-oriented actor NP (called non-topic actor in some literature). It is natural for the ergative case NP to be the actor of the clause. To call it just non-topic gives it only a name, but does not explain why it is morphologically different from the absolutive NP of the undergoer orientation clauses, especially since the so-called topic (i.e. the absolutive case NP) is not the theme/topic of the clause, as we will see in Chapter Six below. In addition, an ergative analysis shows us why the Philippine-type languages are similar in many ways to other ergative languages of the world in general, and more specifically other ergative Austronesian languages.

(2) Foley and Van Valin (1984: 138) consider how the other orientations (locative and instrumental) fit into an ergative analysis. They argue that they are derived forms, yet they have patterns similar to the undergoer orientation. Thus, Foley and Van Valin conclude that all non-actor constructions are derived from Actor orientation constructions. This objection seems to

be without merit. Derivation implies that the derived structure is less basic than the pre-derivational structure. It can be rightly argued that the passive in English is less basic than the active. But in Cebuano, the Goal orientation is the basic structure, which is very common and has wide distribution in discourse. It seems to me that the passive hypothesis of the undergoer orientations is the basis for Foley's and Van Valin's thoughts. We have shown the passive hypothesis to be incorrect. Furthermore, if one accepts the analysis presented in this study (that actor focus constructions with lexically transitive verbs are antipassive voice), then there are more grounds to say that it is the Actor orientation structures that are the derived structures and not vice versa.

(3) Foley and Van Valin (1984: 138) maintain that in Tagalog, the same verbal affix is used for intransitive and Actor orientation clauses. (This is also the case in Cebuano.)

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| (a) | miadto si Juan | intransitive |
| (b) | miluto si Juan ug isda | Actor orientation |

From these examples, it is apparent that the predicate in (a) is intransitive and (b) Actor orientation clauses have the same verbal prefix mi-. Therefore, Foley and Van Valin claim that the distribution of that affix is S and A, i.e. nominative-accusative, rather than ergative-absolutive. However, morphological ergativity is based not on the distribution of verbal affixes, but on whether it is the S and A NPs or the S and P NPs that are marked or coreferenced similarly. Verbal affixes have nothing to do with ergativity unless they are cross-referencing to the S, A and P NPs, such as person marking on the verbs. In addition, it is only natural that antipassive voice uses intransitive morphology, because antipassives are derived intransitives. Finally, if Actor orientation clauses are antipassive, the only core argument of Actor orientation clauses is S, not A, as Foley and Van Valin seem to think.

(4) Shibatani (1988: 96-115) argues that the role of ang is not comparable to the basic case marking in other languages. Basic case marking is motivated by semantic principles,³³ non-basic case marking by discourse or pragmatic considerations. Shibatani considers ang to be a non-basic case marking, which has been highly grammaticalized and thus has masked the basic case system. What this means in simple terms is that ang is a topic marker, not a case marker. Shibatani (1988: 97) finds the basic case marking in nominalized verb phrases. He states: "Since in Cebuano ... the definite or referential common nouns in the goal function are also marked by sa, the nature of basic case marking is not quite clear when both actor and goal

³³ The semantic principles being semantic motivation, economy, distinctiveness and discriminatory function (Shibatani 1988: 97, 98).

are referential, for both will be marked sa under nominalization". Shibatani then argues that one has to "choose wisely" the examples so that they would fit his theory and therefore he also had to switch to Tagalog and Bikol, because Cebuano does not follow the pattern he would like it to follow. Shibatani uses the Tagalog example *pag-patay ni Maria kay Juan* 'Maria's killing of Juan', where ni marks actor and kay marks goal. After this he shows that actor and goal are distinguished only in the pronouns for Cebuano (1988: 101). He analyzes pronouns as ako for actor 'I', nako for goal 'I', and kanako for directional 'I'. In Chapter Four it was shown that ako is absolutive, nako is ergative, and kanako is dative. For example, ako is S in intransitive clauses, P in transitive clauses and nako is A. How Shibatani came up with this analysis is unclear to me, for he does not discuss it in the text. These forms just appear in his table 5. A further objection to his analysis is that NP's like "Maria's dying" and "Maria's killing of John" are controlled in any language by the possessor (Maria). They do not reveal anything about the clausal syntax. Shibatani also claims that sa can be indefinite, which is problematic. In short, his argumentation about basic case marking is not convincing.

(5) Shibatani's (1988: 102-105) second argument against the ergative hypothesis is that the verbal marking of Cebuano is active. In active languages, the intransitive subject is marked in two ways, one patterning after the transitive subject and one patterning after the transitive object. Since Actor orientation uses mi- and Goal orientation uses gi-, then, according to Shibatani, all intransitives should use mi- if the language is nominative-accusative, and gi- if the language is ergative-absolutive. The intransitive absolutive (topic) NP is marked by ang as is the transitive absolutive (topic) NP. The verbal prefix mi- does not pattern after a subject or object. The prefix mi- is simply an intransitive marker with a certain aspect (let us call it punctual perfective). And ergativity deals not with the distribution of verbal affixes, but with the marking of S, A, and P.³⁴ In Shibatani's system, the pattern is as follows:³⁵

Action Begun (Perfective) aspect

	(Actor orientation)	(Goal orientation)
	active	stative
Intransitive:	mi-	gi- na-
Transitive:	mi-	gi- naka-

³⁴ Shibatani does not use the terms subject and object of Cebuano, since according to him, the subject features are divided between the ergative and the absolutive NPs. But how can one then speak about subject of a transitive clause?

³⁵ Shibatani (1988: 103, 104). This is combined from two sets of examples from Shibatani.

Wolff's verbal affix system (with added orientation terminology and my division of intransitive and transitive) is as follows:³⁶

Action Begun (Perfective) aspect

	(intransitive and Actor orientation = antipassive)	
Intransitive:	mi-	punctual
	nag-	durative
	naka-	potential
	(Goal orientation)	
Transitive:	gi-	punctual
	gina-	durative ³⁷
	na-	potential

In Shibatani's system, Actor orientation can be transitive. Since in the ergative analysis the Actor orientation forms are interpreted to be antipassive and hence intransitive, Shibatani's argument is not valid and cannot be used against the ergative analysis. There is no *mi-* / *gi-* split with the transitive verbs, because there are no grammatically transitive clauses with *mi-* verbs. Shibatani also does not discuss the durative *nag-* prefixes. I presume that this is because he wants to see a two-way split, whereas there is in fact a three-way split, based on aspect. Aspectual differences are allowed in ergative languages.

(6) Shibatani's (1988: 105-109) third argument is that Cebuano is not syntactically ergative. He maintains that control of the gap in coordinated clauses is much closer to accusative syntax (1988:106). Since I am arguing for the idea of morphological ergativity and not syntactic ergativity, Shibatani's point here does not refute my argumentation. (His position also supports the analysis that S and A are the grammatical subject.) The following examples (83) - (85) which are based on Shibatani (1988: 106, 107):

- (83) Mao nga gi-pakuha niya ang iyang kabayo ...
 so that GFp-send 3erg TOP 3PO horse
 ug gi-mando-an Ø ang iyang mga sakop sa pagsunod
 and LFP-order-LF TOP 3PO PL men to follow
 kaniya
 3dat
 'So, he sent for his horse ... and ordered his men
 to follow him.'

³⁶ Wolff (1972: xvi-xviii). According to Wolff's analysis, the class A action verbs can occur with *mi-*, *nag-*, and *naka-* prefixes. The class B stative verbs can occur with *mi-*, *nag-*, and *naka-* prefixes. The class C mutual action verbs can occur with *nag-*, and *nagka-* prefixes. Wolff's analysis is thus completely different from Shibatani's.

³⁷ According to Wolff (1972: xvi) *gina-* forms are not normally used in colloquial speech.

- (84) Mi-bunal si Juan ni Pedro ug ni-lakaw³⁸ Ø
 AFP-hit TOP Juan 3dat Pedro and AFP-go
 'Juan hit Pedro and (Ø = si Juan) left.'
- (85) Gi-bunal-an ni Juan si Pedro ug mi-lakaw Ø
 LFP-hit-LF erg Juan TOP Pedro and AFP-go
 'Juan hit Pedro and (Ø = ni Juan) left.'

In (83), the ergative is gapped Ø (coreferential deletion in coordinate clause) and the ergative also controls the gap. The meaning of (84) should be 'Juan hit Pedro and Pedro left', if Cebuano had ergative syntax. Instead, it is antipassive, and Juan is the subject in both clauses. In the section where Shibatani wants to show that Cebuano is not syntactically ergative, he does not write about syntactic processes that show S as being treated similarly to P. Later, when the issue of ergative vs. absolutive syntax is no longer in focus and he speaks of prototypical subject properties, he lists many processes where S and P are treated similarly.³⁹

(7) Shibatani's (1988: 109-115) fourth argument against the ergative hypothesis is that the absolutive NP choice does not show ergativity. According to this premise, if both the actor and the patient are referential, there is a very strong tendency to choose the patient as an absolutive NP, not as an actor. Shibatani therefore argues that there is dominance of undergoer constructions in Philippine-type languages, which is, by the way, also commonly said about ergative languages. From the ergative-absolutive point of view, this dilemma is trivial. When both actor and patient are referential, there is a strong tendency to use transitive clauses instead of the antipassive construction, and because **A** is in the ergative case, and **P** is in the absolutive case in morphologically ergative languages, then it is only natural that **P** is in the absolutive case, as is the case in Cebuano.

Since the ergative analysis is central to my thesis, we will follow Shibatani's argumentation a bit further.⁴⁰ After presenting the above-mentioned arguments, Shibatani discusses statistics. According to his calculations, 46% of transitive clauses in Cebuano use undergoer orientation.⁴¹ Moreover, according to Cooreman et. al. (1982), 76% of Tagalog transitive clauses use undergoer orientation. It would be interesting to know whether actor focus clauses with lexically transitive verbs were counted as intransitives or as transitives in Shibatani's calculations.

³⁸ According to MILC (personal communication) this is spoken language. Written form is mi-lakaw.

³⁹ Shibatani (1988: 125). S and P trigger verbal focus marking. S and P are relativizable. S and P can be questioned directly. S and P can float quantifiers. S and P function as a controller and gap in the samtang-clauses. S and P can be raised out of the nga subordinate clause.

⁴⁰ I would like to point out a mistake. Shibatani (1988: 110, 111) says that his examples 34a-c have non-referential actors. Those actors are Juan and captain Celio. Personal names must be referential.

⁴¹ He does not say how big a corpus he had for his calculations. In the article he refers to one book or booklet with 8 stories. A more grave source of error is that if Shibatani counts Actor orientation clauses with lexically transitive verbs as transitive clauses, his calculations show too low undergoer orientation percentage.

Then Shibatani argues that Cebuano does not have antipassive. Shibatani gives quite strict requirements for a construction to pass the antipassive test. Mallinson and Blake (1981: 74, 75) give three requirements for antipassive constructions. According to them, (1) in the antipassive construction, the agent appears in the same form as the S. This is true of the Cebuano antipassive construction: the agent is in absolutive case. (2) Secondly, the patient is demoted to an oblique case, so that only the dative case can appear as the P, not the absolutive or ergative case, which is also true in Cebuano. (3) The third requirement is that antipassive seems to be intransitive. This is true in Cebuano, because the antipassive has intransitive verb morphology.

Compare these requirements with Shibatani's. (1) His first argument is that the antipassive form should be more marked than the active transitive. Shibatani is right when he says that *mi-* is not more marked than *gi-* or *gi- -an*. But there are two things to note here. Firstly, that the formal complexity is just a tendency, not a rule. As Shibatani has shown, the absolutive NPs can be non-referential, even though the 'rule' says that they should be referential. This does not prevent Shibatani (1988: 111) from claiming that "what the ... rule says is generally true". Here we can also say that what the rule says is generally true. Secondly, there is more to markedness than just morphological complexity. Markedness is also a matter of productivity, frequency, and distribution (1988: 9-15). Marking lexically transitive verbs with intransitive morphology is marked.

(2) Shibatani's second argument against antipassives is his claim that in antipassives, the ex-patient NP should be in the oblique case. According to him, in Cebuano the ex-P NP is not in the oblique case because it cannot be deleted. But the ex-P need not be deleted obligatorily. If it were, how could we say that it is in oblique case? A non-existing NP does not have case marking on it.

(3) Shibatani's (1988: 113) third argument is that antipassives should be low in frequency. Then he quotes statistics of Actor orientation clauses. This does not tell us what the percentage is of antipassive clauses. Intransitives and antipassives have the same affixation, so in the calculations of all Actor orientation clauses, intransitives are included. Overall, Shibatani's arguments are not convincing. His concluding argument is that because there is no antipassive in Cebuano, then also that the active transitive cannot be ergative. Whereas this is sound reasoning, when the premises are wrong, the conclusions are also wrong. And furthermore, Shibatani fails to address the issue of the patient orientedness of the Cebuano grammar, which presents a problem for his analysis.

In this chapter I have shown that Cebuano is morphologically ergative, i.e. the personal pronouns and nominal markers form an absolutive-ergative system, in that the S and

P arguments are encoded with one case (set I) and that the A argument is coded with another case (set II). I have shown that Actor orientation with lexically transitive verbs is grammatically antipassive voice, the P argument being oblique even when P is high in topicality. In addition, I have answered objections raised against the ergative analysis by Foley and Van Valin, Schachter and Shibatani.

5 ORIENTATION

5.1 *Terminological issues*

In this chapter, I will study orientation or focus. I will promote the term 'orientation', since the commonly used term 'focus' is potentially misleading. I agree with Brainard (personal communication) that orientation is a system whereby an NP is promoted to the direct object status. Thus I will try to find the motivation behind the distribution of certain semantic orientations among the three morphological orientations. I will argue that to a great degree, the motivation is transitivity. Out of the active transitive clauses the semantically most transitive clauses get Goal orientation, and the least semantically transitive clauses get Locative orientation. The ones in between get Instrumental orientation.

Focus is what Philippine-type languages are famous for. The term focus, however, is ambiguous and potentially misleading. Many linguists say that the absolutive NP in Cebuano and other Philippine-type languages is focused, meaning that it is the topic of the clause and old information. Other linguists, for example Kiss (1986: 181-214), Vilkuna (1989: 76) and Culicover and Rochemont (1983) equate focus with new information.

Himmelmann (1987) uses the term *Ausrichtungsaffix*, 'orientation affix'. "Das Ausrichtungsaffix ist mithin nicht ... die formale Manifestation einer 'zugrundeliegenden' (Kasus)-Relation, sondern selbständiger Teil eines in sich immer schon vollständigen (und damit nicht relationalen) Sachverhaltsausdruck" (1987:95). He is of the opinion that the so-called focus in Tagalog has the "the semantics and, up to a certain degree, also the syntax of oriented nominalizations" (Himmelmann, personal communication). Even though I do not see the so-called focus as nominalization, I choose to use the term orientation for want of a better term. Another linguist who would like to drop the term focus is Kess (1972:189).

I would like to confine the use of the term focus to situations where e.g. fronting of an NP is used for contrastive focus. Thus, I prefer the term **orientation** over the term "focus" when I discuss the orientation (focus) system of Cebuano and other Philippine-type languages. Orientation is void of the associations made by linguists studying Philippine-type languages starting from the beginning of this century. Also, the term orientation, being different, is easy to ascribe with new meaning according to the results of linguistic investigation.

There are four morphological orientations in Cebuano: **Actor** (*mi-*, *mo-* etc.), **Goal** (*gi-*, *-on*, *-a*), **Locative** (*gi-* *-an*, *-an*, *-i*), and **Instrumental** (*gi-*, *i-*). The Goal, Locative and Instrumental orientations are called **undergoer** orientations as opposed to the Actor

orientation. It is to be noted that Goal and Instrumental orientations are not distinguishable from each other in the Action Begun aspect. In this aspect, the marker is gi- for both. The marker for Locative orientation is also morphologically close, being gi- -an. For this reason some linguists have lumped all these three orientations together.⁴² However, I prefer to consider the three as separate orientations but same voice for the same constituent order.

Cebuano orientation is partly related to the voice system but is distinct from it. Actor orientation is always antipassive but the three other orientations: Goal, Locative, and Instrumental, can be active, inverse, or passive. These four morphologically distinguishable orientations have been a challenge for language learners and linguists alike.

The following pages contain my analysis of the morphologically distinct orientations. In addition to morphological orientations, I have divided each morphological orientation into semantic orientations. After presenting the orientations, I will present the motivation behind them.

5.2 Morphological orientations

5.2.1 Actor orientation

Actor orientation is morphologically intransitive and antipassive voice. It is marked with the mo-, mi-, mag-, nag-, maka-, or naka- verbal prefixes. Examples (86) - (88) show Actor orientation clauses. The S argument is underlined:

- (86) Mo-palit ang tawo ug libro para kang Ana
 AFf-buy TOP person a book for dat Ana

sa Alemars
 at Alemars

'The person will buy a book for Ana at Alemars.'

- (87) Nag-basa si Juan ug libro karon
 AFf-read TOP Juan a book now
 'Juan is reading a book now.'

- (88) Maka-luto ko-g isda
 AFf-cook labs-a fish
 'I am able to cook fish.'

⁴² See Payne (1994: 323). Payne would analyze the system as only two orientations: Actor and Goal, the two remaining orientations (Locative and Instrumental) being applicatives. For the purpose of the discussion on the motivation of the four constructions, I need a term to refer to them all. To call them two orientations plus two applicatives is more cumbersome than to call them four orientations. Whatever name they are given, the function of Locative and Instrumental orientations remains to be promotion to direct object.

As we can see from these data, the Actor orientation clauses often have an oblique NP that is most often marked with the ug nominal marker. In (88) the marker ug has been coalesced to the personal pronoun. The full form would be makaluto ako ug isda.

5.2.2 Goal orientation

Goal orientation is morphologically transitive and active voice when the constituent order is V A P. Goal orientation is marked with the verbal suffix -on, the prefix gi-, or the suffix -a. It can be divided into two semantic orientations: goal semantic orientation and the marked person affected semantic orientation. It is called marked because only physical feeling verbs occur in this orientation and it is in the inverse voice. The P argument in active Goal orientation is Patient and in the person affected semantic orientation the P argument is Experiencer. Examples (89) - (92) show Goal orientation clauses. The P argument is underlined:

- (89) Palit-on sa tawo ang libro para kang Ana
 buy-GF the person TOP book for dat Ana
 sa Alemars
 at Alemars
 'The man will buy the book for Ana at the Alemars.'
- (90) Wala palit-a sa tawo ang libro
 not buy-GFs the person TOP book
 'The person did not buy the book.'

As we can see from these examples, the P argument of goal semantic orientation is a good prototypical object, since it is definite.

- (91) Gi-gutom ako
 GFp-hunger Iabs
 'I am hungry.'
- (92) Gi-uhaw ako sa gugma
 GFp-thirst Iabs the love
 'I thirst for love.'

I have named physical feeling verb clauses as person affected semantic orientation. Physical feeling verbs are a small subset of verbs that defy analysis.⁴³ For example, in Finnish *minua janottaa* 'I am thirsty' or *minun on jano* 'mine is thirst', are difficult to

⁴³ Mohanan (1982: 540-542) reports that in Malayalam, which is spoken in India, there is a subclass of

analyze. It is semantically nontrivial to determine whether the person experiencing these feelings should be analyzed as the most agent-like argument or the most patient-like argument, since when one is hungry, thirsty, cold, warm, happy or sad, the person feeling that way is by default not active. Palmer (1994: 27) says, "It is not surprising that there is considerable variation, both within languages and across languages, in the [grammatical] roles assigned to the experiencer or the thing experienced".

In Cebuano, the first core NP has set I markers and the second NP has sa, which is either set II or set III. If one were to analyze the Experiencer NP as the most patient-like argument, then one could analyze these clauses as inverse or passive since, as table 11 shows, in those voices the most patient-like argument occurs immediately after the predicate and has the set one markers. I prefer the inverse analysis over the passive analysis. I will argue in Chapter Seven that the subject in inverse constructions is the NP that immediately follows the verb.

5.2.3 Locative orientation

Locative orientation is morphologically transitive and active voice when the constituent order is V A P. It is marked with the verbal suffix -an 'GFf', -an plus prefix gi- 'GFp', or suffix -i 'GFs'. The Locative morphological orientation can be divided into five semantically distinct orientations. These are: location semantic orientation, destination semantic orientation, object partially affected semantic orientation, reason semantic orientation, and the marked-person affected semantic orientation. It is called 'marked', because the number of verbs occurring in it is limited and it is in the inverse voice. It is to be noted that not all Locative orientation clauses have to do with locations. The P argument in active Locative orientation can have the Location, Beneficiary, Patient Reason or Experiencer role. Examples (93) - (98) contain Locative orientation clauses, with the P argument underlined:

- (93) Katulug-an sa bisita ang imong kwarto
 sleep-LFf the visitor TOP 2PO room
 'The visitor will sleep in your room.'

Example (93) has a location semantic orientation clause. Here the P argument has the Location role.

- (94) Palit-an sa tawo si Ana ug libro sa Alemars
 buy-LFf the man TOP Ana a book at Alemars
 'The man will buy a book for Ana at Alemars'.'

Example (94) contains a destination semantic orientation clause. There the P argument has the Beneficiary role. Since si Ana could be thought of as a kind of location, it could be analyzed as having a Location semantic role. The book in question ends up in the hands of Ana. But this would make it different from the similar Beneficiary role of the Instrumental orientation (IF). Thus it is better to analyze it as destination semantic orientation with a Beneficiary semantic role.

(95) Kan-an sa tawo ang pan
 eat-LFf erg person TOP bread
 'The person will eat of the bread.'

(96) Gi-basa-han ni Juan ang libro
 LFp-read-LF erg Juan TOP book
 'Juan has read (part of) the book.'

Examples (95) and (96) each contain an object partially affected semantic orientation clause. Here the P argument has the Patient role. The man will eat only part of the bread and Juan has read only part of the book. It is important to note that the orientation affix -an is the only clue the listener or reader has to know that only part of the bread is going to be eaten, or part of the book has been read. Object partially affected semantic orientation is thus less transitive than Goal orientation. The destination orientation is also less transitive than Goal orientation. To give a book to Ana, or to buy it from Ana, does not make Ana affected. However, based on lexical transitivity (which is different from scalar semantic transitivity), the Goal orientation and the Locative orientation are not different.

(97) Gi-kalipay-an niya ang imong regalo
 LFp-happy-LF 3erg TOP 2PO gift
 'She is happy because of your gift.'

In (97), we have a reason semantic orientation clause. Here the P argument has the Reason role, for it is the reason for the action.

(98) Lisd-an siya sa atong sinultihan
 difficult-LFf 3abs the 11PO language
 'He/she will find our language difficult.'

In (98) we have a person affected semantic orientation. This is exactly the same as (91) and (92) above. The ex-A argument is always a person and it has an Experiencer role. It is in inverse voice.

The object partially affected semantic orientation of LF is in opposition to the goal semantic orientation of GF, where the object is totally affected. See the examples (99) - (102) where the P argument is underlined:

- (99) Putl-on ni Fred ang kahoy
cut-GFf erg Fred TOP tree
'Fred will cut the tree.'
- (100) Putl-an ni Fred ang kahoy
cut-LFf erg Fred TOP tree
'Fred will trim/cut at the tree.'
- (101) Kan-on nako ang pan
eat-GFf 1erg TOP bread
'I will eat the bread.'
- (102) Kan-an nako ang pan
eat-LFf 1erg TOP bread
'I will eat some of the bread.'

From these data one can see that the only morphological difference between the GF clauses (99) and (101) and the LF clauses (100) and (102) is the orientation morphology, -on for GF and -an for LF. The difference in scalar semantic transitivity is evident in the translations: 'cut' GF in (99) versus 'trim' or 'cut at' LF in (100), and 'eat' GF in (101) versus 'eat some of' in (102).

A special subgroup of the location semantic orientation are cleaning verb clauses. Those verbs take only the -an suffix, never the -on suffix. The only exception to this is the verb silhigan 'sweep', which can also take the -on suffix, but it changes meaning with the change of the suffix. See the examples (103) - (107) where the P argument is underlined:

- (103) Silhig-an ni Rosa ang kwarto
sweep-LFf erg Rosa TOP room
'Rosa will sweep the room.'
- (104) Silhig-on ni Rosa ang papel
sweep-GFf erg Rosa TOP paper
'Rosa will sweep the paper (from the floor)'
- (105) Lampaso-han niya ang kwarto
scrub-LFf 3erg TOP room
'He will scrub the floor.'
- (106) Hinlo-an niya ang banyo
wash-LFf 3erg TOP bathroom
'He will clean the bathroom.'
- (107) Adorno-han nimo ang altar
decorate-LFf 2erg TOP altar
'You will decorate the altar.'

In examples (103) and (104), the difference of location semantic orientation and goal semantic orientation is clear. In example (103), the room is only slightly affected, because nothing radical happens to it. Whether the room is clean or not does not affect the room. But the piece of paper, i.e. the trash, is totally affected (104), when Rosa's broom moves it into the dustpan and then into the dustbin. The examples (105) - (107) show some other cleaning verbs.

5.2.4 Instrumental orientation

The Instrumental orientation is morphologically transitive and active voice when the constituent order is V A P. It is marked with the verbal prefixes *i-* or *gi-*. The Instrumental morphological orientation can be divided into four semantically distinct orientations: the instrument semantic orientation, the separation semantic orientation, the reason semantic orientation and the marked destination semantic orientation. The last-mentioned orientation is called marked because the beneficiary semantic orientation occurs only in requests. Thus it is to be noted that not all Instrumental orientation clauses have to do with instruments. The P argument can have an Instrument, Patient, Reason, or Beneficiary role. See the examples (108) - (116) where the P argument is underlined:

- (108) I-putol niya ang gabas sa kahoy
 IFf-cut 3erg TOP saw the tree
 'He/she will cut the tree using the saw.'
- (109) I-palit sa tawo ang kwarta ug libro para kang
 IFf-buy the person TOP money a book for dat
 Ana
 Ana
 'The person will buy a book with money for Ana.'
- (110) I-hiwa niya ang kutsilyo
 IFf-slice 3erg TOP knife
 'He/she will slice something with a knife.'
- (111) I-talinis niya ang atsa sa kahoy
 IFf-sharpen 3erg TOP ax the wood
 'He/she will sharpen the wood with the ax.'

In (108) - (111), we have instrument semantic orientation clauses. There the P argument is the instrument that is used for the action.

- (112) I-hatag niya ang libro sa bata
 IFf-give 3erg TOP book the child
 'He/she will give the book to the child.'

- (113) I-labay niya ang basura
 IFf-throw 3erg TOP trash
 'He/she will throw away the trash.'

In (112) and (113), we have separation semantic orientation clauses. The separation verbs (e.g. labay 'throw away', hatag 'give away') form a subgroup of verbs, which cannot take the Goal orientation affix -on. The idea with the separation verbs is that the object is moving away from the subject, hence the term separation.

- (114) Ayaw i-pangagot ang imong kasuko
 don't IFs-gnash TOP 2PO anger
 'Don't gnash your teeth because of your anger.'
- (115) Gi-kahadlok ni Jose ang kamatayon sa iyang anak
 IFp-fear erg Jose TOP death the 3PO child
 'Jose feared the death of his child.'

These data show reason semantic orientation clauses. There the P argument has the Reason role; it is the reason for the action.

- (116) I-kuha ra ko-g tubig
 IFs-get PLS labs-a water
 'Please get me some water.'

Example (116) shows a destination semantic orientation clause. There the P argument is the beneficiary of the action and thus has the Beneficiary role.

If the affixation of Instrumental orientation verbs that occur in clauses where the P argument has instrument semantic orientation, is changed into Goal orientation affixation, the meanings of the verbs change. See examples (117) and (118), which show the same verb in Instrumental orientation and Goal orientation. The P argument is underlined:

- (117) I-putol niya ang gabas sa kahoy
 IFf-cut 3erg TOP saw the tree
 'He/she will cut the tree using the saw.'
- (118) Putl-on ni Pedro ang kahoy
 cut-GFf erg Pedro TOP tree
 'Pedro will cut the tree.'

As we can see in (117), which is an Instrumental orientation clause, the P argument is the instrument used for the action, the saw which is being used for the cutting. In (118), which is a Goal orientation clause, the P argument is the object of the action, the tree which is being cut.

5.3 *The motivation for the orientation system*

How should we explain the orientation system, which is the most conspicuous feature of the Philippine-type languages? What is the relationship between the affixation on the verb and the cases of the NPs? How does one know which orientation to use?

At one extreme there is the view held by McKaughan (1958:4, according to Barlaan 1986:14, 15) that orientation is a mere co-occurrence of certain particles with the noun phrase and certain (voice) markers in the verb. I disagree with this view. As Barlaan (1986: 15) says, the clauses "the man cut some wood" and "the wood cut a person" both satisfy McKaughan's definition of [orientation], but one of them is semantically anomalous.

The other extreme holds, as reported by French (1987: 1-5), that "the focus affix determines the semantic role of the focused item (whether the focused item is the agent, object, instrument or location of the action described by the verb)". She goes on to say that McKaughan (1958), Wolfenden (1961), Miller (1964), Kerr (1965) and Llamzon (1966) hold this view, with which I disagree as well. Locative orientation, for example, can have five semantic orientations: location, destination, and object partially affected, reason and person affected orientations. Even if we were to lump the first two semantic orientations together into one location orientation, we would still have three clearly distinct orientations to deal with. See examples (119) and (120), where the P argument is underlined:

(119) Palit-an ni Fred si Ana ug libro
buy-LFf erg Fred TOP Ana a book
'Fred will buy Ana a book.'

(120) Putl-an ni Fred ang kahoy.
cut-LFf erg Fred TOP tree
'Fred will trim/cut at the tree.'

There is no way the -an of palit-an in (119) and putl-an in (120) can determine the semantic role of si Ana and ang kahoy. It cannot choose between the possibilities.

With the Instrumental orientation we have four possibilities: instrument, separation, destination and reason semantic orientations. See examples (121) and (122), where separation and instrument are compared. The P argument is underlined:

(121) I-hatag niya ang gabas
IFf-give 3erg TOP saw
'He/she will give the saw.'

(122) I-putol niya ang gabas
IFf-cut 3erg TOP saw
'He/she will cut using the saw.'

The prefix *i-* in (121) and (122) cannot determine the role of the absolutive case NP, because it could be either an instrument or a conveyed item. Kess (1976: 179 and 1979: 218, 232) also criticizes the view that orientation affixes in Tagalog would indicate case relationships = semantic roles. He says that the same affix can signal different case relationships, which is what I have illustrated above with the Cebuano examples. Secondly, he states that nominal markers used with non-absolutive items are ambiguous in signaling underlying semantic roles. That I have discussed in Chapter Four which deals with case.

But what about going the other way round? What if the semantic role of the P argument NP determines the affixation of the verb? We have seen that the absolutive NP of the active Goal orientation (GF) has Patient semantic role. A typical P argument of IF has an Instrument role and a typical P argument of LF has a Location role. Therefore one could claim that the difference between the orientations is purely derivational, that of raising Patient, Instrument and Location role NPs into the direct object position. But when all the possible semantic roles of LF and IF are looked at, the picture is as follows: The absolutive NP of active Locative orientation (LF) can have a Location, Beneficiary, Patient, Reason or Experiencer role. The person affected semantic orientation, being in inverse voice, is morphologically different from the active Locative orientation, so that it can be separated from the other semantic orientations of LF. Also, the Reason role is easily separated from the other semantic roles mentioned above, since it can be explained to be an exception. But we are still left with three semantic roles, one of them being Patient. And when we consider the Instrumental orientation, we hit similar difficulties. The Instrument semantic role is easy to explain, since it is special to Instrumental orientation (IF). But what about the Patient role of separation semantic orientation, the Beneficiary role of destination semantic orientation or even the Reason role of reason semantic orientation? Why is 'I will hit the dog' a GF clause, but 'I will sell the dog' an IF clause? In both clauses the dog is in absolutive case and it has a Patient role. For the Beneficiary role we need some illustrative examples (123) - (127):

IF

(123) I-kuha ra ang pitsil ug tubig para kanako
 IFs-get PLS TOP pitcher a water for 1dat
 'Please get me a pitcher of water.'

(124) I-kuha ra ko-g tubig
 IFs-get PLS labs-a water
 'Please get me some water.'

(125) I-kaon ra ako sa kik
 IFs-eat PLS labs the cake
 'Please eat the cake for me.'

LF

(126) Hatag-an nimo ako ug tubig
 give-LFf 2erg labs a water
 'You will give me some water.'

(127) Hatag-i ra ko-g tubig
 give-LFs PLS labs-a water
 'Please give me water.'

The Beneficiary role can be expressed with both IF and LF orientations (compare especially examples (124) and (127)). Why is it not expressed by Instrumental (IF) or by Locative orientation (LF) only? The third problem is how to analyze the Reason role. Why are reasons expressed both with Locative (LF) and Instrumental orientation (IF)? The difference between these is that at least in written language the Locative orientation is used for reasons that are persons or things, while the Instrumental orientation is used for reasons that are events. See examples (128) - (130), which illustrate this. The P argument is underlined:

(128) Gi-kalipay-an nako ang imong regalo
 LFp-happy-LF 1erg TOP 2PO gift
 'I am happy because of your gift.'

(129) Gi-kalipay nako ang imong presensya
 IFp-happy-LF 1erg TOP 2PO presence
 'I am happy because of your presence.'

(130) Gi-kalipay niya ang imong kasal
 IFp-happy 3erg TOP 2PO wedding
 'He is happy because of your wedding.'

In (128) the reason is a gift and it has LF orientation. In (129) the reason is the event of presence and in (130) it is the event of a wedding. Both have IF orientation.

The difficulties mentioned above are so significant that one cannot simply assume that the absolutive NP dictates the affixation of the verb. It explains some data, but cannot explain it all.

It is my understanding that the choice between the orientations is partly made as based on the semantic role of the absolutive NP, but also to a great degree it depends on the degree of the scalar semantic transitivity of the clauses. The Patient role can be used to express a situation where a person is hitting another person with a wooden sandal. There the agent is in control and the patient is totally affected (\Rightarrow GF). Or the Patient role can express a situation where a car is sold, where the patient is medium affected and where the actor loses control over the car (\Rightarrow IF). Or the Patient role can express a situation where a cake is partially eaten, and therefore the patient is only partially affected (\Rightarrow LF). The Instrument role belongs to IF

orientation, because instrument clauses are **medium transitive**. Again, the Location role belongs to LF orientation, because locations are not affected.

Here is a summary of the four orientations in terms of scalar semantic transitivity.

(1) The **Goal orientation** is the most transitive of the orientations. With this orientation the P argument is totally affected. If a tree is cut down, it is completely affected, as it has disappeared from its place. We can therefore say that Goal orientation clauses are, relatively speaking, **high transitivity** clauses. Therefore it is natural that the P argument has Patient role in Goal orientation.

(2) Second in order as far as scalar transitivity goes, is the **Instrumental orientation**.⁴⁴ When a saw is used to cut a tree, the grammatical object saw is less affected than the grammatical object tree in the Goal orientation clause. The saw is being moved, so kinesis is involved and it will become dull after some time, so the P argument is affected to some degree. The same applies to the separation verbs. (There is some kinesis when the P argument is given, thrown away, dropped, or handed over to somebody.) The P argument can also be said to be slightly affected, when it is given away and has a new owner, or when it is dropped and perhaps slightly changed in shape. All in all, one can say that Instrumental orientation clauses are relatively speaking **medium transitivity** clauses. Thus far in our examples we have seen that the P argument can have an Instrument, Patient, Beneficiary or Reason role.

(3) Third in order is the **Locative orientation**. In the destination orientation the P argument is not affected. The shop or the person are not changed, because the P argument has been taken away. With the cleaning verbs, the P argument is only slightly affected, it becomes clean. There is no kinesis, since the floor does not move while being swept. With the 'object partially affected orientation', the object is slightly affected, as the term says. Whether there is kinesis depends on the semantics of the verb. When a book is being read, it does not move, but when a bread is being tasted, it moves with the hand. However, kinesis is not essential to eating. If one takes one piece of a bread, the rest of the bread, the remaining P argument, does not move. That could be compared to the sawing of a tree, where it is essential that the saw moves. Therefore, as a general statement one can say that the Locative orientation clauses are relatively speaking **low transitivity** clauses. Thus far we have seen that the P argument can have a Location, Beneficiary, Patient, or Reason role.

⁴⁴ Since in the 'action begun' aspect, the Goal and Instrumental orientations are not differentiated, one could claim that those should be put under one heading. But if we remember that the separation verbs form a subgroup of verbs that cannot take the 'action not begun' Goal orientation suffix *-an*, then it is clear that the membership in the separation verb subgroup can be maintained also in the 'action begun' aspect, it being part of the semantics of the verbs in question.

(4) The fourth possibility is the antipassive **Actor orientation**, where the oblique ex-P argument is Patient. With the Actor orientation, the argument is not individuated, as when one asks “What are you doing?” “Eating (lunch)” is a typical answer in antipassive voice. There the P argument is not individuated, it is non-referential and non-topical. The Actor orientation clauses are **intransitive**.

5.4 Evidence from causatives and requests

Now we will proceed to look at some evidence that I use to prove my point above about the different degree of transitivity, explaining why the various semantic roles and semantic orientations are distributed as they are into the three morphological orientations that are transitive.

Causative constructions serve as good starting point for studying scalar semantic transitivity of the various morphological orientations. See the following two pairs of examples in which the P argument (and the ex-P argument) are underlined (131) - (134):

- (131) Gi-pa-palit niya ang bata ug pan
 GFp-CAUS-buy 3erg TOP child a bread
 ‘He had the child buy bread.’
- (132) Mi-palit ang bata ug pan
 AFP-buy TOP child a bread
 ‘The child bought some bread.’

Example (132) is the non-causative clause or the source clause for the causative transformation. Example (131) is the causative clause. Accordingly, when the clause (132) ‘The child bought some bread’ is causativized, the CAUS marker pa- is added and the orientation is changed from Actor to Goal orientation. The reason for this orientation change is that the clause (132) is grammatically intransitive because its ex-P argument is indefinite, unspecified and non-topical. The P argument of the clause (131), on the other hand, is specific, individuated, referential (the child), and agent-like (he bought the bread). The child was given a command, thus he is totally affected. The action is realis and punctual. The rise from the intransitive Actor orientation to transitive Goal orientation is a rise from bottom to top in transitivity.

- (133) Pa-palit-an nako ikaw ug pan
 CAUS-buy-LFf 1erg 2abs a bread
 ‘I will have bread bought for you.’

- (134) Palit-an nako ikaw ug pan
 buy-LFf 1erg 2abs a bread
 'I will buy you some bread.'

From the pair (133) and (134) we see that both are Locative orientation (LF) and identical, hence there is no increase in transitivity. When we compare (131) and (133), we see that in both clauses there are two core participants, A is the same in potency and P is similarly individuated. The difference is in the affectedness of the P. In (131) P is totally affected, as the child is forced to do something. In (133) P is not greatly affected, as the child is a passive receiver of the bread.

Requests give us some further evidence. See the following examples (135) – (139), where the first example represents LF, the next two IF and the last two GF. Examples (136) – (138) are requests. The P arguments are underlined.

- (135) Gi-kuha-an niya ako ug tubig
 LFp-get-LF 3erg 1abs a water
 'He/she got me some water.'
- (136) I-kuha ra ko-g tubig
 IFs-get PLS 1abs-a water
 'Please get me some water.'
- (137) I-kuha ra ang tubig para kanako
 IFs-get PLS TOP water for 1dat
 'Please get the water for me.'
- (138) Kuha-a ang tubig para kanako
 get-GFs TOP water for me
 'Please get the water for me.'
- (139) Gi-kuha niya ang tubig
 GFp-get 3erg TOP water
 'He/she got the water.'

In the examples (136) - (139) the agent 'you' is not marked, as is common with requests. The examples (135) and (139) show statement clauses in LF and GF respectively. The last phrases ug tubig in (135) and para kanako in (137) and (138) are not core arguments. Kuha is normally a Goal orientation verb (as shown in (139)). If we begin our comparison with LF and IF, we see that (135) and (136) are almost identical. The only difference is that the former is a statement and the latter is a request. Thus P is affected to the same low degree and it is highly individuated in both clauses. The difference comes out in the volition. The request clause (136) is higher in volition and thus higher in transitivity. When we compare (136) and (137), which share the same orientation, we see that the difference is in the P argument. In (136) the argument is not highly affected, since the speaker only receives the water. In (137) the water is affected, since it will be controlled by the person making the request. When we compare IF

and GF, we see that the clauses are similar. The main difference between (137) and (138) is that in (137) the water is not seen, it is located somewhere outside the context. In contrast, in (138) the water is visible to the speaker. I analyze sentences (137) – (139) to have the same high transitivity. Thus we can see that the level of scalar semantic transitivity does not always differ between the different orientations, but what is important to my argumentation is that IF is not higher in transitivity than GF.

Now we will look at another example, in where person A asks person B to eat his/her cake. In the examples (140) - (144) below the first three are GF and the last two are IF. The P argument is underlined.

- (140) Kan-a ra ang/ni-ng keyk
 eat-GFs PLS TOP/this2-1 cake
 'Please eat the/this cake.'
- (141) Kan-a ra ang keyk para kanako
 eat-GFf PLS TOP cake for 1dat
 'Please eat the cake for me.'
- (142) Kaon-a ang keyk para kanako
 eat-GFs TOP cake for 1dat
 'Please eat the cake for me.'
- (143) I-kaon ra ako sa keyk
 IFs-eat PLS 1abs the cake
 'Please eat the cake for me.'
- (144) I-kaon ra ang keyk para kanako
 IFs-eat PLS TOP cake for 1dat
 'Please eat the cake for me.'

The example (140) gives us the reference point of what an ordinary request looks like (without the *for me* part). Example (143) has the person making the request as the P argument, and it is lower in transitivity, since the person is less affected than the cake, and thus it is in the Instrumental orientation. The example (143) can be used in a situation where the speaker has not been invited to a party, and he jokingly tells the others to eat his portion.⁴⁵ The other examples have the cake as the P argument and are thus higher in transitivity. The situation in the IF example (144) could be such that a person is invited to a party but cannot go. He then tells his friends to go there and eat the cake on his behalf, the slice that should have been his portion. In the GF examples (141) and (142) the situation could be such that the people are already in the party and the cake is there in front of them. The person making the request does not want to eat it, and thus asks his friends to eat it instead. Thus the situation in the GF

examples is such that the A argument is being requested to eat the cake there whereupon P argument (the cake) is highly individuated and thus the clauses are higher in transitivity.

5.5 Evidence from meaning categories

Wolff's *A Dictionary of Cebuano Bisayan* lists all the **meaning categories** of all the subclasses of undergoer orientation verbs. By comparing the meaning categories of the three undergoer orientations, we can get a good overall picture of the transitivity of the three orientation constructions in question.

5.5.1 Meaning categories of Goal orientation

According to Wolff (1972: xviii - xx, 1094, 1095), the **Goal orientation** has the following meaning categories:

1. Recipient of action: 'do directly to'

Luto-on ko ang kik.

'I will bake the cake.'

1a with verbs of motion: 'go to get'

Sak-on ko ang butong.

'I will climb to get some coconuts.'

1b 'make some [word], or bring into [state]'

Pula-hon ko ang akong ngabil.

'I will make my lips red.'

1c with adjectives referring to manner: 'do it in [adj.] manner'

Kalit-on ko paglabni ang iyang kutsilyo.

'I will grab his knife away suddenly.'

1c1 with words referring to time: '[do] at [word] time'

Ugma-on na lang na nako.

'I will just do that tomorrow.'

1d with verbs referring to an action two referents can do with each other

Sagol-on ko ang itlog ug harina.

'I will mix eggs and the flour.'

⁴⁵ Some respondents did not accept the example (143). I assume it was on semantic grounds, since the speaker cannot, correctly speaking, ask the others to eat his portion, since he was not invited and thus has no portion.

- 1d1 have someone do [verb] with one
 Away-on ko si Pedro.
 'I will fight Pedro.'
- 1e with nouns referring to names or titles: 'call someone by [noun]'
 Lulo-hon ko ang tiguwang.
 'I will call the old man grandfather.'
- 1e1 'say [word] to'
 Litsi-hon ko gyud siya.
 'I will cuss at him and say litsi.'
- 1f with nouns referring to things that can be used as an instrument:
 'strike with [noun]'
 Bakya-on ko siya.
 'I will hit him with a wooden slipper.'
- 1g with verbs referring to fighting, competing, and the like:
 'accomplish something by doing'
 Kun dili mahimong sulti-hon ang atong gikasungian,
 ato na lang away-on.
 'If we cannot settle our differences by talking, we will fight it out.'

2. With words referring to a sickness or feeling: 'get [word] a sickness, feel [word]'

Gi-atay ang manok.
 'The chickens got chicken cholera.'

3. *unsay* [noun] -on, there is no [noun]. Lit. what is there to make or call [noun]?

Unsay kwarta-hon.
 'Where am I supposed to get money?'

We can see that the object is totally affected in the above examples with some possible exceptions. (1) When a cake is baked, it is totally affected, because it did not even exist before its baking. (1a) When someone climbs for coconuts, the coconut is affected, although less than the baked cake is. When the coconut has been picked, it no longer has a connection to the coconut tree. It is more affected than it would be if it were just moved from one table to another. (1b) When one applies lipstick to one's lips, the lips are affected, because their color changes. The example under (1c) is different, since the predicate is not the grabbing (labni) but the adjective kalit 'sudden'. When someone grabs something, the thing grabbed is only medium affected. But at least the transitivity of the predicate is higher than that of the underived adjective. (1c1) When something is done at a certain time, the extent to which it is affected is

based on the semantics of the verb. (1d) When two substances are mixed together, they are totally affected, because they do no longer exist as separate substances, but as a mixture. (1d1) Fighting involves and affects both the A and the P arguments. (1e) When someone is called something, he is affected, because from the caller's perspective the P argument has a new identity. (1e1) The same applies here. (1f) When someone is hit, he is affected to a degree depending on how badly he was hit. In my opinion, a wooden slipper makes him medium affected. (1g) Talking or fighting over differences of opinion makes the opinions involved. It is not possible to say that opinions are affected, because only living beings can be affected. But if the differences are settled, the opinions lose their status as differences, problems. (2) Sickness affects the patients totally. (3) When something does not exist, that object needs to appear, come into existence, which highly affects that object.

As a summary, even though all evaluations of the degree of affectedness are subjective, if we were to choose one out of three possible transitivity levels to describe Goal orientation as a whole, the right level would be high transitivity.

5.5.2 Meaning categories of Instrumental orientation

According to Wolff (1972: xviii - xx, 361), the **Instrumental orientation** has the following meaning categories:

1. 'put, bring, convey something'

Di ko i-hatag.

'I will not give (it) away.'

1b with verbs containing pa-: 'have someone do to'

I-paluto ko ang isda.

'I will have someone to cook fish.'

I-pahatag ang kik.

'Have someone give the cake away.'

1c with adjectives or words referring to a state: 'bring into the state'

I-andam na ang mga butang.

'Prepare the things now.'

2. '[do] with'

I-sapatos ang imong bag-o.

'Lit. use your new ones as shoes.'

3. '[do] for (confined to the most part, to the imperative)'

I-kuha ra kog tubig.

'Please get me some water.'

4. '[do] at [such-and-such] a time (confined to the future)'

Husto na rong i-adto.

'Now would be a good time to go.'

- 4a prefixed to verbs following adj.: 'it is [adj.] to do'

Init rang i-trabaho ron.

'It is too hot to work.'

5. 'become in [word] a state because of'

Ayaw i-paminti ang imong kasuko.

'Don't gnash your teeth because of your anger.'

We can see that the object is less affected in the examples above than with the Goal orientation. (1) When something is put, brought or conveyed somewhere, the P argument is affected only to an average extent. (1b) When something is cooked, it is totally affected, but when someone causes someone else to cook, the situation changes so that now there are logically two P arguments: the person who will cook and the item to be cooked. Therefore the A argument has less control over the action. With *ihatag* 'give away', the verb remains in the Instrumental orientation. (1c) When some things are prepared, they already exist, but after the action, they are in prepared state, therefore average affectedness. (2) To use something as an instrument affects the thing used. To this category belong all instrumental clauses such as *I-putol niya ang atsa sa kahoy* 'He cut the tree using an axe'. Cf. *padyama-han*, 'wear pajamas', which is Locative orientation and similar to wearing shoes. The difference between *padyama-han* and *i-sapatos* is that *padyama* is patient and *sapatos* is instrument. (3) This use resembles the Locative orientation, destination semantic orientation: *gi-hatag-an niya ako ug tubig*. 'He gave me water.' In both instances *I* is the beneficiary. The difference lies in the fact that in the request clause the receiver is also the request maker, which makes him active, while in the LF clause the receiver is passive. To the clauses (4) and (4a) one can add the actor: *Husto na rong i-adto nato*, and *Init rang i-trabaho nato ron*. Because the A argument has ergative case, the clauses cannot be intransitive. The literal meaning is something like 'Now would be a good time to go by means of ourselves' (i.e. we bring ourselves to another place) and 'It is too hot to work by means of ourselves' (i.e. to labour with the body). Therefore the object is included in the

subject. (5) Don't rage because of your kasuko 'anger'. Here the object is the reason of the action. It can be interpreted as an averagely transitive clause.

As a summary, it is clear that Instrumental orientation is less transitive than Goal orientation, and it could be given the level medium transitivity with justification. However, it does not seem to be as homogenous a group as the Goal orientation is.

5.5.3 Meaning categories of Locative orientation

According to Wolff (1972: xviii - xx, 38, 39), the **Locative orientation** has the following meaning categories:

1. '[do] for, at, on, in'

Palit-an ko siyag kik.

'I will buy him cake OR buy cake from him.'

- 1a with noun bases: 'give, provide some one [noun]'

Sapatus-an ko ang bata.

'I will put shoes on that child.'

2. '[do] directly to someone or something'

Hagkan ko ikaw.

'I will kiss you.'

- 2a '[do] part of something'

Kuha-an ko ang imong kik ug gamay.

'I will take a little of your cake.'

3. with verbs from adjectives: 'consider something as'

Lisd-an siya sa atong sinultihan.

'He will find our language difficult.'

4. 'have [verb] happen to one'

Naulan-an ako.

'I was caught in the rain.'

5. '[do] because of, due to'

Unsay gi-hilak-an mo?

'What is it you are crying about?'

6. 'do in [word] manner'

Datadata-han ko nag bayad.

'I will pay for that in installments.'

7. 'work off a debt, pay for by doing'

Buk-an kug lubi kining bugas.

'I will pay for this rice by splitting coconuts.'

We can see that the object is less affected in the Locative orientation than it is in the Goal orientation. The relationship with Instrumental orientation is a little more unclear. (1) When one gives something to somebody, the receiver is passive and is not affected, or is only slightly affected. There is a difference between a child without shoes and a child with shoes. This subgroup includes also the Location role. (2) When something is done directly to someone, he or she is affected depending on the action. Kissing affects him or her only slightly as compared to hitting or fighting. If the person kissed is taken as the location, then the low transitivity is easy to understand. (2a) When a slice of cake is taken, the cake is only partially affected. (4) However, when one is caught in the rain, one can become totally affected. On the other hand, one has no control over the situation, the A argument is low in potency, and thus low transitivity. (5) When one is crying over something, the A argument is totally affected, but the P argument could care less. (At least if it is a boyfriend who has found a new sweetheart.) (6) When something is paid in installments, the thing paid for is not affected at all. (7) The same applies when the payment is done by working. Bayad is a locative semantic orientation verb.

As a summary, it is clear that the Locative orientation is less transitive than the Goal orientation, and it seems to be less transitive than the Instrumental orientation. Therefore it can be given, with some hesitation, the level of low transitivity.

The following overall picture seems to have emerged from the above comparisons: the three orientations show different degrees of transitivity.

5.5.4 Same meaning category but different orientation

In order to focus our attention on the differences of the three orientations, it is useful to compare the meanings that are the same, e.g. 'do directly to'. In the following I will present the examples in English in the following order: Goal, Instrumental and Locative orientation, i.e. in the hypothetical descending order of transitivity.

'Do directly to'. In the Goal orientation the A argument can "bake a cake", in the Instrument orientation he can "sell a car", and in the Locative orientation he can "kiss her".

Baking (GF) makes the cake become a referential object. Eating it (GF) makes it disappear. Bringing the cake (IF) affects the cake less. Selling a cake (IF) changes the ownership of the cake and reduces the control of the A argument over it. Eating a slice of the cake (LF) affects the cake only a little. Kissing (LF) affects a person very little at least on the superficial level, and if the person who is kissed is taken as a location, it is even less affected.

'To do for', 'to do with'. In IF one "cuts a tree with the ax", in LF one "trims a tree".

Usage with nouns. In GF one hits or strikes a person (with an object expressed by a noun), in IF one uses the noun as the instrument, and in LF one provides a person with the noun or helps him to put on the object expressed by the noun.

'Manner of doing'. In GF one can make one's speech slow, *hinay-on ko pagsulti*, in IF the instrument is the manner of doing, i.e. one uses new shoes, *i-sapatos ang imong bag-o*. In LF one can pay by installments, *datadata-han ko na ug bayad*.

Time words. In GF one performs the action in such and such a time, *ugma-on na lang kana nako*. In IF there is a certain amount of time expressed by an adjective to do the job, *init rang i-trabaho karon*. In LF one is caught by time, *na-buntag-an ako*.

'To bring into state'. In GF one can make one's lips red, *pula-hon ko ang akong ngabil*, in IF one only arranges things *i-andam na ang mga butang*, in LF one is caught by the rain *na-ulan-an ako*.

Feeling verbs. In GF one feels tired and is totally affected by it *gi-tulog siya ug maayo*. In IF one feels something because of an event *i-kalipay niya ang akong pag-abut*. In LF one feels something because of a person or a thing *unsay gi-hilak-an mo*.

5.6 Evidence from lexical comparison

To seek for further support for my arguments, we will now compare the three orientations by comparing verbs that can occur in more than one orientation to see whether those clauses follow the pattern. This **lexical comparison** is the final test by which we can establish whether Locative and Instrumental orientation are really different in transitiveness or not. For the sake of comparison I took Wolff's dictionary and went through the first ten pages of verbs starting with the letter A, and the first 13 pages of verbs starting with the letter P (Wolff 1972: 1 - 10 and 709 - 722). I looked at verbs that could occur in more than one orientation and compared

the transitivity of the given example sentences. I will now give some examples of those sentences. The P arguments are underlined. With this test the main question we are trying to answer is, which one is more semantically transitive, and not in which semantic transitivity class one would put each clause. See clauses (145) - (162) below:

abir 'try one's luck'

(145) **GF** abir-on nako-g hangyo si Maria
try-GFf later lerg-D ask TOP Maria
'I'll just take a stab at asking Maria.'

(146) **IF** i-abir kono ni sa ahinsiya ug
IFf-try it.is.said this the pawnshop and
dawat-on ba
receive-GFf QM
'Try taking this to the pawnshop and see if
they will accept it.'

It is clear that GF is more transitive than IF. Trying one's luck with Maria in (145) makes her person affected, because something is requested from her. But in (146), when the something expressed by this is taken to another location, then this something is less affected.

abli 'open something, be open'

(147) **GF** kanus-a man abli-hon ang inyong eskwelahan
when-A MAN open-GFf TOP 2pPO school
sa panahi?⁴⁶
the sew
'When will you open your (pl.) sewing school?'

(148) **LF** kanus-a man abli-han ang inyong eskwelahan
when-A MAN open-LFf TOP 2pPO school
sa panahi?
the sew
'When will you open your (pl.) sewing school?'

This is a very good example, because the only difference between these two sentences lies in their orientation. The difference in meaning is that in the GF (147) the school is seen as an object, in the LF (148) it is seen as location (MILC, personal communication).

abwag 'break up, scatter'

(149) **GF** abwag-on nato ang mga papil
scatter-GFf ilerg TOP pl. paper
'Let us scatter the pieces of papers.'

(150) **IF** i-abwag nato ang mga papil
IFf-scatter ilerg TOP pl. paper
'Let us scatter the pieces of papers.'

⁴⁶ Wolff has ablihi (abliha), whereas Maryknoll recommends ablihan.

abyog 'rock something hanging back and forth'

(151) **GF** abyog-a lang ang bata sa duyan
 rock-GFs just the child the hammock
 kon mo-hilak na
 if AFF-cry compl.
 'Just rock the baby in the hammock
 if he starts to cry.'

(152) **IF** i-abyog lang ang bata sa duyan
 IFs-rock just the child the hammock
 kon mo-hilak na
 if AFF-cry compl.
 'Just rock the baby in the hammock
 if he starts to cry.'

The difference in meaning between (149) and (150) is that when scattering, with GF (149) the pieces of paper fall close to the actor, whereas when scattering, with IF (150) the pieces of paper are clearly thrown away from the actor out of his/her control. In rocking the baby the difference is that the GF (151) is more like a command, the IF (152) is like a suggestion (MILC, personal communication).

adto 'go, bring to a place'

(153) **GF** ug di ka ma-naug anang kahuy-a
 if not 2abs AFF-down that tree-A
 adto-on tika
 go-GFf 12
 'If you do not come down from that tree,
 I will come up after you.'

(154) **IF** i-adto kini ngadto sa ila
 IFs-go this there the 3pPO
 'Go bring this to their house.'

(155) **LF** unsa man logar-a ang gi-adto-an ninyo?
 what MAN place-A TOP LFp-go-LF 2perg
 'What place did you go to?'

This is a very good example, because all three orientations are represented. The differences are as follows. In the Goal orientation (153) the P argument will be brought down by the A argument, thus P is totally affected. In the Instrumental orientation (154) something is taken from one place to another. Therefore the P argument is somewhat affected. In the Locative orientation (155) a place is visited. That makes it not affected.

The verb padyama 'to wear pajamas' (example not shown here) has both the Goal and Locative orientations. In Goal orientation it means 'to make into pajamas', i.e. the P argument is changed into pajamas, thus making it totally affected. In Locative orientation it means 'wear, use pajamas', which makes the P argument somewhat affected.

pagpag 'agitate to remove dust'

- (156) **IF** gi-pagpag niya ang silhig sa kutson
 IFp-agitate 3erg TOP broom the cushion
 'He hit the cushion with a broom.'
- (157) **LF** iyang gi-pagpag-an ang ilang mga butang
 3erg LFp-agitate-LF TOP 3pPO pl thing
 sa abug
 the dust
 'She shook the dust out of their things.'

Here the affectedness seems not to vary. In (156) the P argument is the broom which is used as an instrument to hit the cushion. In (157) the things which are mentioned are shaken.

pahid 'wipe, rub'

- (158) **GF** pahir-a ang mumhu sa lamisa
 wipe-GFs TOP morsel the table
 'Wipe the morsels off the table.'
- (159) **IF** i-pahid kini sa tutunlan
 IFs-rub this the throat
 'Rub this on the throat.'
- (160) **LF** pahir-i ang lamisa aron mauga
 wipe-LFs TOP table so.that dry
 'Wipe the table lightly so that it will get dry.'

The difference is again that of affectedness. In the Goal orientation (158) the morsels of rice are collected, and after that their existence is about to finish. Thus they are totally affected. In the Instrumental orientation (159) some kind of ointment is being rubbed on the throat. The verb 'to rub' shows that there is some energetic kinesis, and, because the end result is that the ointment becomes a thin layer on the throat, it is affected. In the Locative orientation (160) the table is only slightly affected, when the water is wiped up off it.

palag 'meet with, run into'

- (161) **IF** gi-ka-hi-palag ko siya didto
 IFp-STA-ACC-find 1erg 3abs there
 'I ran into him there.'
- (162) **LF** hi-palg-an sa mga polis
 LFp-find-LF the pl police
ang patay-ng lawas sa na-lumos
 TOP dead-L body the Gfp-drown
 'The policeman found the dead body of the drowned person.'

The difference is as follows: in the instrumental orientation (161) the A argument runs by accident into the P argument, who is alive. In the Locative orientation (162) the P argument is

dead and cannot help the A argument to find him. Therefore the Instrumental orientation shows higher transitivity than the Locative orientation.

Based on all the above evidence, one can confidently say that Goal orientation clauses in general, and specifically compared with clauses with the same verb but a different orientation, show higher transitivity. Instrumental orientation clauses show in general, and specifically compared with clauses with the same verb but different orientation, lower transitivity than Goal orientation but higher transitivity than Locative orientation clauses. Locative orientation clauses show in general, and specifically compared with clauses with the same verb but different orientation, lower transitivity. Thus one can rename all the four orientations based on the relative transitivity. It is worth emphasizing the word *relative*. Even the intransitive Actor orientation clauses can show some transitivity. What I want to say is that in this system they involve the least transitive orientation of the four orientations. This is not to be equated with the Givónian scalar topicality.

- high transitive orientation (Goal orientation)
- medium transitive orientation (Instrumental orientation)
- low transitive orientation (Locative orientation)
- intransitive orientation (Actor orientation)

When we divide the orientations like this the reason for the morphologically distinct orientations becomes apparent. The different orientations reflect the different transitivity of the clauses.⁴⁷ This view can be understood to be in concord with the view that “verbs occur only with certain affixes because of the inherent meaning of the verb stem”.⁴⁸ Of course even this explanation based on transitivity does not provide an answer to Schachter’s (1976: 497) question: “When a sentence contains more than one noun phrase whose referentiality is presupposed, it is not always clear why one of these noun phrases, rather than the other, is chosen as topic [oriented]”. If both the verb affixation and the choice of NP to be oriented are free, it is up to the speaker. But if we know the verb affixation or we know the oriented NP, this transitivity theory helps us to choose the right counterpart for the known item.

If we think of the voice divisions talked about in Chapter Three, we can say that the border-line between the antipassive and active transitive voice lies between the intransitive and

⁴⁷ Naylor seems to agree with this view. See Naylor (1973: 29): “Focus as the indicator of the participant role of the topic is a function in the system of transitivity”.

⁴⁸ Barlaan (1986:82, 83) and French (1987:10). According to French, Schachter & Otones (1972), Naylor (1973), Ramos (1974) and Rafael (1978) agree with this view.

the low transitive. That difference can therefore be said to represent inflection.⁴⁹ The borderline between low, medium and high does not coincide with any voice break, therefore it can be said to represent derivation. In the same way the German verb mischen, which means ‘to mix’ (and would resemble the Goal orientation and be high in transitivity), can be derived to form the verb beimischen, which would be similar to the Locative orientation (destination semantic orientation) (Himmelmann 1987:106, 107; Barlaan 1986: vii).

Orientation is a puzzling feature of Philippine-type languages. It is best analyzed as a grammatical subsystem where an NP is promoted to direct object status. If that is accepted, absolutive NPs are not subjects. Semantic transitivity as such does not directly affect the grammatical roles, since it depends on both subjects and objects. But taken together with the theory of promotion to direct objects, it strengthens the ergative as subject argumentation. That, however, will be dealt with in Chapter Seven. Here it suffices to say that orientation as a set of expressions of semantic transitivity makes sense and helps to explain language usage.

5.7 Summary of the parameters of scalar semantic transitivity relevant in the analysis of the Cebuano data

The following parameters, taken from the list of parameters that according to Hopper and Thompson affect scalar semantic transitivity, were found relevant for the study of Cebuano: affectedness, energy used, control of the agent, state of the patient, and volitionality. Below, they are applied to Cebuano orientations (GF, LF, and IF). For example, a clause which talks about “a thing given” involves the Instrumental orientation (IF) and shows higher semantic transitivity than a clause which talks about “person given to”, which involves the Locative orientation (LF), thus the sign ‘>’. A clause that talks about “a thing put somewhere” shows more transitivity than a clause that talks about “a place where a thing is put in”. Thus the ‘greater than’ sign ‘>’ indicates higher transitivity.

Parameters of scalar semantic transitivity

- affectedness (total GF, partial LF)

Thing given is more affected (IF) > person given to (LF).

Thing put somewhere is more affected (IF) > place it is put in (LF).

⁴⁹ See also De Guzman (1988), who holds that the major division in the verbal system of both Tagalog and Kapampangan is between the agent orientation and the undergoer orientation.

Item cleaned is more affected (GF) > item used for cleaning (IF) > item/location cleaned (LF).

To make something is more transitive (GF) > to wear something (LF).

- energy used to do something forcefully is more transitive (GF)

(Be bitten by a child) > to do something with minor force (be bitten by a crab).

- control of agent (agency)

Getting into the control: buying (GF) > losing control: selling: (IF).

Doing it by oneself gives more control (GF) > asking someone else to do it (IF).

- the state of the patient (volitionality of P?)

To run into a living person is more transitive (GF) > to find a body (LF).

Trying one's luck with a person is more transitive (GF) > trying one's luck concerning a thing (IF).

- volitionality

Requests show more volitionality than statements.

The following chart shows all four morphological orientations (MorOr) of Cebuano with the semantic orientations (SemOr) that they express. The column on the far right shows what the roles of the P argument NPs are in the various semantic orientations.

MorOr	SemOr	Semantic role
Actor		
Actor	actor	Actor
Undergoer		
Goal	goal	Patient
	person affected	Experiencer
Instrumental	instrument	Instrument
	separation	Patient
	destination	Beneficiary
	reason	Reason
Locative	location	Location
	destination	Beneficiary
	object partially affected	Patient
	reason	Reason
	person affected	Experiencer

A chart of the Cebuano orientation system.

6 TOPIC

This chapter discusses topic as a general notion and how it has been understood in the Philippine-type language context. Topic is relevant to discussion on grammatical relations, since topic and subject often overlap (Comrie 1981: 100; 101). Thus when one wants to define the Cebuano subject, it is good to know what the Cebuano topic is. I will argue that an ergative NP is the normal topic in transitive constructions. Since the topic and the so-called focus are strictly clause level phenomena in the Philippine-type languages, I will concentrate on the clause level and leave the discourse level topic out of this discussion. Since the basic word order is relevant to the discussion on topic, because it shows what is fronted, I will also discuss the basic constituent order.

The understanding of topic as being coded by the so-called focus affixes is what makes Philippine-type languages unique; they are said to have a grammaticalized topic. Thus in some studies Philippine languages have been classified as belonging to their own group (e.g. Keenan and Comrie 1977). Bresnan (1982: 287, 288) talks briefly about a distinction between subject oriented and topic oriented languages. Thus topic is important in understanding Cebuano grammar.

6.1 *The notion of topic*

The term “topic” was first used outside of the study of Philippine-type languages by the Prague school. Hockett also used this term (1958). There seem to be at least three definitions of theme or topic.

- (1) Topic is old information.
- (2) Topic is what the clause is about.
- (3) Topic is what comes first in a clause.

(1) The topic or theme is the old information of the clause or one NP out of several that contains old information. Questions and negations can be used in identifying what is old and what is new. Givón (1984: 256-263) says that the most common pattern is that the asserted, new information (= comment) is negated or questioned, whereas presupposed, old information (= topic / theme) is not. In other words, negatives negate new information and questions elicit new information. Or to say it in Vilkuna’s (1989: 76) words: “Old material in a sentence is material repeated from the question; new material answers the question”.

(2) Hockett in his *A Course In Modern Linguistics* (1958: 201-203) defines topic as part of the topic–comment structure of a clause. The speaker says something about the topic. Hockett gives a couple of examples, such as:

That new book by Thomas Guernsey [topic],
 I haven't read yet [comment].
 the man, whom [topic]
 you visited yesterday [comment]

Thus the topic or theme is what the clause is about. The theme can be identified as X in “I’ll tell you about X”. That is also the definition given by Halliday (1985: 32-40), who defines theme as “that which is the concern of the message” and “what the clause is about”.

(3) Topic as the first element of a clause is a purely structural definition. This fits well in SVO languages, but does not fit so well in verb initial languages such as Cebuano. Thus we will concentrate on the two first definitions.

The old information vs. aboutness definitions are similar, but not identical, as shown by Vilkuna (1989: 72-112). We will examine several example clauses taken from Halliday (1985: 36) and find out whether old information and aboutness coincide:

“...I caught the first ball. I was beaten by the second,
 the third I stopped, by the fourth I was knocked out...”

Here the subject I in the first two clauses is old information. If the clause is negated, the negation will negate the catching or being beaten by the ball, not the (referent of the) subject who is doing it. Clauses 1 and 2 are natural answers to the question “What did you catch?”, where the subject is the repeated item. They are also the natural continuation or expansion of “I’ll tell you about me (playing)”. Thus old info and aboutness coincide in the first two clauses.

The third and fourth balls are the topics of the third and fourth clauses. The balls are old information, even though the third ball and the fourth ball are, of course, first mentions. Here the status of old information is given to them by extension. (In the same way, if “John” is old information, then John’s arm or leg is by extension also old information.) If the clauses are negated, it is the action that is negated, not the balls (The third I did not stop, but it escaped. Cf. *The third I did not stop, but the fourth.). Clauses 3 and 4 are natural answers to questions “What happened to the third and fourth balls?” They fit in the other test, too: “I’ll tell you about the third and fourth balls”. The old information and the aboutness seem to coincide.

But now we will have a look at some examples where they do not coincide. Let us study the sentence: A loaf of bread is what we need. We will now try to find out if a

loaf of bread is the topic. The clause says that only a loaf of bread is needed, nothing else (Halliday 1985: 43). If we negate it, we get: A loaf of bread is not what we need, but some milk. If we think of a question that this clause is the answer for, we get: "What do we need?" Since it does not pass the old information test, a loaf of bread is new information and not the topic based on the old information definition. If we test it with the aboutness test, is it the natural sequence to the first or second clause: (1) I'll tell you about what we need. OR (2) I'll tell you about a loaf of bread? In my mind it is a more natural continuation to the first "I'll tell you" clause. But because this is an equational clause, the identity of the need is the bread, and this complicates the matter. If the clause is about the loaf of bread, then that is the theme, and if the clause is about the need, then that is the theme according to the aboutness test. Since this example is taken from Halliday, and since according to Halliday (1985: 39), "the theme can be identified as that element which comes in first position in the clause", we can be certain that a loaf of bread is the theme according to him. It is also clear that the bread is new information and therefore not topic in Givónian terms.

Now we will study the clause John I know. If we negate it, we get John I don't know, but Mary I do. To make a question is a bit tougher. The answer of: Who do you know? is: I know John. In order to create a context, we might assume that the previous discourse could have been something like the following: A: Do you know John and Mary? B: John I know, Mary I don't. We see that fronting "John" makes it contrastive. Therefore the aboutness questions would be: I'll tell you about who I know instead of Mary. That doesn't sound too good, but it is a theme in Halliday's terms because it is in the first position of the clause. The fact that "John" is contrastive makes it new information. It's polarity is new in Vilkuna's (1989: 86) terms. "It is the proposition in the premise being true (or not true) that is new". Here again, we have a Hallidayan theme that is not the same as the Givónian topic.⁵⁰

6.2 Identification of topic NP in Philippine-type languages

In the Philippine tradition many linguists (e.g. Comrie 1981) say that the noun phrase with the orientation marker ang is topicalized, i. e. the item is said to be the topic or theme of the

⁵⁰ That is, unless we say that the clause "John I know" is about the subject and not the object. The clause: It is not John that she met, is about John, if we accept that theme is always at the beginning of a clause. In my opinion one could as well say that the clause is about the person referred to by the pronoun she.

clause.⁵¹ Generalized, this claim means that the absolutive case NP is the topic. Those linguists who do not accept the ergative analysis call it a nominative NP (Bell 1976:16). Comrie (1981: 114, 115) argues that in Tagalog, if the P is definite, it must be the topic. This means that he equates the topic of the clause *I caught the first ball* with the so-called topic noun phrase of Philippine-type languages: e.g. the NP in the Actor, Goal, Locative or Instrumental orientation which is in absolutive case. Regardless of whether we prefer the aboutness or old information definition of topic, I feel this to be a misunderstanding of the Philippine-type orientation / focus system and an illustration of why it is better not to use the term 'topic' in talking about the orientation system of Philippine-type languages.⁵² I therefore refrain from using the term "topic" or "theme" for the absolutive NP. As to the term "focus", Chafe (1970: 224 and 1976: 61) says that focus expresses contrast, it designates something that is not presupposed. I will use the term "focus" in that sense.

Schachter (1977: 282) says that "Only the topic nominal carries a guarantee of (presupposed) referentiality, regardless of the type of noun or pronoun that is its head. One can thus say that the topic nominal has referential prominence vis-à-vis any nontopic nominals in the sentence". I disagree with him on several points. First, the topic nominal can be nonreferential.⁵³ Secondly, the ergative nominal is also referential. Thirdly, there is an indefinite topic marker y as in *Adunay kwarta sa lamisa*⁵⁴ 'There is some money on the table'. In that clause *kwarta* is subject and it is marked with the indefinite topic marker y. Fourthly, as sa in Cebuano is a definite marker, should not it also be a token of referentiality? Similarly in English the article the should carry a guarantee of referentiality. But that is not considered as a major factor when topic is identified.

According to Comrie (1981: 100, 101), the intersection of topic and agent is the prototype subject. However, he also states that the notion of subject cannot be identified with the notion of topic. In that passage Comrie does not define the term topic, but he gives one example of a topicalized noun phrase: "John I know", where John is, according to

⁵¹ Some linguists equate it with Hockett's topic and some think that the Philippine-type topic is something different. Shibatani (1988: 5) argues that the Philippine-type topic is a grammatically prominent syntactic constituent.

⁵² Schachter (1976: 496) also argues that the Philippinists' topic does not need to represent "the center of attention". He says that Wolfenden (1971) prefers to use the label definite NP instead of topic. Also Mallinson – Blake (1981: 98, 101) say, "It appears...that the choice of topic is not made on the same basis as it is in English." and "topicalization of A is natural."

⁵³ See Shibatani (1988: 111) for examples of nonreferential ang-phrases.

⁵⁴ In an existential clause with a possessor, there can be two absolutive NPs. For example *Adunay kwarta si Pedro* 'There is some money of Pedro' or 'Pedro has some money'. If a pronoun is used instead, the clause is accordingly changed into *Aduna siyay kwarta* 'There is some money of his' or 'He has some money'.

Comrie, the topic or theme. Thus we may assume that the definition of topic for Comrie is “what the clause is about”, i.e. the Hallidayan notion.

For linguists who argue that the absolutive NP is by default the topic in Philippine-type languages, the case is closed and there is no need to investigate the matter further. Since I argue that it is the ergative NP that usually is the topic, I will next analyze some Cebuano data. Here I find support from Kroeger (1993: 57-69) who also argues that the absolutive (his nominative) NP is not the topic.

6.3 *Basic constituent order in Cebuano*

Since word order is important for the topic at clause level, we will take a look at the basic word order of Cebuano. In order to be able to say what is fronted we need to know what is not fronted.

Cebuano has a basic V A P constituent order (Payne 1994, Bell 1976:1). This is the basic order in grammatically transitive active clauses. See the examples below, where (163) is intransitive and (164) is transitive:

- | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------|-----------|----------|-----|----------|
| | V | | S | | Obl. |
| (163) | Mi-sulod | dayon | si Juan | sa | tindahan |
| | AFp-enter | immediat. | TOP Juan | the | shop |
| | 'Juan entered the shop immediately.' | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | V | | A | | P |
| (164) | Gi-palit | usa | ni Juan | ang | pan |
| | GFp-buy | first | erg Juan | TOP | bread |
| | 'Juan bought bread first.' | | | | |

As can be seen from (164) the A argument (ni Juan) comes before the P argument (ang pan). As we have seen in Chapter Three about voice, in inverse voice the constituent order is changed to V P A.

In questions, answers, contrastive focus clauses and prominence clauses, the order is P V A for transitive and S V for intransitive clauses. See the examples (165) - (168) below, where the fronted item is also the absolutive case NP:

- | | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|----------|----|-------|------|
| | S | | V | | Obl. |
| (165) | Kinsa-y | mag-luto | ug | isda? | |
| | who-iTOP | AFf-cook | a | fish | |
| | 'Who will cook fish?' | | | | |

- (166) S V Obl.
 Si Pedro ang mag-luto ug isda.
 TOP Pedro REL AFf-cook a fish
 'Pedro is the one who will cook fish.'
- (167) P V A
 Kwarto ang abang-an ni Totoy
 room REL rent-LFf erg Totoy
 'Totoy will rent a room (not a house).'
- (168) S V Obl.
 Daghang polis ang nag-bantay sa iyang agianan
 many policeman REL AFp-guard at 3PO pathway
 'There were many policemen, who guarded the
 pathway.'

As we can see in (165) the question word kinsa occurs before the verb and in the answer (166) the S argument is fronted to preverbal position. Clause (167) is an example of contrastive focus. There (kwarto) is put into preverbal position for contrastive focus. In (168) the NP daghang polis is fronted to give it more prominence. From these data we can see that when declarative clauses have non-verb initial constituent order, then there is a special REL marker ang signaling that the constituent order has been changed (166) - (168).

Since questions ask new information, since new information answers questions, and since contrastive elements have new information, we may conclude that the preverbal elements in (165) - (168) are not topics, but comments.

In sentences that have auxiliary verbs, negative statements and negative commands (prohibitives), fronted time and place words, and existential verbs, the personal pronouns (ergative or absolutive case) and optionally the demonstrative pronouns are fronted. See the examples (169) - (173) below:

- (169) Aux S V Obl.
 Gusto siya-ng mo-kanta sa programa
 want 3abs-1 AFf-sing at programme
 'He likes to sing in the programme.'
- (170) Neg. A P V Obl.
 Wala niya ako palit-i ug saging
 not 3erg 1abs buy-LFs a banana
 'He did not buy bananas for me.'
- (171) Proh. P V Obl.
 Ayaw siya palit-i ug saging
 don't 3abs buy-LFs a banana
 'Don't buy him bananas.'
- (172) Time A P V
 Gahapon niya kini gi-palit
 yesterday 3erg this2 Gfp-buy
 'Yesterday she bought this.'

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|------|-------|----------|
| | Place | S | Obl. | V |
| (173) | Sa syudad | siya | niini | mi-palit |
| | the town | 3abs | this2 | Afp-buy |
| | 'He bought this in town.' | | | |

In (169) the matrix clause consists of the auxiliary gusto which occurs first, followed by the S argument siya. In the complement clause the verb mokanta occurs first, followed by the oblique sa programa. In (170) the negator wala occurs first, followed by the A argument niya and the P argument ako. Only then comes the verb paliti and the oblique ug saging. In (171) we have the prohibitive ayaw and the order is the same as in (170), except that subject is assumed and not mentioned. In (172) we have the adverbial time phrase gahapon after which come the A argument niya, the P argument kini and the predicate. In (173) we have the same constituent order as in (172), except that it is antipassive and thus the P argument has been demoted to oblique position.

From the above data we can see that the basic word order in Cebuano is V A P and that in questions, answers, contrastive focus clauses and prominence clauses, the absolutive NP is fronted into preverbal position. In clauses with auxiliary verbs, negative statements and negative commands (prohibitives), fronted time and place words, and with existential verbs, the A and P arguments are also fronted before the predicate if they are personal pronouns.

6.4 Testing topic in Cebuano

Now we will test the topic in Cebuano according to Givónian principles and using the negation test. The following clauses (174) - (177) in Cebuano illustrate the negation test. If it is correct to call the absolutive NP the topic, then the absolutive NPs cannot be negated, and the answer in the blank space should not be the absolutive NP. The absolutive NPs are underlined.

- (174) Wala mag-luto si Juan ug isda apan _____
 not Afs-cook TOP Juan a fish but _____
 'Juan did not cook fish, but...'
- (175) Wala palit-a sa babaye ang libro, apan _____
 not buy-GFs the woman TOP book but _____
 'The woman did not buy the book, but...'
- (176) Wala nako siya hatag-i ug kwarta apan _____
 not lerg 3abs give-LFs a money but _____
 'I did not give him money, but...'
- (177) Wala i-bilin sa lalaki ang lapis apan _____
 not IFs-leave the man TOP pen but _____
 'The man did not leave the pen, but...'

If it is correct to call the absolutive NP the topic, then it should not be able to be negated, and the answer in the blank space should be, for example, “Juan cooked something else than fish” (174), “somebody else than the woman bought the libro” (175), “somebody else than I gave money to siya” or “something else than money was given to siya” (176), and “somebody else than the man left the lapis” (177).

The actual one word responses (MILC, personal communication) for each blank space were verbs: nagpalit ‘buy’ (174), gibaligya ‘sell’ (175), gihulaman ‘borrow’ (176) and gihatag ‘give’ (177). From these answers one can see that it is the verb that is the new information, i.e. it cannot be the topic.

The actual full clause responses consisted of the clauses (178) - (181) (MILC, personal communication), where the unchanged NPs are underlined, and another possible response is mentioned in parenthesis after the clauses. The corresponding negative clause number is mentioned below the clause number.

- (178) apan nag-palit siya ug manok (isda)
 (174) but AFp-buy 3abs a chicken (fish)
 ‘But he bought a chicken.’
- (179) apan gi-baligya niya ang awto (libro)
 (175) but IFp-sell 3erg TOP car (book)
 ‘But she sold the car.’
- (180) apan gi-hulam-an nako siya ug libro (kwarta)
 (176) but LFP-lend-LF lerg 3abs a book (money)
 ‘But I lent him a book.’
- (181) apan gi-hatag niya ang libro (lapis)
 (177) but IFp-give 3erg TOP book (pen)
 ‘But he gave the book.’

From these answers we can see that it is only the absolutive NP in intransitive clause (174) and ergative NPs in transitive clauses that without exception remain the same (si Juan (174) ⇒ siya (178), sa babaye (175) ⇒ niya (179), nako (176) ⇒ nako (180), sa lalaki (177) ⇒ niya (181)). Therefore, on the basis of this test, one can say that the ergative NP is old information, it is the topic of these clauses. The items in parentheses (isda, libro, kwarta, and lapis) were accepted with hesitation (MILC, personal communication), i.e. their status as the topic is less certain. Thus it is doubtful whether the absolutive NP can be the topic of the

clause. This is in accord with the results of Payne (1994), who discovered that the A argument in active transitive Goal orientation clauses is higher in scalar topicality than the P argument.⁵⁵

The following clauses (182) - (184), where the *absolutive* NPs are underlined, illustrate the question test (remember that new material (= comment) answers the question, old material (= topic) is repeated from the question (Vilkuna 1989: 76)):

(182)Q Unsa ang i-tudlo sa mga pari sa mga kaabag?
 what TOP Iff-tech erg pl. priest the pl. helper
 'What will the priests teach to the helpers?'

(182)A Ang katungdanan ang i-tudlo nila... **IF**
 They teach the responsibilities...'

(183)Q Kinsa ang mo-tudlo sa katungdanan
 who TOP AFf-teach the responsibility
 sa mga kaabag?
 the pl. helper
 'Who will teach the responsibilities of/to the helpers?'

(183)A Ang mga pari ang mo-tudlo sa katungdanan... **AF**
 'The priests will teach the responsibilities...'

(184)Q Kinsa ang tudlo-an sa mga pari
 Who TOP teach-LFf erg pl. priest
 sa katungdanan?
 the responsibility
 'To whom will the priests teach the responsibilities...'

(184)A Ang mga kaabag ang tudlo-an nila... **LF**
 'They will teach the helpers...'

There are two features worth noting in the answers. The first is that the NPs containing the answers to the questions are in the absolutive case and the second is that they are fronted. If in Cebuano the absolutive NPs are the topics of the clauses, the NPs containing the answers to the questions should not be in the absolutive case, because the NPs are new information and belong to the comment part of the clause. But as shown by examples (182) - (184), the answers to unsa and kinsa questions are in the absolutive case. It is revealing to compare the two kinsa questions. Number (183) asks a question about the actor and therefore the answer is in the Actor orientation. Number (184) asks a question about the beneficiary and therefore the answer clause is in the Locative orientation. It is the complete opposite of what would have been the case if the absolutive NPs had been the topic. Our theory maintained that topic, being

⁵⁵ Payne (1994). This is also in accord with Mallinson and Blake (1981: 108) who say about the topic in accusative languages that "the object position is also a topic position but not the primary topic position." I would claim that the same holds for ergative languages as well. Mallinson - Blake, on the other hand, do not

old information, cannot be questioned. Therefore we have to either abandon the theory or abandon the idea that the absolutive NP is the topic of the clause. I prefer the latter possibility, which is also the result of Payne's topicality counts.

To further illustrate the function of fronting and the distinctness of the topic of a clause from the absolutive case NP, we will now look at some additional examples. With these examples we will also look at the aboutness test. The following clauses show different importance or focus value of a beneficiary in ascending order. See examples (185) - (188) below, where the recipient is underlined (MILC, personal communication):

- (185) Gi-hatag niya ang libro kaniya.
 GFp-give 3erg TOP book 3dat
 'He/she gave the book to him/her.'
- (186) Gi-hatag-an niya siya ug libro
 LFp-give-LF 3erg 3abs a book
 'He/she gave him/her a book.'
- (187) Kaniya gi-hatag niya ang libro
 3dat GFp-give 3erg TOP book
 'He/she is the one to whom he/she gave the book.'
- (188) Siya ang gi-hatag-an niya ug libro
 3abs who LFp-give-LF 3erg a book
 'He/she is the one to whom he/she gave a book.'

In the above examples the meaning of the clauses is effectively the same: "He gave a/the book to him", but the strength of the focus on the beneficiary is different. If the clauses (187) and (188) are negated, the constituent negator dili is used to negate kaniya and siya. If we do the aboutness test and ask what the clause is about, we will get the subject niya as the answer in the clauses (185) and (186). The clauses (187) and (188) are about the beneficiary. From clause (187) we may draw the conclusion that even with the aboutness test, absolutive NPs are not the topic, because in (187) kaniya is in dative case.

In (185) the beneficiary is in dative case and it is not in contrastive focus. The ergative NP niya is the topic of that clause. In (186), the destination semantic orientation is used and therefore the recipient is in the absolutive case. Thus it is more topical than in the first example, but it is still less topical than the ergative NP, which is the topic.⁵⁶ In the third clause (187) the dative NP is fronted and therefore in contrastive focus. Similarly in the fourth clause (188) the beneficiary, which is in absolutive case, is fronted and in contrastive focus. The third

agree with me. They think (1994: 109) "that there is good reason to believe that in ergative construction the absolutive represents a grammaticalized topic."

⁵⁶ One could argue that both the subject and the beneficiary represent the topic.

and fourth clauses are almost the same as to contrastive focus of the beneficiary (MILC, personal communication). But the ergative NP *niya* is the topic in both clauses based on the old information definition. Therefore clauses (187) and (188) show clearly that the item in contrastive focus belongs to the comment part of the clause. All these four examples show that it is not the absolutive case that shows us which NP is the topic of a clause. Regardless of which definition of the topic we prefer, the fact that (187) and (188) are identical as to information structure shows that case is not used to express topic. As to contrastive focus, it is fronting, not the so-called “focus” which is the process by which noun phrases in Cebuano are focused. To be in contrastive focus the NPs do not need to be in absolutive case. Focusing is done by fronting new information, not by fronting the topic. Additional support for not calling the “focused” item the topic can be found in the fact that undergoer orientations are the unmarked forms of sentences if the object is definite (and it is the only constituent in the sentence besides the agent) (Naylor 1975: 17, 46).

If we use Vilkuna’s terms (1989: 38), we may say that the fronting of a NP makes it a K, i.e. puts it in a contrastive position, unless it is a question or an answer to the question. In Vilkuna’s terminology K is anything put before the T (= topic or theme) in a clause. She holds that that is called topicalization in many descriptions of English. K is optional and it can be realized as a question or a relative phrase. If it is realized as something else, it is likely to get a contrastive interpretation. This seems to hold for Cebuano also, where content question words are fronted and the answers begin with a fronted constituent in the absolutive case. But only when the fronting is not done because of questions and answers can it be given a contrastive interpretation, as could be seen in examples (187) and (188) above. We can therefore establish a marked thematic constituent order of Cebuano. In questions, answers, and contrastive focus it is K V S/T Obl. or K V S/T O, if the Obl. is fronted as it is in (187). K is always new information.

6.5 Topic and ergative case

Now we will look at the relationship between the topic and the ergative case. According to the animacy hierarchy, 1st and 2nd personal pronouns are the highest in animacy. In a language that is split ergative along the animacy hierarchy, it is the 1st and 2nd personal pronouns that most likely follow the nominative-accusative pattern and the NPs lower in animacy follow the ergative-absolutive pattern. On the basis of this analysis Mallinson and Blake (1981: 91, 104 referring to Wierzbicka 1980 and 1981) say that the 1st and 2nd personal pronouns “tend to avoid the ergative, because of their inherent propensity to be topic”. I agree with this. It is an

argument in favor of the discriminatory view of case marking. Inherently topic-worthy NPs take the unmarked case. But after that Mallinson and Blake (1981: 110) claim that “the fact that 1 and 2 opt out of the ergative system in some languages reflects the fact that the ergative is not the prime topic”. I think that here the argumentation has been turned upside down. It is more natural to say that the 1st and 2nd personal pronouns are natural topics and natural subjects, and therefore they often occur in the unmarked case. NPs lower in the animacy hierarchy need extra marking, because they are less topic-worthy. But when they have received an ergative marking, they have become topic-worthy. Therefore when a constituent is marked ergative, it means that that constituent is subject and most probably also topic.

It is very interesting to follow Mallinson and Blake’s argumentation and logic, since it shows how we as linguists are influenced by our background and assumptions. When Mallinson and Blake studied some texts for the identification of the topic, they said: “what we would consider to be the first choice for topic is in the ergative”. But then they continue saying “this [the fact that ergative could be topic] might be surprising”, and claim instead that the absolutive is the topic, because “ergative languages take the patient to be the normal filler of the topic position”. This is because “there is good reason to believe that in ergative construction the absolutive represents a grammaticalized topic. (Mallinson and Blake 1981: 109, 113, 114). Thus the preconceived idea that the absolutive must be the topic prevents them from seeing what the data had to say.

In this chapter I have discussed the clause level definition of topic. Regardless of whether one adopts the old information view or the aboutness view, I have shown that in Cebuano, it is the ergative NP that is the normal topic. Thus there is no grammaticalized topic in Cebuano.

7 GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

In this chapter I will discuss the grammatical subject of Cebuano. First one must discuss some terminological issues, the function of case marking and related to that, whether a subject and object can have more than one case. Also, one should consider the terms pivot vs. subject, the definition of subject, and related to that, tests of subjecthood.

I will argue for Cebuano, as Anderson (1976: 23) does for ergative languages in general, that the notion of subject is the same as that in accusative languages. That is, in intransitive clauses the subject is marked with absolutive case and in transitive clauses the subject is marked with ergative case, except for inverse voice, where the subject has absolutive case.

In the section on tests of subjecthood I will propose a revision to the Noun phrase accessibility hierarchy. I will also argue against the assumption that subjects should have only one case. Next I will argue for the discriminatory view of case marking which says that the function of case marking is to differentiate the subject and the object from each other. The ergative-absolutive case marking system is as good as the nominative-accusative marking. Finally I will go through various tests of subjecthood to show that ergative NPs in the transitive clauses are the subject of those clauses.

7.1 *Function of case marking*

I would like to argue that it is important to have an understanding of the function of case marking before attempting to study the notion of grammatical subject in non-accusative languages. What brought this to my attention was Schachter's (1976) article on the subject in Philippine languages. There he listed three theoretical possibilities for the subject in Philippine languages: (1) the topic (i.e. the absolutive NP), (2) the actor, and (3) the actor-topic. What is most revealing here is what is being overlooked. He does not discuss the possibility that ergative NPs (his non-topic NPs) could be the subjects in transitive clauses and absolutive NPs (his topic NPs) could be subjects in intransitive clauses. Here we have an important theoretical point to make. A linguist cannot find answers to questions he does not ask. And I believe that Schachter did not ask the question because he thought that the subject should always be marked with one case.

Thus the crucial issue for us here is the role of case marking. There are two views: (1) the indexing or identificational function of case marking and (2) the discriminatory function of case marking.

According to the first view, the function of case marking is to identify a certain NP as having a certain grammatical role. Thus if one has identified a certain case affix with a dative role, then every time that case affix occurs, it identifies that NP to have a dative role. For example, Hopper and Thompson (1980) argue that the marking of an NP as object is to index that the NP is an object, not just distinguish it. For the indexing view it is problematical if both subject and object may have nominative case (Japanese) and if the subject NP has instrumental case (Kewa) (Palmer 1994: 49, 50). It is obvious that this indexing view is based on nominative-accusative language background, or bias. In nominative-accusative languages the subject almost always has the nominative case. Thus for a linguist who is most familiar with that system, it is easy to accept the indexing view.

The second view claims that the function of case marking is to distinguish subject and object from each other, i.e. the function of case marking is to make certain that in any clause it is clear who does what to whom. The discriminatory marking has the advantage of settling problems such as were shown in the Japanese and Kewa examples. As long as it is clear who does what to whom, the case marking has done its job. According to Mallinson and Blake (1981: 46, 79, 115) the discriminating view is the dominant view. They say that Comrie (1978) and Dixon (1979: 69) have put forward this view. Anderson (1976) also argues for the discriminatory function of case marking.

In nominative-accusative languages the intransitive and transitive subject is usually unmarked and the accusative object is marked. However, "many languages restrict accusative marking to definite participants or to animate or human participants".⁵⁷ In ergative languages the intransitive subject and the transitive object are unmarked. Therefore, in transitive clauses both systems are equally good in distinguishing who did what to whom.⁵⁸ The function of nominative marking is to differentiate one NP from the others. Similarly the accusative, absolutive and ergative cases are used in differentiating function. Therefore one can say that the primary function of a case is not to express the subject or object, but to make a distinction. Therefore there is no need to say, as Anderson (1976: 11) does, that "morphology is a misleading indicator of syntactic function in ergative languages". It is not misleading if we do not expect of it something that had not been its function in the first place.

⁵⁷ Mallinson and Blake (1981: 48, 62). This fits in with the discriminatory view. Since definite, animate, or human participants are good actors, they are marked as accusative, so that they are correctly identified as undergoers.

Now that we discuss ergative languages and case marking, we need to define what we mean when we talk about NP of a certain type. Analyzed according to the indexing view, it is an NP with certain case marking. But in the discriminatory view it may be a type of NP marked with one case in transitive clauses and marked with another case in intransitive clauses. That NP type is as much of a certain type as an NP which is always in nominative case. Thus I would like to argue that in ergative languages an absolutive NP in intransitive clauses and an ergative NP in transitive clauses may be one *type* of an NP.

7.1.1 Evidence for discriminatory function of object marking

Since it is important for my argumentation to establish the validity of the view that case marking has a discriminatory function, I will here give evidence from several languages concerning object marking.

Hopper and Thompson's explanation that variation in the properties of the patient would explain the variation in case marking so that more patient-like patients have the patient marking is not convincing. It seems to be the opposite. The most agent-like NPs are marked as patient in order to distinguish them from the agents. Hence it is possible in a nominative-accusative language to have imperative forms where the object is in the nominative.

We will first turn to Finnish. In the Finnish example below, (189) is an imperative clause. The example (190) shows a corresponding statement clause:⁵⁹

- (189) Osta auto!
 buy car-Nom
 'Buy a/the car!
- (190) Osta-n auto-n
 buy-I car-Gen
 'I (will) buy a/the car.'

Because the subject is given (second person singular), and clearly identified from the speech context, the differentiation function of the object case is no longer needed and the object can take the unmarked form, which is the nominative. If the function of case marking

⁵⁸ Anderson (1976: 18-20) and Comrie (1978).

⁵⁹ See also Mallinson and Blake (1981: 92) for some examples. They claim that our explanation does not account for the fact that -n is used to mark the singular NP of participles with genitive A. But there the -n is needed to show that the P is not in nominative case. Since the A is in genitive case, the P would be understood to be the subject if it were in nominative case. They claim also that the word auto is in accusative case, which is an unhelpful analysis. They also claim that this system does not hold for plurals. That is not true. In Osta autot ('Buy the cars') the word autot is in unmarked case. The plural does not have a distinct accusative case. But that is only natural, since most languages restrict accusative marking. (Mallinson and Blake 1981: 48, 62.)

were to characterize the object, the example (189) should be ungrammatical. It is also to be noted that in the Finnish example Osta auto 'Buy a car' and Ostan auton 'I (will) buy a car' the former clause is not at all less transitive, nor is the object less patient-like than in the latter clause.

The object NP in Finnish can be in more than one case. But even in Finnish grammars there is a tendency to limit the number of object cases. Therefore it is said that objects in Finnish are in the partitive or the accusative case, even though there is no clear accusative case in Finnish outside of personal pronouns and the objects can in fact be in the nominative, accusative, genitive, or partitive case.⁶⁰ See the following examples (191) - (196) below which present the Finnish object marking:

object in nominative

(191) Osta auto!
buy car-Nom
'Buy a car!'

object in accusative

(192) Matti tappoi häne-t
Matti killed he-Acc/her-Acc
'Matti killed him/her.'

genitive construction

(193) Vede-n pinta on tyyni
water-Gen surface is calm
'The surface of the water is calm.'

object in genitive

(194) Joi-n vede-n
drink-I water-Gen
'I drank the water.'

object in partitive

(195) Hän joi vet-tä
he drank water-Part
'He drank some water.'

subject in partitive

(196) Vet-tä tuli lattialle
water-Part came on.the.floor
'Some water flowed in onto the floor.'

These data show that the object in Finnish can be in nominative in imperatives (191), in accusative for a totally affected pronoun object (192), in genitive for a totally affected non-

⁶⁰ Ikola (1974:181-186) and (Karlsson 1999: 100-106). Karlsson correctly points out that accusative is not a homogenous morphological case, but a combination of case endings of nominative singular (no case ending), nominative plural (-t), genitive singular (-n), and accusative of personal pronouns (-t). Out of these cases, I would analyze only the last one to be accusative. The others are best analyzed based on their form, i.e. as nominative and genitive. Thus Finnish has in fact four and not two object cases.

pronoun object (194) and in partitive for a partially affected object (195). Examples (193) and (196) are for reference.

In traditional Finnish grammars the words auto, hänet, and veden are analyzed as having accusative case. The only reason for that is that they are grammatical objects (Karlsson 1999: 103). This forced accusative analysis makes it possible to say that the object of Finnish is commonly in the accusative case and in some exceptional cases in the partitive case (Ikola 1974: 182, 183). (In a similar way we could say that the subject of ergative languages is always in ergative case, if we analyze the absolutive case of intransitive clauses as ergative.)

Mohanan (1982: 538-540) reports that in Malayalam, which is a nominative-accusative language spoken in India, inanimate nouns take the nominative case instead of the accusative case when they are direct objects.

7.1.2 Evidence for discriminatory function of subject marking

Now we will turn to subject case marking in English, Malayalam, Finnish, and Greek. See the following examples of English (197) - (200):

(197) Who would like go to the movies? Me!

(198) Me and you can go to the movies.⁶¹

(199) Me thinks that...

(200) Us thoughte it was noght worth to make it wys,
and granted him withouten moore avys.⁶²

What is the grammatical relation of me in (197)? I would analyze it to be the subject. According to Mallinson and Blake (1981: 96) me in (198) and us in (200) above are subjects. If that is true, then in English the subject does not always need to be nominative. If there is no nominative NP available, the accusative NP can be the subject, as in the examples above.

Mohanan (1982: 540-542) reports that in Malayalam, there is a subclass of verbs that take dative subjects. It is a subclass of physical feeling verbs, like 'be hungry', 'feel pain', 'be tired' and 'be happy'. Also some modal suffixes trigger dative subjects, depending on the meaning of the modal suffixes. The suffix -aam with a dative subject NP has the meaning 'permission', e.g. I-dat. sleep-aam means 'I have permission to sleep'. But with a nominative

⁶¹ From Mallinson and Blake (1981: 87).

⁶² From Mallinson and Blake (1981: 96). Late Middle English.

subject NP, the suffix has the meaning 'promise', e.g. I-nom. sleep-aam means 'I promise to sleep'.

Now we will turn to the subject in Finnish. It is traditionally held that the subjects in Finnish can be in nominative or partitive case (Ikola 1974: 170 and Karlsson 1999: 64-, 82-). Some linguists accept also genitive subjects (Karlsson 1999: 96).⁶³ See the following Finnish examples (201) - (206), where subjects are underlined:

subject in nominative

(201) Minä juoksen
I.Nom run
'I run.'

subject in nominative

(202) Minä join vede-n
I.Nom drank water.Gen
'I drank the water.'

subject in partitive

(203) Vauvoj-a syntyy joka päivä
Babies-Part are.born every day
'Babies are born every day.'

subject in partitive

(204) Pullossa on maito-a
bottle.in is milk-Part
'There is milk in the bottle.'

subject in genitive

(205) Minu-n täytyy mennä
I-Gen must go
'I must go.'

subject in genitive

(206) Poikie-n avattua ove-n, mies tuli huoneeseen
boys-Gen open door-Gen man came to.room
'The boys having opened the door, the man came into the room.'

These data show the subject in the normal nominative case in an intransitive clause (201) and in a transitive clause (202), in the partitive case when it refers to an unspecified amount (203) and in an existential clause (204), in the genitive case in neccessive construction (205), and in a participial phrase (lauseenvastike in Finnish) (206). For the analysis of (205) the traditional grammarians analyze the infinitive mennä 'to go' as subject. For the moment, it is enough for me to be able to uncontroversially show that at least one more case form (the partitive in (203) and (204)) in addition to the nominative case can function as the subject. That shows that the nominative does not have a monopoly on the subject in Finnish.

⁶³ Karlsson says that the subject is in the genitive in neccessive constructions ('have to, must') or modal

Also in classical Greek, the subject can have cases other than the nominative if a nominative NP is not available. See the following examples (207) - (209), where the subject is underlined:⁶⁴

- (207) λέγουσιν ἡμᾶς τὰς γυναῖκας ὡς ἀκίνδυνον βίον ζῶμεν κατ' οἴκους
 they.say (we the women)Acc as riskless life live in houses
 'They say (that) we women live riskless life at home.'
- (208) τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐφοβοῦντο
 (the soldiers)Gen were.afraid
 'The soldiers were afraid.'
- (209) καλῶς αὐτῷ εἶχεν
 well he.Dat were
 'To him, things were well.'

These data show the subject in the accusative case (207), genitive case (208) and dative case (209).

Fillmore (1968) and Givón (1984) have established the following ranking of semantic case roles according to the likelihood of their becoming subjects in simple clauses:

Agent > Dat./Ben. > Patient > Instr./Assoc. > Mann.

Thus if there is an agent argument available, it will be the subject. If there is no agent argument, the dative/benefactive argument will be the subject, etc. That ranking presupposes that the subject does not need to be marked by one case only.

The above examples and arguments have illustrated that the grammatical subject and object are not always marked by only one default case even in nominative-accusative languages. Therefore that should not be required of ergative-absolutive languages either.

constructions (it is fitting to, it is worth to). See also Hakulinen and Karlsson (1979: 158, 172).

⁶⁴ These examples are taken from Blomqvist (1991: 175-196). The genitive use with verbs of fear and the dative use with verbs like *δοκεῖ, μέλει* is also explained in Bornemann - Risch (1978: 282-284). To show examples in a real text in a context, Blass - Debrunner - Rehkopf give some examples from the NT (1979: 135, 143).

7.1.3 Evidence from split ergative languages

The fact that the subject has different forms in different constructions seems to be tough on the language learner and the linguist, but it does not seem to bother native speakers. There are split ergative languages where there is an ergative system of case marking and an accusative system of cross referencing (Mallinson and Blake 1981: 59-). That system can be described by the chart below:

	predicate	subject NP	object NP
Intransitive:	nomj-V	NPAbsj	
Transitive:	nomj-V-accj	NPErgi	NPAbsj

Thus in intransitive clauses the predicate has a nominative cross referencing affix, but the subject NP has an absolutive marking. In transitive clauses the predicate has a nominative and accusative cross referencing, but the subject NP has an ergative case marking and the object NP has an absolutive case marking.

There are also split ergative languages where the first and second person personal pronouns operate in a nominative-accusative pattern and the third person personal pronouns and full NPs follow an ergative-absolutive pattern (Mallinson and Blake 1981: 63).

	predicate	subject NP	object NP
First person subject	Vtran	I.nom	he.abs
Second person subject	Vtran	You.nom	me.acc
Third person subject	Vtran	He.erg	NP.abs

Thus in transitive clauses, a 1.p subject pronoun has a nominative marking, but a 3.p. object pronoun has an absolutive marking. A 2.p. subject pronoun has a nominative marking, and a 1.p. object has an accusative marking. A 3.p. subject has an ergative marking and an object NP has an absolutive marking. Thus subjects may have a nominative or ergative marking.

There are also split ergative languages where the perfect tense is ergative-absolutive and the imperfect tense is nominative-accusative (Anderson 1976: 18). As a result, those languages have the following construction:

	predicate	subject NP	object NP
intransitive	Vimperf	Nom	
	Vperf	Abs	

(213) by the fourth I was knocked out
 Theme Subject
 Actor

In his article, Keenan (1976) combines these three subject categories. I think it is important to keep these three categories separate. Topic is a pragmatic category, agent is a semantic category, and subject is a syntactic category. We can say that Keenan's work can help in suggesting at the subject of a particular clause, but it cannot be used to define the grammatical subject of a language. The agent or topic alone may give us suggestions as to which NP is the subject, but they cannot define the subject.⁶⁵ For example, if we look at examples (211) - (213) we see that the three different subject notions do not coincide. What to do next? One possibility would be to calculate the votes and say that the NP is the subject which has the most subject features. Another possibility is to say that subject features are distributed among more than one NP and one cannot identify any one NP as the subject.

I prefer to keep these three notions separate, and if we are to define the grammatical subject, then its definition must be distinguished from the definition of the topic/theme or of the agent/actor. In this article the term "subject" always refers to the grammatical subject of a clause in the way Halliday defines the grammatical subject as shown above.

"Pivot" is a term that became popular after occurring in Dixon (1979). Foley and Van Valin (1984: 110) define it as follows: "The pivot of a syntactic construction is the NP which is crucially involved in it; i.e. it is the NP around which the construction is built". This crucially involved NP is revealed, for example, by omission in raising, ellipsis of coordinated structures and Equi-NP deletion. This NP is of a certain type, i.e. it is marked with a certain case. So, absolutive NPs may be the pivot, or to state it with another term: S=P or S/P may be the pivot. Foley and Van Valin reject the notion that subject and object are universal categories and primitives. They argue that, for example, the subject's properties are divided between the notions of actor and pivot in their theory (1994: 124). I agree with those linguistic schools (e.g. LFG) which accept the universality of the subject (Bresnan 1982a, 1982b).

According to Palmer (1994: 110), pivots are established by syntax, and grammatical relations (subject and object) are established by morphology. That reflects the opinion that subjects are not primitives, they are marked with morphology only. Pivots are primitives and are thus marked with syntax. It is my understanding that the term "pivot" was coined, because in syntactically ergative languages one did not want to call S=P as the subject. I would not

⁶⁵ This agrees with Comrie (1981:100, 101), who says that even though the prototypical subject is the intersection of the agent and the topic, the subject cannot be identified with the notion of the topic.

mind calling S=P as the subject, but I also accept the term pivot. And pivot is a good term to use if indeed there are syntactic processes which are not sensitive to the subject. But in languages where syntactical processes are sensitive to the subject, there is no need to talk about pivots.

I will use the terms **subject** and **object** in the sense of grammatical subject and object as defined above. Therefore in a one-argument clause, typically the only core argument is the subject; it is the S argument. In a two-argument clause there are logically speaking two possibilities: (1) The core argument that is in the ergative case⁶⁶ is the subject, and the object is the core argument that is in absolutive case, or (2) the absolutive NP is the subject and the ergative NP is the object. If we find out that S=A is the subject (pivot), then we can say that Cebuano is syntactically accusative. If syntactic processes in Cebuano are sensitive to S=P, then Cebuano is syntactically ergative. Foley and Van Valin (1984: 138, 178, 179) argue that Tagalog has a limited degree of ergative syntax. According to them, topicalization and WH-question formation have an S=P pivot.

7.3 *Analyzing the subject*

7.3.1 *Theoretical possibilities for analyzing the subject*

The literature published on the matter suggests four alternative methods for analyzing the subject of Philippine languages. Some linguists hold that (1) the absolutive NP is the subject. This view, which was first expressed by Blake and Bloomfield, has become very common. Mallinson and Blake (1981: 97), Bell (1976), and Kroeger (1993) hold this view. Jacobsen (1985: 178, 179) says that this is a syntactic rather than semantic definition. I agree with him that it is not a semantic definition, but neither is it a syntactic one. I would call it a morphological definition. What can be agreed upon is that Jacobsen does not give any evidence to support his claim that his definition is syntactic. Anderson (1976: 3) states that “a major problem with the assumption that morphology will reveal the important categories of syntactic structure directly has long been the existence of ergative languages”.

Others hold the view that (2) “there is no syntactic category in Philippine languages that corresponds to the category identified as subject in other languages” (Schachter 1976: 513).

⁶⁶ The ergative case is unambiguously marked only on personal pronouns. With other markers there is only a two-way distinction: absolutive/non-absolutive (i.e. ergative or oblique). As shorthand I will call all NPs ergative case, if by replacing them with the equivalent personal pronoun, the pronoun gets ergative case marking.

That is because subject properties are divided between what in my terminology are the ergative NP and the absolutive NP (Schachter 1976: 513-515).

Still others hold that (3) the subject should be identified solely with the agent, i.e. the subject is a semantic notion.

Finally, there are linguists (e.g. Payne 1982 and 1994) who think that (4) the grammatical subject is the NP marked ergative in transitive clauses and absolutive in intransitive clauses.⁶⁷ I will argue in favor of the last-mentioned view and give evidence for it. Before we discuss that, we will need to have a look at what kind of methods are used in analyzing the subject.

7.3.2 Methods of analyzing the subject

The method of investigation is to see whether S and A are treated similarly or whether it is S and P that are treated similarly by syntactic processes. According to Comrie (1978: 343), “if in a language S and A are regularly identified, that is, if the language is consistently or overwhelmingly nominative-accusative, then we are justified in using the term subject to group together S and A; if in a language S and P are regularly identified (consistent or overwhelming ergative-absolutive system), then we would be justified in using the term subject rather to refer to S and P, that is, in particular, to refer to P, rather than A, of the transitive construction”.

There are basically two methods of investigating how S, A and P are treated, and a third group of miscellaneous arguments. (1) First, one can look at grammatical marking to see whether it can be considered as marking of grammatical relations or pivots. According to Palmer (1994: 6, 7, 53), there are three types of marking: word order, case marking on NPs, and agreement with the verbs. One could recategorize this and jointly consider the case marking of NPs and the agreement as morphological marking. Thus we have two kinds of marking of grammatical relations: syntactical marking and morphological marking. Since it is important to distinguish syntax from morphology, I will argue that only syntactical marking shows how the syntax treats S, A or P. The syntactical marking in question is word order. Morphological marking is used to identify the subject after the subject has been analyzed. For example, if we find out that the absolutive NP is the grammatical subject, then morphological case marking helps us to identify the subject in any given clause, but we will not use that case marking as an argument in the analysis of subject.

(2) The second method is to see how various transformational processes treat S, A and P. Anderson (1976: 8-) lists Equi-NP deletion, raising, conjunction formation and reflexive as such transformational processes.

(3) The third group consists of arguments based on assumed miscellaneous syntactic processes used in the literature, which do not fit the above-mentioned two groups. To mention two arguments here: first, avoidance of analysis which leads to subjectless clauses and second, relativization, have been used as arguments when analyzing the subject of Philippines languages.

7.4 *Tests of subjecthood*

7.4.1 *Theoretical issues*

There are many **tests of subjecthood** in the linguistic literature as we have seen already above. Anderson (1976: 7) mentions Equi-NP deletion, raising, reflexive, and conjunction formation. There are, however, some problems concerning these tests of subjecthood. (1) How to decide which test is really a test of subjecthood? In other words, how to ascertain that the process in question is sensitive to grammatical relations and not to morphological case, for example? (2) Some tests are claimed not to be universally valid. How then to decide which tests are valid specifically for Cebuano? Anderson took his reflexive examples from Danish, because “reflexive is somewhat complicated in English by conditions which are more sensitive to order than to grammatical relations” and “the behavior of reflexive with respect to case marking is sometimes difficult to determine, since it is fairly common for reflexive clauses to be treated as structurally intransitive. When that happens, it is impossible to determine whether reflexivization has gone “from” the ergative NP “to” the absolutive NP, or vice versa”.⁶⁷ About conjunction formation he says: “In languages where pronominalization is by deletion, then, the process of conjunction formation is much less (if at all) sensitive to grammatical relations” (Anderson 1976: 13). Thus it is clear that according to Anderson some tests are not universally valid.

Dixon (1979: 129) has also cast doubt over some tests of subjecthood. He thinks that some claimed syntactic constraints in fact are not syntactic for all languages, i.e. that they are

⁶⁷ See e.g. Anderson (1976: 16), who observes, “from a syntactic point of view these languages [i.e. ergative languages] are organized in the same way as are accusative languages, and that the basically syntactic notion of ‘subject’ has essentially the same reference in both language types.”

⁶⁸ Anderson (1976: 9, 14, 15). Schwartz (1976: 526) claims that reflexivization is not subject-controlled.

not syntactic constraints universally. Instead, they may depend on semantic, stylistic or discourse-organization preferences. Dixon (1994: 131-157) gives a fairly comprehensive discussion on subjecthood tests. According to him, constructions like imperatives, reflexives, Equi-NP deletion with secondary verbs (like can, try, begin, want) and causatives cannot be used as subjecthood tests. That is because in them S and A are universally treated similarly on the basis of semantic factors. Thus there is no choice. Dixon does not give a list of the tests which he accepts, but choice is an important factor. In a subjecthood test there must be a possibility for at least two kinds of results.

According to Dixon (1994: 152-157), languages may be divided into three types. Some languages have pivot constraints, some have switch reference and some have no syntactic mechanism. The latter languages may be semantically based. Thus in the sentence pair “Mary hit John and - laughed” and “Mary hit John and - cried” it is semantics that identifies Mary in the first sentence as the one who laughed and John in the second sentence as the one who cried.

Pivot conditions or constraints imply that the selection of NPs is not free; it is syntactically restricted. Some languages may require that S or A NPs be used and thus they have an S/A pivot constraint. Other languages may require that S or P NPs be used and thus they have an S/P pivot constraint. According to Dixon, the function of antipassive and passive is to feed pivots to enable clause combining, by which they reveal pivot constraints (1994: 154).

Dixon (1994: 157) says that sometimes within a single language the pivot constraints must be satisfied for clauses to be combined. Other times there is no pivot condition on clause combining, but there is a pivot constraint on the omission of a coreferential NP. He argues also that each language has a number of different processes of clause combining, and a pivot constraint may apply to only some of them. Also different pivot constraints may apply to different kinds of clause combining.

There is good sense in Dixon’s observation that one should use only such subject tests in which there is a real possibility that the result is not universally predicted by non-syntactic reasons. But how to apply that to individual tests is another matter. To name one example, Kroeger (1993: 39, 40) says about reflexives and Equi that “neither reflexive antecedents nor Equi targets are restricted exclusively to Actors. Assuming that a single clause can have at most one grammatical subject, this implies that neither reflexive binding nor Equi constructions provide diagnostic tests for grammatical subjecthood in Tagalog”. Dixon claims that Equi-NP deletion cannot be used as a grammatical subjecthood test since in it S and A are universally treated similarly on the basis of semantic factors. Anderson (1976: 17), however, claims that in

Dyirbal and Hurrian the Equi-NP deletion rule “deletes the NP which would be subject of an intransitive verb or object of a transitive”. Thus, according to Anderson, there is a choice.

It is clear then that a lot more work needs to be done on defining which tests of subjecthood are universally valid and which are not. Also we need to agree on the question of which tests are really tests of grammatical subject and not tests of theme/topic or actor/agent or case marking.

Since there does not seem to be consensus on the issue of which tests of subjecthood are universally valid, nor which are valid specifically for Cebuano, in the following I will err on the side of using too many tests and thus discuss most of the tests that I have seen used in the literature. The advantage of this choice is that each reader has the possibility of disregarding those tests that are not acceptable and tabulating the results anew based on only those tests that he or she accepts. At the same time I would like to make the point that as long as the status of subjecthood tests seem to be in a state of flux, the results obtained by using these tests must be taken as preliminary.

There are two further observations that I would like to make. The first is that there is a danger in explaining away tests that do not give wanted results. The treatment of reflexivization by Schwartz, I believe, is a case in point. He (1976: 526) claims that reflexivization is not subject controlled. The second observation is that there is a danger in picking and choosing tests that give the results one wants. For example, word order is seldom mentioned when analyzing grammatical subject. This is surprising to me, since word order is as unambiguously a syntactic phenomenon as case marking is unambiguously a morphological phenomenon. Word order seems to be a universally applicable syntactic subject test. Even such a relatively free word order language as Finnish still has the basic word order SVO.

With the above caveats we will now have a look at tests of subjecthood.

7.4.2 Avoidance of analysis which leads to subjectless clauses

According to Schachter, one should avoid an analysis which leads to subjectless clauses (1976: 498-503). The argument is that there are clause types, e.g. existential clauses, whose only constituents are a nominal or adjectival predicate and the absolutive nominal. Therefore if those clauses are to have a subject, it must be the absolutive NP. The clauses are of the type “The man will sweat”, “The man is a lawyer”, “The man is intelligent”, “There was an accident”, “There is someone coming”. The underlined NPs are in the absolutive case in Tagalog (and in Cebuano). Therefore the two last ones are without subject also in Schachter’s analysis. Since we argue for the absolutive NPs to be the subject in intransitive clauses, the

same clauses have subjects as can be seen in the analysis that Schachter favors. In fact, because there is an indefinite absolutive case marker -y in the above mentioned existential clauses marking the subject, in my analysis there are fewer subjectless clauses than in Schachter's analysis: Wolff (1972: 1130) lists y in his dictionary as "particle showing grammatical relations. 1 subject marker in sentences with nominal, pronominal, numerical, or interrogative predicates. ... 2 as subject marker for subjects which express a future condition. ... 3 after deictics, *duna, wala*: there is (was, isn't, etc.) any..." See the following examples (227) and (228), where the subject is underlined:

- (214) Aduna-y kwarta sa lamisa
 exist-iTOP money at table
 'There is some money on the table.'
- (215) Aduna ba-y kwarta sa lamisa?
 exist QM-iTOP money at table
 'Is there some money on the table?'

The -y marks the indefinite subject. The fact that it marks the subject NP is shown by the example (215) where the -y is moved to the personal pronoun, because it must occur immediately before the subject. Thus we have in fact three case forms for the subject, the absolutive, the ergative, and -y. I will analyze the -y as the indefinite absolutive case, and so reduce the number of subject case forms into two. Those who say that only the ang marked NPs are subjects, must claim that the above-mentioned clauses are subjectless. Thus the very argument these theorists chose to support their analysis speaks against them.

The fact that Schachter does not discuss the possibility of absolutive NPs being subjects in intransitive clauses and ergative NPs being subjects of transitive clauses in my view stems from the fact that he thinks that subjects must always have the same case. Thus the logic is that if one can show that a certain case in some clauses is the subject, then NPs in other types of clauses that have that same case must be subjects as well. The evidence for proving that he thinks this way can be seen in his discussion of why the actor should not be the subject (1976: 508, 509). In that discussion Schachter mentions that usually the subject has only one form. If the actor is the subject, it has two possible morphological forms: the ergative and absolutive cases. This has been discussed already above. Suffice it to say that I feel that there is a nominative-accusative language bias here. Schachter himself admits to making a weak argument.

Schachter does not discuss the problem of subjectless matrix clauses in cases where the absolutive NP is the subject. Sentences like *gusto niya X* 'he wants x' are a problem,

because niya is in the ergative case. And if niya is not the subject, the matrix clause is subjectless.

7.4.3 Relativization

Schachter's (1976) second argument is based on Keenan and Comrie's (1977) NP accessibility hierarchy, according to which subjects are the highest to be relativized, after which come objects. In Philippine-type languages it is typical that only the absolutive NPs can be relativized while the ergative NPs cannot. Therefore, on the basis of the accessibility hierarchy, the absolutive NP is the subject. Schachter gives examples from Tagalog relative clauses. I present two of them here, (216) and (217). Number (218) is my own example:

(216) *Interesante ang diyaryong binasa ng lalaki*
 interesting TOP newspaper GFP-read Actor man
 'The newspaper that the man read is interesting.'

(217) **Interesante ang diyaryong bumasa ang lalaki*⁶⁹
 interesting TOP newspaper AFP-read TOP man
 'The newspaper that the man read is interesting.'

(218) **Bumasa ang diyaryong ang lalaki*⁷⁰
 AFP-read TOP newspaper TOP man
 'The man reads the newspaper.'

The example (216) shows a Goal orientation and grammatical clause. The newspaper, which is in the absolutive case and which is the P argument, is relativized. The example (217) shows the same process except that the verb is in Actor orientation. Moreover, it is ungrammatical. The reason for its ungrammaticality, which seems to have gone unnoticed by Schachter, is the fact that there are two ang phrases in the prerelativized clause (218). That is not allowed, as Schachter himself says elsewhere.⁷¹ If Tagalog is similar to Cebuano, typically only the absolutive NPs can be fronted. In certain cases, when the head of the NP is a pronoun, also ergative NPs may occur in preverbal position, see e.g. (8), (166) and (168). Because the order of the constituents in Cebuano is Comment-Topic, the adjective and after that the relativized NP interesante ang diyaryong must come at the beginning of the clause. Therefore the noncompliance of the Philippine-type languages to the accessibility hierarchy has a natural

⁶⁹ The correct form is: *Interesante ang diyaryong binasa ng lalaki* = (216).

⁷⁰ The correct form is: *Bumasa ng diyaryong ang lalaki*.

explanation. We could argue that relativization in Cebuano is based not on subjecthood but on case.

One could revise the NP accessibility hierarchy so that it is not partially based on grammatical relations, but on morphological case forms. The revised AH would state that the unmarked core case (i.e. absolutive or nominative) is the highest in hierarchy and after that comes the marked core case (i.e. ergative and accusative). Before going deeper into the revision of the accessibility hierarchy, let us have a look at some examples of relativization in Cebuano. See examples (219) - (223) below.

- (219) Gi-basa sa lalaki ang balita
 GFp-read erg man TOP newspaper
 'The man read the newspaper.'
- (220) Maayo ang balita nga gi-basa sa lalaki
 good TOP newspaper REL GFp-read erg man
 'The newspaper that the man read is good.'
- (221) Maayo ang lalaki nga nag-basa sa balita
 good TOP man REL AFp-read the newspaper
 'The man who read the newspaper is good.'
- (222) *Maayo ang lalaki nga gi-basa ang balita
 good TOP man REL GFp-read TOP newspaper
 'The man who read the newspaper is good.'
- (223) *Maayo sa lalaki nga gi-basa ang balita
 good the man REL GFp-read TOP newspaper
 'The man who read the newspaper is good.'

The example (219) is the prerelativized normal undergoer orientation clause, and (220) is the same clause after relativization. As can be seen, the ang NP has been fronted here. The example (221) shows that if the agent is going to be relativized, the clause needs to have the Actor orientation. Again, (222) shows the ungrammatical undergoer orientation clause where the actor has been relativized. This can be said to be ungrammatical because it has two ang-phrases. My example (223) shows that even the clause which has only one ang-phrase is ungrammatical. In Cebuano an ergative NP, which has a noun as its head and functions as a core argument, cannot occur in a preverbal position.

Now we will take a closer look at the NP accessibility hierarchy. As already mentioned, the subjecthood test of relativization is based on the accessibility hierarchy devised by Keenan and Comrie (1977).⁷² That hierarchy was based on a study of 40 languages. The problem of

⁷¹ Schachter (1976: 494) says: "the simple narrative sentence of Tagalog consists of a verb followed by a string of ... noun phrases, one of which is marked ... the topic."

⁷² Mallinson - Blake (1981: 350) say "...it would not be surprising if there were some details of languages yet to be encountered which worked against the precise details of the hierarchy... Chung - Seiter

such a study is the danger of circular reasoning. Before starting a study like that, the notion of the subject must be defined. On the basis of the results of that study, one will define the subject of the languages being studied later on. From the studies of Keenan and Comrie (1977: 70, 80) and Comrie (1981: 114, 115) we know that they regard the absolutive NP as the subject of Philippine-type languages. However, with ergative languages they assumed that S/A is the subject. If they had regarded the Philippine-type languages to be ergative, i.e. that the ergative NP is the subject of transitive clauses in Philippine-type languages, they could not have come up with the kind of accessibility hierarchy they did. (They had Tagalog as one of the languages and assumed the absolutive NP to be the subject.)

Bell (1976: 44, 45) also advises caution concerning the accessibility hierarchy. Her reasons are first that the definition of the subject was not given, and secondly that Japanese causes problems with the accessibility hierarchy.

I would like to revise the NP accessibility hierarchy based on Mallinson and Blake (1981). They suggest that one could change the hierarchy from the original (Keenan and Comrie 1977: 66) according to the following model for ergative languages:

Abs > Erg > IO > Obl > possessor > object of comparison
 instead of
 Subject > Object > IO > Obl > possessor > object of comparison.

It is important to see that Keenan and Comrie's hierarchy is not based on grammatical relations only. It is a mixture of grammatical relations (Subject and Object), semantically defined arguments (Possessor and Object of comparison) and case marking (Oblique). My claim is that the NP accessibility hierarchy (AH) is not a hierarchy of grammatical relations but one of morphological marking. This is evidenced from many languages in which indirect objects and oblique arguments are not distinguished in their grammatical structures. Therefore the number of forms available for any language varies, even though the number of semantically distinguishable items and the number of grammatical relations stays the same. In other words, even in a language which does not formally distinguish between IO and Obl., one can distinguish them semantically. Therefore to make the AH more systematic one should have only formally distinguishable items on the hierarchy. My revision for all types of languages looks like this:

1980 criticize the hierarchy as a universal pattern for pronominalization accessibility, since many Polynesian languages of the ergative type break the hierarchy in this respect." As quoted in Mallinson – Blake (1981: 352).

Unmarked core case > marked core case > IO > Obl. etc.

absolute	ergative
nominative	accusative

In fact Keenan and Comrie (1977: 82) discuss the possibility of changing the hierarchy, but they reject it because the languages they had in their sample and which they analyzed as ergative did relativize both absolute and ergative NPs, and as a result there was no need to change the hierarchy. If they had had ergative languages which relativized only absolute NPs in their corpus, they might have devised a hierarchy similar to the one I am advocating as the revision of the AH. In their discussion they do not object to the revision because it would be going away from grammatical relations into case forms. Therefore they do not seem to be in principle against that measure.

Even if I would like to argue that relativization is not a syntactic subject test, but rather is sensitive to morphological case, the fact remains that it is generally accepted as a subjecthood test and gives the result that only absolute NPs can be relativized. On these grounds I mark the relativization in the with *S/P as subject* in Table 14.

7.4.4 Floating quantifiers

Schachter's (1976) third argument concerns floating quantifiers. This refers to examples like "The men were moving all the pictures" vs. "All the men were moving pictures". It is claimed that the floating of all is absolute-related or controlled, not actor-related or controlled. According to relational grammar, only terms (i.e. subjects, objects and indirect objects) may launch floating quantifiers. See the following Tagalog examples from Schachter (224) and (225) plus the Tagalog examples (226) and (227) that my Cebuano respondents have provided.

Schachter (Tagalog):

(224) Sumusulat lahat ang mga bata ng mga liham
 AFP-write all TOP pl child NA pl. letter
 'All the children are writing letters.'

(225) Sinusulat lahat ng mga bata ang mga liham
 GFP-write all NA pl. child TOP pl. letter
 'Some children write all the letters.'

My Cebuano respondents:

(226) Sinusulat ng lahat ng mga bata ang mga liham
 GFP-write NA all NA pl. child TOP pl. letter
 'All children write the letters.'

- (227) Sinusulat ng mga bata ang lahat ng mga liham
 GFP-write NA pl. child TOP all NA pl. letter
 'The children write all the letters.'

According to Schachter the adjective lahat 'all' controls 'the children' in (224) and 'letters' in (225). If that is correct, then it is true that floating quantifiers are absolutive controlled. However, according to the information I received from my Cebuano respondents, (225) is incorrect. The correct clause can be found in (226) and there lahat 'all' controls 'the children'. The clause (227) is an example where 'all' controls 'the letters'.

Be it as it may in Tagalog, the examples (228) - (230) show quantifiers in Cebuano.

- (228) Nag-sulat ang mga bata ug istoria
 AFP-write TOP pl. child a story
 'Many children are writing stories.'
- (229) Nag-sulat ug istoria ang tanang mga bata
 AFP-write a story TOP all pl. child
 'All children are writing stories.'
- (230) Tanang mga bata nag-sulat ug istoria
 all pl. child AFP-write a story
 'All children are writing stories.'

The example (228) shows a basic Actor orientation clause without the word 'all'. Examples (229) and (230) show tanang 'all' controlling the children. The example (229) shows a basic constituent order, while in (230) tanang is fronted for prominence. All these clauses have Actor orientation.

- (231) Sulat-on sa mga bata ang istoria
 write-GFf erg pl. child TOP story
 'Many children will write the stories.'
- (232) Sulat-on sa tanang mga bata ang istoria
 write-GFf erg all pl. child TOP story
 'All the children will write stories.'
- (233) *Tanang mga bata sulat-on ang istoria
 all pl. child write-GFf TOP story
 'All children will write the stories.'
- (234) Sulat-on sa mga bata ang tanan nga istoria
 write-GFf erg pl. child TOP all REL story
 'Many children will write all the stories.'

The example (231) shows a basic undergoer orientation clause without quantifiers. In (232) the adjective controls 'children'. Again, (233) is ungrammatical, and (234) shows where the adjective goes when it controls the 'stories'. In all these examples the adjective has been

inside the NP in question, which is shown by the fact that it occurs after the nominal markers sa and ang.

Bell (1976: 39-41) gives examples⁷³ where the adjective is outside the NP. Examples (235) and (236) show that then the adjective is absolutive controlled in Cebuano, since, according to Bell, in (235) the adjective controls the absolutive *ang istudiante*, and in (236) the adjective controls the absolutive *ang mga libro ni Rizal*.

(235) Nag-basa tanan ang istudiante sa mga
 AFp-read all TOP student the pl.
 libro ni Rizal
 book erg Rizal
 'All the students were reading Rizal's books.'

(236) Gi-basa tanan sa mga istudiante ang mga
 GFp-read all the pl. students TOP pl.
 libro ni Rizal
 book erg Rizal
 'The students were reading all Rizal's books.'

Some of my Cebuano respondents said that Bell's examples are either grammatically incorrect or unclear. But if we for the sake of argumentation accept that these examples are both correct and clear, even if they are not very common, what is the conclusion that should be drawn from this evidence? It is interesting to see that at least according to Bell, the argument is theory specific. According to RG, "if the quantifier float is restricted to a single dependent, that dependent must be the highest dependent on the hierarchy, the Subject" (Bell 1976: 41). But when Bell studied the subject according to TG in the same study, the quantifier float was not among the arguments she used. Thus we need to assess its significance for those of us who do not use RG as a model.

To test whether the quantifier float is sensitive to grammatical relations or not, we can change the clauses (235) and (236) into inverse or passive. As we have seen in Chapter Three on voice, Cebuano has passive and inverse voice. Clearly, in such a transformation the subject changes. If then the adjective refers to the same NP as it had done before the transformation, then we have evidence that the quantifier float is not subject related. This is exactly what happens. The example (237) below was accepted by the same Cebuano respondent who accepted the examples (235) and (236) above (others claim that even this is ungrammatical).

⁷³The Cebuano line is from Bell, other lines (gloss and translation) are mine.

- (237) ?Gi-basa tanan ang mga libro ni Rizal
 GFp-read all TOP pl. book erg Rizal
 sa mga istudiante
 the pl. students
 'The students were reading all Rizal's books.'

In example (237) tanan is still outside of any NP and still controls the absolutive ang mga libro 'books', the difference being that the example (236) is active and (237) is inverse. Thus the subjects in those two examples are different NPs, which shows that the quantifier float is sensitive to case marking and not to grammatical relation. This argumentation can be used even though the subject has not yet been identified, since whatever the subject is, it changes into inverse.

I would like to argue that the quantifier float in Cebuano is absolutive controlled and not subject controlled.⁷⁴ On these grounds I mark the quantifier float as *Not applicable* in Table 14.

7.4.5 Question formation

Shibatani (1988: 120-122) adds three arguments from Cebuano to Schachter's arguments. According to him, (1) question formation, (2) gap control in samtang-clauses, and (3) raising, show evidence that P is the subject. He argues in the following terms:

Shibatani's question formation argument claims that only absolutive NP forms can be questioned directly. See the following examples (238) – (244):

- (238) Mi-palit si Maria ug itlog
 AFp-buy TOP Maria an egg
 'Maria bought some eggs.'
- (239) Gi-palit ni Maria ang itlog
 GFp-buy erg Maria TOP egg
 'Maria bought the eggs.'

The examples (238) and (239) show the normal declarative Actor orientation and undergoer orientation clauses given here for reference.

- (240) Kinsa-y mi-palit ug itlog?
 who-iTOP AFp-buy an egg
 'Who bought eggs?'

⁷⁴ Thus it is similar to the revised noun phrase accessibility hierarchy, which also is sensitive to case, but not sensitive to grammatical relation.

- (240a) Kinsa ang mi-palit ug itlog?
 who REL AFp-buy an egg
 'Who bought eggs?'
- (241) Unsa-y gi-palit ni Maria?
 what-iTOP GFp-buy erg Maria
 'What did Maria buy?'
- (241a) Unsa ang gi-palit ni Maria?
 what REL GFp-buy erg Maria
 'What did Maria buy?'
- (242) *Unsa-y mi-palit si Maria?
 what-iTOP AFp-buy TOP Maria
 'What did Maria buy?'
- (242a) *Unsa mi-palit si Maria?
 what AFp-buy TOP Maria
 'What did Maria buy?'
- (243) *Kinsa-y gi-palit ang itlog?
 who-iTOP GFp-buy TOP egg
 'Who bought the eggs?'
- (243a) *Kinsa gi-palit ang itlog?
 who GFp-buy TOP egg
 'Who bought the eggs?'
- (244) Kang kinsa nimo gi-palit ang itlog?
 dat who 2erg GFp-buy TOP egg
 'From whom did you buy the eggs?'

Examples (240) and (241) show the type of questions Shibatani had in mind. If the actor is questioned, the clause is in Actor orientation (240). If the patient is questioned, the clause is in undergoer orientation (241). The examples (240a) and (241a) are variants that use the marker ang instead of the indefinite absolutive marker -y.⁷⁵ As can be seen from the examples (242) and (243), if Actor orientation is used in questioning the patient, or if undergoer orientation is used to question the actor, we have ungrammatical clauses, because they have two absolutives in them (ang and -y). The examples (242a) and (243a) show that even without the absolutive -y attached to the question word the clauses are ungrammatical. The example (244) shows a grammatical undergoer orientation clause where *kinsa* is used as a question word. Then it occurs with the dative *kang*, which means 'from whom' and refers to an oblique argument. The example (243a) is crucial, since it shows that *kinsa* cannot be used when it refers to an ergative NP. In the following discussion I try to explain this phenomenon.

The fact that the question word *kinsa*, when it refers to an ergative NP, cannot be used, stems from the fact that ergative NPs with nominal heads cannot be fronted. The

⁷⁵ Here the marker ang is not a nominal marker. See examples (3) and (245) for similar use of ang.

following examples (245) – (248) illustrate that fact.⁷⁶ If an ergative NP with a nominal head occurs in preverbal position, it is interpreted as having the oblique case.

What is he going to buy?

- (245) Ang libro ang palit-on sa tawo para kang Ana
 TOP book REL buy-GFf erg person for dat Ana
 'The book the person will buy for Ana.'

For whom?

- (246) Para kang Ana ang libro nga palit-on sa tawo
 for dat Ana TOP book REL buy-GFf erg person
 'The person will buy the book for Ana.'

Where from?

- (247) Sa Alemars palit-on sa tawo ang libro
 at Alemars buy-GFf erg person TOP book
 para kang Ana
 for dat Ana
 'The person will buy the book for Ana at the Alemars.'

From these data we can see that when the question asks more specifically about the object of purchase, the answer has Goal orientation, and the absolutive NP has been fronted (245). In (246) the question asks more specifically about the beneficiary and accordingly the receiver and the absolutive NP are fronted. In (247) the question more specifically asks about the place. Here the place is fronted.

an 'ergative' NP with nominal head preposed.

- (248) Sa tawo palit-on ang libro para kang Ana
 the person buy-GFf TOP book for dat Ana
 'The book will be bought from the person for Ana.'

From (248) we can see that if an ergative NP is fronted, it is no longer considered a core argument; it loses its position as an A argument, and is in fact in dative case. Instead of being an actor it is perceived as the source of the book. From these data it is clear that the ergative NP has to remain in its position after the predicate in order to be perceived as ergative. Thus in my view while Shibatani's arguments hold (that only absolutives can be questioned directly), his conclusion is not correct (because P, i.e. absolutive case NPs, are subjects). Instead, I claim

⁷⁶The only exceptions to this rule are pronouns, which in certain constructions may occur in preverbal position. See e.g. (55) and (170) below:

- (55) Akong putl-on ang kahoy
 I cut-GFf TOP tree
 'I will cut the tree.'

and

- (170) Wala niya ako palit-i ug saging
 not 3erg Iabs buy-LFf a banana
 'He did not buy bananas for me.'

that the reason for that fact is a word order restriction that cannot be used to argue against the subjecthood of ergative NPs.⁷⁷ On these grounds I mark the question formation as *Not applicable* in Table 14.

7.4.6 Gap-control in samtang clauses

According to Shibatani (1988: 120-122) in samtang clauses (i.e. 'while'-clauses), the absolutive controls the gap, and the gap is absolutive. Thus it is the absolutive that is omitted, not the ergative, and the omitted absolutive is coreferential with the absolutive NP in the main clause. See the following example (249) from Shibatani⁷⁸, which has Actor orientation, and the corresponding example (250) from my Cebuano respondents:

Shibatani: A P
 (249) Nag-haluk si Juan ni Maria
 AFp-kiss TOP Juan dat Maria
 A P
 samtang naka-kita Ø ni Lita
 while AFp-watch dat Lita Ø
 'John is kissing Maria while looking at Lita.'
 (Ø = Juan).

According to Shibatani, in (249) si Juan is the A argument and ni Maria the P argument, and in the 'while' clause ni Lita is the P argument and the gap Ø refers to Juan. (It is Juan who is looking at Lita.) Thus both conditions would be met: (1) In the main clause the absolutive (si Juan) controls the deleted NP in the 'while' clause. (2) This deleted item is in the absolutive case, since the other argument (ni Lita) is in the non-absolutive case. However, according to my Cebuano respondents, Shibatani's clause is ungrammatical. Below, the example (250) is one suggestion for correcting it.

My Cebuano respondents:

(250) Nag-haluk si Juan **ug** Maria
 AFp-kissed TOP Juan and Maria
 S=ex-P Obl.=ex-A
 samtang **na**-kita (sila) ni Lita
 while GFp-see (3pabs) dat Lita
 'John and Maria kissed while they were seen by
 Lita.'

Thus we can see that ergative personal pronouns may be fronted.

⁷⁷ Thus it is similar to the revised noun phrase accessibility hierarchy, which also is sensitive to case, but not sensitive to grammatical relation.

⁷⁸ In this and the following examples from Shibatani the Cebuano line, the analysis line above it and the translation line are from Shibatani, while the gloss line is mine.

In the corrected clause (250) the main clause does not have a P argument but a complex S argument that consists of two individuals. The predicate in the 'while' clause has undergoer orientation and passive voice. Thus it is still the absolutive that controls the gap, but there is no other argument to choose from. It is also true that the gap is in the absolutive case, but again it is the only core argument available. Thus this example cannot be used as evidence against the ergative NP as the subject. Actually one could use (250) as evidence that since it cannot be subject, the P argument (*si*) had to be made into an S argument (i.e. the 'while' clause had to be passivized), which can be the subject, before it could be omitted.

See the following example (251) from Shibatani, which has undergoer orientation, and the corresponding examples (252) and (253) from my Cebuano respondents:

- (251) A P
 Gi-haluk-an ni Juan si Maria
 LFp-kiss-LF erg Juan TOP Maria
 A P
 samtang naka-kita ∅ ni Lita
 while AFp-watch erg Lita
 'John is kissing Maria while looking at Lita.'
 (∅ = Maria).'

According to Shibatani, in (251) *ni Juan* is the A argument and *si Maria* the P argument and in the 'while' clause *ni Lita* is the P argument and the gap ∅ refers to *Maria* only which is the A argument (It is Maria who is looking at Lita this time.) Thus both conditions would be met: (1) In the main clause the absolutive (*si Maria*) controls the omitted NP in the 'while' clause. (2) This omitted item was in the absolutive case, since the other argument (*ni Lita*) is in the non-absolutive case. According to my Cebuano respondents Shibatani's clause is ungrammatical. My examples (252) and (253) are suggestions for correction.

My Cebuano respondents:

- (252) A P
 Gi-haluk-an ni Juan si Maria
 LFp-kiss-LF erg Juan TOP Maria
 S
 samtang nag-tan-aw si Lita⁷⁹
 while AFp-watch TOP Lita
 'John is kissing Maria while Lita is watching.'
- (253) A P
 Gi-haluk-an ni Juan si Maria
 LFp-kiss-LF erg Juan TOP Maria
 A P
 samtang na-kita niya si Lita
 while GFp-see 3abs TOP Lita
 'John is kissing Maria while he sees Lita.'

⁷⁹ According to Maryknoll, *samtang nakita ni Lita* is wrong.

	A	A		P	
(258a)	Gusto	ko	<u>imong</u>	basa-hon	kining libro
	want	1erg	2erg	read-GFf	this.TOP book
	'I want you to read this book.'				

Sentence (254), according to Shibatani, shows a sentence before raising. According to him (255) represents the raised variant of (254), even though (258) really shows the raised variant of (254), since in both (254) and (258) ni Juan is in the ergative case. He also claims that in (255) si Juan corresponds to the non-topic actor ni Juan in (254). He gives no reason for the change from the ergative case into the absolutive case. In these examples the personal pronoun ko is ergative, not absolutive (MILC, personal communication). What makes (255) an ungrammatical sentence is shown by (257), which is the real non-raised equivalent of (255). We can see that there are two absolutive NPs in the clause (257). If raising is done for an ungrammatical clause, then it is no surprise that the raised clause is also ungrammatical.

The fact remains, however, that (258) is ungrammatical. But this is because only absolutive NPs can be fronted, not ergative NPs. An ergative NP may be fronted only when its head is a pronoun as in (258a). Thus it is the same rule which applies to relative clause formation and question formation discussed previously and which should not be counted more than once.

In the example (256) the P argument, which is in absolutive case, is raised. In sum, we can see from the above examples that raising applies not only to P arguments but also to A arguments, if they have a pronoun head. On these grounds I mark raising as *Not applicable* in Table 14.

7.4.8 Control of secondary predicates et al.

Kroeger (1993) adds some arguments from Tagalog to Schachter's and Shibatani's arguments. The additions concern (1) the control of secondary predicates, (2) possessor ascension, (3) subject obviation, and (4) conjunction reduction.⁸¹

(1) The control of secondary predicates is exemplified by Kroeger (1994: 30, 31) with the following Tagalog examples (259) - (261) (the gloss line is left out as unnecessary):

(259) Naghain na lasing si Maria ng isda
 Maria served the fish drunk (Maria was drunk)

(260) Inihain na hilaw ni Maria ang isda

⁸¹ Number agreement does not apply to Cebuano, so I do not discuss it.

Maria served the fish raw (The fish was raw)

(261) **Inihain na lasing ni Maria ang isda*
 Maria served the fish drunk (The fish was drunk)

It would be better to use examples which are potentially ambiguous. With the examples shown above one can say that the semantics of the clause makes (261) unacceptable. Thus I will not include the control of secondary predicates in the group of subjecthood tests.

(2) Possessor ascension (Kroeger 1994: 32, 33) refers to the fronting of the possessor of the nominative NP, which remains in its place after the verb. There are some restrictions to this feature, e.g. the topicalized possessor must be in some sense affected by the action. Therefore, “the buffalo, the farmer cut its horn” is OK, but “the buffalo, the farmer looked at it” is not. The crucial example is “*Juan, the dog bit the child”, where Juan cannot be the possessor of either the dog or the child. This example is not valid because the pre-transformational clause is ungrammatical, and therefore it is no wonder the resulting clause is also ungrammatical. The genitive construction of non-nominative case is *sa anak ni Juan*, not *sa anak si Juan*. Otherwise, the restriction stems from the fact that the ergative subject NP, or parts of it, cannot be fronted. Possessor ascension is not included in the subjecthood tests.

(3) Subject obviation (Kroeger 1993: 31, 32) refers to a constraint which blocks an overt subject pronoun in certain subordinate clause constructions from taking the subject of the preceding clauses as its antecedent. In the following example (262) we have an equivalent Cebuano example translated from Kroeger’s Tagalog example. The example (263) is mine:

	A		P				S
(262)	Gi-sungog	ni	Juan	ang	bata	busa	mi-hilak (siya)
	GFP-tease	erg	Juan	TOP	child	so	AFP-cry 3abs
	'Juan teased the child so that he (child) cried.'						

	A		P				S=ex-P
(263)	Gi-sungog	ni	Juan	ang	bata	busa	gi-sumbag siya
	GFP-tease	erg	Juan	TOP	child	so	GFP-hit 3abs
	'Juan teased the child so he (=Juan) was hit (by the child).'						

In the Actor orientation subordinate clause in example (262), the only semantically possible actor for *mihilak* ‘cry’ is the child, and the pronoun *siya* is not needed. It is the subject in my analysis as well, since subjects have absolutive case in intransitive clauses. The example (263) differs from the example (262) in that the verb in the subordinate clause in (263) is lexically transitive. Then the pronoun *siya* refers unambiguously to Juan. *siya* is in the absolutive case even though *Juan*, the actor, is ergative. This is because the subordinate clause

is in passive voice, and thus siya is the S argument and subject. The omitted ex-A argument bata would come after the siya, which proves that it is in the passive.

Kroeger (1993: 32) says about subject obviation that “the subject obviation phenomenon in Tagalog remains to be investigated in detail. But clearly the crucial factors are case and voice marking, rather than semantic role, adding support to the hypothesis that alternations in case and voice⁸² reflect alternations in subjecthood”. However, I disagree with this analysis. I do agree that it is not narrowly speaking the semantic role as such (agent, experiencer, etc.) that is crucial here. But I would like to argue that the semantics of the subordinate clause predicate in (262) makes the identification of its subject clear. It would have been odd if Juan had been the one who cried. In (263) it could also be the semantics that identifies ni Juan as coreferential with siya. But since the subordinate clause is in the passive, one may argue also that it is the grammatical role (subject) that is the crucial factor. The subordinate clause subject is the same as the main clause subject. If the subordinate clause has a lexically transitive verb, it is put into passive voice which makes it intransitive, and the absolutive case subject pronoun is coreferential with the subject of the main clause.

Thus we can see that it is not the grammatical role subject, or semantic factors alone that help the speakers of Cebuano identify who is doing what to whom. It is the combination of both.⁸³ My understanding is that this is simply a feature of natural languages. They use a combination of strategies to disambiguate the message. Those strategies include grammatical relation, morphological marking and semantic factors.

Apart from the above reflections, what is important for our argumentation here is that the identification of the subordinate clause subject cannot be explained on the basis of the absolutive case and orientation as Kroeger claims, which is why this test is not included in the subjecthood tests.

(4) Conjunction reduction means the omission of arguments from coordinate structures. According to Kroeger (1994: 33, 36) it is to be differentiated from pro-drop or zero-anaphora which is anaphoric, whereas conjunction reduction is cataphoric. According to Kroeger, conjunction reduction in Tagalog applies to absolutive (his nominative) arguments only (Kroeger 1994: 33, 36). However, Kroeger’s example of ergative conjunction reduction does not represent the active voice. The equivalent active voice conjunction reduction is possible, which makes his claim incorrect. In Cebuano, as in Tagalog, the ergative can be omitted by

⁸² Kroeger equates voice with orientation. Therefore his term ‘voice’ is completely different from my usage of ‘voice’ in this paper. Kroeger, for example, does not use the notion of passive voice.

⁸³ Dixon (1994: 157) says that each language has a number of different processes of clause combining. What he calls ‘pivot constraints’ may apply to only some of those processes. Further, different pivot constraints may apply to different kinds of clause combinations within a single language.

- (268) Ning-saad S Obl. S
 ako kang Lus sa pagluto Ø ug
 AFP-promise labs dat Lus the cooking a
 panihapon
 dinner
 'I promised Lus to cook dinner.'
- (269) Gi-saar-an A P S
 nako si Lus sa pagluto Ø
 LFP-promise-LF lerg TOP Lus the cooking
 ug panihapon
 a dinner
 'I promised Lus to cook dinner.'

These data show that the subject of the infinitive construction can be deleted. In (266) the main clause shows Actor orientation and in (267) it shows Goal orientation. In (266) the subject of the infinite construction is coreferential with the dative case NP (kang Rosa) in the main clause, and in (267) it is coreferential with the absolutive case NP (si Rosa). In (268) the subject of the infinite construction is coreferential with the absolutive case NP (ako), and in (269) it is coreferential with the ergative case NP (nako).

The following examples (270) – (273)⁸⁴ show Shibatani's (1988: 124) argumentation:

- (270) A S ex-P
 Gusto ni Juan nga mu-tudlo Ø ni/kang Maria
 want erg Juan that AFF-teach dat/dat Maria
 'Juan desires that (Ø = si Juan) teach Maria.'
 = 'Juan wants to teach Maria.'
- (271) A P
 Gusto ni Juan nga tudlo-an Ø si Maria
 want erg Juan that teach-GFf TOP Maria
 'Juan desires that (Ø = Juan) teach Maria.'
 = 'Juan wants to teach Maria.'
- (272) A S Obl.
 Gusto ni Juan nga mu-tudlo ang maestro Ø
 want 3erg Juan that AFF-teach TOP teacher
 'Juan desires that the teacher teach Ø' (Ø =
 someone)
- (273) A S Obl.=ex-A
 Gusto ni Juan nga tudlo-an Ø sa maestro
 want 3erg Juan that teach-GFf dat teacher
 'Juan desires that the teacher teach Ø' (Ø =
 Juan)
 'Juan desires that he be taught by the teacher.'

⁸⁴ In (270) I added kang in the gloss line to show that ni also represents here the dative case. In (272) I corrected the example. Shibatani had si Maestro, even though si is used only with names, and thus ang is correct. The second gloss line, where there is one, is mine.

Shibatani (1988: 124) says: “What is crucial here is that if the gap in the complement clause is an actor, it can be controlled by the matrix actor regardless of whether the complement actor is topic [as in (270)] or not [as in (271)]”. Thus we have the matrix A (ni Juan) being gapped when it would have been S (siya) in (270) or A (niya) in (271) in the complement clause, which shows that Cebuano is syntactically nominative–accusative and S and A form the subject. The examples (272) and (273), according to Shibatani, show that if the gap is Goal, it can be controlled by the matrix actor only when the gap is in the absolutive case as in (273). Shibatani’s argument does not hold since the complement clause in (272) is antipassive and antipassive constructions do not have core goal or P arguments. Similarly the example (273) shows a misunderstanding by Shibatani. He says that the gap is the goal, which is reflected in his translation line. That is not correct, since (273) is in passive voice and thus intransitive, which is reflected in my translation line. The gap is the subject. Therefore all these four examples can be used to argue that S and A form the subject. In (270) and (271) the gap is the subject. In (272) the presumed gap cannot be coreferential with Juan, because the gap is not the subject. In (273) the complement clause has to be changed into passive voice in order to make the gap the subject.

It is also interesting to note that Schachter (1977: 295) calls the matrix actor in (270) – (273) the matrix subject, even though it is ergative. Indeed, if ni Juan were not subject, there would be many subjectless matrix clauses. Shibatani (1988: 120) calls it the matrix actor, which implies that he does not mind that there are many subjectless matrix sentences even though he seems to accept without comment Schachter’s argument concerning the subjectless existential clauses, which hinges on the same argument, namely that one should choose an analysis which does not leave many clauses without a subject.

Kroeger (1993: 39) says that while Actors are the most usual choice of Equi target, absolutive (his nominative) arguments can also be controllees in Equi constructions. His Tagalog examples of non-Actor subject controllees are all in passive/inverse voice, and therefore this non-Actor is the subject even according to the ergative-absolutive hypothesis, and consequently Kroeger’s argumentation fails. The most illustrative Tagalog example pair (274) and (275) comes from Kroeger (1993: 100):

(274) Nag-pilit si Maria ng bigy-an Ø Obl.
 AFp-insist TOP Maria give-LFf ng pera
 P money
 si Ben⁸⁵
 TOP Ben
 'Maria insisted on giving Ben some money.'

(275) Nag-pilit si Maria ng bigy-an Ø S=ex-P
 AFp-insist TOP Maria give-LFf
 Obl ex-A
 ng pera ni Ben⁸⁶
 money dat Ben
 'Maria insisted on being given money by Ben.'

In the example (274) the gap cannot be in the absolutive case, because si Ben is in the absolutive case. si Ben occurs after the gapped A argument showing that it is in active voice. The gap represents the ergative case niya 'she' referring to Maria. In the example (275) the gap, which comes immediately after the verb, represents indeed the absolutive case siya 'she' referring to Maria, who was given money by Ben. The omitted siya is the non-Actor subject controllee which Kroeger claims is in the nominative case. But since the complement clause is in passive/inverse voice, the gap (= controllee) is still the subject and remains controlled by the subject si Maria in the matrix clause.

It is understandable that Kroeger does not want to analyze Tagalog as having passive voice since according to him it already has four voices, namely the four orientations. However, that does not make his analysis correct. The gap is always the subject. In intransitive and derived intransitive constructions it is absolutive, and in transitive constructions it is in the ergative case, precisely as the ergative-absolutive hypothesis claims.

On these grounds I mark Equi-NP deletion in the column as *S/A as subject* in Table 14.

7.4.10 Reflexives

The reflexive construction in Cebuano is formed with the possessive pronoun plus the word kaugalingon 'self' (Bell 1976: 28, 29). See the following examples (276) - (279) from Bell (1976: 28, 29, 157), the gloss line being mine. The antecedents of the relative constructions are underlined:

⁸⁵ According to my Cebuano respondents, Nagpilit si Maria ng bigyan... is wrong. It should be Nagpumilit si Maria na bigyan...

⁸⁶ According to my Cebuano respondents, Nagpilit si Maria ng bigyan... is wrong. It should be Nagpumilit si Maria na bigyan...

- (276) Nag-sulat siya sa iyang kaugalingon
 AFp-write 3abs the 3PO self
 'He/she was writing to him/herself.'
- (277) Mo-tan-aw si Rosa sa iyang kaugalingon
 AFf-look TOP Rosa the 3PO self
 sa salamin
 the mirror
 'Rosa will look at herself in the mirror.'
- (278) Tan-aw-on ni Rosa ang iyang kaugalingon sa
 look-GFf erg Rosa TOP 3PO self at
 salamin
 mirror
 'Rosa will look at herself in the mirror.'
- (279) Naka-dawat ang babaye ug sulat gikan sa bata
 AFp-receive TOP woman a letter from the child
 bahin sa iyang kaugalingon
 about the 3PO self
 'The woman received a letter from the child about
 herself (= woman / *the child).'

In (276) – (278) the antecedent of the reflexive construction is the absolutive NP in intransitive clauses or the ergative NP in transitive clauses, which are subjects and also actors. The example (279) shows that the oblique NP is not the antecedent of the reflexive, since herself is the correct translation. However, there are other examples, which are ambiguous when it comes to the antecedent of the reflexive. See the following examples (280) and (281):

- (280) Mi-saad si Tomas sa babaye sa pagbantay
 AFp-promise TOP Tomas the woman the looking.at
 sa iyang kaugalingon
 the 3PO self
 'Thomas promised the woman to look after
 himself/herself.'
- (281) Gi-saad ni Tomas sa babaye nga
 GFp-promise 3erg Tomas the woman that
 magbantay sa iyang kaugalingon
 looking.at at 3PO self
 'Thomas promised the woman to look after
 himself/herself.'

My Cebuano respondents disagree over whether the above examples are ambiguous or not. Some say that the absolutive NP in (280) and the ergative NP in (281) are the only possible antecedents. But others say that also 'the woman' could be the antecedent. Thus we cannot draw any firm conclusions from this test and agree with Kroeger (1993: 38), who claims for Tagalog that reflexive binding is not a diagnostic property of subjecthood. We thus mark the reflexive as *Not applicable* in Table 14.

7.4.11 Passive

Evidence for passive voice in Cebuano is important because, as Palmer (1994: 19) puts it, “passivization involves Objects, not Patients”. Thus if there are passives in Cebuano, then we can claim that the promoted NP used to be an Object.

In Chapter Three we showed that there is a passive voice in Cebuano. In passive, the S argument, which used to be the P argument, is marked with an absolutive case. The Oblique argument, which used to be the A argument, if it is not deleted, is marked with Oblique case.

See examples (282) – (286) below where the P and ex-P arguments are underlined.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|---|---------------------|-------------------|---------|-------|
| | V | A | P | | |
| (282) | Gi-patay | niya | <u>ang tawo</u> | | V A P |
| | GFp-kill | 3erg | TOP person | | |
| | 'He/she killed the person.' | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | V | S=ex-P | Obl.=ex-A | | |
| (283) | Gi-patay | <u>ang tawo</u> | (sa usa ka kabaw) | V P (A) | |
| | GFp-kill | TOP person | the one carabao | | |
| | 'The person was killed (by a carabao).' | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | V | S=ex-P | Obl.=ex-A | | |
| (284) | Gi-patay | <u>siya</u> | sa awto | V P A | |
| | GFp-kill | 3abs | the car | | |
| | 'He/she was killed by the car.' | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | V | S=ex-P | | | V P |
| (285) | Basa-han | <u>ang bata</u> | ug libro | | |
| | read-LFf | TOP child | a book | | |
| | 'The child will be read a book.' | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | V | S=ex-P | | | V P |
| (286) | I-hatag | <u>ang kutsilyo</u> | | | |
| | IFf-give | TOP knife | | | |
| | 'The knife will be given away.' | | | | |

Thus we can say that in Cebuano the P argument in (282) is an object, which in (283) has been made into a subject. This also applies to the other three examples. On these grounds I mark the passive in the column *S/A as subject* in Table 14.

7.4.12 Word order

The word order test gives us the following results. The subject in intransitive and active transitive clauses comes after the predicate. We can say that there are positions in the Cebuano clause. The preverbal position is optional and given the name K, or contrast. The next position

is for the predicate. The next position is for the subject and then for the object. To show that this ordering is not coincidental, see the following example (287):

	K		Pred		Subj		Obl.
(287)	(ang)	libro	ang	palit-on	ni	Fred	kang Ana
	TOP	book	REL	buy-LFf	3erg	Fred	dat Ana
		'It is a book that Fred will buy for Ana.'					

Here the fronted object 'book' has the orientation marker ang. It is optional, because non-pronoun head ergative case core NPs cannot be fronted in positive statement clauses.⁸⁷ The first position after the predicate is reserved for the subject and therefore Fred is subject and ergative case. The second position object is fronted and therefore there is an ang 'REL' marker before the verb. The third position is oblique, and therefore Ana is the recipient of the action, not the actor.

In the passive and the inverse, the ex-P and P argument respectively occur after the verb and before the ex-A and A argument respectively. In those voice constructions also the subject has the first position after the verb. Thus in inverse voice, just as in passive voice, the ex-P argument is the subject. The fact that the passive transformation is made by changing the constituent order proves that subjecthood is sensitive to word order. And passive voice itself is a proof that the P argument cannot be the subject in transitive clauses, as Palmer (1994: 19) says, "passivization involves Objects, not Patients".

As in any language, fronting is possible, as can be seen in examples (155) - (163), but that does not mean that there would not be a basic word order.

7.5 Results of the tests of subjecthood

Comrie (1978: 343) said: "if in a language S and A are regularly identified, that is, if the language is consistently or overwhelmingly nominative-accusative, then we are justified in using the term subject to group together S and A; if in a language S and P are regularly identified (consistent or overwhelming ergative-absolutive system), then we would be justified in using the term subject rather to refer to S and P, that is, in particular, to refer to P, rather than A, of the transitive construction". Table 14 shows the results of our investigation.

⁸⁷ In yes/no questions there are no restrictions. With negative statements, personal pronouns and demonstratives, even ergative NPs are fronted, if they have a pronoun head.

	S/P as subject	S/A as subject
Avoidance of analysis which leads to subjectless clauses		X
Relativization	X	
Floating quantifiers	Not applicable	Not applicable
Question formation	Not applicable	Not applicable
Gap control in <u>samtang</u> clauses	Not applicable	Not applicable
Raising	Not applicable	Not applicable
Control of secondary predicates	Not included	Not included
Possessor ascension	Not included	Not included
Subject obviation	Not included	Not included
Conjunction reduction	Not applicable	Not applicable
Equi-NP deletion		X
Reflexives	Not applicable	Not applicable
Passive		X
Word order		X

Table 14. Results of subjecthood tests.

From Table 14 we can see that in Cebuano S and A are regularly identified and thus Cebuano is overwhelmingly nominative-accusative in its syntax. (This is not surprising, since according to Anderson (1976: 11), this is the case in the overwhelming majority of ergative languages.) Thus, we are justified in using the term 'subject' to group together the absolutive NP in intransitive clauses and the ergative NP in transitive clauses.

The following language-specific definition of the subject of Cebuano is based on the syntactic tests above and further upon corroborating morphological facts: the subject of the basic clause⁸⁸ in Cebuano is the first core argument which follows⁸⁹ the verb. The object is the

⁸⁸ The term 'basic clause' is used here in the same sense as in Keenan (1975).

⁸⁹ Particles and adverbs may occur between the predicate and the subject of transitive and intransitive clauses. In the following examples the particles and the adverb are underlined:

Mo-adto pa ra ba diay ako sa syudad
 Aff-go INC apologetic really labs the town
 'Sorry, I just remembered that I have to go to town yet.'

Gi-seguro usa niya nga ...
 GFp-ascertain first 3erg that
 'He made sure first that...'

Also with locative clauses the order is different:

Anha siya dinha sa kapilya mag-misa
 there.is.fut 3abs there the chapel Aff-mass
 'He will say mass there in the chapel.'

In another Philippine language, Isneg, the oriented actor NP may appear at any post-verbal position, but the non-oriented actor NP always immediately follows the verb (Barlaan 1986:35).

second core argument following the verb. Thus the Cebuano subject is defined similarly to the subject of English, i.e. on the basis of constituent order. In English, the subject is the core argument that precedes the verb. In English, the subject is also defined by case, being in the nominative case. The subject in Cebuano is in the marked ergative case when there are more than one potential NP available for the subject position (i.e. in transitive clauses), and in the unmarked absolutive case when there is only one potential NPs available for the subject position (i.e. in intransitive clauses).⁹⁰ However, in inverse voice the subject is in the absolutive case.

7.6 *Implications of the results*

There are three kinds of implications to be drawn from the results of this study. (1) There are implications for the typological studies of languages. First, there is one more type of ergative language. Cebuano is a morphologically ergative language, which does not have an unmarked absolutive case for nominal markers. The marker *si* marks absolutive NPs with proper names. The personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns have unmarked absolutive forms (*ako* 1st p. absolutive case compared to *nako* or *akong* for 1st p. ergative case). Other NPs have in fact two nominal markers for the absolutive case: the *ang* specific marker and the *-y* indefinite marker.

Second, if my analysis is accepted, there is a passive type that does not differ from active voice by morphology but by word order, V A P representing active voice and V P (A) representing passive voice.

(2) Implications to Philippine language studies. First, since Cebuano is a morphologically ergative language, it is likely that there will be many other ergative Philippine-type languages. If arguments brought forward in this study are convincing, the same arguments may be used in arguing for ergative analysis of other Philippine-type languages. Thus it can be hypothesized that the Philippine-type languages do not form a separate type of languages, but are a subtype of morphologically ergative languages.

Second, it would be interesting to know whether the orientation system in other Philippine-type languages can also be divided into more transitive and less transitive orientations.

⁹⁰ This usage is in accord with Comrie for syntactically non-ergative languages. (Comrie 1978: 330 and 343-350.)

(3) I hope that this study makes a contribution to grammatical relation studies. First, it seems to me that there is a long way to go before we have a reliable set of subjecthood tests that can be used universally. In order to analyze the subject of a language satisfactorily, we need to have a set of subjecthood tests that either are universal, or can be used for certain types of languages when certain conditions apply.

Second, I think that the status of morphologically ergative languages as equal with morphologically nominative-accusative languages is not yet established. This becomes apparent by the fact that there is a lot of resistance to the analysis of ergative NPs as grammatical subjects, on the basis of the implied assumption that the best analysis is one that analyzes the subject as having one case only.

8 APPENDIX

A	The most agent-like core argument in a transitive clause
ex-A	The only obligatory argument in an antipassive clause
A	specific marker in gloss line, like in adlaw-a <u>this</u> day
Abs	absolutive case
Acc	accusative case
ACC	accidental/involuntary affix
AF	Actor orientation
AFf	Actor orientation action not begun aspect
AFp	Actor orientation action begun aspect
AFs	Actor orientation subjunctive
D	linked form of ug 'a linker of phrases and clauses'
dat	dative proper name marker
Dat	dative case
EMP	emphatic particle, really, completely
Erg	ergative case
Gen	genitive case
GF	Goal orientation
IF	Instrumental orientation
INC	incompletive marker
iTOP	indefinite orientation marker
L	linker
l	ligature
LF	Locative orientation
MAN	particle for making a question less abrupt
NA	proper name marker
Nom	nominative case
Obl.	oblique case/argument
P	The most patient-like core argument in a transitive clause
ex-P	The only obligatory argument in a passive clause
Part	partitive case
Pl.	plural marker
PLS	polite particle, please
REL	<u>ang</u> when it functions not as a definite orientation marker
S	The only obligatory core argument in an intransitive clause
Sd	The only obligatory argument in a derived intransitive clause, ex-A in antipassive and ex-P in passive clauses
STA	stative affix, the state of being [adj]
TOP	definite orientation marker
V	verb
QM	question marker

Personal pronouns

1abs	1st person singular absolutive personal pronoun
1dat	1st person singular dative personal pronoun
1erg	1st person singular ergative personal pronoun
1PO	1st person singular possessive personal pronoun
11erg	1st person plural inclusive ergative personal pronoun
11PO	1st person plural inclusive possessive personal pronoun
12	1st person ergative and 2nd person absolutive
2abs	2nd person singular absolutive personal pronoun
2dat	2nd person singular dative personal pronoun
2erg	2nd person singular ergative personal pronoun
2PO	2nd person singular possessive personal pronoun
2perg	2nd person plural ergative personal pronoun
2pPO	2nd person plural possessive personal pronoun
3abs	3rd person singular absolutive personal pronoun
3dat	3rd person singular dative personal pronoun
3erg	3rd person singular ergative personal pronoun
3PO	3rd person singular possessive personal pronoun
3perg	3rd person plural ergative personal pronoun
3pPO	3rd person plural possessive personal pronoun

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