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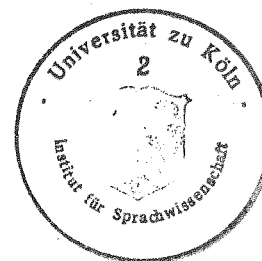
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THE LACK OF ZERO ANAPHORA AND INCIPIENT PERSON MARKING IN TAGALOG

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It has been widely assumed that Tagalog allows zero anaphora freely for both actors and undergoers in semantically transitive constructions. The data presented here strongly suggest that this assumption is wrong for actors in one of the two basic transitive construction types: undergoer-oriented constructions. In these constructions, the actor argument does not appear to be freely omissible in contexts in which zero anaphora would be pragmatically warranted. This finding has implications for the controversial issue of whether undergoer-oriented constructions in Tagalog are syntactically transitive. Furthermore, it suggests that the most common kind of overt actor expressions found in this construction, pronominal clitics, may be analyzed as an early stage in the grammaticization of person marking.

1. INTRODUCTION.¹ One prominent but poorly understood feature of the so-called focus system in Philippine-type languages is the fact that, in many of these languages, the overt expression of core arguments (i.e., actor and undergoer in the case of transitive events) is not obligatory. The following segment from a Tagalog narrative contains two semantically transitive clauses, in the first one of which actor and undergoer are overtly expressed while in the second one the actor remains unexpressed. The segment is part of a direct speech by the king of the mosquitoes addressed to a married couple picking vines in his territory. The king asks them to treat his subjects (the mosquitoes) gently:²

1. I am very grateful to Cindy Allen, Simon Musgrave, Carl Rubino, Catharina van Klinken, and Chikao Yoshimura, who read earlier versions of this paper and suggested many improvements, both in matters of content and style. Many thanks are also due to the three readers for *Oceanic Linguistics*, in particular for causing me to rethink and expand the argument in 5.1. Special thanks to Dante O. Alatiit (Laguna) and Ning Vitto (Marinduque) for help with the Tagalog examples.

- (1) LAMOK IO8f
ang mga alagad kó ay huwag ninyong pàpatayín {0.9}
 ang mga alagad ko ay huwág ninyó -ng REDI-patáy-in
 SPEC PL follower 1:SG:POSS PM NEG:IMP 2:PL:POSS-LK REDI-dead -PV
 'My subjects, don't kill them!'
- kung kayó ay kinàkagát* {0.2}
 kung kayó ay in -REDI-kagát
 if 2:PL PM REAL(UG)-REDI-bite
 'Even if you are bitten (just slightly wipe them off!)

In the first clause, the semantically transitive predicate is *pàpatayín* 'kill'. The actor argument is expressed by the pronoun *ninyó* 'you', and the undergoer by the nominal expression *ang mga alagad ko* 'my subjects'. In the second clause, only the undergoer of the semantically transitive predicate *kinàkagát* 'bite' is overtly expressed by the pronoun *kayó* 'you'. The actor of this predicate, namely, the *ang mga alagad ko* of the preceding clause, is unambiguously inferable but not overtly expressed.

Zero-options exist for both actors and undergoers in all kinds of semantically transitive constructions in Tagalog. The present investigation focuses on only one such option, the expression of actors with undergoer-oriented predicates (UOPs). The two predicates *pàpatayín* and *kinàkagát* in (1) above are examples of UOPs, which are also called *object-focus* verbs in much of the recent literature on Philippine languages.³ Section 2 provides a more detailed definition of UOPs and a brief

2. Most examples in this paper are taken from a corpus of spoken narratives. They are presented in intonation units, each intonation unit being delimited by a pair of curly parentheses {}. Numbers within these parentheses show pause length in seconds. An equal sign (=) indicates that no perceptible pause occurs between two units. Numbers in simple parentheses show the length of pauses that occur within an intonation unit. Lengthened segments are marked by a colon. False starts are surrounded by angle brackets (<>). Unintelligible segments are represented by question marks surrounded by forward slants (/?/).

Accent marks in the first line of an example indicate stressed syllables as they occur in the recording. Accent marks in the second line, which provides a morphemic representation, follow dictionary conventions and indicate stress on the final syllable of citation forms (regular stress on the penultimate syllable is not marked).

A few examples are elicited or come from Bloomfield's (1917) text collection. The elicited examples are generally somewhat modified versions of actual clauses occurring in the corpus. In both elicited examples and examples from Bloomfield, accents are marked according to the dictionary conventions.

The abbreviations used in the glosses are: ACT, actor; AV, actor voice; CV, conveyance voice; DAT, dative; DIST, distal; EMPH, emphatic; EXCL, exclusive; FRM, formal (politeness clitics); GEN, genitive; GER, gerund; IMP, imperative; INCL, inclusive; LK, linker; LOC, locative; LV, locative voice; MED, medial; NEG, negation; PFV, perfective; PL, plural; PM, predicate marker; PN, personal name; POSS, possessive; PROX, proximal; PRES, present tense; PV, patient voice; Q, question particle; REAL, realis; RED, reduplication (numbers indicate different formal types of reduplication); RPRT, reportative; SG, singular; SPEC, specific (article); STAT, stative; UG, undergoer.

3. Philippinists should note that *undergoer-oriented* is in fact not coextensive with *object-focus*. Instead, the term *undergoer-oriented* is used as a cover term for all nonactor-focus constructions. See 2.2 for further discussion.

introduction to the terminological and analytic problems associated with the marking of voice and grammatical relations in Philippine-type languages.

Based on an in-depth analysis of the use of UOPs in a corpus of spontaneous Tagalog narratives, it is proposed that the zero-option for actors in this construction type does not involve zero *anaphora*—the omission of an overt expression for an argument that has specific reference and is unambiguously inferable from the context. As shown in section 3, UOPs are typically accompanied by overt actor expressions. Most importantly, overt actor expressions also occur in contexts that are highly conducive to zero anaphora.

However, it is not true that overt actor expressions are obligatory in this construction type. They may be omitted due to either of the following two factors, neither of which involves zero anaphora: (1) the identification of a specific actor is impossible or irrelevant for the event expressed by a UOP (4.1), or (2) the UOP is part of a complex predication; that is, it is semantically and formally dependent on a preceding predicate (4.2). It should be noted right from the outset that the corpus-based findings do not fully concur with elicited data. That is, in elicitation, Tagalog speakers appear to accept the omission of actor expressions in contexts that clearly suggest zero anaphora. In section 5, this discrepancy between elicited and spontaneous data is further discussed.

The main part of section 5, then, is concerned with some implications of the corpus-based findings. These implications pertain to two distinct, though related issues. For one, there are implications for the analysis of Philippine-type voice systems, in particular with regard to the problem of whether or not undergoer-oriented constructions are syntactically transitive (5.1). For another, it is argued in 5.2 that the lack of zero anaphora for actors in undergoer-oriented constructions can be interpreted as incipient person marking, that is, as an early stage in the grammaticization of a person-marking system for actors in these constructions. This proposal provides a new parameter for the comparison and morphosyntactic classification of Philippine-type languages, highlighting subtle differences among languages that otherwise are very similar with regard to their morphosyntactic structures.

2. PRELIMINARIES. This section introduces briefly the basic construction types for expressing semantically transitive predicates in Tagalog, as well as the terminology used in this paper for referring to the morphosyntactic make-up of these constructions (2.1). Furthermore, it provides a definition of the term *undergoer-oriented predicate* (UOP), specifying which semantically transitive constructions are covered here by this term (2.2). Readers familiar with the basic facts of Tagalog may wish to skip section 2.1.

2.1 BASIC TAGALOG MORPHOSYNTAX. Semantically transitive constructions in Tagalog allow for two basic construction types. In one of these, the so-called actor-focus construction, the predicate is actor-oriented and marked by the affix *-um-* or the prefixes *mag-* or *maN-*. Nominal expressions for the actor appear

in a phrase marked by the proclitic *ang*, those for the undergoer by the proclitic *ng* (more on these markers shortly).⁴ In example (2), the actor is expressed by the noun phrase *ang mga bata* 'children', while the undergoer is *ng bahay* 'houses'.

- (2) *humanap na ng bahay ang mga bata*
 um-hanap na ng bahay ang mga bata
 AV-search now GEN house SPEC PL child
 'The children looked for houses/a house.'

In the second basic construction type, the so-called object-focus construction, the predicate is undergoer-oriented and, in realis mood, marked by the infix *-in-*. Here the undergoer appears in the *ang*-phrase, while the actor appears in the *ng*-phrase. Compare (2) with (3):

- (3) *hinanap na ng mga bata' ang bahay*
 in -hanap na ng mga bata' ang bahay
 REAL(UG)-search now GEN PL child SPEC house
 'The children looked for the house(s).'

Note that the translations for the two preceding examples are identical, except that in (2) 'house' is indefinite but in (3) it is definite. These translations reflect the most typical and unmarked reading of the Tagalog clauses. The difference in definiteness, however, is not a categorial one. Given an appropriate context and possibly also a somewhat different word order, example (2) could mean 'the children looked for the house(s)' and (3) 'the children looked for houses/a house'.

The nature of the alternation between (2) and (3), as well as the syntactic function of the noun phrases in these clauses, has been and continues to be a matter of considerable controversy.⁵ One major issue is the syntactic transitivity of the two constructions illustrated in (2) and (3). Are they both (syntactically) transitive? Is only the undergoer-oriented construction (i.e., [3]) transitive? We will return to this issue in section 5 below.

In the current section, no attempt is made to provide a comprehensive account of the controversial points. The focus here is on giving as much descriptive information as necessary for parsing the examples in the following sections, which are sometimes a bit complex because they are taken from natural spontaneous discourse.

Following much of the recent literature (e.g., Wolff, Centeno, and Rau 1991, Kroeger 1993, Schachter 1995, Naylor 1995), it is assumed here that the alternation exemplified by (2) and (3) is similar in certain regards to the active-passive alternation found in European languages and may, therefore, be considered an instance of the phenomenon generally known as *voice*. However, because it is commonly agreed that the Tagalog alternation also differs in crucial ways from the

active-passive alternation,⁶ the two basic voices in Tagalog are not labeled *active* and *passive* but, instead, *actor-oriented* and *undergoer-oriented*. The affixes that mark the voice alternation on the predicate (for example, the infix *-um-* in [2]) are called simply *voice affixes*.

The *ang*-phrase in the two constructions above has been labeled *topic*, *subject*, *pivot*, *nominative*, or *absolutive*, inter alia. Following Schachter (1976), it is generally agreed that the *ang*-phrase shows some but not all of the presumably universal subject properties proposed by Keenan (1976). Still, as argued in detail by DeWolf (1979:67–86, 1988:144–150) and Kroeger (1993), *ang*-phrases may be analyzed as subjects because they exhibit a substantial number of important subject properties (such as being the only argument that can launch floating quantifiers, control secondary predicates, be relativized, and be omitted in conjunction reduction) while other subject diagnostics are inapplicable or inconclusive.⁷ Here I adopt this analysis with the proviso that the subject in Tagalog differs in some regards from subjects in other languages such as English. However, with regard to the present investigation, nothing of importance depends on this largely terminological choice.

Three uncontroversial facts about *ang*-phrases are of major relevance for the discussion. First, a special relation exists between the subject *ang*-phrase and the predicate in that the voice affix on the predicate marks the semantic role played by the subject in the event expressed by the predicate. Thus, the infix *-um-* in (2) makes it clear that the subject (*ang mga bata*) is the agent of the search and not its undergoer. Similarly, the infix *-in-* in (3) makes it clear that here the subject (*ang bahay*) is an undergoer and not an actor.

Second, more than one *ang*-phrase may occur in a clause, only one of which functions as subject. Compare the following example:

- (4) *ang mga buhók lamang ang pinùputol ng patalím*
 ang mga buhók lamang ang p-in-u-putol ng patalím
 SPEC PL hair only SPEC REDI-REAL(UG)-cut GEN blade
 '(The descent of the *daras* on the Chinaman's head was very gentle
 and) only the hair was cut by the blade.' (Bloomfield 1917:58)

5. Most importantly, while active is clearly the unmarked member of the *active-passive* alternation, it is difficult, if not impossible, to show which of the two basic voices in Tagalog is unmarked (morphosyntactically as well as in terms of discourse usage).

7. A somewhat different argument for the subjecthood of *ang*-phrases is given by Lemaréchal (1991 and elsewhere) and Himmelmann (1991:8–16). As for the property-list approach employed by Schachter and his critics, the major point of contention pertains to the so-called agent-related properties of subjects, in particular the properties of serving as the antecedent in reflexive constructions, the target in Equi-NP deletions, and the addressee in imperatives. To some extent, Kroeger and Schachter disagree here about the empirical facts (cf. Kroeger 1993:36–40, 71–107 and Schachter 1995:21–27). More importantly, it is doubtful whether these properties in fact provide reliable diagnostics for grammatical relations. Artawa and Blake (1997:505f), among others, profess serious doubts in this regard and argue for the viability of the subject notion in Balinese, a language for which the basic facts relevant to this issue are quite similar to those of Tagalog.

4. The phonetic shape of the marker *ng* is [naŋ].

5. For details, see Shibatani 1988, DeWolf 1988, Himmelmann 1991, Kroeger 1993, Naylor 1995, and Schachter 1995, among others.

In this example, the two *ang*-marked noun phrases function, respectively, as the predicate and the subject of an equative predication (that the first *ang*-phrase [*ang mga buhók*] is the predicate and the second one [*ang pinùputol ng patalím*] is the subject is determined by word order: unless otherwise indicated [for example, by the inversion marker *ay*], predicate generally precedes subject in Tagalog).⁸ A more literal, structure-imitating translation would be: 'what was being cut by the blade was only the hair'. The second *ang* is obligatory, as all common noun phrase subjects in Tagalog have to be marked by *ang*. The first *ang* is (grammatically) optional. Without it, example (4) would mean 'only hair was cut by the blade'. Marking the predicate with *ang* turns it into a specific, referential expression (it's the Chinaman's hair that is being cut, not any other part of his body).

The fact that more than one *ang*-phrase may occur in a clause makes it clear that it cannot be the function of *ang* to mark subjects (or topics or pivots, for that matter). The use of *ang* to mark specific referential predicates is one of a number of facts that suggest that the primary function of *ang* is that of a specific article (for more discussion, see Himmelman 1991:15f, 1998:333f). For this reason, *ang* is glossed as SPEC in this paper.

Third, subject *ang*-phrases freely allow zero anaphora. For example, they are typically omitted when referentially identical to an immediately preceding subject *ang*-phrase, as in:

- (5) PEP 066f {0.2}
- | | | | |
|----------------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------|
| <i>at kinúha</i> | <i>niya</i> | <i>ang langgám</i> | |
| at in | -kuha | niyá | ang langgám |
| and REAL(UG)-getting | 3:SG:POSS | SPEC | ant |
-
- at inilagáy* *niya* *sa pampáng u sa (0.3) lúpa'* {1.1}
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------|------|-------------------------|
| at in | -i-lagáy | niyá | sa pampáng o sa lúpa' |
| and REAL(UG)-CV-position | 3:SG:POSS | LOC | river_bank or LOC earth |
- 'And he got the ant and put it on the riverbank or the ground.'

Here the subject of the first clause (*ang langgám*) is not overtly represented in the second one. Other noteworthy features of this example will be explained shortly.

Turning now to the second noun phrase marker, *ng*, it will not come as a surprise that its analysis is also controversial. Unlike *ang*, however, the moot points are rarely made explicit. Instead, they are implicit in the bewildering variety of glosses used for this element (which include *genitive*, *nontopic*, *nonpivot*, *core*, *object*, and a number of semantic roles). One problem associated with *ng* is the fact that it is used both in possessive constructions (e.g., *ang bahay ng bata* 'the child's house') and for some nonsubject arguments of verbal predicates (as in [2] and [3] above). Another problem is the large number of semantic roles that can be

expressed by a *ng*-phrase. Thus, a *ng*-phrase may express agents, patients, themes, instruments, and, with some motion verbs, goals.

Naylor (1980) presents persuasive arguments against the view that a number of different markers of the shape *ng* can be distinguished. Instead, *ng* in all its uses marks an essentially attributive relation for which I use the label *genitive* (see also Kroeger 1993:13). This terminological choice has the advantage that it is neutral with regard to the question of whether *ng*-marked arguments are core or peripheral. As already mentioned, we return to this issue in section 5.

Apart from *ang* and *ng*, common noun phrases in Tagalog may be marked by a third marker, the general locative preposition *sa*. This preposition is an obligatory constituent of almost all prepositional expressions in Tagalog (e.g., *tungkól sa* 'about, regarding', *para sa* 'for'). It also marks a large variety of temporal and local adjuncts, as in:

- (6) PEP 040 {1.8}
- | | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|----------|
| <i>ano ang gágawín</i> | <i>ng langgám sa dahon</i> | |
| anó ang REDI-gawá'-in | ng langgám sa dahon | |
| what SPEC REDI -act | -PV GEN ant | LOC leaf |
- '(He thought:) What will the ant do on the leaf?'

Furthermore, *sa* is used to mark recipients/goals (see [5] above) and (some) definite patients and themes when they do not occur in subject function. For example:

- (7) *ang langgám rin ang tumulong sa mga bata'*
- | | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| <i>ang langgám din</i> | <i>ang um-tulong</i> | <i>sa mga bata'</i> |
| SPEC ant | also SPEC AV-help | LOC PL child |
- 'The ants also helped the children (lit. The ones who helped the children were also the ants).'

Note incidentally that here, as in (4) above, there are two *ang*-phrases in one clause, one functioning as predicate, the other as subject.

Not all noun phrases in Tagalog are marked by one of the three markers *ang*, *ng*, and *sa*.⁹ These markers only occur in common noun phrases. Pronouns have their own *ang*, *ng*, and *sa* forms. For example, the forms for the third person singular pronoun are *siyá*, *niyá*, and *kaniyá*, respectively; those for the distal demonstrative are *iyón*, *niyón*, and *doón*. Personal names are marked by a personal-name article, which has the forms *si*, *ni*, and *kay*. Overall, the syntactic distribution of the three forms in each paradigm is similar. In fact, the distribution of the *ang*, *ng*, and *sa* forms of the demonstratives is identical to that of the *ang*, *ng*, and *sa* forms of common noun phrases.

However, with regard to the *ng* and *sa* forms of personal pronouns and personal names, there are some minor, but still important distributional differences that warrant different glosses. The *ng*-form of personal pronouns and personal names is

8. Constantino (1965) and DeGuzman (1986) propose a different analysis of this construction, arguing that, contrary to the general rule, the first *ang*-phrase is the subject and the second *ang*-phrase the predicate. For the present discussion, however, it is only important that two (or more) *ang*-phrases may occur in a single clause. To the best of my knowledge, this fact is uncontroversial.

9. The paradigm of noun phrase markers in Tagalog is somewhat heterogeneous, consisting of a determiner (*ang*) and two different kinds of prepositions (*ng* and *sa*). For further comments on the makeup of this paradigm and similarly structured paradigms in other languages, see Himmelman (1998).

used only to express possessors (as in *ang bahay niya* 'his/her house') and actors in undergoer-oriented constructions (as in [5]). It cannot be used to mark the undergoer in actor-oriented construction (i.e., *ng bahay* in [2] cannot be replaced by the *ng*-form of a personal pronoun or a personal name). To indicate this difference, the *ng*-form of personal pronouns and personal names is glossed here as *possessive* (rather than as *genitive*). Similarly, the *sa*-form of personal pronouns and personal names is glossed as *dative* (rather than as *locative*), because of a number of distributional differences (for details see Schachter and Otnes 1972:91,136).

To conclude these preliminary remarks, a brief note is in order regarding the glosses used for verbal roots. In dictionaries, the basic meaning of most roots that may be deemed to be verbal roots¹⁰ is rendered by a noun (e.g., *lagáy* 'condition, state, location, position', *kuha* 'a helping, act of getting', *hanap* 'quest, object of search', *alis* 'departure') or a past participle (e.g., *kita* 'seen, obvious', *hirám* 'borrowed'). Once these roots are affixed with a voice affix, the meaning is clearly verbal (thus, *umalis* is 'to go/go away (actor-oriented)' and *hiramán* is 'to borrow from someone (undergoer-oriented)', etc.). Most of these roots are used with such affixes most of the time. However, if the bare root is used (which is possible for a great many, but not all, presumably verbal roots), the meaning is clearly nominal (or adjectival). For example:

- (8) *Subali't tuluy-tuloy pa rin ang kain ni Matsing.*
 subalit RED5-tuloy pa din ang kain ni matsing
 but RED5-continue still also SPEC eating PN:POSS small_monkey
 'But the monkey's eating continued nevertheless.' (Wolff, Centeno, and Rau 1991:526)

- (9) *biglaan ang kanyáng alís.*
 biglá'-an ang kanyá -ng alís
 sudden-?? SPEC 3:SG:DAT-LK departure
 'His departure was sudden.' (English 1986)

Because of examples such as these, the lexicographic practice of glossing roots as either nouns or adjectives/participles has some validity. In order to be consistent, the glosses here are all taken from a single source (English 1986), even though in some instances this may complicate parsing a given example. Note that the high productivity of conversion in English frequently allows one to pass over this problem, because a given gloss can be understood as both a noun and a verb (thus, *search* can be read as both 'to search' and 'a search', *act* as 'an act' and 'to act', etc.).

2.2 UNDERGOER-ORIENTED PREDICATES. UOPS are generally semantically transitive in the sense that they always allow for an overt actor expression (in the *ng*-form) as well as an overt undergoer expression (in the *ang*-form), with

10. Once again, there is a controversial issue involved here, the question as to whether it is possible to distinguish nouns and verbs in Tagalog, and if so, on which level. For further references and discussion, see Lemaréchal (1982), Himmelmann (1991:16–25), Gil (1993), and Sasse (1993), among others.

one exception to be discussed below. Formally, UOPS are easily identifiable by their voice marking. This section reviews their basic morphosyntactic characteristics and defines the class of UOPS that are included in the present study.

Morphologically, there are several kinds of UOPS.¹¹ The most common (and prototypical) ones are marked by one of the following three affixes: the prefix *i-*, the suffix *-an*, or the suffix *-in*. These three affixes differ with regard to the semantics of the undergoer. Ignoring several details and complications, it generally holds true that if the predicate is marked with the prefix *i-*, then the subject expresses an argument in the semantic role of displaced theme. Compare:

- (10) *ibinalík nilá ang bata'*
 i -in -balík nilá ang bata'
 CV-REAL(UG)-return 3:PL:POSS SPEC child
 'They returned the child.'

Here the subject (*ang bata'*) is the displaced theme (i.e., the entity viewed as moving) of the event expressed by the predicate (*ibinalík*). The actor is expressed by a possessive pronoun (*nilá*). In addition to the prefix *i-*, the predicate is also marked for realis mood by the infix *-in-*, which only occurs in the undergoer voices.

Instruments are also viewed as moving entities, as shown by (11).

- (11) *ipinutol ko ng saging ang iták*
 i-p-in-utol ko ng saging ang iták
 CV-REAL(UG)-cut I:SG:POSS GEN banana SPEC bolo
 'I cut bananas with the bolo.'

With the suffix *-an*, the subject expresses a locative argument, understood in a very broad sense. This may be the location at which something happened:

11. The following account is based on the assumption that the undergoer voice affixes have a specific semantics of their own and thus contribute significantly to the overall semantics of the construction, an assumption pioneered by Bloomfield (1917) and further elaborated in work by Lopez (1937), Foley and van Valin (1984:72–74), Himmelmann (1987:92–125, 1991:27–36), and Wolff, Centeno, and Rau (1991:195f, 255–259, 364–369, passim). This assumption also implies the view that these affixes are essentially derivational (when viewed from a crosslinguistic perspective). See Himmelmann (1987:65–75, 1991:25–27) for a review of the different approaches applied to these affixes, and DeGuzman (1997) and Rubino (1998) for recent contributions to the inflection vs. derivation controversy.

In this regard, it may be useful to note that it is common to illustrate the workings of Tagalog voice morphology with multiple derivations from the same root (usually with a clause translated as 'the woman bought the bread for the child with the money in the store'). This procedure easily leads to the misconception (widespread in typological circles) that it is possible to derive a large number of different voices from every root. This is not the case. Instead, even in those instances where several derivations are possible from the same root, there are typically only one or two derivations in common use, while the others are marginal and marked in that they convey special semantic and/or pragmatic meanings and implications (cf. McFarland [1976] who provides a very instructive documentation of the considerable differences in token frequency for the major derivations of the 106 most common verbal roots). In this section, a conscious effort is made to use typical derivations as examples. This procedure may, in some ways, complicate the presentation a bit, but it also helps to avoid misconceptions about the productivity and generality of the undergoer voices (cf. Himmelmann 1987:66f).

- (12) *tinirhán ko ang bahay na itó*
 in -tirá -an ko ang bahay na itó
 REAL(UG)-dwelling-LV 1:SG:POSS SPEC house LK PROX
 'I stayed at this house.'

Or the location to which (or from which) motion occurred:

- (13) *pinuntahán na namán nilá ang bata'*
 in -puntá -an na namán nilá ang bata'
 REAL(UG)-direction-LV now also 3:PL:POSS SPEC child
 'They went to the child.'

The suffix *-an* is also used for recipients, addressees, and beneficiaries (14):

- (14) LAMOK 279
títiran ninyo ako
 REDI -tirá -an ninyó akó
 REDI -leftover-LV 2:PL:POSS 1:SG
 'Will you (please) set some aside for me.'

Even more generally, all kinds of undergoers that are not directly affected by the action denoted by the predicate may be marked by *-an*, as in (15) and (16):

- (15) AHAS 162
hindi'! tingnan mo ika' si María {0.2}
 hindi' tingín-an mo ika' si María
 NEG look -LV 2:SG:POSS said PN María
 'Don't (panic)! Just look at Maria (she said)!'
- (16) AHAS 041
tulúngan ninyo akó {0.4}
 tulong-an ninyó akó
 HELP -LV 2:PL:POSS 1:SG
 'If you help me, ...'

Note that in (14) and (16) the subject is the *ang*-form of the first-person singular pronoun, and in (15) it is the *ang*-form of a personal name. Examples (14–16) also illustrate UOPS in nonrealis mood, which lack the realis-marking infix *-in-*.

The suffix *-in* is the unmarked member of the undergoer-marking affixes. It is used for a wide variety of undergoers, including prototypical patients, that is, entities directly affected or effected by the event denoted by the predicate. In (17), the specific article *ang* has been replaced by the *ang*-form of the proximal demonstrative (*itó*):

- (17) DONAT 180
patayin natin itóng dalawang Hapón {1.0}
 patáy-in natin itó -ng dalawá-ng Hapón
 dead -PV 1:PL:INCL:POSS PROX-LK two -LK Japan
 'let's kill these two Japanese'

The suffix *-in* differs from the other two undergoer suffixes in that it only occurs in nonrealis mood (as in the preceding example). In realis mood, the predicate is simply marked by the realis infix *-in-*:

- (17') *pinatáy natin itóng dalawang Hapón*
 in-patáy natin itó -ng dalawá-ng Hapón
 REAL(UG)-dead 1:PL:INCL:POSS PROX-LK two -LK Japan
 'We killed these two Japanese.'

Recall that the realis infix *-in-* occurs in all, and only, the undergoer voices (cf. examples [10–13] above).

As amply illustrated by all of the examples so far, the actor in undergoer-oriented constructions is typically expressed by a *ng*-form, which in general immediately follows the predicate. The *ng*-forms of the personal pronouns are second position clitics (for details see Schachter and Otnes [1972:411–435]).

There are two further options for actors in undergoer-oriented constructions. First, they may remain unexpressed (as briefly illustrated in [1] and discussed in detail in sections 3 and 4). Second, if the actor is expressed by a pronoun, it is possible to use the dative rather than the possessive form of the pronoun. The dative form obligatorily precedes the predicate, and a linker occurs between pronoun and predicate:

- (18) PEP 097
núng kanyang kukuhanin na ang ibon {0.9}
 noón:LK kanyá -ng REDI-kuha-in na ang ibon
 when:LK 3:SG:DAT-LK REDI -getting -PV now SPEC bird
 'when he was just about to take the birds'

With regard to propositional meaning, this construction is absolutely identical to the construction with a possessive pronoun:

- (18') *nung kukuhanin na niyá ang ibon*
 noón:LK REDI-kuha-in na niyá ang ibon
 when:LK REDI-getting -PV now 3:SG:POSS SPEC bird
 'when he was just about to take the birds'

The functional difference between these two constructions remains to be investigated. For present purposes it is sufficient to note that both the preposed dative pronouns and the clitic possessive pronouns are counted as overt actor expressions.

What is important to keep in mind for the following argument is the fact that the three options for actor expressions (i.e., zero, *ng*-form, and preposed dative pronoun) exist for practically all UOPS, regardless of their specific semantics. That is, it does not matter whether the predicate expresses clearly transitive notions of creation and destruction or less clearly transitive notions of motion or perception. If the predicate is undergoer-oriented, then an overt actor expression is, in principle, possible (either as a *ng*-form or a preposed dative pronoun).

There is one minor exception to this generalization. A small number of UOPS generally do not allow an overt actor expression. The most prominent group among these predicates are predicates meaning 'be infested with whatever the root denotes'. For example, it is possible to derive from the root *langgam* 'ant' a UOP *langgam-in* 'to be infested with ants'. This derivation may be used as a main clause predicate in the following way:

- (19) *nilàlanggám* *ang asukal*
 in -REDI -langgám *ang asukal*
 REAL(UG) -REDI -ant SPEC sugar
 'The sugar is full of ants.' (English 1986)

It is not possible to add an overt actor expression to this clause (thus **nilàlanggám niyá ang asukal*). UOPS of this type are not further considered in this study.

Having thus excluded from further study a smallish class of predicates that are marked for undergoer voice, another morphosyntactic property of UOPS requires a brief comment. UOPS typically, but not necessarily, function as clause-level predicates. Not infrequently they also occur as constituents of nominal expressions. For present purposes, there is no need to go into the details of the grammatical analysis of these constructions. Here it is only important to note that in these (ad)nominal uses of UOPS, the actor may be expressed overtly in the same way as in their uses as main-clause predicates. Examples of the two major uses in nominal expressions are as follows.

For one, a UOP (*inaasahang* in [20]) may function as an adnominal modifier (a "relative clause"), with a linker connecting it to the following (or preceding) word (*pagkakàtaon* 'coincidence' in [20]):

- (20) PEP 082
 hindí niyá inaasahang pagkakàtaon {1.1}
 hindí' niyá in -REDI -asa -an:LK pag-RED -kà -taón
 NEG 3:SG:POSS REAL(UG) -REDI -hope -LV:LK GER -RED -?? -coincide
 '(by) a coincidence he hadn't expected'

For another, a UOP may function as the semantic head of a nominal expression. For example:

- (21) DONAT 251
 pero yung mga dinaanan namin {0.6}
 pero iyón:LK mga in -daan -an namin
 but DIST:LK PL REAL(UG) -way -LV I:PL:EXCL:POSS
 'but those (places) we passed through (they had no trails)'

Note that the UOPS in (20) and (21) are accompanied by overt actor expressions (*niyá* and *namin*, respectively), just like the clause-level predicates in the examples above. As just mentioned, with regard to the overt expression of actors, no principled distinction can be made between a UOP that functions as a clause-level predicate and one that is a constituent of a nominal expression. Therefore, the remainder of this paper will be concerned with *all* UOPS, regardless of their morphosyntactic functions.

To conclude this section, one final distinction has to be introduced in order to delimit clearly the class of UOPS investigated here. With the exception of (19), the UOPS discussed so far all involve voluntary agents that are in full control of the event denoted by the predicate. For most of these predicates, a corresponding stative (or potential) form exists that indicates that an action was done involuntarily, or that someone just happened to instigate the event denoted by the root.¹² Stative

formations are marked with the prefix *ma-* (realis *na-*). Nonstative (or dynamic) and stative formations are contrasted in (22).

- (22) a. *iniluto'* *ko na ang manók*
 i -in -luto' *ko na ang manók*
 CV-REAL(UG) -cooked I:SG:POSS now SPEC chicken
 'I already cooked the chicken.'
- b. *nailuto'* *ko na ang manók*
 na -i -luto' *ko na ang manók*
 REAL:STAT -CV-cooked I:SG:POSS now SPEC chicken
 'I already happened to cook the chicken.'

Here it is important to note that the noun phrases occurring with the stative and the nonstative formation are the same in terms of number (both occur with an actor and an undergoer noun phrase) and marking (the undergoer subject is marked by *ang*, the actor by *ng*). Furthermore, the options for expressing an actor in a stative undergoer-oriented construction are identical to those for the corresponding nonstative construction (i.e., the actor may be zero, a *ng*-form, or a preposed dative pronoun). Therefore, if for a given stative predicate a corresponding nonstative UOP exists, the stative predicate is also included in the present investigation, because it is a semantically transitive UOP according to the two criteria employed throughout this section (i.e., the undergoer argument occurs in the subject role, and the actor argument may be overtly expressed by either a *ng*-form or a preposed dative pronoun).

The stative prefix *ma-* also occurs on all predicates denoting perceptions over which the experiencer has no control:

- (23) PEP 024
 ay nàpansin niyá ang maliliít na mga hayop {1.2}
 ay nà -pansín niyá ang ma -RED-lift na mga hayop
 PM REAL:STAT-notice 3:SG:POSS SPEC STAT-RED -small LK PL animal
 'he noticed some small animals'

With this class of perception predicates, the experiencer may be overtly expressed in the same way as the actor of the prototypical UOPS discussed above. The theme appears in the subject role. Thus, these predicates are also clearly semantically transitive UOPS and, for this reason, included in the present study.

Note that the inclusion or exclusion of stative predicates is not of major import to the general conclusions of this study, because they account for only 10 percent of the sample. In the present database, stative predicates do not differ from nonstative predicates with regard to the frequency with which overt actor expressions are omitted or the factors conditioning such omissions (see 4.3 for details). How-

12. Obviously, the term *stative* here does not refer to an aspectual distinction, but is used as an antonym of *active* or *agentive*. Again, this is an area of bewildering terminological variety in Philippine studies. Instead of *stative*, terms such as *abilitative*, *potential*, *potentive*, *nonvolitive*, and *aptative* are also in use. In choosing *stative*, I follow Foley and van Valin (1984:65f, *passim*) and Drossard (1984).

ever, the occurrence of stative predicates in the corpus is so low in terms of both types and tokens that the issue of whether significant distinctions exist between stative and nonstative predicates regarding their potential for zero anaphora is still in need of further research.

3. ZERO ANAPHORA FOR ACTORS IN UNDERGOER-ORIENTED CONSTRUCTIONS?

The omission of actors in undergoer-oriented constructions is not infrequent in spontaneous discourse. Furthermore, native speakers tend to accept such constructions quite readily in elicitation. Because of these facts, it has been widely assumed that zero anaphora is a freely available option for the actor in undergoer-oriented constructions. However, in looking through Tagalog narrative texts, one notices almost immediately that UOPs often occur with an overt actor expression, even in contexts where semantically and pragmatically omission of the expression would seem warranted.

One particularly conspicuous context in this regard pertains to rapid action sequences, that is, a sequence of actions performed by the same actor(s), presented in their natural temporal order and in simple main clause constructions without any elaborating or backgrounding information intervening. Usually, the clauses expressing a rapid action sequence will also be parallel in overall structure (for example, showing the same relative order of predicate, actor, and undergoer). The following example—an extended version of (5) above—illustrates all these features in a sequence of three events:

- (24) PEP 065-67
- | | | | | | |
|----|---------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|-------|
| ay | <i>nakuha</i> | <i>niya</i> | ang (1.3) | <i>dahun</i> | {0.8} |
| ay | na | -kuha | niya | ang | dahon |
| PM | REAL:STAT | -getting | 3:SG:POSS | SPEC | leaf |
-
- | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|-------------|-----------|----------------|---------|
| at | <i>kinuha</i> | <i>niya</i> | ang | <i>langgam</i> | {0.2} |
| at | in | -kuha | niya | ang | langgam |
| and | REAL(UG) | -getting | 3:SG:POSS | SPEC | ant |
-
- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-------------|-----------|----------------|-----|------------|--------------|-----------|
| at | <i>inilagáy</i> | <i>niya</i> | sa | <i>pampang</i> | u | sa (0.3) | <i>lupa'</i> | {1.1} |
| at | in | -i | -lagáy | niya | sa | pampang | o | sa lupa' |
| and | REAL(UG) | -CV | -position | 3:SG:POSS | LOC | river_bank | or | LOC earth |
- 'he was able to get the leaf. And he got the ant and put it on the riverbank or the ground.'

Note that all three predicates (*nakuha*, *kinuha*, and *inilagáy*) are accompanied by an overt actor expression, that is, the third singular possessive pronoun *niya*. This contrasts with the undergoer that remains unexpressed in the third clause (there is no expression referring to the ant in this clause). As shown by the translation, the most natural rendering of such a sequence in English (and many other languages) shows the opposite distribution of overt expressions for actor and undergoer: in the third clause, the actor remains unexpressed, while the undergoer is segmentally represented by the pronoun *it*.

Given that in English (and many other languages) zero anaphora for actors is common in this context, the lack of zero anaphora for actors in Tagalog is somewhat surprising, on the assumption that zero anaphora for actors is possible in undergoer-oriented constructions. Note that in English the possibility of omitting a core argument is much more heavily constrained by the grammar than in Tagalog. Hence one would expect that zero anaphora for the actor would be possible in Tagalog for at least as many contexts as in English.

Another context in which the omission of an overt actor expression would seem to be warranted semantically and pragmatically is the imperative construction. In the most common imperative construction in Tagalog, however, the overt expression of the actor (i.e., the addressee of the command) is obligatory, and the predicate is marked for voice:¹³

- (25) AHAS 150
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|--------|-----|--------------|-------|--------------|-------|
| <i>tingnan</i> | <i>mó</i> | ang | <i>ganda</i> | na | ng | <i>buhay</i> | ni | <i>Maria</i> | {0.6} |
| tingín | -an | mo | ang | gandá | na | ng | buhay | ni | Maria |
| look | -LV | 2:SG:POSS | SPEC | beauty | now | GEN | life | GEN:PN | Maria |
- 'Look how beautiful Maria's life is now!'

Without a pronoun referring to the addressee (such as *mo* in [25] or *ninyó* in [1]), native speakers judge examples of this kind to be odd. All examples of UOPs used as imperatives in the corpus include a possessive pronoun for the actor/addressee. Again, this phenomenon is cross-linguistically surprising, on the assumption that zero anaphora for actors is possible in undergoer-oriented constructions. Note that the addressee of an imperative may generally be inferred pragmatically. The pronouns hardly contribute anything to its identification.

The preceding observations make it clear that the commonly assumed possibility of zero anaphora for actors in undergoer-oriented constructions is far from self-evident. The data presented so far allow for two hypotheses. (1) It may be true that zero anaphora for actors in undergoer-oriented constructions is in fact possible in Tagalog, but that the contextual conditions for its use differ markedly from the conditions favoring zero anaphora in other languages. (2) Alternatively, the hypothesis may be put forth that zero anaphora for actors in undergoer-oriented constructions is actually not an option in Tagalog. This would imply the claim that actorless UOPs do not involve zero anaphora, but some other kind(s) of "zero" (on which more shortly).

For both hypotheses, it is crucial to take a closer look at examples in which a UOP occurs without an overt actor expression. The first hypothesis would predict that all (or at least a substantial number) of these examples involve zero anaphora. The second hypothesis would predict that none of these examples involves zero anaphora. In the remainder of this paper I will explore these competing predictions, based on a corpus of five spontaneous spoken narratives (four folktales and one personal narrative recounting events from the Japanese occupation during World War II).¹⁴

13. For more details, see the section on imperative constructions in Schachter and Otnes (1972:402-409) and the brief comments on it in Himmelmann (1987:164f).

This corpus consists of 1,298 intonation units. It contains 261 tokens of UOPS as defined in 2.2. Of these 261 predicates, 10 tokens have been excluded from further analysis on the grounds that the overall construction in which the UOP appears is unclear. There are various "noise" factors that contribute to this unclarity, including overlapping speakers, uncertainty in the identification of phonetic segments, and so forth. Of the remaining 251 tokens, 169 (i.e., two-thirds) involve overt actor expressions. Thus, we are left with 82 tokens for which it has yet to be investigated as to why the actor remains unexpressed.

4. ZERO ACTORS IN UNDERGOER-ORIENTED CONSTRUCTIONS.

This section presents a discussion and classification of the 82 undergoer-oriented constructions in the corpus that lack the overt expression of an actor. Note that all the predicates discussed here clearly denote semantically transitive events. Thus, in all of the examples it is clear that an actor (agent or experiencer) is involved. All predicates freely allow the overt expression of an actor, and all of them generally occur with overt actor expressions in other contexts. The question is why the actor remains unexpressed in these specific instances.

With respect to this question, there are basically two types of examples in the corpus. In one type, the actor remains unexpressed simply because it is unknown or unimportant. In the second type, the actor is clearly identifiable, often even a major protagonist of the narrative. The reasons for leaving the actor unexpressed in examples of this type are related to the fact that the actorless predicate is linked to, or dependent on, a preceding predicate that is accompanied by an overt actor expression. To begin with, a few examples of the first type are reviewed.

4.1 UNSPECIFIC ACTORS. The most clear-cut examples for unspecific actors are those where the actor is simply unknown, as in the following segment:

- (26) MAYON 125-127
na yung bangkáy nung lalaki {0.7} *na: si Makisig* [=]
na iyón:LK bangkáy noón :LK lalaki na si Makisig
 LK DIST:LK corpse DIST:GEN:LK man LK PN Makisig

14. Two of the folktales are taken from the excellent textbook by Wolff, Centeno, and Rau (1991, Readings 13 and 14). They were told by Mrs. Lenila Hernandez Briz of Baranggay Sta. Crus, Bac, Laguna. The original recordings for these narratives are included on the cassettes accompanying the textbook. I have retranscribed them from these tapes, including the false starts and deviations that have been deleted in the textbook version.

The other three texts in the corpus were recorded on location by the author in 1984. The speaker of the personal narrative, Donato Hilario, is from Baranggay Bigaa, Cabuyao, Laguna. The remaining two folktales were recorded with Norma Basit and Elisabeth Santos in Baranggay P. Niogan, Mabini, Batangas.

Other data sources have been cursorily checked, including Bloomfield's Tagalog texts, a couple of Liwayway magazines, and some personal letters to the author. The examples found in these sources were all of the same types as the ones found in the spoken narratives. They are not discussed further in this paper.

- ay hùhukayin at isasáma sa kanyang:* (0.8)
ay REDI-hukay -in at i -REDI-sama sa kanyá -ng
 PM REDI -excavation-PV and CV-REDI -be_with LOC 3:SG:DAT-LK
sa kanyang:: húhay {0.3}
sa kanyá -ng hukay
 LOC 3:SG:DAT-LK hole
 'that the corpse of that man, Makisig, be exhumed and put together into her, into her hole <=lexical error>'

This segment reports the essentials of the farewell letter of a daughter who committed suicide because her father, the king, did not allow her to marry her one and only love (who, unfortunately, was a commoner). At the time of writing this letter (and also at this point of the telling of the story) it is unknown who would do the exhumation and re-interment. This is clearly not an instance of zero anaphora.

Arguably of the same basic type as the preceding example are those in which the actor is in principle identifiable, but unimportant in the sense that it does not really matter precisely who is the effector of the event in question. At first sight, the following example may look similar to (24), which illustrates rapid action sequences. Example (27) also consists of three events involving the same actor, presented in their natural temporal order with no backgrounded information intervening.

- (27) MAYON 105-110
ang ginawá' ay hinábol ngayón ng mga: m:káwal [=]
ang in -gawá' ay in -habol ngayón ng mga kawal
 SPEC REAL(UG)-made PM REAL(UG)-pursuit now GEN PL soldier
ng mga: (0.5) suldádo nitong:: sultán {0.6}
ng mga suldado nitó -ng sultán
 GEN PL soldier PROX:GEN-LK sultan
yung:: mga natakas at kinúha yung lalaki
yón:LK mga na -takas at in -kuha iyón:LK lalaki
 DIST:LK PL REAL:STAT-runaway and REAL(UG)-getting DIST:LK man
at {0.7} pinatáy ngayón itong si (0.5) Makisig {0.4}
at in -patáy ngayón itó -ng si Makisig
 and REAL(UG)-dead now PROX-LK PN Makisig
 '(The sultan had already come to know that his daughter had eloped with Makisig. So now) what happened was, the soldiers of this sultan chased the runaways, and (they) got that man and killed him, this Makisig.'

The first predicate in this sequence, *hinabol*, is accompanied by an overt actor expression (*ng mga kawal*);¹⁵ the second and third predicates (*kinuha* and *pinatáy*) are actorless. In contrast to the rapid action sequence example, however, the actor in this segment (the soldiers) is basically irrelevant for the overall story. The unimportance of the soldiers is evident from several facts. First, they are mentioned only once in the story (i.e., the mention of the soldiers is a single mention). Second, they are mentioned for the first (and last) time in the grammatical role of a genitive phrase accompanying a UOP. Major participants are never introduced into the universe of discourse in this way. (Typical options for the introduction of major partic-

ipants include the subject slot of motion and perception verbs and the presentative construction with the existential particle *may*.) Third, their marginal status is also indicated by the lack of individuation. No information is given as to how many they were and who in fact did the catching and the killing (it seems unlikely that all of them were involved in the actual killing of Makisig).

The last-mentioned feature of unimportant actors (lack of individuation) is perhaps even more clearly illustrated by (1), which also belongs to this type of actorless constructions. It has been mentioned earlier on in the story that the vineyard in which the episode takes place is populated by zillions of mosquitoes. In the mosquito king's statement "even if you are bitten" the implied actors are unidentified, nonindividuated members of the populace. Clearly, the individuation and identification of individual "biters" is irrelevant in this context.

Example (27) contains a further actorless predicate, *ginawá*, which appears in the initial nominal expression (*ang ginawá*). This expression literally means 'the thing done/what was done'. In narratives, its use is highly formulaic. It introduces a new sequence of events, thus corresponding functionally to English expressions such as *what happened then* or *the next thing to happen was . . .* It is typically set off from the following sequence by either the particle *ay* (as in [27]) or by an intonation unit boundary, as in:

- (28) AHAS 050-53 {1.7}
- nung makasal na iyán*
noón:LK ma -kasál na iyán
when:LK STAT-married already MED
- ang ginawá* {0.2}
ang in -gawá'
SPEC REAL(UG)-made
- sa ilálim nung::: kalan* {0.6}
sa ilalim noón :LK kalan
LOC bottom DIST:GEN:LK stove
- doón nag<m>punta yung ahas* {0.6}
doón nag -puntá iyón:LK ahas
DIST:LOC REAL:AV-direction DIST :LK snake
- 'When they were married, what happened then, under the stove, the snake went there, (and coiled itself up)'

15. Actually, the actor expression is somewhat more complex, because *ng mangá kawal* is followed by an apposition (*ng mangá suldado*) that provides an alternative lexeme for 'soldiers'. This in turn is followed by a genitive modifier, marked by the *ng*-form of the proximal demonstrative (*nitóng sultán*).

The subject expressions in this example are also not easy to identify because they are marked by the *ang*-form of the demonstratives rather than directly by *ang*. The subject of *hinabol* is *yung mangá natakas* 'the ones who happened to run away, the runaways', the subject of *kinuha* is *yung lalaki* 'that man' (referring to Makisig), and the subject of *pinatáy* is *itong si Makisig* 'this Makisig'.

In this formulaic use, no specific actors are implied.¹⁶ Thus, in both (27) and (28), the actor of the preceding event (the sultan in [27] and a married couple in [28]) is not the actor of the event sequence introduced by *ang ginawá*'. Hence, instances of this formula (seven altogether in the corpus) are also considered to belong to the type of actorless predicates that involve unspecific actors.

There are 55 examples of actorless UOPs with unspecific actors in the corpus.¹⁷ Roughly half of these (i.e., 27) occur in the personal narrative about the Japanese-American war in the Philippines. The narrator portrays himself as a largely passive undergoer of diverse hardships, the instigators of which remain schematic ('the Japanese,' 'the Americans') and are rarely individuated. Typical examples include the following segment:

- (29) DONAT 156-8
- pinuntahan na naman akó sa amin* {0.8}
in -puntá -an na namán akó sa amin
REAL(UG)-direction-LV now also I:SG LOC I:PL:EXCL:DAT
- kinaón akó* {0.6}
in -kaón akó
REAL(UG)-fetch I:SG
- sama na namán* {1.1}
sama na namán
be_with now also
- 'they came to me at my place, fetched me, I went along again.'

Note that *pinuntahan* here is a semantically transitive predicate that allows the overt expression of an actor, that is, the person who goes to (or aims at) a specific location (cf. [13] above).

The preceding discussion strongly suggests that the examples of actorless undergoer-oriented constructions in Tagalog reviewed so far are functionally equivalent to agentless passives in other languages, including English. As has been widely recognized, agentless passives are generally used when the identity of the actor of a transitive event is either unknown or unimportant.¹⁸ In section 5 below, we will turn to the question of whether the Tagalog actorless undergoer-oriented constructions of

16. Note that there is a variant of the formula that includes an overt actor expression. Thus, it is possible to say, for example, *ang ginawá ko* 'what I did'. In this case, the following action sequence has to be performed by the actor specified in the formula.

17. Unspecific actors also generally remain unexpressed in all kinds of public instructions, directions, and prohibitions, as pointed out by one of the readers for *Oceanic Linguistics*, giving the following example from rules for class fire drills:

(i) *ligpit-in ang mga gamit at bitbit-in*
collect-PV spec PL thing and carry-PV
'Collect the things and carry them.'

18. See Myhill (1997) for a recent summary of the factors involved in the choice of agentless passives and related constructions.

this type are also structurally similar to agentless passives in other languages. For now, it is sufficient to note that these examples do not involve zero anaphora.

4.2 COMPLEX PREDICATIONS. The examples of actorless undergoer-oriented constructions reviewed in this section all have the following feature in common: the unexpressed actors are clearly individuated and identifiable participants who have been explicitly introduced into the universe of discourse and are mentioned several times in the story. In fact, many examples involve the major protagonist(s) of the narrative. Therefore, the omission of an overt actor expression in these examples cannot be explained in the same way as for the examples in the preceding section. What seems to be involved here is the fact that all of the examples are part of a complex predication, that is, a sequence of two or more predicates that are part of a single overall predication.¹⁹ Some complex predications are identified as such by morphosyntactic means. These include reduced complement and adverbial clauses (control constructions), which are dealt with in 4.2.1. The remaining complex predications are characterized by semantic and prosodic criteria. This somewhat more elusive kind of complex predication is dealt with in 4.2.2.

4.2.1 Reduced complement and adverbial clauses. As in many other languages, complement and adverbial clause constructions in Tagalog range from essentially complete clauses to highly reduced structures exhibiting control phenomena.²⁰ Due to rather limited data—there are only seven examples of actorless predicates in this category—no in-depth discussion of these constructions is possible (and necessary) here. In a most preliminary way, the following may be noted.

The occurrence of an overt actor expression in complement clauses correlates to some extent with the semantic and morphosyntactic independence of the complement-clause predicate. If the main-clause and complement-clause predicates are relatively independent of each other, each of them will be accompanied by an overt actor expression. If they form a control construction (and the complement clause is thus reduced), only one overt actor expression occurs. A formal indica-

19. The term "complex predication" is used here in the sense of Serzisko (1992:21f). It refers to constructions in which two or more predicates represent a single illocutionary act, i.e., pragmatically they have the force of a single predication. Structurally, they may be complex not only with regard to the number of predicates but also with regard to the number of clauses (i.e., they may be mono- or biclausal). A typical example for a complex predication is a control construction (e.g., *She promised to come*).

Complex predications are to be distinguished from the constructions that have been termed "complex predicates" in the recent literature (cf., for example, Alsina, Bresnan, and Sells 1997). Complex predicates are monoclausal constructions in which two or more predicates are morphologically independent but behave like a single predicate with regard to at least one aspect of clause structure (e.g., argument structure). Complex predication is the more inclusive of the two concepts. That is, all complex predicates are complex predications but not all complex predications are complex predicates.

20. See Kroeger (1993:71–107) for the most detailed discussion to date of control phenomena in Tagalog.

tion of the fact that the complement clause predicate is controlled by the main clause predicate is that only the matrix predicate is marked for mood and aspect, the controlled predicate appearing in a modally and aspectually unmarked form.²¹ This is illustrated by the following example, in which *inisip* is marked for realis mood and *sabayán* is modally unmarked. There is only a single overt actor expression (*ni Pepito*) for both predicates.

- (30) PEP 055–8
- | | | | |
|------------------|-----------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>inisip</i> | <i>ni</i> | <i>Pepito na sabayan</i> | {0.3} |
| in | -isip | ni | Pepito na sabáy -an |
| REAL(UG)-thought | GEN:PN | Pepito | LK simultaneous-LV |
-
- | | | | | |
|----------------------|-------|--------------------------|------------------------------|-------|
| <i>a:ng takbo ng</i> | (0.6) | <i>dáhum na nadàdala</i> | <i>ng</i> | {0.8} |
| ang takbó ng | | dahon na na | -REDI -dalá ng | |
| SPEC run GEN | | leaf LK | REAL:STAT -REDI -carried GEN | |
-
- a' ng: túbig* {1.1}
- a ng tubig
- ah GEN water
- 'Pepito considered keeping abreast with the drift of the leaf that was carried along by the water.'

In the following example the independence of the complement clause predicate (*nailigtas*) is formally indicated by the fact that it is marked for realis mood.

- (31) PEP 071
- | | | | | |
|--------------------|-------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------|
| <i>naisip</i> | <i>niyá</i> | <i>na nailigtas</i> | <i>niyá</i> | <i>ang</i> |
| na | -isip | niyá | na na | -i -ligtás |
| REAL:STAT -thought | 3:SG:POSS | LK | REAL:STAT -CV -saved | 3:SG:POSS SPEC |
-
- | | |
|--------------------------|-------|
| <i>maliit na langgam</i> | {0.6} |
| ma -liit na langgám | |
| STAT-small LK ant | |
- 'it occurred to him that he had saved this little ant'

Although both predicates involve the same actor, they are both accompanied by an overt actor expression (*niyá*). Note that the use of two overt actor expressions in examples such as (31) is odd on the assumption that Tagalog freely allows zero anaphora for actors in undergoer-oriented constructions. On the other hand, it is predicted by the hypothesis that there is no zero anaphora in Tagalog.

For adverbial clauses, essentially the same observations hold as for complement clauses. In (32), no argument is overtly expressed in a reduced temporal subordinate clause, a type of clause that occurs quite frequently at the beginning of new episodes or paragraphs. This clause is reduced not only because it lacks an overt actor expression, but also because the predicate (*isauli*) is unmarked for mood and aspect (note that the subordinating conjunction is typically retained in

21. This form is often called an infinitive. It is probably more adequate to call it "subjunctive," because the same form occurs in reduced subordinate clauses and in imperatives (cf. Noonan 1985).

Tagalog reduced adverbial clauses). Example (33) illustrates the nonreduced construction, which includes an overt actor expression.

- (32) LAMOK 161
nung isa'uli
 noón:LK i -sa-uli'
 when:LK CV-?? -again
 'when they returned it'
- (33) PEP 097
núng kanyang kukuhanin na ang ibon {0.9}
 noón:LK kanyá -ng REDI-kuha-in na ang ibon
 when:LK 3:SG:DAT-LK REDI -getting-PV now SPEC bird
 'when he was just about to take the birds'

4.2.2 Repetition and elaboration. In the remaining examples of complex predications, the two or more predicates that are part of such a predication appear to be formally independent. No linker or other subordination marker occurs between them, and each of them is inflected for mood and aspect. Consider (34), which involves the three UOPs *bitawán*, *hinigít*, and *pinigil* in a row with no linker or other subordinating device intervening, but only one overt actor expression (*nung babae*).

- (34) LAMOK 277
abá e::ya hindi naman bitawan nung babae
 abá e hindi' namán bitáw -an noón :LK babae
 well! EMPH NEG also releasing_one's_hold_on-LV DIST:GEN :LK woman
- talagang hinigít na maigi*
 talagá-ng in -higít na ma -igi
 really -LK REAL(UG)-exceeding LK STAT -all_right
- mahigpit ang pinigil ay* {0.1}
 ma -higpít ang in -pigil ay
 STAT-tightness SPEC REAL(UG)-holding_in_hand PM
 'Wow, that woman would not let go of it, pulling really tight, the thing she is holding being tight'

There is, in fact, a superficial similarity between examples of this kind and the rapid action sequences discussed above. However, this utterance is distinguished by several features from typical rapid action sequences. First and foremost, the three undergoer-oriented constructions here do not denote a sequence of three different events—they all express the same event. That is, the second and third constructions—the ones without overt actors—do not provide new information, but are just two alternative ways of providing essentially the same information as the first one. From this, it follows automatically that there is no "natural" temporal order between the three propositions expressed by these constructions, and that there is no change of actor. A further feature of this segment, which also reflects the fact that no new information is provided, is that it consists of only one long

intonation unit, delivered in allegro style. In rapid action sequences, on the other hand, each predicate is part of a different intonation unit.

Once again, it should be emphasized that the three predicates *bitawán*, *hinigít*, and *pinigil* are all semantically transitive and thus all allow for overt actor expressions. An example of the use of *hinigít* with an overt actor (in the *ng*-form) is the following one:

- (35) *hinigít niyá na maigi ang lubid*
 in -higít niyá na ma -igi ang lubid
 REAL(UG)-exceeding 3:SG:POSS LK STAT -all_right SPEC rope
 'He pulled the rope really tight.'

Other examples in this group also clearly differ from rapid action sequences. All of them share the semantic feature of not providing new information but repeating or elaborating the information contained in the immediately preceding unit. In (36), the predicate *tinatakal* is repeated literally:²²

- (36) LAMOK 154-9
at kanilang:: (0.8) [tinatakal {=} oo {=]
 at kanilá -ng in -REDI-takal oo
 and 3:PL:DAT-LK REAL(UG)-REDI -measurement yes
- H: [?????/ pera
 and they [measured. Yes,
 H: [????? money
- [???/ yung péra tinatakal {1.3}
 iyón:LK pera in -REDI-takal
 DIST:LK money REAL(UG)-REDI -measurement
 'that money was measured.'

As opposed to (34), the actorless second predicate here is found in a different intonation unit. However, this unit is prosodically marked as a repetition of the preceding unit. That is, the pitch range is significantly narrower than in the preceding and following units. Furthermore, the intensity is somewhat reduced.

The next example shows similar prosodic characteristics. Here, the actorless predicate *hinirám* does not directly repeat the information found in the preceding intonation unit, but elaborates on it. The context is that the landlord notices some traces of gold on one of her measuring containers (*salok*). So she asks her servant where it comes from, to which the latter replies (direct speech):

- (37) LAMOK 169f
"ay di galing po doón sa ating kapit-bahay {1.0}
 ay di galing pó' doón sa atin :LK kapitbahay
 PM SO come_from FRM DIST:LOC LOC 1:PL:INCL:DAT:LK neighbor

22. In this example, speaker and hearer overlap during the first part of the segment, causing the speaker to repeat her utterance.

hiniramho" {0.1}

in -hirám hó'

REAL(UG)-borrowed FRM

'(Where does that come from?) "From our neighbors over there, having been borrowed."

The second intonation unit, which consists of the actorless predicate *hiniram hó'*, is prosodically marked as an add-on or supplement (the intensity is greatly reduced). This directly reflects its content, which is also a supplement to the preceding unit. It does not report an independent event but makes explicit a piece of information that is already implied by the preceding unit, which presents the informationally most relevant part of the servant's answer, namely, that the neighbors were the last ones to use the *salok*.

To summarize: in all of the preceding examples, the actorless UOPs seem to form independent clauses because they are not marked as dependent by any of the standard morphosyntactic means (there is no linker, and they allow for the full range of aspect and mood markings). Conceptually, however, they build on the preceding predicate in that they either repeat it literally or elaborate on it. That is, they do not express independent propositions such as those that advance the main storyline or those that provide background information for the main storyline (these are usually marked by subordinating conjunctions). Their conceptual dependence is formally indicated primarily by intonation: they are part of the same intonation unit as the predicate they elaborate upon, or they appear in a separate intonation unit, which, however, is prosodically marked as an apposition or supplement to the preceding one.

If this analysis is correct, the lack of an overt actor expression in these examples may be interpreted as an additional formal indication of their conceptual dependence. The actor is overtly expressed only once in the overall construction, because the sequence of two or more predicates involved here constitutes just one single independent complex predication. In this view, it would not make sense to assume that the actorless predicates in these sequences involve zero anaphora. If there is only a single complex predication, then there is also only one slot for the overt expression of an actor.

Functionally similar constructions occur in other languages. In English, participles may be used in a similar way when repeating or elaborating on a preceding finite verb, as in the following examples from the Pear Stories (Chafe 1980):

- (38) [.35] And he's riding on a lane,
[.35] **riding** on a bicycle and they [.3] cro- you know.

- (39) and I don't know [.55] you know [.4] I think his ego was hurt.
[laugh] You know really [.35] **bruised** all over.

Note that in these uses, core arguments—in particular the actor—are not repeated with the participle.²³

4.3 SUMMARY AND RESIDUE. Table 1 summarizes the 82 actorless undergoer-oriented constructions found in the corpus according to the categories discussed in the preceding sections. It shows that nearly all of these constructions can be accounted for

in terms of two basic factors. First, there may be no overt actor expression because the actor is unknown or unimportant. Second, there may be no overt actor expression because several predicates together form a complex predication in which the arguments are expressed only once.

TABLE 1. MAJOR TYPES OF ACTORLESS UNDERGOER-ORIENTED PREDICATES IN THE CORPUS

unspecific actors	55
reduced complement and adverbial clauses	7
repetition/elaboration	18
residue	2
TOTAL	82

Given that nearly all examples of actorless undergoer-oriented constructions can be accounted for in terms of these two factors, the data found in the corpus strongly support the second hypothesis mentioned at the end of section 3. According to this hypothesis, there is no zero anaphora for actors in undergoer-oriented predications in Tagalog. Instead, actorless UOPs are predicted to involve some other kind(s) of "zero."

However, there is a small residue of two examples that do not involve unspecific actors or complex predications. Because these examples are unique in the corpus, it is difficult to determine whether they are genuine counterexamples to the hypothesis, or whether they are amenable to an explanation that accords with it. I mention them briefly here and leave the matter for further research.

In (40), the UOP *pinanggalingan* is used as a modifier of *kalan* 'stove' without an overt actor expression, despite the fact that the actor in this case is clearly individuated and identifiable, being one of the two major protagonists of the episode.²⁴

- (40) AHAS 097
nagpunta doon sa sinasabing yung
 nag -punta doón sa in -REDI -sabi -ng iyón:LK
 REAL:AV-direction DIST:LOC LOC REAL(UG)-REDI-statement -LK DIST:LK

23. It is this similarity between some of the appositional uses of participles in English and the Tagalog actorless predicates that provides the rationale for employing participles in the translations of examples (34) LAMOK 277 and (37) LAMOK 169f, despite the fact that the resulting constructions do not make for idiomatic English.

It is possible that some of the examples in this group may be considered examples of secondary predication. However, the grammar of secondary predication in Tagalog has not yet been investigated. In fact, it is unknown whether a clearly identifiable grammatical construction for secondary predicates exists in Tagalog.

24. The other UOP in this nominal expression, *sinasabi*, is an instance of the unspecific actor category. Although it is clear that the speaker/narrator of the story is the one who mentioned the stove before, it is obviously unimportant overtly to mention it in this context. Note that corresponding conventionalized expressions meaning 'aforementioned' in many other languages do not include an overt reference to the speaker.

kalan na pinanggalingan {0.2}
 kalan na in -paN-galing -an
 STOVE LK REAL(UG)-GER -COME_FROM-LV
 'They went to the said stove where he (i.e., the snake-prince) had come from'

The predicate *pinanggalingan* is also not part of a complex predication simply because there is no other predicate it could be considered to be dependent on.

As with all other examples in this section, the omission of an overt actor expression in (40) may also not be motivated by an appeal to the semantics of this predicate. Although it is a motion predicate, it is semantically transitive and usually occurs with two overt arguments: the place someone comes from (in the subject slot), and the animate being who comes from that place (in the genitive/possessive slot). See also the short discussion of the formally and semantically similar predicate *pinuntahan* in (29) above.

In the second residue example, the actorless UOP occurs in the following discourse context. The preceding units report a speech by the king of the mosquitoes, making a promise to the married couple and urging them to throw away the vines they collected in his territory. The segment containing the actorless predicate opens up the event sequence following this speech by confirming that the married couple complied with the king's request (as it did on previous occasions).

(41) LAMOK 133F
 ay di *itinápon* {1.0} <a> (0.6) ang *bágin* {0.9}
 ay di i -in -tapon ang bagin
 PM SO CV-REAL(UG)-s.t._thrown_away SPEC vine
 'So they threw away the vines'

In concluding the empirical part of this study, a brief note on one further aspect of actorless UOPs may be called for. As far as I am able to determine, the semantic class of the predicate does not play a role in the omission of an overt actor expression. That is, it does not matter whether a UOP expresses events in which the undergoer is typically strongly affected (such as 'kill', 'bite', 'eat', 'shoot', etc.), or events in which the undergoer is a displaced theme ('carry s.t.', 'return s.t.', 'put s.t. somewhere', etc.), or whether it expresses perceptions ('see', 'notice') or motion to or from a specific location ('go to', 'come from')—an overt actor expression may be missing with all kinds of semantically transitive predicates. Moreover, the omission of overt actor expressions does not appear to be more common with one type of UOP than with another.

To support this assessment, all 56 predicates that occur without an overt actor expression in the corpus are presented in the following list. They are listed in their voice-marked forms, that is, including the undergoer affixes and, if applicable, the stative prefix. The translations refer to the affixed forms, not the roots. The numbers in parentheses indicate how often a given form occurs in the corpus (there are two numbers, the first gives the total number of times the form occurs without an overt actor expression, the second the number of times it occurs with an overt actor expression).

- Predicates with directly affected undergoers: *patay-in* 'kill s.o.' (2, 5), *kagat-in* 'bite s.o.' (1, 4), *baril-in* 'shoot at s.o.' (1, -), *machinegun-in* 'shoot at s.o. with a machinegun' (2, -), *salapsap-in* 'wound s.o. superficially' (1, -), *paputuk-in* 'explode s.t.' (1, -), *upak-an* 'attack s.o. cruelly' (1, -), *silab-an* 'torch s.o.' (1, -), *kain-in* 'eat s.t.' (1, 5), *paspas-in* 'flick s.t. away' (1, -), *higit-in* 'pull s.t. tight' (1, -), *sagip-in* 'salvage s.o.' (1, -).
- Predicates with indirectly affected undergoers (including recipients): *iniksyun-an* 'give an injection to s.o.' (1, -), *bakunah-an* 'vaccinate s.o.' (1, -), *tabun-an* 'cover s.t. completely' (3, -), *tali-an* 'tie s.t. up' (1, -), *hukay-in* 'excavate s.t.' (1, -), *susi-an* 'lock s.t.' (1, -), *kapit-an* 'stick/glue onto s.t.' (1, -), *bigy-an* 'give to s.o.' (2, 4).
- Predicates with displaced/transferred undergoers: *i-balik* 'return s.t.' (2, -), *i-lagay* 'put s.t. somewhere' (1, 2), *i-sama* 'take s.t./s.o. along' (3, -), *i-sauli* 'return s.t.' (1, -), *i-tapon* 'throw s.t.' (1, 2), *i-uwi* 'return s.t.' (1, 2), *hiram-in* 'borrow s.t.' (1, -), *i-benta* 'sell s.t.' (1, 1), *anud-in* 'waft s.t.' (1, -), *dalh-in* 'carry s.t.' (4, 6), *kaladkad-in* 'drag s.o. along' (1, 1), *kaon-in* 'fetch s.t./s.o.' (1, -), *kunin* (< *kuha-in*) 'get s.t.' (6, 13).
- Predicates with effected undergoers: *gawa-in* 'do/make s.t.' (7, 9), *i-lugaw* 'make s.t. into gruel' (1, 2), *sabih-in* 'say s.t.' (2, 5), *ganap-in* 'carry out s.t., perform s.t.' (1, -).
- Causative predicates where the causee is the undergoer: *pauwi-in* 'cause s.o. to return' (1, -), *pahintay-in* 'make s.o. wait' (1, -).
- Perception predicates: *pansin-in* 'notice s.t./s.o.' (1, 3), *pagmasd-an* 'observe s.t./s.o.' (1, -), *ma-kita* 'see s.t./s.o.' (2, 11).
- Motion predicates: *panggaling-an* 'come from X' (1, -), *puntah-an* 'go to X' (1, -), *sabay-an* 'keep abreast with X' (1, -).
- Miscellaneous predicates: *pigil-in* 'hold s.t. in hand' (1, -), *gamit-in* 'use s.t.' (1, -), *anyanyah-an* 'invite s.o.' (1, -), *iwan-an* 'abandon s.o.' (1, 2), *yakag-in* 'persuade s.o. to go somewhere' (1, -), *i-kasal* 'to marry s.o.' (2, 2), *i-pakasal* 'to arrange for s.o. to be married to' (1, 2), *takal-in* 'measure s.t.' (2, 1), *mapagpili-an* 'happen to choose s.t./s.o. from a number of things' (1, -), *anuh-in* 'do what to s.o./with s.t.' (2, 4).

Note that apparently remarkable differences in the distribution of some of these forms are easily explained in discourse-pragmatic terms. For example, all seven uses of actorless *gawaín* occur in the formula *ang ginawá* discussed in 4.1. The relatively high number of six actorless uses for the form *kunin* 'to get s.t.' is due to the fact that it occurs frequently in the personal war narrative, which contains a high ratio of clauses with unspecific actors ('they got us/our boats/the food, etc.').

5. IMPLICATIONS. The hypothesis that there is no zero anaphora for actors in undergoer-oriented constructions in Tagalog has implications with regard to the analysis of the voice system in Tagalog and other Philippine-type languages, and for the development of person marking in Western Austronesian languages. The

following sections outline these implications briefly without attempting to provide a comprehensive account of the fairly complex issues involved.

Before discussing these issues, a comment on methodology may be in order. As already pointed out in section 1, Tagalog speakers generally accept examples that clearly involve zero anaphora for actors in undergoer-oriented constructions. Compare the following example (adduced by one of the referees; see also Naylor [1975:51] for similar examples):

(42) ELICITED

Q. Ano ba ang ginagawa ni Ben sa bakod?
 what Q SPEC REAL(UG)-REDI-act GEN:PN Ben LOC fence
 'What's Ben doing with the fence?'

A. Pinipintahan.
 REAL(UG)-REDI-paint-LV
 'Painting.'

In the preceding sections, it was shown that although the option for zero anaphora in undergoer-oriented constructions may exist in theory, it does not occur in a reasonably large and varied corpus of spoken narratives. That is, none of the 251 UOPs in this corpus qualified as an unequivocal example of zero anaphora. Based on this finding, the hypothesis is advanced that zero anaphora for actors in undergoer-oriented constructions does not occur in natural Tagalog speech (and writing).

Obviously, a significant discrepancy exists between what speakers appear to be willing to accept in elicitation and what they actually do when speaking (or writing). There are various ways in which this discrepancy may be interpreted. To begin with, one could doubt that the corpus investigated here is representative. Clearly, the present study needs further testing with different kinds of natural—and in particular, conversational—data. But note that, in addition to the corpus, a number of primarily written sources have been cursorily checked (see footnote 14) and no clearcut counterexamples have been found. For the time being, then, the following discussion will be based on the assumption that the central hypothesis—that there is no zero anaphora in undergoer-oriented constructions in Tagalog natural speech—stands up to further empirical scrutiny. Note that counterexamples to this hypothesis have to come from natural speech.

From a methodological point of view, the discrepancy limits the kinds of grammatical conclusions that can be drawn from the spontaneous data. The extent to which any such conclusions are deemed to be possible depends on one's view of grammaticality. Here the position is taken that the spontaneous data provide important, though not necessarily conclusive, evidence with regard to at least one controversial aspect of the grammar of undergoer-oriented constructions (see 5.1).

Furthermore, in line with Hopper's (1987) concept of emergent grammar, it is assumed that high-frequency features found in discourse reflect the dynamics of ongoing change in the grammar of a language (see also DuBois 1985). That is, the use of overt actor expressions in undergoer-oriented constructions is so frequent and so regular that it has the potential of becoming a grammatical rule even though

it may not (yet) be part of the grammar in the sense of being a completely general rule that applies in all kinds of contexts, including the metalinguistic activity of assessing the grammaticality of decontextualized example clauses. Section 5.2 explores this idea in more detail.

5.1 IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ANALYSIS OF PHILIPPINE-TYPE VOICE SYSTEMS. As already mentioned in section 2, the analysis of the Philippine voice affixes has been, and continues to be, highly controversial. One aspect of this controversy is as follows. For both actor-oriented and undergoer-oriented constructions, it has been argued that they are syntactically intransitive, the former then being analyzed as antipassives, the latter as passives.²⁵ With regard to this issue, it is important to steer clear of the potential confusion arising from the failure to distinguish between semantic and syntactic transitivity. It is uncontroversial that the constructions in question are semantically transitive, that is, that they denote events involving an actor and an undergoer. The controversy pertains to the question as to whether the constructions contain two core arguments (or terms) and thus are syntactically transitive, or whether they contain only one core argument, thus being syntactically intransitive. Given the latter alternative, one of the two major participants (actor or undergoer) has to be analyzed as occurring in an oblique syntactic function. Such an analysis is well established for the actor in the English passive construction, which is a prototypical example of a semantically transitive but syntactically intransitive construction.

Here we are only concerned with undergoer-oriented constructions. With regard to these constructions, it is uncontroversial that the undergoer is a core argument. The controversy thus pertains to the status of the actor expression as either a core argument (then the overall construction would be clearly transitive) or an oblique argument (then it would be intransitive). Kroeger (1993:40–46) summarizes the arguments in favor of the most widely accepted analysis, that the actor expression is a core argument. The present findings can, at least in part, be accommodated in this analysis, but they may also pose a problem for it.

The present findings are unproblematic for the analysis of actors as core arguments in the following way. It is well-known that in many languages core arguments differ in their potential for zero anaphora. In English, for example, subjects allow zero anaphora much more readily than objects. Thus, as noted above, in the translation of (24), the subject may be omitted, but the object may not: *And he got the ant and put *[it] on the riverbank or the ground.* Similarly, one could argue that the data presented in the preceding sections show that, in Tagalog as well, the two core arguments of an undergoer-oriented construction have different characteristics with regard to zero anaphora: undergoers (*ang*-phrases) readily allow zero anaphora, while actors (*ng*-phrases) are much more restricted in their potential for zero anaphora, requiring additional structural and discourse-pragmatic features to be present before they can be omitted. Viewed in this way, the data support an analysis that

25. See Kroeger (1993:40–48) and Schachter (1995:38–51) for references and discussion.

considers *ang*-phrases in undergoer-oriented constructions to be primary core arguments (subjects), while *ng*-phrases are secondary ("object-like") core arguments. The difference between English and Tagalog then simply pertains to the alignment between semantic protoroles and syntactic functions: in the English construction, the actor is the primary and the undergoer the secondary core argument, while in the Tagalog construction, it is the other way around.

However, the data also pose a problem for the transitive analysis of undergoer-oriented constructions. One argument adduced in favor of this analysis is that missing actor expressions in undergoer-oriented constructions generally have specific identifiable discourse antecedents and can therefore be interpreted as instances of zero anaphora. For example, Kroeger (1993:40) says that "missing actors are normally assumed to have a definite discourse antecedent." The data presented in section 4 make it clear that this is not the case. In fact, the majority of missing actor expressions (55 out of 82, see table 1) do not have definite discourse antecedents. Instead, these examples involve unspecific actors (see 4.1). Here is one more example of this kind:

- (43) DONAT IOI
inupakan *na namán kami* [=]
 in -upak -an na namán kamí
 REAL(UG)-attack_cruelly-LV now too I:PL:EXCL
 '(when it was still night we already had to fight / when the night
 ended / it became quiet again / the next day early in the morning)
 we were attacked again'

In this example, it is unclear (and actually unimportant) who the attacking forces are.

To date, no explicit grammatical analysis has been offered for this kind of construction. If one assumes that *inupakan* is a transitive predicate, it is not clear what happens syntactically to the second core argument, the actor expression. The two most common accounts for unexpressed core arguments, zero anaphora and syntactic control, do not apply.

One possibility would be to analyze these constructions in analogy with English verbs such as *eat*, *drink*, *sing*, *read*, and so forth, which allow for both transitive and intransitive uses. In intransitive uses such as *she was reading*, an unspecific object is semantically understood, but syntactically unexpressed. Similarly, in Tagalog examples such as (43), an unspecific actor is semantically understood, but syntactically left unexpressed, rendering the overall construction intransitive.

Put more generally, this analysis would claim that Tagalog UOPs allow for both transitive and intransitive uses, the former being marked by overt actor expressions. Consequently, a distinction has to be made between the syntactic transitivity of the UOPs themselves and the syntactic transitivity of the overall construction. Undergoer-oriented *predicates* are transitivity-neutral (or ambitransitive). Undergoer-oriented *constructions* may be transitive or intransitive, depending on whether or not an overt actor expression occurs (or the conditions for syntactic control apply).

The advantage of this analysis is that one is not forced to assume that every use of an actorless UOP involves an empty category representing the actor. If such an

assumption is made, it becomes a problem to explain the pragmatically unwarranted "overuse" of overt actor expressions illustrated in section 3. On the other hand, if it is assumed that syntactic transitivity is not a necessary feature of the predicates themselves but instead a feature of the overall construction, this problem disappears. Undergoer-oriented constructions involving overt actor expressions would be syntactically transitive, while those lacking overt actor expressions would be intransitive (with the possible exception of the control constructions mentioned in 4.2.1).

In this view, the overt actor expression contributes to the syntactic transitivity of a given construction in a way that shares many similarities with person markers in those languages in which the presence or absence of a pronominal clitic or affix on the verb provides primary evidence for analyzing a given construction as either transitive or intransitive (as, for example, in some Native American, Australian, and Oceanic languages). We return to this point in the following section.

To conclude this section, another implication of the present findings may be noted in passing, which pertains to the discourse pragmatics of Philippine-type voice systems. One of the reasons for rejecting the traditional analysis of these systems in terms of active and passive is the fact that the actor in Philippine-type undergoer-oriented constructions is much more topical (in terms of topic continuity and persistence) than the actor in the passive constructions of European languages. Furthermore, the actor in the Philippine-type constructions is also much more frequently overtly expressed than in the European passive constructions.

In discussions of Philippine-type voice systems, these two phenomena—high topicality and overt expression of actors in undergoer-oriented constructions—are considered correlates of a single underlying factor. They are, however, partially independent of each other. The fact that the actor in undergoer-oriented constructions is often highly topical does not completely determine the specifics of its formal expression. Because it is highly topical, it can be predicted to be expressed by a high continuity device, with clitic pronouns and zero anaphora being the prime candidates—at paragraph/episode boundaries, full definite noun phrases are also likely candidates.²⁶ The fact that actor expressions in undergoer-oriented constructions most frequently involve clitic pronouns rather than zero anaphora thus needs an explanation that is partially independent of the explanation for the fact that the actor in these constructions tends to be highly topical. None of the analyses of Philippine-type voice systems that have been proposed so far provides such an explanation.²⁷ Therefore, all of these analyses are in need of a hypothesis similar to the one proposed here, that is, that zero anaphora does not freely apply to actors in undergoer-oriented constructions.

26. See Fox (1987) for a detailed discussion of these predictions and further references.

27. These include the traditional passive analysis, the "focus" analysis, the ergative analysis, and the analysis in terms of "discourse ergativity." See Cumming and Wouk (1987) for a succinct statement of the basic methodological and conceptual faults and problems of the "discourse ergativity" approach.

5.2 IMPLICATIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND TYPOLOGY OF PERSON MARKING IN (WESTERN) AUSTRONESIAN. All cases of *overt* expressions for actors discussed in this paper involve pronominal clitics. This, of course, simply reflects the fact that we have almost exclusively dealt with contexts in which the actor has been mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse segment. As mentioned above, the only choice that exists in these contexts with regard to expressing the actor is the choice between a pronoun and a zero (i.e., the omission of any overt expression). Making a pronominal clitic the conventionalized choice in these contexts is one of the characteristics of person-marking languages.

Although it has been well known for some time that some Austronesian languages are person-marking languages (in particular those found in Eastern Indonesia and Western Oceania), person marking, to date, has hardly played a role in the typology of these languages.²⁸ For Philippine-type languages, the possibility that these might exhibit features of person-marking languages has not been considered in the literature, despite the fact that at least one Philippine language (Kapampangan) clearly is a person-marking language (see [48] below).²⁹ In this section, it is proposed that the Tagalog data discussed above may be interpreted as an early stage in the grammaticization of person marking, and that person marking is an important parameter for the typology of all Western Austronesian languages (and not only for the languages with fully-fledged person-marking systems found in Eastern Indonesia). I begin with a brief definition of person marking.

Person-marking languages are defined by two features. The first was just mentioned: verbal predicates are regularly accompanied by pronominal clitics or affixes representing core arguments.³⁰ That is, intransitive predicates regularly occur with one person marker (for the single core argument of such predicates), and transitive predicates with two (for their two core arguments). Person markers are obligatory in the sense that they cannot simply be dropped if the referents of the core argu-

28. But see Haaksma (1933) for an early attempt to tackle this issue, and van den Berg (1996) and Himmelmann (1996) for some more recent observations and hypotheses.

29. Mithun's (1994) sketch of Kapampangan contains a very clear exposition of its person-marking features, without actually using the term "person marking." Characteristics of person-marking languages may also be found in some Northern Philippine languages such as Ilocano.

30. The term "person marker" is often used as a cover term for both agreement markers (for example, the 3SG formative *-s* in the English present tense) and person markers proper (for example, the pronominal affixes widespread in Australian and Native American languages), which are also called pronominal arguments. The term "pronominal arguments" is avoided here because it is at the heart of a controversy surrounding the syntax of nonconfigurational languages (see Jelinek 1984 and Austin and Bresnan 1996, among many others), an issue of no import to the present discussion. The distinction between agreement markers and person markers proper is a fuzzy one, which comes as no surprise, given that the former represent the further grammaticization of the latter (see Lehmann 1982, 1988). A fairly rough distinguishing criterion is the following: agreement markers generally require the cooccurrence of a coreferential nominal expression within the same clause, while person markers proper do not. According to this criterion, the present discussion is concerned exclusively with person markers proper. Therefore, the term "person marker" is used here to refer only to person markers proper, not to agreement markers.

ments are pragmatically recoverable (in contexts of unambiguous anaphora, for example). They may, however, be missing in grammatically defined contexts such as complement constructions or adverbial clauses (put differently, dropping the person markers changes the grammatical construction). The second feature is this: person markers may cooccur with coreferential noun phrases in the same clause.

Fully grammaticized person markers exhibit both features. For less strongly grammaticized person markers, various stages in the development of these features can be distinguished. A fairly rough outline of the major stages of the grammaticization of person markers may look something like this:

- I. Independent pronouns in core argument function that show no evidence at all for becoming grammaticized as person markers. These are phonologically independent words (i.e., not clitics) that occur in essentially the same syntactic positions as full noun phrases.³¹
- II. Very weakly grammaticized person markers. Here one may distinguish between two subtypes:
 - a. Pronominal clitics in core argument function that alternate with full noun phrases or zero anaphora according to pragmatic parameters (topicality, paragraph boundaries, ambiguity resolution, etc.).
 - b. Pronominal clitics in core argument function that alternate with full noun phrases according to pragmatic parameters but do not alternate with zero anaphora. That is, these clitics are used with every predicate, with two exceptions: (i) the core argument is represented by a full noun phrase; (ii) the core argument is not overtly represented in the construction for grammatical reasons (complement clause reduction, passivization, etc.).
- III. Intermediate stages in the grammaticization of person markers. In these stages, clitic pronouns (sometimes also pronominal affixes) in core argument function alternate with neither full noun phrases nor with zero anaphora. Instead, they may cooccur with coreferential noun phrases within the same clause. Their use is largely determined by grammatical factors. A variety of subtypes may be envisioned, based on possible restrictions regarding the cooccurrence of the person markers and coreferential noun phrases, and on the relative importance of pragmatic or stylistic factors in determining their use.³²
- IV. Fully grammaticized person markers. These are typically affixes. Their use is exclusively determined by grammatical factors.

31. This stage represents the source construction for the further grammaticization of person markers. It is based on the widely attested fact that person markers generally derive from independent pronouns (see Lehmann 1982:42f).

32. For example, Dixon (1988:68f) reports that the subject proclitics in Fijian are occasionally omitted "in the most informal styles" and when an emphatic independent pronoun appears in postpredicate position.

The grammaticization of person markers for one kind of core argument is, in principle, independent of the grammaticization of person markers for another kind of core argument. Thus, for example, a language may have type III person markers for actors, but no person markers (type I) for undergoers in transitive constructions.

Closely related languages may vary along the two basic parameters provided by this outline of the grammaticization of person markers. That is, they may vary according to the degree to which a person marker has become grammaticized and they may vary with regard to the kinds of core arguments for which grammaticized person markers exist. This variation is widespread among Western Austro-nesian languages, as briefly illustrated by the following data.

Tsou, a Formosan language, has a type III person marker for actors in undergoer-oriented constructions but no grammaticized person markers for any other core arguments. The person markers for actors are pronominal clitics that, in transitive clauses, regularly occur after the auxiliary. They are an obligatory constituent of verbal predicates in Tsou main clauses, and are used irrespective of whether or not there is a coreferential noun phrase within the same clause:³³

- (44) o-si-cu nana easas-a ino cmoi
 PAST-3-PFV RPRT pull_along-PV GEN bear
 'The bear dragged him along.' (Szakos 1994, II/4/41)

The conditions under which no such person marker for the actor occurs are largely determined by grammatical factors. For example, when one auxiliary governs a chain of verbs, the person marker only occurs once in the chain. Thus, in (45), there are two UOPs, but only one pronominal clitic.

- (45) i-si asngicva tiatatvi-a no cmoi ho easas-a
 PRES-3 continuously hold_in_hand-PV GEN bear and pull_along-PV
 'The bear now carried him, now dragged him along (the ground)'
 (Szakos 1994, II/4/51)

Note that there is no person marker for the undergoer in this construction. In both examples, the undergoer remains unexpressed (i.e., there is no segmental representation for the "him" of the translations).

There is also no person marker for the single core argument of intransitive clauses (46) and the actor of semantically transitive actor-oriented constructions (47).

- (46) mo nana aha'o mieboci na cou
 AV:PAST RPRT suddenly AV:fart SPEC Tsou
 'and then the man suddenly farted' (Szakos 1994, II/5/62f)

33. Tsou examples are all taken from the texts in Szakos (1994, part 2). The first Arabic number refers to the page number, the second one to the line number. Thus, example (44) may be found in part 2 on page 4, line 41. The orthography follows Szakos. Glosses and translations have been provided by myself. Some morpheme boundaries have been omitted, and the glosses are simplified, neglecting in particular preverbs and deictic distinctions.

- (47) o'a mo mako smi'iei no poeave
 NEG AV:PAST ?? buckle_on:AV GEN machete
 'he hadn't buckled on his machete' (Szakos 1994, II/3/32)

In (47), the actor ("he") remains unexpressed and the undergoer is expressed by a noun phrase, with neither core argument being represented by a clitic pronoun immediately following the auxiliary.

In Kapampangan, a Philippine language spoken north of the Tagalog area, there are type III person markers for both actors and undergoers in undergoer-oriented constructions (a similar distribution may be found in Ilocano). The person markers for actors are more strongly grammaticized than those for undergoers, because the latter are frequently omitted for a variety of pragmatic and semantic reasons.³⁴ All essential characteristics of these person markers are exemplified by the following segment of spontaneous discourse (from Mithun 1994:268):³⁵

- (48) potang kai kanita,
 later then MED:LOC
 'At that time,
 i Apu ku
 PN grandparent I:SG:GEN
 my grandfather,
 paglinisan na na la rening ungut,
 clean:UG 3:SG:GEN now 3:PL SPEC old_coconut
 will clean the mature coconuts,
 bangalan na la ...
 cut_open:UG 3:SG:GEN 3.PL
 cut them open,
 at ... deng kayabe mi king bale,
 and SPEC:PL helper I:PL:EXCL:GEN LOC house
 and our helpers in the house,
 kudkuran da na la
 grate:UG 3:PL:GEN now 3:PL
 will grate them
 bang kanita akua da itang laman na ...
 so_that MED:LOC able:get 3:PL:GEN MED:LK flesh 3:SG:GEN
 so that they will be able to get the flesh of the mature coconut.'

Four transitive UOPs occur in this segment: *paglinisan*, *bangalan*, *kudkuran*, and *akua*. All of them are accompanied by pronominal clitics (type III person markers)

34. Mithun (1994:253) observes that no cross-referencing pronominal clitics are used when the undergoer is a mass entity, an abstraction (e.g., *your challenge*), or an embedded clause.

35. Orthography, intonation units (lines), and translation are Mithun's (dots represent pauses). The glosses have been adapted to the conventions followed throughout this paper.

for the actor, despite the fact that the actor is also expressed by a full noun phrase in topic position. The first three of these predicates are also accompanied by a pronominal clitic for the undergoer. Note that in the case of *paglinisan*, a full noun phrase (*rening ungut*) cooccurs with the clitic (*la*) within the same clause and intonation unit. In the case of the last predicate (*akua*), however, the undergoer (*itang laman na*) is not represented by a person marker (possibly because *laman* 'flesh, content' is considered to be a mass noun).

Turning finally to Tagalog, the use of actor pronouns in undergoer-oriented constructions as described in sections 3 and 4 above may be interpreted as an early stage in the grammaticization of a person-marking system. Actor pronouns show evidence of grammaticization in two respects: (a) they are clitics, and (b) they do not alternate with zero anaphora. That is, they are used more frequently (in more contexts) than pragmatically warranted (examples include the rapid-actor-sequence construction and the imperative construction, that is, constructions in which many languages [including English] permit zero anaphora; see section 3). The grammaticization is, however, only incipient, because the actor pronouns do not cooccur with coreferential noun phrases within the same clause. Thus, Tagalog may be claimed to have type IIb person markers for actors in undergoer-oriented constructions.

Although not explicitly discussed in this paper, it should be evident from the examples above that the *ang*-form of the Tagalog pronouns, which is used in subject and topic function, is somewhere in between types I and IIa. These pronouns may be used as prosodically independent words (e.g., *kayó* in [1]) but they can also appear in clitic positions (e.g., *akó* in [29]). They alternate with full noun phrases and zero anaphora, and their use is motivated almost exclusively by pragmatic factors.

6. SUMMARY. It is commonly assumed that zero anaphora is a freely available option for both the actor and the undergoer in semantically transitive constructions in Tagalog. Here it has been shown that, at least in spontaneous spoken narratives, this assumption does not hold true for the actor in undergoer-oriented constructions, one of the two basic construction types for semantically transitive predicates in Tagalog. An overt actor expression may be omitted from this construction type, but not in those contexts that typically induce zero anaphora (such as rapid action sequences). Instead, overt actor expressions are omissible only if one of the following two conditions holds: (1) the event expressed by a UOP involves an unspecific actor, or (2) the actorless UOP is part of a complex predication.

This finding has two major implications. First, with regard to the controversy surrounding the syntactic transitivity of undergoer-oriented constructions in Philippine-type languages, it suggests that a distinction should be made between the transitivity of the predicate expression itself and the transitivity of the overall construction. Such a distinction allows for the possibility that undergoer-oriented constructions with overt actor expressions are analyzed as syntactically transitive without having to claim that all constructions involving UOPs are syntactically transitive (a claim that

appears to be difficult to defend, in particular in the case of the undergoer-oriented constructions with unspecific actors discussed in 4.1).

The second implication is the hypothesis that the pronominal clitics, which are the most common kind of overt actor expressions found in undergoer-oriented constructions, may be analyzed as representing an early stage in the grammaticization of person markers. This hypothesis provides a new parameter for comparing Western Austronesian languages among each other, as well as for the general typological classification of Tagalog and similar Philippine-type languages.

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