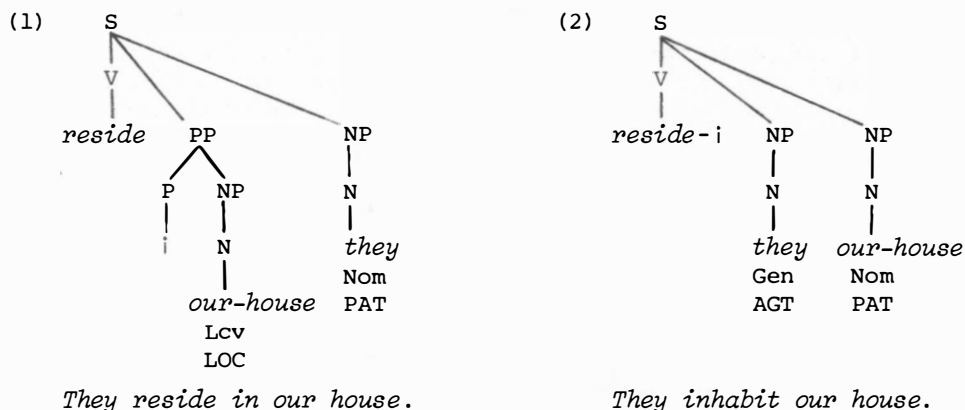


FOCUS AS RECENTRALISATION

Stanley Starosta

1. BACKGROUND¹

Three years ago, Starosta, Pawley, and Reid (hereafter SPR) presented a paper at the Bali conference in which they attempted to account for the evolution of Western Austronesian focus constructions as the result of a process of reinterpretation of nominalised equational constructions by analogy with functionally equivalent verbal constructions. For instance, assuming that PAN was an ergative language as defined in lexicase, so that the grammatical subject was always Patient, they posited intransitive constructions such as (1) whose verbs could undergo a lexical process of transitivity which had the effect of reinterpreting the former Locus as a Patient, with a concomitant reinterpretation of the former Patient as Agent. The result would look like (2).



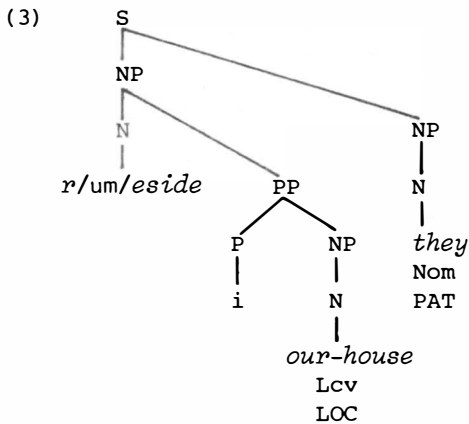
In the lexicase framework in which the SPR paper was written, the Patient is obligatory in every clause (with certain storable exceptions), and constitutes the perceptual centre of each clause. The derivation process they posited can thus be considered 'recentralisation', the creation of a new verb whose perspective places the location of the action or state at the perceptual centre. The English glosses for (1) and (2) have been chosen to illustrate this difference in perspective. Thus *reside* is a verb which treats the residence as a Locus, but *inhabit* treats it as a Patient and the inhabitant as the grammatical Agent.

In addition to verbal constructions such as (1) and (2), SPR also posited lexical nominalisation rules in which the ancestors of the familiar 'focus affixes' such as -um- and -an- functioned to nominalise verbs, as they still can

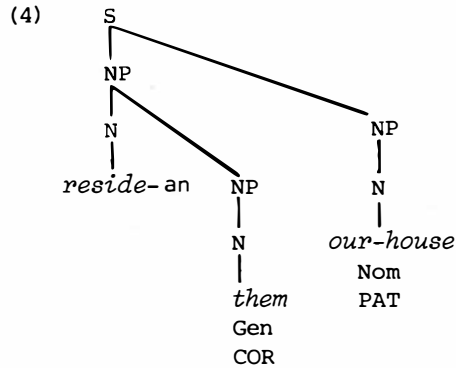
Paul Geraghty, Lois Carrington and S.A. Wurm, eds *FOCAL I: papers from the Fourth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, 73-95. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-93, 1986.

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in modern Austronesian languages. These deverbal nouns could then function as predicates of equational sentences, resulting in examples such as (3) and (4):

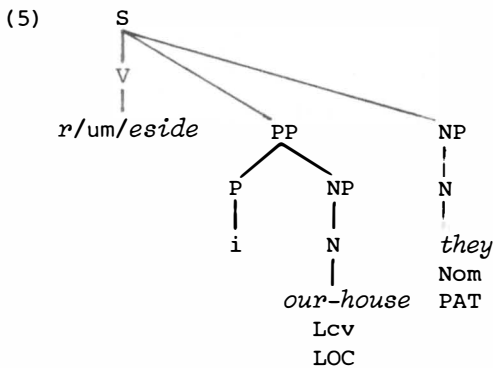


They are the residents in our house.

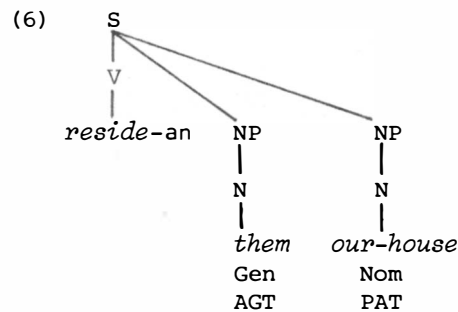


Our house is their residence.

Note the close parallel in perspectives between (1) and (3) and between (2) and (4). In (1) and (3), the resident is the Patient, and in (2) and (4) the residence is the Patient. It was this syntactic and perceptual parallelism which SPR cited in support of the plausibility of their thesis that the nominal constructions (3) and (4) were reinterpreted by analogy with the verbal counterparts (1) and (2), resulting in (5) and (6), hybrid constructions with the syntactic analysis taken from the original verbal constructions and the morphology taken from the original deverbal nouns:



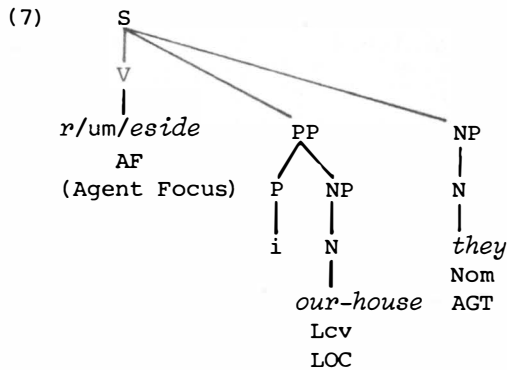
They reside in our house.



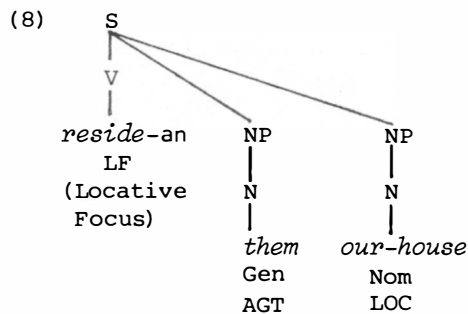
They inhabit our house.

Although SPR were trying to account for the evolution of focus in Philippine languages in particular, however, they did not quite get there. Their analysis resulted in a stage which was purely ergative, that is, one in which the grammatical Patient is always the grammatical subject. However, this is not the kind of system that has been hitherto assumed for Philippine languages analysed in case frameworks. In such analyses, it has normally been assumed that 'focus' is a kind of agreement affixation, so that -um- for example is a marker that signals the presence of the Agent case relation on the subject, as in (7), and -an frequently signals the presence of the Locus case relation on the subject, as in

(8). Tagalog examples of this analysis based on Ramos' case grammar are given as (9) and (10):

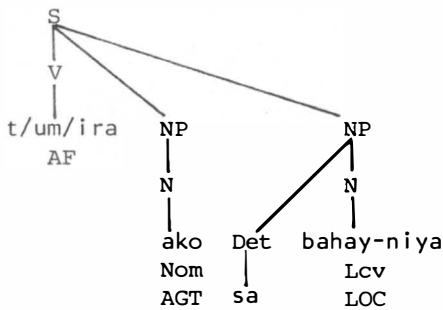


They reside in our house.



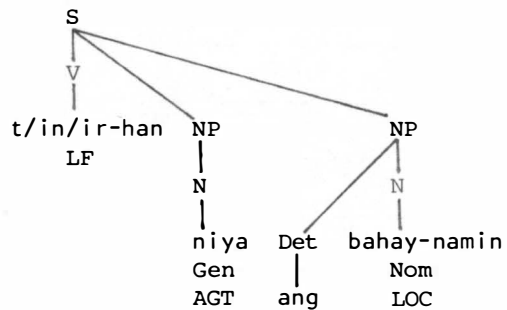
They inhabit our house.

(9) (cf. Ramos 1974:33)



I lived in his house.

(10) (cf. Ramos 1974:120)



He lived in our house.

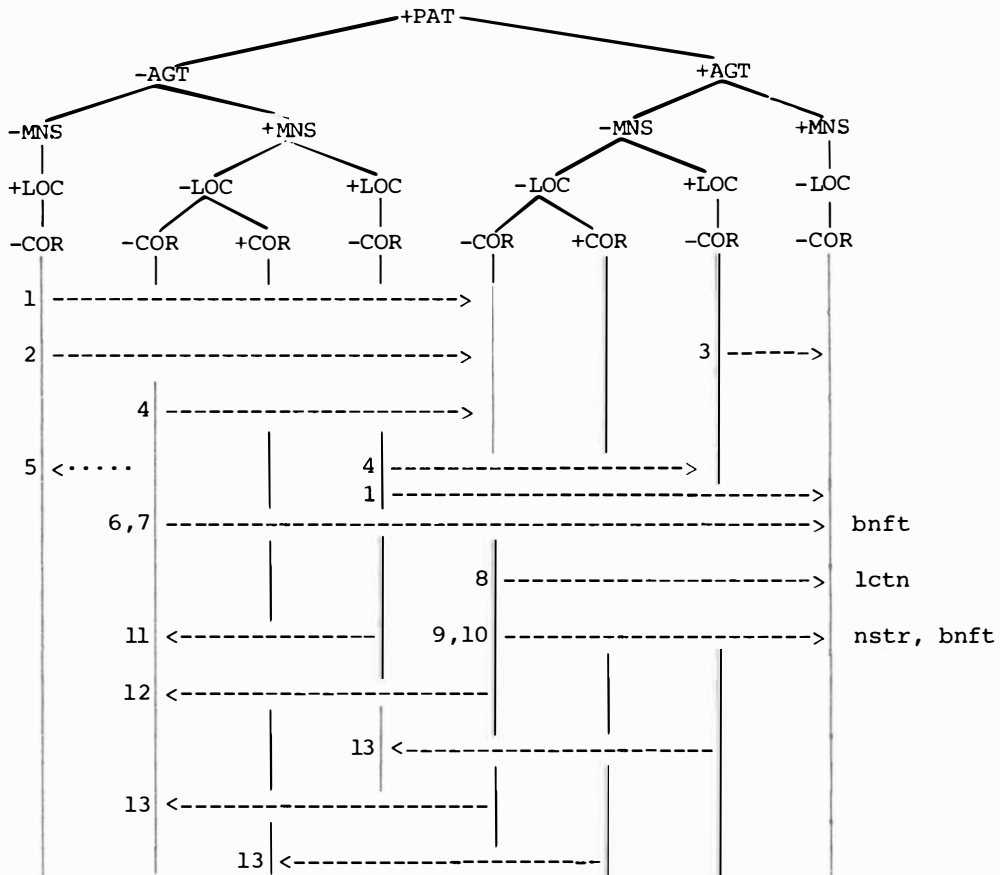
It would appear then that the SPR paper didn't really complete its work: it left us at the stage corresponding to (5) and (6), and didn't show us how to get across the last transition to (7) and (8). It will be my contention in this paper that that appearance is misleading, and that in fact SPR stopped exactly where they should have. That is, languages such as Tagalog are pure ergative languages, a conclusion that linguists such as Cena and De Guzman have also been approaching within the framework of relational grammar.

I will propose then that (5) and (6) represent the correct analysis of focus constructions, and that moreover focus is actually a process of lexical derivation that produces verbs with altered perspectives and/or different case frames. In particular, I will be concerned with a subset of these derivations in which there is a *recentralisation*, that is a change in perspective in which a new participant is chosen to be the perceptual centre of the sentence, that is, the Patient. From this point of view, a suffix such as *-an* signals to the hearer 1) that the verb has been derived into a new syntactic class, and 2) that the Patient subject of the sentence is to be interpreted selectionally as a location (at least for one set of verbs), just as a verb such as *died* signals to the hearer that the grammatical subject of a sentence such as *The flubadub died* is to be interpreted as animate.

In the next section of the paper I will be discussing the recentralisation rules I have posited so far for Tagalog, citing examples drawn mainly from De Guzman's *Syntactic derivation of Tagalog verbs* (hereafter TV for 'Tagalog verbs'). In the final section, I will offer morphological, syntactic, diachronic, and metatheoretical support for the recentralisation analysis.

2. ANALYSIS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

(11) Tagalog recentralisations



(11) is a tabulation of the recentralisation processes that I posit for Tagalog at this point. The tree at the top of the figure indicates the relevant syntactic classes I am assuming, defined in terms of case frame. Thus the +PAT at the top of the tree indicates that all the verb classes we are concerned with take a Patient in their case frames, as required by the lexicase Patient centrality hypothesis. The right branch of this tree covers all the verb classes which have an Agent in addition to a Patient in their case frames, etc.

The dashed arrows under the tree represent verbal derivation processes all of which involve recentralisation. For example, the arrow labelled (1) refers to a lexical process that applies to verbs in the intransitive locative class,

c'. *Jesse escaped from the Wells Fargo office with the money.*
 PAT LOC MNS

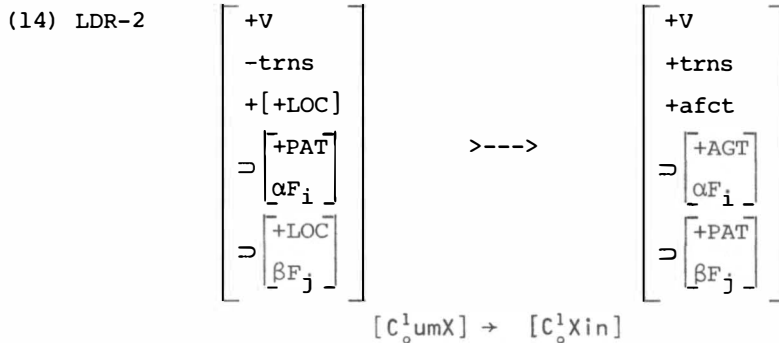
d. binilhan ng nanay ng damit ang kaibigan [2:81]
 1 2 AGT 4 MNS 6 PAT
 3 5 7

Mother bought a dress from her friend.
 3 1- 4 5 -1 7

d'. *Mother robbed her friend of a dress.*
 AGT PAT MNS

The inner Locus of the input verb (*ibang bansa foreign country* in (13a)) is reinterpreted as the Patient (*iba't ibang bansa other countries* in (13b)). By my ergative analysis, this automatically results in the reappearance of the former grammatical Locus as the grammatical subject. The differences in the English glosses are intended to reflect the change of perspective that results from this derivation. Thus *foreign country* in the first gloss is a Locus, the source of the movement of the Patient *he*, but *other countries* in the second gloss is the Patient, that which is affected by the Agent *he*.

The same rule produces the transitive binilhan in (13d) from the intransitive bumili in (13c). Note that by my analysis, the notional 'object' *ng bahay a house* in (13c) is not a grammatical Patient, but rather an example of the Means case relation. This is consistent with relational grammar studies by Cena and De Guzman showing that such nominals are not treated grammatically as nuclear terms, that is, as Agent or Patient in the lexicase framework. Since English does not have good productive examples of this kind of pseudo-transitive construction (although certain European languages such as Finnish, Hungarian, and Russian apparently do), it is hard to convey the perspectual differences in the English gloss. Instead, I have provided the English examples (13c') and (13d') in an attempt to convey the flavour of the distinction that I think should be there.



Lexical derivation rule 2 also functions to reinterpret a Locus of the verb (*pumasok* in (15a)) as a Patient with a consequent reinterpretation of the former Patient as Agent. The suffix *-in* (or its allomorph, the infix *-in-*) on the resulting verb signals the imposition of the selectional interpretation of 'affect' on its new Patient. This difference seems to be conveyed nicely by the gloss *drenched* for the derived verb:

(15) LOC >---> PAT, PAT >---> AGT, afct

a. pumasok ang tubig sa sapatos niya [4:66a]
 1 2 PAT 4 LOC 6
 3 5

The water went into his shoes.

2 PAT 1- -1 6 LOC
 3 5

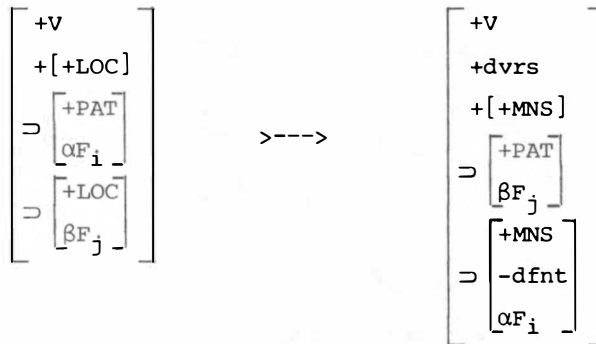
b. pinasok ng tubig ang sapatos niya [4:66b]

1 2 AGT 4 PAT 6
 3 5

Water drenched his shoes.

AGT 1 6 PAT
 3 5

(16) LDR-3



[maX] → [maXan]

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [C^1_0umX] \\ [iX] \\ [Xin] \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow [Xan]$$

Lexical derivation rule 3, like 1 and 2, also functions to reinterpret a Locus of the verb (pasyente in (17a)) as a Patient, but this time with a concomitant reinterpretation of the former Patient as Means. Since this rule does not add or remove an Agent from the case frame, it does not affect transitivity. Selectionally, it has the effect of imposing the interpretation of 'location' on the new Patient. In (17a), that is, the tumour is interpreted as the perceptual centre, but in (17b), it is the patient who is (fortuitously) the grammatical Patient, the perceptual centre selectionally interpreted as a location. This interpretation is again signalled by the suffix -an on the verb nakitaan. The posited perspectual difference is reflected in the English example (17b'), where *amphetamines* might be regarded as the notional 'object', although grammatically the direct object is *the nurse*:

(17) LOC >---> PAT, PAT >---> MNS, lctn

a. nakita ng doktor sa pasyente ang isang malaking tumor [3:24]
 1 2 AGT 4 LOC 6 PAT 8 9
 3 5 7

The doctor saw a big tumour in the patient.

2 AGT 1 7 8 PAT 4- -4 LOC
3 9 5

b. nakita?an ng doktor ang pasyente ng isang malaking tumor [3:24a]

1 2 AGT 4 PAT 6 MNS 8 9
3 5 7

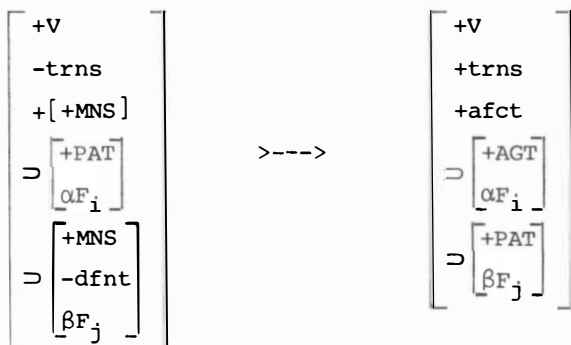
The doctor saw the patient as having a big tumour.

2 3 1 4 5 7 8 9

b'. *The doctor caught the nurse with some stolen amphetamines.*

AGT PAT MNS

(18) LDR-4



[C¹umX] → [C¹Xin]

Lexical derivation rule 4 functions to upgrade the inner Means of the verb (gumawa in (19a)) to a Patient, with a consequent reinterpretation of the former Patient as Agent. As indicated by the gloss, the main function of this rule is to make it possible to mark the former notional 'object' as definite, which is not possible with an inner Means actant. The suffix -in on the resulting verb here primarily signals transitivity, which semantically adduces the interpretation of an external Agent acting directly on a definite Patient.

(19) MNS >---> PAT, PAT >---> AGT, afct

a. gumawa? si Angel ng tugtugin [2:12]

1 2 PAT 4 MNS
3 5

Angel composed a piece of music.

PAT 1 4 MNS
3 5

b. gagawa?in ni Angel ang tugtugin [cf. 4:73a]

1 2 AGT 4 PAT
3 5

Angel will compose the piece of music.

AGT 1- -1 4 PAT
3 5

The LOC_i and LOC_o refer to inner and outer case relations respectively.

$$(22) \text{ LDR-6} \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} +V \\ -trns \\ -[+LOC] \\ +[+MNS] \\ \supset \left[\begin{array}{c} +PAT \\ \alpha F_i \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \quad \text{>--->} \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} +V \\ +trns \\ +bnft \\ -[+LOC] \\ +[+MNS] \\ \supset \left[\begin{array}{c} +AGT \\ \alpha F_i \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

$$[C_o^1umX] \rightarrow [C_o^1Xan]$$

LDR-6 in effect captures an outer Correspondent case relation, reinterprets it as Patient, and assigns it a beneficiary interpretation. The new Patient crowds out the old one, which is reinterpreted as Agent, thereby resulting in transitivity. The idea of 'capture' however is not directly reflected in this formalisation, since outer case relations can't be referred to in the case frame. Thus it can equally be seen as a rule which creates a new Patient and interprets it as a beneficiary, while reinterpreting the old one as the Agent.

(23) \emptyset >---> PAT, PAT >---> AGT, bnft

- a. bumili ako ng silya para sa nanay [2:52]
 1 PAT 3 MNS 5 6 COR_o
 2 4 7

I bought a chair for mother.
 2 1 3 4 5 7

- a'. *Oliver absconded with a chair for Fagan.*
 PAT MNS COR_o

- b. binilhan ng nanay ng damit ang kaibigan [2:81]
 1 2 AGT 4 MNS 6 PAT
 3 5 7

Mother bought a dress for her friend.
 3 1- 4 5 -1 7

- b'. *Mother presented her friend with a dress.*
 AGT PAT MNS

$$(24) \text{ LDR-7} \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} +v \\ -trns \\ \supset \left[\begin{array}{c} +PAT \\ \alpha F_i \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \quad \text{>--->} \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} +v \\ +trns \\ +bnft \\ \supset \left[\begin{array}{c} +AGT \\ \alpha F_i \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

$$[C_o^1umX] \rightarrow [iC_o^1X]$$

$$[mpagX] \rightarrow [ipagX]$$

LDR-7 is very similar in function to LDR-6, except that it is not restricted to non-locus means intransitives. It also differs in its morphological effect, since it assigns an *i-* prefix rather than an *-an* suffix. I follow De Guzman in treating the prefix *mag-* as morphophonemically composed of *pag-* preceded by *m-*, since this simplifies the statement of this and other rules and captures the relation between *mag-* and *-um-* more directly.

(25) Ø >---> PAT, PAT >---> AGT, bnft

a. nagluto? siya ng litson [cf. 2:28]
 1 PAT 3 MNS
 2 4

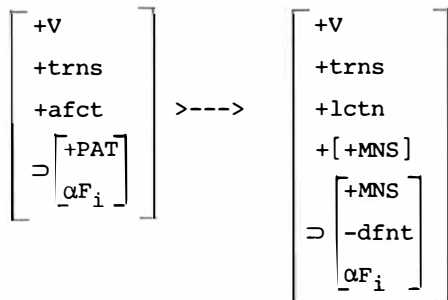
He cooked a roast.
 2 1 3 4

a'. *They built with lannon stone.*
 PAT MNS

b. ipinagluto ko ng litson ang nanay [cf. 2:53]
 1 AGT 3 MNS 5 PAT
 2 4 6

I cooked mother a roast.
 AGT 1 PAT 3 MNS
 2 6 4

(26) LDR-8



in] → an]

LDR-8 in effect captures the outer Locus of a transitive affect verb, reinterpreting it as a locational Patient. Since the verb is already transitive, the displaced former Patient is reinterpreted as Means. As in the case of other rules in which a former Patient is downgraded to Means, the new Means actant is interpreted as indefinite. This rule applies only to *-in-* suffixed stems, and replaces the *-in* by *-an*.

(27) Ø >---> PAT, PAT >---> MNS, lctn

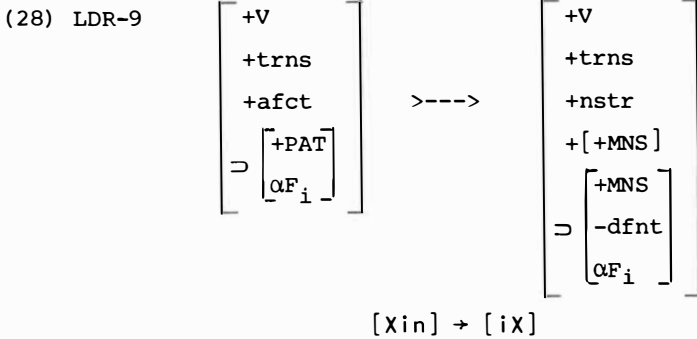
a. kaka?inin ni Melissa ang mansanas [4:73a]
 1 2 AGT 4 PAT
 3 5

Melissa will eat the apple.
 AGT 1- -1 4 PAT
 3 5

- b. kinaʔinan nila ng hapunan ang bagong restawrang ito kagabi [2:26a]
 1 AGT 3 MNS 5 PAT 7 8 LOC_o
 2 4 6 9

This new restaurant was eaten dinner at by them last night.
 8 6 7 1- -1- 4 -1 2- -2 9

- b'. *The IRS deprived Chrysler of its unearned profits last year.*
 AGT PAT MNS LOC_o



LDR-9 is quite similar to LDR-8, except that LDR-9 captures an outer Means case relation (an instrument) and interprets its new Patients as instrumental rather than locational. Again, the former Patient must be reinterpreted to appear as an indefinite inner Means 'object'. The morphophonemic effect is to remove the -in suffix and add an i- prefix.

- (29) ∅ >---> PAT, PAT >---> MNS, bnft

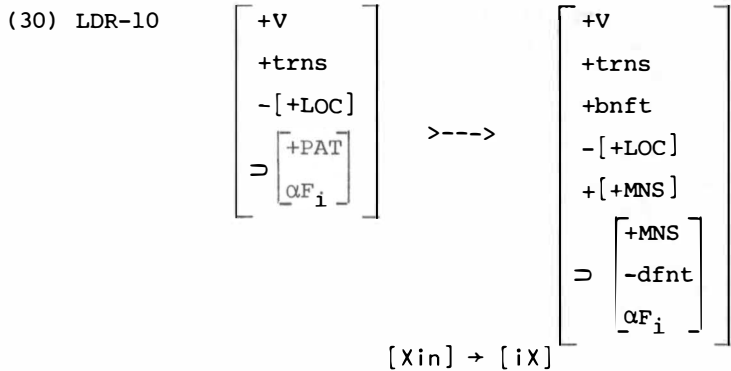
- a. pinutol ni Pablo ang damo ng karit [2:47b]
 1 2 AGT 4 PAT 6 MNS_o
 3 5 7

Pablo cut the grass with a sickle.
 AGT 1 4 PAT 6 MNS_o
 3 5 7

- b. ipuputol niya ito ng tubo [3:1b]
 1 AGT PAT 4 MNS
 2 3 5

He will cut this person some sugarcane.
 2 1- -1 3 4 5

- b'. *She availed herself of a handy microcomputer.*
 AGT PAT MNS



LDR-10 is again similar in function to LDR-8, except that LDR-10 applies to non-locational transitive verbs and 'centralises' outer Correspondent actants, reinterpreting them as beneficiaries. Again, the former Patient is crowded out by the new one, and is reinterpreted as an indefinite inner Means. This rule applies only to -in-suffixed stems, and removes the -in suffix while adding an i- prefix.

(31) ∅ >---> PAT, PAT >---> MNS, nstr

a. pinutol ni Pablo ang damo ng karit [2:47b]
 1 2 AGT 4 PAT 6 MNS_o
 3 5 7

Pablo cut the grass with a sickle.

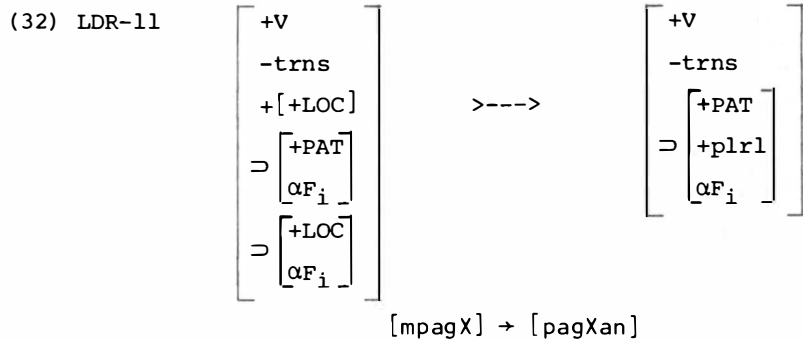
AGT 1 4 PAT 6 MNS_o
 3 5 7

b. inpuputol niya ito ng tubo [3:1a]
 1 AGT PAT 4 MNS
 2 3 5

He will cut sugarcane with this.

2 1- -1- 5 -1 3

b'. *She availed herself of a handy microcomputer.*
 AGT PAT MNS



(35) AGT >---> PAT, PAT >---> MNS, anti-passive

a. inilatag niya ang banig sa araw [3:48]

1 AGT 3 PAT 5 LOC
2 4 6

He spread out the mat in the sun.

AGT 1- -1 3 PAT 5- -5 LOC
2 4 6

b. naglatag siya ng banig sa araw [3:49]

1 PAT 3 MNS 5 LOC
2 4 6

He spread out a mat in the sun.

2 1- -1 3 4 5- -5 6

b'. *He covered up in the arctic with heavy blankets.*

PAT LOC MNS

c. patatakbuhan ko ang bata? [De Guzman MSa:30]

1 AGT 3 PAT
2 4

I will race the child.

AGT 1- -1 3 4
2

d. magpapatakbo ako ng bata? [De Guzman MSa:30]

1 PAT 3 MNS
2 4

I will race with a child.

PAT 1- -1 3 MNS
2 4

e. ipinaluto? ko sa nanay ang manok [De Guzman MSa:29]

1 AGT 3 COR 5 PAT
2 4 6

I had mother cook the chicken.

2 1- 4 -1 5 6

e'. *I compared the chicken to mother.*

AGT PAT COR

f. nagpaluto? ako sa nanay ng manok

1 PAT 3 COR 5 MNS
2 4 6

I had mother cook (a) chicken.

2 1- 4 -1 5 6

f'. *I imposed on the secretary with my frequent rush requests.*

AGT COR MNS

applied to PAN resulting in a simpler proto-system and a simpler account of the transition from PAN to Philippine systems.

(c) The recentralisation analysis of focus proposed here applies without any alterations to accusative Austronesian languages such as Kara as well as to ergative languages like Tagalog. This means that only a single simple transition need be posited in the evolution of such languages: a shift from a centrality-based subject-choice hierarchy to a salience-based one. A plausible mechanism for such a change in Oceanic languages was in fact outlined at the end of the SPR paper.

(d) The Chamorro connection

(i) The ergative/recentralisation analysis proposed in this paper reveals a clear syntactic and morphological distinction between transitive and intransitive verb classes which did not show up in earlier case grammar analyses such as TV. This distinction seems to be the same one that is found much more strikingly in Chamorro, and may have implications for establishing the position of Chamorro in the Austronesian family tree and reconstructing the grammatical system of the common ancestor.

(ii) This transitivity distinction in turn was important in the process of 'aux axing' that SPR posited to account for the evolution of Oceanic accusative systems from the posited ergative system. Chamorro has also undergone a similar process if not the same one. The diachronic implications of this fact seem paradoxical, but at least the present analysis has helped to point out the problem.

(iii) This analysis has also established a link in Tagalog between morphological plural marking and the class of syntactically intransitive verbs, a phenomenon which again has a close parallel in Chamorro. Again, the diachronic implications remain to be investigated, but the phenomenon has at least been identified for further study.

3.2 Metatheoretical justification

3.2.1 Simplification and elimination of adhocery

The TV analysis uses features such as [_{ERG}] to account for differences of derivational potential. These are in effect rule features, and thus constitute an admission of a failure to find a motivated explanation. In the present analysis, such features are replaced by the transitivity feature, which is amply motivated in terms of syntactic and morphological criteria.

3.2.2 Universal statements

3.2.2.1 Ergativity

(a) The analysis proposed here is consistent with, and thus indirectly lends support to, the standard lexicase universal definition of an ergative language as one in which Patient takes priority over Agent in subject choice.

(b) The ergative/recentralisation analysis stated here is compatible with, and lends further support to, the lexicase 陰陽 [_{YIN-YANG}] theory of ergative-accusative typology, i.e. that languages choose to mark their subjects either on

the basis of saliency (AGT takes precedence over PAT, i.e. 陽) or centrality (PAT takes precedence over AGT, i.e. 陰).

(c) This analysis lends indirect support to the lexicase analysis of intransitive sentences in accusative languages such as English as having Patient subjects. The reasoning is that this analysis captures the fact that intransitive sentences in both ergative and accusative languages are grammatically identical.

(d) The lexicase analysis of ergativity automatically explains why (minimally marked) causative verbs in Philippine and Formosan languages are generally 'object focus': causativisation necessarily results in a transitive verb, and the subject of a transitive verb in an ergative construction is Patient.

3.2.2.2 Case

(a) The inventory of five case relations employed in this analysis is (except for TIM) the same set proposed as universals in Starosta 1982 primarily on the basis of evidence from English, and the definitions and uses of the CR's are similar. Thus this analysis lends support to the claims of universality for this list of primitives.

(b) Lexicase requires the ability to refer to a category of 'actor' defined as 'Agent if present, otherwise Patient'. The drawback of this definition is that it is a disjunction, but the advantage is that exactly the same definition works for ergative and accusative languages.

(c) The TV analysis, which proposes a mixed ergative-accusative analysis, is replaced here by a pure ergative system, which is conceptually simpler, and suggests the possibility that all reputedly mixed systems can be so reanalysed.

3.2.3 Patient centrality

(a) The present analysis is consistent with a universal hypothesis that Patient centrality applies in all human languages.

(b) In De Guzman's account of Raising in Tagalog, an argument is in effect raised into an empty subject position in a transitive clause. In a lexicase account based on the present ergative analysis, the argument is 'raised' to PAT rather than subject. Stated in this way, the same principle applies equally to accusative languages such as English, and in fact in English at least it applies to transitive as well as intransitive clauses.

(c) Complementation

(i) Given the present Patient Centrality analysis, a general statement can be made that sentential complements substitute for PAT arguments in transitive clauses, in ergative as well as accusative languages.

(ii) Similarly, a general statement can be made that direct and indirect quotes substitute for PAT arguments in transitive and perhaps also intransitive clauses in both ergative and accusative languages.

3.2.4 Lexicase versus Relational Grammar

3.2.4.1 Power

(a) De Guzman's RG analysis of anti-passivisation must refer to 'final' terms, and while this seems preferable to an analysis which refers to more than one stratum, it is still global reference. A lexicase analysis has only one 'stratum', and so such global reference is excluded in principle. The lexicase analysis is thus less powerful, and so metatheoretically preferable.

(b) After proving that RG metatheory must allow for Patient subjects in addition to the usual Agent subjects in order to account for Tagalog syntax, Cena concludes that probably the metatheory should allow for a given language to have its subjects take other semantic roles as well. However, the lexicase system is more constrained in allowing only two possible subject choices, Patient or Agent, rather than an open list as Cena suggested.

3.2.4.2 Inventory of primitive elements

(a) RG analyses of ergative syntax must posit the ad hoc Grammatical Relations 'Ergative' and 'Absolute' or their equivalents in order to capture certain important generalisations. In the lexicase analysis, however, no special new equipment is needed to account for ergative systems; instead, exactly the same inventory of case relations and case forms can be employed in both kinds of systems. In particular, 'subject' has the same role in both kinds of typology, whereas in De Guzman's analysis, Subject is specialised to accusative systems.

(b) Unlike De Guzman's RG analysis, the lexicase approach proposed here makes no grammatical distinction between formally identical ergative and genitive case forms. The necessity for making such a distinction in the first place seems to be again the result of RG's failure to distinguish between case forms and case relations.

3.2.4.3 Naturalness

Both Cena's and De Guzman's RG analyses run up against the need for the ability to refer to semantic roles in order to express important grammatical generalisations. However, Relational Grammar metatheory does not provide such a capacity, and thus is shown to be inadequate as a theory of natural language, at least as presently constituted. From the lexicase point of view, of course, this is due to the RG confusion of case forms and case relations. If RG is modified in accordance with De Guzman's suggestions to allow for direct reference to semantic roles, what will have been created is a variant of lexicase.

3.2.4.4 Generalisation

(a) Intransitives have the same representation in ergative and accusative languages.

(b) De Guzman notes that her RG anti-passive analysis closely parallels the RG passive analysis for accusative languages. Lexicase goes even further, however, in analysing the outputs of both processes to be not just parallel but grammatically identical: intransitive clauses with Patient subject and Means adjuncts.

(c) The RG anti-passive rule applies only in ergative languages. However, the corresponding lexicase rule, stated in terms of case relations rather than 'grammatical relations', applies without any modification to accusative languages as well. An English example is the derivation of the intransitive verb *chew on* from the transitive verb *chew*.

(d) The lexicase analysis accounts for the chômeurique properties of non-subject 'direct objects' in Tagalog by analysing them as having a non-nuclear case relation, Means. This analysis is superior to the RG analysis because it motivates the choice of case form: Means occurs in the Genitive case form in Tagalog. A weak point of a chômeur analysis is that chômeurs by definition have no grammatical relation, so there is no reason for them to occur in one case form rather than some other one.

(e) De Guzman's Relational Grammar analysis has no explanation of why non-subject Agents should act as 'nuclear terms', primarily, I think, because the status of case relations such as Agent and Patient in RG is not clear (as De Guzman herself points out). In lexicase this fact is an automatic consequence of a universal definition of 'nuclear term': Agent and Patient are the 'nuclear terms' of lexicase grammars regardless of whether they are subject or object, that is, regardless of whether the syntactic type is ergative or accusative.

(f) The recentralisation analysis posits many processes of the schematic form $PAT \rightarrow CR_i$, $CR_j \rightarrow PAT$ which operate identically in transitive and intransitive clauses. In a relational grammar analysis in which the sole argument of an intransitive clause is a 1, I think this is not possible, though it may work in De Guzman's 2-centred approach.

3.3 Morphological justification

(a) As in De Guzman's RG analysis, the lexicase Patient Centrality analysis reveals a clear transitive distinction that matches very nicely with categories of affixation.

(b) Similarly, both the lexicase and RG analyses show the result of antipassivisation to be an intransitive clause, which again matches the morphological evidence.

(c) The lexicase approach is able to unify at least some of the functions of 'focus affixes' which were treated as separate and unrelated in TV. Thus the verbal prefix *i-* in the present analysis has only one function: to signal the reinterpretation of an outer non-Locus as Patient, whereas in TV and in other case-type analyses, including tagmemic treatments, the functions had to be listed as separate and unrelated.

3.4 Semantic justification

(a) The lexicase analysis makes the claim that the same situation or action may be conceptualised in different ways by speakers of different languages depending on the range of verbal constructions available to them. Cena on the other hand proceeds from the assumption that conceptualisation is identical for speakers of all languages. This question cannot be settled in this paper, but at least there is a clear difference in empirical claims that is at least in principle subject to empirical resolution.

(b) Lexicase appears to provide a more principled account of semantic differences in different focusses. For example, De Guzman cites the following example:

Tinirahan nila ang bahay namin

glossed as *Our house was lived in by them*. In this LF construction, she says, the attention is on what action was done to the house or what ensues from it. This meaning increment can easily be connected with the lexicase analysis of LF constructions in which the house is a Patient being acted on by an Agent.

(c) When a given verb in a particular focus may occur in more than one shape, e.g. the two OF forms of *cook*, *lulutuin* and *ilulutu*, the lexicase analysis predicts a particular perspectual difference between them. Once again, I have no evidence bearing on this question as yet, but at least there is again a clear difference in empirical claims that is in principle subject to empirical resolution.

3.5 Syntactic justification

3.5.1 Simplicity

(a) The present lexicase analysis posits a smaller inventory of case relations and a simpler system CF-CR mapping than TV or other case analyses did.

(b) The Subject choice rule in particular is extremely simple: instead of the usual 'focus' case analysis in which the subject may bear any of a large number of case relations, this analysis allows it to bear only one: Patient.

3.5.2 Generality

(a) The pure ergative analysis posited for Tagalog is conceptually simpler than the mixed accusative-ergative one proposed in TV, and thus better if it really works.

(b) In TV, several derivational rules refer to the same feature disjunction, [-erg] and [-pot, +act]. These are ad hoc rule features, and the generalisation they are missing is captured in the present analysis by replacing them with the well-motivated [-transitive] feature.

3.5.3 Inventory

(a) The present inventory replaces the rather large TV case relation inventory by a very short one, with different verbs imposing different selectional implications on the same limited set of CRs.

3.5.4 Derivation

(a) By treating 'focus' as derivation rather than as inflection, the present analysis is able to explain certain forms in which inflectional affixes appeared to be inside of derivational affixes in the TV analysis, in contradiction to usual morphological criteria for distinguishing the two types of word formation.

4. CONCLUSION

The Relational Grammar and lexicase ergative analyses are superior in a number of respects to previous Fillmorean case grammar analyses. It is interesting to note that RG as practised by Cena and De Guzman seems to be converging with lexicase. This is a result of greater attention to semantic roles on the part of the former investigators and the semantic bleaching of case relations in lexicase. In terms of capturing language-specific and universal generalisations, however, lexicase seems to be (at least temporarily) in the lead.

NOTE

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