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SOME THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF GRAMMATICAL
RELATIONS IN CEBUANO

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|--|----|
| 0. Introduction | 1 |
| 1. Outline of Cebuano | 1 |
| 2. The Unmarked Nature of the Cebuano Passive | 4 |
| 3. Non-idle Chomeurs, Part 1 | 8 |
| 4. Bell's First Argument for <u>Ni</u> -phrases as Chomeurs | 11 |
| 5. Bell's Second Argument for <u>Ni</u> -phrases as Chomeurs | 14 |
| 6. A Serious Problem for Bell's Analysis | 16 |
| 7. The Word Order Position of Chomeurs | 20 |
| 8. Non-idle Chomeurs, Part 2 | 21 |
| 9. The Pragmatics of Surface I's in Cebuano | 24 |
| 10. An Explanation for the Unusual Behavior of Cebuano Chomeurs | 31 |
| 11. Strengthening Relational Grammar | 33 |
| 12. Conclusion | 35 |
| Footnotes | 36 |
| Bibliography | 42 |

believe that we are justified in calling Cebuano ang-phrases subjects, in that they possess the following subject properties of those enumerated by Keenan (1976):³

1. Ang-phrases tend to be discourse topics.
2. Ang-phrases constitute the only NP position that can be relativized out of.
3. Ang-phrases are normally definite.
4. All sentences must have an ang-phrase.⁴
5. All sentences have at most one ang-phrase.⁵
6. The semantic role of the ang-phrase is predictable from the verb.

Sentences (1) and (2) differ therefore as to which NP is marked with ang. They also differ in their verb forms. The verb forms encode the semantic role of the subject. In (1), the prefix nag- indicates that the subject is actor (hence the term 'actor focus'). The prefix gi- in (2) indicates that its subject, ang saging 'the bananas', is semantically the goal of the action.

It can be seen that the pair of Cebuano sentences (1) and (2) correspond in many ways to the pair of English sentences (3) and (4), respectively.

(3) The woman bought the bananas.

(4) The bananas were bought by the woman.

Cebuano actor-focus resembles the English active in that the semantic actor is the syntactic subject. Cebuano goal-focus resembles the English passive in that the semantic goal is syntactic subject. This assumes, of course, a correspondence between Cebuano subjects and English subjects. But such an assumption is justified: most of the subject properties listed above for Cebuano ang-phrases also hold of English subjects. In particular, English subjects tend, although not as strongly as in Cebuano, to be discourse topics, and definite. Hence the Cebuano goal-focus and English passive at the very least overlap in their functions: both are devices that among other things allow semantic goals to occur in what is the preferred position for discourse topics.

I will therefore refer to the actor-focus and goal-focus constructions, henceforth, as active and passive respectively. Such is the approach of Bell (1974a,b). Bell's analysis involves treating the active as basic and the passive as derived. Thus from the sentence

- (5) Nag-palit ang babaye sa saging sa tindahan.
 actor-buy topic woman nontopic banana nontopic store
 focus I II Loc
 The woman bought the bananas at the store.

we can derive the passive sentence (6) with the II becoming a I⁶, and

the former I becoming a chomeur.

- (6) Gi-palit sa babaye ang saging sa tindahan.
 goal-buy nontopic woman topic banana nontopic store
 focus Chom I Loc
 The bananas were bought at the store by the woman,

Cebuano permits other verb forms which focus NPs other than the actor and goal. Bell treats them all as being derived by distinct advancement rules of the form $III \rightarrow I$, $BEN \rightarrow I$, $LOC \rightarrow I$, $INSTR \rightarrow I$, $TIME \rightarrow I$. For example, we can apply $LOC \rightarrow I$ to (5) giving (7).

- (7) Gi-palit-an⁷ sa babaye ang tindahan sa saging.
 loc- buy-loc nontopic woman topic store nontopic banana
 focus focus Chom I II
 Literally- The store was bought at bananas by the woman.

At this point it is necessary to digress for a brief description of the NP markers like ang. For NPs other than personal names, ang marks subjects (i.e. topics), and sa marks nonsubjects. Another marker ug is used instead of sa for indefinite NPs. A separate set of markers is used with personal names: si for subjects, ni for non-subject actors and possessors, and kang for nonsubject goals and obliques. The same distinctions are made in the pronoun system. These markers and pronouns are summarized in the following table from Bell (1974b).⁸

| | Subject set | N set | | K set |
|-----------------|-------------|----------|-------------|-----------------|
| Personal name | si | ni | | kang |
| Other definite | - | - | | ug |
| noun indefinite | ang | sa | | sa |
| Pronouns: | | preposed | postposed | |
| Sing. 1 | ako (ko) | ako' | nako' (ko') | kanako (nako') |
| 2 | ikaw (ka) | imo' | nimo (mo) | kanimo (nimo) |
| 3 | siya | iya' | niya | kaniya (niya) |
| Plur. 1 excl | kami (mi) | amo' | namo' (mo') | kanamo' (namo') |
| incl | kita (ta) | ato' | nato' (to') | kanato' (nato') |
| 2 | kamo (mo) | inyo' | ninyo | kaninyo (ninyo) |
| 3 | sila | ila' | nila | kanila (nila) |

Forms in () are short forms. Except for ka, they can optionally replace long forms which are topicalized, objects of prepositions or otherwise separated from the verb. Ka obligatorily replaces ikaw when not separated from the verb.

The distinction between the N set and the K set can be described semantically: the N set is used for actors and possessors, the K set for goals and datives.

Throughout this paper I will use interchangeably, "subject" and "I", "direct object" and "II", "actor" and "underlying I", "goal" and

"underlying II", "dative" and "underlying III", and "topic" and "surface I".⁹

2. The Unmarked Nature of the Cebuano Passive

We are now in a position to examine Bell's analysis. The first aspect I wish to concentrate on is her treatment of the active as underlying and the passive as derived. In most languages that I am familiar with, the passive possesses a distinctly marked character as compared to the active. This marked character is manifested in a number of ways:

1. The distribution of the passive is more severely constrained in that, in some intuitive sense, there are more active sentences without passive correlates than there are passive sentences without grammatical active correlates.¹⁰
2. Even when both an active sentence and its corresponding passive sentence are grammatical, the passive is far less frequently used than the active.
3. The passive verb form is more complex than the active verb form.
4. Whereas active sentences may be transitive, in having two term-like NPs, passive sentences are intransitive, in that the passive agent is not term-like, occurring as an oblique NP.

In Cebuano, however, the passive lacks this conspicuously marked character. The passive appears to occur just as frequently as the active, when both forms are grammatical. The passive verb form is no more complex than the active. Finally, passive agents in Cebuano lack the oblique character associated with passive agents in other languages. For example, they are marked only with an NP marker (ni, sa or ug) without an accompanying preposition, a property that tends to characterize terms in the language.¹¹ I will give a number of arguments in section 8 that passive agents in Cebuano are as term-like as II's.

The unmarked nature of the Cebuano passive can be seen most clearly in terms of its statistical frequency. From Svartik's (1966) extensive statistical study of the passive in English, we can derive the following statistics for English. Among underlyingly (semantically) transitive sentences, actives outnumber passives by 5 to 1. However over 80% of the passive sentences lacked by-phrases. Thus among sentences with both actor and goal (underlying I and II) specified, active sentences outnumbered passive sentences by over 25 to 1. Even among passives with agent phrases, there are frequently reasons why the passive is preferred to the active, even ignoring contextual considerations. The reasons include many factors, like quantifier scope and relative parsibility. At any rate, the number of instances of passive sentences in English which are preferred to the corresponding active solely due to contextual considerations, appears

to be relatively small. The pragmatic function of passive in English is at best secondary, the primary one being to make it possible to avoid referring to the actor.

In Cebuano, the situation is noticeably different. In a statistical sample of 150 sentences from Nelson (1964),¹² only 34% of the sentences were actor-focus (i.e. active), whereas 47% were goal-focus (i.e. passive), 14% were dative-focus, and 5% were other focus types. Even more dramatically, only 35% of all underlying I's were also surface I's, whereas 54% of all underlying II's were surface I's, and 60% of all underlying III's were surface I's. Only the first marked characteristic of passives in languages like English given above is at all true of the Cebuano passive. As Bell (1974a) points out, every verb has an active form, but not every verb has a passive form. As far as I know, none of the verbs without passives take II's. One sort takes III's, like alagad 'serve' and kuyod 'accompany'. Since these verbs lack II's underlyingly, passive could not apply to them. However dative advancement (III→I) does apply to such verbs. The other sort of verbs with actives but no passives are intransitive activity verbs, like adto 'go', tulog 'sleep' and pahiyom 'smile'. It appears that such verbs can take active prefixes, but not passive prefixes. The fact that intransitive verbs can be active in form but not passive is the only marked characteristic of the Cebuano passive.¹³

Bell (1974a) also mentions that certain aspects are only distinguished in the active, the distinctions being neutralized in the passive. However, as she also points out, there is at least one distinction made in the passive that is not made in the active.

There are also passive sentences without active correlates. Certain verbs are obligatorily passivized, except in restricted contexts such as relative clauses. One such verb is patay 'kill'. Thus (8a) is ungrammatical and must be passivized, as in (8b).

(8) a. *Mi-patay si Juan kang Maria.
actor-kill topic nontopic
focus

Juan killed Maria.

b. Gi-patay ni Juan si Maria.
goal-kill actor topic
focus

Maria was killed by Juan.

Furthermore, sentences with definite II's are grammatical in the active, but normally occur in the passive. Thus the passive sentence (9b) is more natural than the active sentence (9a).

(9) a. Mo-tan'aw si Juan kang Pedro.
irrealis-look at topic nontopic
actor focus

Juan will look at Pedro.

- b. Tan'aw-on ni Juan si Pedro
look at-goal focus actor topic
irrealis
Pedro will be looked at by Juan.

The tendency for sentences with definite underlying II's to occur in the passive is one the main reasons that passives sentences are so common in Cebuano. One effect of this tendency is that active and passive sentences are often judged to be different in meaning with respect to the definiteness of the underlying II. Thus saging 'bananas' is judged more definite in (10) than in (11).

- (10) Gi-palit ni Maria ang saging.
goal-buy actor topic banana
The bananas were bought by Maria.
- (11) Mi-palit si Maria sa saging.
actor-buy topic nontopic banana
focus
Maria bought bananas.

In fact, saging 'bananas' is judged even less definite if ug is used instead of sa as in (12).

- (12) Mi-palit si Maria ug saging
 actor-buy topic nontopic banana
 focus indefinite
 Maria bought bananas.

There are thus three levels of definiteness for underlying II's, exemplified by (10), (11) and (12). Further research is required to determine the precise nature of these three levels.

One effect of the tendency for sentences with definite II's to occur in the passive, is that surface II's are normally indefinite, as in (11) and (12) above. One class of definite II's that occur naturally are II's that result from causative clause union. As described in Bell (1976), underlying downstairs I's become upstairs II's in causative sentences. Such II's do not show the same tendency to be promoted to I as underlying II's do.

- (13) a. Nag-pa-adto ako kang Guillermo sa Toledo.
actor-cause-go I nontopic nontopic
focus topic
I sent Guillermo to Toledo.
- b. Mi-pa-higda na si Maria kang Jose.
actor-cause-be in already topic nontopic
focus bed
Maria has already put Jose to bed.

I think we are justified, therefore, that Cebuano passives are no

more marked than actives. That much is fairly clear. What is not so clear is what bearing, if any, these facts have on the question of whether the active should be taken as underlying, and the passive as derived. What arguments are there for such an approach over one which treats the language as being ergative, taking the passive as underlying and deriving the active by an anti-passive rule? On either approach, passive (or anti-passive) will have to be blocked in certain environments, and be obligatory in others.

One issue that is at stake is what relationship, if any, RG should make between an unmarked construction and being an underlying form rather than a derived one. Bell's argument that the active should be the underlying form because it is basic or less marked is without force unless RG includes a claim to the effect that 'underlying' corresponds to 'less marked'. There is reason to believe, however, that such a modification of RG is not desirable, since extraposition in English has the effect of converting more marked structures into less marked ones. The extraposed sentences in (14) are less common or less grammatical than the corresponding extraposed sentences in (15).

- (14) a. That Mary is pregnant is obvious.
 b. That Mary is pregnant is believed by everyone.
 c. *That Mary is pregnant seems.
 d. *That that Mary is pregnant is believed by everyone is obvious.
- (15) a. It is obvious that Mary is pregnant.
 b. It is believed by everyone that Mary is pregnant.
 c. It seems that Mary is pregnant.
 d. It is obvious that it is believed by everyone that Mary is pregnant.

Here 'underlying' seems to correspond to 'more marked'.

Finally, even if it were argued that Cebuano passives are slightly marked, if the distinction between 'underlying' and 'derived' were used to represent the distinction between 'unmarked' and 'marked', then how would we represent the fact that the Cebuano passive is less marked than the English passive? How would we make it less derived?

I conclude therefore that we must look elsewhere in the grammar to represent 'marked' versus 'unmarked', and look at the specific claims of RG to determine whether the active should be treated as underlying.

Fortunately, RG associates definite empirical claims with the notions of 'underlying' and 'derived'. Since advancement rules create chomeurs, it follows that deriving passives from actives entails that, whereas an active sentence has two primaries, a I and a II, passives will have only one primary, a I, plus a non-term chomeur. Since RG makes substantive claims referring to primaries, terms, and chomeurs, it makes testable claims in treating passives as derived.

(16) Gi-tan'aw ni Rosa ang iya-ng kaugalingon.
goal-look at actor topic her-link self
focus
Rosa looked at herself.
(literally - She-self was looked at by Rosa.)

(17) Gi-palit-an sa babaye ang bata' ug dulsì
 loc-buy-loc nontopic woman topic child nontopic candy
 focus focus indefinite
 para sa iya-ng ka'ugalingon.
 for nontopic her-link self
 The woman bought candy from the child for { herself.
 *himself.

The facts of reflexivization therefore do not shed any light on the question of the alleged chomeurhood of passive agents in Cebuano. Since it is the underlying grammatical relations that are relevant to reflexivization, the derived status of chomeurs remains untested.

The modification of RG to allow cycle-initial grammatical relations to be relevant makes it much more difficult to test the chomeurhood of passive agents in Cebuano. For an entire range of non-idle behaviour on the part of passive agents can be explained away on the basis of their cycle-initial status as I's.

Nor is reflexivization the only rule or property for which the underlying status of passive agents is relevant. As Bell shows, only underlying terms can control EQUI.¹⁴ In (18), the passive agent controls EQUI.

- (18) Gi-sabut-an nila ang pag-anhi.
 loc-agree-loc them topic nom-come
 focus focus actor
 It was agreed by them to come.

(Observe that the passive agent controls EQUI in the English gloss of (18) too.) To show that nonterms promoted to I cannot control EQUI, Bell (1974b) gives the example (19).

- (19) Gi-sulay-an nako si Nanay sa pag-palit ug panaptan.
 loc-try -loc I topic Mama nontopic nom-buy indef cloth
 focus focus actor
 I tried to buy cloth for Mama.

However the fact that (19) lacks a reading under which si Nanay controls EQUI can be explained independently on the basis of the semantics of the controlling verb, since the absent reading is almost nonsensical.¹⁵ Nevertheless Bell's claim that underlying nonterms do not control EQUI is probably true, although the reason may ultimately be semantic. This may be a universal constraint.

Chomeurs can also be the addressee phrase in imperatives. Imperatives occur either as actives, as in (20), or as passives as in (21).

- (20) a. Sumonod kamo kanako!
 follow you me
 actor focus topic nontopic
 Follow me!

- b. Mag-matngon kamo!
 actor-on guard you
 focus topic
 Be on guard!

- (21) a. Abli-hon mo ang pultahan!
 open-goal you topic door
 focus nontopic
 Open the door!

- b. Gamit-on ninyo ang mga tabla nga walay liki!
 use-goal you topic plur board rel there crack
 focus nontopic is no
 Use the boards which have no cracks!

Let us examine more closely, therefore, the claims that RG does make about derived sentences, by virtue of its claims about primaries, terms, and chomeurs. Repeating (5) and (6) here as (22) and (23),

(22) Nag-palit ang babaye sa saging sa tindahan.
 actor-buy topic woman nontopic banana nontopic store
 focus I II Loc
 The woman bought the bananas at the store.

(23) Gi-palit sa babaye ang saging sa tindahan.
 goal-buy nontopic woman topic banana nontopic store
 focus Chom I Loc
 The bananas were bought at the store by the woman.

we see that the chief difference, by Bell's account, is that the goal in the active sentence is a term. whereas the actor in the passive is a chomeur, a nonterm. In terms of the hierarchy I-II-III-Nonterms, this makes the following predictions about sentences like (22) and (23):

1. There may be properties (including applicability of rules) that hold of both ang babaye (I) and sa saging (II) in (22), but only ang saging (I) in (23). More generally, there may be properties held only by I's and II's.
2. There will tend not to be properties that hold of both ang saging (I) and sa babaye (Chomeur) in (23) but only ang babaye (I) in (22). More generally, there will tend not to be properties held only by I's and chomeurs.
3. There will tend not to be properties that hold of I's, II's and chomeurs to the exclusion of III's and nonterms other than chomeurs.
4. There will tend not to be properties held only by II's and chomeurs.

Predictions 2 and 3 should not be misunderstood. With respect to prediction 2 for example, there certainly may be some properties held by all NPs which are underlying I's. What prediction 2 says is that there will tend not to be properties held by NPs which are underlying I's, as well as NPs which are derived I's. A limited number of such properties may be tolerable, however a large number of such properties would reduce the empirical content of the notion 'chomeur'.

I will argue that the above four predictions are by and large false, and that in so far as they are, Bell's analysis is suspect.

Let me first re-express these four predictions in semantic-pragmatic terms to show why I immediately find them suspicious. As should be clear by now, there is a correlation between underlying I's and actors, between underlying II's and goals, and between surface I's and topic. Thus the four predictions can be reexpressed as follows.

- 1'. There may be properties holding of topics and goals. I.e. topics and goals form a class.
- 2'. There will tend not to be properties holding of topics and actors. I.e. topics and actors do not form a class.
- 3'. There will tend not to be properties holding of topics, actors and goals. I.e. topics, actors and goals do not form a class.
- 4'. There will tend not to be properties holding of nontopic actors and nontopic goals. I.e. nontopic actors and nontopic goals do not form a class.

Now why should topics and goals form a more natural class than topics and actors? In fact, I know of no evidence that they do. I know of no properties shared only by topics and goals, nor does Bell give any in defending her analysis. In section 8 I will give arguments that the above four predictions are false. If further investigation supports this, then something is seriously at fault, either with Bell's analysis, or with RG itself.

4. Bell's First Argument for Ni-phrases as Chomeurs

In this section, and the next, I wish to examine Bell's (1974b) arguments that passive agents are chomeurs. Both of her arguments take the form of claims that ni-phrases, which are personal name chomeurs in her account, form a natural class in Cebuano, and possess properties RG attributes to chomeurs. Thus, in so far as they do, Bell argues that Cebuano provides support for RG. The first argument she gives is that the theory allows 'statement of the generalization that chomeurs act uniformly with respect to marking'. The class of NPs marked by ni is just the class of personal name chomeurs. The argument is that chomeurs act as a class with respect to marking, no matter what advancement rule created them.

I will argue that there is another explanation of the distribution of ni in Cebuano which is superior to Bell's. I do not express my alternative solution within a particular developed theory like RG. I just wish to demonstrate the existence of theories that can equally well predict the distribution of ni in Cebuano. Thus Bell's arguments do not give any support to RG as against such theories.

The explanation which I have in mind does not take the active as underlying and the other forms as derived, but derives all forms, including the active, from a single underlying representation. The different voice forms would be derived by a rule of topicalization,¹⁷ which would mark the verb with the semantic role or underlying grammatical relation of the NP being topicalized. Active would thus be topicalized actor, passive topicalized goal, and so on. Restricting our attention to personal name NPs, the various forms would be derived in a way something like the following:

1. Mark each NP with
 - a. kang, if it is goal or dative.
 - b. ni, if it is actor or possessor.
2. Mark the verb according to whether the topic is actor, goal, dative, etc.
3. Replace the marker on the topic with si.

The fact that ni also marks possessor NPs presents at least a small problem for Bell's analysis. For strictly speaking, ni is not just a marker of chomeurs. Rather it must be a marker for chomeurs and possessors. Now chomeurs and possessors make rather strange bedfellows. In contrast, actors and possessors form a natural class. According to Keenan (1974b), there are universal similarities between actor NPs and possessor NPs.

Ignoring possessor NPs, which do not usually occur with transitive verbs, and assuming underlying I's are actors, and surface I's topics, since all advancement rules in Cebuano advance NPs to I, the class of all chomeurs will coincide exactly with the class of nontopic actors. So there exists an independent explanation for ni that makes no appeal to chomeurs or advancement rules. Thus the distribution of ni does not support RG against a theory that includes something like my alternative solution. Ni can simply be described as marking nontopic actors.

As to why my solution of superior to Bell's, imagine a hypothetical language which I will refer to as Cebuano-*, that is identical to Cebuano except that there is not a unique marker for chomeurs. Rather, for each advancement rule, there is a distinct particle used for chomeurs created by that rule.

Cebuano-* would not pose any problem for RG. It is certainly not a claim of RG that there cannot be distinct ways of marking chomeurs for each rule creating them. In English, for example, chomeurs created by passive are marked with the preposition by, whereas there is no distinct marking for those NPs placed on chomage by dative, raising or there-insertion. Cebuano-* would in fact support RG, in that the existence of distinct chomeur markers would be evidence that the different voice forms had been derived by distinct rules.

It would be difficult, however, to provide a plausible description of Cebuano-* in the sort of terms in which I described the function of ni in Cebuano, namely as marking nontopic actors. For suppose ni were the marker in Cebuano-* of just those chomeurs created by passive (II I), a characterization that is easy in RG. In the sort of terms I have used in describing Cebuano, we would have to say that ni marked nontopic actors in sentences in which the topic was the goal. But I want to claim that the idea of a language possessing a marker with a distinction like that is very implausible. In fact, I want to claim that Cebuano-* is a very implausible language, and that the fact that RG allows languages like Cebuano-* is an argument against the theory. It is an empirical question, of course, whether languages like Cebuano-* exist. But RG predicts they might. I suspect they do not.

I should, perhaps, be more explicit about just what it is about Cebuano-* that I predict will not occur, especially since I have not provided any coherent theory that predicts such. I formulate my prediction in the form of a law that might be added to RG if it is correct: The marking of chomeurs cannot be sensitive to the identity of the particular rule that placed them en chomage. Thus Cebuano-* would not be possible because the only distinction between the different chomeur markers in the language would be the rule that placed them en chomage. Note that the distinction between chomeurs created by passive and those created by dative movement in English does not constitute a counter-example, since the distinction would be based on the underlying grammatical relations of the chomeurs involved.¹⁸

There is still another problem with Bell's description of ni as a chomeur marker. For in her explanation, it is pure coincidence that all chomeurs happen to be derived from underlying I's. I believe that such is not a coincidence and that we are not going to find any language which has an advancement rule into I as well as an advancement rule into II which has a single particle which marks chomeurs created by either of the rules. In other words, we are not going to find a language like English differing only in that chomeurs created by dative are marked with by, like chomeurs created by passive. In such a language, dative would convert a sentence like (24) into (25).

(24) John gave the book to Mary.

(25) John gave Mary by the book.

Our immediate impulse that such a language is not plausible stems, I believe, from our intuition that by not only indicates that the associated NP is a chomeur, but also that it is derived from an underlying I. I suspect that one will never find a language with a marker that marks chomeurs of differing underlying grammatical relations.

I conclude therefore that Bell's claim, that Cebuano provides supporting evidence for RG because it possesses a single marker for chomeurs, has problems. For not only does there exist an alternative explanation for the distribution of the alleged chomeur marker ni, but further, the other logical possibility, of distinct markers for different chomeurs, is equally describeable in RG, despite the intuitive unlikelihood of its occurrence. I have proposed how RG might be constrained if my suggestions about the marking of chomeurs are correct. At any rate, I would maintain that Bell's description of ni as a chomeur marker are inadequate, because on her account it is a coincidence that all chomeurs are underlying I's. I believe that the existence of a single marker for all chomeurs created by advancements is closely related to the fact that all chomeurs are underlying I's. If RG were constrained in the way I have proposed, this generalization would be captured, because it would follow from the theory.

5. Bell's Second Argument for ni-phrases as Chomeurs

I will not dwell so long on Bell's second argument that Cebuano supports RG. It is sufficiently similar to the first that many of my remarks will carry over. Bell's claim is that the normal word order in Cebuano can be most easily characterized by reference to chomeurs. Thus, she argues, Cebuano provides support for the notion of chomeur, and hence for RG, since the notion of 'chomeur' is local to RG.

Although there is considerable freedom of word order in Cebuano, I believe that Bell is basically correct in describing the unmarked word order as Verb-Chomeur-I-II-III-Nonterms.¹⁹ This would appear to support the claim of Postal and Perlmutter (1974) that chomeurs precede or follow all terms in unmarked word order. It would also seem to provide evidence that chomeurs behave differently from other non-terms

Again, however, the force of Bell's argument is weakened by the existence of an independent but equally natural characterization of the unmarked word order in Cebuano. Consider the following three sentences exemplifying the unmarked word order.

- (26) Mi-hatag si Maria sa saging kang Pedro.
 actor-give topic nontopic banana nontopic
 focus I II III
 Maria gave the bananas to Pedro.

- (27) Gi-hatag ni Maria ang saging kang Pedro.
 goal-give actor topic banana nontopic
 focus Chom I III
 The bananas were given to Pedro by Maria.

- (28) Gi-hatag-an ni Maria si Pedro sa saging.
 loc-give-loc actor topic nontopic banana
 focus focus Chom I II
 Pedro was given the bananas by Maria.

(27) would be derived from (26) by the application of passive (II → I).
 (28) would be derived from (26) by the application of III → I.

It can easily be seen that (26), (27) and (28) conform to Bell's preferred order of Verb-Chomeur-I-II-III-Nonterms. However, it can also be observed that in each of (26), (27) and (28), the actor NP, the underlying I (i.e. Maria), comes immediately after the verb. Now that fact is a coincidence on Bell's account. For on her account, it immediately follows the verb in (27) and (28) because chomeurs immediately follow the verb. But the reason it follows the verb in (26) is that it is a I, and I's follow the verb if there is no chomeur. Thus on Bell's account, it is quite a coincidence that the actor NP always follows the verb. I want to claim that such is not a coincidence, and that Bell's solution is inadequate because of its failure to capture that generalization.

I will therefore offer an alternative characterization of the

unmarked word order in Cebuano, one which captures the generalization that Bell's account fails to, and one which makes no use of the notion of 'chomeur'. This solution is like the one I provided before. Namely, instead of taking the active as basic, and the other voices as derived, I propose deriving all by a rule of topicalization, from a deeper representation which specifies for each NP whether it is actor, goal, dative, etc. What I claim is that the unmarked word order can be predicted entirely on the basis of these underlying notions and the identity of the topic. I state this specification in two clauses:

1. Place the sentence in the order: Verb Actor Goal Dative Oblique.
2. Move the topic into position immediately after the actor NP, if possible (i.e. if the topic is not the actor NP).

Thus each of (26), (27) and (28) would be derived by placing the NPs in the order specified in Step 1. Step 2 would not apply to (26), because the actor is the topic and hence it is not possible to place the topic after the actor. Step 2 would apply vacuously to (27) since in (27) the topic would already be immediately after the actor NP, by virtue of its being the goal. Finally (28), which I take to be representative of all the other voice forms, would involve placing the dative immediately after the actor NP, converting Verb-Actor-Goal-Dative to Verb-Actor-Dative-Goal. The force of Bell's argument, therefore, that Cebuano supports RG by virtue of its possessing a special word order position for chomeurs is severely weakened by the existence of an alternative account which not only makes no use of the notion of 'chomeur', but also captures a generalization that her account fails to. I must concede, however, that the force of my argument is weakened by the fact that I have not given a formulation within the framework of a developed theory, as Bell has.

It is quite possible, however, to translate my solution into RG terms, thus providing an RG solution superior to Bell's. Since my solution only refers to underlying grammatical relations, and to topics, it is easy to reword it employing RG terminology:

1. Order the sentence according to the underlying grammatical relations: Verb-I-II-III-Nonterms.
2. Place the derived I immediately after the underlying I, if possible.

I claim that this solution is superior to Bell's in that it captures the generalization that actor NPs (underlying I's) immediately follow the verb. The main difference between the two is that Bell's solution tries to account for the surface word order solely in terms of surface grammatical relations, whereas I have argued that an explanatory adequate account must make reference to underlying grammatical relations. Thus word order joins reflexivization and EQUI as revealing syntactic properties of passive agents which must be attributed to their underlying status as I's rather than to their derived status as chomeurs.

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handled by saying that it is the topic itself that is always deleted by relativization. However in the case of relative clauses, there is independent motivation for this, in that the voice of the verb always corresponds to the NP deleted by relativization, in that it correctly predicts the semantics of the deleted NP. For example, in (31), the verb of the relative clause, nagpalit, is active indicating that the topic is actor.

- (31) Nag-kita ko ug tawo nga nag-palit ug karabao.
 actor-see I nontopic man link actor-buy indef water
 focus topic indef focus nontopic buffalo
 I saw a man who bought a waterbuffalo.

Now there is no topic in the surface structure of the relative clause in (31), but the actor of the verb is clearly the head of the relative clause. Infinitives, however, lack this encoding of voice in the verb, so there is no independent motivation for positing a deleted topic.

Nevertheless, since some NP coreferential to the ako in the matrix clause has been deleted in (29), it would not be implausible to argue that the deleted NP was topic, especially since doing so would allow us to maintain the generalization that all clauses have topics. Unfortunately, such an analysis is not plausible for certain other examples of infinitival constructions. Consider, for example, sentence (32).

- (32) Kusog kaayo [ang pag-dalagan sa iya-ng awto].
 fast very topic inf-run nontopic his-link car
 His car runs very fast.
 (more literally: The running of his car is very fast.)

There is no conceivable way to argue that some topic NP has been deleted from the infinitival clause in (32). Dalagan 'run' is intransitive, and its single argument, which is actor, is marked as being a nontopic.

Now the existence of topicless clauses poses a serious problem for any RG account of Cebuano which attempts to identify topics with surface or cycle-final I's. For we are forced to admit the existence of subjectless clauses in Cebuano, not subjectless in the sense of having had their I's deleted, as in relative clauses, but subjectless in the sense of never having had a topic.

Even if we accept this dismal state of affairs, what grammatical relations are we going to assign to the NPs that do occur in infinitival clauses? In (29), kanila 'them' has the morphology and semantics of a II. But what about sa iyang awto 'his car' in (32)? Semantically it is the actor. But in Bell's account, actors occur either as I's (in active sentences) or as chomeurs (in other sentences). But surely it cannot be a I. I's are topics and are marked as such with ang or si. Normally the only actor NPs marked with sa are chomeurs. But how

could sa iyang awto in (32) possibly be a chomeur? The verb is not marked as having undergone an advancement rule, nor could it since dalagan 'run' is intransitive. Nor is there any NP whose advancement could have placed sa iyang awto en chomage.

None of this is a problem for my alternative solution. Given that infinitival clauses lack topics, it follows that NPs will be marked with the semantically appropriate nontopic marker. For NPs other than personal names, this is sa. For personal names, it depends on the semantics. If the NP is an actor it will be marked with ni. And such is precisely the case:

- (33) [Ang pag-tudlo ni Carmen] na-gusto-han sa tanan.
 topic inf-teach actor loc-like-loc nontopic all
 focus focus

All like Carmen's teaching.

As nontopic actor in the infinitival clause in (33), my analysis correctly predicts that Carmen will be marked with ni. However the occurrence of ni is left unexplained on Bell's account, for it is not plausibly a chomeur.

The problem with Bell's account is that, because she takes the active as basic and all other voices as derived, the class of chomeurs normally coincides precisely with the class of nontopic actors. Her account makes no prediction about how actors would be marked in a construction that lacks topics. My account predicts that they would be marked with ni. Infinitives constitute such a construction and my account makes the correct prediction.

A not implausible rejoinder to this would be to argue that the ni in (33) is not the chomeur marker ni, but the possessor marker ni. On this account, (33) would be parallel to a sentence like (34).

- (34) Ang awto ni Carmen na-gusto-han sa tanan.
 topic car poss loc-like-loc nontopic all
 focus focus

All like Carmen's car.

This line of argument is plausible in view of the fact that many languages employ the possessor marker for indicating the actor of infinitives, as in the English translation of (33). However such an account would fail to capture the generalization that nontopic actors of finite verbs, and actors of nonfinite verbs, are marked with ni. But such seems more than just a coincidence.

Treating ni with infinitives as a possessor marker is less plausible with one use of the infinitive. This use is distinctive in that it involves sentences in which the infinitive is the main verb, and hence less plausibly construed as being a noun. When infinitives are used in this way as main verbs, the sentences function as exclamatory expressions:

- (35) Pag-kalamian sa pag-kaon nga hinikay ni Maria.
 infin-delicious nontopic inf-eat link prepared actor
 How delicious is the food prepared by Maria.
- (36) Pag-katahom ug pag-kahumot sa mga bulak sa kabuntagon.
 infin-beautiful and inf-fragrant non plur flower nontop morning
 topic
 How beautiful and fragrant the flowers are in the morning.

Nor are infinitival clauses the only clauses which lack topics. There is one verbal prefix inig- which indicates that the verb to which it is affixed is part of a clause which is equivalent in function to an English subordinate future temporal clause. Clauses with verbs marked with inig- are distinctive in that, like infinitival clauses, they lack topics. Thus the sentences in (37) present a serious problem for Bell's account.

- (37) a. [Inig-abot na nila] ila-ng i-asoy ang nahitabo.
 sub-arrive already they they-link instr-explain top happen
 future actor actor focus,
irrealis
 When they arrive, they will explain what happened.
- b. [Inig-tapos na niya sa iya-ng trabaho]
 sub-finish already he nontopic his-link work
 future actor
 mo-pauli dayon siya.
 actor-return immediately he
 focus topic
 He will return immediately when he has completed his work.
- c. [Inig-anhi ni Carmen] pupo-on ta ang mga mangga.
 sub-come actor pick-irrealis we topic plur mango
 future goal focus
 We will pick mangoes when Carmen comes.

In (37b), the verb is transitive, but both NPs are nontopics. In (37a) and (37c), the verb is intransitive, so there is no possibility of interpreting the verb as passive. In (37c) the NP is marked with ni, the alleged chomeur marker. But there is no way to argue that ni Carmen is a chomeur. The clause has not undergone an advancement rule, since there is no topic and since the verb is intransitive.

Nor is it even plausible to interpret the ni as a possessor marker as it might be with the ni in infinitival constructions. For unlike infinitival clauses, inig-clauses do not behave like NPs in that they do not take NP markers.

Once again, the treatment of ni as a nontopic actor marker correctly predicts that since inig-clauses lack topics, personal name actors will be marked with ni.

Now although I believe that such topicless clauses pose a very

serious problem for Bell's analysis, I will accept her analysis for the sake of argument for the remainder of this paper. One reason for doing so is that I wish to argue that, even if her analysis is correct, it does not force as radical a revision to the theory of RG as that apparently accepted by Postal and Perlmutter. I will return to this point in section 11.

7. The Word Order Position of Chomeurs

In section 5, I argued that the unmarked word order position for passive agents can be explained in a more explanatory fashion by attributing their position to their underlying status as I's, rather than to their derived status as chomeurs. Nonetheless, Postal and Perlmutter (1974) argued that the position of chomeurs in Cebuano support their universal claims about the positioning of chomeurs. In this section, I will argue that, quite to the contrary, the position of chomeurs in Cebuano is unusual for chomeurs, and in so far as it is, casts further doubt on the status of passive agents in Cebuano as chomeurs.

In many languages,²¹ rules which advance NPs into I typically give the new I the position formerly held by the old I, and move the old I into a position typical of nonterms. In Cebuano, however, the old I does not give up its position. The new I moves as close as it can to the position held by the underlying I, but not into it. Hence Cebuano passive agents are quite non-chomeur-like in that they hold on to their old position.

Looking again at Bell's formulation of unmarked word order in the active, Verb-I-II-III-Nonterms, we see that the order of NPs follows the Keenan-Comrie Hierarchy. The higher a NP is on the hierarchy, the closer it is to the verb. If we equate height on the hierarchy with relative 'terminess', i.e. I's are more termy than II's, II's than III's, etc., then we can say that in Cebuano, apart from chomeurs, the termier an NP is, the closer it will tend to be to the verb. But the tendency of chomeurs to immediately follow the verb means that they tend to be more termy even than I's. Such is hardly chomeur-like behaviour. In nearly all other languages I have seen, passive agents acquire a position typical of nonterms. It appears at the very least to be a strong general tendency. If so, Cebuano is unusual in its positioning of chomeurs.

According to the Promotion Hierarchy of Keenan (1974c), the subject property that derived subjects always acquire, even if they acquire nothing else, is position. In other words, the hierarchy claims that there can be languages in which passive promotes an NP to I only in so far as it gives it the subject position. Keenan cites as an example Finnish (which is SVO), in which the old object moves to subject position, but retains its object case marking, and the verb, which normally agrees with the subject, becomes third singular and does not agree with anything.²²

Cebuano, however, constitutes a partial counter-example to the Promotion Hierarchy. For although the derived I moves closer to the verb, thereby gaining a property of underlying I's, it fails to go all the way. For the underlying I still retains its old position. I assume, therefore, that in failing to yield their position to the new I, Cebuano passive agents are markedly different from passive agents in the languages that Keenan looked at.

The argument of this section would be stronger if it could be shown that chomeurs do normally acquire a position typical of nonterms. But such requires further investigation.²³

8. Non-idle Chomeurs, Part Two

We are now in a position to examine more carefully the question of whether passive agents in Cebuano behave more like nonterm chomeurs or like terms. I will bring together arguments from previous sections and present some new ones, all of which point to the conclusion that passive agents behave more like terms than like nonterms.

These arguments can be grouped into two sorts. The first sort argue that various properties of passive agents in Cebuano should be attributed to their underlying status as I's. This sort of argument is not fatal to an RG account, since the theory permits global properties of this sort. Serious methodological questions are raised, however, if none of the properties of passive agents in Cebuano need to be explained in terms of their alleged derived status as chomeurs.

The second sort of argument presents more serious empirical problems for RG. These arguments appeal to the distribution of various syntactic and semantic properties among different NP types. It will be shown that the properties in question all treat passive agents on a par with surface primaries (I's and II's). These properties are of three sorts:

- (38) a. Properties which hold of surface I's, II's and passive agents.
- b. Properties which hold of surface I's and passive agents.
- c. Properties which hold of surface II's and passive agents.

The existence of properties of these types argues that passive agents in Cebuano are located on the relational hierarchy between surface I's and surface II's, as shown in (39).

- (39) I - Passive Agent - II - III - Nonterms

(39) is markedly different from that predicted by an RG account according to which passive agents are chomeurs, something like (40).

- (40) I - II - III - Passive Agent - Nonterms

(40) seems to be falsified (for Cebuano) by the arguments that support the hierarchy in (39), and by the absence of properties which hold of I's and II's to the exclusion of passive agents, and properties which

- f. Kang Pedro gi-hatag sa bata ang bola.
III Chom I

(43b) is ungrammatical because the II occurs before the verb. (43e) is ungrammatical because the passive agent occurs before the verb. The grammaticality of the other examples in (43) shows that this constraint does not apply either to I's or to III's. Nor does it apply to nonterms, as shown by the sentences in (44).

- (44) a. Sa lungsod mi-tukod si Juan sa balay.
nontopic town actor-build topic nontopic house
Juan built the house in the town.
- b. Sa kurta ayoh-on niya ang radyo.
nontopic folding repair-goal focus he topic radio
knife irrealis actor
He will repair the radio with a folding knife.
- c. Sa duha ka tuig nag-alagad siya kanila.
nontopic two particle year actor-serve she them
focus topic nontopic
She served them for two years.
- d. Sa kanunay sulat-an ko si tatay.
nontopic always write-loc focus me topic Dad
irrealis nontopic
I always write to Dad.

The above constraint applies to all II's, but only to non-pronominal passive agents. Thus (43e) becomes grammatical if we convert the passive agent to a pronoun, as in (45).

- (45) Iya-ng gi-hatag ang bola kang Pedro.
 he-link goal-give topic ball nontopic
 actor focus
 The ball was given to Pedro by him.

However, (43b) remains ungrammatical when we convert the II to a pronoun, as in (46).

- (46) *Kining } mi-hatag ang bata kang Pedro.
 *Kini } actor-give topic child nontopic
 this focus
 The child gave this to Pedro.

The syntax of sentences like (45) with pronominal passive agents occurring before the verb is not clear. The pronoun must have the link word nga (-ng) affixed to it when it occurs before the verb.²⁵

If we examine the statistical sample of sentences from Nelson (1964) described in footnote 12, we find two types of NPs which show a strong tendency to occur before the verb. These are topics (surface I's) and pronominal passive agents. In the sample, 29% of all NPs occurred before the verb. Among topic NPs, the rate was 38%, whereas among nontopic NPs, the rate was 22%. However, goal topics differed markedly from topics with other underlying grammatical

relations, in that they tended not to occur before the verb. Only 19% of goal topics were fronted, whereas the rate for topics with other underlying grammatical relations was 55%.

In general, underlying I's showed a strong tendency to occur before the verb. Among topic actors, 55% were fronted. Among nontopic actors (i.e. passive agents), it is essential to distinguish full NPs from pronouns. As mentioned above, full NPs do not front. Among pronouns that are passive agents, 54% were fronted. I think we are justified in concluding that, ignoring full NP passive agents, I's and passive agents show the greatest tendency to be fronted, thus supporting hierarchy (39).

This completes the evidence I have found supporting hierarchy (39). Although it is admittedly not overwhelming, I know of no evidence supporting hierarchy (40), that predicted by RG. I strongly suspect that further research will support my conclusion that passive agents in Cebuano behave like terms.²⁶

9. The Pragmatics of Surface I's in Cebuano

I have said very little about the pragmatics associated with surface I's in Cebuano, apart from saying that they are topics. But to say that they are topics is not to say very much, since the term "topic" is so vague. For example, the term "topic", used loosely, could be associated in English with surface I's, NPs fronted by Y-movement or left dislocation, NPs isolated by clefting or pseudo-clefting, or NPs receiving emphatic or contrastive stress. Thus we could loosely describe the difference in pragmatic meaning between (47) and any of the sentences in (48), by saying that in (48), John is more a topic than it is in (47).

(47) Mary hit John.

- (48) a. John was hit by Mary.
b. John, Mary hit.
c. John, Mary hit him.
d. It was John that Mary hit.
e. Mary hit John.

Clearly, in each of the sentences in (48), John possesses a prominence lacking in (47). Equally clear however, is the fact that the nature of the prominence is not the same for all five sentences. An adequate account of the rules involved in deriving the sentences in (48) from (47) would require a specification of the set of contexts in which each of the sentences in (48) is appropriate.

In Cebuano, there are also a number of devices which mark out a single NP. The sentences in (50) contrast with (49) in that in each of the sentences in (50), some sort of prominence is associated with lalaki 'man'.

- (49) Mi-tanaw si Maria sa lalaki.
 actor-look at topic nontopic man
 focus
 Maria looked at the man.
- (50) a. Gi-tanaw ni Maria ang lalaki.
 goal-look at actor topic man
 focus
- b. Sa lalaki mi-tanaw si Maria.
 nontopic man actor-look at topic
 focus
- c. Ang lalaki ang gi-tanaw ni Maria.
 topic man topic goal-look at actor
 focus
- d. Mi-tanaw si Maria sa lalaki.
 actor-look at topic nontopic man
 focus

It is only possible to make some preliminary remarks on the differences between the types of prominence associated with lalaki in the different sentences in (50). This is chiefly a function of the lack of a widely accepted, well-defined theory for describing such differences in general. I am not aware of a satisfactory account of the difference between the English sentences in (48). This is not to say that there are not theories which attempt to provide notions for describing phenomena of this sort, such as those of Halliday and Kuno. However these theories employ notions that are not rigourously defined and it is frequently difficult to determine when the notions are applicable.

Nevertheless, certain notions are useful. One of these is the distinction between old information and new information. Unfortunately, a certain amount of confusion arises because of the fact that the distinction is used in two different ways. We can see the two senses of the notion of "old information" by examining NPs like the underlined NP in (51).

- (51) I had dinner with the man I met in Chicago.

There is one sense in which the NP in (51) is old information. Namely in uttering (51) in nearly any context, the speaker assumes that the hearer believes of a particular person that he is a man and that the speaker met him in Chicago. The speaker assumes that the hearer believes that the propositions which constitute the content of the NP are true of the intended referent and that the hearer will use those propositions to determine what the NP is intended to refer to. The NP in (51) is in this sense old information in a way that contrasts with the NP in (52).

- (52) I had dinner with a man I met in Chicago.

By using an indefinite NP in (52), the speaker does not expect the

hearer to search his beliefs for an appropriate referent for a man I met in Chicago. The hearer need not have any beliefs about the referent. The speaker assumes that the propositions in the NP in (52) are not hearer beliefs. Thus these propositions constitute new information. This distinction between old and new information corresponds roughly to the distinction in English between definite and indefinite NPs, at least in their simplest referential uses. Kuno refers to this distinction as "anaphoric": "non-anaphoric", and reserves the terms "old information" and "new information" for the second sense in which these terms are used, which corresponds to Chomsky's use of the terms "topic" and "focus". Thus, although the NP in (51) is old information in the first sense, in that it is anaphoric, it would be new information (in the second sense) in certain contexts, such as when (51) is used as an answer to (53).

(53) Who did you have dinner with?

It would be old information if used as an answer to (54).

(54) What did you do with the man you met in Chicago?

Thus this sense of the distinction between old and new information differs from the first one, in that it depends on the context in which a sentence is used.

Using Kuno's terminology, how can we distinguish the different types of prominence that the devices used in each of the sentences in (48) (repeated here as (55)) assigns to the NP John?

- (55) a. John was hit by Mary.
b. John, Mary hit.
c. John, Mary hit him.
d. It was John that Mary hit.
e. Mary hit John.

Clearly, clefting and greater stress, exemplified by (55d) and (55e), all mark John as being new information. The functions of Y-movement and left dislocation are not very clear and deserve more careful examination than is possible here. One type of context in which (55b) would be appropriate would be as an answer to (56).

(56) Did Mary hit John and Peter?

In this context, John of (55b) constitutes a type of new information, with a connotation of contrast, in that the effect of (55b) would be to imply that Mary did not hit Peter. Thus Y-movement can have at least the function of marking contrastive new information.

The function of passive, and equivalently of surface subject, is most unclear. However, in so far as there is a tendency for surface subjects to be anaphoric as opposed to nonanaphoric, surface subject tends to mark an NP as being anaphoric. (See Tomlin (1975).) This is reflected by the fact that the rule of there-insertion applies only to indefinite NPs:

- (57) a. A man is in the garden.
 b. There is a man in the garden.
- (58) a. The man is in the garden.
 b.*There is the man in the garden.

The effect and presumably the function of there-insertion is to cause a nonanaphoric NP to cease to be subject.

There also appears to be a weaker tendency for surface subjects to be old information. This is reflected by the fact that new information tends to occur late in the sentence, whereas subjects occur near the beginning.

We can summarize the types of prominence associated with the different devices in English as follows. Subjects have a tendency to be anaphoric and a weaker tendency to be old information. Y-moved NPs are in certain contexts, contrastive new information. Clefted and stressed NPs are new information.

The interesting question is: to what extent do the devices in Cebuano correspond in their function to the devices in English? Consider again (49) and (50), repeated here as (59) and (60).

- (59) Mi-tanaw si Maria sa lalaki.
 actor-look at topic nontopic man
 focus
 Maria looked at the man.
- (60) a. Gi-tanaw ni Maria ang lalaki.
 goal-look at actor topic man
 focus
- b. Sa lalaki mi-tanaw si Maria.
 nontopic man actor-look at topic
 focus
- c. Ang lalaki ang gi-tanaw ni Maria.
 topic man topic goal-look at actor
 focus
 The man is the one looked at by Maria.
- d. Mi-tanaw si Maria sa laláki.
 actor-look at topic nontopic man
 focus

There is good evidence that equative sentences like (60c) correspond in form and function to cleft sentences in English. Both equative sentences in Cebuano and pseudocleft sentences in English have the form "NP is NP" (although Cebuano lacks the is). Both sentence types are most appropriate in contexts in which one of the NPs is new information. Thus (60c) is most appropriate as an answer to a question like (61).

- (61) Kinsa ang gi-tanaw ni Maria?
 who topic goal-look at actor
 focus
 Who did Maria look at?

This is analogous to the fact that a pseudocleft sentence like (62) is most appropriate as an answer to the English translation of (61).

- (62) It was John who Maria looked at.

Similarly, in both languages, greater stress serves to mark an NP as new information.

The other two devices in Cebuano, fronting and surface I, to not correspond exactly in function to Y-movement and surface I in English, respectively. Fronting in Cebuano serves a very different function from Y-movement in English. Y-movement in English is an infrequently used device with various special functions, whatever they are. It is not even clear that sentences in Cebuano in which an NP occurs before the verb should be derived by a fronting rule, rather than simply a scrambling rule. Cebuano has considerably freer word order than English, and although the most common word order can be described as Verb-UnderlyingI-SurfaceI-UnderlyingII-UnderlyingIII-UnderlyingNon-terms, just about any permutation of these elements is possible, especially after the verb. Thus sentences with an NP before the verb are very common, and sentences with two NPs before the verb are not uncommon. But regardless of whether sentences with an NP before the verb should be derived by a fronting rule, or by a scrambling rule, it makes sense to ask under what conditions such sentences are most appropriate.

(60b) with lalaki 'man' before the verb was judged more appropriate than (59) as an answer to question (61). In fact (60b) was judged to be very similar in meaning to (60c), the equative form. This would seem to argue that preverbal position corresponds to new information. However, this judgment may have occurred because preverbal full NPs tend to receive greater stress, so it may be the stress and not the position that encodes new information.

Examination of a number of constraints on preverbal position as well as the relative frequencies of different types of NPs occurring before the verb, suggests a number of hints as to the function of fronting. The fact that topics and actors front most easily may just be a reflection of their tendency to occur before other NPs even when after the verb. On the other hand, the tendency of surface I's to front may indicate that preverbal position overlaps in its function with surface I.

The fact that among nontopic NPs, underlying I's and II's may not be fronted (as discussed in section 8), may reflect the universal tendency of locative phrases to occur sentence-initially. Locative NPs constitute the most common type of nonterm, and III's are really just animate locatives.

The fact that among passive agents, only pronouns front, and the fact that pronouns in general appear to have a greater tendency to front might suggest that fronted NPs tend to be anaphoric or old information. However these facts might also be due to the brevity of pronouns, thereby reflecting a tendency for relatively little to occur before the verb.

The function of preverbal position in Cebuano is thus completely unclear and must await further research.

This leaves us with the question of the function of surface I's in Cebuano. There is good evidence that surface I's tend to be anaphoric. In fact, that tendency is much stronger than in English. As discussed in section 2, actives and passives differ in meaning in that the goal is more definite in the passive. This is reflected by the extreme rarity of II's which are proper names or pronouns.

Oddly enough, however, in the statistical sample, pronouns showed a tendency not to be surface I's. Only 34% of pronouns were surface I's, whereas 51% of other NPs were surface I's. This is difficult to explain, given that surface I's otherwise tend to be anaphoric. These statistics are misleading, however, because of the fact that 82% of all pronouns in the sample were actor NPs (underlying I's). Among actor NPs, 28% of the pronouns were surface I's, whereas 48% of other NPs were surface I's. Among nonactor NPs, 62% of the pronouns were surface I's, whereas only 51% of other NPs were such. Thus the tendency (in the sample) of pronouns not to be surface I's, is only true of actor NPs. This fact I find completely baffling, but it may simply be a reflection of the fact that actor NPs in general have a lesser tendency to be surface I's than other NPs: 35% for actors versus 53% for other NPs. Thus these statistics do not yield any reliable conclusions as to the function of surface I's.

There is sufficient evidence, though, that surface I's in Cebuano are similar in function to surface I's in English, at least to the extent that both tend to be anaphoric and to be discourse topics. That similarity in function provides support for our calling Cebuano topics, surface I's. They are similar in function to surface I's in other languages. However, the fact that surface I's in Cebuano do not have a strong tendency to be I's underlyingly like surface I's in English must mean that there is some difference in function.

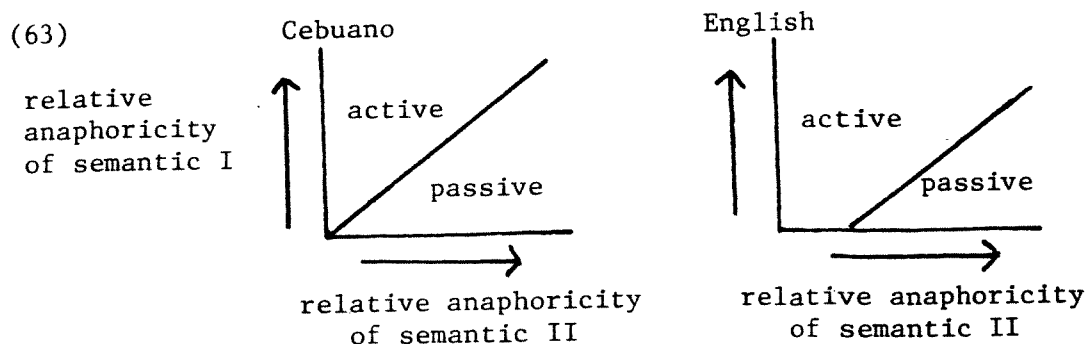
In Cebuano, in every clause (ignoring the exceptions), one NP must be picked out as the topic and that NP will occur as the cycle-final I. The relatively equal frequency of actives and passives in the language simply reflects the fact that actor NPs and goal NPs are equally common and hence have an equal chance of being picked as the topic.

In English, however, the syntax does not require that a single NP be picked out as the topic. Topics are not marked overtly as such. Rather, topichood or anaphoricity is a relative, non-discrete property that is encoded in a number of ways. One way is intonation. The more

anaphoric an NP is, the more likely it is to have relatively low stress and pitch. A second way anaphoricity is encoded is by surface (or cycle-final) I. I's tend to be relatively anaphoric. Thus passives are used when the semantic goal is relatively anaphoric.

However, how are we to explain the relative rarity of passives in English, especially passives with agent phrases? If semantic goals have as good a chance of being the most known or anaphoric NP in a sentence, as actor NPs do, we might expect passives to be as common as actives, as in Cebuano. Why the difference? One way of approaching this question is to consider how Cebuano sentences would best be translated into English. Clearly it would not be appropriate to translate every Cebuano passive by an English passive. There must be a class of Cebuano passive sentences which should be translated as English active sentences. The question is: what sort of sentences would belong to this class?

What I want to suggest, very tentatively, is that the passive is only used in English when the semantic II is far more known or anaphoric than the semantic I. Typically either the identity of the semantic I is relatively unimportant, or the semantic I is clearly nonanaphoric. Thus the class of Cebuano passives best translated by English actives would be sentences in the semantic I and the semantic II would be relatively equally known or anaphoric. For example, suppose both are topics in a discourse. I would suggest that normally such sentences would occur as actives in English. In Cebuano, however, such a sentence would have an equal chance of occurring as a passive. This suggestion is summarized in the following schematic chart.



(63) indicates that English passives would only be used when the semantic II was far more known or anaphoric than the semantic I, thereby explaining their relative infrequency.

The fact that Cebuano passives are used much more frequently than English passives can therefore be explained by the different pragmatics associated with surface I's in the two languages. Surface I's in Cebuano are the most anaphoric NPs. Surface I's in English are the semantic I unless the semantic II is far more anaphoric or important than the semantic I. One thing that this difference implies is that surface I's in Cebuano only encode anaphoricity, whereas surface I's in English encode both anaphoricity and actorhood. In English, when both the semantic I and II are equally topics, the sentence occurs in the active, so that in such sentences the surface I is encoding

actorhood, not anaphoricity.

The conclusions of this section must of necessity be very tentative. We do seem justified in concluding that despite their differences, surface I's in English and Cebuano are similar in function, and certainly more similar in function to each other than to any other syntactic devices in the two languages.

10. An Explanation for the Unusual Behaviour of Cebuano Chomeurs

I have attempted in this paper to demonstrate that passive agents in Cebuano are not nearly as chomeur-like as passive agents in other languages, that even after being placed en chomage, they still retain many properties normally associated with I's or terms. These facts, in themselves, pose no problem for RG. For example, Bell's demonstration that chomeurs trigger reflexivization is not a problem since the theory has been weakened to allow reflexivization to refer to cycle-initial terms. I want to argue, however, that in at least two ways this constitutes letting the baby out with the bathwater.

For one thing, it reduces the notion of "chomeur" to near-vacuousness. Passive sentences in Cebuano are just as transitive as active sentences in that passive agents are just as term-like as active II's. Although the theory can accept this state of affairs by attributing the term-like behaviour of passive agents to their underlying status as I's, the question naturally arises as to just what it means to call them chomeurs. The empirical force of the notion of a "chomeur" is severely weakened if the theory allows NPs as term-like as II's to be called chomeurs.

A second problem is that the current theory fails to capture the fact that Cebuano is unusual in having such active chomeurs. By weakening the theory to allow reference to cycle-initial terms, the theory succeeds in labelling Cebuano as a possible language, but fails to note its special status. The theory fails to capture the fact that in most languages, chomeurs do lose their subject properties. It would be desirable if the theory could explain why Cebuano chomeurs are so active.

There are a few things we can say about the active nature of chomeurs in Cebuano. that seem to correlate their behaviour with other facts about passive in the language. In particular, I have already argued that in an intuitive sense active and passive are equally basic in Cebuano. My chief dissatisfaction with Bell's analysis is that it fails to correlate the unusual behaviour of chomeurs with the general unmarked nature of the Cebuano passive. This leads to the general problem of talking about grammatical relations and passives in cross-linguistic terms. Postal and Perlmutter (1974), Keenan (1974a,b,c, 1975,1976) and Keenan and Comrie (1972) have demonstrated a wealth of universal generalizations that can be stated in terms of universal notions of grammatical relations and relation-changing rules like passive. There can be no doubt that we are justified in employing the notion of "subject" in a universal sense. It is impossible to ignore

the similarities between what we call subjects in English, in Cebuano, in Japanese, in Swahili, and so on. Employing such universal notions allows us to capture these similarities.

But the problem is: there are also differences. Keenan (1976) has shown that there is no property which can be considered a necessary condition for being a subject. For every property, there is at least one language in which subjects lack that property, in other words, in which most of the subject properties but not the given one, cluster around one sort of NP. RG clearly provides us with the means of talking about similarities. But how do we talk about the differences? Clearly there are differences between subjects in one language and subjects in another. Syntactic differences can be stated in their relevant part of the grammar. So, for example, the fact that Malagasy subjects follow their objects is stated in the linearization rules. As for semantic and pragmatic differences, they will presumably be stateable wherever RG incorporates semantics and pragmatics. So, for example, it appears to be the case that one difference between Cebuano subjects and English subjects is that the former have a far greater tendency to be discourse topics or anaphoric. This difference in the pragmatics of surface I's is the explanation for the difference in the frequency of passives in the two languages.

But the frequency of passives in Cebuano is also the explanation for their morphological and syntactic unmarked character. There is an obvious and clear tendency in language for more frequently used constructions to be more complex and syntactically unmarked, and for less frequently used constructions to be more complex and syntactically marked. Thus in Cebuano, passives are frequently used, so the passive construction is syntactically unmarked. In English, however, passives are far less frequently used. Hence they are more marked syntactically. Now one aspect of the heavily marked status of passives in English is the fact that they are intransitive. Passives are normally used only when the actor is particularly unimportant. This lack of importance of actors in passive sentences is reflected by their being put into prepositional phrases and by their loss of most subject properties, like the ability to trigger reflexivization. In Cebuano, however, passives are not marked. Since the use of passives is not restricted to sentences in which the actor is particularly unimportant, Cebuano passives lack the intransitive character of English passives. The actor NP in a passive sentence is not shoved into an oblique prepositional phrase as it is in English, but rather is treated on a par with active II's, as if it were a non-subject term. This is reflected by the fact that it retains many of its subject properties, even after supposedly being placed en chomage, among them its position in the sentence, its marking, and its ability to trigger reflexivization.

Let me summarize the argument of the last few paragraphs. What I have argued is that the unusual ability of chomeurs in Cebuano to trigger reflexivization is ultimately due to the fact that Cebuano I's possess a much stronger tendency to be topics than do I's in

other languages. Let me recapitulate the chain of arguments. Since Cebuano I's tend more strongly to be topics than do I's in other languages, the Cebuano passive is as common as the active. Since the Cebuano passive is as common, it is morphologically and syntactically less marked than passives in other languages. One aspect of this unmarkedness is the fact that passive agents are not treated as being oblique, but behave more like terms. They behave more like terms in that they retain many of their underlying properties, even after the application of passive. One of these properties is the ability to trigger reflexivization.

So, if this account is correct, not only must RG be able to characterize the pragmatic differences between surface I's in different languages, but it must also provide machinery for explaining how syntactic differences, such as the ability of chomeurs to trigger reflexivization in a language, are related to the pragmatic characteristics of surface I's in the language. Thus, not only does RG require an account of the pragmatics of grammatical relations; it also requires an account of how the pragmatics interacts with the syntax.

11. Strengthening Relational Grammar

The explanation from the previous section suggests a way to accommodate the facts of Cebuano with RG, without weakening²⁸ the theory to the drastic extent apparently accepted by Postal and Perlmutter. The early version of the theory that only allowed reflexivization to apply to cycle-final terms was clearly too narrow.²⁹ It failed to include Cebuano. However the revised version, which allows reflexivization to apply to cycle-initial terms, is too broad. For it implies that a language similar to English, but differing only in that it would permit passive agents to trigger reflexivization, is as natural a language as English. Thus in such a language, call it English-*, the sentences of (64) would be grammatical.

- (64) a. Heself_i was cut by John_i. (= John cut himself.)
 b. Theyselves_i were killed by the lemmings_i.
 (= The lemmings killed themselves.)

However if English-* is in all other respects like English, then I question whether it is a possible language.³⁰ The fact that reflexive sentences must be active in English is closely related to the marked status of English passives. The fact that reflexive sentences in Cebuano may be either active or passive is closely related to the unmarked status of passives in the language. But as I argued in the last section, the difference in markedness between passives in the two languages is a function of the difference in the pragmatics of surface I's in the two languages. Therefore, if RG provides a means of stating these pragmatic differences, it would be possible to achieve a theory that would include Cebuano but exclude English-*.

I can at best sketch how such a version of RG would achieve this. If the pragmatics of surface I's in a language were such as to make it equally likely for actors (i.e. underlying I's) and goals (i.e. underlying II's) to be surface I's, then in such a language, reflexi-

vization would only be triggered by NPs which were terms both underlyingly and on the surface.³¹ Such a theory would correctly predict the facts in Cebuano and those in English, but would rule out as impossible a language like English-^{*}.

The retention of subject properties by underlying I's in Cebuano and other Philippine languages (as discussed in Schacter (1976)), has led Keenan (1975) to argue that existing notions of passive require modification. Keenan's argument is based on the fact that subject properties are divided in Philippine languages between actors and topics, thereby casting doubt on the generality of the notion of subject. In so far as passive is defined as promotion to subject, doubt is also cast on the generality of the notion of passive.

I do not believe, however, that the facts warrant such a conclusion. If fact the existence of two sorts of subjects in Philippine languages supports the distinction made by RG between underlying and surface I's. Philippine languages are different from other languages only in that the relevance of the two sorts of I's is transparent on the surface. In most languages, underlying I's do not show their faces on the surface as blatantly as they do in Cebuano. But even in English, the distinction between underlying and surface I's is essential for accounting for the distribution of subject properties. Thus, although there may not be properties that hold of all underlying I's, as there are in Cebuano, it is the case that we can distinguish those properties that hold of all surface I's from those properties that hold only of those surface I's that are also I's underlyingly.

Examples of properties that hold of all surface I's in English, regardless of their underlying status are

1. Verb agreement.
2. Preverbal position in unmarked word order.
3. Subject to raising.

That these properties hold of any surface I regardless of its underlying status is demonstrated by the grammaticality of the following passive sentences.

- (65) a. The natives are being wiped out by colonization.
b. He wants Bill to be examined by the doctor.

Other subject properties hold only of those surface I's which are also underlying I's. Among these properties are

1. Trigger reflexivization.
2. Be the deleted addressee phrase of a second person imperative.

That these properties do not hold of surface I's which were not I's underlyingly is demonstrated by the ungrammaticality of the passive sentences of (66).³²

- (66) a. * John was hurt by himself.
b. * (You) Be hit by John!

That these properties do not hold of underlying I's that are demoted by passive is demonstrated by the ungrammaticality of the sentences

of (67).

- (67) a. ** Heself_i was hit by John_i.
 b. ** John be hit by (you)! (= Hit John!)

Thus the distinction between the two sorts of I's, which is transparent in Cebuano, can also be seen to play a role in other languages, like English. Far from being a problem for RG, the distinction may be universally relevant, and corresponds precisely to the distinction made in the theory between underlying and surface I's, or more strictly speaking, between cycle-initial and cycle-final I's.

12. Conclusion

The arguments I have given in this paper are of two sorts. On the one hand, I have argued that the existence of topicless clauses in Cebuano poses a very serious empirical problem for Bell's analysis. On the other hand, I have argued that even accepting the basic structure of her analysis (i.e. taking the active as underlying and deriving all the other voice forms by distinct advancement rules), the behaviour of chomeurs does not lead to the conclusions drawn by her and by Postal and Perlmutter (1974). I have argued that an explanatorily adequate account of Cebuano would not attribute the marker ni or the word order position of chomeurs to their derived status as chomeurs, but rather to their underlying status as I's. Thus Cebuano provides no support for the notion of "chomeur". Finally I have argued that the facts of Cebuano do not warrant the drastic weakening of RG apparently accepted by Postal and Perlmutter; that the theory can be modified in a more moderate way by associating the active nature of Cebuano chomeurs with the unmarked nature of passives in the language. Since such is ultimately due to the distinctive pragmatics associated with Cebuano surface subjects, the viability of such a modification of the theory depends on the ability of the theory to say something about pragmatics. Languages do not have passives for the fun of it. Passives serve a function and somewhere the theory is going to have to deal with it.

I leave open the question of whether the different voice forms in Cebuano should be derived by advancement rules, as in Bell's account, or whether they should simply be treated as reflections of a cyclic rule of topicalization, thereby not involving any rules changing grammatical relations.

Bell's account is attractive in a number of ways. It captures the way in which the passive-like construction in Cebuano performs many of the same functions as do passives in other languages: it feeds other rules (like relativization); it provides a means of putting the semantic goal in the preferred position for discourse topics; and it provides a way of expressing sentences with the actor unspecified. By choosing a relational solution like Bell's, it remains possible to associate underlying grammatical relations with semantic roles, and

The main clause of (i) lacks an overt ang-phrase. The actor NP nako is not the subject: it is in non-subject form and the verb is in goal-focus form, not actor-focus as would be required for an actor subject. However it is possible to treat the entire clause nga akong higugmaon si Carmen 'that I love Carmen' as subject. Since the verb is in goal-focus form, the subject of the sentence should be the semantic goal. Such is a plausible interpretation of the semantic role of the subordinate clause in the matrix clause. The lack of any overt marking on the clause as an ang-phrase can be explained on syntactic grounds. The particle ang must be directly attached to a noun (or any predicate) which is true of the referent of the NP. But there is no noun or predicate which satisfies this requirement in (i). Hence ang is absent. It should be noted, however, that in allowing nga-clauses to be considered as ang-phrases, ang-phrases lack one property often associated with subjects (according to Keenan (1974b)), namely that sentential complements tend not to occur as subjects.

A more serious class of counter-examples to property 4 are infinitival constructions, and inig-clauses. I discuss these at greater length in section 6.

5. One class of counter-examples are equational sentences like (i).

- (i) Ang dalaga ako.
 topic lady I
 topic
 I am the lady.

However this does not constitute a real problem. In the Latin translation of (i), both NPs are in the nominative (subject) case:

- (ii) Ego femina.
 I woman
 nom nom
 I am the woman. (or I am a woman.)

Thus possessing what are in some sense two subjects may be a universal property of such sentences. In fact I believe that ang dalaga and femina should both be interpreted as predicates rather than subjects.

6. The reader will have to forgive me for mixing the terminology of I's and II's with the more traditional terminology of subjects and direct objects. My use of the word "subject" is intended to be equivalent to RG's notion of "I", but I find the expressions "I" and "II" inappropriate in the context of certain sorts of discussion. No real distinction is intended by the two sorts of jargon.

7. Locative focus is encoded jointly by the prefix gi- and the suffix -an

8. The particle ug is apparently possible as an indefinite N-set marker in certain dialects. Bell (1976) noted that she found an example of such in Wolff (1967), but that her informant rejected the sentence as ungrammatical. Nelson (1964) also gives many examples of such, e.g.

- (i) Ang tabanog gi-buhat ug bata.
 topic kite goal-make indef child
 focus
 A child made the kite.

- (ii) Si Lolita anak ug Amerikano.
 topic child indef American
 Lolita is the child of an American.

A native speaker, Leonora Mosende, rejected these as ungrammatical but said that she had heard people of other dialects use ug in this way.

9. Again, no real significance should be attached to the different terminology, except in contexts in which the question of the identity of the two terms is discussed. For example, when I discuss the question of whether topics are surface I's, what I will be discussing is the question of whether the theoretical term "surface I" is applicable to a certain class of NPs in Cebuano which I denote by the term "topics". To use jargon from philosophy, each term in the pairs footnoted has a different intension, but there is strong evidence that they have the same extension. Because of that strong evidence, I use the terms interchangeably in extensional contexts.

10. I really do not know how to spell out the intuition underlying this. It includes the fact that there are transitive verbs (like cost in English) which cannot be passivized, and that intransitive verbs are active. On the other hand, agentless passive sentences (like John was killed) have no active correlates (unless we want to count Someone killed John). In what sense to the former exceed the latter?

11. Nonterms frequently occur without prepositions. For example, the underlined NPs in the following examples denote locations or times.

- (i) Nag-alagad siya kanila sa duha ka tuig.
 actor-serve she them nontopic two particle year
 focus topic nontopic
 She served them for two years.
- (ii) Si Juan mi-tukod sa balay sa lungsod.
 topic actor-build nontopic house nontopic town
 focus
 Juan built the house in the town.
- (iii) Sila nanag-lakaw sa lungsod.
 they actor focus-walk nontopic town
 plural
 They walked in the town. or They walked to the town.

In such cases, however, a preposition can typically be added to the nonterm NP. The two readings of (iii) can be disambiguated in this way:

- (iv) Sila nanaglakaw dⁱha/ngadto sa lungsod.
 in to

III's sometimes occur with the preposition ngadto 'to':

- (v) Ang babaye mi-hatag sa bola ni Juan ngadto sa bata.
 topic woman actor-give nontopic ball poss to nontop child
 focus

The woman gave Juan's ball to the child.

However no preposition is ever used with passive agents.

12. I will make use in this paper of a few statistical results from the examination of 150 sentences picked semi-randomly from Nelson (1964). The only clauses considered were matrix clauses with at least two NPs not marked with prepositions. The statistics quoted about NPs restricts attention to ones of that sort. These statistics should not be taken too seriously since the sentences were very frequently constructed by Nelson to demonstrate some point and do not occur in any context. Nevertheless, some of the tendencies are so strong that there is good reason to believe that they would hold up in a more extensive study of sentences in texts. The fact that there are more passive sentences than active sentences in the sample is obvious evidence that passives are more common in Cebuano than in English. The idea of an English grammar with more passives sentences than active ones is inconceivable.

13. I say "can" since many verb forms, especially with stative verbs, do not show any voice distinction between actor-focus and goal-focus.

14. It is also possible to have two NPs occurring before the verb. In such cases, one the NPs must be a pronominal passive agent. The link -ng is added to whatever word occurs immediately before the verb. Observe:

- (i) Iya kini-ng sulat-on sa amahan niya.
 he this-link write-goal focus nontopic father his
 topic irrealis
 He will write this to his father.

- (ii) Ang bahin sa ila-ng humay ila na-ng
 topic part nontopic their-link rice they already-link
 gi-halad.
 goal focus-offer
 They have already offered part of their rice.

15. (19) does not show that nonterms cannot control Equi in Cebuano for the same reason that (i) does not show that nonactors cannot control Equi in English.

- (i) I promised John to go to the movie.

It is the semantics of promise which prevents a reading of (i) under which John controls the application of Equi. Bell's claim that underlying nonterms do not control Equi is probably true, although the reason may be semantic.

16. The term "actor" should not be taken too literally. I assume it to be defined in terms of the semantic roles associated with Cebuano

"actor focus", which includes those associated with the subjects of receive and endure. There appears to be no question that Cebuano actors are underlying I's.

17. Not to be confused with Bell's (1974a) rule of TOPICALIZATION, which has a function analogous to pseudoclefting in English.

18. It is probably necessary to allow the marking of chomeurs to be sensitive to the type of rule that placed them en chomage (advance-ment, replacement, or ascension). Thus (i) is presumably derived from (ii) by there-insertion, a replacement rule, which places a knight in rusty armour en chomage.

(i) There entered the hall a knight in shiny armour.

(ii) A knight in rusty armour entered the hall.

But this chomeur must not be marked with by, even though it is an underlying I, like chomeurs created like passive.

Also my formulation of the constraint need tightening up. For strictly speaking, Cebuano-* would still be possible even if my law were added to RG. For one could get around my restriction by describing the different chomeur markers, not in terms of the rule that placed them en chomage, but in terms of the underlying grammatical relation of the derived subject, i.e. the NP which displaced them. Thus the chomeurs created by $II \rightarrow I$ would be different from the chomeurs created by $III \rightarrow I$, because in the former case, the derived I would come from an underlying II, in the latter case, from an underlying III. I leave aside the problem of how to forbid such cheating.

19. It is not clear how one determines the unmarked word order in languages with considerable freedom of word order. On the basis of frequency, the order Verb(chomeur)(I)(II)(III)(nonterms) appears to be the most common. In the statistical sample discussed in footnote 12, 36% of the sentences conformed to that order. By far the most common deviation was sentences in which at least one NP preceded the verb. In fact 55% of the sentence were of that type. 38% of the sentences deviated from the "unmarked" word order only in that the verb was not initial; i.e. the NPs were still in their normal order. Thus in 74% of the sentences, the NPs were in that order, i.e. (chomeur)I(II)(III)(nonterms), ignoring the position of the verb. It appears then that NPs are more rigidly ordered with respect to each other, than with respect to the verb.

20. Bell does not treat this deletion as Equi, since she applies the term Equi to obligatory deletions.

21. My data on positioning of chomeurs is severely limited, and the suggestions of this section may thus be easily refutable.

22. Apparently, the object need not move to subject position, but may retain its object position.

23. One language I know of in which chomeurs take a position different from that of other nonterms is Malagasy, in which the unmarked word

order is V-Chom-II-X-I. Thus passive moves the new I into the position held by the underlying I which is itself moved into immediately postverbal position. Thus chomeurs acquire a position atypical for Is and for nonterms. Malagasy is unusual anyway in having I's in sentence-final position. Thus Malagasy is hardly a good language to use to test hypotheses about word order. Whatever explanation there is for the fact that Malagasy is VOS might also explain the position of chomeurs.

24. Since writing this I have found a number of counter-examples to my claim that II's cannot occur before the verb. Whatever the nature of the constraint against preposed II's is, it is not a categorical as the constraint against preposed passive agents. This difference weakens the force of the argument being given here.

25. See footnote 14.

26. Many of the arguments in this paper could also be applied to Tagalog. In Tagalog, there is an additional argument supporting the term-like nature of passive agents. II's and passive agents form a class with respect to marking, in that only NP's in this class are marked with nang (or ni for proper names).

27. (50b) is an exception to the generalization that definite II's cannot occur alone before the verb. My informant, Paz Naylor, said she felt it was possible because sa lalaki also denotes the location of the action, in some sense.

28. I use the term "weakening" in the following sense: Theory A is weaker than Theory B if the predictions of Theory A are less accurate than those of Theory B. More explicitly, a theory can be too weak in either of two ways. First, it can be too weak in that it defines too narrow a class of possible languages. I.e. it defines as impossible, languages which are in fact possible. Such a theory can be called too narrow. The second way a theory can be too weak is that it may define too broad a class of possible languages. I.e. it defines as possible, languages which in fact could not exist. Such a theory can be called too broad.

29. See footnote 28.

30. One might try to argue that English-* is not a possible language because the reflexives in (64) both precede and command their antecedents. However, as Keenan (1974a) shows, in VOS languages with independent reflexive pronouns, it is the subject that triggers reflexivization, backward. Although the notion of precedence is also relevant to reflexivization in universal grammar, it appears that in general the identity of the surface subject is more important.

Examples from Keenan (1974a):

Malagasy: Namono tena_i Rabe_i.
 killed self Rabe
 Rabe killed himself.

Tzeltal: la s-mah si-ba Ziak.
 past strike his-self Ziak
 Ziak struck himself.

31. This completely ignores the effect of advancement rules of II. It also overlooks the fact that sentences like (i) are grammatical, with contrastive stress on the reflexive.

(i) John was killed by himself.

A more accurate, and at the same time more general, statement might be (ii).

(ii) The more frequently passive is used in a language, the more the underlying subject will tend to retain its subject properties and the less the derived subject will tend to obtain subject properties.

32. More accurately, these properties only hold of derived I's in restricted contexts, since (66a) and (66b) are possible in certain contexts.

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