TAGALOG AND DEEP CASE GRAMMAR

R. H. Cena

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This paper discusses some notions in deep case grammar, viewed in terms of some syntactic properties of Tagalog. Section 1 discusses the notion of focus in Tagalog grammar, and its relation to the concept of deep case. Subjectivalization and passivization are dealt with in Section 2, and transformational grammar and deep case grammar are compared in the way these theories derive the passive sentence. In Section 3 are presented some counterexamples to Fillmore's rules on conjunction (and non-conjunction) of case-marked NPs; solutions are offered. Section 4 presents verbless sentences in Tagalog and speculates on how these sentences may be incorporated in a case grammar of Tagalog. In Section 5, K is suggested to be a feature of the verb; and the discussion of the syntax of the verb bukas 'open' in Section 6 leads to a consideration of the feature approach to case grammar.

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1.   Focus in Tagalog and the Notion of Deep Case

Focus in Tagalog[1] is a verb-noun phrase relationship.

From among the noun phrase complements of the verb,[2] a noun

phrase is selected and made the focus of the sentence, and this

choice has morphological reflexes. First, the selected NP gets

marked in the surface structure by the marker ang/si: si before

personal proper names and ang before all other nouns.[3] Second,

the verb is inflected depending on the case of the focused NP.

For example, consider:

(1) Bumili ANG MAMA ng baril sa Escolta kahapon para
          buy   man   gun   Escolta yesterday
          sa bata.
          boy.
     'The MAN bought a gun at the Escolta yesterday for the
          boy.'

In (1) the agent noun mama 'man' is in focus, and hence marked

by ang; the verb is correspondingly marked by the affix -um- to

show that the complement NP in focus is the agent NP.

     (2) Binili ng mama ANG BARIL sa Escolta kahapon para
          sa bata.
          'The man bought THE[4] GUN at the Escolta yesterday for
          the boy.'

In (2) the object noun baril 'gun' is in focus, and its marker in (1),

ng, is dropped in favor of ang. This focus relationship is also

registered in the verb by the infix -in-. Notice that mama in (2),

not any more in focus, it now marked by <u>ng</u> instead of <u>ang.</u>

(3)   Binil<u>han</u> ng mama ng baril ANG ESCOLTA kahapon
      para sa bata. [3a]
      'The man bought a gun AT THE ESCOLTA yesterday
      for the boy.'

(4)   <u>I</u>binili ng mama ng baril sa Escolta kahapon ANG BATA.
      'The man bought a gun at the Escolta yesterday FOR
      THE BOY'.

The locative noun <u>Escolta</u> is in focus in (3), its verbal affix
marker is the suffix -<u>an.</u> The benefactive noun <u>bata</u> 'boy' in
(4) is in focus, and this fact is marked in the verb by the
prefix <u>i</u>-. Generally, any NP complement of the verb may be
put in focus, either through the process illustrated above, which
I shall refer to (following Fillmore (1968)) as primary <u>topicaliza-</u>
<u>tion</u> (or <u>subjectivalization)</u>, or by secondary topicalization:
preposing, clefting. There may be constraints on the type of
focusing process a noun phrase may undergo. As an example,
the time modifier <u>kahapon</u> 'yesterday' in (1-4) cannot be focused
through primary topicalization (it has no corresponding verbal
affix marker). It may, however, undergo secondary topicaliza-
tion through preposing, as in the sentence <u>Kahapon bumili ang</u>
<u>mama ng baril sa Escolta para sa bata</u> 'Yesterday (was when)
the man bought a gun at the Escolta for the boy.' In a simple

sentence there is one and only one NP that may be put in focus through primary topicalization.

The focus inflection of the verb reveals the case of the NP in focus (or, conversely, the case of the NP to be put in focus determines the inflection the verb will take), but it does not give any clue as to the case function of the other complements of the verb. To illustrate, given the verb _hampas_ 'hit' and the nouns _higante_ 'giant', 'dragon', 'dinosor 'dinosaur', and given a context in which each of these nouns may end up as either the agent, the object, or the instrument, we may construct the sentence

(5) Hinampas ng higante ng dinosor ANG DRAGON.

    a.   'The giant hit THE DRAGON with the dinosaur.'
    b.   'The dinosaur hit THE DRAGON with the giant.'

where the verb affix -in-tells us that whichever noun is marked by the topic marker _ang_, in this case dragon, that noun is Objective. It does not, however, give any clue as to the case of the nouns _higante_ and _dinosor_ (except that they are not Objective). Similarly, in (6) the affix _ip-_... -_ang_-marked noun as Instrumental, and the affix -_um_- in (7) marks the _ang_-marked noun as Agentive, but both affixes are silent about the cases of the other NPs.

(6) Ipinanghampas ng dinosor sa higante ANG DRAGON.
    'The dinosaur hit the giant with (the use of) THE
    DRAGON.'

(7) Humampas ng higante sa pamamagitan ng dinosor ANG
    DRAGON.
    'THE DRAGON hit a giant with (the use of) the dinosaur.'

How may the case function of out-of-focus NPs be determined?

One way is through noun markers. In (6) ng in ng dinosor makes

dinosor Agentive; sa in sa higante makes higante Objective.

The phrase sa pamamagitan in (7) makes the noun following it

Instrumental. It is not, however, this easy all the time. In

many instances, the case function of out-of-focus NPs, usually

marked by ng or sa, is ambiguous. For example, in (5) the

nouns dinosor and higante are ambiguous as to case: both can

function as either Agentive or Instrumental.[5]

Briefly, then, case is a deep structure V-NP relationship,

and focus is a surface structure V-NP relationship.[6] There are

as many cases as there are semantically-based V-NP relationships

the language distinguishes, but there are only two dimensions of

focus: + Focus and -Focus. Any case-marked NP may be put

in focus, but only those with corresponding verbal affixes may

undergo primary topicalization.[7]

2. On Subjectivalization and Passivization

One important syntactic processs in case grammar is subject-

ivalization. Let us distinguish two types of subjectivalization. The first involves the omission of a constituent that occupies a higher rank in the subject selection hierarchy. Fillmore's subjectivalization rule (Fillmore 1968, p. 33) sets up a subject selection hierarchy: Agentive (A), Instrumental (I), Objective (O). Let me paraphrase the rule, as follows: If there is A then A becomes the subject (just in case A is not 'downgraded', more on downgrading later); if there is no A then I becomes the subject just in case there is I and I is not downgraded; if there is no A and neither is there I then the choice falls on O. For example, in (9), where the agent phrase of (8) has been omitted, I becomes the subject, and in (10), where both A and I have been omitted, O becomes the subject.

(8) Peter (A) opened the door (O) with the key (I).
(9) The key (I) opened the door (O).
(10) The door (O) opened.

Let us call this type of subjectivalization sub-by-deletion.

The second type, which we shall refer to as sub-by-relegation, involves not the omission of constituents higher in subject selection rank, but their relegation to some 'minor' syntactic role. Compare (9) with (11) and (10) with (12).

(11) The key (I) was used by Peter (A) to open the door (O).
(12) The door (O) was opened by Peter (A) with the key (I).

In (9) the Agentive <u>by</u> <u>Peter</u> is deleted, but in (11) it is downgraded and relegated to the role of verb modifier; in both sentences the Instrumental <u>the</u> <u>key</u> is made the subject. In (12) the NPs <u>by</u> <u>Peter</u> and <u>with</u> <u>the</u> <u>key</u> have been deleted, and in (12) they are downgraded; in both sentences the object phrase <u>the</u> <u>door</u> has been raised as the surface subject. The crucial difference, however, between these two types of sub-jectivalization is that sub-by-deletion requires no change in the verb form, while sub-by-relegation requires such a change, from 'active' to 'passive'. The subjectivalization of non-agent NPs, coupled with the retention of the active form of the verb, as in (9-10), i.e., sub-by-deletion, has the effect of the subject NP partaking some Agentive meaning. Thus in (9) we get the idea that <u>key</u> does not merely function as an instrument by which the action <u>open</u> is accomplished, but that it, by itself, somehow accomplished the act; and in (10) <u>the</u> <u>door</u> through its own 'force' opened itself. Hence, to (9) and (10) no Agentive phrase may be added.

(9')   *The key opened the door by Peter.
(10')   *The door opened by Peter.

Sub-by-deletion, however, does not work in Tagalog.

Consider the following sentences:

(13)   Nagbukas SI PEDRO (A) ng pinto (O) sa pamama-
            gitan ng susi (I).
        'PETER opened a door with the key.'

(14)   *Nagbukas ANG SUSI (I) ng pinto (O).[7a]
        'THE KEY opened a door.'

(15)   *Nagbukas ANG PINTO (O).
        'THE DOOR opened.'

The verb form nagbukas 'opened' suggests very strongly an Agentive role for the surface subject, a semantic role not played by the subject NPs ang susi 'the key' and ang pinto 'the door', hence, the ungrammaticality of (14-15). A change of verb form results in grammatical construction.

(14')   Ipinangbukas ANG SUSI (I) ng pinto (O).
        'The KEY was used to open a door.'

(15')   Nabuksan ANG PINTO (O).[8]
        'THE DOOR was opened.'

The verb form ininangbukas in (14') suggests an Instrumental role for the subject NP, a semantic-syntactic requirement satisfied by the subject NP ang susi. The verb form nabuksan in (15') suggests an Objective role for the subject NP, a requirement met by the subject NP ang pinto. The subject NPs in (14'-15') do not suggest any Agentive meaning at all; the verbs in both sentences, however, imply an Agentive participant.

Thus, to (14'-15') we may correctly add Agentive phrases:

(14'') Ipinangbukas ANG SUSI (I) ng pinto (O) ni Pedro (A).
'The key was used to open the door by Peter.'

(15'') Nabuksan ANG PINTO (O) ni Pedro (A).
'The door was opened by Peter.'

Sentences (14'-15') are in fact instances of sub-by-relegation (with some NPs optionally deleted).

Sub-by-relegation is related to the so-called NP downgrading rule (Fillmore, OSU summer 1970 class lecture): if a noun phrase destined to be the subject is not made the subject, then it is downgraded; its case marker stays. A complementary process is NP 'promotion', where the NP selected to take the place of the downgraded NP is promoted. For example, consider the case configuration:
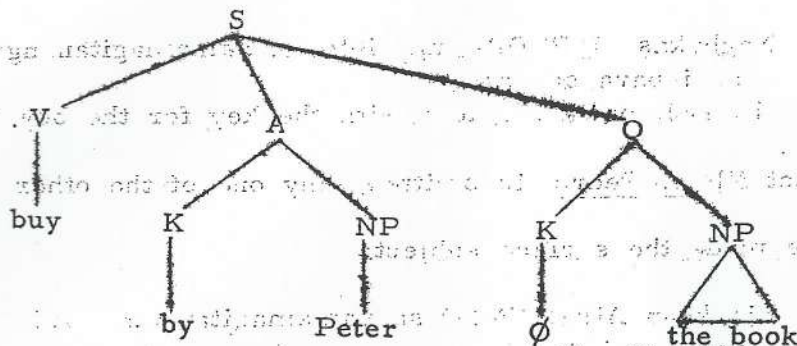
If the agent NP by Peter, which is 'normally destined' to be the surface subject, is not selected to assume the position of

surface subject, its case is not 'neutralized', i.e., the preposition stays, and another NP, in this case the book, is promoted as the subject, giving the sentence 'The book was bought by Peter'. This particular process is of course equivalent to the passive transformation in transformational grammar.

It seems to me that there is no a priori reason why a noun phrase should be given a special destiny in surface structure. In Tagalog, all NPs with verbal focus markers have equal opportunity to be selected as the surface subject, and the selection of one over another depends, presumably, on the mental set of the speaker: whichever NP he wishes to emphasize gets to be the surface subject. Consider again Sentences (1-4). The presence of an A does not in any way make it the logical choice for subject. Or consider the sentence

> (16)   Nagbukas SI PEDRO ng pinto sa pamamagitan ng
>   susi para sa bata.
>   'PETER opened a door with the key for the boy.'

If the subject NP si Pedro is omitted, any one of the other NPs may be made the surface subject:

> (17)   Binuksan ANG PINTO sa pamamagitan ng susi
>   para sa bata.
>   'THE DOOR was opened with (the use of) the key
>   for the boy.'

(18)   Ipinangbukas ng pinto ANG SUSI para sa bata.
        'THE KEY was used to open the door for the boy.'

(19)   Ibinukas ANG BATA ng pinto sa pamamagitan ng
        susi.
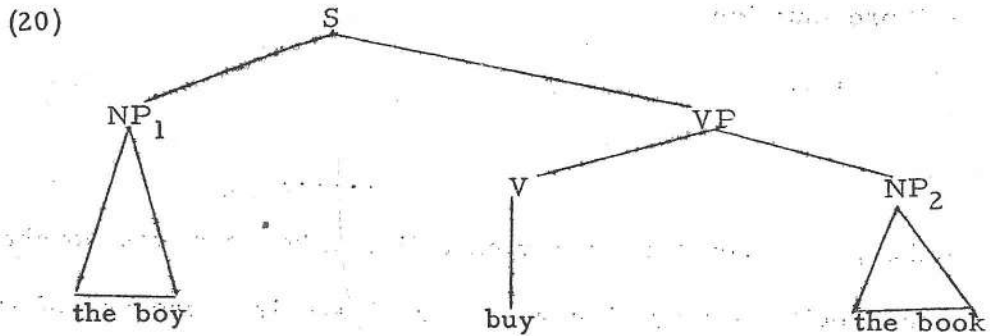   'THE BOY was opened a door for with (the use of
        the key.'

The equivalence of passivization and sub-by-relegation
(when O is made the surface subject) leads us to consider
a related problem. Is passivization simply a form of primary
topicalization? If we take the view that the selection of the
object NP as the surface subject (with the corresponding change
of the verb form) is a transformation, the so-called passive
transformation, then by the same token, we shall have to
regard any NP selection to fill the surface subject slot, with
corresponding change in the verb form, as a passive transforma-
tion. Thus, in Tagalog, there shall be not only one passive
transformation, but as many as the number of case-marked
NPs capable of being promoted as the surface subject. Thus,
in addition to the object passive transformation, there is a
locative PT, a benefactive PT, an instrumental PT, source PT,
goal PT, path PT, causative PT, and possibly a few more. This
is not to say that there cannot be these many passive transforma-
tions. Given the fact that there can be a passive transformation,

there is no reason why it should be limited to one type of transformation. The pertinent argument is whether the construction.

$(_S(_{subj}$ NP:Agent$) + (_{pred}$V NP:Object$)_S)$ is to be regarded as more basic than a construction whose subject NP is not Agentive. It seems that the semantic basis for this point of view is doubtful. I have no syntactic reason for so treating the passive transformation in accounting for Tagalog sentences other than the methodological consideration that with such a treatment, the process of subject selection is considerably simplified. That is, in deriving a sentence whose surface subject is an NP which is not Agentive, the grammar does not output an unnecessary intermediate tree where the agent phrase sits on the node deducible (from the phrase marker configuration) as the 'subject-of' position.

To explain further: In English, given (20), the deep structure representation of the sentence 'The boy bought the book':

(20)

```
                        S
              _____/ _____
            NP₁                    VP
           /  \               ___/  \___
          /    \             V          NP₂
         /_____\            |          /\
        the boy             buy        /  \
                                      /____\
                                    the book
```
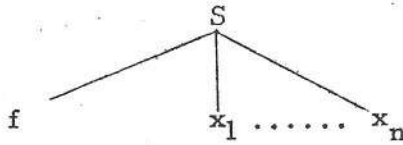
and given (21), the surface phrase marker of the sentence 'The
book was bought by the boy':

(21)

```
                        S
              _____/ _____
            NP₂                    VP
           /  \               ___/  \___
          /    \             V          NP₁
         /_____\           /\          /\
        the book           /  \        /  \
                          /____\      /____\
                         as bought   by the boy
```
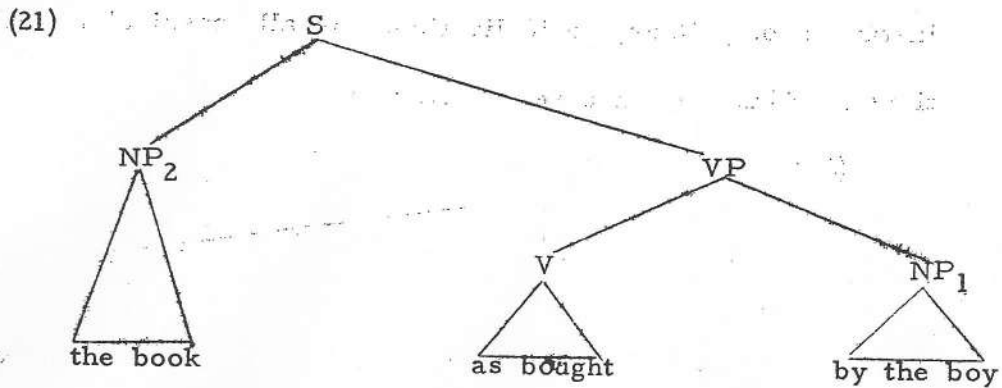
we are forced, in deriving (21) from (20), to posit a transforma-
tion that flips the NPs around. This is because in transforma-
tional grammar the grammatical relations 'subject-of' and 'object-
of', because configurationally determined, have fixed positions
in the initial phrase marker. If, however, we posit an underlying
representation whose major constituents are order-free, such as,
for example, what might result from Bach (1968), Fillmore (1968),
and McCawley's (1970) rewrite rule $S \longrightarrow f(x^n)$, which gives the

representation

(22)

$$S$$
$$f \quad x_1 \ldots\ldots x_n$$

then, to account for a sentence like 'The book was bought by
the boy', we may simply say that there is a process of surface
subject selection which selects and raises as the surface subject
any one of the NP complements. Such a rule will cover all
instances of primary topicalizations (or all 'passive' transforma-
tions). Thus, given case structure (23):

(23)

$$S$$

V   A   O

K   NP   K   NP

buy   by   the boy $\emptyset$ the book
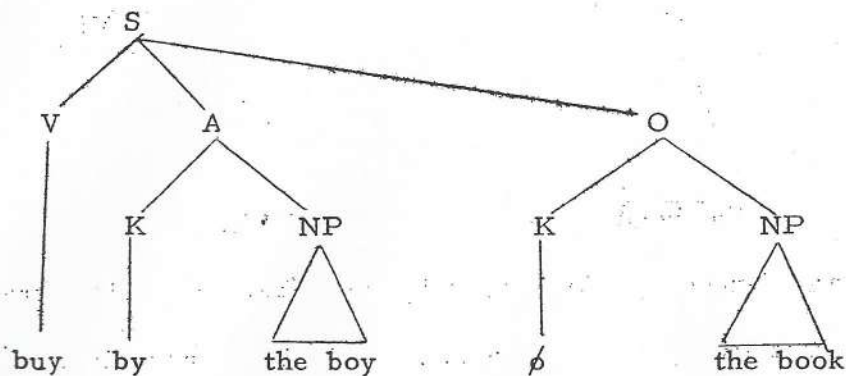
the sentence 'The book was bought by the boy' may be said to have
been directly derived from case structure (23) through a
process of surface subject selection that selects the object
book as the surface subject. In this way, we throw away the
phrase marker that shows the agent phrase occupying the subject
slot, a phrase marker that is really not essential to the

derivation of 'passive' sentences. Thus, passivization is viewed to be one of the many subprocesses belonging to the general process of subjectivalization. This view also renders unnecessary the positing of an NP downgrading rule.

3. On NP Conjunction and Compound Cases

Fillmore (1968) writes that there cannot be instances of unconjoined representatives of one particular case in a simplex sentence. Thus (24) is all right

(24)   The hammer and the chisel broke the window.

since the two Instrumental NPs are conjoined. But (25) is not acceptable.

(25)   *The hammer broke the window with the chisel. [9]

There are, however, constructions in Tagalog where two unconjoined NPs have the same case.

(26)   Ipinangpinta ni Pedro ang pulang pinsel sa pamama-
         gitan ng kanyang kaliwang kamay.
         Lit: 'Peter painted with the red brush with (the
         use of) his left hand. '

In(26) the unconjoined NPs ang pulang pinsel 'the red brush' and sa pamamagitan ng kanyang kaliwang kamay 'with (the use of) his left hand' are both Instrumental. Likewise, consider:

(27)   Ibili mo nga ako para lang sa aking anak ng gamot.
         Lit. : 'Buy for me for my child medicine. '

where ako 'me' and para lang sa aking anak 'for my child' are
Benefactive. And:

> (28) Sa silid pinagkainan ni Pedro ang mesa. [9a]
>   Lit.: 'In the room (was where) Peter ate on the
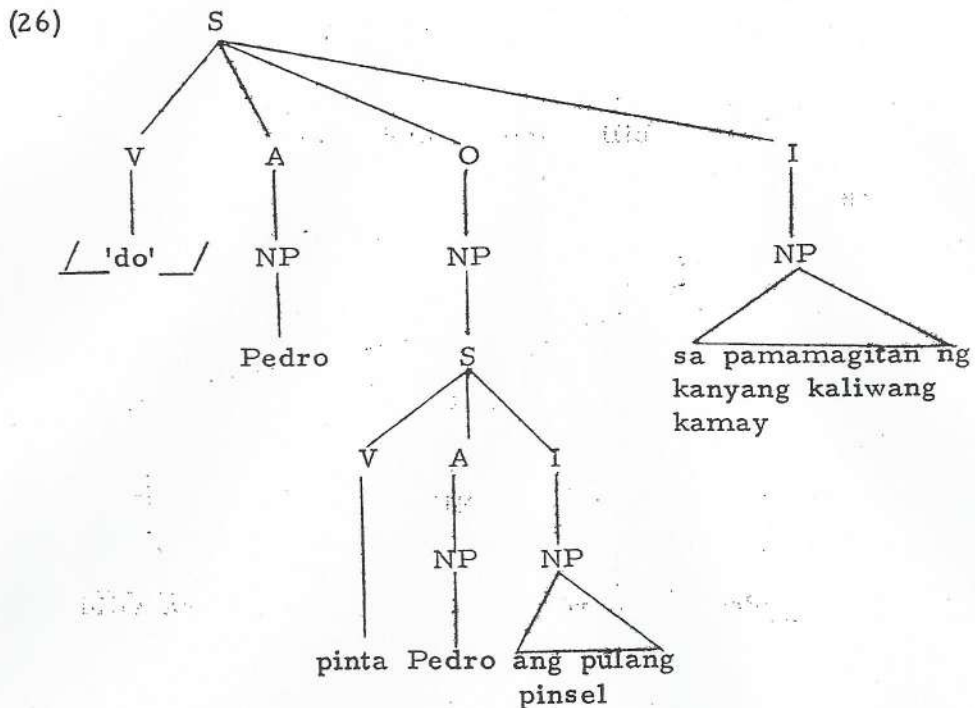>   table.'

where sa silid 'in the room' and ang mesa 'the table' are Locative.

Double unconjoined cases such as the above are possible in
Tagalog on account of the two ways by which an NP is marked for
case in the surface structure, i. e., depending as to whether it is
in focus or not. In (26) ang pulang pinsel is in focus and the
other Instrumental, sa pamamagitan ng kanyang kaliwang kamay,
is out of focus. In (27) ako is in focus and the other Benefactive,
para lang sa aking anak, is out of focus. In (28) ang mesa is
in focus and sa silid is out of focus. [10]

In a footnote, Fillmore (1968, fn 16, p. 21) explains that
whenever more than one case form appears in the surface
structure of the same sentence, then more than one deep structure
case is involved or the sentence is complex. In the case of
(26-28), the first possibility is out since it is very clear that
in the sentences the two NPs contrasted have the same case
function. There is promise in the other alternative. It

is possible that one of the NPs the NP that is out of focus,
belongs to a different sentence, possibly the matrix sentence.
The justification for this analysis will require the extension of
the Lakoffian analysis that adverbs of time and place are higher
predicates (Lakoff 1970), to include not only these two constituents
but also Benefactive, Instrumental, and Locative phrases as
well, among others. Thus (26-28) would have the following
underlying structures, in case grammar terms:

(26)

(27')

```
                    S
          ┌────┬──────┬──────────┐
          V    A      O          B
          │    │      │          │
          │    NP     NP         NP
          │    │      │         ╱ ╲
        ⌐'do'⌐ mo     S      para lang sa aking
                      │          anak
              ┌───┬───┬───┐
              V   A   O   B
              │   │   │   │
              │   NP  NP  NP
              │   │   │   │
            bili  mo gamot ako
```

(28)

```
                    S
          ┌────┬──────┬──────────────┐
          V    A      O              L
          │    │      │              │
          │    NP     NP             NP
          │    │      │             ╱ ╲
        ⌐'do'⌐ Pedro  S            sa silid
                      │
                ┌─────┬─────┐
                V     A     L
                │     │     │
                │     NP    NP
                │     │     │
              kain  Pedro  mesa
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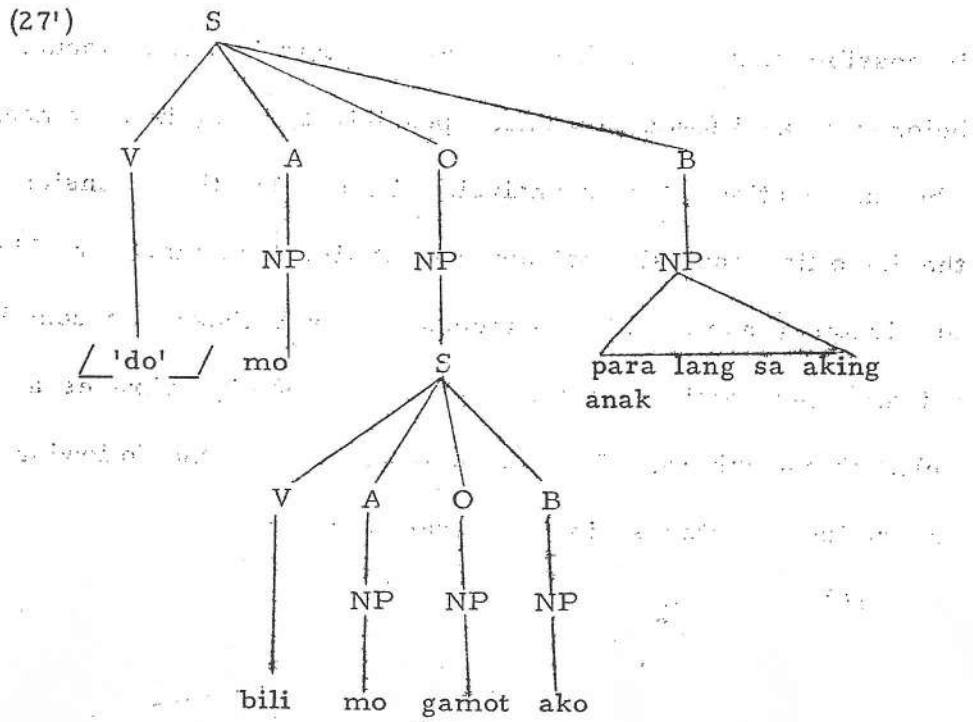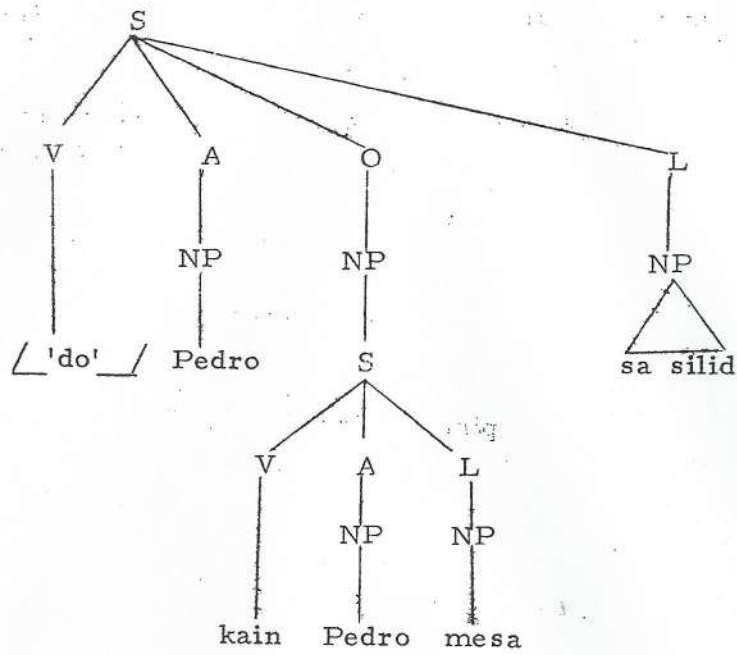
Related to this discussion is another rule on case conjunction, as follows: only instances of the same case may be conjoined with a single verb (Fillmore 1968, p. 21). Hence, the ungrammaticality of (29).

(29)   *Peter and the key opened the door.

Once can easily think of a context where two NPs representing different cases, such as (29), may be correctly conjoined. If five men and five keys with varying colors were thrown in a prison cell and the prison warden, who loves tormenting his prisoners, says, 'There is one and only one combination of man and key that will lead you to the mess hall', a witness of the proceedings may rightly report:

(30)   Si Pedro at ang pulang susi ang nakapagbukas ng pinto.
          Lit.: 'Peter and the red key were the ones who were able to open the door.'
          Or simply: 'Peter and the red key opened the door.'

Notice that the context makes clear that Peter is Agentive and key is Instrumental. But such an elaborate context isn't necessary. Consider:

(31)   Nasira ng rumaragasang hangin at ng dumadambang mga tao ang halamanan.
          'The raging wind (I, or Force?) and the stampeding men (A) ruined the garden.'

Dougherty (1970) questions the same rule, and gives as
counter-examples the following sentences.

(32)   John (A) and Mary (O) gave a book and were given
        a book, respectively.

(33)   John (A) and Mary (O) hit Bill and were hit by Bill,
        respectively.

(34)   Both the key and the locksmith opened the door.

(35)   Neither the key nor the locksmith opened the door.

Notice that Fillmore's rule requires that conjunction be with a
single verb. It is not clear that the use of gave and were given
in (32) and hit and were hit in (33) satisfies this requirements.
The crucial point in these sentences and in (34-35) lies in the
distinction between phrasal and sentence conjunction. It is
clear that these sentences are instances of sentence conjunction.
(32) may be said to have been derived from (32') and (34) from
(34').

(32')   John gave a book and Mary was given a book.

(35')   The key opened the door and the locksmith opened
        the door.

But (30), taken in the context provided, can only be construed
as an instance of phrasal conjunction.[11] Notice that, within
the context provided, one cannot say

(30)   *Peter opened the door and the key opened the door.

This point is much clearer if we use Tagalog sentences. Thus, while we can say (30) and (36), we may not say (37).

(30)   Si Pedro at ang pulang susi ang nakapagbukas ng
        pinto.

(36)   Si Pedro ang nakapagbukas ng pinto.

(37)   *Ang susi ang nakapagbukas ng pinto.[11]a

This clearly suggests that (30) could not have been derived from a conjunction of (36) and (37) since (37) is unacceptable. Sentence (30') is unacceptable because we know from the context that Peter and the key did not 'individually' and 'separately' open the door. In (34) on the other hand, there is a reading that suggests that the action performed by the key is 'separate' from the action performed by the locksmith. In fact (34) does not necessarily imply that it was the locksmith who used the key to open the door (someone might have used the key to unlock the door, and the locksmith thereafter arrived and pushed the door open).

4.   On Deep Cases and Verbless Sentences

There are sentence constructions in Tagalog of the form S/NP + NP/S, the so-called verbless sentences. In general, there

are two types of verbless sentences. The more common ones are called equational sentences (ES), such as illustrated in (38-39). The less common, but by no means uncommon, we shall refer to, for lack of a better term, as simply the second type of verbless sentences, or VIS_2, illustrated in (40-43).

(38)   Doktor si Pedro
        doctor   Peter
        'Peter is a doctor.'

(39)   Si Pedro ang tao.
        'Peter was the man.'
        'It was Peter who was the man.'

(40)   Para $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{kay Peter (B)} \\ \text{sa bata (B)} \end{Bmatrix}$ ang libro,

        'For $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Peter} \\ \text{the boy} \end{Bmatrix}$ the book.'

(41) $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Kay Peter (B, Genitive)} \\ \text{Sa bata (B, G)} \end{Bmatrix}$ ang libro

        $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Peter's} \\ \text{The boy's} \end{Bmatrix}$ the book.'

(42) $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Na kay Peter (L)} \\ \text{Nasa silid (L)} \end{Bmatrix}$ ang libro.

        $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{'In the possession of Peter} \\ \text{'In the room} \end{Bmatrix}$ the book.'

(43)   Pasa bayan (Directional) si Peter.
        'Moving/heading towards town Peter.'

ES and VIS_2 are similar in that both appear not to have a verb. They differ in that the NP functioning as the predicate in VIS_2 exhibits a clear case function. The NP functioning as predicate

in ES, as far as case role is concerned, is 'empty'.

These sentences pose two difficulties to case grammar. Firstly, since the verb is the focal point in a case relationship, it seems hard to conceive of 'verbless' sentences in which at least one of the NPs has a clear case function. And secondly, in the case of VIS_2 the NP that exhibits a case functions is the NP functioning as (head) predicate, and the topic NP, for example, ang libro 'the book' in (40-43), is likewise empty of case meaning.

Two approaches to these problems come to mind. The first requires the substitution, in place of V in Fillmore's phrase structure rule P $\longrightarrow$ V$(C_1 \ldots \ldots C_n)$ of a category symbol that has, as one of its members, the class noun. The other approach involves the postulation of a set of abstract verbs that get partially or completely deleted in derivation. We shall discuss these approaches.

In support of the second approach are the morphemes na(-) of nasa and na kay in (42) and pa- of nasa in (43), these morphemes being considered as remnants of the lexical items naruruon 'there' and papunta 'going, moving towards'. Thus, (42) and (43) may well be derived, respectively from

(42') Na(ruruon) {kay Peter} ang libro.
{sa silid }
'There {in the possession of Peter} the book. '
{in the room }

(43) Pa(punta) sa bayan si Peter.
'Going towards town Peter. '

where the place adverb <u>naruruon</u> and the goal directional verb <u>papunta</u> have been truncated to <u>na</u>(-) and <u>pa</u>-, respectively. In the case of (40) and (41), we have to say that the postulated underlying Benefactive and Genetive verbs are not only truncated, because there is no trace of left of these verbs in surface structure, but that they get completely deleted in derivation, yielding an $_S$/NP + NP/$_S$ surface structure.

To achieve some generality, this approach must account in the equational sentences. There are two types of ES in Tagalog, illustrated by these sentences:

(38) Doktor si Pedro.
'Peter is a doctor. '

(39) Si Pedro ang tao.
'It was Peter who was the man. '

The first (38) resembles the English construction $_S$/NP + COPULA + NP/ except that the Tagalog equivalent has no copula that links the two NPs. The second type (39) is similar to the English cleft sentence. There is no evidence in view that in equational sentences,

the copulative verb is deleted. Predication, or equation, in

Tagalog simply requires that the predicate be preposed to the

topic NP. It seems that to account for these sentences and

others with no overt marker of even a trace of the verb in

terms of deletion is to assume too much.

We can, in fact, easily generate these sentences without

resort to a deletion transformation in terms of the following

very general rule:

(44)   S ---) $f(x^n)$

provided we define $\underline{f}$ in the above as any contentive (Bach 1968).

Thus the first phrase structure rules may look like:

(45)   S ---) PredP + NP
        PredP ---) (NP, VP)

These rules will generate sentences with the underlying forms

$_S/\underline{VP} + \underline{NP}/_S$ and $_S/\underline{NP} + \underline{NP}/_S$.

Now there is no reason to limit the participants in a case

relationship to a V on one hand and to a string of NPs on the

other hand. The only requirement for a relationship to be

labelled as a case relationship is that it must be a semantically

relevant syntactic relationship (Fillmore 1968, p. 5). With this

as the criterion, an NP functioning as predicate head can

become the focal point of case relationships, and indeed it does.

Thus, the fact that the head of the PredP in (46) is a noun, doktor, does not prevent other NPs from carrying a case function.

(46) Doktor$_1$ si Pedro$_2$ sa siyudad$_3$ sa umaga$_4$ (at magsasaka naman siya sa baryo sa hapon).
'Peter is a doctor in the city in the morning (and he is a farmer in the barrio in the afternoon).

where NP$_1$ is the predicate head, NP$_2$ is Essive,[12] NP$_3$ is locative, and NP$_4$ is Temporal.

The postulation of base rules (45) gets support from other considerations. For example, Robinson (1970) has pointed out that Fillmore's rule

(47) $P \longrightarrow V(C_1 \ldots C_n)$

parallels Chomsky's rule for the English noun phrase:

(48) $\bar{X} \longrightarrow X(NP, S, NP\ S, PrepP, PrepP\ PrepP, \text{etc.})$

where X is a variable that stands for the lexical categories N, V, and A. The constituents inside the parentheses is Chomsky's formula are easily translatable into Cs. For example, S is a constituent dominated by an Objective NP. Rules (47) and (48) differ precisely in the sense that V in (47) is limited to the class V, but X in (48) includes N as well as V and A.

We have seen that the underlying structure of Tagalog sentences may be represented as $S \underline{\bigg/ \left\{ {N \atop V} \right\} (NP^n) \bigg/} S$. It is easy
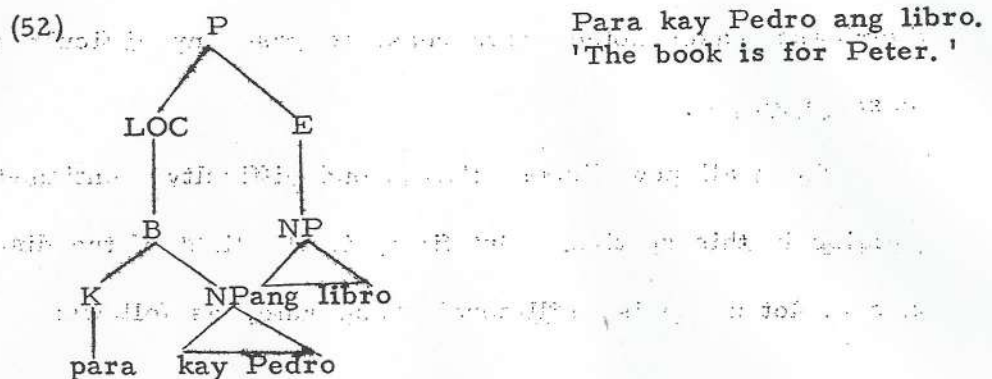
to collapse the categories N and V into one super-category, say, Loc (for _locus_, i.e., the locus of case relationships). Hence, the postulation of base rules (45) allows us to express in informal terms the parallel underlying structures of NP and S.

It seems, then, that to account fully for all Tagalog sentences, Chomsky's base rule which rewrites VP to have an obligatory V constituent, Fillmore's deep structure representation of a proposition where the head is limited to V, [13] as well as McCawley's deep structure representation of a sentence where f is limited to V, have to be re-examined. If, however, f in (44) is redefined to include any contentive, as suggested, then we have a formula that better represents the underlying form of Tagalog sentences, including the so-called verbless sentences. Since f is the focal point in a case relationship and since f has been redefined to include noun contentives, the 'verbless' cases noted above cease to pose any difficulty to case grammar.

We shall now discuss the second difficulty mentioned earlier in this section. But first, in the light of the discussion above, let us revise Fillmore's base rule, as follows:

(49)   P --> LOC($C_1 \ldots \ldots C_n$)

where LOC, like C, is a category that refers to a function; in this sense, the locus of a pattern of case relationships. LOC may end up in surface structure as NP, V, or even C, as illustrated, respectively, in the following trees:

(50)

```
          P
         / \
       LOC   E
        |     |
       NP    NP
        |    /\
     doktor si Pedro
```

Doktor si Pedro.
'Peter is a doctor.'

(51)

```
          P
         / \
       LOC   A
        |     |
        V     NP
        |    /\
    tumakbo si Pedro
```

Tumakbo si Pedro.
'Peter ran.'

(52)

```
          P
         / \
       LOC   E
        |     |
        B     NP
       / \   /\
      K  NP ang libro
      |  /\
    para kay Pedro
```

Para kay Pedro ang libro.
'The book is for Peter.'
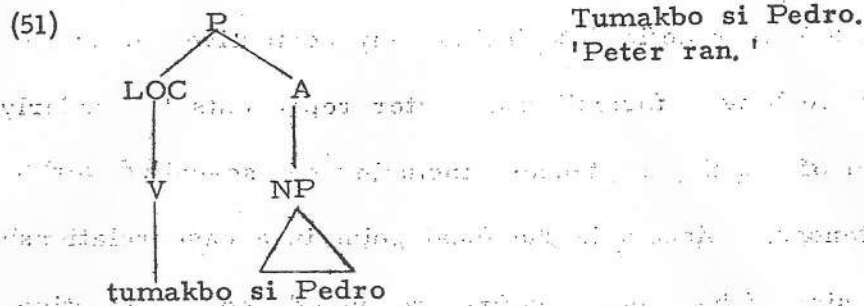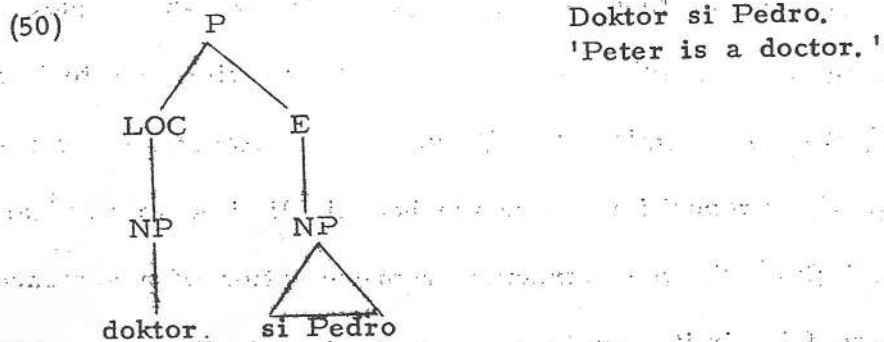
The second difficulty is that in (40-43), with underlying structure $_S/NP_{pred}$ $NP_{subj}/_S$, the predicate NP is the NP that exhibits a case function, and the subject NP, which normally carries a distinct case function, is neutral. Two observations stand out: a) the Essive case role appears only when LOC dominates a non-V category, and b) the only case categories that are dominated by LOC are Benefactive, Locative, and Directional.[14]

In explaining this difficulty, let me revive Approach 2: the postulation of underlying verbs. Thus, within this approach, the underlying structures of (40-43) are, respectively, the following (with a lot of details omitted):

(40')
```
                S
           ┌────┼────┐
          LOC   A    O
           │    │    │
           V   NP   NP
           │    │    │
        'benefit' Pedro libro
        -para sa/kay
```

41'
```
                S
           ┌────┼────┐
          LOC   A    O
           │    │    │
           V   NP   NP
           │    │    │
         'own'  Pedro libro
        -kay/sa
```

(42')

```
                    S
        ┌───────────┼───────────┐
       LOC          A           O
        │           │           │
        V          NP          NP
     'locative'   Pedro      libro
     -nasa/ na kay
```

(43')

```
                    S
        ┌───────────┼───────────┐
       LOC          A           D
        │           │           │
        V          NP          NP
  'goal directional' Pedro    libro
       - pa-
```
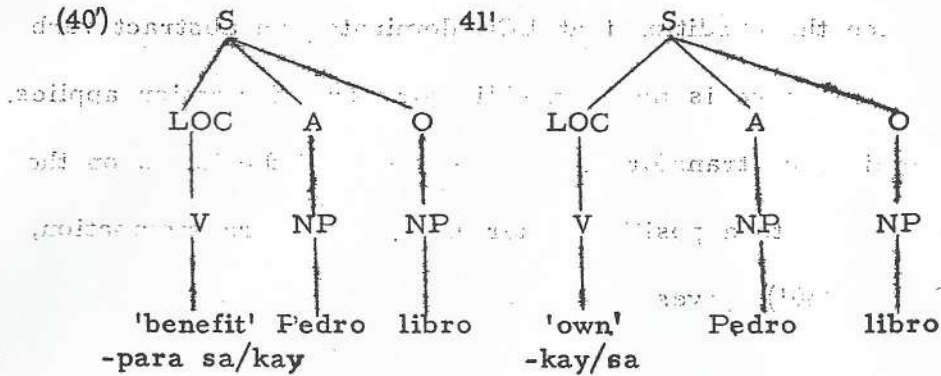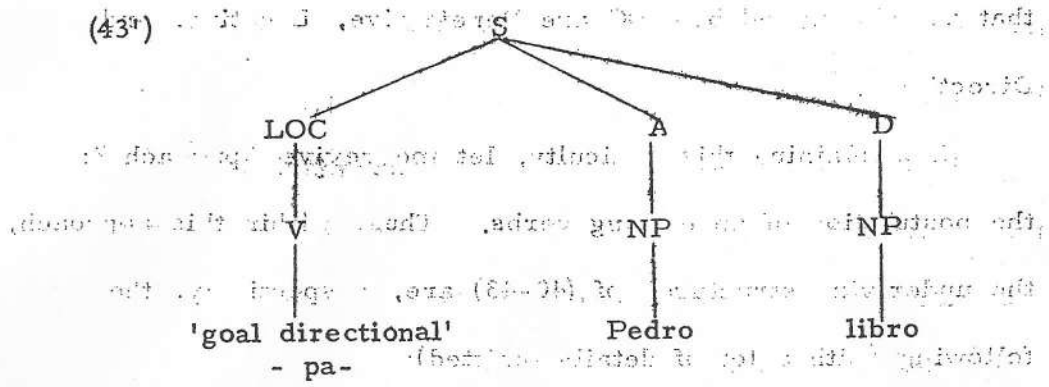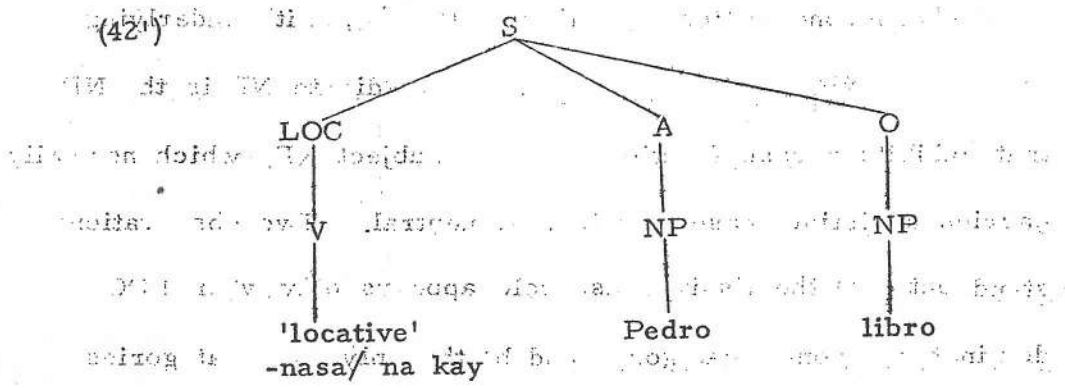
Once the condition that LOC dominates an abstract verb
of the above type is met, an obligatory transformation applies.
This obligatory transformation moves one of the nodes on the
right of LOC to a position under LOC. This transformation,
applied to (40'), gives

node lowering

```
                        S
                      /   \
                   /         \
                LOC            O
               /    \          |
              V      A         NP
              |     / \        |
          para kay K   NP    libro
                       |
                     Pedro
```
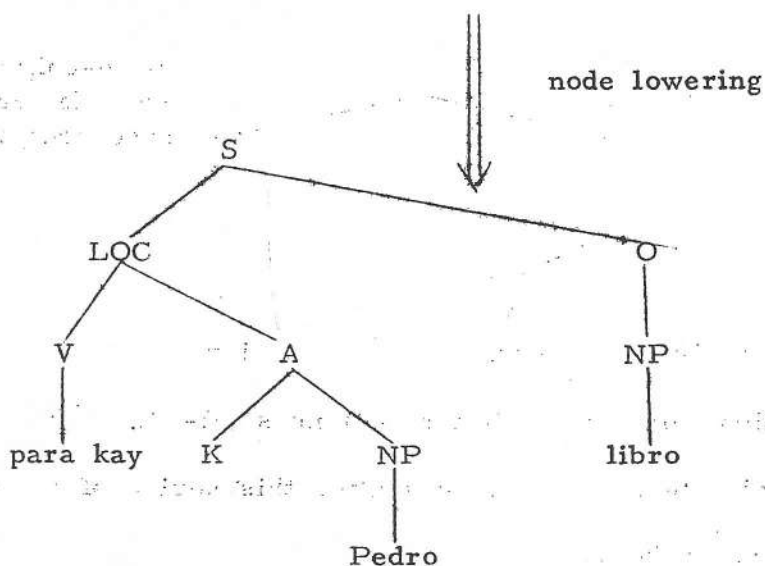
Next, the two nodes immediately dominated by LOC are
collapsed into one, and the resulting node gets its case category
label depending on the case feature of the node V. Any feature
of the node V that is essential to case operation is copied into
its sister node, in this case the Agentive node. The exact
place in the Agentive part of the tree where this feature is
copied into is precisely the node that figures in case identifi-
cation, in this case, node K. Such a collapsing transformation
and feature copying transformation result as well in a re-
labelling of the case category node involved in the transforma-
tion. The new label is dependent on the case feature of
the verb. Thus:

node-collapsing
case feature copying
case node relabelling
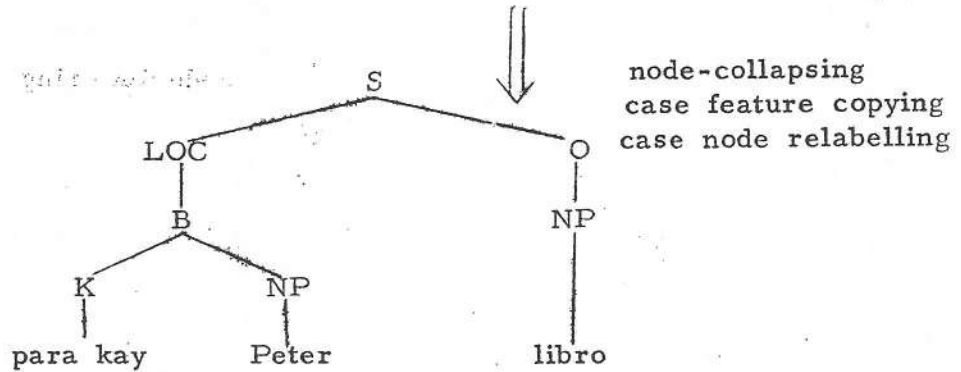
This solution works as well for Sentences (41-43). The trees corresponding to these sentences after this series of transformations are as follows:

(41'')

(42'')

(43'')

```
                          S
              /                      \
           LOC                        A
            |                         |
            D                        NP
          /    \                      |
        K        NP                 Pedro
        |         |
      pasa      bayan
```
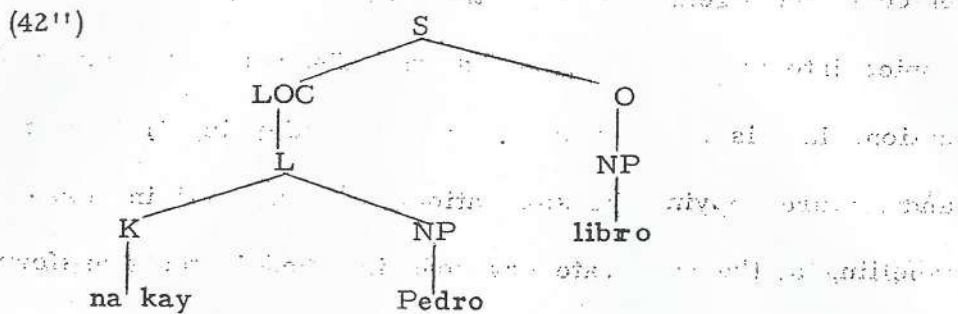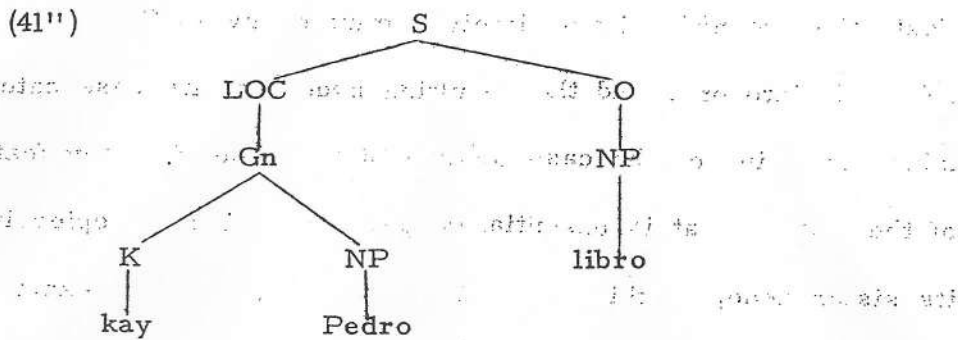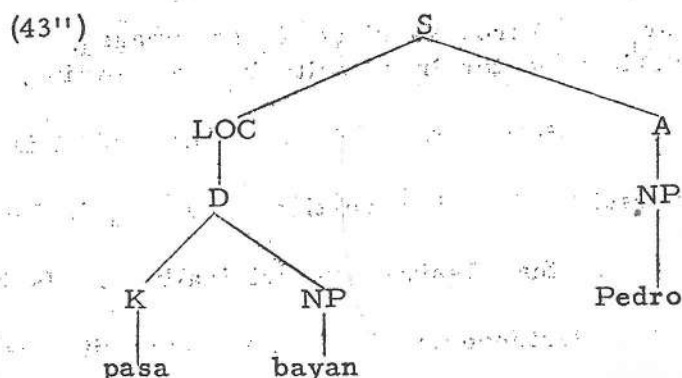
Notice that the case label of the category in opposition to LOC in (40'-42') is O, and not Essvie. I maintained that, if this approach is a correct one, one of the sources of the Essive case is O, and that O becomes E when the conditions noted above are met and the necessary transformations have applied. Thus the lowering of the A node to the LOC neutralizes the O node into E, and trees (40'-42') should be accordingly modified. This neutralization process does not work for (43'') because of dissimilar conditions. In (43'') it is a D node not an O node that interacts with the LOC node. This brings up the question: what case-labelled nodes can be lowered to LOC, and when lowering has been made, what case-labelled nodes get neutralized into the Essive case. Before we make generalizations along this line, one other example need be discussed. In the sentence,

(53)　　Doktor$_1$ si Pedro$_2$ sa siyudad$_3$ sa umaga$_4$.
　　　　　'Peter is a doctor in the city in the morning. '

we have noted that NP$_1$ is the head of the PredP and it is

caseless, NP$_2$ is Essive, NP$_3$ is Locative, and NP$_4$ is Temporal.

In (40-42) it was shown that Essive was originally O.　Is NP$_2$

in (53) originally O?　Sentence (53) is synonymous with (54).

(54)　　'Gumaganap' na doktor (O) si Pedro (A) sa bayan
　　　　　　　　(L) sa umaga (T).
　　　　　'Peter acts/behaves like a doctor in town in the
　　　　　　　morning. '

In (54) doctor is O and Pedro is A.　In fact we may say that

all ES of the type illustrated in (53) have an underlying structure

with NP$_1$ as O, NP$_2$ as A and with an abstract verb 'perform,

behave, act, appear'.　Because NP$_2$ is Essive in surface

structure and A in deep structure, the Essive case now has

a second source, the Agentive case.　On the basis of these

sentences, we may make these generalizations:　Any of the case -

labelled nodes may fuse with the LOC node, but only when either

A or O that is involved that an Essive neutralization occurs.

When O fuses with LOC, A is neutralized, when A gets fused

with LOC, O is neutralized.　In all other cases, no neutralization

occurs.

5.　　The Place of K in Deep Case Grammar

K (for kasus) is the case marker associated with a particular NP, K is realized in the surface structure as a preposition in a language like English which rely heavily on function words to show syntactic relationships. In inflecting language, it is realized usually as an affix, often as a noun affix. Tagalog makes use of both devices: if the NP is not in focus its case is determined in its marker, a function word. If it is in focus, the marker is dropped in favor of the noun-in-focus marker ang/si, and the verb, not the noun, is correspondingly inflected depending on the case of the NP in focus. We shall exploit this 'ambidexterity' to shed some light on the nature of K.

How and when is K introduced in the grammar? The 1966 version of case grammar (Fillmore 1966) rewrites a case symbol as an NP and then NP is subsequently rewritten with an obligatory preposition constituent, thus:

$C_1 \longrightarrow$ NP

NP $\longrightarrow$ Prep (Det) N

Later (in Fillmore 1968), K becomes an obligatory immediate constituent of C, thus:

$C_1 \longrightarrow$ K + NP

In both versions, K is base-generated and occupies a position
closely linked to N.   That K is base-generated is to be expected,
since deep case grammar treats case relationships, determined
by K, as notions in the base.   All case processes, or transforma-
tions, work from the base.   We have, however, reason to doubt
that the place of K in the base is closer to the noun than to any
other constituent, say, the verb.   Consider this pair of Tagalog
sentences:

(55)   Inabutan ni Pedro (A, S) ang bata (G) ng libro (O).
        'Peter handed the child a book.'

(56)   Umabot si Pedro (A, G) sa bata (S) ng libro (O).
        'Peter reached out for and got hold of a book
        from the child.'

In (55) the NP <u>ang bata</u> 'the boy/child' is in focus and it is
Goal: the NP <u>ni pedro</u> is out of focus and is Agentive as well
as source.   Topicalization or focusing is a transformation and
we would not expect it to be able to change the case roles
played by the NPs involved.   In (56), however, a change of
focus results in a change of case function.   The NP <u>sa bata</u>,
which is now out of focus, becomes Source, and <u>si Pedro</u>,
which is now in focus, becomes Goal (as well as Agentive).
Hence, the case roles of certain NPs depends on whether they
are in focus or not.   From this we may conclude that the

focus transformation precedes the assigning of case to a particular NP. This is a most unwelcome conclusion since it means that case assignment is a process not in the base but in the transformational component. It would appear that the notion case is not so 'deep' after all.[15]

Let us examine the data further. It must be said that this phenomenon involves only verbs of transfer, and the case roles involved in the change are Source and Goal. Further, it is always the case that one of these cases is co-referential with the Agentive NP. What a change in focus brings about is a change, a switching, of the references of Goal and Source. Furthermore, if the Agentive, Goal and Source functions are exhibited by different NPs (i.e., the Agentive NP is not coreferential with either Goal or Source), other cases enter into the pattern of relationships, with a new pattern of coreferentiality. Consider:

> (57) Inabot ni Peter (A, G) ang libro sa bata (S).
>   'Pete got hold of the book from the child.'
>
> (58) Iniyabot ni Pete (A, P) ang libro kay Joe (G) mula
>   kay Sid (S).
>   'Pete handed the book to Joe from Sid.'
>
> (59) Ibinili ni Pete (A, P) ng libro si Joe (G, B) mula
>   kay Sid (S).

'Pete bought a book for Joe from Sid.'

where P is Path and B is Benefactive

Two solutions come to mind. The first solution requires the setting up of a system of case coreferentiality involving certain types of verbs and the pertinent case functions. The second involves the postulation of a major change in the way K is represented in the grammar. These two solutions are not at all mutually exclusive. The specification of the first solution is straightforward; hence, the remainder of this section is devoted to speculations on the form case grammar may take if Solution 2 is correct.

The problem is to reconcile the requirement that K must be base generated and the observation that, upon application of the topicalization transformation, certain case functions of some NPs undergo a change. The line of thinking pursued in this discussion is to consider K not as a sister node of NP in the base, but as a <u>feature</u> of verb. The case assignment transformation moves the case feature to the appropriate NP. What is significant is that, case assignment, now a transformation, can be ordered in relation to other transformations. If we then order the topicalization transformation ahead of the case assignment transformation, then the problem appears solved.

We can illustrate this solution with the following tree (some details omitted):

(60)

```
                       S
          ┌────────────┼──────────────────┐
          V           NP                  NP
          │         ┌──┴──┐            ┌───┴───┐
        kain        D     N            D       N
        'eat'             │                    │
                        bata                 buwaya
      ┌ . . . . . ┐     'boy'              'crocodile'
      │  ✝ A      │
      │  + O      │
      └ . . . . . ┘
```
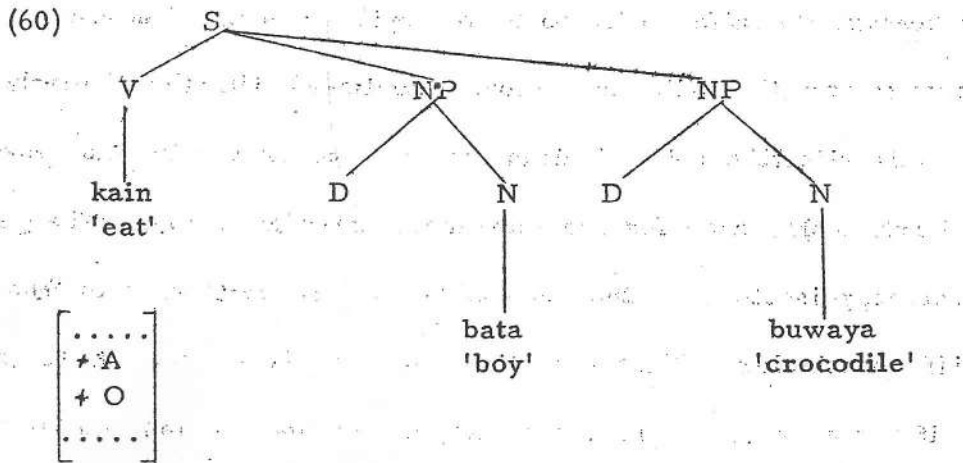
Structure (60) is a deep structure representation, with the verb marked for the case function that will be exhibited by the complement NPs. To this tree, we apply the topicalization transformation. Either NP could be the topic; let us say that <u>bata</u> is selected to become the topic, thus:

(61)

```
                       S
          ┌────────────┼──────────────────┐
          V           NP                  NP
          │         ┌──┴──┐            ┌───┴───┐
        kain        D     N            D       N
        'eat'       │     │                    │
                   ang   bata                 buwaya
      ┌ . . . . ┐        'boy'              'crocodile'
      │  + A    │
      │  + O    │      ┌ . . . . ┐        ┌ . . . . ┐
      └ . . . . ┘      │  + TOP  │        │  - TOP  │
                       └ . . . . ┘        └ . . . . ┘
```
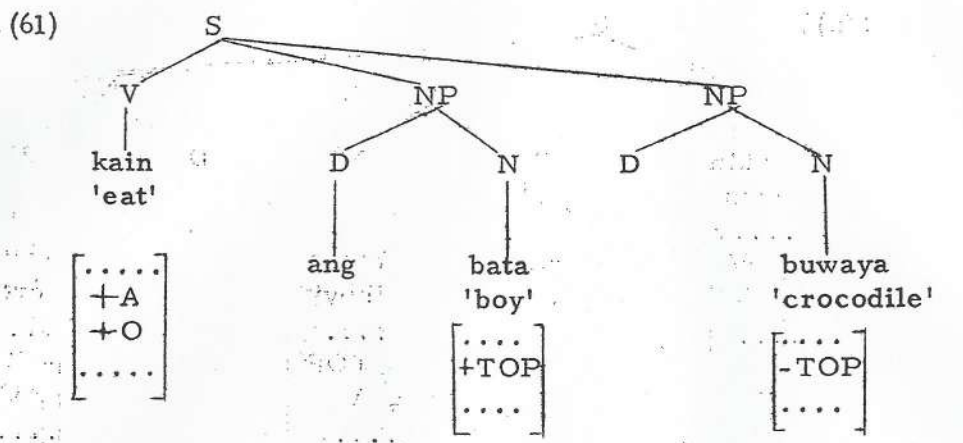
The topicalization transformation consists of marking a particu-
lar complement NP with either ≠TOP or -TOP depending as to
whether the said NP is to be the topic or not.   The same
transformation fills the D slot associated with the N marked
≠TOP with the topicalization marker ang or si, in this case, ang.
Next, apply case feature movement transformation. The general
strategy is to scan the head of the complement NPs to find out
if a particular NP is compatible with a given case relationship
with the verb.[16]   Thus, the Ns are scanned to find out if an
N can be the agent of kain. In (60), either bata or buwaya
can be the agent.   Let us assume that bata is selected as agent.
The feature ≠A of the verb is copied into the N, and the feature
≠O, the only remaining case feature of the verb, is copied into
the only remaining N; buwaya.   Thus:

(62)
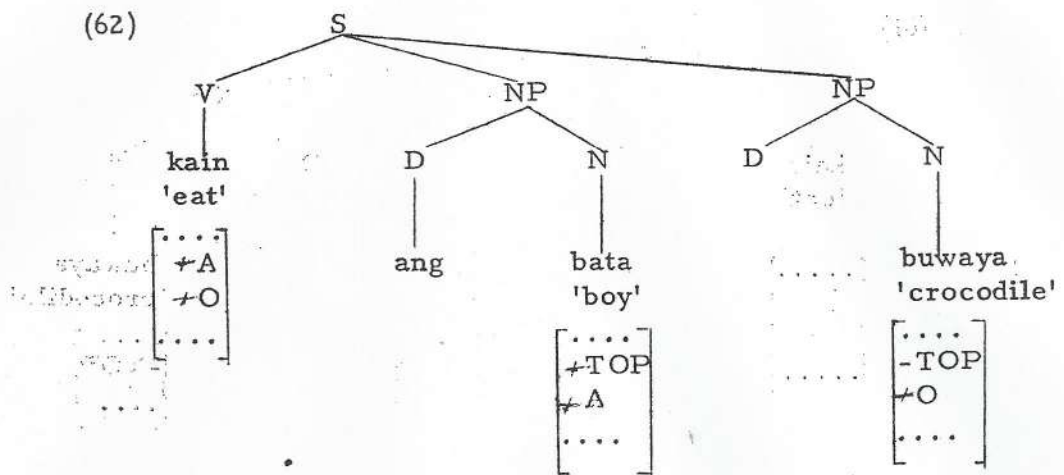
The selection of the noun marked with the feature +TOP as the agent results in the filling of the focus slot of the verb with the affix -um-. Copying the +O feature of the verb into the noun marked with -TOP results in the filling of the D slot associated with that noun with the marker ng. Finanlly we get:

(63)

```
                        S
        ┌───────────────┼──────────────────────┐
        V              NP                      NP
        │           ┌───┴───┐              ┌────┴────┐
     kumain         D       N              D         N
                    │       │              │         │
                   ang     bata            ng      buwaya
```
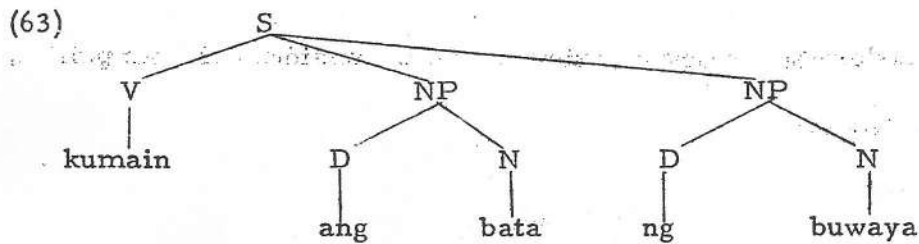
'The boy ate a crocodile.'

Given configuration (61), and assuming that the case assignment transformation assigns + A to buwaya and+ O to bata, the resulting sentence is Kinain ang bata ng buwaya 'The boy was eaten by the crocodile.' Two other sentences may be derived from (60):

(64) Kumain ng bata ang buwaya.

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{TOP} \\ +\text{O} \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{TOP} \\ +\text{A} \end{bmatrix}$$

'The crocodile ate a boy.'

(65) Kinain ng bata ang buwaya.

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{TOP} \\ +\text{A} \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{TOP} \\ +\text{O} \end{bmatrix}$$

'The crocodile was eaten by the boy.'

Given the mechanism described above, it becomes relatively easy to account for Sentences (55-56).

(55)   Inabutan ni Pedro (A, S) ang bata (G) ng libro (O).
'Peter handed the child a book.'

(56)   Umabot si Pedro (A, G) sa bata (S) ng libro (O).
'Peter reached out for and got hold of a book from the child.'

The underlying representation of (55), considerably simplified, is as follows:

(55')

$$
\begin{array}{ccccc}
 & & S & & \\
V & & NP:X_1 & NP:X_2 & NP:X_3 & NP:X_1 \\
abot & & Pedro & libro & bata & Pedro \\
\text{'hand'} & & & \text{'book'} & \text{'child'} & \\
\end{array}
$$

V	NP:X_1	NP:X_2	NP:X_3	NP:X_1
abot 'hand'	Pedro	libro 'book'	bata 'child'	Pedro

$$
\begin{bmatrix} \cdots \\ +A \\ +O \\ +GOAL \\ +S \\ \cdots \end{bmatrix}
\quad
\begin{bmatrix} \cdots \\ -TOP \\ +A \\ \cdots \end{bmatrix}
\quad
\begin{bmatrix} \cdots \\ -TOP \\ +O \\ \cdots \end{bmatrix}
\quad
\begin{bmatrix} \cdots \\ +TOP \\ +GOAL \\ \cdots \end{bmatrix}
\quad
\begin{bmatrix} \cdots \\ +TOP \\ +S \\ \cdots \end{bmatrix}
$$
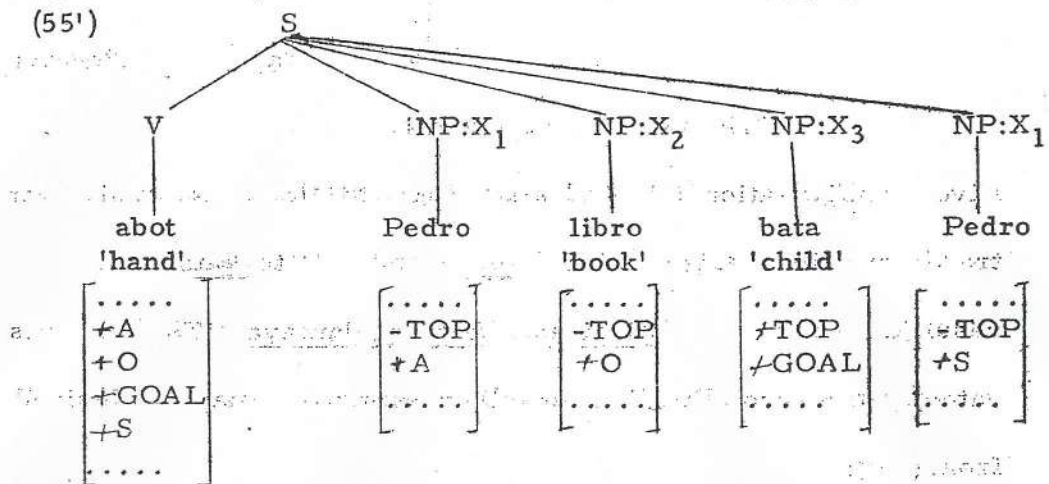
In (55') the topicalization transformation and the case movement transformation have already applied. To get to surface structure, we apply a series of two transformations on certain NP nodes. One of the conditions of these transformations is that the NPs must be coreferential. The first transformation matches the features of the coreferential NPs and then copies into either node

features of the other node that the first node does not have.

The second transformation deletes the second node. Thus:

(55'')

$$
\begin{array}{ccccc}
 & & & & S \\
V & NP{:}X_1 & NP{:}X_2 & NP{:}X_3 & NP{:}X_1 \\
\text{abot} & \text{Pedro} & \text{libro} & \text{bata} & \text{Pedro} \\
\text{'hand'} & & \text{'book'} & \text{'child'} & \\
\end{array}
$$

...	...	...	...	...
+A	-TOP	-TOP	+TOP	-TOP
+O	+A	+O	+GOAL	+S
+G	+S	...	...	...
+S	...			
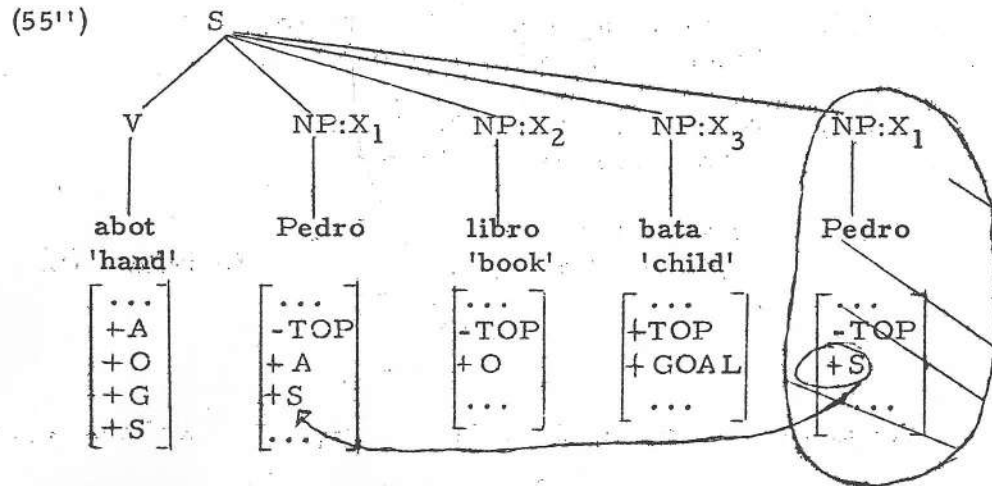
The underlying structure of (56), after topicalization, case

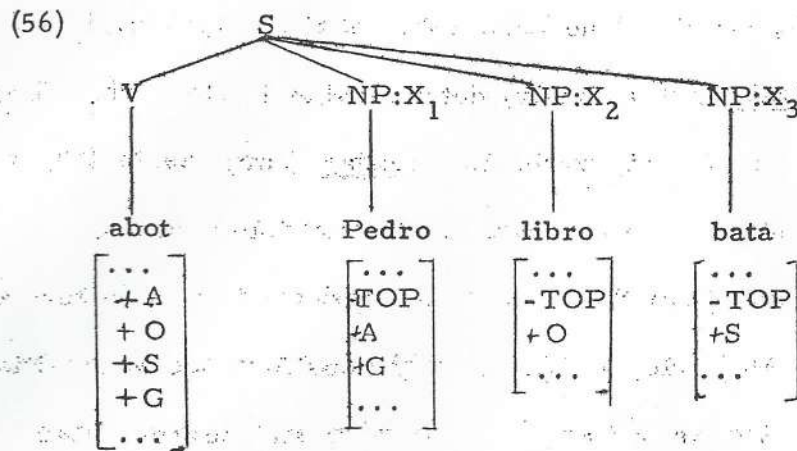assignment, feature copying, and node deletion is as follows:

(56)

$$
\begin{array}{cccc}
 & & S & \\
V & NP{:}X_1 & NP{:}X_2 & NP{:}X_3 \\
\text{abot} & \text{Pedro} & \text{libro} & \text{bata} \\
\end{array}
$$

...	...	...	...
+A	+TOP	-TOP	-TOP
+O	+A	+O	+S
+S	+G	...	...
+G	...		
...			

The postulation of cases as features of the verb is necessary

to account for another set of data. This involves 'k-less' cases,

specifically, cases involving motion verbs. Consider:

(66)   Nanggaling <u>sa tulay</u> (S) si Pedro.
'Peter came from the bridge.'

(67)   Nagpunta <u>sa tulay</u> (G) si Pedro.
'Peter went to the bridge.'

(68)   Nagdaan sa tulay (P) si Pedro.
'Peter went via the bridge.'

(69)   Lumundag sa tulay si Pedro.
'Peter jumped $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{on} \\ \text{from off} \\ \text{onto} \\ \text{across} \end{array} \right\}$ the bridge (L).'

In the above sentences, there is no uniquely identifiable element
in the NP <u>sa tulay</u> that may be considered to play the role of
K. How does a native speaker of Tagalog know whether an NP
is L, S, G, or P? The case roles of the <u>sa</u>-phrase in (66-69)
is <u>semantically</u> (not affixally) determinable in the verb. There
are, however, certain verbs like <u>lundag</u> 'jump' as in (69) which
are inherently ambiguous; hence, the multiple glosses.

It seems then that K is best considered as a feature of
the verb. McCawley (1963, p. 260) considers the preposition to
have originated as a feature of the verb and become later
attached to the NP by a transformation. This is supported by
the fact that in English there are certain strict selectional
restrictions between verbs and prepositions, and the fact that

in some constructions, the preposition is left behind with the verb, such as the question 'What are you thinking of?'

This solution would still be within the spirit of deep case grammar, since this merely requires that K, which is still base-generated, be treated as verb-associated. This solution accommodates languages like English where a case relationship is determined by prepositions, and languages like Tagalog where, in some instances, case roles are completely determinable in some features of the verb.

6.   On the Verb Bukas 'Open'

Fillmore (1968) gives the case frame feature for the verb 'open' as $+ \underline{[\quad\_\_\_0 \ (A\{I\})]}$, that is, the verb 'open' takes an obligatory O and tolerates A and I.[17] Thus:

(70)   John (A) opened the door (O) with the key (I).

(71)   John (A) opened the door (O).

(72)   The key (I) opened the door (O).

(73)   The door (O) opened.

Huddleston (1970) asks whether the distinction between Agentive and Instrumental is satisfactorily identified. He makes the observation that Fillmore's analysis overlooks the fact that (72) 'presupposses some unexpressed Agentive participant', whereas

a sentence like (74), Huddleston claims, does not.

(74) The wind opened the door.

Wind in (74) would be identified by Fillmore as Instrumental; Huddleston labels it as Force.

What distinguishes Agentive from Instrumental? It has been generally believed that it is the feature ±Animate. But yet, consider these Tagalog sentences:

(75) Ipinangtakot ng ignoranteng magulang si Dr. Kabag sa mga bata.
'The ignorant parent used Dr. Kabag to frighten the kids.'

(76) Ipinangkampanya ni Sen. Bukbok ang mga artistang laos.
'Sen. Bukbok used has-been movie stars in his campaign.'

where the Instrumentals are clearly animate, and their use as such does not involve mere physical body but total personality. Or is it the fact of an implicit Agentive participant in a construction like (72) that identifies kay as Instrumental? But consider:

(77) NaBUKsan ng susi ang pinto.
'The boy was able to open the door.'

(78) * {Nagbukas} ang susi ng pinto.
   {Bumukas}
 *Binuksan ng susi ang pinto. [17]a
 'The key (deliberately) opened the door.'

Sentence (77) does not imply an Agentive participant, but yet it is acceptable. The sentences in (78), which attribute volition to the noun susi 'key', are unacceptable. It seems that what distinguishes Agentive from Instrumental is not the feature Animateness   nor the fact of implicit Agentive participant, but the feature ± Volition. So although Instrumentals may be viewed to be able to carry out an action, it is not considered that they have any knowledge of the act, much less that they will the act.

Let us consider further this feature of Volition. Huddleston (1970) states that if we distinguish between Agentive and Force in terms of intention or volition, it would raise (in English) new problems, i.e., sentences with animate causes would be ambiguous:

(79)   John opened the door.

Example (79) is ambiguous in that the action may be deliberate with John as Agentive, or accidental with John as Force. The Tagalog verb system distinguishes between deliberate and accidental. Consider these sentences:

(80)   Binuksan ni Pete ang pinto.
       'Pete (deliberately) opened the door.'

(81)   NaBUKsan ni Pete ang pinto.
       'Pete was able to open the door.'

(82)   Naibukas ni Pete ang pinto.
        'Pete, with some effort, was able to open the door.'

(83)   NAbuksan ni Pete ang pinto.
        'Pete (accidentally) opened the door.

Sentences (80-82) are unambiguous as to intentionality: the agent had knowledge of the act prior to its execution.[18] Sentence (81) has an added dimension of meaning: ability. Example (82) expresses ability as well as force or effort -- it is implied that the agent expended some effort in doing the act.[19] Sentence (83) is also unambiguous as to intentionality: the agent accidentally opened the door. The fact of Intentionality is evident in the form of the verb in (80) and (82): in (81) and (83), where involved is only one form of the verb, the feature ± Intentional is expressed in terms of word stress.

Now what distinguishes Agentive from Force? Consider:

(84)   NaBUKsan   {ni Pete (A)}   ang pinto.
                    {ng hangin (F)}
            '{Pete   }was able to open the door.'
             {The wind}

(85)   NAbuksan   {ni Pete (A)}   ang pinto.
                    {ng hangin (F)}
            '{Pete   }   accidentally opened the door.'
             {The wind}

(86)   Naibukas   {ni Pete (A)} ang pinto.
                    {ng hangin (F)}
            '{Pete   },after some effort, was able to open the
             {   } the door.'
             {The wind}

(87) $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Nagbukas} \\ \text{Bumukas}\end{array}\right\}$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{si Pete (A)} \\ \text{*ang hangin (F)}\end{array}\right\}$ ng pinto.
   $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Pete} \\ \text{The wind}\end{array}\right\}$ intentionally opened the door. '

(88) Binuksan $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{ni Pete (A)} \\ \text{ng hangin (F)}\end{array}\right\}$ ang pinto.
   ' $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Pete} \\ \text{The wind}\end{array}\right\}$ intentionally opened the door. '

Notice that <u>hangin</u> 'wind' (F) <u>can</u> open a door (84), it can accidentally open a door (85), and it can exert effort in opening a door (86), but it may not be attributed intention in opening a door (87-88). Thus, Force is marked -Volition and Agentive + Volition.

Force is distinguished from Instrument in that, as is evident, Force requires force but Instrument does not:

(89) Naibukas $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{ng hangin} \\ \text{*ng susi}\end{array}\right\}$ ang pinto.
   ' $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{The wind} \\ \text{The key}\end{array}\right\}$, after some effort, was able to open the door. '

That is, we do not speak of Instrumentals exerting effort in completing an action. Thus, Force is marked +Effort, and Instrumental -Effort.

The chart below summarizes these observations:

Agentive Force Instrumental

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{Ability} \\ +\text{Effort} \\ +\text{Volition} \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{Ability} \\ +\text{Effort} \\ -\text{Volition} \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{Ability} \\ -\text{Effort} \\ -\text{Volition} \end{bmatrix}$$

It appears, as Huddleston has observed, that deep cases are not discrete non-complex symbols, but in fact are symbols composed of a bundle of features, and case categories may be differentiated in terms of the sets of features they share and differ in. As we identify more cases, it might become a methodological convenience to set up 'constellations' of cases, for example, the Ability constellation: A, F, I. Members of a constellation share some common semantic features and behave in some syntactically related manner. For example, as noted above, English accepts A, F, I as surface subject of the verb open with no change of the verb form from one case to another: 'Peter/the wind/the key opened the door.' A Benefactive phrase, say, may not occur in the same environment: '*For Peter opened the door.' (The sentence 'Peter was opened the door for' requires a change in the form of the verb.)

We do not as yet have a clear idea of the exact criteria for setting up new cases, or for breaking old ones into two or more cases, but we do know that the presence or absence of

a morphological element in the verb (or in the noun) that marks
off a verb-NP relationship is not necessarily a criterion. For
example, the fact of the presence of an Intentionality marker
in Tagalog does not necessarily mean the setting up of Intentional
and Accidental cases. Similarly, the absence of an Intentionality
marker in English does not necessitate the conflation of Agentive
and Force into one Causer case. The feature approach to the
analysis of cases thus prevents an unncessary profileration of
cases. It may also serve as a basis for a more unified analysis
of the case structure of all natural languages.

FOOTNOTES

1.   Focus in Tagalog grammar is discussed in more detail
     in Bowen (1965), Otanes (1966), and Schachter and Otanes
     (1971). Gonzalez (1969) relates it to the notions of
     grammatical subject, topic, and emphasis. Hidalgo (1970)
     presents a general view of focus in Philippine languages.

2.   A noun phrase is a complement of the verb if it enters
     into direct semantic-syntactic relationship with the verb;
     thus the NPs in the structure V(NP...NP). This type of
     NP should be distinguished from an NP which functions as
     the complement of a noun, i.e., the NPs in the structure
     N(NP...NP).

3.   These constructions appeared to me at first to be
     exceptions:

     i.   Nawala ang para   {kay Pete}
                                 {sa bata }
           'lost the X for   {Pete   } ,
                                 {the boy}

     ii.   Nawala ang   {kay Pete}
                          {sa bata }
           'lost the X of   {Pete   } '
                           {the boy}

     In both instances, the out-of-focus markers, the Bene-
     factive para kay/sa in (i) and the possessive kay/sa in
     (ii) are retained even when the Benefactive and Possessive
     NPs are made subjects. Notice that the topic marker
     ang introduces the said NPs. The 'anomaly' here involves
     NPs which are simultaneously marked by both in-focus
     and out-of-focus markers. One may argue, however, that
     (i) is derived from (iii) after deletion of the element that
     shows indefiniteness, bagay 'thing'.

     III. Nawala ang bagay na para kay Pete.
           'was lost the thing for Pete'

Or that, if one is thinking of specific object, say, libro 'book':

iv.   Nawala ang librong para kay Pete.
       'was lost the book for Pete '

in which case, the Benefactive NP para kay Pete 'for Pete' is not actually the topic of the sentence but is the complement of the deleted topic noun. In other words, that the Benefactive NP does not enter into direct semantic-syntactic relationship with the verb, and hence may not be properly considered to have a case. But yet we know that semantically it functions in the Benefactive sense.

One possible answer to this question lies in the distinction between two types of 'cases', verb case and noun case, depending as to whether the NP in question interacts with a verb or a noun. For example, the phrase para kay Pete in (v) is Benefactive verb case because it relates to the verb bumili 'buy'. The same phrase is Benefactive noun case in (vi) because it relates to the NP ang librong 'the book'.

v.   Bumili SI JOHN ng libro para kay Pete.
      'John bought a book for Pete. '

vi.   Binili ni John ANG LIBRONG para kay Pete.
      'John bought the book that was for Pete. '

This is all fine, but yet this solution does not work for (ii). Because while (i) could be derived from (iv), (ii) may not be derived from (vii) since (vii) is unacceptable.

Vii.   *Nawala ang librong kay Pete.

A better presentation of this tricky problem, to which I have no solution, is as follows (the a sentences are Benefactive, the b sentences are Possessive):

1.   a.   Nawala ang para kay Pete 'lost the X for Pete'.
      b.   Nawala ang kay Pete 'lost the X of Pete'.

Assuming that the lost object is a book: (1a) may be derived from (2a), but (1b) may not be derived from (2b):

2.   a.   Nawala ang librong para kay Pete.
          'was lost the book for Pete'
      b.   *Nawala ang librong kay Pete.
          'was lost the book of Pete'

But (1) may be derived from (3):

3.   a.   Nawala ang para kay Pete na libro.
          'was lost the book for Pete'
      b.   Nawala ang kay Pete na libro.
          'was lost the book of Pete'

And (3b) could have been derived from (4b), but there is no corresponding form (4a):

4.   a.   ?
      b.   Nawala ang libro ni Pete.
          'was lost the book of Pete'

Now we can say (5b) where kay Pete ceases to become Possessive and assumes a verb locative case role, but we may not say (5a):

5.   a.   *Nawala ang libro para kay Pete.
          'was lost the book for the sake/benefit of Pete'
      b.   Nawala ang libro kay Pete.
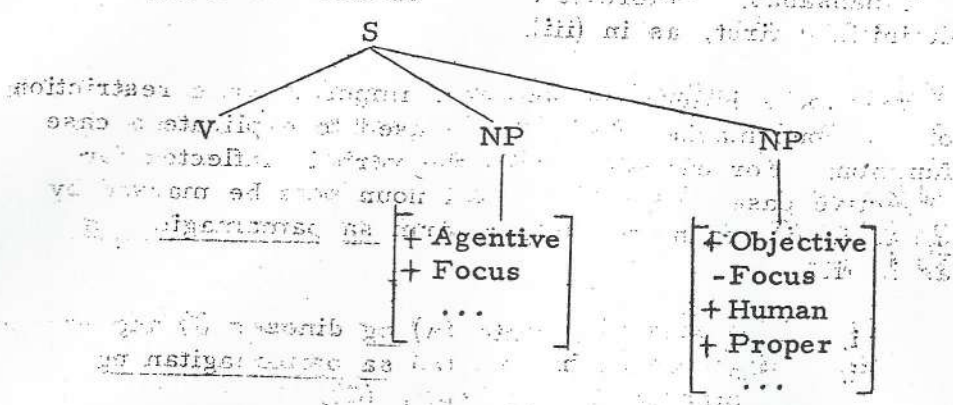   'was lost the book in the person/possession of Pete'

To be able to say the idea we wish to express in (5a), we need to change the form of the verb, thus, (6a). But (6b), the counterpart of (6a), is unacceptable.

6.   a.   Naiwala ang libro para kay Pete.
          '(X) succeeded in losing the book for the sake/benefit of Pete. '
      b.   *Naiwala ang libro kay Pete.

3ª. [This sentence does not seem normal — Editor]

4. Notice the change from indefinite to definite marker. In Tagalog only a definite noun may be put in focus through primary topicalization. It has been suggested that focusing is noun-definitizing. These sentences seem to support this view:

i. Sinampal ni Pedro $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ANG BATA} \\ \text{SI JUAN} \end{Bmatrix}$.

   'slapped by Peter $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{THE BOY} \\ \text{JOHN} \end{Bmatrix}$.

ii. Sumampal SI PEDRO $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{a. ng bata} \\ \text{b. *si Juan} \end{Bmatrix}$.

   'slapped BY PETER $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{the boy} \\ \text{John} \end{Bmatrix}$.

In (i) the nouns bata 'boy' and Juan 'John' are in focus and definite; in (ii), bata is out of focus and is indefinite. But notice the unacceptability of (iib) where Juan, which is supposed to be out of focus, is definite. In Tagalog morphology, there is no marker for out-of-focus proper human nouns in the Objective case, and the requirement that proper human nouns be marked makes it impossible to express in Tagalog a sentence with the underlying form:

```
                 S
        _____/|_____
       /         |         \
      V          NP          NP
      |          |           |
  ┌─────────┐ ┌──────────┐ ┌───────────┐
  │+Agentive│ │+Objective│
  │+Focus   │ │-Focus    │
  │  ...    │ │+Human    │
  └─────────┘ │+Proper   │
              │   ...    │
              └──────────┘
```

which may be realized in English as the sentence 'PETER hit John'.

Somewhat related to this is the fact that locative phrase modifiers cannot locate in a definite space indefinite nouns. Consider:

iii.   Kirain ng bata ANG MANSANAS sa mesa.
        eat   boy   apple   table

an ambiguous sentence which has these readings:

iii.   a.   The boy ate THE APPLE (which was) on the table.
        b.   The boy ate on the table THE APPLE.

In (iii) the locative phrase sa mesa double-functions as a noun locative modifying the definite noun mansanas and as a verb locative modifying the verb kinain. In (iv), however, the

iv.   Kumain ANG BATA ng mansanas sa mesa.
       a.   THE BOY ate on the table an apple.
       b.   *THE BOY ate an apple (which was) on the table.

locative NP sa mesa displays no such ambiguity; it can only be read as a verb locative modifying the verb kumain, and not as a noun locative modifying the indefinite noun mansanas. Thus, it does not locate in space the indefinite NP mansanas. Before it can be so located, it has to be definitized first, as in (iii).

5.   Verbal focus inflection, however, imposes some restriction on the noun marker that may be used to explicate a case function. For example, when the verb is inflected for Objective case, the Instrumental noun may be marked by ng as in (i), or by the longer form sa pamamagitan ng as in (ii).

i.   Hinampas ng higante (A) ng dinosor (I) ang dragon (O).
ii.   Hinampas ng higante (A) sa pamamagitan ng
              dinosor (I) ang dragon (O).
      'The giant hit the dragon with (the use of) the dinosaur.'

This flexibility is lost in instrumental and actor-focus inflected verbs;

iii. Humampas ng dragon (O) $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{sa pamamagitan ng} \\ \text{*ng} \end{matrix} \right\}$ dinosor (I)

 ang higante (A).

iv. Ipinanghampas ng higante (A) $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{sa} \\ \text{*ng} \end{matrix} \right\}$ dragon (O) ang

 dinosor (I).

6. More properly, focus is thematic in nature while case is semantic. The scope of case is the sentence, while that of focus is the discourse.

7. This treatment of V-NP relationship differs to some extent from that of Schachter and Otanes' (1971). Schachter and Otanes define focus to have a semantic substance, hence, focus is an element in deep structure. In this paper, focusing is viewed as a process in the transformational component, and focus is a surface V-NP relationship. Moreover, Schachter and Otanes identify the focus of an NP as either <u>actor</u> -- when the topic NP is the subject of the verb, -or <u>goal</u> -- a cover team for all non-actor focus relationships, such as Benefactive focus (when the topic NP is a Benefactive phrase), Locative focus (when the topic NP is a Locative phrase), etc. As noted, any V-NP relationship that has semantic relevance is treated in this paper as an instance of case, a deep structure primitive (Fillmore 1968), but that any case-marked NP with corresponding verbal inflection may be put in focus.

It seems to me that S & O's use of the term 'focus' corresponds with Fillmore's use of the term 'case'. Hence, S & O's Benefactive focus is equivalent to Fillmore's topicalized Benefactive NP; S & O's Actor focus is equivalent to Fillmore's <u>topicalized</u> Agentive NP, and so forth. If this is so, then the difference in the two treatments may very well be notational.

7ª.　[This sentence seems normal. --- Editor]

8.　　Or, consider:

　　　　i.　Bumukas ang pinto.
　　　　　　'The door opened. '

　　but not:

　　　　ii.　*Bumukas ang susi ng pinto.
　　　　iii.　*Bumukas si Pedro ng pinto sa pamamagitan ng
　　　　　　　susi.

　　　The verb form <u>bumukas</u> suggests reflexivity.　The gloss in (i) may well be 'The door opened itself',　or, 'The door, through its own force, opened. '

9.　But note:

　　　　i.　Peter and Mary broke the window.
　　　　ii.　Peter broke the window <u>with</u> <u>Mary.</u>
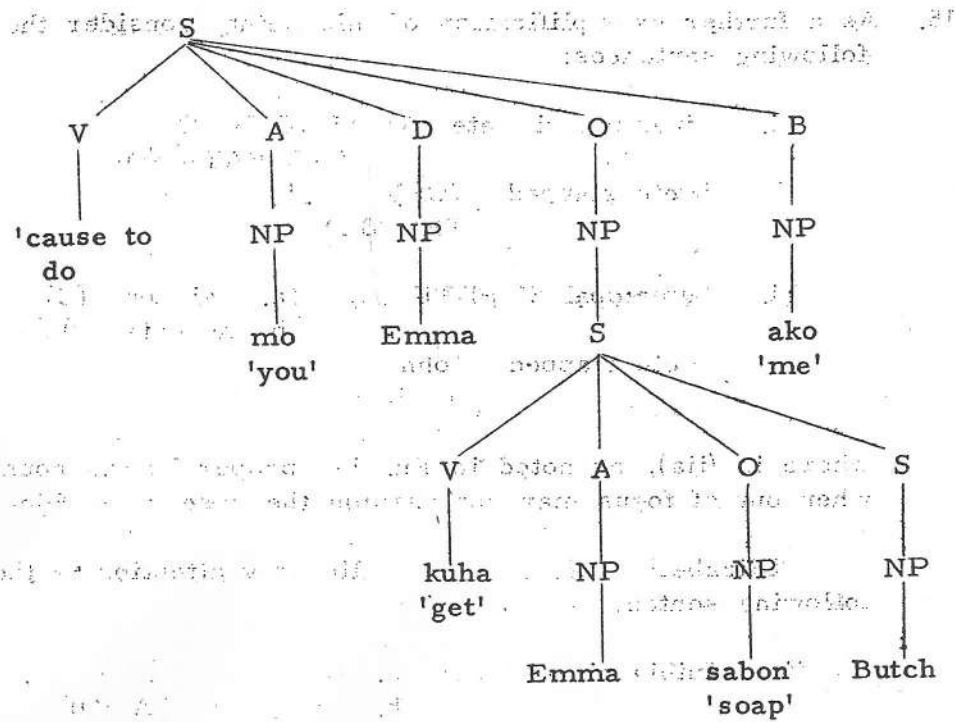
　　　where <u>with</u> Mary (in (ii) is Comitative.

9ª.　[This sentence does not seem normal. --- Editor]

10.　I am unable to think of good examples involving Agentive and Objective NPs.　Regarding Agentive, the closest example is the sentence:

　　　　i.　Ipakuha mo nga ako kay <u>Emma</u> ng sabon mula
　　　　　　kay Butch.
　　　　　　Paraphrase:　'You ask/cause <u>Emma</u> to go and
　　　　　　　　　　　　get a cake to soap from Butch
　　　　　　　　　　　　and this you do for me.'

　　　whose underlying representation is as follows:

```
                           S
        ┌──────┬──────┬──────┼──────────┐
        V      A      D      O           B
        │      │      │      │           │
    'cause to NP     NP     NP          NP
      do       │      │      │           │
              mo    Emma     S          ako
             'you'        ┌───┼────┬────┐'me'
                          V   A    O    S
                          │   │    │    │
                        kuha NP   NP   NP
                        'get' │    │    │
                           Emma  sabon  Butch
                                 'soap'
```

In the above sentence, mo 'you' and Emma are both Agentive. The problem is that both NPs are out of focus. In focus is the Benefactive ako 'me'.

11. It should be pointed out that (30) is a 'peculiar' example of phrasal conjunction precisely because of the fact that the NPs conjoined are of different cases.

11[a] [This sentence seems normal; cf. sentence (77). — Editor]

12. The term 'Essive' is from Stockwell, Schachter, and Hall-Partee (1968). The Essive case is the case restricted to copulatives.

13. Fillmore (1968) of course expressly but tentatively exclude verbless propositions in his grammar.

14. Further studies may reveal that other cases are involved in this process.

15. As a further exemplification of this point, consider the
following sentences:

    i.   Sinampal ni Pete (A) $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{SI JOHN (O)} \\ \text{ANG BATA (O)} \end{Bmatrix}$.

        'Pete slapped $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{JOHN} \\ \text{THE BOY} \end{Bmatrix}$'

    ii.   Sumampal SI PETE (A) $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{a. *si John (O)} \\ \text{b. ng bata (O)} \end{Bmatrix}$.

        'Pete slapped $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{John} \\ \text{the boy} \end{Bmatrix}$'

where in (iia), as noted in Fn. 14, proper human nouns
when out of focus may not assume the case role Objective.

Elizabeth Gatbonton has called my attention to the
following sentence constructions:

    iii.   Inibig ni John (A) $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{a. SI MARY (O)} \\ \text{b. ANG DALAGA (O)} \end{Bmatrix}$.

        'John love $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{MARY} \\ \text{THE MAIDEN} \end{Bmatrix}$.'

    iv.   Umibig SI JOHN (A) $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{a. *si Mary} \\ \text{b. kay Mary (G)} \\ \text{c. *ang dalaga} \\ \text{d. sa dalaga (G)} \\ \text{e. ng dalaga (O)} \end{Bmatrix}$.

Notice that while (iva) is starred, (ivb) is not. Likewise
(ivc) is starred but (ivd) is not. But the acceptability
of (ivb) and (ivd) hinges on the fact that the case functions
of the NPs have changed, as shown by the noun markers.
Mary in (iva) is supposed to be O and Mary in (ivb) is
Goal. Dalaga in (ivc) is supposed to be O and dalaga
in (ivd) is Goal. Compare (ivd) and (iv. e.); the latter
is still O but (ivd) is Goal. It seems that there are
(surface?) selectional restrictions between the focus
feature of the verb and the case function of a non-topic
complement NP.

16.   I owe this idea to Anderson (1966) who first used this scanning strategy for assigning focus functions in his description of Tagalog and Cebuano sentences.

17.   With the Tagalog verb <u>bukas</u>, it seems that O is not obligatory.   Consider the following constructions which leave O unspecified:

      i.   Magbukas ka (A) nga.
        'You open some unspecified-but-contextually-identifiable object.'

      ii.   Ibukas mo (A) nga ako (B).
        'You open for me some unspecified...'

      iii.   Buksan mo (A) nga ako (B).
        'You open some unspecified object: (in all probability a door or a window) for me.'
        Idiom.:   'Let me in (or out).':

Sentence (iii) has a second reading, a literal reading: 'You open <u>me</u> (i.e., my body)', in which case, <u>ako</u> becomes O, but of course it has never been (to my knowledge) read this way.   Sentence (ii) has this same Objective reading.

The use of case frame features is basic in case grammar.   In answer to Lakoff's analysis of verb features that led him to posit the stativity feature on verbs (Lakoff 1966), Fillmore (1968, p. 31) states that in case grammar, there is no need to add the stativity feature on verbs: 'The transformation which accounts for the "true imperatives" can apply only to sentences containing A's, and the occurrence of B expressions (and "outer L's") is dependent on the presence of an A.   The progressive aspect can only be chosen in association with particular case frames, for example, those containing A's.   No special features indicating stativity need be added to verbs because, if this suggestion is correct, only those verbs which occur in P's containing A's will show up in these sentences anyway.' There are however, Tagalog constructions involving outer

locatives and benefactives even when A is not realized
in surface structure.

> iv.   Naitapon na ang libro sa basurahan.
>   'The book has already been thrown away into the
>   wastecan. '
>
> v.   Naipagbili rin ang mga lumang damit para sa
>   mga ampon.
>   'The old clothes have at last been sold for the
>   adopted kids. '

Where the outer L sa basurahan in (iv) and the B phrase
para sa mga ampon in (v) are realized in surface structure
even when the A phrases in both sentences have been
omitted.   Likewise, the aspect of the verb in (vi) is
progressive, and yet the Agentive phrase is unspecified.

> vi.   Naikukuha ka na sana ng tinapay kung hindi lang
>   dumating ang Nanay.
>   Paraphrase: '(X) was at the point of finally
>   succeeding in his attempt to get cookies for
>   you, but then Mom arrived. '

It seems that in Tagalog, the only valid generalization
on dependency relations among constituents as a condition
for surface realization of NPs is this: When the verb
is inflected to focus on a case function, the presence
of a representative NP of that case is obligatory; all
other NPs are optional.

17[a].   [This sentence seems normal. --- Editor]

18.   But note: If the agent is a somnambulist in one of his
      nightly prowls, or if he is one who is under a magician's
      spell, and he opens a door, one can rightly say: Binuksan
      niya ang pinto 'He (deliberately) opened the door. '

19.   Curiously, (82) has a second reading, and this second
      reading suggests -Intentionality. A linguist looking for
      a piece of crumpled paper (on which is written valuable
      evidence for a counter-proposal) might get this apologetic
      reply from his secretary: Naitapon ko na ho ang papel
      'I unknowingly, unintentionally have thrown the paper away'.

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