

# SOME CONSEQUENCES OF CAUSATIVE CLAUSE UNION IN TAGALOG

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Two previous works dealing with causative constructions of Philippine languages have shown the manifestation of what is known in Relational Grammar (RG) as Causative Clause Union (CCU). The first study by Bell and Perlmutter (1981) titled "Causative Clause Union and Advancements in three Philippine languages" is cast in the passive analysis (PA) while the other by Gerdts (1983), "Anti-passives and causatives in Ilokano: evidence for an ergative analysis" employs the ergative analysis (EA). Interestingly enough, both approaches, each with its own accompanying device, are able to show how CCU accounts for the behaviour of grammatical relations in causative constructions with biclausal structure representation. The present paper applies both accounts to Tagalog and analyses the consequences of each account. Following the arguments presented in support of each account, it will show their shortcomings. As well, it will suggest that there are variations in case and voice marking that are not exclusively syntactically motivated. On the contrary, certain case and voice marking rules depend on the semantic orientation of the verb and causative verbs manifest this in their treatment of the two complement nuclear terms.

Based on Postal and Perlmutter's proposal, CCU makes the universal prediction that the grammatical relations (GR's) borne in the matrix clause by the final nuclear terms of the complement are as follows: the final subject of an intransitive complement and the final direct object of a transitive complement are the direct object of the matrix clause, and the final subject of a transitive complement is the indirect object of the matrix clause (Bell and Perlmutter 1981:3). Put another way, the downstairs final Abs(olutive) is upstairs object or term 2 and the downstairs final Erg(ative) is upstairs indirect object or term 3. Prior to an analysis of causative constructions, it will be helpful to review the case and voice marking rules in Tagalog which parallel those stated by Bell and Perlmutter for simple clauses because they claim that the same rules apply to complex clauses. A nominal heading a final 1-arc in the highest clause in which it heads a central relation arc must be in the Nom(inative) case; one that has a final 2-arc must be in the Acc(usative); one that heads a final 3-arc or a final Loc-arc, in the Obl(ique); one that heads a final Ins-arc must be in the Gen(itive). A 1-chômeur must be in the Gen(itive) and one that heads a final Ben-arc is in the Obl case but it is introduced by the preposition *para for*. The voice marking rules may also be simply stated as follows: When the final 1 is not a successor of any other relation, the verb must be in the Active voice. If the final 1 is the successor of 2, then the verb must be in the Obj(ective) voice; if 1 succeeds 3 or Loc, then the verb is in the Ref(erential) voice. It

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is in the Ins(trumental) voice if the final 1 is the successor of a grammatical relation other than those mentioned in the preceding.

2. PA OF CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

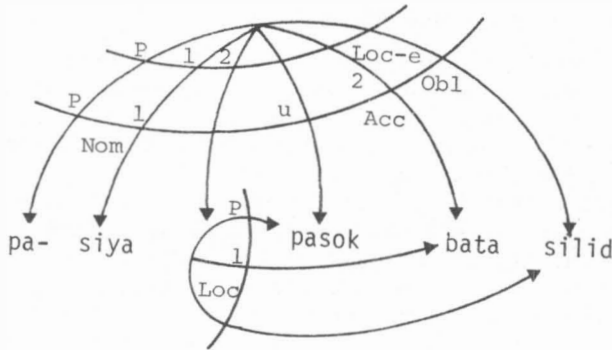
Initially, a causative structure has a matrix clause and a complement transitive or intransitive clause. In Tagalog the matrix or upstairs clause has a P(redicate) of causation indicated by the affix pa- and two nuclear terms 1 and 2. The complement or downstairs clause heads the 2-arc. Sentences (1) and (2) show an intransitive and a transitive complement clause, respectively:

(1) nagpapasok siya ng bata sa silid  
 Act-caus enter Nom she Acc child Obl room  
*She made a child enter the room.*

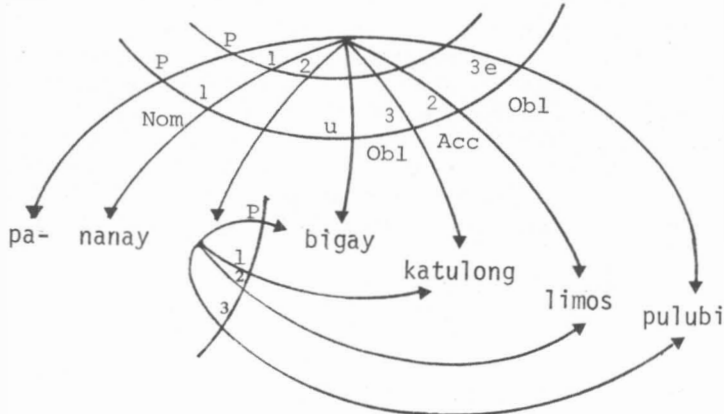
(2) nagpabigay ang nanay sa katulong ng limos sa pulubi  
 Act-caus give NOM mother Obl maid Acc alms Obl beggar  
*Mother had the maid give alms to the beggar.*

As stated earlier, CCU accounts for the GR's of the nominals in the complement clause as they become part of or united with the matrix clause. The network diagrams showing CCU for (1) and (2) are as follows:

(1')



(2')

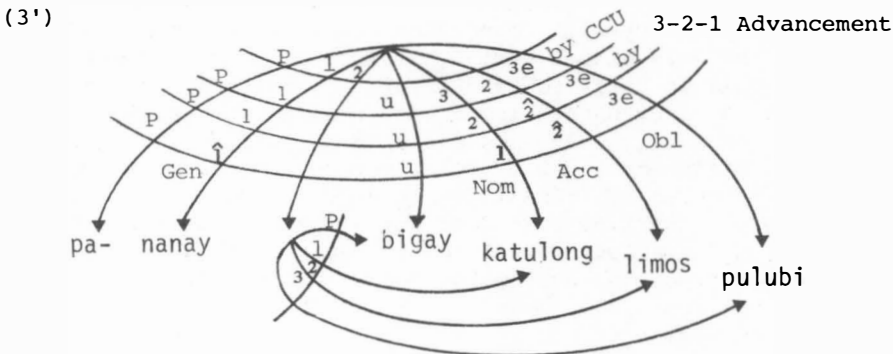


When the nuclear terms which unite in the matrix clause in (2') each end up as a final 1 via the characteristic advancement rules, we get two voice markers that differ from what the voice marking rules predict. Sentences (3) and (4) show deviations but not (5):

- (3) papagbibigayin ng nanay ang katulong ng limos sa pulubi  
 Obj-caus give Gen mother Nom maid Acc alms Obl beggar  
*Mother will have the maid give alms to the beggar.*
- (4) ipabibigay ng nanay sa katulong ang limos sa pulubi  
 Ins-caus give Gen mother Obl maid Nom alms Obl beggar
- (5) pabibigyan ng nanay sa katulong ng limos ang pulubi  
 Ref-caus give Gen mother Obl maid Gen alms Nom beggar

In (3) where we find the former term 3 as final 1, the voice marking on its co-occurring verb is not the Referential -an as stipulated in the rules when a 3-1 Advancement takes place. Instead, the verb is in the Objective voice with the affix -in. To mark it with -an will render the sentence ungrammatical. If we assume, however, that this former 3 is a 2, so that a 2-1 Advancement accounts for the Objective voice marking on the verb, the conflict will be in the case marking of this term. As a final 2, it is not marked with the Accusative ng (pronounced naŋ) according to the rules, but with the Oblique sa. To use the former case marker will result in an ungrammatical structure.

Bell and Perlmutter propose to remedy this conflict by positing an obligatory rule labelled 3-2-1 Advancement rule which not only insures the correct Oblique case marking of a final 3 but also the proper Objective voice marking on the verb when this 3 ends up as a final 1. Thus, (3) has the following network diagram:



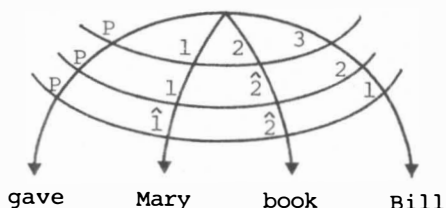
In (4) it is term 2 that is succeeded by final 1 as shown by its Nom case marking. But contrary to the voice marking rule stated previously, its co-occurring verb is not in the Objective voice.<sup>1</sup> Rather, it is in the Instrumental voice. Finally, with 3e(meritus) ending up as final 1 as shown in (5), its co-occurring verb is in the Referential voice as though 3e were no different from an ordinary 3 undergoing a 3-1 Advancement.

## 3. ANALYSIS OF THE PA ACCOUNT: CCU AND 3-2-1 ADVANCEMENT

This brings us to an analysis of two consequences brought about by CCU as revealed in sentences (3) and (4). The first consequence has to do with positing the companion rule 3-2-1 Advancement, and the other, with the Instrumental voice marking of the verb when its complement 2 becomes final 1.

## 3.1 The 3-2-1 Advancement rule

There is something to be said about the formulation of 3-2-1 Advancement and the constraint on its application. We are familiar with two individual advancement rules applying in succession such as 3-2 and 2-1 as in the English example: Bill was given a book by Mary. The network corresponding to this structure is as follows:



Unlike this illustration, 3-2-1 is just one rule consisting of an obligatory series of transitions. This type of rule has been defended by Bell and Perlmutter (1981:41-48) showing that it is not necessary for the intermediate transition to have a corresponding manifestation as a final stratum and that this type of device also exists in languages as diverse as Quiché, French and Chicewa.<sup>2</sup> Due to limitations of time and space, we will forego the evidence they provide. Suffice it to stress that the rule allows term 3, predicted by CCU and which is correctly marked with the Oblique case, to take a verb in the Objective voice when this 3 ends up as a final 1 by undergoing an intermediate transition to 2. Comparing the network for the English sentence and that of (3), however, we won't be able to detect that two different types of rules account for each of the identical representations in terms of transitions undergone. Moreover, this type of two-stage obligatory transition rule does not stipulate its restrictions. If we consider the following sentences, we will note that the forms of the verbs in the (b) sentences are not predictable from the voice marking rules:

- (6) a. naglaba siya ng damit  
Act-washed Nom he Acc dress/clothes  
He washed (some) clothes.
- b. nilabhan niya ang damit  
Ref-washed Gen he Nom clothes  
He washed the clothes.
- (7) a. magtatapon siya ng basura  
Act-will throw away Nom he Acc garbage  
He will throw away some garbage.
- b. itatapon niya ang basura  
Ins-will throw away Gen he Nom garbage  
He will throw away the garbage.

With a 2-1 Advancement, the verb in (6b) is marked with the Referential voice and that in (7b), with the Instrumental voice. Following the same motivation for positing 3-2-1 Advancement, we may ask if there is a constraint on positing a 2-3-1 rule for (6b) and a 2-Ins-1 for (7b). Apparently, this has to be adopted if we want to avoid subcategorising verbs according to the various affixes they take when 2 becomes final 1. So far, RG has made no provision for such distinctions except to label them 'irregularities'. It is, therefore, still unclear what the 3-2-1 type of rule precisely means and what the conditions for formulating it must be.

Even if we accept the validity of 3-2-1 in form and content, it still raises the question of generality of application. It only applies to this particular term 3 of causatives which originates from complement 1 of a transitive clause. It does not apply to 3's of non-causative verbs nor to 3e's of causatives. What this rule suggests is that this term 3 is different from either 3's or 2's of non-causative verbs. And this is evidently the reason why it requires a different type of advancement rule, i.e. to serve this unique GR. Granted further that we accept this rule of 3-2-1, we will find that with certain classes of transitive verbs, a 3-1 Advancement is the only appropriate rule for the construction in question. To illustrate:

- (8) pakikitaan ko ang nanay ng pelikula  
 Ref-caus-see Gen I Nom mother Acc film  
*I will have mother see a film/I will show mother a film.*

The unfortunate implication of this counter-example is that 3-2-1 applies to 3's of certain classes of causative verbs, while 3-1 applies to certain others, thus further diminishing the generality of application of 3-2-1 Advancement.

### 3.2 The Instrumental voice and 2-1

Bell and Perlmutter claim that when term 2 in the matrix clause which comes from the complement 2 is taken over by final 1, the verb it takes is in the Objective voice (see note 1). Although this observation may be true of a certain derived class of verbs, e.g. MA-abilitative, resulting in the ambiguous Objective voice forms, the general tendency is to distinguish the voice forms of the verb that indicates a final 1 as the successor of a term 3 from that of a term 2. Sentence (4) shows that in Tagalog this particular 2-1 Advancement, i.e. matrix 2 from complement 2, is marked with the Instrumental voice (with the Ins affix *i-*), just as Bell and Perlmutter observed in Ivatan (1981:67).<sup>3</sup> Evidently, this is another adverse consequence of CCU because it runs counter to the prediction of the rule which states that an Objective voice with the affix *-in* marks the verb when 2-1 occurs. Similar to term 3 of causatives, discussed in the preceding section, term 2 from complement 2 is different from other term 2's of both causative (from complement 1 of an intransitive clause) and non-causative verbs. In the manner of the 3-2-1 device, it may be suggested that there must be a corresponding 2-Ins-1 rule which will trigger the appropriate voice marking here. This possibility is not even considered by Bell and Perlmutter to account for the same phenomenon in Ivatan, so we can only surmise that there may be an implicit restriction that only nuclear terms may appear in intermediate transitions to conform to the established hierarchy of terms. The only alternative solution which seemed satisfactory to them was to posit an irregular voice marking rule that serves this specific requirement (1981:67-70). This rule which they

identify as a language specific rule, unfortunately, misses the significant generalisation that may be captured in the structure involved across Philippine languages.

To point out one more complication, there is a class of verbs in Tagalog such as those exemplified in (6) that are marked with the Referential voice affix *-an* when the same complement 2 is final 1 in the matrix clause. For example:

- (9) *palalabhan ng nanay sa katulong ang damit*  
 Ref-caus-wash Gen mother Obl maid Nom dress  
*Mother will have the maid wash the dress.*

Again, we may ask whether a 2-3-1, instead of a 2-Ins-1, would be allowable in order to trigger the appropriate voice marking.

Judging from the fact that two special rules have to be formulated to apply obligatorily and exclusively to term 3 (from complement 1) and to term 2 (from complement 2) when they end up as final 1, there is reason to believe that these two rules for causative constructions are in effect implying the necessary modification that has to be built into the voice marking rules stated for simple clauses. This modification is well motivated in view of having to accommodate one more GR, the complement 1 of transitives, when all other nuclear terms are already occupied. As Comrie (1976:261) discusses, one strategy for accommodating this extra noun phrase is by means of doubling up in one of the syntactic positions of the sentence. In Tagalog, he identifies doubling on indirect object (1976:279;310) and preferably, if one of them is changed by focusing, i.e. becoming final 1. What he did not mention is that when this complement 1 appears as a final 1, thereby avoiding doubling on term 3, it takes an Objective voice verb. On this basis, we can say that the doubling occurs on direct objects since in the verbal paradigm we seem to have two Objective voices, one marked *-in* for the former complement 1 and another marked *i-* for the former complement 2. Yet, because we have to refer to its original termhood in the complement clause to identify its case and voice markers, it is no more economical and adequate to account for this complement 1 in question as a different GR which shares the same case marking feature with term 3 but the same voice marking feature with term 2. It remains distinct from either 3 or 2 and, thus, it does not violate the Stratal Uniqueness Law when it co-occurs with either of them.

### 3.3 On the case and voice marking rules

Some observations pertaining to the case and voice marking rules used with simple clauses have to be mentioned in considering Bell and Perlmutter's conclusion that the same rules are also used with causatives (1981:53). Going back to the case-marking rules stated earlier (see p.59), a final 2 can only be marked in the Accusative, i.e. *ng* marker or its equivalent substitute forms. However, in more recent studies of Tagalog (Ramos 1974:100-101;130; McFarland 1976:6-7; De Guzman 1978:75-79), it has been recognised that direct objects or final 2's are manifested only in the Oblique form when they are either proper nouns or personal pronouns. For example:

- (10) naghintay ang nanay { kay Maria/\*ni Maria }  
 Act-waited Nom mother { Obl Acc }  
 { sa kaniya/\*niya }  
 { Obl her Acc her }  
 Mother waited for { Maria }.  
 { her }

Verbs identified as extension verbs require their co-occurring objects to be marked in the Oblique case and not in the Accusative, as in the following:

- (11) tumulong siya sa mga nasunugan  
 Act-helped Nom he Obl pl. fire-victim  
 He helped the fire-victims.
- (12) siya ang humalik sa bata  
 Nom he nomlZR Act-kissed Obl child  
 It was he who kissed the child.

Moreover, certain classes of verbs allow their objects to be marked with either the Accusative or the Oblique case to distinguish the meaning indefinite/non-specific or definite/specific, respectively. For example:

- (13) nagbantay ako ng/sa bata  
 Act-looked after Nom I Acc/Obl child  
 I looked after a/the child.

Although it occurs occasionally in the basic active voice constructions, the Oblique-marked final 2 is more commonly found in cleft and in non-active constructions.

In causative constructions, final 2's from complement 1 of intransitives usually allow the same case marking alternation as in the following:

- (14) nagpatulog ako ng bata  
 Act-caus-sleep Nom I Acc child  
 I made a child sleep.
- (15) ako ang nagpatulog ng/sa bata  
 Nom I nomlZR Act-caus-sleep Acc/Obl child  
 It was I who made a/the child sleep.

Final 2's from complement 2 with active verbs exhibit the same case marking alternation in cleft constructions.

What has been shown above is that a nominal marked with the Oblique may not necessarily be a 3; it may be a definite or a specifiable 2. If this avenue is taken as valid and complement 1 is considered a term 2 in the matrix, regardless of the transitivity of the downstairs clause, the need for the 3-2-1 rule vanishes. In its place, however, a supplementary rule on case marking the complement 1 from transitives as an Oblique 2 upstairs has to be incorporated.

Given the voice marking rules (see p.59), the Objective voice is associated only with the affix -in. This is not entirely accurate because previous works on Tagalog grammar have identified i- and -an as the other affixes that mark other semantic classes of verbs in the Objective voice. In fact, other classes

are unmarked. It has been recognised that patterns of voice affixes, primarily in the Active and Objective, correspond to semantic groupings of verbs (Schachter and Otnes 1972; Ramos 1974; McFarland 1976; De Guzman 1978). The Objective voice affix *-in* generally corresponds to the Active voice affix *-um-* manifested by verbs that are labelled either [+change of state] or [+action toward the agent]. An equally large number of verbs (and in fact more, by McFarland's survey) are marked with *i-* in the Objective and *mag-* in the Active. These verbs usually involve objects being transported or changed in position. Lastly, the class of Objective voice verbs that take the affix *-an* indicate a surface change and they also take *mag-* in the corresponding Active voice. This variance suggests that the voice marking rules as stated earlier which make exclusive reference to GR's need some further proviso to trigger the appropriate voice affix marker. It is important to formulate these rules on the basis of the semantic subclassification of the verbs because the voice marking in the causative constructions makes reference to the same subclassification. For example, the non-causative verbs that are marked *-in* and *i-* in the Objective voice are all marked regularly with *i-* in the causative when the complement 2 becomes final 1; but those that are marked with *-an* continue to be marked in the causative form by the same affix. Thus, *bilhin to buy* vs. *ipabili, ibigay to give* vs. *ipabigay, labhan to launder* vs. *palabhan*. Similarly, the parallel semantic distinction made in the Active voice is carried over to the morphological structure of the causative verb stem in the Objective voice, when the complement 1 becomes final 1. Although the voice affix is regularly *-in* (with psychological verbs taking *-an*), the stem of the causative verbs that correspond to Active *-um-* verbs takes a verb root as base whereas that which corresponds to *mag-* verbs takes a *pag-* stem. For example *pa+kain+in* from *kumain to eat* vs. *pa+pagbigay+in* from *magbigay to give*. The complexity and variation in the morphological structure of causative verb stems cannot be explained by either CCU or the advancement rules in PA because these are not syntactic problems. But there is no doubt that their semantic and morphological features interact with the syntactic rules in question.

Except for the two nominals we have been examining, complement 1 and complement 2 of transitives, all other co-occurring complement nominals bear the same grammatical relations to the causative verb. Thus, the case and voice marking rules that apply to them in simple clauses also apply in the causative constructions. Take sentence (5) for example. Here, the former complement 3 (indirect object) which becomes a 3e(meritus) upstairs undergoes a simple 3e-1 Advancement. Its verb is marked with the Referential voice *-an*, and when it is a final 3e as in (4), it is case-marked Oblique. Actually, whether it is labelled 'emeritus' or not its grammatical status remains the same. Yet, this identification has to be devised in order to distinguish this 3 (from complement 3) and the 3 that originates from complement 1. It will be noted, however, that the standard voice marking rule must further incorporate 3e in the 3-1 rule. Now, if all other relations take the same case and voice marking in both simple and causative clauses, it can only mean that their GR's are not affected by CCU.

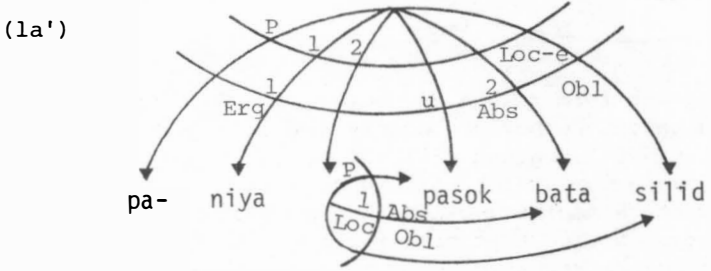
In sum, we can agree with one part of CCU's prediction that complement 1 of an intransitive clause becomes term 2 in the matrix. But it has to allow for an alternate Oblique case with certain verbs and/or in certain constructions. As for the other portion of CCU which designates complements 1 and 2 of a transitive clause as 3 and 2, respectively, there appears to be a viable alternative as will be proposed later.



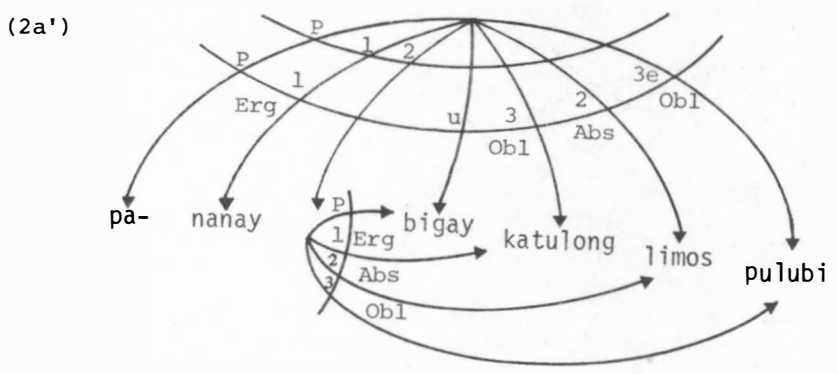
4. EA OF CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Let us now turn to Gerdts' (1983) analysis of the causative constructions from an ergative view. She shows that in these constructions both CCU and anti-passive (AP) are manifested. By Postal and Perlmutter's CCU rule, complement final Abs is upstairs 2 and complement final Erg is upstairs 3. Corresponding to the basic sentences (1) and (2) in PA (see p.60), the following are the basic ones in EA with their network diagrams:

(1a) papapasukin niya ang bata sa silid  
 Obj-caus *enter* Erg *she* Abs *child* Obl *room*  
*She will make the child enter the room.*



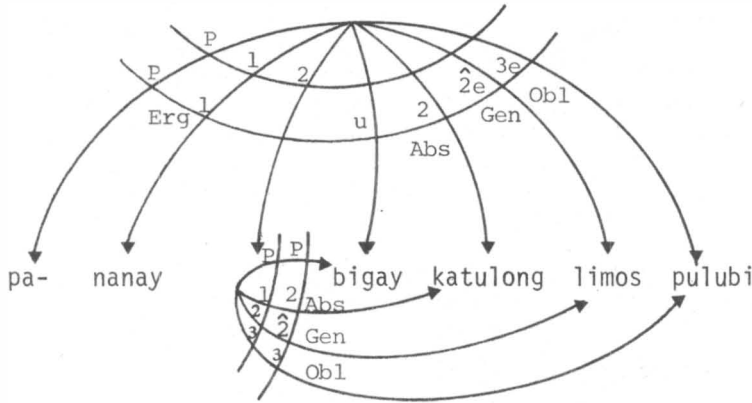
(2a) ipabibigay ng nanay sa katulong ang limos sa pulubi  
 Ins-caus-*give* Erg *mother* Obl *maid* Abs *alms* Obl *beggar*  
*Mother will have the maid give the alms to the beggar.*



In (1a) where the complement clause is intransitive, the complement final Abs which is upstairs 2 is properly marked with the Objective voice. On the other hand, when the same final Abs complement from a transitive clause becomes final 2 upstairs its verb is marked with the Instrumental voice. The Objective voice form as given in (3), repeated below as (3a), has the complement Erg as the final Abs in the matrix clause. For such a clause, the necessary rule is 3-2 Advancement, but which according to the voice marking rules should yield a verb in the Referential voice. Gerdts' solution to this predicament is to apply the AP rule in the complement clause before effecting CCU as follows:

(3a) papagbibigayin ng nanay ang katulong ng limos sa pulubi  
 Obj-caus-*give* Erg *mother* Abs *maid* Gen *alms* Obl *beggar*  
*Mother will have the maid give alms to the beggar.*

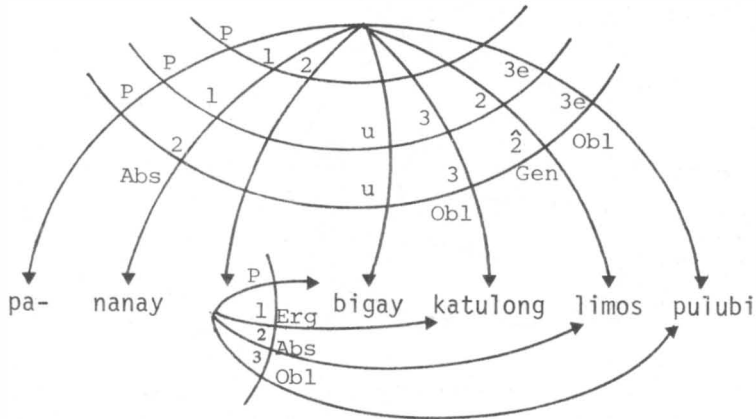
(3a')



AP turns complement 1 to 2 making the former 2, a 2-chômeur. By CCU, final 2/Abs downstairs becomes 2 upstairs and 2-chômeur becomes 2-chômeur-emeritus. (As an inherited GR or an emeritus, it is marked with the same case as a 2-chômeur which is the Genitive.) One strong argument for this account is that it does not need any other special mechanism, such as the 3-2-1 Advancement of PA, to trigger the correct voice and case marking. Notice that the effect of AP is to detransitivise the clause. Thus, sentence (2) repeated below as (4a) is shown to employ AP this time in the matrix clause.

(4a) nagpabigay ang nanay sa katulong ng limos sa pulubi  
 Act-caus gave Abs mother Obl maid Gen alms Obl beggar  
 Mother had the maid give alms to the beggar.

(4a')



In the same way that AP is employed in simple transitive clauses, it can also be applied to causative constructions. By definition, a transitive clause has to have both a final Erg and a final Abs, but since AP changes the Erg to Abs, the resulting structure is intransitive. In the antipassive construction, the verb is in the active voice and the initial 2 ends as a 2-chômeur which is case-marked Genitive.

One other advantage Gerdts claims for AP is that it explains the affixation of pag- in the verb stem. As we can observe in (4a) and (3a), pag- (or nag-) is affixed before the stem pabigay and the root bigay, respectively, supposedly as the morphological effect of AP. The affix pa- gets attached as a consequence

of CCU. According to Gerdts, the order of the affixes pag- after pa- in the verb stem build-up results from the application of CCU first and then AP next.

## 5. ANALYSIS OF THE EA ACCOUNT

From the above examples, it appears that between AP in EA and 3-2-1 Advancement in PA, the former is preferable as a companion rule to CCU both for its generality of application and for the explanation it provides for the verb morphology. These two advantages, when analysed more closely, leave us with some provoking questions. Firstly, not all verbs are affixed with pag- when AP applies to the basic transitive structure. Other active voice verbs, the so-called UM-verbs, do not exhibit this affix. For example: kumain *to eat*, humiram *to borrow*, kumuha *to get*, bumuli *to buy*, tumanggap *to receive*, etc. Primarily, all active verbs which may be identified as actions toward the agent or actions internal will be ungrammatical with the affix pag-. In causative constructions, the same verb stems which belong to the UM-class are not marked by pag- when AP applies to the complement clause. The morphological side effects of AP have to be modified then for Tagalog (and even for Ilokano and the other Philippine languages that make the UM- and MAG- distinction) to account for the correct active voice affixation. It will be instructive to remember that the non-causative verbs in the Objective voice marked with -in, as previously mentioned, are marked with -um- in the active voice; those that are marked with i- or -an correspond to mag- forms in the active voice. Obviously, this patterning of affixes cannot be accounted for syntactically. They are either morphologically or semantically bound.

Another observation which has some theoretical implications for the application of AP may be illustrated in the following examples:

- (16) ipagbibigay ko ang nanay ng abuloy sa Cancer Society  
 Ins-give Erg I Abs mother Gen contribution Obl  
*I will give a contribution to the Cancer Society for mother.*
- (17) ipagpupaluto ko sa katulong ang nanay ng pagkain  
 Ins-caus cook Erg I Obl maid Abs mother Gen food  
*I will have the maid cook some food for mother.*

As indicated by the nominal marked Abs, these two sentences have undergone the Ben-2 Advancement rule; the Ben nominal is marked Abs and the verb is in the Ins voice. Both verbs show the presence of the affix pag- which is presumably introduced by AP. But contrary to the effect of AP that the Erg nominal be succeeded by a final Abs, it is in the Obl case. Two questions may be raised in this connection as follows:

(a) Is the affixation of pag- to the verb stem also a side effect of Ben-2 Advancement rule, just like the AP rule? If so, how will the rule be constrained so that no pag- is affixed to UM-verbs when the rule applies?

(b) Is there a relation existing between the Active voice and the Benefactive voice (marked by the Ins voice affix) which would explain the identical verb stem forms that they take, i.e. verbs belonging to the UM-class are not marked with the affix pag- in either voice; those that belong to the MAG-class are?

One other problem we detect in the EA account pertains again to the complement 2. In EA, this complement is the Abs downstairs and by CCU, it remains to be 2 in the matrix clause. As a final 2 or final Abs, the corresponding voice marking rules for simple clauses will mark its co-occurring verb incorrectly with the Objective voice affix *-in*, instead of the appropriate affix *i-*. It appears that this situation can only be remedied by formulating an appropriate voice marking rule. For this particular final Abs to co-occur with a verb in the Ins voice, it should either be an Instrumental or a non-term before becoming a final 2 Abs. EA's recourse may be a 2-Ins-2 rule, in the manner of PA's 3-2-1. Conceptually, however, this rule is indisputably odd.

## 6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

From the two approaches we have analysed, the following are the features characteristic of Tagalog causative constructions:

(a) Complement 1/Abs from a final intransitive clause and complement 1/Erg from a final transitive clause, when they end up as a final 1 (Nom in PA) or a final 2 (Abs in EA) after CCU, take a verb in the Objective voice. As non-final Nom/Abs, these two complements behave differently in that the former is an upstairs 2 whereas the latter is an upstairs 3. Accordingly, they are marked with the Accusative/Genitive and the Oblique, respectively.

(b) Complement 2 from a transitive clause behaves differently from the two complements above in that when it is a final 1 (in PA) or a final 2 (in EA) in the matrix clause, its verb takes the Instrumental voice, not the Objective voice as predicted by the voice marking rules.

While both PA and EA, accompanied by 3-2-1 and AP, respectively, claim to be able to account for (a), regardless of their undesirable consequences, neither approach provides a solution to the problem identified in (b). As they stand, each is not a compelling account. In fact, if we consider the two complements in (a) above which are united by the Objective voice marking of their co-occurring verb when they are final Nom/Abs in the matrix clause, there is reason to believe that they may be actually 2's upstairs. This consideration is in line with Gibson's proposal of a CCU II (1980) which states that a nominal heading a final 1-arc in the complement heads a 2-arc in the matrix clause, regardless of the transitivity of the complement clause. Following EA and making use of AP only to advance matrix Erg to Abs, we would need a 2-3 retreat rule to mark the former (downstairs) Erg with the Oblique case, after it unites upstairs as a 2, when a different complement is taken over by the final Abs. Moreover, complement 2 identified in (b) becomes a 2e(meritus), and as such needs a rule to mark it with the Genitive case; this non-term relation like other emeritus relations may assume a final Abs relation in which case a rule must mark its verb in the Instrumental voice.

In view of the possible alternative accounts for Tagalog causative constructions which RG follows, the claim of one version is correspondingly weakened by the existence of another version. As shown by the different consequences of adopting CCU (or even CCU II), there must be established some tighter constraints on the form of the companion rules of CCU and a requirement on the generality of their application. It is not enough for the account to generate an air of systematic rigour, but, more importantly, it should provide an adequate explanation for syntactic similarities and distinctions. Granted that these criteria for a desirable account are met, the one that explains the non-isomorphic relation

between nuclear terms and case/voice markers existing in a language such as Tagalog and the other Philippine languages, which others have claimed as emanating from semantic distinctions is to be preferred.

## NOTES

1. The Hiligaynon example used by Bell and Perlmutter (1981:26) from which they concluded that the 2-1 in question is in the Objective voice comes from a different class of verbs, the MA-class. The ordinary form of mapaluto, which they used, is in fact ipaluto with the Ins affix i-.
2. This position is criticised by W.D. O'Grady in his 1980 article.
3. The other major Philippine languages, except Kapampangan, likewise mark this particular 2-1 advancement with the Instrumental voice. In Maranao, although both complement 1 and complement 2 take the Objective voice affix -en when they become final 1, the two verb forms remain distinct because of the difference in their stems, e.g. pakatabasen for the former and pakitabasen for the latter.

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