The Evolution of Focus in Austronesian

1. Introduction

1.1 The problem

In this paper,[1] we will attempt to reconstruct the features of Proto-Austronesian morphology and syntax which gave rise to the focus systems exhibited by modern Philippine languages. In order to approach this problem, it will be necessary to consider the following questions:

1) What is the grammatical structure of sentences showing 'verbal focus' in Philippine languages? And in particular, what is their synchronic and diachronic relation to nominalizations which show affixes cognate with the verbal focus affixes? We need to have a reasonably clear idea of the endpoint of an evolutionary sequence before we can reconstruct the stages that led up to it.
2) Do the focus systems of Philippine languages represent a retention from Proto-Austronesian or an innovation? What kind of case marking system can we reconstruct for the proto-language which will allow us to provide plausible accounts of how a single original system could evolve into the Oceanic object focus system in one area and the Philippine subject-focus system in another?

An attempt to answer 2) will require consideration of such specific questions as:

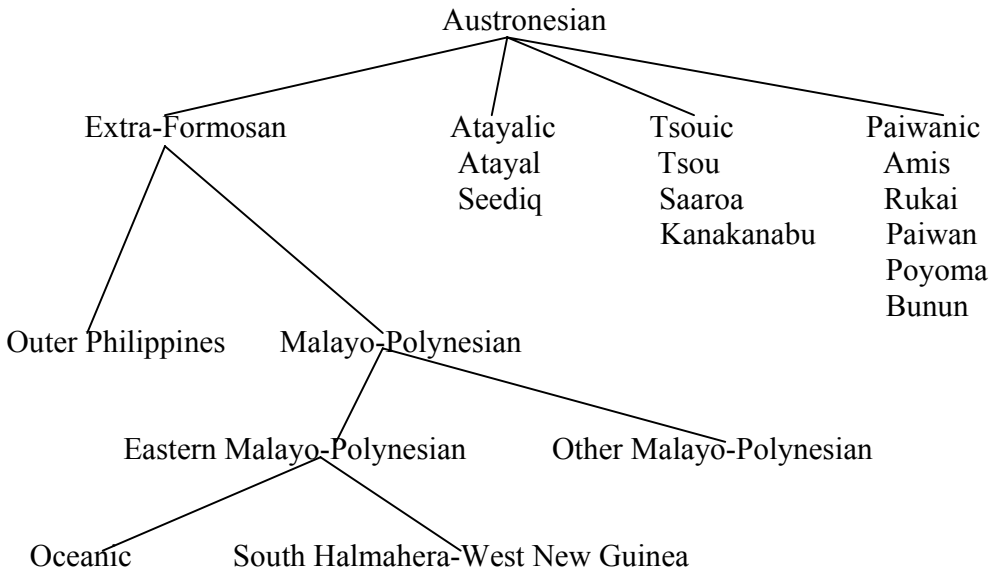
3) What are the higher-order subgroups within Austronesian? The position we take on this question of course will determine which combinations of languages will count as adequate witnesses for reconstructing a morphological or syntactic feature all the way back to the proto-language.
4) What is the current distribution of Philippine-style focus systems by geographic regions and within subgroups of Austronesian languages? This will determine how far back we can reconstruct this syntactic property.
5) How likely is it for two languages to have developed a Philippine-style focus system independently? To answer this question, we have to make assumptions about what kinds of syntactic changes are possible and likely. By rejecting excessively abstract syntactic representations and arbitrary analyses and formulating our solution within the narrow constraints of lexicase (Starosta 1979), we eliminate a large class of conceivable but ad hoc and unmotivated analyses, and come up with an account of the evolution of focus which requires no hypothetical stages having properties which cannot be directly observed in the 'surface structures' of modern human languages.

1.2. Subgrouping assumptions

In this paper, we will assume the correctness of Dahl's (1973) and Blust's (1977:2) recent hypotheses about the first-order subgroups of Austronesian. Reid (1982) argues further in his paper for this conference that at least the Northern Philippine languages constitute a primary subgroup, called Outer Philippines, of these extra-Formosan

[1] This paper is a summary of some of the major concepts contained in a monograph which the authors are presently preparing. Because of the time constraints on a conference paper, the evidence for much of what we say here could not be presented. The extensive data from many areas of the family from which our conclusions are drawn will appear in the published monograph.

languages, but the correctness of this claim does not affect the validity of our arguments in this paper. The subgrouping assumptions within which we are working are illustrated in the following tree diagram.



2. Proto-Austronesian: Object Focus, Subject Focus, or None of the Above?

In order to say anything sensible about where 'focus' came from, we have to know 1) what focus is, and 2) whether words marked by 'focus' affixes in Philippine languages are nouns or verbs. In this paper, we will use the term focus to refer to a system of verbal affixes used to indicate the case relation of the subject of a sentence.

Most modern linguists working on Philippine languages, from Bloomfield and Blake on up to recent studies by the Summer Institute of Linguistics people and lexicase grammarians such as Harmon and De Guzman, have assumed almost without question that 'focused' words are verbs. The correctness of this conclusion is however not immediately obvious. Cecilio Lopez (1941) and A. Capell (1964) both consider all Philippine 'passive' verbs to be verbal nouns. Capell based his conclusion essentially on the fact that agents in these constructions appear in the Genitive case form.

Similar conclusions have been drawn for analogous reasons about passive verbs in Atayal (Egerod 1966:346) and Toba Batak (Van der Tuuk 1971), and about one of two types of 'passive' construction in Rukai (Li 1973: 202-211). Ferrell (1974:5-8) raises this possibility for Paiwan, but rejects it for semantic and pedagogical reasons, although he concedes that his decision is based on a 'lingua-centric view'. McKaughan (1962:49, note 8) also rejects a nominal analysis because nouns should not be marked for tense, aspect, and voice. Similarly, Schachter and Otanes say that all basic Tagalog sentences are essentially equational in nature (1972:62; cf. p. 117; cf. also Dahl 1973:117-118). However, they treat basic sentences as verbal because they find a verbal treatment to be more 'convenient'.

We don't find the arguments in the preceding paragraph very persuasive. 'Convenience', pedagogical or otherwise, has no status as a scientific criterion, and the use

of the presence of 'tense, aspect, or voice' to exclude a nominal interpretation is circular, since that is what we are trying to decide in the first place. As for aspect, Pawley and Reid (1979:109) note that focused and aspect-marked words are frequently used as common nouns, and that some focused forms can *only* occur as nouns.

We will take the position here that, while many clauses in languages such as Tagalog, Amis, or Ilokano can be given neat and satisfying analyses as binary NP-NP cleft sentence structures, some can't, due to the fact that a full NP subject occasionally intervenes between the lexical head of the predicate and the other actants of the sentence.

There are two prime candidates for the reconstruction of the Proto-Austronesian case-marking system:

1) the Proto-Oceanic system, in which the verb carries a suffix (*-i or *-akin) to indicate the case relation of the direct object: (*-i for Locus, *-akin for Instrument or Referent), and
2) a Philippine-style focus mechanism utilizing the verbal affixes *mu-/-um-, *ni-/-in-, *-en, *-ana, and *iSi- (not cognate with the Oceanic suffixes *-i and *-akin) to idicate the case relation of the grammatical subject rather than the object, with the affixes *mu-/-um- marking verbs with Agent subjects, *ni-/-in-, *-en, *-ana, and *iSi- marking Patients, *-ana marking Locus, and *iSi- marking Instrument or Referent.

Each of these candidates has had its supporters. William Foley (1976) has claimed that Proto-Austronesian case marking must have been similar to that of 'classical' Oceanic languages such as Fijian. Dahl (1973) and Wolff (1973), however, both concluded that PAN should be reconstructed with at least the four morphological focus or voice contrasts marked by reflexes of *mu-/-um-, *ni-/-in-, *-en, *-ana, and *iSi- that are generally present in modern Philippine languages. Similarly, Pawley and Reid (1979) argue that Philippine-style focus systems are retention from PAN, in their essentials, and that the Proto-Austronesian focus system has decayed, to a lesser or greater extent, in languages outside of a region comprising the Philippines and certain contiguous regions of Indonesia and Formosa. Thus, the common possession of a focus system should not count as evidence for treating Philippine languages as a subgroup.

Pawley and Reid (1979:111) also noted that "… the use of verb stems plus non-Actor focus affixes as nouns is clearly PAN. The nominal uses are found throughout Philippine type subgroups as well as in Oceanic and Toba Batak of Sumatra, and their PAN status can hardly be questioned". However, they conclude that it is probably necessary to reconstruct PAN verbal passive constructions involving the same set of affixes, and that the verbal usage preceded the use of the affixes as nominalizers.

They derive the Oceanic case-marking type from an intermediate stage of development similar to that persisting in Toba Batak. The Batak system combines features of both the Philippine and Oceanic systems of case-marking and focus, e.g. showing both subject-focus affixes on the verb in passive sentences (cognate with those of Philippine languages) and object-focus suffixes on the verb in active sentences (cognate with those found in Oceanic languages). Pawley and Reid tentatively suggest that PAN may have been like Toba Batak in these respects.

In the present paper, we will argue that *-en, *ni-/-in-, *-ana, *iSi-, and possibly *mu-/-um- were all noun-deriving affixes in PAN, as they still are to a large extent in the

modern languages outside the Philippine area, and that they have in fact retained this function to a previously unrecognized extent even within the Philippine language group. We argue further that Austronesian nominalizations in *-en, *ni-/-in-, *-ana, *iSi-, and possibly *mu-/-um- did not develop from original passive constructions, as concluded by Dahl (1973), Wolff (1979), and Pawley and Reid (1979), but rather the nominalizing function was the original one, and that the passive and verbal focus uses of these affixes in Philippine languages are a secondary development. That is, verbal focus in Proto-Austronesian was at most an incipient mechanism that was later elaborated and developed by the languages of the Philippines and some languages of Borneo and the Celebes.

If this argument is correct, then the possession of a well-developed verbal focus system becomes potential evidence for subgrouping, depending on how likely it would be for focus to come into existence independently in separate subgroups, and on how likely a focus system could spread as an areal feature among separate subgroups.

Our arguments for this hypothesis include the following:

1) Throughout the Austronesian family, but especially in those languages which show verbal focus, the person marker forms for the agents of passive verbs are the same as the genitive pronouns marking the possessors of underived nouns, and contrast with the other sets of person markers.
2) The reflexes of the 'focus affixes' mentioned above outside the Philippines are very largely nominal derivational affixes, and even in languages such as Malagasy and Toba Batak, it now appears as if many constructions previously analyzed as verbal may turn out to be amenable to a nominal construal, just as their counterparts in Philippine languages have turned out to be.
3) The odd patterns of focus affixation in verbs, with some case inflections being suffixed (*-en, *-ana), some prefixed (*iSi-, *mu-, *ni-), and some infixed (*-um-, *-in-), suggests that focus paradigms are the result of the welding together of originally disparate elements, the originals in most cases being most plausibly derived from nominalizing morphemes.
4) While deriving the nominal forms from passive constructions can only be done with ad hoc and unmotivated transformational rules, we have found a plausible way to derive verbal focus constructions from nominal ones which involves only a simple reinterpretation of isomorphic clauses and relabeling of several crucial nodes.

3. Proto-Austronesian Sytax

At this point, it is convenient to give a brief sketch of PAN sentence structure as we reconstruct it.

Proto-Austronesian was probably a verb-initial split ergative language like Amis or Palauan, with ergative Agents and possessors both marked by the same Genitive case form, a common feature of ergative syntax. Tense, aspect, negation, and various adverbial notions such as manner were carried by a small class of verbs which, like 'auxiliary' verbs generally, were the grammatical main verbs, the lexical heads of their sentences, with other verbs occurring in sentences under the 'auxiliaries'. Nominative and Genitive clitic pronouns were 'attracted' to the syntactic heads of the main sentence.

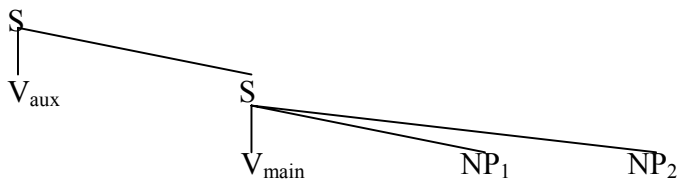
The normal position for the Genitive Agent of an ergative clause was immediately following the head verb of its clause (possibly with one or more intervening clitic pronouns or adverbs), since otherwise it could be interpreted as a Genitive attribute of the nouns preceding it.

Grammatical subjects were obligatory definite, that is, assumed by the speaker to be identifiable by the hearer from the linguistic or extralinguistic context. All of these properties can be observed in modern languages such as Tagalog (McFarland 1978), Amis, and Tsou, and so can be reconstructed for PAN.

PAN was a strongly noun-oriented language, with a high percentage of nominalization strategies. The affixes *-en, *ni-/-in-, *-ana, *iSi-, and possibly *mu-/ -um- functioned to derive nouns from verbs, with only *-en possibly having begun to function to derive verbs as well as nouns.

4. Auxiliaries as Main Verbs in PAN

PAN must have had an extensive set of auxiliary verbs, a set which almost certainly included not only words marking tense or aspect, but also logical and existential negators and certain kinds of 'adverbs' denoting manner and instrumentality (cf. Starosta 1974:300-301, 315, 319, 333-334, 347-349, and Chen 1982). On the basis of evidence from languages throughout the Austronesian family, we can conclude that these elements were in fact grammatically verbs, and that in spite of the implications of the term 'auxiliary', they were syntactically the grammatical heads of their constructions, with the so-called 'main verbs' being syntactically embedded under the 'auxiliaries' as sentential complements. That is, the appropriate analysis for auxiliary verbs in Austronesian languages is something like:



The generalizations that can be captured by this analysis include the following:

1) Word order: Instead of saying that the initial element in the sentence (assuming no topic is present) is a predicate nominative or a V unless an Aux is present, we simply say, unless a topic is present, the initial element in every clause is the head of the predication: NP, PP, or V, period.
2) Clitic placement: Instead of stating that clitic pronouns and clitic adverbs are attracted to the NP predicate or main verb unless one of a set of preverbal elements is present, in which case the clitic for some unknown reason precedes instead of following the 'main' verb (see, for example, Schachter and Otanes' discussion (1972) of the various classes of elements that obligatorily or optionally precede clitics), we can state simply that clitics are attracted to the lexical heads of their constructions, whether NP, PP, or S.
3) Dependent verb inflections: Certain languages such as Kagayanen (Harmon 1977:100ff), Seediq (Asai 1953:28), Manobo (Elkins 1971, Morey 1964, DuBois 1976), Maranao (McKaughan 1958), Samareño (Wolff 1973:82, 86), and Atayal

(Egerod 1966) have a set of verbal inflections that occur only in imperatives or when the verb is either embedded under another verb or follows certain elements of a set of auxiliary words marking aspect, negation, etc. Under the analysis we propose here, we need only state that verbs must appear in dependent inflected forms either in imperatives or when they are dependent, that is, when they are embedded under higher verbs. This aspect of our analysis becomes very important in accounting for the change from PAN to languages of the Oceanic type.

5. PAN Nonverbal Clauses

Proto-Austronesian nonverbal clauses were composed of an initial predicate noun phrase or prepositional phrase followed by a grammatical subject and optional outer circumstantial actants such as Time and Place. There was no copula in such sentences. Non-verbal clauses, like verbal ones, could be embedded under auxiliary verbs marking tense, aspect, and negation.

Predicate nominative sentences were either descriptive, with indefinite predicates, or identificational, with definite predicates.

Descriptive predicate nominatives did not have their own referents. Rather, they added information about the subject of the clause. Except for having the basic internal structure of a Noun Phrase, they were essentially identical in their syntactic properties to stative verbs, even to the point of allowing nominative clitic pronouns to attach to the head predicate noun. PP predicates also supported clitics.

As in the case of verbal clauses, the nominative clitic was obligatory in main clauses when the implied subject was first or second person. There was no overt third person singular nominative clitic, and probably no overt third person plural either.

The second type of predicate nominative sentence, or identificational, took two definite NP's with independently registered referents and identified them with each other. This type, too, is widely attested in Philippine and Formosan languages, although it is probably far less frequent than the descriptive type.

The equational sentence type was almost certainly very frequent, as it continues to be in Paiwanic and Philippine languages, and as will be shown below, it had a crucial role to play in the evolution of verbal focus inflections from nominalizing derivational affixes.

6. PAN as a Verb-initial Split Ergative Language

We assume that Proto-Austronesian was verb-initial because this is the usual word order in Philippine and Formosan languages as well as in such languages as Toba Batak and Merina (cf. also Wolff 1979:164). Emphatic, contrastive, or presupposed NP's or adverbials could appear as preverbal topics, immediately followed by an intonation break.

The claim that PAN was a split ergative language is based on the following considerations:

1) Within the lexicase framework, an ergative language is defined as one in which the grammatical subject is always in the Patient case relation. A split ergative language is one in which the unmarked subject choice is Patient, but which has one or more classes of derived verbs which choose their grammatical subjects according to Fillmore's (accusative) Subject Choice Hierarchy: Agent first, else

Instrument or Correspondent, else Patient (using lexicase labels for the case relations).

2) A number of languages from different primary Austronesian subgroups, including Tongan, Samoan, Ilokano, Palauan, Chamorro, Toba Batak, Paiwan, Amis, and Tagalog (cf. De Guzman 1978:199) are ergative or split ergative in the sense of 1) above.
3) In the split ergative languages, the ergative verb stems are often less marked than the accusative ones, and the completely unmarked 'root-stems' (De Guzman 1978:199) are always ergative in languages such as Tagalog, Kagayanen (Harmon 1977:111, Table 6), and Toba Batak (Van der Tuuk 1971:85, 98) where 'simple passives' consist of a bare stem, while 'active' transitive verbs are derived (cf. Mulder and Schwarz 1981:250 on Bilaan). That is, Toba Batak 'simple passives' are grammatically ergative, since the unmarked subject is the Patient rather than the Agent.
   Even in languages which have drifted off in an accusative direction, nonsubject Agents tend to be marked by the same case form as possessors, a typically ergative characteristic, and derived but otherwise unmarked *pa- causative stems tend to retain their original ergative properties. Thus *pa- causatives in Kapampangan (Mirikitani 1972:79), Kagayanen (Harmon 1977:111), Tsou (Tung 1964:225), Tagalog (De Guzman 1978:339), Seediq, and to some extent in Atayal (Egerod 1965:267) and Bunun have Agents in their case frames but allow only Patients as grammatical subjects unless further derived.
4) Linguistics such as Ceña (1977) and De Guzman (1979) have pointed out Tagalog's tendency to 'Patient Primacy', the typically ergative inclination to give preference to Patients in subject choice, morphological marking, etc. This tendency is reflected for example in the fact that if a Tagalog sentence refers to a Patient and an Agent which are both definite, only the Patient can be chosen as the grammatical subject.
5) Finally, note that the Agents of imperatives in Austronesian languages are typically nonsubjects. This is the case for example in languages such as Maori (Clark 1973:577), Hawaiian, Betawi (Ikranagara 1975:124), and Formosan languages such as Tsou (Tung 1964: 84), Bunun, and Amis. The fact that imperatives in languages such as Seediq (Asai 1953:56) preserve reflexes of the original derivational suffixes *-i or *-a even when, as is the case in for example Amis, Rukai, Saisiyat, and Bunun, these have been lost elsewhere in the language, and that archaic forms of the verb root can occur in imperatives (e.g. Bunun *koni* 'eat', as compared with the regular form *maʔun*), provide additional support for our contention that Patient-subject imperatives were a feature of the ergative proto-language.

7. The Structure of Noun Phrases

7.1. Heads and attributes

Proto-Austronesian Noun Phrases were composed of a head noun optionally followed by one or more NP attributes, or possibly by a verbal relative clause. NP attributes following noun heads were either Locative (as in English 'the woman in the pool'), Genitive (as in 'the name of the game'), or appositional (as in 'my son, the hunter').

7.2. Adjectives and demonstratives as nouns

The X' convention as interpreted within the lexicase framework (Starosta 1979:60) requires that the lexical head of a Noun Phrase be a noun. However, it should be noted that the lexical items that must be classified as noun according to syntactic criteria in Proto-Austronesian and in many of the descendants often correspond to adjectives or demonstrative determiners in English translations, and this correspondence has unfortunately influenced the synchronic analyses of many Austronesian languages, where it has been assumed without question or justification that a determiner or adjective in the English translation is necessary and sufficient grounds for postulating a determiner or adjective in the language being analysed. For PAN, the only determiners we presently reconstruct are the Genitive *i/*ni (cf. Reid 1981) and a personal Nominative article *si.

8. Verbal Derivation with *-i and*-aken

In addition to an inventory of unmarked and *pa- causative ergative verb stems, Proto-Austronesian also had derived verb stems suffixed by *-i and *-a, and perhaps other elements such as *-aken or *-neni. These suffixes were homophonous with synchronically coexisting prepositions *i, *a, *aken, and possibly others, and were diachronically derived by a process of preposition capture of the sort that operates in German (*ausreissen* 'tear out' vs. *reissen* 'tear'), Latin (*extrahô* 'draw out, extract' vs. *trahô* 'draw, drag'), or Mandarin Chinese (*jìgěi* 'send to' vs. *jì* 'send'; Hou 1979:79). *i and *aken had two functions: recentralization and definite marking.

In a lexicase grammar, the Patient case is the fundamental case relation. Every verb, with the occasional exception of ambient or meteorological verbs such as (in some languages) '(It) is-hot' or '(It) is-snowing' has at least a Patient in its case frame, and this Patient is viewed as the central element in the action or situation designated by the verb. Many languages, however, have a mechanism for varying the 'perspective' (Fillmore 1977:72-79) of a given verb stem, and in lexicase, this means treating some other actant associated with the verb root as the Patient, and either reinterpreting the original Patient as some other case relation or excluding it altogether from the case frame. To take several examples from English:

John climbed over the mountain.
Nom Lcv
PAT LOC

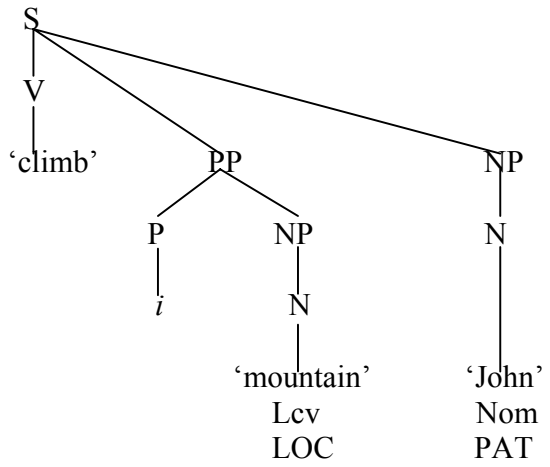
John climbed the mountain.
Nom Acc
AGT PAT

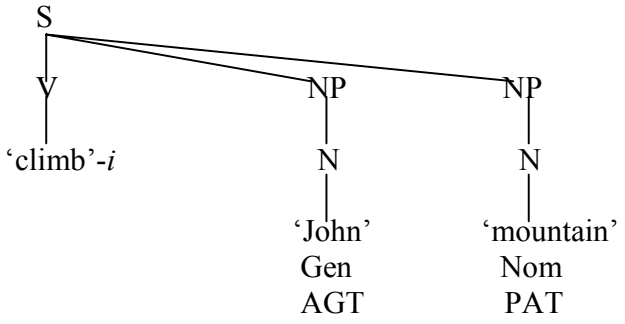
Joe Bloggs fought with the champion.
Nom Lcv
PAT LOC

Joe Bloggs fought the champion.
Nom Acc
AGT PAT

In these examples, actants marked by an oblique case-form preposition are reinterpreted as direct objects (Accusative Patients), and in many languages, this derivation process also involves the retention of the original preposition as an independent adverb or as a fused affix of the verb itself.

The derivational process which reinterprets a different case relation as Patient can be referred to as 'recentralization', since in effect it places a new situational role in the perceptual center of the stage. In PAN, this process was quite productive, and exactly as in German, the derived verb stems were marked by affixes derived from the prepositions originally captured from the oblique actants that were 'centralized'. One difference between German and Proto-Austronesian, of course, was that PAN was a verb-initial language, so that the P's followed the verbs and were suffixed, instead of being prefixed as in German. The other relevant difference is that PAN was ergative, and an ergative language is one in which the Patient is always the grammatical subject. This means that when a Locus actant, say, was reinterpreted as Patient and lost its *i preposition to the verb, it became the grammatical subject of the new verb, and the new *-i suffix on the verb became a marker indicating that the subject of the sentence was situationally locational. This is depicted in the following schematic example:





Note that the lexicase approach to this phenomenon involves a fundamental change in case relation, thereby providing an explanation for the difference in semantic

interpretation. On the other hand, a relational grammar account of these data, for example, would involve only a difference in 'grammatical relation', a category whose semantic implications are unclear.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, recentralization was only one of the functions of the *-i/*-aken verbal derivation process. The other was definitivization. As mentioned previously, PAN grammatical subjects were obligatorily definite. Thus, a simple way to mark an actant as definite was to recentralize it, that is, to reinterpret it as a Patient, thereby making it the grammatical subject and thus grammatically definite.

Clearly, what we have reconstructed here is something very much like what is called 'focus' in Philippine linguistics: a system of verbal affixation which allows different actants to be placed in subject position, thereby making them as definite, and which signals the presence of a particular situational role associated with the subject. That is, we are very close to the position taken earlier by Wolff, Dahl, and Pawley and Reid. The difference, of course, is that we don't think the 'focus' system of PAN was marked by the usual Philippine-style *-en, *i-, *-an, or *-in-/ni- affixes. Rather, at the beginning at least, it was implemented by the elements ancestral to the Oceanic transitive markers, a view which in this respect at least is closer to Foley's position (Foley 1976:214ff).

The Proto-Austronesian *i/*aken verbal derivation system has its most striking reflection in Oceanic, but it is by no means limited to this subgroup, and the actual affixes we reconstruct are reflected not only in Oceanic, but in fact in Chamorro (Topping 1973), Toba Batak, Bahasa Indonesia, Bisayan languages, Inibaloi, Marinduque Tagalog, and in all three Formosan subgroups, Atayalic (Atayal, Seediq), Tsouic (Tsou), and Paiwanic (Amis). In other languages such as Tsou (Tung 1964:224-225) the suffixes have different effects depending on the stem to which they are attached, but in all of these languages, the function of the *i and *aken reflexes is similar: marking the Patient as a derived one associated with some other non-Patient grammatical role implied by the source verb stem.

At this stage of our work, one question remains open: the relation between *a and *aken. There is an asymmetry in our reconstruction, because the suffixes involved in the recentralizing derivational process just discussed, especially as reflected in the languages outside of the Philippine and Formosa, are *i and *aken, whereas the affixes reflected in the dependent verb forms in Formosa and the Philippines are *i and*a. The *i in these languages behaves quite regularly, but while the dependent verb suffix *-a* in Atayal corresponds grammatically to *aken, marking the centralization of peripheral 'accessory' case roles (Egerod 1966:353), the *-a* in Tsou, and in dependent and imperative verbs in Philippine languages corresponds to the OF *-en, not the Referential *iSi- as it should if it corresponds grammatically to *aken. (Tsou does have a suffix *-(n)eni* which corresponds in function to *aken, but there seems to be no way to link these two forms historically.)

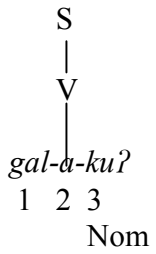
Thus the *-a* in Formosan and Philippine languages usually marks 'Object Focus' rather than 'Referential' or 'Accessory' focus. It seems that both suffixes indicated transitivization, but that the *-a functioned to derive transitive verbs from intransitives by adding an Agent to the case frame, whereas the *-i indicated that a transitive verb had been derived by 'centralizing' the original Locus (reinterpreting it as Patient), thus requiring the original Patient to assume the Agent role.

*i

The reconstruction of *i is amply justified by its widespread reflexes throughout Austronesian (cf. Dahl 1973:119). This preposition, which was the source of the *-i suffix, was a general nonterminus Locative preposition which marked Locus and Correspondent. In Philippine languages such as Tagalog, and in the Formosan language Amis, it is possible to have situational objects appear as non-subjects in certain constructions, but the case form in which they appear depends on the class of noun: common nouns are Genitive in Tagalog or Accusative in Amis, but personal nouns are marked as Locative, which in Amis involves the preposition *i*. If this feature is reconstructible for PAN (which seems rather doubtful at the moment in the absence of evidence from the other Formosan languages), this Locative *i could conceivably be the source of the -*i* which marks transitive verbs in general in Oceanic.

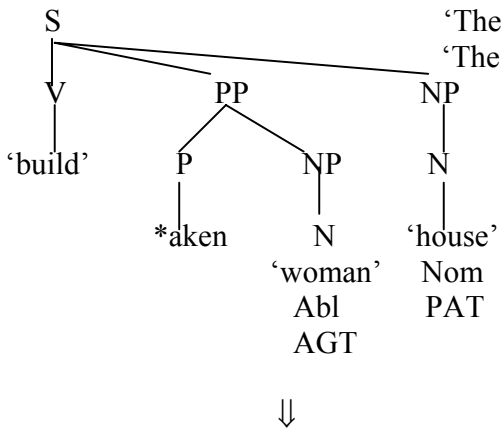
*aken

The suffix and preposition *akin is reconstructible for Proto-Oceanic (Pawley and Reid 1979) and it has cognates for example in Wolio (Anceaux 1952) and Bahasa Indonesia. This element marked a general terminus Locative case form, and when captured in a recentralizing derivation, it added a terminus component of meaning to the derived verb. As a preposition, *aken probably marked Agent/Instrument as well as (comitative) Locus case relations. Thus, we find -*a* as a marker of 'Agent Focus' in subordinate clauses in Atayal (Egerod 1966:353):

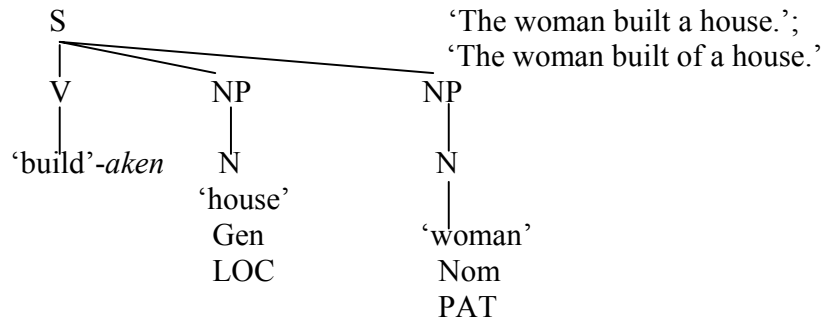


'Let me choose!' (cf. *agal*, *m*-)

and -*kan* as a causative affix in Indonesian (MacDonald and Dardjowidjojo 1967:90). In both cases, the suffix represents an oblique preposition captured from a nonsubject Agent actant in an ergative clause in the process of recentralization, as in the following schematic diagram:



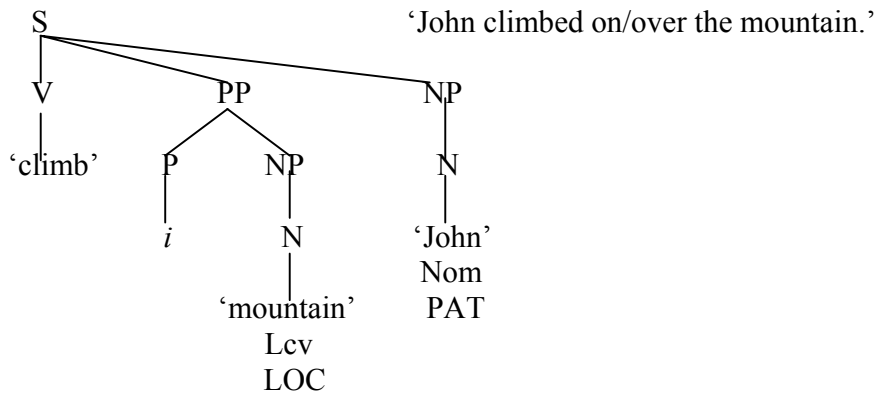
'The woman built the house.';
'The house built by a/the woman.'



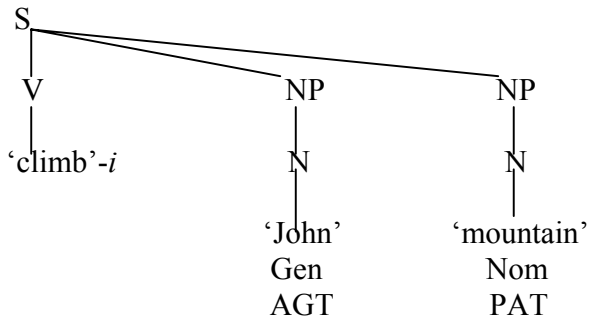
As mentioned above, however, it is not yet clear whether this form can be reconstructed in its verb-deriving function all the way back to PAN. The verb-deriving process itself is certainly reconstructible, however, but the most common exponent of it in Philippine and Formosan languages is a reflex of *a rather than of *aken, as in the Bunun imperative *qanup-a* 'Hunt!'.

9. The Origin of Philippine Verbal Focus

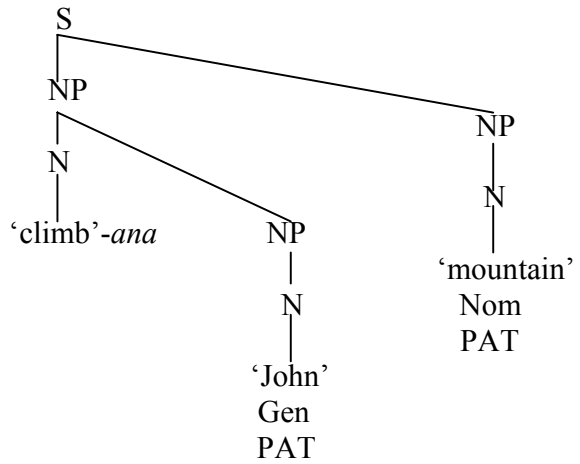
The cleft-sentence constructions are interesting for our purposes because they provided an alternative strategy for 'recentralization', that is, of recasting some actant in a non-subject case relation as the Patient, the perceptual center of the action or situation and the presupposed element in the predication. This is accomplished by taking one non-subject non-Patient actant and making it the subject of a descriptive equational predication. Since it is the subject, it must be definite, and since equational predicators are one-place predicators and thus have only one case-relation slot available, that slot must be filled by a Patient, since Patient is obligatory for every (finite) clause. Thus the subject of an equational sentence is a definite nominative Patient. To cite the example given earlier:



One way to focus on 'mountain' in this structure, of course, is the method discussed in the preceding section: make it the subject of an *-i-suffixed ergative verb:

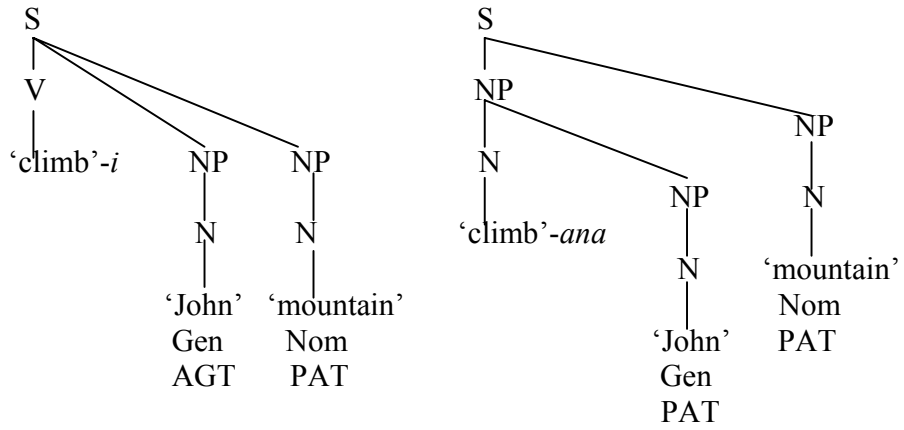


Instead of this, however, we could make it the subject of a nominalized verb, using the deverbal nominalizing suffix *-ana 'place where', e.g.



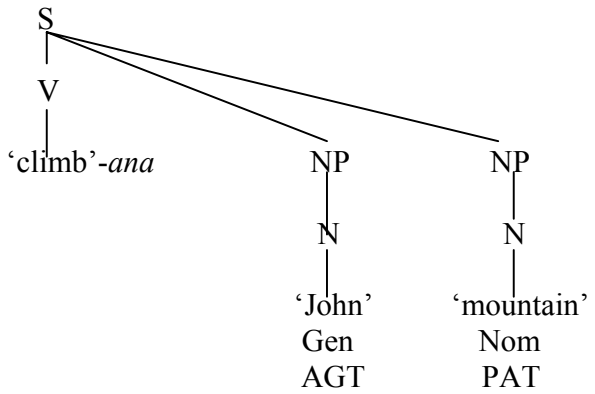
The end effect of the *-ana nominalization and the *-i verb derivation are then in effect the same: the Locus actant 'mountain' is converted to a Patient and made the definite subject of the clause; that is, to use Philippinist terminology, it is 'focused', with the suffix -*i* on the verb and the suffix -*ana* on the nominalized noun both serving to mark the Patient subject as associated with a situational location.

What we have in PAN, then, is two alternative and competing strategies for focusing non-subject actants:

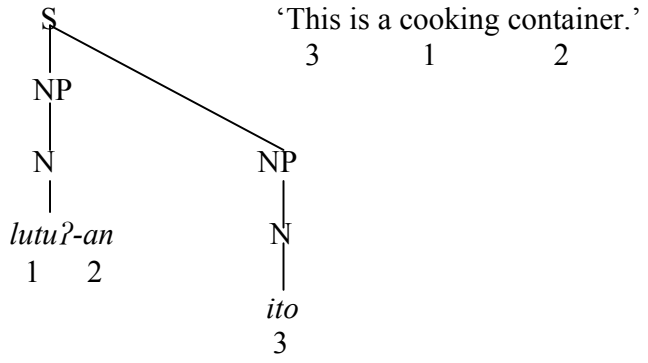


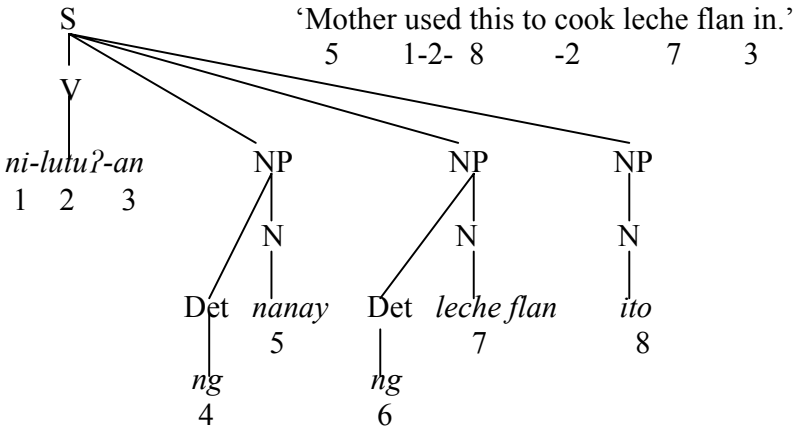
9.1 The reinterpretation of PAN cleft sentences as verbal

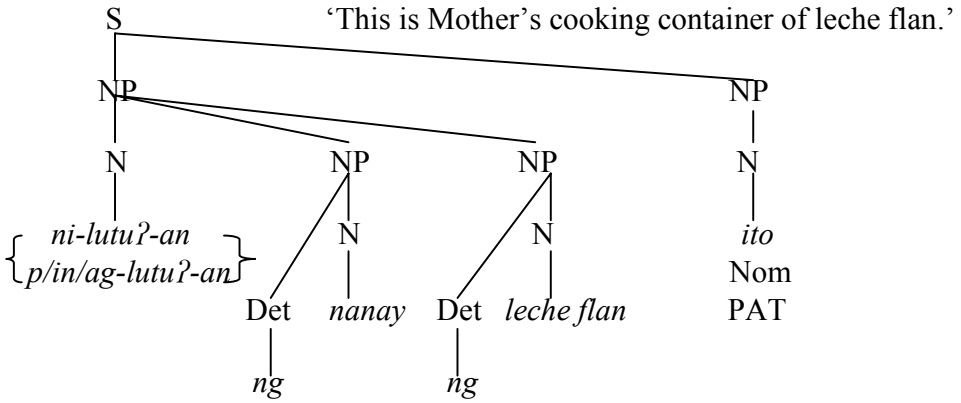
When we notice that these two structures match up word by word and case form by case form, it is easy to see how the next stage of the development of Philippine-style verbal focus came about: some (though certainly not all) of the nominal structures were reinterpreted as verbal ones. The simplest way to visualize this is to say that the sequence 'climb'-*i* in the verbal structure was replaced by the phonological sequence 'climb'-*ana* without changing the lexical matrix in any other way. The result was a derived ergative structure which is superficially identical to a Philippine-style focus, and differs only in that the subject is still Patient:



Note that this derivation-by-reinterpretation did not alter the source noun entry 'climb'-*ana* in any way, so that both 'climb'-*ana* entries coexisted in the lexicon. This situation continues in Tagalog, for example, where a PAN-style deverbal local noun coexists with a homophonous LF verb, and sometimes with secondary deverbal nouns as well (De Guzman, pers. comm.):







9.2 Cleft sentences with *mu-/-um-, *-en, *-ana, *iSi-, and *ni-/-in- nominalized predicates

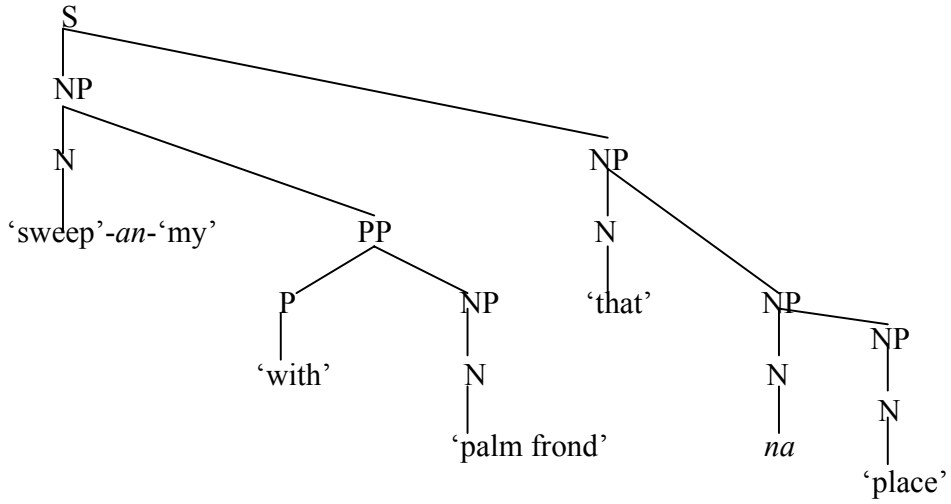
In order for the derivation of verbal focus to have worked as we hypothesize, there must have been a range of nominalization affixes matching the case roles to be focused. The one primarily involved were:

*mu-/-um-	'Actor focus'
*-en	'Goal focus'
*-ana	'Referential focus' (Dahl 1973 reconstructs *-an)
*iSi-	'Instrumental focus' (Dahl 1973 reconstructs *Si-)

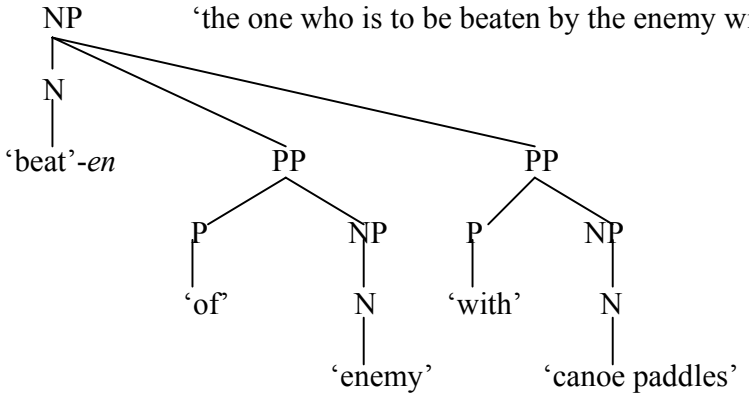
*ni-/-in- ‘Perfective’

Deverbal nouns derived from verbs using these affixes occurred in descriptive equational predicates of the sort illustrated by the following schematic examples:

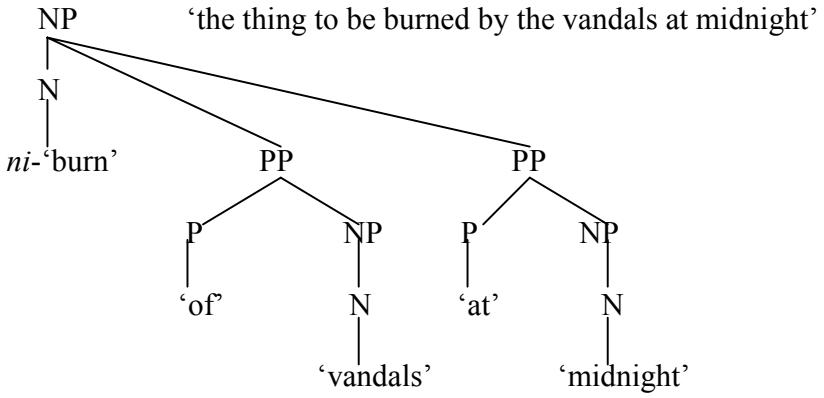
*-ana ‘place of V-ing’

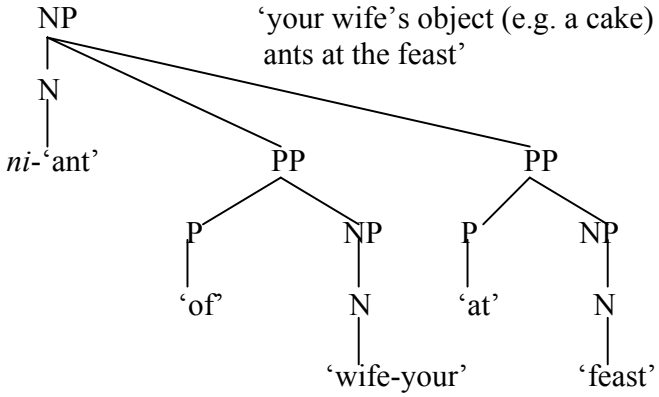


*-en ‘the N to be V-ed’

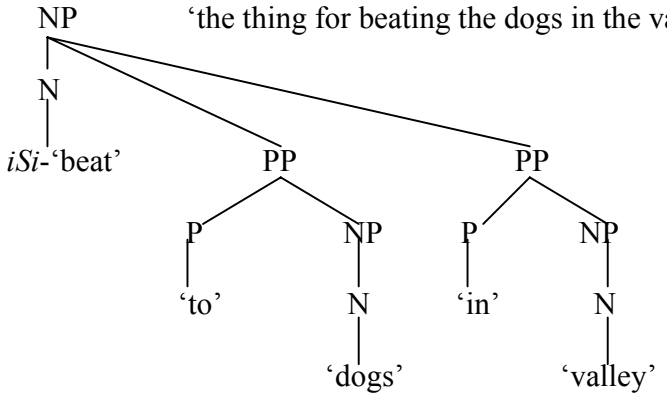


*ni-/-in- ‘the N affected by V-ing’

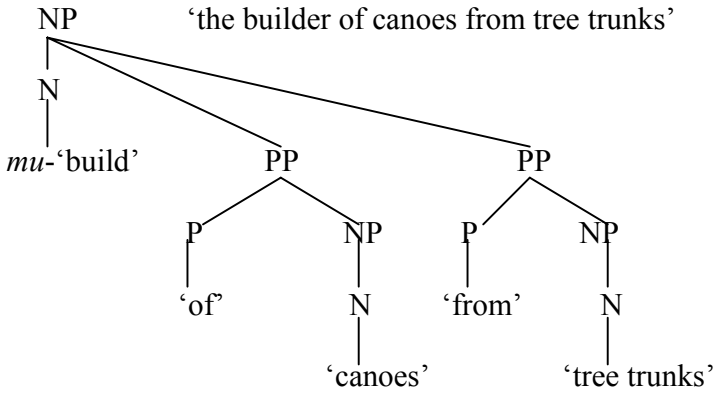




*iSi- ‘thing for V-ing or for N’

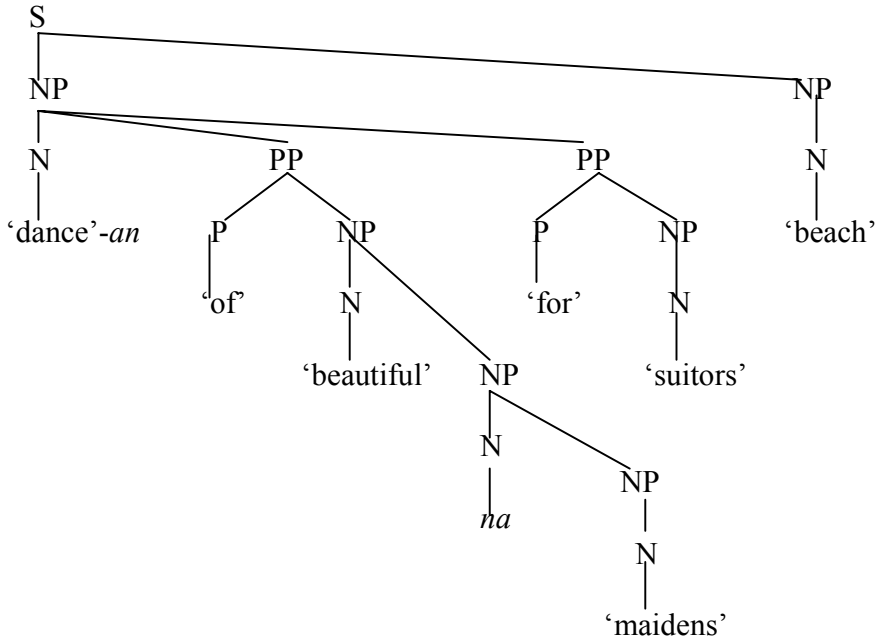


*mu-/-um- ‘one who V’s’

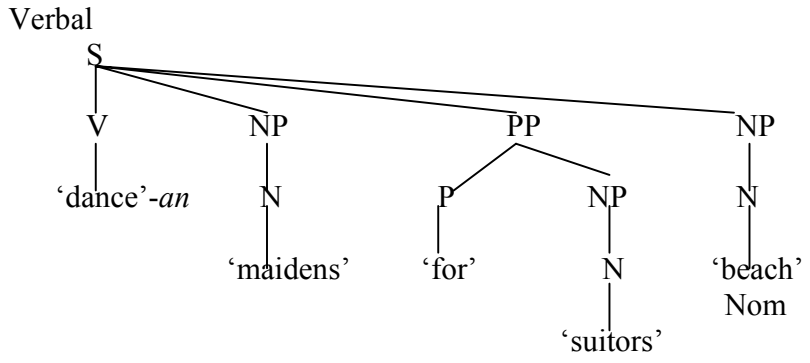


During the transition period, isomorphous structures were internally represented by some speakers as nominals and by other speakers as verbal. The nominal constructions of course were always subject final (allowing for final outer Time and Place actants), since the grammatical subject of an equational sentence is one of two immediate constituents in the sentence, and so cannot be in the middle of the other immediate constituent:

Nominal



For those speakers with corresponding isomorphous verbal constructions, though, this constraint on constituent order would not have to be absolute, since the verbal structures were not limited to binary branching constructions:



This means that as soon as the verbal speakers shifted the subject into a non-final position, the nominalization speakers were placed on notice that something was different, and were given the crucial clue they needed to reinterpret at least some of their cleft constructions as verbal.

This would help to explain why it is that in Philippine and Formosan languages, and in many Indonesian languages as well, relative clauses are exclusively nominal constructions: since the grammatical subject of the relative clause was coreferential with the head N of the NP and thus omitted ('deleted') for both verbal and nominal speakers, it could never appear in the middle of the other constituents, and so the nominal speakers would never be tipped off that these constructions too were to be reinterpreted as verbal. In fact, one way to establish unequivocally that a given form in a Philippine or Formosan language is a noun (at least in some of its occurrences) is to find it used as a ligature attribute after another noun.

The remainder of this section will be devoted to a discussion of the reconstruction of the original functions of the individual 'focus' affixes and their development as verbal focus markers.

*-en

We reconstruct *-en as the ancestor of the 'Object Focus' or 'Goal Focus' suffix in Philippine languages. As with *ni-/-in-, we assume that the primary function of *-en in Proto-Austronesian was to derive nouns from verbs and other nouns. For both deverbal and denominal nouns, the semantic effect of *-en derivation was 'future effect'. It is possible that both *ni and *-en had begun to function as markers of verbal aspect in PAN, but if so, they had not become complementary allomorphs of 'Object Focus' in the way that their descendants now have in languages such as Tagalog.

Clear reflexes of this affix have not been identified in Oceanic, although PPN *kakano 'flesh, meat, pith' has been offered as a possible derivative of *kan 'eat' plus *-en. Reflexes of *-en in its nominalizing function are, however, common in Western Austronesian languages of the Extra-Formosan group as well as in the Formosan languages.

The following examples from Ilokano show a neat contrast between reflexes of -*en and *ni-/-in- in approximately the same derivational functions we reconstruct for PAN:

dengdeng-en 'ingredients to be used in making a vegetable dish; that which is to become a vegetable dish'

d-in-engdeng 'the completed vegetable dish; that which has become a vegetable dish'

*ni-/-in-

The affix *ni-/-in- functioned in Proto-Austronesian to derive nouns from verbs and other nouns, although it may have also begun to have the function of marking perfective aspect in verbs, a function which is now its primary one in Philippine languages. Based on evidence from Philippine and Formosan languages, both the prefix *ni- and the infix *-in- must be reconstructed for the earliest stage, with *ni- infixed after all initial consonants except *l and possibly *r. The development of *-in- as an infix seems to have preceded the development of infix *-um- from *mu-, judging from the reconstructible order *-umin- (despite Wolff's *-inum-; Pawley and Reid 1979:107).

*-ana

The widespread -*an* and -*ana* suffixes marking locative nouns and verbs in Austronesian languages are reconstructed here as *-ana rather than *-an, primarily based on evidence from Oceanic languages and on the -*ana* suffixes found in Malagasy (Dahl 1976:118) and Tsou (Tung 1964:174-175). In the Central Pacific subgroup *-an(a) is replaced by -*aŋa* (sometimes -*ŋa*). The substitution of the velar nasal for *n is irregular but as this substitution has evidently occurred in several morphemes, it is very probable that the Central Pacific suffix is cognate with POC *-an(a). A similar correspondence is exhibited in certain languages of the eastern Solomons, which show -*aŋa* for expected -*ana*.

The original -*ana* was bimorphemic, probably consisting of the ligature a plus an attributive NP consisting of the demonstrative pronoun *na*. Several modern languages retain -*ana* in this function, including Bilaan. Compare Kagayanen -*an* < *-ana, Ivatan -*ay* < -*a* +*ya*, and Isinai -*ad* < ʔ-*a* +*di*. The latter are still demonstrative pronouns or definite articles, and illustrate the kind of process involved.

The combination of a linker plus a noun in PAN, as in modern languages, could only be attached to nouns, and this is reflected in the widespread appearance of reflexes of *-ana as nominalizing suffixes on verbal stems. Note that this implies that the bases for this affixation must have already been (ø-derived) nouns when *a + *na fused with them as suffixes. As we have noted elsewhere in this paper, this nominal status is the original and most widespread function of -*an*, with true verbal focus present only in a limited number of constructions with 'focus' affixes in Philippine languages.

*mu-/-um-

The 'Agentive Focus' marker in Philippine languages is normally the infix -*um*-, a form which also occurs in some Malagasy AF verbs (Dahl 1973:118). We reconstruct the progenitor of this marker as *mu-/-um-, based on data from Formosan and Philippine languages which allow us to reconstruct both the infixed and prefixed forms for Proto-Austronesian.

The original function of *mu-/-um- in Proto-Austronesian was probably that of deriving agentive nominalizations from nouns or verbs, a function very similar to that of -*er* in English.

The fact that *m*- and -*m*- forms in Atayal refer to animates (or atmospheric phenomena) supports this idea, since the agentive -*er* forms in English of course have the same implication. The nouns formed by this derivational process in PAN were later reanalyzed as verbs by the process described elsewhere in this paper.

By the reanalysis process described below, reflexes of *mu-/-um- frequently derive transitive verbs in modern languages. That is, nominal structures such as 'John is the shooter of the bear' are reinterpreted as 'John shot the bear', and even originally intransitive verbs can become transitive via this route.

In Tsou, the *mu-/-um- prefix played a major role in deriving the active-passive distinction, and every Tsou sentence appears in one of these two modes, marked by *m*-prefixed auxiliaries and often *m*-verbs for active sentences, and *m*-less auxiliaries and verbs in passive structures.

The transition from *mu-/-um- as a nominalizer to *mu-/-um- as a verbalizer is analogous to the development of the other verbal foci, that is, it involved the reanalysis of the nominalized equational as a verbal construction.

The *-a verb suffix was one of the mechanisms used in Proto-Austronesian to derive verbs which 'focused' on oblique actants from normal unmarked ergative verbs. It is directly reflected in the dependent ('subjunctive') OF suffix -*a* in Atayal (Egerod 1966:347) and in Tsou (Tung 1964:186). Dahl (1973:120) notes the use of -*a* in Malagasy as an imperative-optative AF affix, and states that -*a* is found in many languages with optative or subjunctive meaning, and also reconstructs it for PAN.

As in the case of the other foci, then, the verbalization of *mu*- involves the substitution of the *mu*- form for the -*a* form in main clauses in all the daughter languages, and later on in subordinate clauses as well in many subgroups. The signal to the younger generation that the older generation had made the transition would be the occurrence of sentences with non-final subjects, constructions that are possible with multibranching verbal structure but not with a binary equational nominal one. Thus, the first Tagalog sentence below is ambiguously either nominal or verbal, but the second can only be verbal:

Bumili ng bigas ang babae.
1 2 3 4 5
Bumili ang babae ng bigas.
1 4 5 2 3
'The woman bought some rice'

*iSi- accessory focus

The prefix *i- is a marker of Instrument, Benefactive, or Comitative Focus, and of Object Focus for 'transported objects' for a broad range of Philippine languages. We use the term 'Accessory Focus' as a convenient label for this cluster of roles, though we retain the common abbreviation 'IF' ('Instrumental Focus') to avoid confusion with AF 'Agent Focus'. Based on evidence from Formosan languages, Dahl (1973:119) reconstructs this form as *Si- for PAN, in spite of the fact that this would be expected to produce *hi*- in Tagalog, rather than the *ʔi*- that is actually attested.

The Formosan evidence for this reconstruction does not seem to be particularly clear and convincing. Dahl cites Amis IF *sa*- as one justification for the initial *S, but it turns out that Amis *sa*- (Chen 1982) is not a regular IF marker in Amis. Instead, Amis *sa*- derives instrumental nominalizations which only rarely occur in a construction which

could be analyzed as having an Instrumental subject. The implement-deriving *sa* in Rukai (Li 1973:274) would probably be a more tenable example. In Bunun, there is a similar form, but it is *is*- rather than *si*-, and marked future AF as well as IF. Assuming that the final vowel in this prefix was *i, rather than *a, the reconstruction of *iSi- provides a better explanation of the reflexes in Bunun and Philippine languages than does *Si-. Bunun *is*- can be accounted for as a result of vowel loss rather than metathesis, whereas Philippine *ʔi*- forms can be assumed to have developed by reduction of the Philippine reflex *ihi- to *ʔi-. Northern Philippine languages which reflect PAN *S as glottal stop (or zero) would have reduced *iʔi- to *ʔi-. A few Philippine languages still show *hi*- rathern than *i- as the IF prefix. Zorc (1977:134) cites Samar-Leyte, Waray, and Northern Samar *hi*- as forming part of the IF potential affix forms (*nahi*-, *mahi*-, etc.), and Tausug *hipag*- as the IF dependent, durative form.

We believe that the original function of *iSi- in Proto-Austronesian was, as in the case of the other reconstructed 'focus' affixes, nominalization. In modern Philippine languages, it seems to be these Accessory Focus constructions that preserve the character of nominalized equationals even more so than other focus constructions.

10. Paradigm formation

The new denominal verbs formed by the reinterpretation of cleft sentence structures formed themselves into paradigms according to syntactic and semantic complementarity. One of the dimensions chosen in this regrouping was main clauses versus subordinate clauses. Thus in languages ancestral to languages such as Atayal (Egerod 1966) and Samareño (Wolff 1973), the new verbs were specialized to main-clause use, and the original *-i and *-a counterparts were confined to embedded environments. In Toba Batak (Van der Tuuk 1971), the -*i*/-*aken* reflexes were used in active sentences and the *ni*-/-*en*/-*ana*/-*aken* types were used as passives:

	Active	Passive
OF	-ø	ni- -in-
LF	-i	-an
IF	-hon	-hon

If subsequent investigation should reveal that the Toba Batak 'passives' are better analyzed as nominalizations, and if the unmarked OF is really ergative, the Toba Batak system would be a quite close approximation to the one we have posited for the proto-language.

In most Northern and Central Philippine languages, the *-i and *-a forms were replaced completely by reflexes of the original deverbal nominalizers, and the paradigms were composed according to aspect, with reflexes of the perfective *ni- infixed as *-in- to Agentive, Locative, and Instrumental focus forms in *mu-/-um-, *-an, and *ʔi- respectively produce perfective focus forms. For the Object Focus forms, *ni- and *-en derivatives were already OF and in complementary distribution with respect to aspect, so *ni- verbs assumed the perfective slot in the paradigm, with *-en forms filling the corresponding complementary nonperfective slots. This accounts for the unusual complementarity within the Tagalog OF paradigm between -*in*- infixed perfective forms and -*(h)in* (< *-en) suffixed nonperfectives, without any necessity for an unmotivated

morphological deletion transformation. A similar complementation process produced a different result in Kapampangan, where the ʔi- prefixed OF form took over the future slot, the *-in-* form the perfective, and a reduplicated form the present progressive, resulting in the following paradigm:

i-sulat	'will write'
su-sulat	'are writing'
s/in/ulat	'wrote'

11. Development of verbal focus as a criterion for subgrouping

Austronesian languages can be characterized by whether or not their ancestors carried out this reinterpretation, and if so, how far they carried it. Tsou, for example, has no trace of a verbal focus system using originally nominalizing affixes, though the nominal affixes are there in their original function. Languages such as Atayal and Samareño descend from systems in which the original verbal affixes forms were specialized to subordinate clauses, with the new verbs taking over main-clause focusing functions. Languages like Amis descend from languages which kept the *-i form only in the imperative and replaced all the others, and standard Tagalog replaced all the *-i type verbal forms by originally nominal affixes, while at the same time keeping the original deverbal nouns as well, resulting in a tremendous amount of structurally homonymous constructions that continue to confound us linguists to this very day.

The reinterpretation and replacement process was certainly a post-PAN innovation, but unfortunately the occurrence of this process by itself is unlikely to be very useful for subgrouping purposes, simply because once the stage was set, it became highly probable that the change would happen, and it could easily have happened independently in different languages. In the case of Amis, for example, it has only just begun to operate in a very limited set of environments, while in related Paiwanic languages, it seems to be well along. Similarly, the replacement of all *-i type forms was total in Standard Tagalog, but some of the original forms are still retained in Marinduque Tagalog, and this could hardly be taken as evidence that these different dialects belong to different higher-order subgroups. However, though the occurrence of the reinterpretation has very dubious subgrouping implications, it is still quite possible that specific idiosyncratic details may prove useful in this respect.

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