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ABSTRACT

A discussion of the animacy hierarchy in human discourse looks at the role of the hierarchy in three Western Austronesian languages: Tagalog, Bahasa Indonesia, and Rejang. Animacy corresponds to the degree of agency an entity has with a transitive verb as contrasted with the degree to which that entity may be the patient of a transitive verb. The relationship of the entity to the verb takes one of three syntactico-semantic forms: intransitive subject, transitive subject, and transitive object. Each language is addressed separately. The analysis of Rejang looks at the relevance of the hierarchy to transitive objects. A similar kind of conditioning is seen in the interaction between the two passive constructions of Bahasa Indonesia. Discussion of Tagalog focuses on use of the object hierarchy in analysis and interpretation of the case system. The hierarchy approach is seen as providing a fruitful semantic framework for a wide variety of facts in Western Austronesian languages. (Contains 11 references.) (MSE)

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THE ANIMACY HIERARCHY AND WESTERN AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

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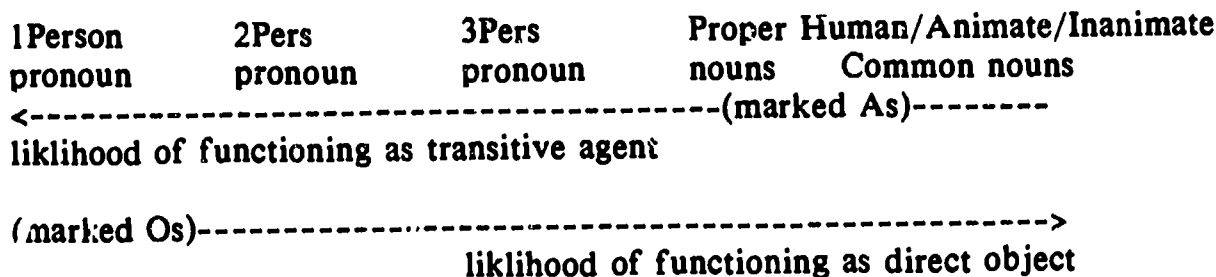
I. Introduction.

This hierarchy originates with Silverstein (1976). Comrie (1978:386) has characterized it as follows.

There seems to be a general supposition in human discourse that certain entities are inherently more agentive than others, and as such inherently more likely to appear as A(gent) of a transitive verb and less likely to appear as P(atient) of a transitive verb. The mainstay of this supposition is the animacy (agentivity) hierarchy, which claims basically that more animate entities will tend to act upon less animate entities rather than vice versa.

We can represent the 'potentiality of agency' scale diagrammatically as in FIGURE 1 (taken from Dixon 1979).

FIGURE 1 - The Animacy Hierarchy



There are three core syntactico-semantic relations in this framework which I shall label S, A and O following Dixon (1979).

- The S function refers to the INTRANSITIVE SUBJECT
- The A function refers to the TRANSITIVE SUBJECT
- The O function refers to the TRANSITIVE OBJECT.

I assume, finally, that case systems interact with syntactic rules to ensure recoverability of the three core relations in surface structure, but case systems may differ in how recoverability is achieved (Comrie 1978:379).

With this much terminology and theoretical background, I shall proceed to an analysis of some typologically interesting data in three Western Austronesian languages: Tagalog, Bahasa Indonesia, and Rejang.

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II Rejang and the Agent Hierarchy

First, I will try to demonstrate the relevance of the hierarchy to the analysis of some conditions on extraction of the O in Rejang, a language of southwest Sumatra. The language is basically AVO. Case is indicated morphologically by position only. Consider the contrast in (1) and (2).

- | | | |
|-----|---|---------------------------------|
| 1 a | Ko t-em-okoa jano?
'You bought what? | A V O |
| b | Jano (gi) ko t-em-okoa?
what you buy
'What did you buy?' | O A V
(direct O-extraction) |
| c | Jano (gi) t-en-okoa nu?
What be-bought you
'What was bought by you?' | O V
(passive) |
| 2 a | Selawie o t-em-okoa jano?
woman that buy what
'That woman bought what?' | A V O
(wh- <u>in situ</u>) |
| b | *Jano (gi) selawie o t-em-okoa?
what woman that buy
'What did that woman buy?' | *O A V
(direct O extraction) |
| c | Jano (gi) t-en-okoa selawie o?
what be-bought woman that
'What was bought by that woman?' | O V A
(passive) |

(1a) illustrates wh- in situ; (1b) illustrates direct extraction of the O, jano; (1c) illustrates an alternative means of extracting the O, namely, passivization. Of course, either method entails rearrangement of the As and Os. It turns out that direct extraction, as in (1b), is possible only under strict conditions. The condition is illustrated by the contrast between (1b) and (2b).

Observe that direct O-extraction is available if the A is a pronoun, as shown in (1b); if the A is a common noun, as shown in (2b), direct extraction is not available.

There is evidence that the condition on direct O-extraction in Rejang has a semantic basis. This evidence is provided in FIGURE 2. List 1 of FIGURE 2 displays the NP-types that can be substituted for the 2nd Person pronoun ko in (1b); and List 2 displays the NP-types that cannot be substituted for ko.

There is an unmistakable correlation between these lists and the set of NP-types that the hierarchy designates to be marked and unmarked when occurring in A function. (FIGURE 1) Within the hierarchy framework, therefore, it is clear that unmarked As license direct O-extraction in

Rejang, whereas marked As prohibit it. Note that the two lists in FIGURE 2 cannot be divided neatly along strictly categorical lines.

FIGURE 2

List 1 - NP-types that can occur as A in (1b)

- a. 1PPNs: uku 'I', ite 'we' (incl.), kémé 'we (excl.)'
- b. 2PPNs: ko 'you', udi 'you (pl)', kumu 'you (honorific singular)', kumu-kumu 'you (honorific plural)'
- c. Unmodified (=first) names used in direct address: 'Ali'
- d. Unmodified kin terms used in direct address or in 3rd Person:
Ba' 'Father', Ma' 'mother'
- e. Two quasi-kin terms in NPs headed by tun: tun tuey 'parent' (literally: 'old person'), and tun titi' 'child' (literally: small person).
- f. Unmodified [+human] pronominal: tun 'person; people; we-all'

List 2 - NP-types that CANNOT occur as Agent in (1b)

- | | | |
|--------------|---|--|
| 3Person PNs | : | si 'he/she/it', tobo'o 'they' |
| Common Nouns | : | (all except those listed in a-f above) |

Since kinterms and some human common nouns can be substituted for ko 'you' in (1b) and 3rd Person pronouns cannot, the two sets of NP-types are not 'well defined' in any categorical sense. Semantically, however, the facts yield to analysis and language-specific interpretation by the hierarchy. For example, it seems plausible to suggest that, in this language at least, the words for 'mother' 'father', 'parent' and 'child' are more 'animate' in the sense of closer to the top of the hierarchy than common nouns like, say, 'woman', 'policeman', 'carpenter' and so on. Given the possibility of defining kinterms as 'closer to the ego' than other common nouns, the hierarchy provides a perfectly natural explanation for the array of data in (1) and (2) and FIGURE 2. The explanation is that Rejang permits As and Os to be rearranged syntactically, without passivizing, if and only if the A is unmarked.

III Bahasa Indonesia's Two Passives

A rather similar kind of conditioning governs the interaction between the two passive constructions of Bahasa Indonesia. The phenomenon of one language having two distinctive passive rules has been discussed by Chung (1976b). At first glance, the Rejang array displayed (1)-(2) would appear somewhat similar to the Indonesian examples displayed in examples (3)-(4).

- 3 a Kamu sudah mem-baca buku itu, kan? A V O
 you already read book that, yes? (active)

'You already read that book (didn't you?)'

- b Buku itu sudah kamu baca. O A V
 book that already you read (Object Preposing)

'You already read that book.'

- c *Buku itu sudah di-baca oleh kamu. O V A
 book that already be-read by you (canonical passive)

'That book has already been read by you.'

- 4 a Lelaki itu sudah mem-baca buku itu. A V O
 man that already read book that (active)

- b *Buku itu sudah lelaki itu baca. O A V
 book that already man that read (Object Preposing)

- c Buku itu sudah di-baca oleh lelaki itu. O V A
 book that already be-read by man that (canonical passive)

'That book has already been read by that man.'

However, there are a number of important differences between the two languages. I am especially interested in Rejang (1b) and Indonesian (3b). First, the Rejang verb in (1b) displays active morphology in the form of the infix *-em-*, whereas the Indonesian verb in (3b) is bare, i.e. displays neither active nor passive morphology. Second, Rejang O-extraction is distributed only in root topicalizations and wh-questions, whereas the Indonesian structure underlying (3b) occurs freely in embedded clauses as well. Finally, in Indonesian but not Rejang, the preposed Object functions like a subject. This point was argued convincingly by Chung (1976b). In particular, rules such as Subject-to-Object Raising, Equi, Derived Subject Raising, do not discriminate between this preposed O and other subject-like NPs. Furthermore, this O acts like a subject and not like a topicalized NP with respect to discourse-sensitive rules. In fact, Chung's arguments support the traditional view, which I will not question here, that the structure underlying (3b) is a true passive. (3b) is typologically interesting because it is semantically active, morphologically neutral, and syntactically passive.

The point I wish to make is different. It is that the two Indonesian passives interact in a way that should be explainable in terms of the hierarchy. According to Chung, the Object Preposing passive (3b) is available only if the A is a pronoun. In hierarchy terms, this implies that Object Preposing is available only if the A is unmarked.

In the literature, there is an issue whether other NP-types besides pronouns can license Object Preposing in Indonesian. The secondary sources show a wide divergence of opinion, and my own fieldwork has not cleared up

the question entirely to my satisfaction.

For example, as pointed out by Chung (1976b), Dyen (1964) and Kwee (1965) state that only 1st and 2nd Person pronouns can occur as A in structures like (3b). Chung (1976b) states that any pronoun in A function licenses Object Preposing, including 3rd Person pronouns. Dardjowidjojo (1978:199) agrees with Chung about 3rd Person pronouns, but adds that the A can also be an unmodified kin term used in direct address. The sources also disagree on whether Object Preposing applies in constructions containing yang (clefts, wh- questions and relative clauses); and also over the issue of the degree of complementation that exists between the two passives.

The point here is that the issues involve some degree of uncertainty behind informants' judgements, i.e. fuzzy data. This should arouse our suspicions that a semantic problem exists. At least, the issues seem to be reducible to a hierarchy question. If so, the question would be: Where along the animacy hierarchy does the break between marked and unmarked As occur in Bahasa Indonesia? Put in this way, it is plausible to suggest that informants' judgements might differ depending upon their respective ethnic backgrounds. I have worked with Indonesians, including both Rejangs and nonRejangs, for whom List 1 of Figure 2 rather closely describes the NP-Types that can serve as A in the Object Preposing passive in Bahasa Indonesia.

A theoretical point raised by Chung concerns the status of the two passive constructions in Bahasa Indonesia. Chung argues convincingly that it is uneconomical to derive Object Preposing from the canonical passive, say by a clitic rule cliticizing the derived oblique A to the verb. It is simpler to derive Object Preposing directly from deep structure. To capture this intuition, I offer an Incorporation account of the two Indonesian passives, based on Baker (1988). Baker's theory makes it relatively easy to exploit the possibility that pronoun As should be different from common noun As with respect to passive structure.

FIGURE 3

Incorporation account of Bahasa Indonesia's two passives

1 Deep structure:	A V O		
2 Agent Incorporation:	A-V O	Motivation:	universal
3 Object-to-Subject:	O A-V	Motivation:	universal
4 Passive morphology	a) A-	Motivation:	Step 2 (taken literally)
	b) <u>di-</u>	Motivation:	A is lexical
5 A reappears in	a) NO	Motivation:	Step 2 makes Obl. Ph.
Oblique phrase			redundant
	b) YES	Motivation:	A is lexical

Object Preposing = 1,2,3 Condition: A = PN
 Canonical passive = 1,2,3,4b,5 Condition: A = lexical (common noun)

Baker equates passive morphology with the incorporated Agent. Agent incorporation is illustrated as line 2 of FIGURE 3. In other words, the 'cliticization' of the agent pronoun, which is the hallmark of the Object

Preposing passive (see example 3b), can be interpreted literally as Agent Incorporation. Following A-incorporation, O is promoted to the vacated S position in the usual way (line 3 of FIGURE 3). It follows that the difference between the two passives devolves on the semantic function of the oblique phrase. When the incorporated A is a 1st or 2nd Person pronoun, an Oblique phrase would be totally redundant (e.g. 'the man I-saw by me...'). But when the incorporated A is a common noun, the Oblique phrase bears lexical information (lexical features and number) not contained in the 'abstract' canonical passive prefix di-. Hence, in the 'clear cases' at least, the two passive formations are semantically motivated. As for the unclear cases, I believe the same analysis can be given. In these cases, unmodified kin terms and names are used in place of 'you' in direct address. For speakers that use Object Preposing in this way, some kind of morphological conversion rule seems to be the appropriate device. By this means, certain NP-types (namely names and kin terms) are converted to proforms. These converted nouns are pronominal in function; in fact they are typically addressed directly to the addressee, avoiding kamu 'you' for pragmatic-cultural reasons. Thus the Object Preposing passive is a highly natural choice. Since the incorporated Agent is displayed explicitly as the overt sign of the passive, the Oblique phrase is redundant.

IV - Tagalog and the Object Hierarchy

I would now like to consider a very different kind of Western Austronesian language, namely Tagalog, spoken in the Philippines. I will try to show that the Animacy Hierarchy approach has another interesting application in the analysis and interpretation of the case system. Case in Tagalog is indicated by means of particles or pronouns. Interestingly, these particles -- and of course the pronouns -- display animacy features. I will focus attention mainly on the O function, and on NPs in the Objective case. This case is 'defective' in Tagalog.

FIGURE 4 - Tagalog case system (McGinn 1988)

CASES	<u>PARTICLES</u> Nonpers/Pers	<u>PRONOUNS</u> Nonpers/Pers	<u>WH-Variables</u> Nonpers/Pers
<u>Major Clauses</u>			
Subjective	ang/si	siya	ano/sino
Oblique	sa/kay	kaniya	saan/kanino
Objective	ng/---	---	---/---
Agentive	ng/ni	niya	kanino (rare)
Genitive	ng/ni	niya	kanino
<u>Minor Clauses</u>			
'Ergative'	ang/si	siya	ano/sino
'Absolute'	∅	∅	∅

What I want the hierarchy to do is motivate the 'gaps' in FIGURE 4. In this part of the paper, I am chiefly interested in the Object Hierarchy, that is, in the notion of marked and unmarked Os. The Object Hierarchy is the Animacy Hierarchy read from right to left. This hierarchy claims that the maximally unmarked O is an inanimate common noun.

Tagalog displays five basic clause-types, displayed in (5)-(10). Minor clauses display a quasi-ergative case structure, but I present this as a minor pattern.

- | | | | |
|-----|--|--------------|---------|
| 5 | Guro ang babae/si Juan.
teacher the woman/ Juan | (Equational) | 'O' 'A' |
| | 'The woman/Juan is a teacher.' | | |
| 6 | May guro sa bahay. (Existential-Pleonastic) V O Obl
is teacher in house | | |
| | 'There is a teacher in the house.' | | |
| 7 | May libro si Juan. (Existential-Ergative) V O A
have book Juan | | |
| | 'Juan has a book.' | | |
| 8 a | B-um-ukas ang pinto.
open the door | | V S |
| | 'The door opened.' | | |
| | b B-um-angga sa puno ang kotse.
hit on tree the car | | V Obl S |
| | 'The car banged into a tree.' | | |
| 9 | K-um-ain ng isda ang lalaki.
eat a/some fish the man | | V O A |
| | 'The man ate the/some fish.' | | |
| 10 | K-in-ain ng lalaki ang isda.
be-eated by man the fish | | V A S |
| | 'The fish was eaten by the man' (= 'The man ate the fish.') | | |

The first minor type, illustrated by (5), is the 'equational' clause which is verbless. In (5) the predicate nominal is realized as a morphologically uncased noun -- call it 'absolutive' -- and the subject is introduced by the overt case-marker ang/si. Notice that ang/si distinguishes between common nouns (ang) and names (si).

Two other minor types, which I call existential-pleonastic and existential-ergative, are headed by the verb may, and illustrated in (6)

and (7). In both existential types, the direct object is morphologically uncased, or 'absolutive'.

The remaining two sentence types are the major ones in all languages: intransitive and transitive. These are illustrated in (8)-(10). A major innovation in transitive structures is the Objective case-marker *ng*, illustrated in (9).

Example (10) illustrates a passive sentence. In (10), the O appears in derived S function; the A is 'demoted' to the position of an internal argument, introduced by the agentive case-marker *ng/ni*; and special passive morphology appears in the verb, represented by *-in-*.

Examples (11) and (12) illustrate a major 'gap' in the case paradigm of Tagalog.

11 *S-um-untuk PPN/name si Juan. *V O A
 hit me Juan

'Juan hit me/Pedro.'

12 S-in-untuk ni Juan ako/si Pederro. V A S
 be-hit by Juan I/Pedro

'I/Pedro was hit by Juan.'

Surely part of the reason why (11) is an impossible surface structure derives from the simple fact that the Objective case-marker *ng* has no counterpart bearing the needed Person features for introducing a name. Recall in FIGURE 4 that there is no corresponding Objective case personal pronoun, either.

I make the natural assumption that names and pronouns must be available as deep structure Os in any language. Hence (11) is presumably a well-formed semantic structure that cannot be realized as a kernel sentence; (12) illustrates the corresponding passive structure, which is perfectly grammatical.

Notice, now, that the 'holes in the paradigm' displayed in FIGURE 4 occupy positions that are marked by the Object Hierarchy. The only stipulation needed to predict the 'deficiency' of the Objective case is the natural one that Tagalog has grammatical-ized one aspect of the hierarchy.

Given the stipulation, the framework predicts that any verb that cooccurs with a name or pronoun in deep structure must find some extraordinary means of licensing that function in surface structure. Usually, this means that the verb must be passive, but other possibilities include (i) zero realization of an Objective case pronominal-like element (e.g. reciprocals (Carrier-Duncan 1985)) and (ii) 'intransitivization' or demotion of a pronominal-like O to the oblique case (e.g. reflexives (Schachter 1976:504)). Owing to space restrictions, I restrict attention in this paper to the O function when this is realized by names and personal pronouns.

V Typological Remarks on the Tagalog Case System

The name I would apply to this type of marking of NP functions is 'minimal case system.' Minimal case systems may constitute a distinct type. Everything I have said is consistent with the hypothesis that case in Tagalog plays no role at all in the licensing of marked NP functions. This claim depends on the premise that the purpose of nonminimal case systems is to license marked NP functions. Nominative-accusative systems are maximally rich. Ergative languages typically license marked As by means of an ergative case, and the same language typically licenses marked Os by means of an accusative case (Silverstein 1976). In contrast, Tagalog licenses marked NP functions by promoting them to subject (passivization); thus it is voice rather than case that bears the burden of licensing. Furthermore, if Raising-to-Object is an integral part of the Tagalog 'focus' system, as suggested by examples (13) and (14), it follows that the Subjective case is also a 'minimal' case in the intended sense. That is, Subjective case marker ang/si does little more than introduce Ss and As in kernel sentences, and derived Ss (in the traditional sense of promoted Os) in passive sentences.

The prediction that verbs governing marked Os in deep structure must always be passive is necessarily correct in the simple cases: the 'gaps' in FIGURE 4 are true, paradigmatic gaps in the system. For example, 'jussive' verbs like pagbintangan 'accuse' sabi 'tell' and utos 'order' were felt by my informant not to have an active form. The final two examples are designed to test the prediction in more complex cases.

A potentially important prediction is that Possessor Raising in the sense of Baker (1988) should be available to account for sentences like (13c). This sentence was taken from Schachter and Otnes (1972:393).

13 a G-um-ipit [ng buhok ni Susan] si Maria. V [O Poss] A
cut [hair of Susan] Maria

'Maria cut Susan's hair.'

b gupit-an *Susan ng buhok si Maria V *Poss O A
cut-aff. Susan hair Maria (Possessor Raising)

*'Maria cut Susan, the hair.'

c G-in-upit-an ni Maria ng buhok si Susan. [V A O] Poss]
was-cut-aff. by Maria hair Susan (Passive of 13b)

'Susan had her hair cut by Maria.'
(Literally: Susan was cut the hair by Maria)

As outlined in Baker (1988), Possessor Raising affects the possessor of an underlying O. This Possessor is typically human, i.e. a name or pronoun, hence high in animacy. In Possessor Raising, the Possessor of the O is promoted to Object position; the original O is demoted to a 'second object'; and the operation is morphologically marked by a verbal suffix. Assuming all this to be relevant, the suffix in (13b) is -an. Note that

the framework correctly predicts that this derived Object, the original Possessor, cannot surface because the Objective case-marker lacks the necessary Person features to license it. The first correct prediction, then, is that (13b) could not be grammatical. However, (13c) is the passive sentence corresponding to (13b), and (13c) is grammatical. To account for (13c), all that is needed is to allow Possessor Raising to apply blindly at deep structure, generating (13b). The case system accounts for the fact that (13b) cannot be realized. Note again that the naturalness of the case system is explained by the animacy hierarchy. In the same way, (13c) is accounted for and explained as a well-formed passive sentence. The function of the passive morphology is to license the marked O by promoting it to derived Subject position.

Another prediction is that noncore NP functions of other kinds should also be available for Raising to Object -- in addition to the Possessor of O. Again, the only question for any language is whether the right morphology exists to licence the operation, so that the original function is recoverable. I am of course anticipating the typologically important 'focus system' of Philippine languages. The following is a sample derivation for a 'benefactive focus' sentence. Notice that no new assumptions are needed to motivate a derivation whereby the Benefactive Focus NP passes through an earlier stage of Benefactive Raising, or more generally, of Raising to Object.

14 a B-um-ili ng damit para kay Susan si Maria. [V O Ben] A]
 buy dress for Susan Maria

'Maria bought a dress for Susan.'

b i-bili *Susan ng damit si Maria [V *Ben O] A]
 aff.buy Susan dress Maria (Benefactive Raising)

'Maria bought Susan a dress.'

c I-b-in-ili ni Maria ng damit si Susan. [V A O] Ben]
 be bought by Maria dress Susan (Passive of 14b)

'Susan was bought a dress by Maria.'

In the prototypical case, Benefactive Raising promotes a pronoun or name to derived object position. Again, since Tagalog does not tolerate names and pronouns in this position, (14b) cannot surface. To the extent that the Benefactive NP is a high-animacy NP-type -- in particular, a name or a pronoun -- the analysis is motivated by the Object Hierarchy, as in the earlier examples (11) and (13b). Passivization of (14b) promotes the benefactive object to subject, generating the grammatical (14c). It follows that the so-called 'benefactive focus' prefix *i-* is really the morphological sign of prior Raising to Object, not of subjectivization of the Benefactive NP, as is commonly assumed (Schachter 1976:495). The passive morphology, as always, is *-in-*, and as required, *-in-* refers only to the incorporated A.

VI Conclusion

The general conclusion I draw is that the hierarchy approach seems to provide a fruitful semantic framework that goes well beyond its original purpose. It has proven its usefulness in explaining split-ergative case systems, as is amply demonstrated in Silverstein (1976), Comrie (1978) and Dixon (1979). The hierarchy approach seems equally relevant for the analysis and interpretation of a wide variety of facts in Western Austronesian languages.

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