

Ergative Switching in Mabuyag

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Chapter I Preliminary Remarks

1. Introduction

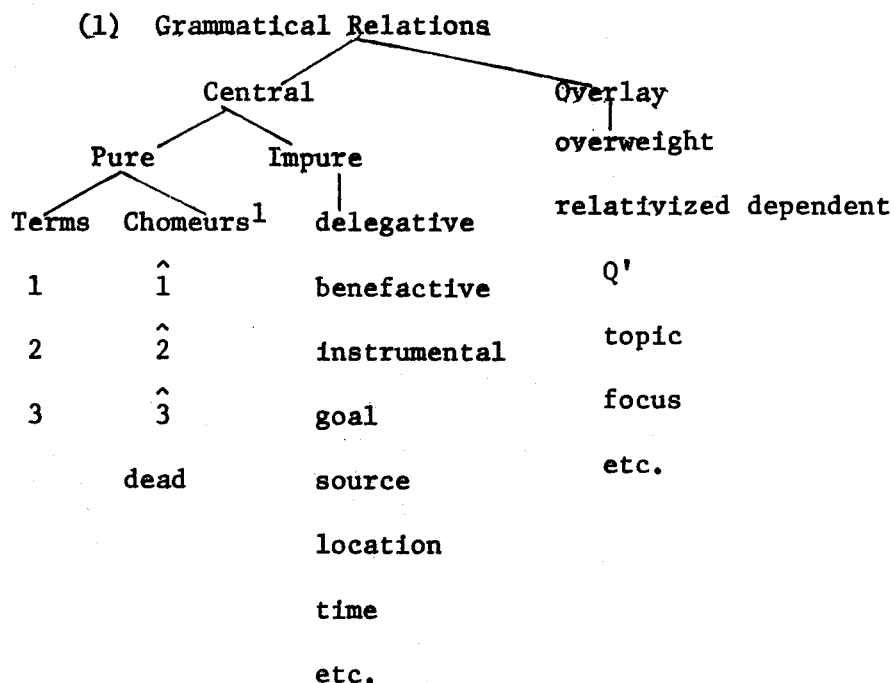
It is the intent of this thesis to examine a rule of syntax in Mabuyag, a language of the Western Torres Strait, and to determine what concerning this rule (called Ergative Switching (ES)) is language specific and what falls from a general theory. I show how a rule which appears to be language specific can be better accounted for as a part of a general theory rather than as a language specific fact. The framework used throughout this thesis is that of (Uni-) Network Relational Grammar (NRG) which is currently being developed by David M. Perlmutter (MIT) and Paul M. Postal (IBM). A discussion of the major concepts of this framework is found in Section 2. A background to certain aspects of Mabuyag morphology and syntax necessary to the discussion of ES appears in Section 3. In Chapter II, I examine certain transitions (rules of syntax) in both English and Mabuyag, within the NRG framework. This information is used in Chapter III for a detailed analysis of the syntax of ES and its interaction with the transitions. I draw on certain conclusions reached in Chapter III in order to make general statements concerning case assignment. The last Chapter of the thesis consists of a summary and conclusions.

The thesis also provides a test of the claims made by NRG about linguistic universals and of the NRG framework generally, by determining whether this framework can handle the facts of Mabuyag. The goal of this thesis is not only to describe the facts of ES but to seek an explanation for them in accordance with the laws of Relational Grammar.

2. Syntactic Framework

2.0 Introduction

Relational Grammar, as a framework for the description of language, is still being developed. It is possible to distinguish two versions, Early Relational Grammar (ERG) and Uninetwork Relational Grammar (NRG). In either version, the grammatical relations holding between the nominals (dependents) and a verb (governor) are taken as primitives. The available relations for a nominal dependent can be shown schematically as follows:



The verbal:nominal relations (which are the governor:dependent relations that have received the most consideration at this time) include two types: central and overlay relations. Within the central relations, a further distinction is made between pure and impure grammatical relations. The pure grammatical relations are either terms or chomeurs.² The terms are: subject (1), direct object (2), and indirect object (3). Nonterms are all relations other than the three terms. It is felt that these terms form a hierarchy where the terms outrank the nonterms in the following way:

1 > 2 > 3 > nonterms

A further distinction is made among the terms. Subject and direct object (1 and 2) are called the *nuclear* terms.

Chomeurs occur as a direct result of the Relational Annihilation Law (RAL):

- (2) Relational Annihilation Law: When some nominal A assumes the grammatical relation previously borne by a term B, then B ceases to be a term, and becomes a chomeur. (Klokeid 1976:185)

The creation of chomeurs is governed by the Motivated Chomage Law (MCL):

- (3) Motivated Chomage Law: A nominal becomes a chomeur only as a result of having its grammatical relation assumed by another nominal. (Bell 1976:28)

I cite from Bell (1976) and Klokeid (1976) as these are the only sources available to me.

Impure terms have a definite semantic relationship regardless of

the verb with which they occur. Impure terms include location, time, benefactive, instrument, delegative, source and goal (among others).

In addition to a central relation (which every nominal bears), a given nominal may simultaneously bear another kind of relation, that of *overlay*. Overlay relations are those of topic, focus, Q', relativized dependent and overweight (heavy NP shift). In certain respects, a nominal which bears the additional relation of overlay behaves differently from a nominal having the same central relation but no overlay relation. For example, (surface) word order in declarative sentences in English is fixed: 1 V 2. But, in a sentence which questions the direct object:

(4) What did she find?

Q'/2 1 V

we find the word order is: Q'/2 1 V, where Q'/2 indicates that the term holding the central relation 2 also holds an overlay relation, that of Q'. The overlay, Q', overrides one of the properties expected for a 2 with regard to word order. It no longer follows the verb, rather it precedes it. Overlay relations then, have properties other than those expected for those of the central relation.

2.1 ERG vs. NRG

The first version, ERG, carried over elements from Transformational Grammar, the most notable of these being *derivations* as developed in Chomsky's *Aspects*. In ERG, there were cyclic rules which affected grammatical relations (except for certain specific ones) and postcyclic rules which did not affect grammatical relations. Rules such as ascensions, advancements, Q formation and so on are considered to be either cyclic or post-cyclic according to various properties they exhibit. Rules are constrained in various ways, depending on their cyclic nature.

The model presently being developed by Perlmutter and Postal is that of NRG, which I explain here in the version which existed in the spring of 1976. (Later developments have not been taken into account.) It differs radically from its predecessor in that the idea of derivation has been eliminated. Because there are no derivations, the sharp distinction between the cycle and the post cycle (so important to ERG) is gone.

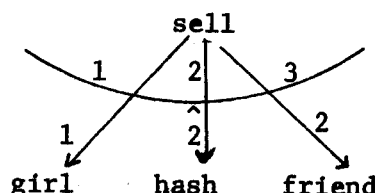
Taking the place of derivations (where a rule applies to an "underlying form consisting of a predicate and its dependents" (Bell 1976:26)) are *networks*. Each sentence is composed of a network of relations; the various relations which a term holds is displayed on this network. Transitions (a change in a dependent from one grammatical relation to another grammatical relation) operate on terms to "change" the grammatical relations and this change is read off the network. By *change in relation* as it is used throughout this thesis, I do not mean *change* in the derivational sense where X is operated on by Y to become Z and various outputs are compared but rather, the change of a grammatical relation from initial to canonic.

Another way of displaying grammatical relations is by a matrix (examples of both appear below). If a matrix is used, the rows represent the grammatical relations and the columns, the verb dependents. Transitions operate as conditions on well-formed networks, or alternatively, matrices. Consider the network (6) and the matrix (7) for the following sentence:

(5) The girl sold her friend hash.

1 V 2 $\hat{2}$

(6)



(7) sell girl hash friend

1	2	3
1	C	2

Both the network and the matrix provide a means of determining the grammatical relations of the terms and any changes in these relations caused by a transition.

2.2 Transitions and Constraints

A sentence consists of dependents bearing certain relations to the verb; transitions operate to change these relations. The relations are of three major types: initial, canonic, and classic. The *initial* relation is the relation which a dependent holds in the first row of the matrix. It is determined by the meaning of the sentence. For (5), the initial relations are: girl:1; hash:2; friend:3.

The last central relation a dependent bears with respect to a governor is termed the *canonic* relation. In (5), *girl* is an initial and canonic 1. *Hash*, an initial 2, is a canonic chomeur because *friend*, an initial 3, advances to canonic 2 thereby taking over the relation held by *hash*. *Hash* becomes a chomeur as a result of its grammatical relation being assumed by another nominal ((3) MCL).

In any language, a term can bear more than one canonic relation therefore, it is necessary to distinguish the very last canonic relation a dependent bears. This relation is called the *classic* relation.³

The theory provides a restricted set of transitions; at this time there are considered to be four basic classes of transitions occurring between nominals bearing a central grammatical relation to a given governor. These are *advancements*, *ascensions*, *insertions* and *union*. (At time of writing, a fifth class was not accepted by Perlmutter and Postal, but see epilogue). These four classes are subject to the laws of RG (for example, MCL (3) and RAL (2)); any submember of these classes is subject to further restrictions, either universal or language particular. All transitions

are available to any given language but not every language is expected to have every transition as a part of its syntax. The following (Sections 2.2.1 to 2.2.4) serves as an introduction to the existence of these classes. Further examples and discussion will be provided when relevant.

2.2.1 Advancements

An advancement occurs when the protagonist (term or nonterm involved in the transition) is promoted on the hierarchy (1>2>3>nonterm). Advancements occur among terms which are dependents of the same governor. They are constrained by the RAL (2).

2.2.2 Ascensions

An ascension is a transition from a relation borne to a downstairs governor to a term relation which is borne to an upstairs governor, where the downstairs governor is a dependent of the upstairs governor (Klokeid 1976:192). Perlmutter and Postal have proposed two major laws which govern the action of ascensions.⁴

(8) Relational Succession Law: An ascendee assumes the grammatical relation of the host. (Klokeid 1976:193)

(9) Host Limitation Law: Only terms can host ascensions (i.e. an ascension is permitted only out of a host that is itself a term). (Klokeid 1976:193)

2.2.3 Insertions

Insertions are not sanctioned for Mabuyag. For this reason, not much will be said about the class of insertions except to briefly mention them at this point. An insertion occurs when a dummy nominal (one which plays no semantic or referential role) assumes termhood. There are several laws constraining insertions.

2.2.4 Union

A union is said to occur when all the dependents of a downstairs governor become dependents of the upstairs governor. This process occurs in a specified way.

2.2.5 Conclusion

The above is a brief overview of certain aspects of NRG. Further consideration of the principles of NRG and of the transitions is found in Chapters II and III.

3. Review of Mabuyag⁵

3.0 Introduction

Included in this section is information which is necessary to

understand and appreciate the arguments concerning rule interactions and the nature of ES. Linearity, case inflections and the function of the various cases, verb morphology and number agreement are discussed. Both the concept of ergativity and what it means to say that an ergative language participates in ES are included. The information found here is treated in much more detail in Bani and Klokeid (1972) *Kala Lagaw Langgus* and in "ES in *Kala Lagaw Langgus*" (Bani and Klokeid 1976).

3.1 Case

Mabuyag has nine cases which are assigned according to grammatical relations. Mabuyag nouns have 4 declensions. One of these declensions is a general one which is composed of the majority of nouns occurring in the language. Nouns in each of the other three declensions share some semantic features between them.

- M-declension: names of males, e.g. Zon.
- F-declension: Names of females, e.g. Lizzi.
- A-declension: some of the nouns which refer to animals; e.g. umay 'dog'.

The cases and their allomorphy are listed below:

Nominative (NM)	-Ø or uninflected
Ergative (erg)	-Ø in the M and F declension -n otherwise
Accusative (AC)	-Ø with all four nominal declensions; -n with pronouns
Dative (DT)	-ka
Genitive (GN)	-Ø M,F,A declension -w otherwise
Locative ₁ (LC)	-ya in the M declension -bya in the F declension -nu otherwise
Superessive (sup)	-ka in M and F declension -a other declensions where the stem ends in C -Ø other declensions where the stem ends in V
Allative (AL)	-bya F declension -ya otherwise
Erelative (EL)	-ngu

Below is a brief (and incomplete) treatment of the major function of the various cases. (I refer the reader to Bani and Klokeid 1976.)

NOMINATIVE

The nominative inflection is used for the subject of an intransitive verb (10) and the direct object of a transitive verb (11).

- (10) Ngoka waninu.
1/nm V
'the girl drank'
- (11) Ngokazin umalnguuki waninu.
1/erg 2/nm V
'the girl drank the beer'

ERGATIVE

The subject of a transitive verb receives the ergative inflection. In (11) 'girl' ngokazin, which is the subject, has the ergative inflection.

ACCUSATIVE

A pronoun receives the accusative inflection if it is the direct object of a transitive verb.

- (12) Ngokazin nuyn imi.
1/erg 2/ac V
'the girl sees him'

DATIVE

The dative inflection is the inflection of indirect objects. In (13), ngokazika 'to the girl', is inflected for dative.

- (13) Athen umay ngokazika mani.
1/erg 2/nm 3/dt V
'the grandfather gave a dog to the girl'

The dative inflection has another function: in the future, negative is formed by the expected inflection for the 1 and 2 being replaced by the dative.

- (14) Ipkazika wapika purathayka lawnga bathaynga.
1/dt 2/dt V NT (time)
'the women will not eat fish tomorrow'

GENITIVE

Possessed nominals receive the genitive inflection.

- (15) Ipkazin garkaziw kuyk palan.
1/erg poss/gn 2/m V
'the girl kicked the boy's head'
1 V poss 2

The genitive has another function. In the non-future negative, the subject and direct object receive the genitive inflection.

- (16) Ngaw wapiw a raysiw purathayginga.
1/gn 2/gn 2/gn V
'I did not eat rice and fish'

LOCATIVE

This case has three functions: indicating location inside or under an object; indicating the time at which an event takes place; in sentences where a comparison of items is involved. (Note that the examples for Locative, Superessive, and Allative come from Bani and Klokeid 1972. I have used their reference numbers.)

- (51) Ngaw thaathi koey mudhanu miyadh.
'My grandfather lived in a big house'
- (55) Zonan waniginga mingu kubilnu.
'John didn't drink last night'
- (57) Zon koeykuthal Tomania.
'John is taller than Tom'

SUPERESSIVE

The objects of certain verbs receive this inflection. It is also used with nominals which indicate the time at which an event occurs.

- (62) Ngay nubika nagaydhin.
'I looked at him'
- (66) Ngath nin kubila imayk.
'I'll see you tonight'

ALLATIVE

Motion towards a nominal is indicated by that nominal inflecting for the allative case.

- (78) Senab ngoka nubiya wagel uzari.
'This girl followed him'

ELATIVE

With motion towards a place, the place nominal is in the elative; it marks impure terms of source. The *reflexive* is marked morphologically the same as the elative.

- (17) Na_i nanungu_i labi.
1/nm refl/el V
'she cut herself'

PRONOUNS

The pronominal case system is essentially the same as that outlined

above with important differences. Pronouns have an accusative and the nonsingular pronouns do not distinguish the nominative from the ergative. Superessive is not distinguished from the Dative, nor is the Allative morphologically distinct from the Locative. Sex distinctions are made in the Genitive (ngaw, masc.; nguzu, fem.). Inclusive and exclusive are distinguished in the first person nonsingular pronouns.

3.2 Verb Morphology

Mabuyag verbs can be divided into 2 major conjugations: the transitive and the intransitive. The verb inflections depend upon whether the verb is transitive (the so-called /-n/ inflection) or intransitive (/ -Ø/ inflection).

We define the absolutive as the subject of an intransitive verb or the direct object of a transitive verb. Looking at the following examples we can see that agreement in Mabuyag uses the absolutive relation (the subject of the intransitive verb (20) and the direct object of the transitive verb (18)).

(18) Ipkazin koey goerasar garkazil imamadhin.
1/erg NT 2/pl V/pl/past
'the woman saw many boys'

(19) *Ipkazin koey goerasar garkazil imamidhin.
1/erg NT 2/pl V/sg/past

(20) Nitha yunamin.
1/nm V/pl
'you (pl) sleep'

When agreement is not done using the absolutive relation, for example (*19), where the verb is singular agreeing with the singular subject and not the plural direct object, garkazil 'boys', the sentence is ungrammatical. Exceptions to the statement that Mabuyag uses the absolutive relation do exist; these occur in the imperative and in ES.

Imperative and Agreement

In the imperative, the verb agrees with both the nuclear terms. Transitive verbs inflect with /-r/ in the singular and with /-w/ or /-riw/ for the dual or the plural. With intransitive verbs the verb stem lengthens in the singular.

(21) Ni thaari.
1/nm V/sg
'you (sg.) stand!'

(not Ni tharir! since thar- is intransitive).

- (22) Nipel tharewmariw!
 1/nm V/dl
 'you (dl) stand!'
- (23) Nidh dhangal gasamar!
 1/erg 2/nm V/sg/sg
 'you (sg) catch the dugong!'
- (24) Nidh koey goerasar dhangalal gasamir!
 1/erg NT 2/pl V/pl/sg
 'you catch many dugongs!'

In each sentence in which the verb is transitive, the verb inflects for the number of both the subject and the direct object. In (23), gasa/ma/r is inflected: V/sg/sg. Compare this with (24) which has a plural direct object (dhangalal); the plurality of the direct object as well as the singular number of the subject is reflected in the inflections of the verb: gasa/mi/r V/pl/sg.

ES and Agreement

The other exception to agreement using the absolutive relation occurs in ES constructions. In ES, the verb does not agree with the 2 but with the 1.

- (25) Ipkazin koey goerasar dhangalal imaminu.
 1/erg NT 2/pl V/pl/past
 'the woman saw many dugongs'

The verb in a sentence in which ES has not occurred uses the absolutive (as (25) which has a plural direct object and the verb inflects for the plural number: imaminu). Now consider an ES sentence:

- (26) Ipika koey goerasar dhangalan iminu.
 1/nm 2/erg V/sg/past
 'the woman saw many dugongs'

The verb now inflects for the singular. Clearly, it can not still be agreeing with the plural direct object (koey goerasar dhangalan). (See Part III, especially Sections 2, 3.)

The verb inflections for both the /-n/ and /Ø/ conjugations follow. In general, the number morpheme precedes those of tense, mood or aspect. As well, number agreement applies in all tenses.

Number: sg is unmarked
 pl /mi/ with [+Ø]
 /ma/ with [+n]
 dl. /ma/ in the /-n/ conjugation in near future, imperative, usitative and potential future.
 /uma/ /+n/ otherwise
 /ewma/ /+Ø/

Tense:	Remote Past	/-dhin/[+n]; [+Ø, -sg] /aydhin/[+Ø,+sg]
	Yesterday	/ngul/[+n, -dl]; [+Ø, -sg] /dhinnngul/[+n, +dl] /ayngul/[+Ø, +sg]
	Last Night	/nbungel/[+n]; [+Ø, -sg] /bungel/[+Ø, +sg]
	Near Past	/nu/[+n] /ma/[+Ø]
	Present	/n/[+n]; [+Ø, -sg] /o/[+Ø, +sg]
	Near Future	/aykay/[+n] /ekay/[+Ø]
	Remote Future	/aykakay/[+n] /ekakay/[+Ø]
	Future	/ayk/[+n, -dl] /ka/[+n, +dn]; [+Ø]

3.3 Linearity

There are few linearization principles in Mabuyag and so it has been classified as a so-called free word order language. However, the verb cannot occur initially. Although sentences of this type occur, they are generally considered to be marginal. The order of nominal dependents in a clause is free except where the morphology neutralizes, then the order is fixed 1 2 V.

- (27) Athen umay ngokazika mani.
 1 2 3 V
 grandfather dog girl gave
 'the grandfather gave a dog to the girl'

- (28) Athen ngokizika umay mani.
 1 3 2 V

- (29) Ngokazika athen umay mani.
 3 1 2 V

- (30) Ngokazika umay athen mani.
 3 2 1 V

- (31) Umay mani ngokazika athen.
 2 V 3 1

The above examples are sufficient to illustrate some of the WO possibilities in Mabuyag; other combinations are possible. The following sentences (32-33) are verb initial; note that they are marked as questionable.

- (32) ? Mani umay athen ngokizaka.
 V 2 1 3

- (33) ? Mani athen umay ngokazika.
 V 1 2 3

As previously stated, there do occur instances where word order is fixed, as in the nonfuture negative for example. This is formed by adding the genitive inflection (/w/ in most cases) to the subject and direct object of the sentence. The genitive inflection replaces the inflection which each term would normally have (either nominative, ergative, or accusative). Following are two declarative sentences. Word order is unimportant here because the case inflection indicates which term is subject, which is direct object.

- (34) Ipkazin ngoka imanu.
 1/erg 2nm V
 'the woman saw the girl'

- (35) Ngoka ipkasin imanu.
 2/nm 1/erg V
 'the woman saw the girl'

When the cases are neutralized (36) and (37) (following), word order must be fixed to keep the meaning intact.

- (36) Ipkaziw ngokaziw imayginga.
 1/gn 2/gn V/NEG
 'the woman did not see the girl'

Attempting to switch the order of the terms results in a different meaning:

- (37) Ngokaziw ipkaziw imayginga.
 1/gn 2/gn V/NEG
 'the girl did not see the woman'

(37) can only have the meaning given in the sublinear gloss. When case is neutralized, word order is fixed: 1 2 other nominal. Since the other terms retain their case marking, their word order is not as crucial.

In Relative Clauses, the possible word orders of the downstairs (subordinate) clause are: 1 V 2, 1 2 V, and 2 1 V (Klokeid 1972:37). It is generally not permitted to have the verb occurring initially or the wh-constituent occurring finally.

4 Ergativity and ES

4.1 Ergativity

An 'ergative' language is described by Bani and Klokeid as one "in which the surface subject varies in case according to whether the verb is transitive or intransitive" (Bani and Klokeid 1976:269). Mabuyag has often been classified as an ergative language because case is assigned ergatively. The subject of a transitive verb takes one case category (termed the ergative case) while the subject of an intransitive verb is in the nominative, as in the following:

(38) Ipkazin garaka palan.
1/erg 2/nm V
'the woman kicked the boy'

(39) Ipika uzari.
1/nm V
'the woman went'

Rather than classifying a language as an ergative one solely on the basis of case, it is more reasonable to say that in any given language, certain rules may operate ergatively. That is, they pick out the absolutive relation. This is the position which will be taken here.

4.2 ES

In Mabuyag, it is possible for the subject of a transitive verb to inflect, not for the ergative, but for the nominative. When this occurs, the direct object is the term which receives the ergative inflection. This transition is called ES. That ES has occurred is reflected in both the case marking of the nuclear terms and in the verb morphology (the verb inflects for the intransitive conjugation /-ay/, not the transitive one).

(40) Ipika garkazin pali.
1/nm 2/erg V/ay
'the woman kicked (all/only?) the boy'

Part III of this thesis is devoted to determining in what way the terms of grammatical relations are changed by ES.

4.3 Semantics of ES

The semantics of ES deserve some comment at this point, although further observations are made throughout the thesis. There is no doubt that there is a semantic distinction which manifests itself in ES. In their treatment of ES, Bani and Klokeid suggest that ES involves "the idea of a distinguishable set of items as opposed to a random collection" (Bani and Klokeid 1976:281). ES seems to impart a feeling of 'all/only' to the nominal to which reference is made. For example, (40) implies that the woman kicked *all* and *only* the boys who were available to be kicked. But the intuitions about it are not definite and are rather delicate. The complexities of the semantics are stated and discussed in the Bani and Klokeid article. It is not appropriate to discuss the semantics at length here, as elaborating on the work done by Bani and Klokeid will not greatly aid our understanding of the syntax of ES.

Footnotes to Part I

¹Chomeurs are glossed as either C or by putting the circumflex (^) above the term of relation the nominal held before going en chomage.

²Chômeur is a French word meaning unemployed. For ease of typing, I will not use the circumflex and the word will appear throughout the text

as chomeur.

³If clear examples of clausal ascensions existed for Mabuyag (for example, Subject to Subject Raising, as in English) it would be possible to make a clear distinction between canonic and classic relation. As it is, there is no uncontroversial test for classical relations in Mabuyag. Therefore the assumption used throughout this thesis is that I am dealing with *canonic* relations.

⁴RG is due largely to D. Perlmutter and P. Postal. However, relatively little written by them is available. For this reason I cite other sources, especially Klokeid (1976) and Bell (1976).

⁵Certain of the material which is used to provide a background to Mabuyag morphology and phonology has been revised in Bani and Klokeid (1976). However, I have used the material as it appeared in the 1972 version as it was the only printed material available to me. The readers are asked to bear in mind that large portions of it have been revised and reanalyzed by the authors.

Chapter II A Relational Analysis of Certain Syntactic Rules

1. The Transitions

1.1 Introduction

This Chapter of the thesis concerns itself with those transitions which are sanctioned for Mabuyag, and which are relevant to the discussion of the syntax of ES. Sections 1 and 2 involve a detailed presentation of the transitions necessary to appreciate the argumentation which follows in Chapter III. Section 3 reviews grammatical relations, both central and overlay, along with the tests for determining the relation types (initial, canonic, classic) relevant to Mabuyag. For example, it is shown that the well-formedness of imperatives depends on conditions on canonic relations (Section 3.2).

It is the intent of this Chapter of the thesis to provide a syntactic background necessary for an understanding of the statements made about the syntax of ES in Chapter III.

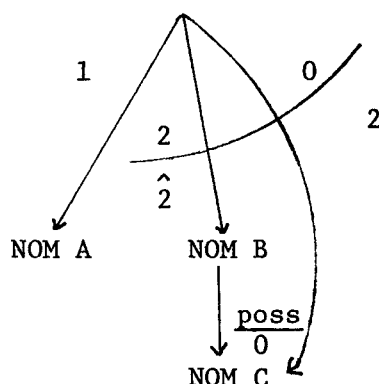
1.1 Ascensions

An ascension is:

... a transition from a relation borne to a downstairs governor; the downstairs governor must itself be a dependent of the upstairs governor. (Klokeid 1976:192)

This is to say that in an ascension, the *ascendee* (the term which ascends) takes over the grammatical relation of the *host* (the downstairs governor of the ascendee). In the network (41) for Possessor Ascension (PA):

(41) upstairs governor: verb



NOM C initially bears no relation to the *upstairs governor*, as shown by the 0, but rather is an initial dependent, possessor, of NOM B (its initial governor). NOM C ascends and bears the canonic relation of 2 to the upstairs governor. NOM B is a canonic chomeur.

The ascensions which will be discussed are Quantifier Float, Comitative Float, and Possessor Ascension. These are all nonclausal ascensions, that is, they have nominal hosts. Another class of ascensions exists, called clausal ascensions. These have verb hosts. It is not clear that any clausal ascensions (Subject to Subject Raising, for example) are sanctioned for Mabuyag.

There are two laws which constrain ascensions: the Relational Succession Law (RSL) and the Host Limitation Law (HLL).

(42) RSL An ascendeo assumes the grammatical relation of the host. (Klokeid 1976:193)

The Host Limitation Law makes reference to the permitted hosts for an ascension. This law constrains the hosts of an ascension:

(43) (HLL) only terms can host ascensions... (Klokeid 1976:193)

1.1.1 Quantifier Float

Quantifier Float (QF) is an ascension which relates the following pairs of sentences (44-45 and 46-47).

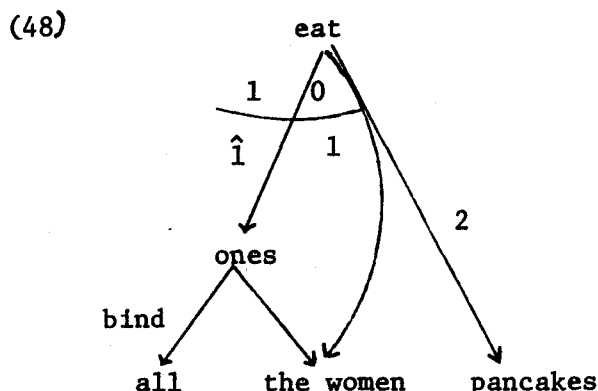
(44) All the women eat pancakes.
1 V 2

(45) The women all eat pancakes.
1 C V 2

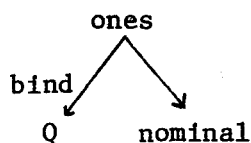
(46) Both the women are vegetarians.
1 V

(47) The women are both vegetarians.
1 V C

In each pair of sentences, the noun (women) and the quantifier (either all or both) are dependents of the same governor. In English, the noun ascends and becomes the subject of the verb. Below is the network (48) for sentence (44).



(This form for the network is reported by Bell (1976:45).) At some point quantifiers are a part of the nominal. The proposal is that "the head of the construction is an indefinite nominal which is bound by the quantifier. The other nominal gives the set over which the quantification ranges" (Bell 1976:44). Therefore, the quantifier bears the initial relation of 'bind'.



There are certain restrictions on QF. It occurs only with a subset of those quantifiers which are classified as universal quantifiers in English, all, both, each. Quantifiers of the types few or many do not permit QF. The quantifier must be positive, therefore quantifiers such as not many or none of are excluded from the class of quantifiers which can undergo QF. In English, only subjects are permitted to act as hosts for QF. This is accounted for within NRG by the notion of line drawing. English draws the line after subjects; other languages draw the line after direct objects (Mabuyag, Japanese) and in French, the line is drawn after indirect objects. This is to say that each language may draw the line at a certain point in the hierarchy (1>2>3>NT) as to what terms are permitted to host a certain rule. Quantifiers are permitted to float from the terms including and above the rank where the line is drawn.

The two laws which bear directly on Ascensions are the RSL and the HLL. The claim of the HLL, as stated previously, was that only terms can launch floating quantifiers. Therefore, this gives us a test for termhood. If a quantifier can float away from some nominal, then that nominal must be a term. The RSL says that the ascendeo takes over the grammatical relation of the host. Extrapolating from this, for English, the nominal must become a subject.

Mabuyag

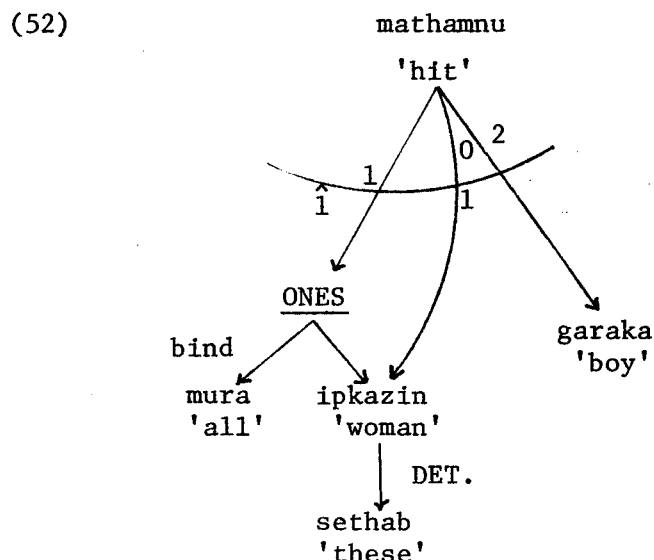
QF is sanctioned in Mabuyag. Below are examples illustrating possibilities for QF.

(49) Sethab mura ipkazin garaka mathamnu.
 dem Q 1/erg 2/nm V
 These all women boy hit
 'all these women hit the boy'
 Q dem 1 V 2

(50) Sethab ipkazin garaka mathamnu mura.
 dem 1/erg 2/nm V C
 'these women all hit the boy'
 dem 1 C V 2

(51) Mura garaka mathamnu sethab ipkazin.
 C 2/nm V dem 1/erg
 'these women all hit the boy'
 dem 1 C V 2

In (50) and (51), where the rule of QF has applied, the noun ascends of the nominal bearing the initial relation of 1 (Sethab mura ipkazin) to become the sole dependent of the upstairs governor (mathamnu). The quantifier, mura, goes en chomage. The network appears below.



The above is an account of the relation between (49) - (51) using the transitions and principles provided by NRG. An alternative hypothesis (call it the Free Word Order Hypothesis (FWO)) exists which rejects the above account. FWO says that it's merely a question of word order: the modifiers of any given nominal can be anywhere in the sentence and not necessarily adjacent to the governing nominal. This analysis claims that there is no transition in grammatical relations manifested by the QF sentences. (53) provides a relevant test for the claims of FWO.

- (53) *Sethab mura mathamnu garaka ipkazin.
 dem Q V 2/nm 1/erg
 (lit.) 'these all hit boy woman'

dem Q V 2 1

FWO predicts that (*53) will be grammatical since it says that nominal modifiers can occur anywhere. On the other hand, NRG predicts (*53) because of the rule of QF.

The demonstrative, sethab, and the noun, ipkazin, still bear relationship to each other. Thus the nominal and its modifiers cannot be separated by other elements in the sentence. The sentences (50) and (51) are grammatical because the demonstrative, mura, is a chomeur and no longer has any relation to the nominal, sethab ipkazin. The term which has become a chomeur (here, the quantifier) is the only element which can be detached from the rest of the nominal.

Unlike English, Mabuyag direct objects can launch floating quantifiers.

- (54) Nadh sethab mura baydhamal mathaminu.
 1/erg dem Q d/pl V/pl/past
 'she hit all these policemen'
 1 V A dem 2
- (55) Nadh sethab baydhamal mathaminu mura.
 1/erg dem 2/pl V/pl/past C
 'she hit all of these policemen'
 1 V C dem 2
 (lit.) 'she these policemen hit all'
 1 dem 2 V C
- (56) Mura nadh mathaminu sethab baydhamal.
 C 1/erg V/pl/past dem 2/pl
 (lit.) 'all she hit these policemen'
 C 1 V dem 2
 'she hit all of these policemen'
 1 V C dem 2
- (57)*Nadh sethab mura mathaminu baydhamal.
 1/erg dem C V/pl/past 2/pl
 (lit.) 'she these all hit policemen'
 1 dem C V 2

Sentences (55) and (56) illustrate possibilities for a direct object hosting QF. They parallel (50) and (51) in that they show allowable word order combinations. (*57) is ungrammatical for the same reason as (*53): the nominal and its dependents cannot be separated by intervening elements. In order to get (*57) we would have to allow an ascension which is not sanctioned because of a universal law.

In summary, QF exists in Mabuyag and English. Only subjects can launch a floating quantifier in English whereas, in the case of Mabuyag, the rule has access to both subjects and direct objects. Since the RSL and the HLL are relevant to QF, it is concluded that the terms which can act as hosts for QF are terms. By the RSL, the noun which ascends becomes either a 1 (the only possibility in English) or a 2.

1.1.2 Comitative Float

The rule of Comitative Float (CF) is characterized by one of the conjoined nominals (the ascende) ascending out of the conjunct. The ascende then takes over the grammatical relation which was previously held by the conjoined nominals. Sentence (59) illustrates a possibility for CF in English.

(58) Jill and Lesley saw the movie.
 1 V 2

(59) Jill saw the movie with Lesley.
 1 V 2 1̂

The noun Jill has ascended to take over the relation which the conjoined nominal previously held. Lesley is a chomeur marked by with (the marking for chomeurs which have been created by CF). Moreover, either nominal can ascend out of the conjunct, as in (60), where Lesley is the ascende and Jill, the chomeur.

(60) Lesley saw the movie with Jill.
 1 V 2 1̂

It is questionable whether 2s can undergo CF in English, but it is definitely the case that indirect objects and NTs cannot host CF.

(61) Jill gave the hash to Jennifer and Lesley.
 1 V 2 3

(62) *Jill gave the hash to Jennifer with Lesley.
 1 V 2 3 3̂

(63) Jill hid the hash from Jennifer and Lesley.
 1 V 2 NT

(64) *Jill hid the hash from Jennifer with Lesley.
 1 V 2 NT C

In (*62), CF is attempted out of a 3, in (*64), out of a NT. There may be some question as to whether (*64) is acceptable or not; it may be marginal. However, the meaning is Jill and Lesley hid the hash from Jennifer, not that Jill hid it from Jennifer and Lesley. That is, on the basis of meaning, it could not be related to (63).

Since it is an ascension, CF is constrained by both the RSL and HLL. Only terms can host CF (note the ungrammaticality of (*62) and (*64), for that reason).

The RSL says that the ascendee assumes the grammatical relation of the host. That this is the case with CF can be shown by examining the agreement facts in English. Verbs agree with the subject of the sentence.

(65) Jill and Jennifer grow marijuana.
 1 V 2

(66) Jill grows marijuana with Jennifer.
 1 V 2 1

In (65), the verb is inflected for a plural subject whereas in (66), it inflects for a singular subject. The ascendee created by CF does take over the grammatical relation held by the host.

Mabuyag

Comitative Float is sanctioned in Mabuyag. Subjects and direct objects can act as hosts. The language particular statement is that the co-ordinating conjunction a 'and' is deleted, the chomeur is marked by muraray 'with', and the chomeur loses its original case and is marked by either the suffix /-l/ (with non-human nominals) or /-w/ (with human nominals) (identical to Plural, Genitive, resp.).

(67) Thabeth a ipika taksi pathewmadhin.
 1 NT V/dl/past
 'Thabeth and a woman went in a taxi car'

(68) Thabeth taksi pathaydhin ipkaziw muraray.
 1 NT V C
 'Thabeth went in a taxi with a woman'
 1 V NT C

RSL predicts that the ascendee will take over the relation with which the agreement is done. In (67) where CF has not occurred, the verb agrees with the conjoined subject Thabeth a ipika and is inflected for the dual: pathewmadhin V/dl/past. After CF (68), which creates a singular subject, the verb inflects for the singular. It agrees with the ascended nominal, Thabeth.

CF can also occur out of a direct object as seen in the following sentences.

(69) Ngath waapi a rays purathawman.
 1/erg 2/nm V/dl/past
 'I ate fish and rice'

(70) Ngath waapi purathan raysil muraray.
 1/erg 2/nm V C
 'I ate fish with rice'

- (71) Ngath rays purathan wapil muraray.
 1/erg 2/nm V C
 'I ate rice with fish'

Since Mabuyag is a free word order language, an alternative analysis to the Relational one is that there is no restriction on word order (FWO).

- (72) *Ipkazin garakaiman umay muraray.
 1/erg 2/nm V/sg 2/nm
 'the woman saw the boy with the dog'
 1 V 2 2

- (73) *Ipkazin umay iman garaka muraray.
 1/erg 2/nm V/sg 2/nm
 'the woman saw the dog with the boy'
 1 V 2 2

If it were merely a matter of placing constituents in a different order, (*72) and (*73) would be well formed. Umay 'dog' and garaka 'boy' ((*72) (*73) respectively) are inflected for the nominative case and not with the chomeur marking as in (74) and (75) below.

- (74) Ipkazin garaka iman umayl muraray.
 1/erg 2/nm V 2̂
 'the woman saw the boy with the dog'
 1 V 2 2̂

- (75) Ipkazin umay iman garkaziw muraray.
 1/erg 2/nm V 2̂
 'the woman saw the dog with the boy'
 1 V 2 2̂

This provides an argument against FWO. Where umay and garaka receive the /-l/ or /-w/ inflection (the inflection of the chomeurs created by CF) the sentences are grammatical. It is not merely a matter of word order but rather, a change in grammatical relations. That this is the case is reflected in the chomeur inflections on umay and garaka (74, 75).

In summary, the rule of CF is sanctioned for Mabuyag and English. CF is an ascension in which one noun in a conjoined nominal ascends to become a dependent of the upstairs governor. The remaining parts of the conjoined nominal become chomeurs. For Mabuyag, the nominal marked by /-l/ or /-w/ + muraray is, in fact, a chomeur. In English, the chomeur marking is with. The RSL and HLL both apply to Comitative Float.

1.1.3 Possessor Ascension (PA)

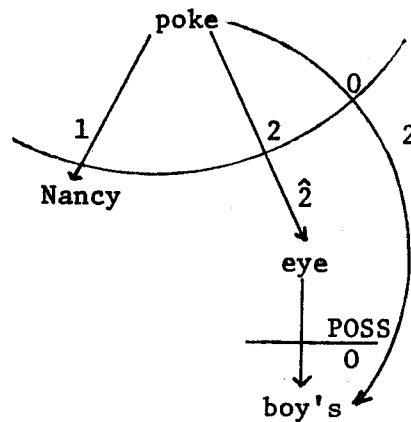
The rule of PA is characterized by a possessor which starts out as a part of a dependent of a verb and ascends to become a dependent itself (Bell 1976:123). Consider sentences such as:

(76) Nancy poked the boy's eye.
 1 V POSS 2

(77) Nancy poked the boy in the eye.
 1 V 2 C

Boy has ascended from the construction boy's eye to become a 2 in (77). Eye becomes a chomeur, marked by the preposition in. The network for (77) is given below.

(78)



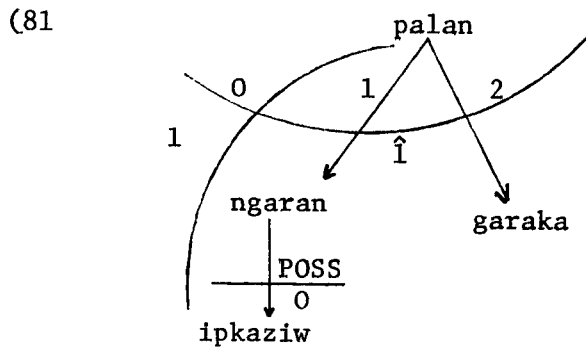
That the POSS has ascended and, by the RSL, becomes a 2, is seen in the case and word order in (77). Boy immediately follows the verb and is unmarked whereas in (76), it also immediately follows the verb but is not a term since it bears the genitive inflection (possessor). Eye is now marked by a preposition; clearly it is no longer a term as terms in English are not marked by prepositions.

Mabuyag

PA has the same effect in Mabuyag as in English. The possessor nominal ascends. By the RSL, the ascende takes over the grammatical relation borne by the host. The host then becomes a chomeur. Here it is obvious that ipkazin is a 1 after PA (80) because it is inflected with the ergative, the inflection for transitive subjects.

(79) Ipkaziw ngaran garaka palan.
 POSS/gn 1/erg 2/nm V
 'the woman's foot kicked the boy'

(80) Ipkazin ngaran garaka palan.
 1/erg C/erg 2/nm V
 (lit.) 'the woman kicked the boy with the foot'
 1 V 2 C



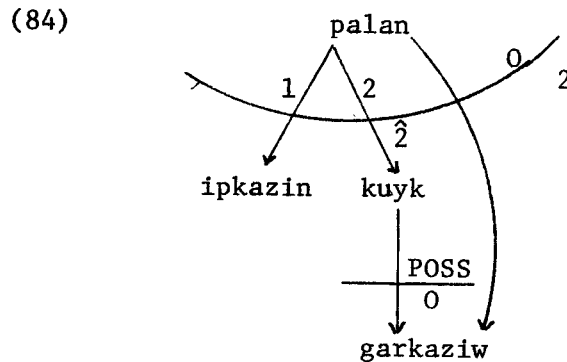
As seen in (81), the possessor nominal ipkaziw ascends to take over the grammatical relation (that of subject) which was previously held by its governor ngaran. Ngaran, the former subject, then goes en chomage, by the RAL.

As well, direct objects in Mabuyag can undergo PA.

(82) Ipkazin garkaziw kuyk palan.
 1/erg POSS/gn 2/nm V
 'the woman kicked the boy's head'

(83) Ipkazin garaka kuyk palan.
 1/erg 2/nm 2̂ V
 'the woman kicked the boy in the head'

PA has the same effect with respect to the RSL from a 2 as from a 1.



The network (84) is that for (83). The POSS garkaziw ascends to take over the grammatical relation of 2 which was previously borne by the host kuyk which then becomes a chomeur (MCL).

There is an alternative analysis to that provided by RG, the FWO. Under this analysis, (82) and (83) are accounted for as follows:

- (a) there has been no change in grammatical relations.
- (b) the terms which exist in a possessor-governor relation (e.g. garkaziw kuyk) can be separated by non-dependents of the governor.

- (85) Ipkazin mabaygaw zuugu pudan.
1/erg POSS/gn 2/nm V
'the woman pulled the man's arm off'
1 V POSS 2
- (86) Ipkazin mabayg zuugu pudan.
1/erg 2/nm $\hat{2}$ V
(lit.) 'the woman pulled off the man, the arm'
1 V 2 $\hat{2}$
- (87) *Ipkazin mabaygaw pudan zuugu.
1/erg POSS/gn V 2/nm
(lit.) 'the woman man's pulled off arm'
1 POSS V 2
- (88) Ipkazin mabayg pudan zuugu.
1/erg 2/nm V $\hat{2}$
'the woman pulled off the man, the arm'
1 V 2 $\hat{2}$

(85) and (86) are related in that in (86), PA has occurred. (*87) provides the crucial test of the FWO as the grammatical relations are the same as those of (85). The sentences differ in that in (*87), mabaygaw 'man's' and zuugu 'arm', are separated by nondependents of zuugu. This is not permitted. (88) has the same WO as (*87); they differ in the case of 'man', either mabaygaw or mabayg. This difference reflects the change in grammatical relations thereby supporting the Relational analysis.

CONCLUSION

This section has discussed the properties of three nominal ascensions which occur in Mabuyag and English; Quantifier Float, Comitative Float and Possessor Ascension. These ascensions provide an analysis which accounts for the facts in each language. Predictions made by RSL and HLL are borne out, as are the expected consequences of each ascension.

1.2 Insertions

An insertion occurs:
when a dummy nominal, i.e. one which plays no semantic or referential role, assumes termhood. (Klokeid 1976:193)

Examples of insertions in English are there insertion and it replacement.

- (89) A woman is outside.
1 V
- (90) There is a woman outside.
1 V I
- (91) That fewer men will be chauvinists next year is unlikely.
1 V

- (92) It is unlikely that fewer men will be chauvinists next year.
1 y 1

In each of the above pairs of sentences, the canonic subject is one which has been brought in from outside the sentence.

Three laws constrain insertions:

- (93) Nuclear Dummy Law: A dummy can be inserted only as a nuclear term, i.e. as either subject or direct object. (Klokeid 1976:193)
(94) Dummy Successor Law: An inserted dummy must take on a grammatical relation previously borne by some dependent.
(95) Dummy Tenure Law: A dummy cannot be made a chomeur.

These are language-particular constraints on the dummy: in English there can only replace Is, but it can replace a clause. When an insertion occurs, agreement is by the Brother-In-Law Principle.

- (96) Brother-In-Law Principle: Where a dummy has been inserted, agreement is with the brother-in-law of the dummy or not at all.

The brother-in-law of the dummy is the chomeur which is created by the insertion of the dummy. For example, in (97):

- (97) There's some men outside, aren't there?

The tag is not a copy of the verb of the superordinate clause. If this were the case, it would be

- (98) There's some men outside, isn't there?

In (97), the tag agrees with the brother-in-law, some men. In (98), there is no agreement.

There do not seem to be any clear cases from Mabuyag of insertions. In a later section, however, the possibility of ES as an insertion is considered.

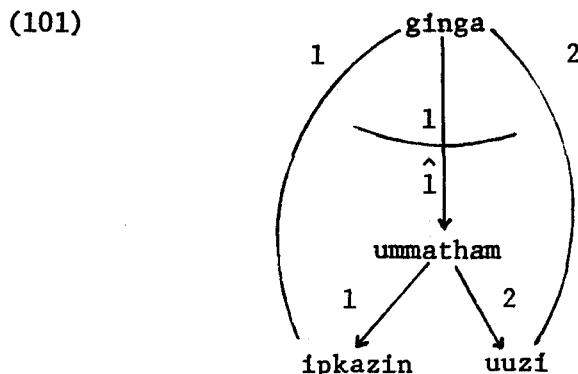
1.3 Union

A union is a transition which "involves all of the dependents of a downstairs governor becoming dependents of the upstairs governor in a specific way" (Klokeid 1976:193). There are at least three known kinds of union, Possessive Union, Causative Clause Union, and Total Union. In Possessive Union, the "possessor of a nominal becomes the indirect object of the verb governing the possessed nominal". In Causative Clause Union, the "upstairs governor is a verb of causation, while the downstairs governor is another verb. If there is a downstairs direct object, it becomes the upstairs indirect object" (Klokeid 1976:194).

Klokeid proposes (personal communication) that there is another kind of union, namely Total Union, which is the type of union I will concern myself with in this thesis. In Total Union all of the downstairs dependents become dependents of the upstairs verb. (I am assuming -ginga to be a verb. This is motivated because -nga is a verb-forming suffix, i.e. a derivational suffix. As well, gi- has an imperative form.)

- (99) Ipkazin uuzi ummathamdhin.
 1/erg 2/nm V
 'the woman speared the stonefish'
- (100) Ipkaziw uziw ummathamginga.
 1/gn 2/gn dead Neg
 'the woman didn't spear the stonefish'

In the negative (100) both the nuclear terms receive the genitive inflection. The dependents of the downstairs verb ummatham 'kill' become the dependents of ginga 'neg', the upstairs governor. Following is the network for (100).



In Total Union, everything remains as a dependent (now of the upstairs verb). The downstairs verb then bears the relation called 'dead'. Evidence for this is provided by Total Union in Mabuyag because ummatham, the downstairs verb, has no tense. Neg, as an instance of Total Union, is made reference to in Part III where its interaction and implications for case are discussed.

1.4 Conclusion

Each of the above sections involved a discussion of certain of the transitions which are sanctioned for Mabuyag. A general characteristic of the rule was given, then explained with reference to the consequences of the verb in the particular language. It was seen that the predictions made by NRG concerning the transitions were borne out.

2 Other Rules of Syntax

2.0 Introduction

This section deals with the following rules of syntax: Imperative, Gapping and Right Node Raising, and Ordinary Reflexivization (OR). Gapping and Node Raising are briefly discussed with respect to their being either

two separate rules or two instances of one rule. In each part of the discussion, I attempt to show how the rule operates, its motivation, and its consequences.

2.1 Ordering Reflexivization (OR)

OR is characterized by the same nominal bearing two relations. For English and Mabuyag:

- (a) OR operates only on clausemates.
- (b) target (term which receives the reflexive pronoun) and the trigger (term which triggers the reflexivization) must be coreferential.
- (c) only terms can trigger OR.

In Mabuyag, the target in OR is marked, morphologically, by -ngu.

- (102) Mabaygan_i (ngadh_ingaw bapthangu_jmani mani) pagan nan_j.
 1/erg REL POSS 3 2 V V 2
 'the man_i (who_i loaned my sister_j money) stabbed her_j'
- (103) *Mabaygan_i (ngadh_ingaw bapthangu_jmani mani) nanungu_j.
 REFL
 'the man_i (who_i loaned my sister_j money) stabbed herself_j'
- (104) Mabaygan_i (ngadh_ingaw bapthangu_jmani mani) nuyn_k.
 2
 'the man_i (who_i loaned my sister_j money) stabbed him_k'
 2
- (105) Mabaygan_i (ngadh_ingaw bapthangu_jmani mani) nanungu_i.
 REFL
 'the man_i (who_i loaned my sister_j money) stabbed himself_i'
 REFL

(102-105) are relevant to claims (a) and (b) about OR. The reason for the ungrammaticality of (*103) is that the reflexive pronoun, nanungu 'herself' is not a clausemate of bapthangu 'sister' (claim (a); compare (105)). Comparing (104) and (105) shows that in order for the reflexive pronoun to appear, the target and trigger must be coreferential. In (104), the form of the pronoun is nuyn 'him' because it is not coreferential to mabaygan 'man', whereas in (105), the pronoun and mabaygan 'man' are coreferential and this coreference is reflected by the presence of the relative case on the target, nanungu 'himself'.

The other claim was that only terms could trigger OR. English provides evidence to support this.

- (106) Eunice and Nancy shot themselves yesterday.
 1 v REFL NT
- (107) Eunice shot herself with Nancy yesterday.
 1 V REFL ¹ NT

(108) *Eunice shot themselves yesterday with Nancy.
 1 V REFL NT î

The target (REFL:themselves) is plural because the trigger is plural in (106). After Comitative Float (107), the trigger is singular and the reflexive pronoun (herself) reflects this. In (*108), the target is plural but this is blocked because the trigger is singular; Nancy is a chomeur, not a primary term, and cannot trigger OR.

2.2 Imperative

An imperative sentence is one in which the notion of command is implicit. An example of an English imperative is:

(109) (You) fix that window!
 1 V 2

The you is optionally, but preferably, deleted. In order for imperatives to be well-formed, the (deleted) subject must be one which makes reference to second person. Following are five arguments for claiming that you exists underlyingly.

2.2.1 Coreference

(110) She_i built her_i own sauna.
 1 V 2

she and her are coreferential.

(111) *She_i built his_j own sauna.

In order for the sentence to be well-formed, the subject must be coreferential with the possessor nominal. This cannot be the case in (*111).

(112) Build your own sauna!
 V 2

(113) *Build her own sauna!
 V 2

Because (112) is grammatical we can conclude that the underlying subject must be you since it was seen earlier that sentences of this type require the subject to be coreferential to the possessor. (*113) is accounted for because this coreferentiality does not exist.

Further examples of coreference are provided by:

(114) She took the money with her.

(115) *She took the money with you.

(116) *Take the money with her!

(117) Take the money with you!

In each case, the sentence is well-formed if the subject is coreferential with the NT in the 'with ____' construction. If this is not the case (cf. (*115) and (*116) in the imperative), then the sentence is ungrammatical. Because coreference is a necessary condition between the subject and the anaphoric pronoun, it is concluded that where the sentence is an imperative ((*116), (117) the deleted subject must necessarily be you.

2.2.2 OR

We have seen that a condition on OR is that the target must be co-referential with the trigger.

(118) She washed herself.
1 V REFL

(119) *She washed yourself.
1 V REFL

(120) *She washed himself.
1 V REFL

(118) is the only possible reflexive form. Here the subject and direct object are coreferential, whereas in (*119) and (*120) this is not the case. In the imperative:

(121) Wash yourself!

(122) *Wash herself!

the only allowable form of the reflexive pronoun is yourself, therefore the underlying subject in the imperative must be you.

2.2.3 Idioms

Idioms, being frozen expressions, have certain restrictions. For example, in the phrase 'hold ____ breath', one can only hold one's own breath; it is impossible to hold someone else's breath.

(123) *She held your breath.

(124) She held her breath.

(125) Hold your breath!

(126) *Hold her breath!

In the well-formed sentences, (124) and (125), the person whose breath is held is coreferential with the subject. (125) provides support for the claim that the deleted subject in an imperative is you (compare (*126)).

In 'win ____ cooperation', one cannot win one's own cooperation, but only someone else's cooperation.

(127) We won your cooperation.

(128) We won their cooperation.

(129) *Win your cooperation!

If you is underlying in the sentences where the subject of the imperative is deleted, then it is predicted that this will create an ungrammatical sentence. This is borne out in (*129). On the basis of all of the above information, it is concluded that when the subject of an imperative is deleted, it must have been you underlying. The claim that the imperative must make reference to second person in order to be well-formed is supported by the evidence.

Mabuyag

Whereas in English it is customary to delete you in the imperative, in Mabuyag, there is generally an overt second person subject. It is the task of this section to prove that when there is no surface subject in the imperative, the subject underlying is ni 'you'. Below are examples of the imperative in Mabuyag.

(130) Nidh waapi gasamar!
1/erg 2/nm V/imp
'you catch a fish'

(131) Ni uzaari!
1/nm V/imp
'you go!'

Evidence from OR is relevant to this discussion in the same way that it was relevant to the English facts. Recall that OR requires that the target and trigger be coreferential.

(132) Na₁ nanungu₁ mathami.
1 REFL/el V
'she₁ hit herself₁'

(The reflexive pronoun has the same morphological shape as the elative.) Where an attempt is made to use the reflexive pronoun when the target and trigger are not coreferential, the result is (*133).

(133) *Na₁ ninungu₁ mathami.
1 REFL/el V
'she₁ hit yourself_j'

(134) Nadh₁ ni₁ mathaman.
1/erg 2/nm V
'she₁ hit you_j'

(134) is the correct form of the sentence when the subject and the direct object are not coreferential and there is no reflexivization.

(135) Ninungu mathami!
'hit yourself!'

(136) *Nanungu mathami!
'hit herself!'

Because the target and trigger are coreferential in OR, then the subject of the imperative (135) must be you (which has been deleted in this instance). (*136) provides further evidence for the claim that ni 'you' is the subject. The imperative (*136) where the reflexive pronoun is nanungu 'herself' is ungrammatical. On the strength of the above argument, it is concluded that a subject in an imperative must make reference to second person.

2.3 Gapping and Right Node Raising (RNR)

There are two proposals within TG to handle sentences such as:

(137) I gave Jon a book and Eunice a basket.
1 V 2 2̂ 2 2̂

(138) Jack wants- and Mary has- a lid of grass.
1 V 1 V 2

The claims made about these sentences are that they are accounted for as either two different rules or as two instances of one rule. J. R. Ross claims that "gapping is a single rule which operates both forward and back" (Maling 1972:102). Others (notably Maling herself and R. Hudson) claim that there are two separate rules operating here. (126) is accounted for by gapping (a rule which deletes something) and (127) by RNR. Maling claims that gapping is a forward-only transformation. As Maling explains it, gapping

deletes all but one occurrence of identical verbs whereas node Raising raises any clause-final identical constituent including verbs, before deleting all lower repetitions of that constituent. The string left behind is not necessarily a constituent. (Maling 1972:103)

Keeping in mind that this is a different framework from that of NRG, it appears that within TG, gapping is a deletion rule whereas RNR is a raising rule. Hudson's analysis is as follows:

Gapping requires that the 'gap' should include the first verb of the conjunct concerned, as well as requiring identity to material in the first conjunct. (Hudson 1976:543)

On RNR:

Some common element has been raised out of two conjuncts and attached to the right of both of them. (Hudson 1976:549)

Within NRG, the only constraint on gapping which has been worked out at the present time (T. Klokeid, personal communication) is that in order to gap, the grammatical relations must be parallel.

Mabuyag

The same constructions exist in Mabuyag. Consider the following sentences.

(139) Ngath waapi purathanu a, nadh rays purathanu.
1/erg 2/nm V 1/erg 2/nm V
'I ate fish and she ate rice'

(140) Ngath waapi --- a nadh rays purathanu.
1/erg 2/nm 1/erg 2/nm V
(lit.) 'I ate fish and she ate rice'

(141) Ngath purathanu waapi a, nadh rays ____.
1/erg V 2/nm 1/erg 2/nm
(lit.) 'I ate fish and she ate rice'

In (140) and (141), the verb of one of the conjoined clauses has been deleted. Presumably, under the above TG analysis, (140) is an instance of node raising, whereas (141) is an instance of gapping. Alternatively, under Ross's proposal, (140) involves backward gapping, (141), forward gapping.

Within the NRG framework, Klokeid has observed that grammatical relations must be parallel in order to gap; where the grammatical relations are not parallel, the sentences are ungrammatical.

(142) *Zon rays kubila ____ a, Bill waapi kebininu purathadhin.
1 2/nm TIME 1 2/nm PLACE V
'John ate rice at night and Bill fish in the cabin'

This is to say that in (*142), although each clause contains a NT (kubila and kebininu), the NTs do not have the same, i.e. parallel, grammatical relation. The result is that gapping is blocked.

My assumption is that a rule equivalent to the TG rule of gapping (or, alternatively, gapping and node raising) exists for both English and Mabuyag. In order for this rule to apply, the grammatical relations must be parallel (within NRG).

3. Tests for Relations

3.0 Introduction

Every dependent of a verb bears at least one central relation in the network or matrix of relations. It is also possible for a dependent to bear another relation, namely that of overlay. Within NRG, certain transtions make reference to certain relations. For example, imperative applies to classic, or at least canonic relations. In order to argue for a hypothesis convincingly in NRG, it is necessary at times to determine not only whether a rule operates to change grammatical relations but also, which of the central relations (either initial, canonic or classic) the rule refers to, or whether it is making a reference to an overlay relation.

3.1 Initial Relations¹

The initial relation is the relation which is "borne by a dependent in the first row of the matrix" (Klokeid 1976:187). Because the initial relation is a primitive, it would be redundant to construct tests in order to determine these relations. In the following sentence:

- (143) Ipkazin umalnguuki waninu.
 1/erg 2/nm V
 'the woman drank the beer'

the initial relations are those given in the sublinear gloss. In the following, the initial relations have changed from 1 POSS 2 V to the canonic relations: 1 2 $\hat{2}$ V.

- (144) Ipkazin ngokaziw kuyk palan.
 1/erg POSS/gn 2/nm V
 'the woman kicked the girl's head'
- (145) Ipkazin ngoka kuyk palan.
 1/erg 2/nm $\hat{2}$ V
 'the woman kicked the girl, in the head'

The relations have changed as shown in the matrix (146).

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------|-------|-------|-----------|
| (146) | palan: | ipika | ngoka | kuyk |
| | initial | 1 | POSS | 2 |
| | classic | 1 | 2 | $\hat{2}$ |

3.2 Canonic Relations²

The canonic relation is "the last central relation borne by a dependent with respect to a given governor" (Klokeid 1976:187). Using the matrix (146), the following relations can be established for the terms in (144) and (145) to provide examples for the explanation of canonic relations. In (144), ipkazin is the initial 1, kuyk is the initial 2. Ngokaziw holds the relation of initial POSS. However, there has been a change of relations in (145). Ipika is both the initial and canonic 1 of palan, the upstairs governor. But, kuyk, the initial 2, has at least the canonic relation of chomeur. Ngoka, which originally bore no relation to palan, is now the canonic 2.

3.2.1 Imperative

A rule which makes reference to canonic relations is imperative. The condition on imperative is that it must make reference to second person in order for imperative to be well-formed.

(147) Ninu ngaran garaka palan.
POSS/gn 1/erg 2/nm V
'your foot kicked the boy'

(148) *Ninu ngaran garaka palar!'
POSS 1/erg 2/nm V/imp
'your foot kick the boy!'

(*148), where the verb has the imperative inflection, is ill-formed because the subject is not second person. However, after PA (149), which makes the ninu a canonic 1, the sentence is grammatical.

(149) (Nidh) garaka ngaran palar!
1/erg 2/nm 1̂ V/imp
'you kick the boy with the foot!'

Examining the matrix (below) reveals that ni 'you' held the initial relation of POSS but ascends to become a canonic 1.

(150) governor: palan

ni	ngaar-	garka
'you'	'foot'	'boy'
initial POSS	1	2
canonic	1	2

Imperative then, uses canonic relations. If it were the case that imperative only made reference to initial relations, presumably (149) would be ill-formed since the nidh is a canonic term of relation not an initial one. (The form of ni 'you' is nidh/erg because, by the RSL, the ascende takes over the grammatical relation of the host, and moreover, its case marking as well.)

3.3 Overlay

The above was a discussion of the possibilities of central relations a nominal could have with respect to a certain governor. In addition to central grammatical relations, a nominal is permitted to have a second relation, that of overlay.³ The property(s) of the overlay relation overrule certain of those which hold for that of the central relation. Overlay relations, in English, include such things as 'topic', 'Rel', and 'Q'. An example of an overlay relation in Mabuyag is REL.

(151) Ipkazin ngadh ay purathidhin umalnguuki wanidhin.
1/erg(REL/erg2/nm V) 2/nm V
'the woman (who ate the food) drank the beer'
1 REL V 2 V 2

The presence of the overlay REL is signalled by the indefinite form (i.e. the Relative pronoun) ngadh 'who'.

4. Conclusion

This part of the thesis has considered various aspects syntax within the NRG framework. I discussed the nature of the Ascensions which are sanctioned for Mabuyag and English. The characteristics of Insertions and Union were also presented. Certain other rules of syntax (namely Imperative, Gapping and Node Raising, and Ordinary Reflexivization) and the manifestations in English and Mabuyag were considered. Finally, the possible relations for a term and the type of relation a term could have with respect to a governor were presented. With this as a background, I will now present the facts about the syntax of ES.

Footnotes to Part II

¹There exists a distinction between 'first' and 'initial' relations. Possibly, LOC can advance to 2.

(i) He worked the farm.

1 V 2

(cf. (ii) He worked on the farm.)

1 V LOC

The initial relation of farm is LOC. However, farm bears the relation of a first 2 since no other term held the relation of 2; it is the first term to have that relation.

As this thesis does not concern itself with this distinction, no more time will be spent discussing it.

²As pointed out in an earlier footnote (Chapter I, fn. 3), at this time it is necessary to assume that I am using canonic relations. The canonic/classic distinction is not made in this thesis.

³Overlay was discussed earlier; Chapter I, Section 2.

Chapter III. An Examination of ES

1.0 Introduction

This chapter contains a comprehensive analysis of ES. The following pairs of sentences illustrate possibilities for ES.

(152) (a) Ngokazin waapi purathanu.

1/erg 2/nm V

'the girl ate the fish'

1 V 2

(b) Ngoka wapin purath_i.

1/nm 2/erg V/ay

'the girl ate (all/only) the fish'

- (153) (a) Ngokazin puluwa tidan.
 1/erg 2/nm V
 'the girl plucked the flower'
 1 V 2
- (b) Ngoka puluwan tidi.
 1/nm 2/erg V/ay
 'the girl plucked (all/only) the flower'

In each of the (a) sentences, case is assigned as follows: the subject (of the transitive verb) inflects for the ergative while the direct object inflects for the nominative case. After ES (the (b) sentences), the subject inflects with the nominative and the direct object, with the ergative inflection. The verb contains an -ay, which is not present in sentences (a) (purathi, tidi).

On the face of it, the following statements can be made:

- when the 2 has undergone ES then the
- 1 goes into the nominative
- 2 goes into the ergative
- Verb agrees with the 1 not the 2
- Verb is marked with -ay.

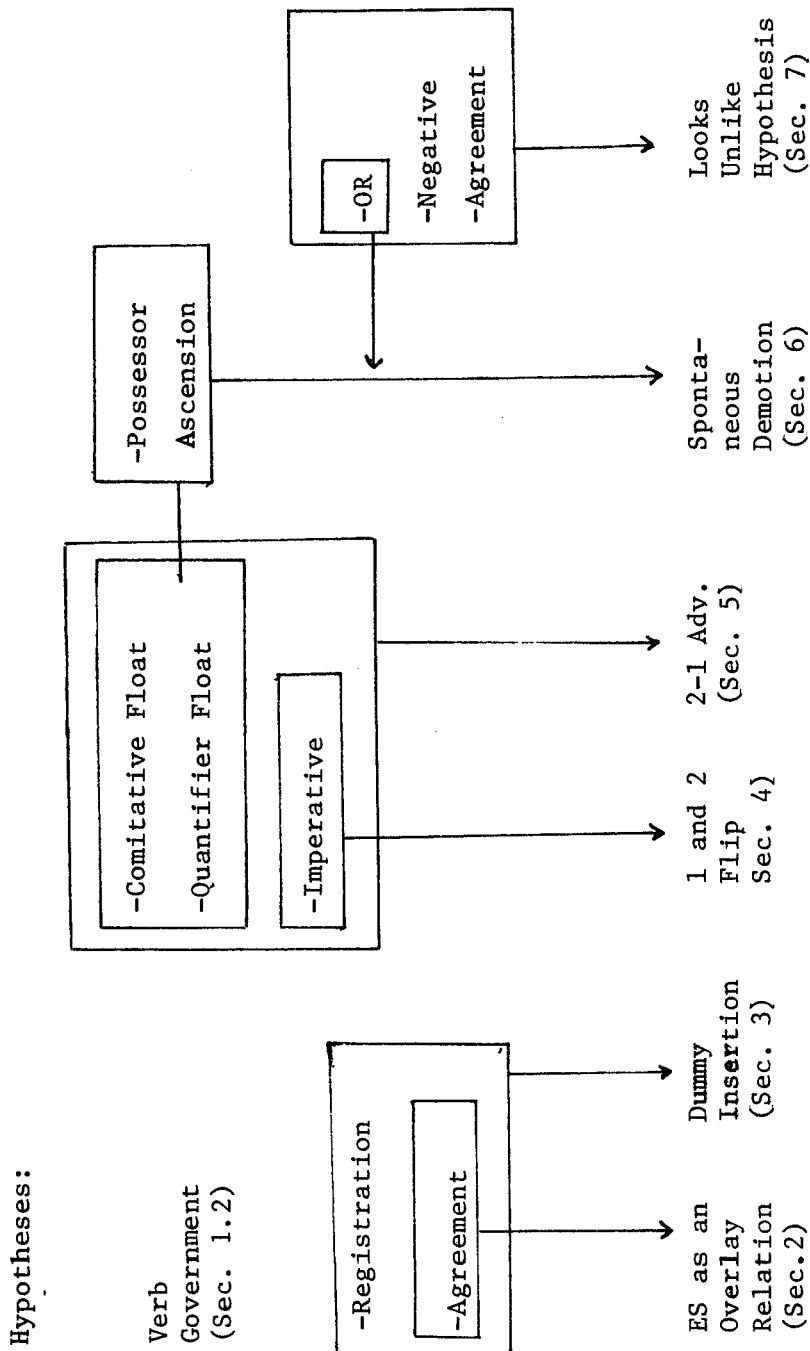
It is the intent of this chapter to determine what concerning ES follows from Universal Grammar and what, in actuality, is language particular. I hope to provide not only a description of ES (which is achieved by a language particular statement of ES), but an explanation of ES as well. The need for explanation of syntactic phenomena is clearly stated by Perlmutter and Orešnick:

... when one is confronted with a language particular fact in syntax, although the course of least resistance would be to write a language-particular rule to state it, such a rule only gives rise to questions ... which a proper account of the phenomenon must answer; unless such questions have been answered, the phenomenon has not been explained. (Perlmutter and Orešnick 1973:457)

I have proposed seven hypotheses which will be discussed in this chapter each attempting to explain ES. The question is which hypothesis gives a proper account of the phenomenon of ES. Each of the hypotheses draws to a greater or lesser extent on Universal Grammar. The strategy is to present each hypothesis and then discuss the predictions made concerning the terms involved in ES. The prediction is then tested by methods provided within the Relational Grammar framework. Reference is made to both universal constraints within this framework, as well as to language particular constraints on rules, in an attempt to determine whether or not the claims made by the hypothesis are borne out. Each hypothesis is rejected or accepted depending upon whether or not it handles the facts. The hypotheses are organized in such a way that the information needed to appreciate each one is cumulative. Those needing little background are presented first.

Certain of the hypotheses, such as the Verb Government hypothesis, can be shown to be incorrect with relatively little argumentation. Others, such as the 1 and 2 Flip Hypothesis, and the 2 to 1 Advancement Hypothesis require a lot of discussion before they can be shown to be improper accounts of ES. My conclusion, then, is that ES is properly accounted for as a Spontaneous Demotion.

Schematically, an outline of the hypotheses to be presented in this Chapter is as follows:



Before presenting the detailed discussion of the above mentioned hypotheses (cf. Sec. 1. 2 and following) I will review an earlier treatment of ES by Bani and Klokeid in order to provide a background for subsequent analysis.

1.1 Review of Earlier Presentations: Bani and Koliekd, 1976

In an article entitled "Ergative Switching in Kala Lagaw Langgus," Bani and Klokeid introduce the concept of ES. There they discuss possibilities for, and implications of, ES with respect to morphology, syntax and semantics (especially presupposition and scope).

They conclude, on the strength of arguments from imperative and number agreement, that ES is not a part of syntax but rather, should be dealt with in the lexicon. I would like to state that this is not intended as a critical review of either their conclusions or their arguments since I am operating within a very different framework from the one they used. My intent here is to examine critical points in their discussion.

An ergative language, as defined by Bani and Klokeid, is one "in which the surface subject varies in case according to whether the verb is transitive or intransitive." (Bani and Klokeid 1976:269) The following examples illustrate this point.

(155) Ipika uzaari.
1/nm V
'the girl goes'

(156) Ipkazin umalnguuki waninu.
1/erg 2/nm V/past
'the girl drank the beer'
1 V 2

(157) Ipkazin dhangal uthunu.
1/erg 2/nm V/past
'the woman speared the dugong'
1 V 2

The subject of a transitive verb inflects for the ergative (/ -n/) while the subject of an intransitive verb and the direct object of a transitive both inflect for the nominative (uninflected) case. Thus the surface subject does vary in case according to whether the verb is transitive or intransitive.

It is important to note that the only allowable direct object in ES is a nominal which is human, animate, or inanimate. That is, pronouns (either singular or nonsingular), personal names, and demonstratives are excluded from being the direct object in ES. Bani and Klokeid discuss

this with respect to a nominal hierarchy, stating that human, animate, and inanimate nouns comprise the class of group (i) nominals. Whether a nominal hierarchy is valid or necessary is not a matter for discussion here. The important fact is that certain nominals can function as a direct object in ES whereas others cannot.

The nominal which was identified as a subject in (155) - (157) actually is the one which functions as subject.¹ Bani and Klokeid illustrate this point with evidence from the imperative. A condition on imperatives is that the subject must make reference to second person.

(158) (Nidh) waapi gasamar!
1/erg 2/nm V/imp
'you catch a fish!'

(159) (Ni) uzaari!
1/nm V/imp
'(you) go!'

The observation which can be made here is that the subject must still necessarily be 'you' (Nidh (158), Ni (159)) in order for the sentences to be well formed. The statement made earlier concerning case was that in an ergative language, the case of the surface subject varies according to whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. The above examples illustrate that the subject (which in imperative must necessarily make reference to second person) does vary in case inflection (either nominative or ergative) depending on the transitivity of the verb.

To discuss the syntax of ES, the grammatical relations of the elements involved must be determined (this constitutes, in fact, all the rest of this Part -- determining what, if anything, ES does to grammatical relations). That is, in the following sentences:

(160) Ngath waapi purathan.
1/erg 2/nm V
'I eat fish'

(161) Ngay wapin purathi.
1/nm 2/erg V
'I eat (all/only) the fish'

Bani and Klokeid claim that the terms glossed as 1 and 2 respectively are, precisely, those terms which function as canonic 1 and 2. Once again, the imperative is used to support the conclusion that ES does not involve a change in grammatical relations. Consider the imperative sentences below ((158) is repeated here).

(158) (Nidh) waapi gasamar!
1/erg 2/nm V/imp
'(you) catch the fish!'

- (162) (Ni) wapin gasaami!
1/nm 2/erg V/imp
'you catch (all/only) the fish!'

The imperative sentences are well-formed even though in (158) the subject is inflected for the ergative (as expected) whereas in (162) the subject has the nominative inflection. It is then concluded that "... the condition on well-formedness of imperative makes reference to the subject, without regard for surface inflection" (Bani and Klokeid 1976:276). This is to say that there is no change in grammatical relations (at least with respect to subject, a crucial point which will be discussed at length in a later section). If there is no change in grammatical relations, there is, however, a change in number agreement. Ordinarily, the verb agrees with the direct object, but in ES, the verb agrees with the subject (see (163) and (164) below). Bani and Klokeid note that if one considers only nouns which are human, animate, or inanimate (recall the nominal hierarchy, these nominals make up group (i)) a generalization can be found, namely that "number agreement is always with a group (i) nominative NP, never with an ergative one." (Bani and Klokeid 1976:277)

- (163) Ipkazin koey goerasar ngokazil imaminu.
1/erg 2/pl V/pl/past
'the woman saw many girls'

- (164) Ipika koey goerasar ngokazin imanuu.
1/nm 2/erg V/ay
'the woman saw many girls (all/only)'

Unfortunately, as they point out, not all nominals inflect like those of "group (i)" so the correlation between surface case and number agreement does not hold when the other groups of nominals are considered. At this point, the best statement which can be made is between number agreement and the conjugation class of the verb. Namely, "a verb of the intransitive conjugation agrees with the subject, that is, with the subject of a true intransitive verb and with the subject of a transitive verb in the Ergative Switched construction. A verb of the transitive conjugation agrees with the direct object." (Bani and Klokeid 1976:277) They indicate that number agreement is not a strong argument either for or against grammatical relations having been changed by ES. It only shows a change in the surface morphology. I will challenge these claims later in this Part since number agreement provides interesting evidence to support both the Look Unlike hypothesis as well as the Spontaneous Demotion hypothesis.

Bani and Klokeid conclude that ES is better handled as a part of the lexicon rather than as a syntactic rule. It is my intent to reexamine this conclusion within a different framework, namely Relational Grammar. As well, I will draw on more rules of syntax and a different set of data. It is impossible to argue the merits and demerits of one framework over another within this thesis, nor would it be particularly desirable. An analysis using more varied data will provide further possibilities for study, additional insights, and alternative conclusions.

1.2 The Hypotheses -- An Introduction

The hypotheses which are discussed in the following sections are all motivated by at least one or two observations about case, agreement, or verb registration. For convenience, I have labelled the hypotheses as follows:

Hypotheses

1. Verb Government
2. ES as an Overlay Relation
3. Dummy Insertion
4. 1 and 2 Flip
5. 2 -> 1 Advancement (Passive)
6. Spontaneous Demotion (2 -> 2')
7. Look Unlike Hypothesis

The Verb Government Hypothesis can be dismissed quite simply. Under this hypothesis, a verb would be marked for the type of noun it could take, as well as being marked either [+ES] or [-ES] (verb subcategorization in Transformational terminology). In Relational Grammar, verb government means that the case marking which a noun receives (here, the ergative inflection) is a lexical class which is governed by the verb. The problem with this solution is one of definition. Verb government deals with the irregularities in the language. ES is, however, a logical possibility for any verb having a direct object. It is both illogical and undesirable to use a device like verb government, which concerns itself with irregularities, to explain a completely regular syntactic fact. Not only would this solution not say anything about ES, it would not even describe it accurately. Considering ES as a part of verb government indicates that it is irregular; it is not. For this reason, I am rejecting the Verb Government Hypothesis.

The remainder of this Part considers the effect of ES on the terms involved. In an attempt to illustrate clearly the claims made by each hypothesis as to the effect of ES on grammatical relations, a network reflecting the predictions made by the hypothesis under discussion is provided for this sentence: Ipika garkazin imi, 'the woman saw the boy'.

The sublinear glosses for nominals throughout this thesis specify the central and (where relevant) overlay relations, plus the case inflection. In general, canonic grammatical relations are shown. However, the presence of ES is indicated by the case inflection (in ES, the direct object is inflected for the ergative case). Often sublinear glosses are not given for ES sentences since the all/only meaning associated with ES seems to be variable (cf. Chapter I, 3.4).

2. ES as an Overlay Relation

Observation: A property of overly is that it overrules certain of the properties which we expect for a particular term. ES affects agreement in that agreement is no

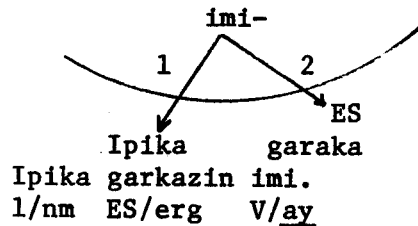
longer with the 2 but with the 1. Here it seems that the effect of ES is overruling the general conditions on agreement.²

Any single dependent is allowed to have only one overlay relation.

Hypothesis: ES is an overlay relation borne by the canonic 2.

Prediction: A term bearing an overlay relation cannot undergo ES.

Network:



REL (which is an overlay relation) can be used to test the hypothesis. If ES is an overlay, then a term cannot hold both the relation REL and that of ES.

- (2) Senab umayl moegimal, mabayg midhi umayn mathamaydhin.
'those dogs are small, which dogs the man hit'
(Bani and Klokeid 1976:115)

In this sentence, the 2 bears the overlay relation REL and has undergone ES. Therefore, ES is not an overlay.

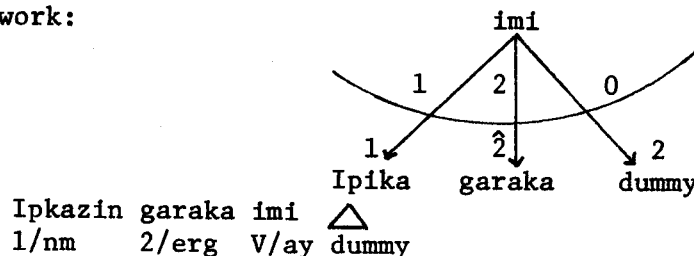
3. Dummy Insertion Hypothesis³

Observation: The presence of an ES construction is marked by the -ay registration on the verb.

Hypothesis: The syntactic effect of ES is that a dummy is introduced into the sentence.

Prediction: Agreement will be with either the Brother-in-law or it will not agree with anything. The verb will register the presence of a direct object because it is a direct object which is being replaced.

Network:



The following sentences test the statements made by the Dummy Insertion Hypothesis.

- (165) Ngokazin puluwa tidan.
 1/erg 2/nm V
 'the girl plucked the flower'
 1 V 2
- (166) Ngoka puluwan tidi.
 1/nm 2/erg V/ay
 'the girl plucked (all/only) the flower'
- (167) Koey goerasar mabaygan ipika guudthapamdhin.
 1/erg 2/nm V/sg/past
 'many men kissed the woman'
 1 V 2
- (168) Koey goerasar mabaygal ipkazin guudthapamidhin.
 1/pl 2/erg V/pl/past
 'many men kissed (all/only) the woman'
- (169) *Koey goerasar mabaygal ipkazin guudthapamdhin.
 1/pl 2/erg V/sg/past
- (170) *Koey goerasar mabaygal ipkazin guudthapamaydhin.
 1/pl 2/erg V/ay/sg/past

In (166) (the sentence which has undergone ES) the verb has the -ay inflection which registers the intransitive, that is, the absence of a direct object. Clearly the verb is not registering the presence of a direct object. If a dummy has been inserted, it did not tell the verb.

Sentences (167) - (170) provide evidence relevant to the claim made by the Dummy Insertion Hypothesis concerning agreement. The prediction made by Relational Grammar about agreement when a dummy has been inserted is stated by the Brother-in-law principle. This principle says that if a dummy replaces some nominal, then the chomeur which has been created by the insertion is the brother-in-law of the dummy. Where a dummy has been inserted, agreement is with the brother-in-law of the dummy or not at all, i.e. the verb is neutral. That is to say, Relational Grammar predicts that agreement will be with the 2 or not at all. But, after ES has occurred (sentence (168)), the verb has the plural inflection (guudthapamidhin). It is agreeing with the plural 1, not the 2/erg. It is not, then, agreeing with the brother-in-law. Since it has a plural inflection, it is not remaining neutral either. Even if the verb receives the -ay registration but has the singular inflection (sentence (170), guudthapamaydhin), the sentence is ungrammatical. The agreement is with the 1, not the 2.

It is plain that the Dummy Insertion Hypothesis does not handle the facts. The hypothesis is rejected for the following reasons:

- (1) If ES inserts a dummy element which takes over the grammatical relation of 2, the verb should inflect transitively, not intransitively. This is not the

case. The verb has the -ay inflection which is that of the intransitive conjugation.

- (2) If the dummy takes over the grammatical relation of 2, agreement should be with the 2. However, it was shown (sentences (168) - (170)) that agreement in ES is with the 1.

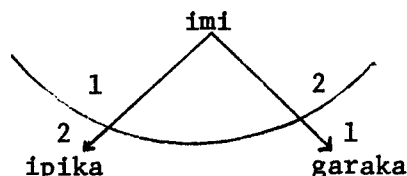
4. 1 and 2 Flip

Observation: Case marking has switched in ES constructions: The initial 2 bears the ergative inflection; the initial 1 bears the nominative inflection.

Hypothesis: When ES occurs, the subject and direct object flip case and grammatical relations. That is, the initial 2 is a canonic 1; the initial 1, a canonic 2.

Prediction: Rules making reference to canonic 1s will pick out the initial 2.

Network:



Ipika garkazin imi.
2/nm 1/erg V/ay

However, the claims made by the Flip Hypothesis are totally against the principles of Relational Grammar; it is a violation of the RAL (2). The RAL says that when some nominal takes over the grammatical relation previously borne by another term, then that term becomes a chomeur. Terms cannot flip their grammatical relations. For this reason, in order to test the Flip Hypothesis and, moreover, the predictions of Relational Grammar, it is necessary to temporarily suspend certain of the laws of Relational Grammar (namely, the RAL).

In order to test the Flip Hypothesis, the terms bearing the ergative and nominative inflection will be tested to see if they behave as canonic subject and direct object, respectively. If this is the case, Flip is the correct account of ES. However, if the term inflected for the ergative in the ES sentence behaves as a 2 while the 1, inflected for the nominative, still acts as a 1, then the grammatical relations have not flipped. They have remained constant and have not been affected in the manner predicted by Flip.

The tests for termhood, discussed earlier (in Chapter II), referred, in general, to the nuclear terms. They served to distinguish 1 and 2 from the others: 3, chomeur, and impure terms. There is one definitive test

for a 1, namely the imperative. The canonic subject of an imperative must make reference to second person in order to be well-formed.

- (171) (Nidh) waapi gasamar!
1/erg 2/nm V/imp
'(you(sg)) catch a fish!'
- (172) (Ni) wapin gasaami!
1/nm 2/erg V/ay-imp
'(you/sg) catch a fish!'
- (173) (Nipel) waapi gasamaw!
1/dl/erg 2/nm V
'(you/dl) catch a fish!'
- (174) (Nipel) wapin gasamewmariw!
1/dl/no 2/erg V/dl/ay
'(you/dl) catch a fish!'

The matrices cited in (175) and (176) are the matrices for (172) and (174) respectively.

- (175) gasam-i ni waapi
1 2
2 1
- (176) gasami-i nipel waapi
1 2
2 1

The claim is that the initial 1 is a canonic 2 and that the initial 2 is a canonic 1 but this is not borne out. The imperative is well-formed, therefore the subject must still be making reference to second person; it is impossible for waapi- to be a 1. The Flip Hypothesis predicts that (172) and (174) will be ungrammatical because the initial 1 ni/ nipel has become a 2; the initial 2 waapi has become a 1 (based on case marking). Since the 1 is no longer ni/nipel 'you', sentences (172) and (174) should be ill-formed. This is not the case, therefore the Flip Hypothesis is abandoned.

It could be argued that this is not a valid reason for rejecting Flip. If imperative formation referred to initial terms, not canonic ones, the grammaticality of (172) and (174) is a fact of imperative formation. Imperative would then be a nontest of Flip. Unfortunately for Flip, it has already been demonstrated that Imperative makes reference to canonic relations. Imperative is a crucial test for Flip and disproves it by showing that it cannot handle the facts.

The demise of Flip provides implicit support for the theory of Relational Grammar. Flip is a hypothesis which is excluded by the laws within Relational Grammar, whereas, if case alone were examined, Flip would be a logical and natural hypothesis.

Two conclusions are drawn on the basis of the above information.

- (1) ES does not cause the grammatical relations to 'flip'.
- (2) The arguments which disprove the Flip Hypothesis lend implicit support to the principles of Relational Grammar.

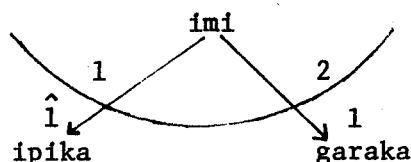
5. 2-1 Advancement

Observation: The initial 2 receives the ergative inflection after ES. This is the inflection for the subject of a transitive verb. The verb has -ay registration which is the intransitive registration.

Hypothesis: Initial 2 advances to canonic 1.
Initial 1 is a canonic $\hat{1}$.

Prediction: In rules which make reference to (canonic) 1s, it is the term bearing the canonic relation 1 (the direct object in ES) which is, in fact, the subject. The initial 1, by virtue of the fact that it bears the canonic relation chomeur, cannot host ascensions.

Network:



Ipika garkazin imi.
 $\hat{1}$ 1/erg V/ay

The motivation for this hypothesis comes from the case marking of the term receiving the ergative inflection in ES. The ergative is the inflection of transitive subjects. On the basis of case, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the initial 2 has advanced to become the canonic 1 since it has the ergative inflection. The verb bears the -ay inflection which is the inflection used for intransitives. Because the 2 advances, the 1 goes en chomage. Since there is no canonic 2 (because the initial 2 advanced to canonic 1), the verb registers the intransitive.

If this hypothesis is correct, the initial 2 should behave as a 1 while the initial 1 has the properties of a chomeur. The three arguments which will be used to test the 2-1 Advancement Hypothesis are:

1. Imperative
2. Comitative Float from 1
3. Quantifier Float from 1

5.1 Imperative

As well as arguing against the Flip Hypothesis, imperative provides

very strong evidence against the 2-1 Advancement Hypothesis. Consider the following sentences ((171) - (174) are repeated here for convenience).

- (171) (Nidh) waapi gasamar!
1/erg 2/nm V
'(you) catch the fish!'
- (172) (Ni) wapin gasaami!
1/nm 2/erg V/ay
'(you) catch (all/only) the fish!'
- (173) (Nipel) waapi gasamaw!
1/dl/erg 2/nm V
'(you (dl)) catch the fish!'
- (174) (Nipel) wapin gasamewmariw!
1/nm 2/erg V/dl/sg/imp
'(you (dl)) catch (all/only) the fish!'
- (177) (Nidh) ukasar wapil gasamawmar!
1/erg 2/pl V/dl/pl/imp
'(you) catch many fish!'
- (178) (Ni) ukasar wapin gasaami!
1/nm 2/erg V
'(you) catch (all/only) many fish!'

(note that case inflection wins over number inflection, in general)

The preceding are all well-formed. The sentences which have undergone ES are (172), (174) and (178).

The subject of an imperative is ni/nipel 'you' and it is a canonic 1, not an initial 1. The crucial relation in these examples is the relation of subject. The hypothesis claims that initial 1 has second person reference and if ES operates as predicted by 2 -> 1 advancement, causing initial 1 -> $\hat{1}$, imperative will be ungrammatical. Sentences (172), (174) and (178) have undergone ES and are still grammatical. The grammatical relations are those indicated in the sub-linear gloss, not as predicted by the hypothesis. The subject in all the sentences is some form of ni 'you', whether ES has occurred or not. Therefore the initial 1 still participates in the syntax; it has not become a chomeur. There has not been the change in grammatical relations that was predicted by the 2 -> 1 Advancement Hypothesis. Imperative then, argues against the hypothesis.

Imperative provides another argument against the 2 -> 1 Advancement Hypothesis. The condition on imperatives was that the canonic subject must be second person. In the sentences under discussion the initial 2 is waapi 'fish'. Should ES cause this to advance to canonic 1, then ES imperatives

((172), (174), (178)) would be ungrammatical because the canonic subject would be some form of waapi 'fish' and would no longer make reference to second person. Since imperative in ES is grammatical, it can be concluded that the 2 has not advanced to become classic 1.

5.2 Comitative Float out of 1

As a consequence of the Host Limitation Law, only terms can launch a floating comitative. A nonterm, such as a chomeur, cannot. If CF is grammatical from a 1 in an ES construction, it is clear that the initial 1 is a canonic 1 and not a chomeur. If the initial 1 goes en chomage, as predicted by the 2 -> 1 Advancement Hypothesis, it will be ungrammatical to launch a floating comitative out of a 1 and there will be evidence for claiming that 2 -> 1 and 1 -> 1.

- (179) Garkazin a ngokazin ipika imadhin.
 1/erg 1/erg 2/nm V/past
 'the boy and the girl saw the woman'
 1 1 V 2
- (180) Garkazin ipika imadhin ngokaziw muraray.
 1/erg 2/nm V 2/gn
 'the boy saw the woman with the girl'
- (181) Garaka a ngoka ipkazin imawdhin.
 1/nm 1/nm 2/erg V/dl/AY
 'the boy and the girl saw (all/only) the woman'
- (182) Garaka ipkazin imaydhin ngokaziw muraray.
 1/nm 2/erg V/AY 2/gn REG
 'the boy saw (all/only) the woman with the girl'

(Note that the meanings of sentences (180) and (181) are ambiguous. The boy could have been with the girl when he saw the woman or the woman could have been accompanied by the girl. For the argument, the first meaning is the one which I will deal with.)

Because the 1 can launch a floating comitative regardless of whether ES has applied or not, it is concluded that the initial 1 is also the canonic 1 and is not a chomeur. Thus CF does not provide an argument in support of 2 -> 1 advancement.

5.3 Quantifier Float from 1

The same reasoning used for CF can be applied to evidence from QF. By the Host Limitation Law, the only terms permitted to float a quantifier are primary ones. Therefore, for QF to be grammatical, the term which is floating the quantifier cannot be a chomeur. The following examples are crucial for assessing the validity of the 2 -> 1 Advancement Hypothesis as they illustrate the possibilities of QF in Mabuyag from a 1.

- (183) Sethab mura ipkazin umay mathamnu.
 dem Q 1/erg 2/nm V/past
 'all these women hit the dog'
 Q dem 1 V 2
- (184) Sethab ipkazin umay mathamnu mura.
 dem 1/erg 2/nm V C
 'these women all hit the dog'
- (185) Mura umay mathamnu sethab ipkazin.
 C 2/nm V dem 1/erg
 'these women all hit the dog'

All of the above sentences are well-formed and, in each case, the quantifier, mura, is floating out of a 1. Consider the following sentences where ES has occurred as well as QF.

- (186) Sethab mura ipkazil umayn mathaminu.
 dem Q 1/pl 2/erg V/pl/past
 'all these women hit (all/only) the dog'
- (187) Sethab ipkazil umayn mathaminu mura.
 dem 1/pl 2/erg V/pl/past C
 'these women all hit (all/only) the dog'
- (188) Mura umayn mathaminu sethab ipkazil.
 C 2/erg V/pl/past dem 1/pl
 'these women all hit (all/only) the dog'

A careful reader will recall that it was shown that a rule of QF actually exists in Mabuyag (cf. Part II). In the examples (186-188) it is now the 2 which is inflected for the ergative case; the subject has the uninflected form of the nominative case and the registration on the verb is -ay. QF is permitted out of a 1 whether ES has occurred or not, therefore the initial subject in every instance must still be a canonic term, not a chomeur. ES has not changed the initial term of relation from 1 to canonic $\hat{1}$. The evidence from QF is counterevidence for the 2 -> 1 Advancement Hypothesis.

5.4 Conclusion

Three syntactic rules and their interaction with ES were presented to test the 2 -> 1 Advancement Hypothesis. The term of relation tested by these rules was canonic subject. The 2 -> 1 Advancement Hypothesis predicts that initial 1 -> canonic $\hat{1}$. However, in each case, the initial 1 in the ES sentences behaved like a canonic term.

The evidence does not support the claims made by the 2 -> 1 Advancement Hypothesis for the following reasons:

- (1) Imperative: The condition on imperative is that it uses

canonic relations; as well, the canonic subject must make reference to second person.

- (a) The initial 1 is not a canonic chomeur since the imperative is still grammatical -- the initial 1, ni/nipel 'you', is also a canonic 1.
 - (b) The initial 2 waapi 'fish' could not have advanced to canonic 1, otherwise, imperative would be ungrammatical.
- (2) Comitative Float: By the Host Limitation Law, only primary terms can host ascensions. If the initial 1 advances to canonic chomeur it will not be permitted to launch a floating comitative. However, the evidence shows that CF is permitted out of a 1 which has undergone ES. Clearly, it is not a chomeur.
- (3) Quantifier Float: Only primary terms can host ascensions (Host Limitation Law). The examples have shown that the 1/nm (the 1 in ES) can float a quantifier. By the Host Limitation Law, it must be a term, not a chomeur.

As explained above, the 2 -> 1 Advancement Hypothesis makes the wrong predictions concerning the fate of the initial subject in ES. For this reason, it is abandoned.

6. Spontaneous Demotion: A Preliminary Discussion

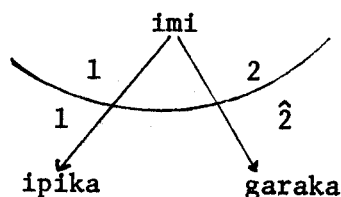
6.0 Introduction

Observations: The verb is inflected for the intransitive in ES. The initial 1 has the nominative rather than the ergative inflection. A 1/nm is the expected inflection for an intransitive.

Hypothesis: The effect of ES is to demote the 2 down the hierarchy of grammatical relations to become a chomeur (2 -> 2̂).

Prediction: Any ascension from a 2 in an ES sentence will be ungrammatical since the host (i.e. the direct object) has taken on the grammatical relation of chomeur. Chomeurs are not permitted to host ascensions (by the Host Limitation Law).

Network:



Ipika garkazin imi.
1/nm 2/erg V/ay

This hypothesis is motivated by the verb morphology. The verb in

ES has the -ay inflection which is the inflection for an intransitive verb. It is not unreasonable to suggest then, that the 2 has become a canonic chomeur and that the absence of a 2 is being marked by the intransitive inflection of the verb. Because the hypothesis makes predictions about the fate of the initial 2, the tests will concentrate on the status of 2. There are three syntactic rules which provide relevant examples: Comitative Float from 2, Quantifier Float from 2, and Possessor Ascension from 2.

6.1 Comitative Float from 2

The restrictions on CF from a 2 are the same as those out of 1: only a term can launch a floating comitative (by the Host Limitation Law). If the 2/erg (the direct object in ES) can launch a floating comitative, then it is clear that the 2 is still a term, not a chomeur.

- (189) Ngath waapi a rays purathanu.
1/erg 2/nm V/nonpast
'I eat fish and rice'
1 V 2 2
- (190) Ngath waapi purathan raysil muraray.
1/erg 2/nm V/nonpast 2
'I eat fish with rice'
1 2 2
- (191) Ngay wapin a raysin purathi.
1/nm 2/erg V/ay
'I eat (all/only) fish and rice'
- (192) Ngay wapin purathi raysil muraray.
1/nm 2/erg V/ay 2
'I eat (all/only) fish with rice'

The above sentences are possibilities for CF from a 2. The Spontaneous Demotion Hypothesis predicts that the effect of ES is to make the 2 a canonic chomeur, i.e. a nonterm. A nonterm cannot launch a floating comitative. But sentences (191-192) show that a 2/erg (canonic 2 in ES) can launch a floating comitative. The Spontaneous Demotion Hypothesis makes the incorrect prediction with respect to CF.

6.2 Quantifier Float from 2

We have seen (Chapter II, Sec. 1.1.1) that Mabuyag, unlike English, sanctions QF from a direct object. Sentences (54) - (56) are repeated here.

- (54) Nadh sethab mura baydhamal mathaminu.
1/erg dem Q 2/pl V/pl/past
'she these all policemen hit'
'she hit all these policemen'

- (55) Nadh sethab baydhamal mathaminu mura.
1/erg dem 2/pl V/pl/past C
- (56) Mura nadh mathaminu sethab baydhamal.
C 1/erg V/pl/past dem 2/pl
- (193) Na sethab mura baydhaman mathami.
1/nm dem Q 2/erg V/ay
'she hit all these policemen'
- (194) Na sethab baydhaman mathami mura.
1/nm dem 2/erg V/ay C
'she hit all these policemen'
(lit.) 'she these policemen hit all'
1 dem 2 V C
- (195) Mura na mathami sethab baydhaman.
C 1/nm V/ay dem 2/erg
'she hit all these policemen'
(lit.) 'all she hit these policemen'
C 1 V dem 2

Sentences (193) - (195) have undergone ES. QF yields well-formed sentences whether the 2 has been involved in ES or not. The argument is similar to that of CF. If ES is a demotion rule causing the initial 2 to become a canonic chomeur, then QF from an ES 2 will be blocked since the 2 is a chomeur, and by the Host Limitation Law, cannot float a quantifier. But the evidence shows that QF from an ES 2 results in well-formed sentences. Therefore, the initial 2 must be a canonic 2 and not a canonic chomeur. The Spontaneous Demotion Hypothesis has made an incorrect prediction about the facts.

6.3 Possessor Ascension from 2

PA can occur in Mabuyag from either a 1 or a 2. Since the predictions made by the Spontaneous Demotion Hypothesis deal most crucially with 2s, I am only considering examples of PA from a 2. An ascension (as discussed earlier) involves a transition from a relation borne to a downstairs term to a term relation (the word term is crucial) to an upstairs governor (Klokeid 1976:193). A chomeur is not permitted to host an ascension. If the Spontaneous Demotion Hypothesis correctly accounts for ES, then PA from a 2 in an ES sentence will be ungrammatical.

- (196) Ipika mabaygan zugun pudi.
1/nm 2/erg ² V
'the woman pulled off the man, the arm'
1 V 2 ²
- (197) Ngoka garkazin kuykun pali.
1/nm 2/erg ² V/ay
'the girl kicked the boy in the head'
1 V 2 ²

Each of these examples involves PA from a 2 and each sentence has undergone ES. The subject is inflected for the nominative (unmarked form) and the direct object for the ergative. As well, the verbal registration -ay is present. The effect of PA is that the initial 2 is a canonic chomeur and initial POSS is a canonic 2. Each of these sentences is well-formed. The characterization of ES as a demotion as stated earlier is not supported by PA. That is, an ES 2 does act as a host for an ascension. This is a property of terms only (re: Host Limitation Law).

6.4 Conclusion

The observation made about the Spontaneous Demotion Hypothesis at this point is that the examples which should support the hypothesis actually provide counter examples to it. In every instance, the 2 in ES behaves as a term, not as a chomeur. Therefore, it appears that the claim that $2 \rightarrow \hat{2}$ is not borne out.

The Spontaneous Demotion Hypothesis will not be rejected or accepted at this point. First the hypothesis that the 2 in ES does not look enough like a 2 to act like one will be discussed. Then I will return to the Spontaneous Demotion Hypothesis and reconsider it on the basis of further examples and the existence of the relation broad 2 (which is discussed in a following section).

7. Look Unlike Sometimes Hypothesis (LUSH)

7.0 Introduction

Observation: In ES, the 2 inflects for the ergative case, while the 1 is inflected for the nominative. The verbal registration is that of an intransitive. Agreement is with the 1/nm not with 2/erg. The 2 in ES appears to act like a term.

Hypothesis: After ES, the term which had the initial grammatical relation of direct object no longer looks enough like a 2 to act like one.

Prediction: The 2 in ES still has the grammatical relations of a 2. Because it does not have any of the inflections permitted for a 2, it does not look enough like a 2 to trigger agreement or the verbal registration of the transitive.

The problem still remains to decide what is the proper explanation of ES. By examining both the terms which are affected by ES in this Part, I have attempted to:

1. suggest the logical canonic relation the initial 1 and 2 could have.
2. test whether it does bear this relation on the basis of what is known about the properties of each term (e.g., 1, 2 or chomeur).

LUSH proposes that in ES, the 2 which is inflected for the nominative (i.e. has participated in ES) is still a 2 but does not look enough like a 2 to act like one with respect to agreement and case inflection. The hypothesis is motivated by the above mentioned agreement facts and by the intransitive registration of the verb. Support for LUSH comes from agreement, negative, reflexive, but counter arguments exist. The facts which do not support LUSH come from the case marking of other nominal groups.

7.1 Agreement

It has been proposed that agreement is sensitive to case and not to relations.⁴ This is to say that in Mabuyag, agreement is with the number of the term having the nominative case, whether this term has the relation of subject or direct object. The following sentences support this.

(198) Koey goerasar ipkazin garaka imadhin.
NT 1/erg 2/nm V/sg/past
'many women saw the boy'

(199) Ipika koey goerasar garkazin imaydhin
1/nm NT 2/erg V/ay/sg
'the woman saw many boys'

If agreement is sensitive to case, not relations, then this says that the 2 in ES will not trigger agreement as it is inflected for the ergative, not the nominative. This supports the claim of LUSH: that the 2/erg does not look enough like a 2 to act like one.

Unfortunately for LUSH, the claim that agreement is with case, not relations, is not tenable. The proposal is discussed, but ultimately rejected, by Bani and Klokeid:

... if all Langgus nominals inflected like group (i), then agreement would simply be a matter of ensuring that the verbal number correlated with the number of the nominative NP, whether subject or object.... The correlation between surface case and number agreement breaks down, however, when group (ii, iii, iv, v) nominals⁵ are brought into the picture, and therefore the only correlation to be made for number agreement is with the conjugation class of the verb.... (Bani and Klokeid 1976:277)

Therefore, if only "group (i)" nominals are considered, LUSH is supported. When other nominals are considered, agreement is with the conjugation class of the verb: transitives agree with the number of the 2, intransitives with that of the 1 (but, these nominals cannot undergo ES).

While not providing conclusive proof as to the validity of LUSH, the above does lend support to its claims.

7.2 Negatives

Negative formation provides analogical support for LUSH. Negative is an example of a change in case, which is not a change in grammatical relations, that causes a term (here a 2) not to have all the properties expected of that term.

The nonfuture negative is formed by adding the genitive case to the nuclear terms; the future negative, by adding the dative to the nuclear terms.

- (200) Ngaw wapiw a raysiw purathayginga.
1/gn 2/gn V/neg
'I didn't eat fish and rice'
1 V 2

- (201) Nabika wapika a uzika gasamka lawnga bathaynga.
1/dt 2/dt V/neg NT
'she will not catch fish and stonefish tomorrow'
1 V 2 NT

In the negative, the verb is not marked for number. In the examples one would expect the verb to inflect for the dual as that is the number of the object. The nonagreement in the Negative is handled very simply if one considers that agreement is sensitive to case, not relations. Agreement looks for a specific case, if the appropriate form is not available, then the verb is neutral.

7.3 Ordinary Reflexivization (OR)

The general conditions on OR for Mabuyag are that only terms can act as triggers, the target and trigger must be coreferential, and the target and trigger must be clausemates. In Mabuyag, only 1s trigger OR.

- (202) Ipkazin_i na_j laban.
1/erg 2/nm V/past
'the woman_i cut her_j'
1 V 2
- (203) *Ipkazin_i nanungu_i laban.
1/erg REFL V
'the woman_i cut herself_i'
1 V REFL
- (204) Ipika_i nanungu_i labi.
1/nm REFL V/ay
'the woman_i cut herself_i'
1 V REFL

In the reflexive, agreement works the same way as in intransitive verbs. Assuming that the reflexive pronoun is a canonic 2 which has a special form because of coreference,⁶ this provides us with another example of a 2 which does not trigger agreement. If the analysis of OR is accepted as given here, then OR provides analogous evidence to support the claim that a 2 may not look enough like a 2 to act like one.

7.4 Summary of LUSH

The evidence for LUSH is not strong conclusive evidence for it as certain facts lend only analogical support to it. Only number agreement directly supports it. Negative formation and OR show how it is possible for a 2 which does not have the nominative inflection to still be a 2, yet not function in agreement.

The conclusion at this point is that the 2 in ES may still be a 2, and that ES does not change grammatical relations. This conclusion is only tentative however, as there are two very strong counterarguments to its claim.

The first is that an assumption had to be made concerning the analysis of OR. Since there is good evidence to show that the reflexive pronoun is not a 2 but a $\hat{2}$, this invalidates one argument which supports LUSH (see section 8.1).

The other argument against LUSH is that it does not give a proper account of 2s which are not nominative, but rather accusative. These are the pronouns and personal names. If a 2 is inflected for the accusative it still functions as a 2 with respect to agreement (cf. (205) and (*206)).

(205) Ipkazin thanamun mathaminu.
1/erg 2/ac V/pl/past
'the woman saw them'

(206) *Ipkazin thanamun mathamnu.
1/erg 2/ac V/sg/past

The (incorrect) prediction by LUSH about these sentences is that (205) would be ungrammatical because the 2/ac should not be able to trigger agreement. In order to salvage LUSH, LUSH would have to be restricted so that it only applies to 2s bearing an inflection other than nominative or accusative. Because of this, LUSH becomes at best, merely a description of ES, not an explanation. It is not as desirable an account of ES as it first seemed. At this time it is appropriate to reconsider the demotion hypothesis.

8. Spontaneous Demotion: Reexamined

8.0 Introduction

The Spontaneous Demotion Hypothesis was rejected on the grounds that it made incorrect predictions about the initial 2 in ES.

Necessary to the argument for spontaneous demotions, however, is the relation broad 2.⁷ In any given stratum of a network, a broad 2 is the 2 or, if none is present, then any $\hat{2}$. This is to say that (at least some) ascensions in Mabuyag permit hosts which are broad nuclear terms. This effectively destroys the only arguments against ES as a demotion. The following sections further support my claim that ES is properly accounted

for as a demotion.

8.1 Demotion Rules: A Discussion

This section is a summary of the information found in Klokeid (1976: 297-304). It is necessary as it supports the claim that ES is, in fact, a demotion.

Relational Grammar says that chomeurs can only be created as a consequence of the RAL. This claim is called the Motivated Chomage Law. A counterproposal to the Motivated Chomage Law is that chomeurs can be created by demotions.

A Demotion Rule

converts some term of grammatical relation directly to a chomeur, and its former relation is not taken over by any other NP. (Klokeid 1976:297)

- (52) Verb Registration in Mabuyag
Assign -ay to any verb lacking a canonical direct object. (Klokeid 1976:305)

A registration marker is one which

signals the presence (or absence) of a given term of grammatical relation in initial or derived structures, or in circumstances requiring reference to both levels. (Klokeid 1976: 301)

Klokeid then sets out the Effects of OR in Mabuyag.

- (50) Effects of OR in Mabuyag
When subject and direct object are coreferential, then:
i. Delete the ergative case of the subject, i.e. assign nominative case to it.
ii. Add the formative -ay to the verb.
iii. Convert the direct object to a pronoun.
iv. Assign the relative case to the direct object.
(Klokeid 1976:304)

The Verb Registration rule (52) eliminates the need for (ii) if the Demotion rule for OR ("45. Reflexivization 2 -> C") Klokeid 1976: 301) is accepted as a proper account of Mabuyag Reflexivization. The Demotion rule claims that the initial 2 goes en chomage, and there is no canonic 2 so the verb registers this by -ay.

Point (i) also falls out from this account of reflexivization. In Mabuyag, in general, subjects are inflected for the ergative if the verb is transitive, and for the nominative if it is intransitive. Accepting the spontaneous demotion analysis, no special statement is needed about the subject in OR because this is predicted by OR as a demotion.

As well, (iii) is eliminated if Pronominalization is made applicable to clausemates. So, all that is left is the language particular statement (iv) that in OR, the relative case is assigned to the direct object.

Klokeid then concludes that an extremely language particular statement such as (50) need not be set up for OR. Rather (his 54) the Reflexivization rule "when subject and direct object are coreferential: 2 → C" (Klokeid 1976:307) is all that is necessary. The side effect for Mabuyag is that the C takes the relative case. The only language specific statement necessary is one concerning the case of the chomeur.

I have presented only the salient points of Klokeid's claim that Spontaneous Demotion rules exist and are well motivated.⁸ His detailed arguments and subsequent discussion have not been included here. I am taking the position that demotion rules do exist and will now examine further the case for ES as a demotion.

8.2 ES as a Demotion Rule

8.2.1 The Effects of ES in Mabuyag

This is set out in such a way as to facilitate a comparison with the previous discussion of OR as a demotion rule.

- (i) Delete the ergative case of the subject (assign nominative case to it).
- (ii) Add the formative -ay to the verb.
- (iii) ---
- (iv) Assign the ergative case to the direct object.

(iii) is eliminated since it does not make reference to pronominalization. As was the case with OR, the language specific nature of ES can be eliminated if it is considered to be a demotion, 2 → C. Points (i) and (ii) are eliminated for exactly the same reasons as in OR. Again, only (iv) remains as a language specific statement of ES.

8.2.2 Gapping and ES

That ES is a demotion rule buys something with respect to gapping.

- (207) Ipkazin puaka palanu a, nadh umay palanu.
 1/erg 2/nm V 1/erg 2/nm V
 'woman pig kick she dog kick'
 'the woman kicked the pig and she kicked the dog'
- (208) Ipkazin puaka -- a, nadh umay palanu.
 1/erg 2/nm V 1/erg 2/nm V
 (lit.) 'the woman pig and she kicked the dog'
 1 2 1 V 2

There have been no changes in grammatical relations, i.e. they are still

8.3 Conclusion

In this Chapter I have presented seven hypotheses, each of which attempts to account for ES. On the basis of all the information presented, the conclusion reached here is that ES is best handled as a demotion.⁹ The main objection to this claim is overcome by the relation of broad termhood.

Accounting for ES with LUSH still exists as a possibility. However, the arguments in support of it are so weak that it does not really exist as a strong alternative to the ES as a demotion hypothesis.

Footnotes for Part III

¹This appears in Section 4 as an argument against the 1 and 2 Flip Hypothesis and in Section 5 as an argument against the 2 → 1 Advancement Hypothesis.

²A strong argument against the ES as an Overlay Relation Hypothesis would be from Agreement. If ES is an overlay relation borne by the classic 2, agreement in general must then be triggered by neo-classic nuclear terms, not the classic ones. At this time, the relevant agreement facts are not available.

Neo-classic relations are defined as follows:

Consider a nominal bearing a classic relation n. Then, if that nominal bears no overlay, it is also a neo-classic n. But, if that nominal bears an overlay, then it is not a neo-classic n. (That is, neo-classic terms are those which bear no overlay.) (Klokeid 1976:18).

³See Chapter II, Section 1.2 for more detailed discussion of the English examples and of the Laws which constrain insertions.

⁴This proposal has been made by S. Anderson. My source for it is T. J. Klokeid (personal communication).

⁵Should a nominal hierarchy exist, the categories are as follows:

- | | |
|-------|---|
| group | (i) human, animate and inanimate nouns |
| | (ii) singular pronouns |
| | (iii) nonsingular pronouns and personal names |
| | (iv) demonstratives |
| | (v) nominalizations. |

⁶I realize alternate analyses to OR exist. In a later section (8.1), I discuss the proposal that OR is a demotion.

⁷Perlmutter and Postal have recently proposed the relation of broad term. Because it has not been studied extensively, I only mention it in this thesis and do not attempt to evaluate it. The relation is important to the analysis of ES.

While I was writing this Chapter, I felt that there was a need for a subclass within the class of chomeurs. This subclass had the same

function as Perlmutter and Postal's broad 2s, that of permitting certain ascensions to apply to chomeurs. When I heard of Perlmutter and Postal's proposal (from T. J. Kloeid, personal communication), I immediately realized the significance of it for the analysis of ES.

⁸The existence of spontaneous demotion rules is further supported by evidence from gapping. Klokeid has observed that in order to gap, the conjunct clauses must be parallel and a crucial part of the parallelism is that the grammatical relations of the terms involved must be the same. In the following sentence gapping is blocked. This is accounted for because the reflexive pronoun is a chomeur, not a 2; the conjunct clauses do not exhibit parallelism.

(62) (a) *Ngay ngawngu -- a, Bill waapi pagadhin.
 1/nm C 1 2 V
 *'I myself -- and, Bill a fish speared'

More detailed discussion is found in Klokeid (1976:309).

⁹Viewing ES as a demotion accounts for the facts about PA from a 1.

(i) Ngoka thaman kuykun nanami.
 1/nm 2/erg $\hat{1}$ V/ay
 (lit.) 'the woman knocked the branch with the head'

(ii) *Ngoka thaman kuyk nanami.
 1/nm 2/erg $\hat{1}$ V/ay
 (lit.) 'the woman knocked the branch with the head'

Demotion rules create intransitive verbs. There appears to be a perceptual strategy preventing the occurrence of two terms having the nominative inflection in an intransitive sentence regardless whether one of the terms having the nominative inflection is a chomeur (where the terms involved were initial or canonic subjects or dependents of a subject). The \hat{l} can only take the case of a 1.

Chapter IV Conclusion

In this thesis I have discussed in detail the syntactic nature of ES and have attempted not only to describe ES but to explain it by using the framework provided by NRG. The two most tenable alternative hypotheses are:

- (a) LUSH: the ES construction contains a (canonic) direct object, but, by virtue of its ergative case inflection, it does not look enough like a direct object to be treated as one with respect to case assignment, verb registration, and number agreement.
- (b) The ES construction results from a spontaneous demotion.

I have criticized LUSH because the evidence which supported it was mostly analogical. That is, I showed how there exist other cases of a 2, which, because of their case inflection, are not treated as a 2. More importantly, I rejected it because there do occur instances where a canonic 2 is not nominative and yet still behaves as a canonic 2 insofar as it triggers verb registration and number agreement.

As for the spontaneous demotion hypothesis, the early evidence made it appear untenable as an account of ES since the 2 which has been involved in ES can still host ascensions and, by the HLL, this is only a property of terms, not chomeurs. However, this aside, the evidence for ES as a spontaneous demotion is very strong. The verbal registration and number agreement operate as in the intransitive. ES 'looks like' a demotion; it has the characteristics of a demotion. ES, as a demotion rule, provides an explanation for the facts of the interaction of PA and ES from a 1 which otherwise cannot be accounted for. The gapping facts indicate that the early 2 in ES is not a term. Where ES has occurred in one of the clauses but not both, gapping is blocked -- therefore the early 2 in ES cannot be an ultimate 2.

The only argument against ES as a demotion is that a 2 in an ES clause can host ascensions; this is only a property of canonic terms. But this is not a counter argument in that there is the possibility that, in Mabuyag, not canonic 2s, but canonic broad 2s host ascensions.

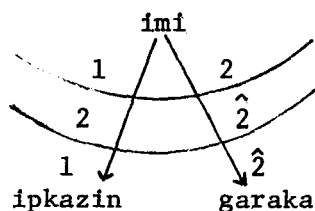
On the basis of this, I conclude that the facts of ES can be accounted for if, and only if, an ES construction results from a demotion. That is, given the assumptions and laws of this framework, their application to the phenomena called Ergative Switching affords an analysis in which the initial 2 in ES can only be described as a canonic (or early) chomeur, not a canonic 2.

The goal of this thesis has been to provide an explanation of the so-called ES construction in Mabuyag (Kala Lagaw Langgus). By accounting for ES as a spontaneous demotion, this explanation has been achieved. ES is a regular syntactic phenomenon; the only language particular statement which needs to be made is that the ergative case is assigned to the 2.

EPILOGUE

After completing the final draft of this thesis, I had an opportunity to read Postal (1977) which gives a different analysis for ES in Mabuyag, the so-called Antipassive. Antipassive is a detransitivizing rule, the effect of which is to have "the early subject of a transitive clause bear the subject relation but (automatically ...) the absolutive instead of the ergative relation" (Postal 1977:277). Specifically, the early 1 retreats to late 2, causing early 2 to become $\hat{2}$, then the new 2 advances back to 1. The network for Antipassive is as follows:

(1)



The initial subject reverts to subjecthood because of a rule which requires "the assignment of subjecthood to a direct object not coexisting at a stratum with a subject" (Postal 1977:292).

Postal's conclusion concerning the initial 2 is the same as the one I have reached: initial 2 is a canonic $\hat{2}$. However, there is one crucial difference between the two analyses. I have claimed that chomeurs can be created not only by the Relational Annihilation Law, but also by spontaneous demotions. Postal specifically rejects this, claiming that the Relational Annihilation Law is a necessary, and, moreover, sufficient condition to account for the creation of chomeurs. That is, "... only the Chomeur Condition can sanction chomeur relations. Thus there are claimed to be no rules ('spontaneous demotions') which directly sanction chomage in the way that Passive sanctions subjecthood, Antipassive direct objecthood etc." (Postal 1977:292).

The arguments which I have given in support of the spontaneous demotion hypothesis also support Postal's Antipassive analysis. At this time, there is no evidence I know of, internal to Mabuyag, which allows us to choose between the two analyses. The resolution of problem rests on broader issues of Relational Grammar.

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