

THE MIDDLE VOICE IN TAGALOG*

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0 Abstract

The current approaches to the Tagalog focus system attach too much importance to syntactic transitivity, and leave unanswered the question of how the focus system correlates with voice phenomena, thereby failing to elucidate its functional aspects. In this paper, we address this question by examining the middle voice and related voice phenomena in this language. Adopting the conceptual framework for voice phenomena (Shibatani 2006), we claim that Goal Focus (GF) verb forms express active situations, whereas Actor Focus (AF) verb forms represent two different non-active situations, namely, middle situations with introverted verbs and antipassive situations with extroverted verbs. AF verb forms also work for actor nominalization. We argue that these two functions of AF verb forms, non-active voice categories and actor nominalization, stem from their primary function, namely, actor-focusing.

1 Introduction

For more than a century the Tagalog focus system has been challenging our understanding of voice phenomena. In this system, a particular participant of an action is singled out as primary focal participant, and receives special marking in two ways. For one thing, the participant selected as focal participant is realized in the nominative case; in addition, its semantic role is marked on the verb by one of the focus affixes. Let us consider (1) for illustration.^{1, 2} The examples in (1) respectively pick out an agent (1a), a patient (1b), a

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¹ The following abbreviations are employed in glossing: ABS-absolutive, AF-actor focus, ASP-aspect marker, CAUS-causative, CF-circumstantial focus, DAT-dative, DEF-definite, ERG-ergative, EXC-exclusive, F-feminine, GEN-genitive, GF-goal focus, INC-inclusive, INS-instrumental, LF-locative focus, LK-linker, LOC-locative, NEG-negation, NOM-nominative, OBL-oblique, P-personal name and kinship term, PF-patient focus, PL-plural, PREF-perfectivizing prefix, PRES-present tense, RL-realis, S-subject of an intransitive verb, SG-singular, SP-spontaneous, TRANS-transitive, 1-first person, 2-second person, 3-third person, “<

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location (1c), and a beneficiary (1d) for primary focal prominence. The element so identified is realized as the nominative pronoun form or marked in the nominative case, whereas the semantic role of each focal participant is registered on the verb by different focus affixes, namely, <um> (1a), -∅ (1b), -an (1c), and i- (1d), yielding four different forms of the same verb. Note that the term “focus” in this system has no relevance to pragmatic focus (as opposed to presupposition in Lambrecht 1994’s sense); rather it is a manifestation of conceptual focal prominence (Langacker 1991:318-320, 2004:79-81, 2008:380-381, cf. French 1987/1988 and Himmelmann 2002). Reflecting its conceptual import, the focal participant is typically interpreted as referential, often definite, and can be exclusively involved in several syntactic processes (Schachter 1976, 1977, Kroeger 1993).

- (1) a. K<um>ain=**ako** ng=mansanas.
eat<AF>=**1SG.NOM** GEN=apple
I ate an apple/apples.
- b. K<in>ain-∅=ko ang=mansanas.
eat<RL>-**PF**=1SG.GEN **NOM**=apple
*I ate **the** apple.*
- c. K<in>ain-**an**=ko ang=pinggan ni=John Rey.
eat<RL>-**LF**=1SG.GEN **NOM**=plate **P.GEN**=J.R.
*I ate off of **John Rey’s** plate.*
- d. I-k<in>ain=ko si=Fiona.
CF-eat<RL>=1SG.GEN **P.NOM**=F.
*I ate for **Fiona** (because she could not eat for some reason).*

Four focus types are formally recognized in Tagalog as in Table 1 (Kroeger 1993, Himmelmann 2004, 2005b), although not all verbs have four different focus forms. Semantically, what is in focus is the initiator of an action in Actor Focus (AF) and the endpoint of an action in Goal Focus (GF). GF in turn breaks up into three types: Patient Focus (PF, focusing a patient), Locative Focus (LF, focusing a recipient, location, goal, and source), and Circumstantial Focus (CF, focusing everything else). There is more than one affix for Actor Focus, -um- and mag- being the most productive. Note that in realis mood the PF marker -in is realized as -∅ as in (1b), and the AF marker mag- as nag-. The infix -in- in (1b-d) is a realis marker for GF verb forms.

>”-infix, “=”-cliticization, and “~”-reduplication. The diagraph *ng* represents a velar nasal except that the genitive marker *ng* is pronounced as [naŋ] and the plural marker *mga* as [maŋa].

² Technically speaking, the gloss “nominative” is not appropriate for *ang* and *si*; it implies that arguments in question are grammatical subject but they may not be (Schachter 1976, 1977). Nonetheless, we still use the term “nominative” for the sake of convenience. Also, it is common for Philippinists to replace the term “focus” with “voice” (e.g. “Actor Voice” instead of “Actor Focus”). In this paper, however, we use “focus” for language-particular structural categories of verbs and “voice” for conceptual or functional categories expressed by the focus system.

Table 1: *Focus affixes*

Focus type		Focus affix
Actor Focus (AF)		<i>-um-, mag-, etc.</i>
Goal Focus (GF)	Patient Focus (PF)	<i>-in</i>
	Locative Focus (LF)	<i>-an</i>
	Circumstantial Focus (CF)	<i>i-</i>

The main function of the focus system is to represent different voice categories.³ In the literature, the primary voice opposition has been drawn between AF and GF clauses, but different characterizations have been given to each clause type. For example, Bloomfield (1917) and Blake (1925), among others, consider that AF clauses are active, while GF clauses are passive because the primary argument is an agent in AF clauses, but a non-agent in GF clauses. Compare the AF clause in (1a) with the GF clauses in (1b-d).

More recently, however, linguists have realized that GF clauses are more transitive than AF clauses in the sense of Hopper and Thompson (1980), showing typical properties of the active voice (Wouk 1986, Nolasco 2003, 2005, 2006, Nolasco and Saclot 2005, Saclot 2006). Some put forward an analysis that AF clauses are actually equivalent to intransitive or antipassive constructions in ergative languages (Cena 1977, Payne 1982, De Guzman 1988, Liao 2004, Reid and Liao 2004). For example, by comparing Tagalog with Yup'ik Eskimo, Payne (1982) points out functional parallels between several construction types of these two languages: PF clauses in Tagalog correspond to ergative clauses in Yup'ik, and AF clauses to antipassive and intransitive clauses. Nolasco (2003, 2005, 2006) analyzes AF clauses as intransitive and GF clauses as transitive in terms of the transitivity parameters reformulated from Hopper and Thompson (1980). For instance, the AF clause in (1a) is analyzed as syntactically intransitive and the PF clause in (1b) as syntactically transitive.

These antipassive/intransitive analyses of AF clauses, however, have been called into question by Kroeger (1993), Foley (1998), Ross (2002), and Himmelmann (2002, 2005a, b) for the reason that AF clauses are not as intransitive as antipassive clauses are in languages with ergative syntax. Kroeger (1993:Chapter 2) claims that both AF and GF clauses are transitive, showing several pieces of evidence that in AF clauses like (1a) both agent and patient are grammatical arguments. Another reason against the antipassive analyses of AF clauses is that in ergative languages antipassive verb forms are morphologically more complex than basic verb forms, showing their derived status (Dixon 1994:146), but AF verb forms are typically no more complex than their GF counterparts (Foley 1998, Katagiri 2005).⁴ As in Table 1, the voice contrasts in Tagalog are made by equally morphologically complex verb forms, and thus often referred to as a “symmetrical” voice system (Himmelmann 2002, 2005a) as opposed to an “asymmetrical” voice system like the active-passive opposition in English and the ergative-antipassive contrast in Dyirbal.

³ As discussed in Section 6, another equally important function is to mark argument nominalization.

⁴ See Cena (1977), De Guzman (1992), and Blake (1988, 1993) for another view of the morphological complexity of AF verb forms.

From our viewpoint, these arguments for or against the antipassive/intransitive analyses of AF clauses have the following problems in common. First, they put too much emphasis on the formal characteristics of the focus contrasts, and do not give enough examination into their conceptual aspects. Of course, it is of significance to determine whether AF and GF clauses are transitive or intransitive, but we should also consider conceptual differences between AF and GF clauses in asserting their voice function.

Second, little attention has been paid to the fact that AF clauses express a self-oriented meaning like (2) and (3). The self-oriented meaning found in these examples is different from the semantics of antipassives, i.e. a lower degree of individuation and affectedness of a patient, but what is known as the middle voice.

- (2) Nag-hubad si=Tero.
 AF.RL-undress P.NOM=T.
Tero undressed.
**Tero undressed someone non-specific.*
- (3) B<um>angon si=Zen.
 get.up<AF> P.NOM=Z.
Zen got up (from bed).
**Zen got up someone non-specific (from bed).*

The middle meaning observed in AF clauses (2) and (3), however, disappears in their corresponding GF clauses (4) and (5). The LF verb form *hinubaran* ‘undressed’ in (4) indicates that the agent undressed someone else, not the agent himself, while the CF verb form *ibinangon* ‘got up’ means that the agent got up someone else, not the agent herself.

- (4) H<in>ubar-an ni=Tero si=Ray.
 undress<RL>-LF P.GEN=T. P.NOM=R.
Tero undressed Ray.
- (5) I-b<in>angon ni=Zen ang=anak=niya.
 CF-get.up<RL> P.GEN=Z. NOM=child=3SG.GEN
Zen got up her child (from bed because the child was sick).

As is illustrated above, the AF-GF distinctions in Tagalog represent an active-middle voice contrast as well as an active-antipassive one. A satisfactory account for the focus system, then, has to take into consideration how middle situations like (2) and (3) are realized in this language, and how they interact with the focus system.

A third and more important problem of the current approaches is that the most fundamental question to the Tagalog focus system has been left unanswered: how does the focus system correlate with voice phenomena? Syntactic transitivity of AF and GF clauses, on which the recent studies have been concentrating, does not really answer this. In this paper, we address this very question by examining the ways middle situations are realized in Tagalog.

The paper is organized as follows: the conceptual framework for voice phenomena developed by Shibatani (2006) is introduced in Section 2, and is applied to Tagalog voice

phenomena in Section 3. It is pointed out that the voice contrast made by AF and GF clauses lies between non-active and active situations: AF clauses realize non-active situations (antipassive and middle), and GF clauses active situations. In Section 4, we examine the middle voice in Tagalog more closely, showing a variety of middle situations represented by AF verb forms. In Section 5, we show that the two different non-active situations, that is, antipassive and middle situations are brought about by the semantic contrast between introverted and extroverted verbs (Haiman 1983). In Section 6, we discuss another function of the focus system, that is, argument nominalization. This function results in neutralizing the voice oppositions made by AF and GF verb forms. In Section 7, it is argued that the two functions of AF verb forms, non-active voice categories and actor nominalization, are rooted in the single basic property of AF verb forms, namely, actor-focusing. Finally, the paper is concluded in Section 8.

2 Conceptual framework for voice phenomena

Based on Shibatani (2006) and Shibatani and Artawa (2003, 2007), voice is understood here as the pattern of the form-function correlation along the parameters pertaining to the evolutionary properties of an action. Different voice categories correspond to different conceptualizations of how an action evolves. There are thus marked voice categories pertaining to the origin of an action (spontaneous, passive, causative), the nature of the development of an action (middle, antipassive), and the termination of an action (applicative, external possession).⁵

In this paper we are concerned with the active voice and two voice categories pertaining to the nature of the development of an action, the antipassive and middle voice. The active voice is defined as that in which an action extends beyond the agent's personal sphere and achieves its effect on a distinct patient. For instance, English transitive clauses are active in most cases (e.g. *Mary killed John*).

The active voice contrasts with the antipassive and middle voice in terms of the nature of the development of an action. In the antipassive voice, an action extends beyond the agent's personal sphere, but does not develop to its full extent and fails to achieve its intended effect on a patient (see also Heath 1976, Comrie 1978, Hopper and Thompson 1980, Cooreman 1994, Dixon 1994, and Polinsky 2008). A typical example of the active-antipassive contrast is given in (6). The active/ergative construction in (6a) describes an action which is done toward, and does affect, the distinct patient. In contrast, the antipassive construction in (6b) "indicates that the action is carried out less completely, less successfully, less conclusively, etc., or that the object is less completely, less directly, less permanently, etc. affected by the action" (Anderson 1976:22, see also Hopper and Thompson 1980:268-269 and Cooreman 1994:60).

(6) Bzhedukh dialect of West Circassian (Anderson 1976:21)

a.	č'aaλa-m	č'əg°-ər	ya-ž'a.
	boy-ERG	field-ABS	3SG(-3SG)-plows
	<i>The boy is plowing the field.</i> [active]		

⁵ In this framework, the action is conceived in a broad sense, including non-volitional processes, and the agent is an initiator of such an action. The agent defined as such has been referred to as an 'actor' in the literature of Philippine linguistics (Schachter 1976, 1977). In this sense, "actor focus" is equivalent to "agent focus" in this paper.

- b. č'aaλa-r č'əg°-əmə ya-ž'a.
 boy-ABS field-OBL 3SG(-3SG)-plows
The boy is trying to plow the field.
 or *The boy is doing some plowing in the field.* [antipassive]

In Tongan, an antipassive construction indicates that a patient is only partially affected by an action (Hopper and Thompson 1980:263). Compare (7a) and (7b). The active/ergative clause has an ergative-absolutive alignment pattern, showing that the whole fish was eaten; the antipassive construction in (7b), which lacks the transitive marker *-i*, indicates that only part of the fish was eaten.

- (7) Tongan (Clark 1973:600, cited from Hopper and Thompson 1980:263)
- a. Na'e kai-i 'a e ika 'e he tamasi'i.
 PAST eat-TRANS ABS DEF fish ERG the boy
The boy ate the fish. [active]
- b. Na'e kai 'a e tamasi'i 'i he ika.
 PAST eat ABS DEF boy OBL the fish
The boy ate some of the fish. [antipassive]

Antipassive meanings are often indicated by verbal affixation or case-marking, but may be achieved by the indefinite object deletion, as exemplified in English (Heath 1976). The deletion of the patient in (8) signals an antipassive meaning, that is, the lower degree of identifiability of the patient. It also implies the habitual aspect of the proposition, especially in (8a) and (8b). See also “unspecified object alternations” in Levin (1993:33) and “characteristic property of agent alternations” in Levin (*ibid.*:39).

- (8) English (Heath 1976:203)
- a. He drinks.
 b. Speed kills.
 c. The suspect is about to break under questioning.
 d. Minnesota Fats is about to break (i.e., is about to make the first shot in a game of pool).

In the middle voice, in contrast, the development of an action is confined within the agent's personal sphere so that the action's effect accrues back on the agent itself. This definition of the middle voice resonates with its traditional descriptions. Benveniste (1971:148) says: “In the active, the verbs denote a process that is accomplished outside the subject. In the middle, which is the diathesis to be defined by the opposition, the verb indicates a process centering in the subject, the subject being inside the process.” Since the development of an action is confined within the agent's personal sphere, the action has an effect on its single participant, i.e. the agent. Lyons (1968:373) says: “The implications of the middle (when it is in opposition with the active) are that the ‘action’ or ‘state’ affects the subject of the verb or his interests.” See also Barber (1975), Klaiman (1988, 1991, 1992), and Kemmer (1988, 1993, 1994).

The most well-known instances of the middle voice include those of Indo-European languages like Ancient Greek and Sanskrit, in which the characteristic voice alternation is

active/middle rather than active/passive (Lyons 1968:373, Barber 1975, Klaiman 1991:23-24). See (9) and (10). In active clauses, the action extends beyond the agent's personal sphere and affects the distinct patient. In middle clauses, the action is done within the agent's personal sphere and affects the agent itself. The same contrast can be found in non-Indo-European languages like Fula. See (11).

- (9) Ancient Greek (Barber 1975:19)
- a. lou -ō ta himatia
wash act. the cloaks
I wash the cloaks. [active]
- b. lou -omai
wash mid. (1sg.)
I wash myself. [middle]
- (10) Sanskrit (Klaiman 1991:93)
- a. So namati daṇḍam
he-NOM bends-3SG **ACTIVE** stick-ACC
He bends the stick. [active]
- b. Namate daṇḍaḥ
bends-3SG **MIDDLE** stick-NOM
The stick bends. [middle]
- (11) Fula (Arnott 1970:260, cited from Klaiman 1991:26)
- a. 'o born -ii mo ḡgapalewol
he dress past **ACTIVE** him gown
He dressed him in a gown. [active]
- b. 'o born -ake ḡgapalewol
he dress past **MIDDLE** gown
He put on a gown. [middle]

Middle situations can be marked not just morphologically like (9)-(11) but also lexically or periphrastically. They may be expressed by an intransitive verb as in (12a), or by a periphrastic reflexive construction as in (12b). In these sentences, the action is still confined within the agent's personal sphere.

- (12) English (adopted from Haiman 1983:803)
- a. Max washed.
- b. Max kicked himself.

The three situation types, namely, active, antipassive and middle situations can be represented as in Figure 1, where an arrow indicates an development of an action, a dotted circle an agent's personal sphere, an "A" an agent, and a "P" a patient (Shibatani 2006:233). In active situations, both agent and patient are salient. In non-active situations, in contrast, there is no affected patient distinctly delineated from the agent, and the agent is the only salient participant. The difference between antipassive and middle situations is in the existence/absence of a patient outside the agent's personal sphere. There are several

types of middle situations: an action may happen inside the agent itself (a), be reflected on the agent (b), or be carried out toward a patient which is coreferential with the agent (c) (reflexives).

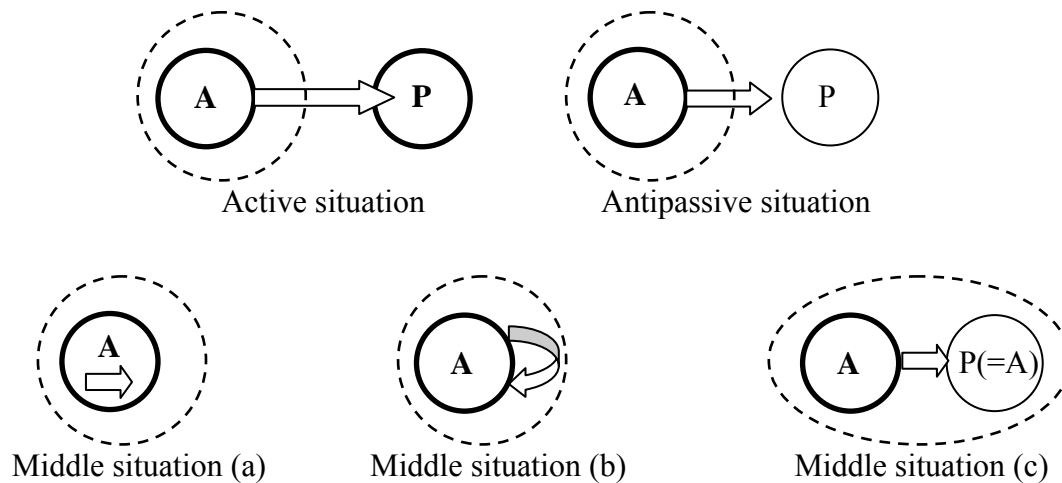


Figure 1: Active, antipassive, and middle situations

3 Conceptual approach to Tagalog voice phenomena

Let us now consider how the Tagalog focus system, especially, the AF-GF contrast represents different voice categories within our conceptual framework. From our perspective, and as argued by the recent analyses mentioned in Section 1, it is not controversial that GF clauses realize active situations. For example, in (1b), repeated here as (13), the action of eating extends beyond the personal sphere of *ko* ‘I’ and affects the patient *mansanas* ‘apple’ totally: the particular apple was completely eaten. The patient is individuated and has a definite interpretation. Morphosyntactically, the agent is marked in the genitive case, and the patient in the nominative case. This is true of (14).

- (13) K<in>ain- \emptyset =ko ang=mansanas.
eat<RL>-PF=1SG.GEN NOM=apple
I ate the apple. [active]

- (14) P<in>atay- \emptyset ni=Juan si=Kuwan.
kill<RL>-PF P.GEN=J. P.NOM=K.
Juan killed Kuwan. [active]

In contrast, AF clauses realize two types of non-active situations. The first type of non-active situation is the antipassive situation, as argued by the antipassive analyses of AF clauses. In AF clause (1a), repeated here as (15), the action of eating is carried out by *ako* ‘I’ beyond his or her personal sphere and is directed to *mansanas* ‘apple’. However, the completion of the action is not specified. The patient is not completely affected and has an indefinite or non-specific reading (McFarland 1978). Also, (15) can have the partitive interpretation that the agent ate some of the apple (Hopper and Thompson 1980, Wouk 1986, Nolasco 2003, 2005, 2006, cf. Tongan antipassive in 7b). Thus, the AF clause in (15)

fits neatly into the conceptual description of antipassive situations. Morphosyntactically, the agent is marked in the nominative case and the patient in the genitive case.

- (15) K<um>ain=ako ng=mansanas.
eat<AF>=1SG.NOM GEN=apple
*I ate an apple/apples/*the apple.* [antipassive]

In some AF antipassive clauses, individuation of a patient plays a more important role than its affectedness (see Hopper and Thompson 1980:253 for individuation). In (16), the AF verb form *pumatay* ‘kill’ means that the agent committed the action of killing, without mentioning which specific individual the agent killed. As (17) shows, AF verb forms cannot take a highly individuated patient, since such a patient is allowed for active situations, but not for antipassive situations. Compare (14) and (17).

- (16) P<um>atay si=Juan ng=aso.
kill<AF> P.NOM=J. GEN=dog.
*Juan killed a/*the dog.* [antipassive]

- (17) *P<um>atay si=Juan kay=Kuwan.⁶
kill<AF> P.NOM=J. P.DAT=K.
Intended for *Juan killed Kuwan.*

In her functional typology of antipassives, Cooreman (1994) reports that across languages the antipassive construction tends not just to indicate a lower degree of individuation and affectedness for the patient, but also to describe an action as incomplete or non-punctual. This aspectual characteristic of antipassives is apparent when they are used in an embedded complement clause of the verb of completion *tapusin* ‘finish’ (Smith 1997:Chapter 3). Since they imply that a designated action is completed, GF active clauses can be used in a complement clause of *tinapos* ‘finished’ as in (18a). However, AF antipassive clauses, which describe an action without a discernable onset or conclusion, are not compatible with this verb of completion as in (18b).

- (18) a. T<in>apos-ø=ko=ng kain-in ang=mansanas.
finish<RL>-PF=1SG.GEN=LK eat-PF NOM=apple
I finished eating the apple. [active]
b. *T<in>apos-ø=ko=ng k<um>ain ng=mansanas.
finish<RL>-PF=1SG.GEN=LK eat<AF> GEN=apple
Intended for *I finished eating an apple/apples.* [antipassive]

As is often the case with antipassive constructions in other languages, AF antipassive constructions are often accompanied by a habitual reading with an implicit object (Heath 1976, cf. English examples in 8). To illustrate, the AF antipassive clause in (19a) means that Lyndie drinks as a habit. Also, it implies that she drinks alcohol, although there is no explicit mention to it. Crucially, this interpretation is not possible in its GF active counterpart in (19b). (19b) just describes the situation Lyndie is drinking something

⁶ As we note later in Section 6, this AF clause is grammatical when nominalized. See (71).

specific at the moment of utterance. The implicit patient only refers to something recoverable from the context, which may or may not be alcohol. The same contrast is obtained in (20), in which the AF antipassive clause indicates that the speaker's dog does not have the habit of biting people, while its GF active counterpart states that their dog is not biting something specific (for example, a bone) at the moment.

- (19) a. <Um>i~inom si=Lyndie.
 <AF>ASP~drink P.NOM=L.
 Lyndie drinks (alcohol as a habit). [antipassive]
 or *Lyndie is drinking (alcohol right now).*
- b. <In>i~inom-ø ni=Lyndie.
 <RL>ASP~drink-PF P.GEN=L.
 Lyndie is drinking (something specific right now). [active]
- (20) a. Hindi na-nga~ngagat ang=aso=namin.
 NEG AF-ASP~bite NOM=dog=1PL.EXC.GEN
 Our dog does not bite. [antipassive]
- b. Hindi k<in>a~kagat-ø ng=aso=namin.
 NEG ASP<RL>~bite-PF GEN=dog=1PL.EXC.GEN
 Our dog is not biting (something specific right now). [active]

The conceptual contrast between the antipassive and the active becomes clearer in interpretation of reference-tracking. Compare the purpose clause construction in (21a) and (21b), in which *para* 'for' introduces a subordinate clause describing a purpose of the action expressed in the main clause. (21a) means that the speaker bought the apple in order to eat it. This interpretation is not achieved in (21b), which has the AF verb in the purpose clause, because the AF verb *kumain* cannot have an individuated patient to mean 'to eat the apple'. On the other hand, both (22a) and (22b) are grammatically correct but have different interpretations. Since the GF verb *kainin* can only take an individuated patient, (22a) means that the agent called Tuting to eat him, although it is pragmatically (and ethically) unacceptable. In contrast, (22b) is fine; here the AF verb *kumain* means 'to eat a meal (or something one typically eats)'. The sentence indicates that the agent called Tuting so that he would eat a meal.

- (21) a. B<in>ili-ø=ko ang=mansanas para kain-in.
 buy<RL>-PF=1SG.GEN NOM=apple for eat-PF
 I bought the apple to eat (it).
- b. *B<in>ili-ø=ko ang=mansanas para k<um>ain.
 buy<RL>-PF=1SG.GEN NOM=apple for eat<AF>
 Intended for *I bought the apple to eat (it).*

- (22) a. #T<in>awag-ø=ko si=Tuting para kain-in.
 call<RL>-PF=1SG.GEN P.NOM=T. for eat-PF
 I called Tuting to eat (him).
- b. T<in>awag-ø=ko si=Tuting para k<um>ain.
 call<RL>-PF=1SG.GEN P.NOM=T. for eat<AF>
 I called Tuting so that he would eat (a meal).

The second type of non-active situation realized by AF clauses is the middle situation, as we have already seen in (2) *Naghubad si Tero* ‘Tero undressed.’ and (3) *Bumangon si Zen* ‘Zen got up (from bed).’ In these sentences, each action is carried out within the agent’s personal sphere, and the agent is the one who is affected by the action. Another illustrating example is given in (23), which contains the AF verb form *maghilamos* ‘wash one’s face’. This sentence means that the agent washed her own face. Here, the action of washing does not develop beyond the agent’s personal sphere, and the agent herself is affected by the action in the sense that her own face was washed. It does not mean that the agent washed someone else’s face.

- (23) Nag-hilamos si=Kath.
 AF.RL-wash.face P.NOM=K.
 Kath washed her face. [middle]
 (lit. Kath face-washed (herself).)

In contrast, the corresponding LF verb form realizes an active situation as in (24). The action of washing extends beyond the agent’s personal sphere, and affects the patient distinct from the agent, namely, her child (cf. Ancient Greek examples in 9).

- (24) H<in>ilamus-an ni=Kath ang=anak=niya.
 wash.face<RL>-LF P.GEN=K. NOM=child=3SG.GEN
 Kath washed the face of her child. [active]
 (lit. Kath face-washed her child.)

Although there is a strong tendency for AF middle clauses to be intransitive, transitive AF middle clauses still exist. Certain verbs of grooming (Section 4) can have a specific body part as a patient. For example, the AF verb form *magsabon* ‘wash (with soap)’ means that the agent washes her own whole body as in (25a). But it can also be used to mean that the agent washes her specific body part *kamay* ‘hand’ as in (25b). In this case, the body part has to be interpreted to belong to the agent; the interpretation that the agent washed someone else’s body part is not possible. Note that the body part patient here is interpreted as part of the agent and within her personal sphere, and is different from a “distinct patient” involved in active situations. The same is true of (26). See “understood body-part object alternations” in Levin (1993:34-35).

- (25) a. Nag-sabon si=Merla.
 AF.RL-wash P.NOM=M.
Merla washed. [middle]
- b. Nag-sabon si=Merla ng=kamay(=niya).
 AF.RL-wash P.NOM=M. GEN=hand(=3SG.GEN)
Merla washed her own hand. [middle]
- (26) a. Nag-sipilyo si=Vicky.
 AF.RL-brush P.NOM=V.
Vicky brushed. [middle]
- b. Nag-sipilyo si=Vicky ng=ngipin(=niya).
 AF.RL-brush P.NOM=V. GEN=tooth(=3SG.GEN)
Vicky brushed her teeth. [middle]

Importantly, the patient in (25b) and (26b) has a definite and non-partitive reading: it refers to the specific body part owned by the agent (see also Himmelmann 2005b). Remember that a definite patient is not allowed in AF antipassive constructions like (15) and (16). This means that the constraint on the definiteness of a patient is applicable to AF antipassive constructions, but not to AF middle constructions. Antipassive and middle are related yet distinct voice categories.

Another example of transitive AF middle clauses is a “causative middle”. Let us compare (27a) and (27b). Both of them mean that the speaker was kissed by Kathleen, but are different in terms of who benefits from the action. The AF causative middle clause in (27a) denotes that the action of kissing was carried out for the benefit of the speaker/agent. The speaker may even have made a request to Kathleen. This interpretation is not present in the GF causative active clause in (27b). Here the action was initiated by Kathleen’s request and done for her benefit. More examples of causative middles are given in the following section.

- (27) a. Nag-pa-halik=ako kay=Kathleen.
 AF.RL-CAUS-kiss=1SG.NOM P.DAT=K.
I had Kathleen kiss me (for my interest; I wanted to be kissed by her). [middle]
- b. P<in>a-halik-ø=ko si=Kathleen.
 CAUS<RL>-kiss-PF=1SG.GEN P.NOM=K.
I let Kathleen kiss me (for her interest; she wanted to kiss me). [active]

The causative middle plays a significant role in reference-tracking, as does the antipassive-active opposition in purpose clauses (21) and (22). In Tagalog control constructions, for instance, an argument in a matrix clause can control only an agent argument in its complement clause (Schachter 1976, 1977, Kroeger 1993). Thus, the argument in the matrix clause in (28) can be coreferential with the agent gap (“kisser”) in (28a), but not with the non-agent gap (“kissee”) in (28b).

- (28) a. S<in>ubuk-an=ko=ng [halik-an [A] si=Kathleen].
 try<RL>-LF=1SG.GEN=LK kiss-LF P.NOM=K.
I tried to kiss Kathleen.

- b. *S<in>ubuk-an=ko=ng [halik-an ni=Kathleen [P]].
 try<RL>-LF=1SG.GEN=LK kiss-LF P.GEN=K.
 Intended for *I tried to be kissed by Kathleen.*
 (lit. *I tried Kathleen to kiss me.*)

For the “kisee” to be coreferential with the argument in the matrix clause, the AF causative middle *magpahalik* must be employed as in (29).

- (29) S<in>ubuk-an=ko=ng [mag-pa-halik [A] kay=Kathleen].
 try<RL>-LF=1SG.GEN=LK AF-CAUS-kiss P.DAT=K.
I tried to be kissed by Kathleen.
 (lit. *I tried to get myself kissed by Kathleen.*)

To summarize, GF clauses realize active situations and are, therefore, active voice forms, whereas AF clauses represent antipassive and middle situations and form either antipassive or middle constructions. Although only antipassive meanings of AF clauses have been attracting attention in the literature, their middle meanings constitute an integral part of their voice function. Crosslinguistically it is not uncommon that a single form has both middle and antipassive functions (Dixon 1994, Lidz 1996, Terrill 1997, Shibatani 2006:239-240, Polinsky 2008). Polinsky (2008) reports that in some languages syncretism is observed between the morphology of the antipassive and the morphology of other detransitivizing operations, most commonly reflexivization (middle). In Diyari (Pama-Nyungan, South Australia), for example, the verbal derivational suffix *-tadi* expresses antipassive and middle (reflexive) meanings among others (Austin 1981, Dixon 1994:151). Compare the antipassive in (30a) and the middle in (30b). This is also the case with Lithuanian *-si* in (31).

- (30) Diyari (Austin 1981:152-153, glossing modified, emphasis added)
- a. ṇaṇi kalka-**tadi**-yi ṇaṇkaṇu wiḷa-ṇi
 1SG.S wait.for-**ANTIP**-PRES 3SG.F.LOC woman-LOC
I wait for the woman. [antipassive]
- b. ṇaṇi muduwa-**tadi**-yi
 1SG.S scratch-**MIDDLE**-PRES
I scratch myself. [middle]
- (31) Lithuanian (Geniušienė 1987:94, 82, glossing modified, emphasis added)
- a. Petr-as svaido-**si** akmen-imis
 Peter-NOM throws-**ANTIP** stone-INS.PL
Peter is throwing stones. [antipassive]
- b. Vaik-as su-**si**-žeide
 child-NOM PREF-**MIDDLE**-hurt
The child hurt himself. [middle]

The question that arises, then, is when do AF clauses realize antipassive situations, and when do they represent middle situations? To answer this question, we first have to

describe AF clauses with a middle reading in more detail, situating them in the context of the realization of a middle meaning in this language.

4 Aspects of middle situations with AF verb forms

In this section, we take a closer look at several representative middle situations expressed by AF clauses, namely, grooming actions, changes in body posture, non-translational and translational motions, inchoatives, reciprocal actions, and causative middles. They are also compared with active situations expressed by the corresponding GF clauses so that their characteristics are well understood.^{7, 8, 9}

Grooming (or bodily care) Grooming or bodily care actions are prototypical middle situations (Kemmer 1988, 1993, 1994), and are realized by AF clauses in Tagalog. (2), (23), (25) and (26) are also examples of this type. In their corresponding GF clauses, the action of grooming extends beyond the agent's personal sphere and affects others (cf. Fula examples in 11).

- (32) a. Nag-bihis si=Katrina.
 AF.RL-dress P.NOM=K.
 Katrina dressed. [middle]
- b. B<in>ihis-an ni=Katrina ang=anak=niya.
 dress<RL>-LF P.GEN=K. NOM=child=3SG.GEN
 Katrina dressed her child. [active]
- (33) a. Nag-pulbo=ako.
 AF.RL-powder=1SG.NOM
 I put powder on (my face). [middle]
- b. P<in>ulbuh-an=ko ang=anak=ko.
 powder<RL>-LF=1SG.GEN NOM=child=1SG.GEN
 I put power on (the face of) my child. [active]

⁷ It is noteworthy that certain bare verbs, i.e. non-affixed verbs, which are used only in special sentence types, can represent middle situations. Such special sentence types include an imperative sentence (i), an exhortative sentence (ii), and a volitive sentence (iii).

(i) Ingat=kayo.
 take.care=2PL.NOM
 Take care (of yourself)!

(ii) Upo=tayo.
 sit.down=1PL.INC.NOM
 Let's sit down!

(iii) Ligo=na=ako.
 take.bath=already=1SG.NOM
 I am about to take a bath.

⁸ As Seunghun J. Lee (p.c.) points out, sentences like *This book sells well* is often treated as “middle” in some languages. Kemmer (1993:147ff) distinguishes this situation type from the middle, naming it as the facilitative (see Faltz 1985 [1977] for the facilitative). In Tagalog the facilitative is encoded as a spontaneous situation, with which we are not concerned in this paper (see Shibatani 2006 for the spontaneous voice). See Kemmer (*ibid.*) for the close relationship between facilitative and spontaneous situations.

⁹ A few verbs only have an AF middle verb form: for example, *magkaroon* ‘have’, *magkasakit* ‘get sick’, and *magtalik* ‘make love’ lack the corresponding GF verb forms.

- (34) a. Nag-sumbrero si=Barbie.
 AF.RL-put.on.hat P.NOM=B.
Barbie put on a hat. [middle]
- b. S<in>umbreh-an ni=Barbie si=Kaiser.
 put.on.hat<RL>-LF P.GEN=B. P.NOM=K.
Barbie put a hat on Kaiser. [active]

Change in body posture AF forms of verbs of change in body posture indicate a situation where an agent changes its own body posture, while their GF forms mean that an agent changes someone else's body posture. (3) is also of this type.

- (35) a. <Um>upo si=Yang.
 <AF>sit.down P.NOM=Y.
Yang sat down. [middle]
- b. I-ni-upo ni=Yang ang=bata.
 CF-RL-sit.down P.GEN=Y. NOM=child
Yang sat the child down. [active]
- (36) a. L<um>uhod si=Kim.
 kneel<AF> P.NOM=K.
Kim knelt down. [middle]
- b. I-ni-luhod ni=Kim ang=manika.
 CF-RL-kneel P.GEN=K. NOM=doll
Kim placed the doll in a kneeling posture. [active]
- (37) a. K<um>andong=ako kay=Macy.
 sit.on.lap<AF>=1SG.NOM P.DAT=M.
I sat down on Macy's lap. [middle]
- b. K<in>andong-ø=ko si=Stef kay=Macy.
 sit.on.lap<RL>-PF=1SG.GEN P.NOM=S. P.DAT=M.
I sat Stef on Macy's lap. [active]

Non-translational motion Kemmer (1994:196) characterizes non-translational motion as “those which denote actions of motor manipulation of the body”, following Leonard Talmy's terminology. AF verb forms of non-translational motion mean that an agent makes such a motion. GF verb forms of this type mean that an agent causes something to make such a motion.

- (38) a. Nag-unat=ako.
 AF.RL-stretch=1SG.NOM
I stretched. [middle]
- b. In-unat-ø=ko ang=kamay=ko.
 RL-stretch-PF=1SG.GEN NOM=hand=1SG.GEN
I stretched my hand. [active]

- (39) a. L<um>iko=ako.
turn<AF>=1SG.NOM
I turned. [middle]
b. I-ni-liko=ko ang=kotse.
CF-RL-turn=1SG.GEN NOM=car
I turned the car. [active]
- (40) a. Y<um>uko=ako.
bow<AF>=1SG.NOM
I bowed. [middle]
b. I-ni-yuko=ko ang=ulo=ko.
CF-RL-bow=1SG.GEN NOM=head=1SG.GEN
I bowed my head. [active]

Translational motion As opposed to non-translational motion, translational motion includes “actions involving motion of an animate entity under its own power through space” (Kemmer 1994:197). AF verb forms of translational motion express such a motion of an agent; their GF verb forms also express the same type of motion, but the emphasis is put on the endpoint of a motion being affected rather than the motion itself.¹⁰

- (41) a. P<um>unta si=Mark sa=mall.
go<AF> P.NOM=M. DAT=mall.
Mark went to the mall. [middle]
b. P<in>untah-an ni=Mark ang=mall.
go<RL>-LF P.GEN=M. NOM=mall
Mark went to the mall. (The mall is focused.) [applicative]
- (42) a. <Um>akyat ang=babae sa=bundok.
<AF>climb NOM=woman DAT=mountain
The woman climbed the mountain. [middle]
b. <In>akyat-ø ng=babae ang=bundok.
<RL>climb-PF GEN=woman NOM=mountain
The woman climbed the mountain (and conquered it). [applicative]
- (43) a. T<um>akas ang=bata sa=pulis.
run.away<AF> NOM=child DAT=police
The child ran away from the police. [middle]
b. T<in>akas-an ng=bata ang=pulis.
run.away<RL>-LF GEN=child NOM=police
The child ran away from the police. (The police are focused.) [applicative]

Inchoative In our framework, the inchoative, which expresses a change of state, also goes into a middle category in the sense that an agent undergoes a change of state within its

¹⁰ Although we cannot go into details here, we analyze (41b) (42b) and (43b) as applicative, where the action develops further than its normal course, such that an entity other than the direct event-participants becomes a new terminal point registering an effect of the action (Shibatani 2006).

personal sphere, and the agent itself is affected by the process. The AF and GF verb forms of this type express an inchoative situation and a causative situation respectively, resulting in inchoative-causative alternations (Nagaya 2006, see also Sanskrit examples in 10).¹¹

- (44) a. H<um>into ang=kotse.
stop<AF> NOM=car
The car stopped. [middle]
b. I-h<in>into=ko ang=kotse.
CF-stop<RL>=1SG.GEN NOM=car
I stopped the car. [active]
- (45) a. S<um>ara ang=takip.
close<AF> NOM=lid
The lid closed. [middle]
b. I-s<in>ara=ko ang=takip.
CF-close<RL>=1SG.GEN NOM=lid
I closed the lid. [active]
- (46) a. L<um>aki si=Osang sa=Caramoan.
big<AF> P.NOM=O. DAT=C.
Osang became bigger (i.e. grew up) in Caramoan. [middle]
b. Ni-lakih-an ni=Osang ang=font
RL-big-LF P.GEN=O. NOM=font
Osang made the font bigger. [active]

Reciprocal action Reciprocal actions, where multiple participants act on each other, are also realized by an AF verb form. The corresponding GF verb form, in contrast, expresses a non-reciprocal active situation.

- (47) a. Nag-away si=Flor at Weng.
AF.RL-quarrel P.NOM=F. and W.
Flor and Weng quarreled (with each other). [middle]
b. <In>away-ø ni=Flor si=Weng.
<RL>quarrel-PF P.GEN=F. P.NOM=W.
Flor quarreled with Weng. (Flor began the quarrel.) [active]

¹¹ One of the reviewers notes that inchoative situations can be expressed by verbs with the prefix *ma-* as in (i). However, we analyze *ma-* as the spontaneous prefix, which indicates an action is brought about accidentally or non-volitionally. Thus, (i) does not simply mean a change of state. Indeed, (i) can take an agent as in (ii), which is not the case with AF inchoatives.

(i) Na-sira ang=laptop ni=Nijan.
SR:RL-break NOM=laptop P.GEN=N.
Nijan's laptop (accidentally) broke.

(ii) Na-sira=ko ang=laptop ni=Nijan.
SP:RL-break=1SG.GEN NOM=laptop P.GEN=Nijan
I broke Nijan's laptop accidentally/unintentionally.

- (48) a. Nag-kausap si=Mutya at Melody.
 AF.RL-talk P.NOM=M. and M.
Mutya and Melody talked with each other. [middle]
- b. K<in>ausap-ø ni=Mutya si=Melody.
 talk<RL>-PF P.GEN=M. P.NOM=M.
Mutya talked to Melody. (Mutya began the conversation.) [active]
- (49) a. Nag-hiwalay si=Marcos at Imelda.
 AF.RL-separate P.NOM=M. and I.
Marcos and Imelda separated. [middle]
- b. H<in>iwalay-ø ni=Marcos si=Imelda sa=mga tao.
 separate<RL>-PF P.GEN=M. P.NOM=I. DAT=PL people
Marcos separated Imelda from the people. [active]

Causative middle As the Classical Greek middle, one of the important middle situations in Tagalog is the causative middle (“causative reflexive” in Lyons 1968:374). AF verb forms with the causative prefix *pa-* mean that an action is carried out for the benefit of, or in the interests of, the agent (i.e. causer). This interpretation is not present in GF verb forms with *pa-*. See also Nolasco (2003, 2005, 2006) and Saclot (2006).

- (50) a. Nag-pa-gupit si=Aldrin kay=Ria.
 AF.RL-CAUS-haircut P.NOM=A. P.DAT=R.
Aldrin had his hair cut by Ria. [middle]
- b. P<in>a-gupit-an ni=Aldrin si=Ria.
 CAUS<RL>-haircut-LF P.GEN=A. P.NOM=R.
Aldrin let Ria have her hair cut. [active]
- (51) a. Nag-pa-luto=ako ng=adobo kay=Tatay.
 AF.RL-CAUS-cook=1SG.NOM GEN=adobo P.DAT=father
I had my father cook adobo (for myself or my guests). [middle]
- b. I-p<in>a-luto=ko ang=adobo kay=Tatay.
 CF-CAUS<RL>-cook=1SG.GEN NOM=adobo P.DAT=father
I made my father cook the adobo. [active]
- (52) a. Nag-pa-sama si=Ivy kay=Jessie.
 AF.RL-CAUS-accompany P.NOM=I. P.DAT=J.
Ivy had Jessie accompany her. [middle]
- b. P<in>a-sama-ø ni=Ivy si=Jessie.
 CAUS<RL>-accompany-PF P.GEN=I. P.NOM=J.
Ivy let Jessie accompany her or someone else. [active]

5 Antipassive and middle

In the previous sections we have argued that AF clauses realize two non-active situations, antipassive and middle. In this section, we examine when AF clauses mean antipassive situations and when they realize middle situations, based on the semantic contrast between introverted and extroverted verbs proposed by Haiman (1983). Through the discussions it

will also be shown that the marking of a middle meaning is economically motivated in Tagalog.

In his seminal work, Haiman (1983) proposes an economic motivation for the marking of a middle meaning (Haiman's "reflexive"), introducing the distinction between "introverted verbs" and "extroverted verbs". Introverted verbs "refer to actions which one generally performs upon one's self" (*ibid.*:803); extroverted verbs "describe actions which the subject usually performs toward others" (*ibid.*:803). For example, there are two markers for a middle meaning in Russian: the reflexive pronoun *sebjja* and the verb suffix *-sja*. According to Haiman (1983:804), extroverted verbs can only use the reflexive pronoun *sebjja* for this purpose as in (53), whereas introverted verbs can employ the verb suffix *-sja*, the reflexive pronoun being reserved for those instances where the patient is in contrastive focus as in (54). In other words, a middle meaning of extroverted verbs is realized by the full reflexive pronoun, while that of introverted verbs is indicated by the reduced verbal suffix.

(53) Extroverted verb (Haiman 1983:804, glossing modified):

- a. *Viktor nenavidit-sja.
Victor hates-MIDDLE
- b. Viktor nenavidit sebjja.
Victor hates self
Victor hates himself.

(54) Introverted verb (Haiman 1983:804, glossing modified):

- a. Ja každyj den' moju-sj.
I every day wash-MIDDLE
I wash every day.
- b. Ja myl sebjja.
I washed self
I washed myself (not someone else).

Similarly, in English, a middle meaning of extroverted verbs is expressed by the full reflexive pronoun, whereas such a meaning of introverted verbs can be designated by a zero form. Compare (55) and (56).

(55) Max kicked himself.

(56) Max washed.

Haiman goes on to claim that the marking of a middle meaning is economically motivated: "what is predictable receives less coding than what is not" (Haiman 1983:807). The identity of an agent and a patient is expected or predicted in introverted verbs, and therefore is marked by a reduced (or zero) form. But the disjoint references for an agent and a patient are expected in extroverted verbs. When this expectation is not fulfilled, such a situation is expressed by a full form. A similar idea was also mentioned by Faltz (1985 [1977]) before Haiman, and has been discussed extensively in the literature on the middle voice (Kemmer 1988, 1993, 1994, Shibatani and Artawa 2003, 2007).

This contrast between extroverted and introverted verbs, we argue, plays an important role in the Tagalog middle voice as well. On the one hand, AF verb forms of extroverted verbs cannot express middle situations but only antipassive situations as in (57) and (58). Indeed, all the examples of antipassive constructions we have discussed are AF clauses with extroverted verbs: *kumain* ‘eat’ (15), *pumatay* ‘kill’ (16), *uminom* ‘drink’ (19), and *mangagat* ‘bite’ (20).

- (57) P<um>atay si=Juan.
kill<AF> P.NOM=J.
**Juan killed himself.* [middle]
Juan killed (someone non-specific). [antipassive]
- (58) S<um>ampal si=Marf.
slap<AF> P.NOM=M.
**Marf slapped himself.* [middle]
Marf slapped (someone non-specific). [antipassive]

On the other hand, introverted verbs can realize middle situations, but not antipassive situations, with AF verb forms like (59) and (60). In fact, the AF verb forms we have looked at in Section 4 are those with introverted verbs such as verbs of grooming and of change in body posture.

- (59) Nag-damit=ako.
AF.RL-clothe=1SG.NOM
I clothed (myself). [middle]
**I clothed (someone non-specific).* [antipassive]
- (60) T<um>ayo si=Glai.
stand<AF> P.NOM=G.
Glai stood up. [middle]
**Glai stood up (something non-specific).* [antipassive]

To express a middle meaning with extroverted verbs, which is an unpredictable situation, it is necessary to employ the *sarili* reflexive construction. The *sarili* reflexive construction is a GF clause where coreference between agent and patient is overtly marked by *sarili* ‘self’¹² (Schachter 1976, 1977, Faltz 1985[1977]:30-31). See (61) and (62). The situations the *sarili* reflexive construction realizes are middle situations in the sense that the development of an action is confined within the agent’s personal sphere and the agent him- or herself is affected (cf. English reflexives in 12). But they are “unusual” middle situations, where extroverted verbs have a middle meaning contrary to expectations, being distinguished from “usual” middle situations expressed by AF clauses like (59) and (60).

¹² For some reason, the *sarili* reflexive construction cannot be used with AF antipassive constructions as below.

- (i) *P<um>atay ang=lalaki ng=sarili=niya.
kill<AF> NOM=man GEN=self=3SG.GEN
Intended for *The man killed himself.*

Variation in form is taken as a function of the “usualness” of the middle situation (Shibatani 2006:235).

- (61) P<in>atay-ø ng=lalaki ang=sarili=niya.
kill<RL>-PF GEN=man NOM=self=3SG.GEN
The man killed himself.
- (62) S<in>ampal-ø ni=Marf ang=sarili=niya.
slap<RL>-PF P.GEN=M. NOM=self=3SG.GEN
Marf slapped himself.

Interestingly, it is possible to employ the *sarili* reflexive construction with introverted verbs, but the resulting sentences mean “unusual” middle situations with special implications such as the emphasis on a patient and the difficulty of an action. For example, the *sarili* reflexive construction in (63) emphasizes that the agent clothed no one but him- or herself. (64) has the reading that the agent had difficulty in standing up (e.g. because of her sickness). AF middle constructions do not have these implications.

- (63) D<in>amit-an=ko ang=sarili=ko.
clothe<RL>-LF=1SG.GEN NOM=self=1SG.GEN
I clothed myself (not someone else).
- (64) I-t<in>ayo ni=Glai ang=sarili=niya.
CF-stand<RL> P.GEN=G. NOM=self=3SG.GEN
Glai stood herself up (in spite of the difficulty).

To summarize, the semantic contrast between extroverted and introverted verbs differentiates two distinct voice categories of AF verb forms. AF verb forms realize antipassive situations with extroverted verbs and middle situations with introverted verbs, whereas GF verb forms represent active situations. Exceptionally, GF verb forms can indicate middle situations, but “unusual” ones, with the *sarili* reflexive construction. See Table 2. To put it differently, the marking of a middle meaning is economically motivated in Tagalog. Middle situations with introverted verbs are predictable and thus expressed by an AF verb form (a zero form); those with extroverted verbs are not predictable and thus indicated by the *sarili* reflexive construction (a full form).

Table 2: *Voice oppositions realized by the focus system*

Types of verbs	AF	GF	<i>Sarili</i> -construction
Extroverted verbs	Antipassive	Active	Reflexives
Introverted verbs	Middle		

It is worthy of mention that the contrast between extroverted and introverted verbs is a matter of degree. On the one hand, verbs like *pumatay* ‘kill’ and *sumampal* ‘slap’ in (57) and (58) are completely extroverted verbs, and verbs of change in body posture and translational/non-translational motion are strongly introverted verbs. On the other hand, some verbs may fall between extroverted and introverted verbs, allowing for both middle

and antipassive interpretations. For example, the action of grooming is typically self-directed, but can be carried out toward others in special circumstances. In (65), for example, the AF verb form *nag-ahit* ‘shaved’ means the middle situation that Ricky shaved himself. But when it is employed with a patient possessed by someone else as in (66), the AF verb form is coerced into having the antipassive reading that the patient is partially affected, and the completion of shaving action is not specified.

(65) Nag-ahit si=Ricky (ng=bigote).
 AF.RL-shave P.NOM=R. (GEN=mustache)
Ricky shaved (his own mustache).[middle]

(66) Nag-ahit ang=nurse ng=buhok ng=pasyente.
 AF.RL-shave NOM=nurse GEN=hair GEN=patient
The nurse shaved (part of) the patient’s hair. [antipassive]

Lastly, we should also note that certain verbs that include a change of state in their meanings, especially inchoative verbs, have more than one AF verb form, one for a middle situation (a change of state) and one for an antipassive situation (an action which induces a change of state of something non-specific).¹³ In these verbs, AF and GF verb forms display a three-way voice distinction, that is, middle, antipassive, and active as in (67).

(67) a. B<um>ukas ang=pinto.
 open<AF> NOM=door
 The door opened. [middle]
 b. Nag-bukas si=Rogie ng=pinto.
 AF.RL-open P.NOM=R. GEN=door
 Rogie opened a door. [antipassive]
 c. B<in>uks-an ni=Rogie ang=pinto.
 open<RL>-LF P.GEN=R. NOM=door
 Rogie opened the door. [active]

6 Voice neutralizations in nominalization

The focus system is not only used for voice phenomena. Another equally important function is to form argument nominalization, by which a clause is converted into a nominal expression profiling a particular argument of the clause (Comrie and Thompson 1985).¹⁴ In

¹³ It has been mentioned in Section 1 that there is more than one AF affix, and the most productive ones are *mag-* and *-um-*. As noted above, certain verbs can occur with both affixes, resulting in two distinct AF verb forms like (67). In this case, *mag-* AF verb forms tend to express antipassive situations, while *-um-* AF verb forms are likely to express middle situations, although the antipassive-middle contrast is only one of the functional contrasts between *mag-* and *-um-*. See Pittman (1966), Himmelmann (2004), Reid and Liao (2004), and Brill (2005). Pittman (1966:12) reports that there is a semantic distinction between *umahit* ‘to shave others’ (non-reflexive) and *mag-ahit* ‘to shave oneself’ (reflexive) (cf. 65 and 66). But the Tagalog speakers the present author consulted with do not have this distinction. They only use *mag-ahit*. Thanks to Mathias Jenny (p.c.) for drawing my attention to this point.

¹⁴ What we call nominalization here has been referred to as headless relative clauses in the literature, and it has been claimed that only the nominative argument can be relativized

argument nominalization, the focus system is employed to specify the semantic role of the argument nominalized. Thus, the AF affix indicates actor nominalization like English *-er* (e.g. *sing-er* and *hear-er*), the PF affix patient nominalization like English *-ee* (e.g. *employ-ee*), and so on, as exemplified in (68). Compare the nominalized verb forms in (68) with the non-nominalized verb forms in (1).

- (68) a. Ako ang=[k<um>ain ng=mansanas].
 1SG.NOM NOM=eat<AF> GEN=apple
 [The one who ate an/the apple] is me.
- b. Ang=mansanas ang=[k<in>ain-ø=ko].
 NOM=apple NOM=eat<RL>-PF=1SG.GEN
 [What I ate] is the apple.
- c. Ang=pinggan ni=John Rey ang=[k<in>ain-an=ko].
 NOM=plate P.GEN=J.R. NOM=eat<RL>-LF=1SG.GEN
 [What I ate off of] is John Rey's plate.
- d. Si=Fiona ang=[i-k<in>ain=ko].
 P.NOM=F. NOM=CF-eat<RL>=1SG.GEN
 [The one for whom I ate] is Fiona.

Nominalized clauses can also work as noun-modifying (or relative) clauses by being attached to the noun they modify (cf. Shibatani 2009).

- (69) <Um>alis=na ang=lalaki=ng [k<um>ain ng=mansanas].
 <AF>leave=already NOM=man=LK eat<AF> GEN=apple
 The man [who ate an/the apple] already left.

A special fact about Tagalog nominalization is that the voice oppositions made by the focus system are neutralized in nominalized verb forms. Notice that the patient noun of the nominalized AF verb form *kumain* ‘the one who ate’ can be either indefinite or definite as in (68a) and (69). This means that the nominalized AF clause above can receive two different interpretations, namely, the antipassive interpretation that an indefinite apple or some of the apple was eaten, and the active interpretation that a definite apple was completely eaten. Likewise, the AF clause in (70) has two readings: it can express either an antipassive situation with a non-specific patient or an active situation with a definite distinct patient. Compare (16) and (70). The nominalized AF verb form *pumatay* ‘the one who killed’ can even take a highly individuated patient as in (71). Compare (17) and (71). Thus, the antipassive-active opposition made by AF and GF verb forms is not observed in nominalization.

- (70) Na-huli ang=[p<um>atay ng=aso].
 SP.RL-arrest NOM=kill<AF> GEN=dog
 [The one who killed a dog] was arrested. [antipassive]
 or *[The one who killed the (particular) dog] was arrested. [active]*

(Schachter 1976, 1977, Kroeger 1993). In our analysis, there is no extraction involved in nominalization.

- (71) Si=Juan ang=[p<um>atay kay=Kuwan].¹⁵
 P.NOM=J. NOM=kill<AF> P.DAT=K.
[The one who killed Kuwan] is Juan. [active]

This is also the case with the middle-active opposition. The nominalized clauses in (72) and (73) illustrate the point. Since it is an introverted verb, the AF verb form *nag-ahit* ‘shaved’ indicates a middle situation in a matrix clause like (65). However, when it is used as a nominalized verb as in (72), the situation this AF verb form represents is ambiguous between middle and active situations: it can be interpreted to indicate either that Ricky shaved himself (middle) or that Ricky shaved someone else (active). The same is true of (73) (cf. 34).

- (72) Si=Ricky ang=[nag-ahit].¹⁶
 P.NOM=R. NOM=AF.RL-shave
[The one who shaved (himself)] is Ricky. [middle]
 or *[The one who shaved (someone else)] is Ricky. [active]*

- (73) Si=Barbie ang=[nag-sumbrero].
 P.NOM=B. NOM=AF.RL-put.on.hat
[The one who put on a hat] is Barbie. [middle]
 or *[The one who put a hat on (someone else)] is Barbie. [active]*

Thus, the function of the focus system is different in and out of nominalization. In particular, the AF affixes indicate non-active voice categories (antipassive and middle) in non-nominalized clauses, but mark actor nominalization in nominalized clauses.¹⁷

7 Non-active voice categories and actor nominalization

We opened this paper by introducing the focus system as a mechanism of singling out a particular participant of an action as primary focal participant, and observed that AF verb forms, which focus an actor, have two different functions, namely, non-active voice categories (antipassive and middle) and actor nominalization.

In this section, we discuss how the two functions of AF verb forms are motivated by their basic function, that is, actor-focusing. To begin with, let us think about why two distinct non-active voice categories, antipassive and middle, are realized by the single AF verb form. Recall from Section 2 that within our conceptual framework the antipassive voice and the middle voice are grouped together relative to the active voice in terms of the nature of the development of an action. In both voice categories, there is no totally affected distinct patient and the agent is the single salient participant (Shibatani 2006:239-240).

¹⁵ A highly-individuated patient (e.g. a personal name and a pronoun) in a nominalized clause is marked in the dative case (McFarland 1978).

¹⁶ To be more precise, (72) can even have the antipassive interpretation that the one who shaved some of someone’s mustache is Ricky. Here, the antipassive-middle contrast is neutralized.

¹⁷ Crosslinguistically it seems widespread that an antipassive morphology has a different function in and out of subordinate clauses (e.g. relative clauses). According to Heath (1976:210), often an antipassive construction shows a lower degree of individuation of a patient in main clauses, but involves a syntactic process of changing a transitive subject to an intransitive subject in subordinate clauses. A similar observation is also found in Cooreman (1994:72-81).

This conceptualization is exactly what actor-focusing means, and is what AF verb forms have in common. In other words, since they foreground an agent, backgrounding other roles, AF verb forms are used for representing non-active situations.

Then, the voice contrast between antipassive and middle is brought about by the semantic contrast between introverted and extroverted verbs. Since introverted verbs are inherently self-directed, their AF verb forms realize middle situations, where an action develops only within the agent's personal sphere. On the other hand, AF verb forms of extroverted verbs express antipassive situations: since extroverted verbs are other-directed, an action goes beyond the agent's personal sphere, but still there is no fully affected distinct patient because of the conceptualization of AF verb forms. Having understood the similarity and difference of antipassive and middle voice categories, it is no surprise that the two voice categories are realized by the same formal category.

In fact, the actor-focusing function of AF verb forms is not just shared by non-active voice categories but also by actor nominalization. When they are used for actor nominalization, AF verb forms profile the agent of an action so that the meaning of a clause shifts from an action meaning to a nominal, agent-referring meaning. To put it differently, since they foreground the agent of an action, rarefying the action meaning itself, AF verb forms are employed for turning the meaning of a clause into its agent. Although the two functions seem different, non-active voice and actor nominalization are the same in that an actor is focused.

8 Conclusions

At the beginning of this paper, we pointed out that the current approaches to Tagalog voice phenomena pay too much attention to the formal properties of the focus system, especially its syntactic transitivity, and thus fail to take enough account of the relationships between the focus system and voice phenomena in this language. In this paper, in contrast, we took the conceptual approach to voice phenomena and examined the conceptual distinctions that the focus contrasts make, with special reference to the middle voice. With this investigation, we are now in a position to answer how the Tagalog focus system interacts with voice phenomena: GF verb forms realize the active voice, while AF verb forms express non-active voice categories, representing the antipassive voice with extroverted verbs and the middle voice with introverted verbs, respectively. The focus system is not a mere marker of syntactic transitivity, but represents a voice system, namely, how Tagalog speakers conceptualize an action.

We also observed that this voice function is neutralized in argument nominalization, in which the focus system simply marks the semantic role of the argument nominalized. This nominalizing function, however, can be considered as a reflection of the basic focusing function of the focus system, which also motivates the voice contrasts discussed above.

A few comments need to be made about syntactic transitivity and ergativity. This paper did not directly deal with syntactic transitivity, but our conclusion that AF clauses are non-active constructions and GF clauses are active constructions offers some support to the antipassive/intransitive analyses of AF clauses. This also means that our analysis is more or less compatible with the ergative analysis of Tagalog case-marking pattern, although it does not rule out the possibility, either, that Tagalog constitutes a distinct type of alignment. Lastly, in light of our discussions, it should be clear that although it is

morphologically symmetrical, the Tagalog voice system is conceptually asymmetrical. AF-GF contrasts enable different ways of construing an action.

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