

Wh-Relative Clauses in Tagalog

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- General Background

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Introduction

- ▶ 2 relative clause strategies in Tagalog (Austronesian)
- ▶ Distinguished by element mediating between head and modifier

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- ▶ Distinguished by element mediating between head and modifier

(1) [*bata*]=**ng** [*uminom ng tubig*]
 child=LK drank.AV GEN water

'child who drank water'

Linker RC

(2) [*palengke*] **kung** [*saan bumili ang guro ng isda*]
 market KUNG where bought.AV NOM teacher GEN
 fish

'market where the teacher bought fish'

Kung RC

Introduction

- ▶ 2 relative clause strategies in Tagalog (Austronesian)
- ▶ Distinguished by element mediating between head and modifier

(1) [*bata*]=**ng** [*uminom ng tubig*]
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Introduction: Goals

- ▶ Relatively understudied area of Tagalog syntax
- ▶ Initial detailed investigation into the behavior and distribution of relative clauses formed using the *kung* strategy
- ▶ Findings:
 - ▶ Linker Strategy and *Kung* Strategy are syntactically distinct strategies for relativization (contra Otsuka and Tanaka, 2016)
 - ▶ Fairly complex restrictions on what may be targeted by the *kung* strategy

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Word Order

- ▶ Verb initial language
- ▶ Elements may appear preverbally with various clausal operations

(3) *Pumunta si Sara sa opisina.*
 went.AV NOM Sara OBL office

'Sara went to the office.'

Verb-initial sentence

(4) *Si Sara ay pumunta sa opisina.*
 NOM Sara AY went.AV OBL office

'As for Sara, she went to the office.'

Ay-topicalization



Case Marking

- ▶ **ang** (Nominative)
Syntactically prominent clausal dependent
- ▶ **ng** (Genitive)
Non-nominative core arguments (also possessors)
- ▶ **sa** (Oblique)
“Peripheral” arguments and adjuncts

(5) *Kumain ang lalaki ng mangga sa kusina.*
ate.AV NOM man GEN mango OBL kitchen

‘The man ate a mango in the kitchen.’



Voice

- ▶ Case marking correlates with verbal morphology (=voice)

(6) *K_{jum}ain ang lalaki ng mangga sa kusina.*
 ;AV;ate NOM man GEN mango OBL kitchen

'The man ate a mango in the kitchen.' Agent Voice

(7) *K_{in}ain ng lalaki ang mangga sa kusina.*
 ;PV;ate GEN man NOM mango OBL kitchen

'The man ate a mango in the kitchen.' Patient Voice

(8) *K_{in}ain-an ng lalaki ng mangga ang plato.*
 ;PFV;eat-LV GEN man GEN mango NOM plate

'The man ate a mango from the plate.' Locative Voice



Possible Positions to Target

Austronesian Extraction Restriction

Only the nominative position can be targeted

- (9) *Kumain* **ang** **lalaki** *ng* *mangga* *sa* *kusina*.
 ate.AV NOM man GEN mango OBL kitchen

'The man ate a mango in the kitchen.' *Baseline Sentence*

Possible Positions to Target

Austronesian Extraction Restriction

Only the nominative position can be targeted

- (9) *Kumain* **ang** **lalaki** *ng* *mangga* *sa* *kusina*.
ate.AV NOM man GEN mango OBL kitchen

‘The man ate a mango in the kitchen.’ *Baseline Sentence*

- (10) a. **lalaki**=*ng* [*kumain ng mangga sa kusina*]
man=LK ate.AV GEN mango OBL kitchen

‘man who ate mango in the kitchen’

- b. **mangga*=*ng* [*kumain* **ang** **lalaki** *sa* *kusina*]
mango=LK ate.AV NOM man OBL kitchen

(Intended: ‘mango that the man ate in the kitchen’)

Possible Positions to Target

- ▶ Relativizing other positions requires a change in voice

(11) *Kinain ng lalaki ang mangga sa kusina.*
ate.PV GEN man NOM mango OBL kitchen

'The man ate the mango in the kitchen.'

Baseline Sentence



Possible Positions to Target

- ▶ Relativizing other positions requires a change in voice

(11) *Kinain ng lalaki ang mangga sa kusina.*
 ate.PV GEN man NOM mango OBL kitchen

'The man ate the mango in the kitchen.'

Baseline Sentence

(12) a.?? *lalaki=ng [kinain ang mangga sa kusina]*
 man=LK ate.PV NOM mango OBL kitchen

(Intended: 'man who ate the mango in the kitchen')

b. *mangga=ng [kinain ng lalaki sa kusina]*
 mango=LK ate.PV GEN man OBL kitchen

'mango that the man ate in the kitchen'



Word Order

- ▶ Basic word order is head-initial, and the head may be omitted
- ▶ Relative clause head may also appear after or within the RC modifier (Aldridge, 2003, 2017)

(13) a. *ang* (**mangga**=ng) [*kinain ng lalaki*]
 NOM mango=LK ate.PV GEN man

‘the {mango/one} that the man ate’

Head-initial/Headless

b. *ang* [*kinain ng lalaki*]=ng **mangga**
 NOM ate.PV GEN man=LK mango

‘the mango that the man ate’

Head-final

c. *ang* [*kinain=g mangga ng lalaki*]
 NOM ate.PV=LK mango GEN man



Interim Summary

	Linker RC	<i>Kung</i> RC
Rel. Pronoun	None/Not overt	
Can target	Only Nominative	
Word order	Relatively free	

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Kung Relative Clause Basics

- ▶ Targets non-DP positions (neither *ang-* nor *ng-*marked)
- ▶ Overt *wh*-element corresponds to the role of the targeted position

(14) *Kumain ang lalaki ng mangga sa kusina.*
 ate.AV NOM man GEN mango OBL kitchen

'The man ate a mango in the kitchen.'

Baseline Sentence



Kung Relative Clause Basics

- ▶ Targets non-DP positions (neither *ang-* nor *ng-*marked)
- ▶ Overt *wh*-element corresponds to the role of the targeted position

(14) *Kumain ang lalaki ng mangga sa kusina.*
ate.AV NOM man GEN mango OBL kitchen

'The man ate a mango in the kitchen.'

Baseline Sentence

(15) *kusina kung [saan kumain ang lalaki ng mangga]*
kitchen KUNG where ate.AV NOM man GEN mango

'kitchen where the man ate a mango'

(16) **kusina kung [ano (ang) kumain ang lalaki ng]*
kitchen KIUNG what NOM ate AV NOM man GEN



Word Order

- ▶ Unlike Linker RCs, *kung* RCs exhibit no word order flexibility
- ▶ Only the head-initial word order is possible
- ▶ Below are a few attempts, a more exhaustive list of possibilities is left out for reasons of space

(17) *ang* *(**kusina**) *kung* [**saan** *kumain ang lalaki ng*
 NOM kitchen KUNG where ate.AV NOM man GEN
mangga]
 mango

'kitchen where the man ate a mango'

(18) **ang kung* [**saan** *kumain ang lalaki ng mangga*](=*ng*)
 NOM KUNG where ate.AV NOM man GEN mango=LK

kusina

kitchen

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Necessary Condition

Morphological non-DP-hood is a necessary condition for targets of *kung* relativization; No *ang*- or *ng*-marked positions may be targeted by *kung* relativization



Restriction to non-DPs

- ▶ *Only* targets non-DP positions; i.e., neither *ang-* nor *ng-*marked (Otsuka and Tanaka, 2016)

(20) *Kumain ang lalaki ng mangga sa kusina.*
ate.AV NOM man GEN mango OBL kitchen

'The man ate a mango in the kitchen.'

Baseline Sentence

(21) **lalaki kung [sino kumain ng mangga sa kusina]*
man=LK KUNG who ate.AV GEN mango OBL kitchen

(Intended: 'man who ate mango in the kitchen')

(22) **mangga kung [ano kumain ang lalaki sa kusina]*
mango KUNG what ate.AV NOM man OBL kitchen

(Intended: 'mango that the man ate in the kitchen')

(23) *kusina kung [saan kumain ang lalaki ng mangga]*



- ▶ Same positions may be targeted with different voice marking...

(24) *Kinain ng lalaki ang mangga sa kusina.*
 ate.PV GEN man NOM mango OBL kitchen

'The man ate a mango in the kitchen.'

Baseline Sentence

(25) *kusina kung [saan kinain ng lalaki ang mangga]*
 kitchen KUNG where ate.PV GEN man NOM mango

'kitchen where the man ate a mango'



Restriction to non-DPs

- ▶ ...but not if the relevant position becomes *ang*-marked via voice morphology

(26) *K_iin_iain-an ng lalaki ng mangga ang plato.*
 iPFV_ieat-LV GEN man GEN mango NOM plate

'The man ate a mango from the plate.'

(27) **plato kung [saan/ano k_iin_iain-an ng lalaki ng*
 plate KUNG where/what iPFV_ieat-LV GEN man GEN
mangga]
 mango

(Intended: 'plate that the man ate a mango from')



Restriction to non-DPs

- ▶ ...but not if the relevant position becomes *ang*-marked via voice morphology

(26) *K_iin_iain-an ng lalaki ng mangga ang plato.*
 iPFV_ieat-LV GEN man GEN mango NOM plate

'The man ate a mango from the plate.'

(27) **plato kung [saan/ano k_iin_iain-an ng lalaki ng*
 plate KUNG where/what iPFV_ieat-LV GEN man GEN
mangga]
 mango

(Intended: 'plate that the man ate a mango from')

(28) *plato=ng [k_iin_iain-an ng lalaki ng mangga]*
 plate=LK iPFV_ieat-LV GEN man GEN mango

'plate that the man ate a mango from'



Adjuncts vs Arguments

- ▶ Adjunct/Argument status does not determine targetability for relativization
- ▶ Locative argument of *naglagay* 'put (AV)' is also relativized using a *kung* RC

(29) *Naglagay si Gina ng pera *(sa lamesa).*
 put.AV NOM Gina GEN money OBL table

'Gina put some money on the table.'

(30) *lamesa kung [saan naglagay si Gina ng pera]*
 table KUNG where put.AV NOM Gina GEN money

'table where Gina put some money'



Adjuncts vs Arguments

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(29) *Naglagay si Gina ng pera *(sa lamesa).*
 put.AV NOM Gina GEN money OBL table

'Gina put some money on the table.'

(30) *lamesa kung [saan naglagay si Gina ng pera]*
 table KUNG where put.AV NOM Gina GEN money

'table where Gina put some money'



Semantic Restrictions

- ▶ Commonly, reasons and times may also be relativized with the *kung* strategy
- ▶ (Note lack of oblique marker *sa*)

(32) *Umalis si Maria dahil masama ang pakiramdam*
 left.AV NOM Maria because bad NOM feeling
niya.
 3SG.GEN

'Maria left because she was feeling unwell.'

Baseline

(33) *ang dahilan kung [bakit umalis si Maria]*
 NOM reason KUNG why left.AV NOM Maria
 'the reason why Maria left'



Semantic Restrictions

- Commonly, reasons and times may also be relativized with the *kung* strategy

(34) *Ang lahat ay maaari natin=g maangkin sa*
 NOM all AY can 1PL.INCL.GEN=LK possess.PV OBL
susunod na taon.
 following LK year

'Everything can be ours in the next year.' *Baseline*

(35) *ang panahon kung [kailan ang lahat ay maaari*
 NOM time KUNG when NOM all AY can
natin=g maangkin]
 1PL.INCL.GEN=LK possess.PV



Semantic Restrictions

- ▶ In contrast, there is some variation for the acceptability of *kung* RCs targeting humans/individuals
- ▶ Currently unclear to what extent the variation is by construction or by speaker



Semantic Restrictions

- ▶ Recipient argument of *ibinigay* 'gave (CV)' cannot use the *kung* strategy

(36) *Ibinigay ni Tina ang regalo sa babae.*
 gave.CV GEN Tina NOM gift OBL woman

'Tina gave the gift to the woman.'

Baseline

(37) **ang babae kung [{{kanino/saan}} ibinigay ni Tina*
 NOM woman KUNG who.OBL/where gave.CV GEN Tina
ang regalo]
 NOM gift

(Intended: 'the woman who Tina gave the gift to')



Semantic Restrictions

- ▶ Source argument of *natuto* 'learned (PV)' can use the *kung* strategy (at least for some speakers)

(38) *Natuto si Julian ng Ilokano kay Bb. dela Cruz.*
 learned.PV NOM Julian GEN Ilokano OBL Ms. dela Cruz

'Julian learned Ilokano from Ms. dela Cruz.' *Baseline*

(39) ?*ang guro kung [kanino natuto si Julian*
 NOM woman KUNG who.OBL learned.PV NOM Julian
ng Ilokano]
 GEN Ilokano

'the teacher who Julian learned Ilokano from'



No Complex *Wh*-Elements

- ▶ *Kung* Relative Clauses cannot be formed with complex *wh*-elements

(40) *Nag-usap ang mga guro tungkol sa giyera.*
spoke.AV NOM PL teacher about OBL war

'The teachers spoke about the war.'

Baseline

(41) **ang giyera kung [(tungkol) saan nag-usap ang*
NOM war KUNG about what.OBL spoke.AV NOM
mga guro]
PL teacher

(Intended: 'the war that the teachers spoke about')



No Complex *Wh*-Elements

- ▶ *Kung* Relative Clauses cannot be formed with complex *wh*-elements

(42) *Bumili si Kiko ng sapatos para sa bata.*
bought.AV NOM Kiko GEN shoe for OBL child

'Kiko bought shoes for the child.'

Baseline

(43) **ang bata kung [(para) kanino bumili si Kiko*
NOM child KUNG for who.OBL bought.AV NOM Kiko
ng sapatos]
GEN shoe

(Intended: 'the child for whom Kiko bought shoes')



No Complex *Wh*-Elements

- ▶ Often, these relative clauses are constructed using the linker strategy with the corresponding voice form

(44) *ang giyera=ng [pinag-usapan ng mga guro]*
 NOM war=LK spoke.RFV GEN PL teacher
 'the war that the teachers spoke about'

(45) *ang bata=ng [binilhan ni Kiko ng sapatos]*
 NOM child=LK bought.LV GEN Kiko GEN shoe
 'the child for whom Kiko bought shoes'

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Summary

	Linker RC	<i>Kung</i> RC
Rel. Pronoun	None/Not overt	Overt
Can target	Only Nominative	<i>(See below)</i>
Word order	Relatively free	Rigid

Valid *Kung* RC Targets

- ▶ Non-DPs,
- ▶ resulting in simplex *wh*-phrases,
- ▶ that do not denote individuals/entities (...sometimes)



Conclusions and Further Work

- ▶ *Kung* RCs and Linker RCs exhibit a number of differences that suggest that these are syntactically distinct constructions (contra Otsuka and Tanaka, 2016), in particular:
 - ▶ word order
 - ▶ restrictions on application
- ▶ More work is needed to ascertain what can and cannot be relativized with the *kung* strategy



Thank You!
Salamat Po!



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Apparently Similar Constructions?

- ▶ Worth Noting: *kung* also introduces a number of other types of CPs which have overt *wh*-elements: embedded questions, free relatives
- ▶ At least for embedded questions, we do not find the same restrictions as *kung* RCs



Apparently Similar Constructions?

► *Ang*-marked targets

- (46) *Tinanong ko kung [sino ang kumain ng mangga*
 asked.PV 1SG.GEN KUNG who NOM ate.AV GEN mango
sa kusina].
 OBL kitchen

'I asked who ate the mango in the kitchen.'

- (47) **lalaki kung [sino (ang) kumain ng mangga sa*
 man=LK KUNG who NOM ate.AV GEN mango OBL
kusina]
 kitchen

(Intended: 'man who ate mango in the kitchen')



Apparently Similar Constructions?

► Oblique Human Targets

- (48) *Tinanong ko kung [kanino ibinigay ni Tina
asked.PV 1SG.GEN KUNG who.OBL gave.CV GEN Tina
ang regalo].*
NOM gift

'I asked who Tina gave the gift to.'

- (49) **ang babae kung [{kanino/saan} ibinigay ni Tina
NOM woman KUNG who.OBL/where gave.CV GEN Tina
ang regalo]*
NOM gift

(Intended: 'the woman who Tina gave the gift to')



Apparently Similar Constructions?

► Complex *wh*-elements

- (50) *Tinanong ko kung [para kanino bumili si*
 asked.PV 1SG.GEN KUNG for who.OBL bought.AV NOM
Kiko ng sapatos]
 Kiko GEN shoe

'I asked who Kiko bought shoes for.'

- (51) **ang bata kung [(para) kanino bumili si Kiko*
 NOM child KUNG for who.OBL bought.AV NOM Kiko
ng sapatos]
 GEN shoe

(Intended: 'the child for whom Kiko bought shoes')



Apparently Similar Constructions?

- ▶ *Kung* RC may contain another instance of inversion
- ▶ Emdeded *wh*-questions cannot

(52)*? *Tinanong ko kung [kailan ang lahat ay maaari*
 asked.PV 1SG.GEN KUNG when NOM all AY can
natin=g maangkin]
 1PL.INCL.GEN=LK possess.PV

'I asked when everything can be ours.'

(53) *ang panahon kung [kailan ang lahat ay maaari*
 NOM time KUNG when NOM all AY can
natin=g maangkin]
 1PL.INCL.GEN=LK possess.PV

'The time when we can have everything'