

# Clausal arguments in Tagalog

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Introduction

DPs

Demonstrative-CPs

If-CPs

## **Baker et al. (2012)**

- ▶ Establish a continuum of embedded clause types in Lubukusu (Bantu) ranging from *fully nominal* to *fully clausal*
- ▶ Provide a number of diagnostics as evidence for this continuum

## This Talk

- ▶ Apply some diagnostics in the vein of Baker & Safir to clausal arguments in Tagalog (Austronesian)
- ▶ Show that this language exhibits some interestingly divergent behavior from what we might expect from Bantu
- ▶ Speculate on some possible connections to other crosslinguistic phenomena

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- ▶ Note: Disagreement exists regarding their analysis

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- ▶ **Genitive** (*ng* [naŋ])
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- ▶ **Genitive** (*ng* [nən])
  - ▶ Marks core arguments not marked nominative
  - ▶ Also marks possessors
- ▶ **Oblique** (*sa*)
  - ▶ Preposition-like case marking e.g., locations, sources, goals, etc.
  - ▶ Also marks complements of contentful prepositions



## Case Marking + Voice Interaction

- (1) Nag-bigay **ako** **ng pera** sa bata.  
AV.PFV-give 1SG.NOM GEN money OBL child  
'I gave **money** to the child.'
- (2) I-b<in>igay **ko** **ang pera** sa bata.  
CV-<PFV>give 1SG.GEN NOM money OBL child  
'I gave **the money** to the child.'
- (3) B<in>igy-an **ko** **ng pera** **ang bata**.  
<PFV>give-LV 1SG.GEN GEN money NOM child  
'I gave **money** to the child.'

## Diagnostics for DPs vs CPs

- ▶ Prototypical DPs (R-expressions) are overtly marked for **case**
- ▶ Prototypical CPs (declarative complement clauses) are ungrammatical with case, and are instead marked with the “**linker**” morpheme

(4) Ikinagulat ni Gina [**ang** katahimikan ng bata].  
surprise.PFV GEN Gina NOM quietness GEN child  
'Gina was surprised by the child's quietness.'

(5) Ikinagulat ni Gina [**na** t<um>ahimik ang bata].  
surprise.PFV GEN Gina LK <AV.PFV>quiet NOM child  
'Gina was surprised that the child quieted down.'

Despite the difference in marking, it appears that both DPs and CPs can serve as **subjects of intransitive clauses**

- (6) Nakakagulat [ang katahimikan ng bata].  
surprising NOM quietness GEN child  
'The child's quietness is surprising.'
- (7) Nakakagulat [na t<um>ahimik ang bata].  
surprising LK <AV.PFV>quiet NOM child  
'It is surprising that the child quieted down.'

# Diagnostics for DPs vs CPs

- ▶ DPs can undergo **A'-movement**
- ▶ (Declarative complement) CPs cannot

(8) [Ang katahimikan ng bata] ang nakakagulat.  
NOM quietness GEN child NOM surprising  
'What is surprising is the child's quietness.'

(9) \*[Na t<um>ahimik ang bata] ang nakakagulat.  
LK <AV.PFV>quiet NOM child NOM surprising  
'What is surprising is that the child quieted down.'

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A number of constructions with clause-like structure have the distribution of DPs:

- ▶ Headed Relative Clauses
- ▶ Headless Relative Clauses
- ▶ Gerunds

# Relative Clauses

- ▶ Relative clauses have the form **Head** LK **Gap-Clause**
- ▶ Gap-Clause is a declarative clause with an *ang*-marked (NOM) gap

(10) B<in>ili ni Gina ang isda.  
<PFV>buy GEN Gina NOM fish  
'Gina bought the fish.'

(11) idsa=ng [b<in>ili ni Gina ang isda]  
fish=LK <PFV>buy GEN Gina NOM fish  
'fish that Gina bought'

# Relative Clauses

- ▶ Relative clauses with nominal heads behave like DPs with respect to the diagnostics

- (12) K<in>ain ni Fe **ang** [**isda=ng** b<in>ili ni Gina].  
<PFV>eat GEN Fe NOM fish=LK <PFV>buy GEN Gina  
'Fe ate the fish that Gina bought.' *Case marking*
- (13) Nakakagulat ang [**isda=ng** b<in>ili ni Gina].  
surprising NOM fish=LK <PFV>buy GEN Gina  
'The fish Gina bought is startling.' *Intr. subj.*
- (14) Ang [**isda=ng** b<in>ili ni Gina] ang nakakagulat.  
NOM fish=LK <PFV>buy GEN Gina NOM surprising  
'What is startling is the fish that Gina bought.'  
*A'-movement*



# Relative Clauses

- ▶ RCs may also appear headless (and linker-less)
- ▶ Same distribution as headed relative clause

- (15) K<in>ain ni Fe **ang** [isda=ng b<in>ili ni Gina].  
<PFV>eat GEN Fe NOM fish=LK <PFV>buy GEN Gina  
'Fe ate the *one* that Gina bought.' *Case marking*
- (16) Nakakagulat ang [isda=ng b<in>ili ni Gina].  
surprising NOM fish=LK <PFV>buy GEN Gina  
'The *one* Gina bought is startling.' *Intr. subj.*
- (17) Ang [isda=ng b<in>ili ni Gina] ang nakakagulat.  
NOM fish=LK <PFV>buy GEN Gina NOM surprising  
'What's startling is the *one* that Gina bought.'  
*A'-movement*

- ▶ Appear to have some clause-like internal structure
- ▶ Reduced verb form; no voice or aspect morphology

(18) B<in>ili ni Gina ang isda.  
<PFV>buy GEN Gina NOM fish  
'Gina bought the fish.'

(19) pag-bili ni Gina ng isda.  
GER-buy GEN Gina GEN fish  
'Gina's buying of the fish.'

- ▶ Like relative clauses, these behave like DPs with respect to the diagnostics

- (20) Nagulat si Fe sa [pag-bili ni Gina ng isda].  
surprised NOM Fe OBL GER-buy GEN Gina GEN fish  
'Fe was surprised by Gina's buying of the fish.' *Case*
- (21) Nakakagulat ang [pag-bili ni Gina ng isda].  
surprising NOM GER-buy GEN Gina GEN fish  
'Gina's buying of the fish is surprising.' *Intr. subj.*
- (22) Ang [pag-bili ni Gina ng isda] ang nakakagulat.  
NOM GER-buy GEN Gina GEN fish NOM surprising  
'What's surprising is Gina's buying of the fish.'  
*A'-movement*

# Interim Summary

Table: Summary of diagnostics

	Case marking	Intr. Subj.	A'-movement
Nominal	OK	OK	OK
RelC	OK	OK	OK
Gerund	OK	OK	OK
Decl. CP	*	OK	*

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# Demonstrative-CPs

- ▶ Demonstrative-CPs have the form demonstrative pronoun (*yung* ‘NOM.DIST’, *nung* ‘GEN.DIST’) + CP (Nagaya, 2014)
- ▶ Demonstratives take can the place of *ang* and *ng* for regular DPs

(23) B<in>ili            ni    Dionisia {**yung**    / **ang**} kotse.  
    <PFV>buy(PV) GEN Dionisia NOM.DIST    NOM car  
    ‘Dionisia bought the car.’

(24) Na-alala            ni    Dionisia [{**yung**    / \***ang**}  
    PFV-remember GEN Dionisia NOM.DIST    NOM  
    <um>iyak    si    Manny].  
    <AV.PFV>cry NOM Manny  
    ‘Dionisia remembered (that time) when Manny cried.’

# Demonstrative-CPs

- ▶ Can take NOM and GEN marking, but not OBL marking

(25) Na-alala            ni    Dionisia [**yung**    <um>iyak  
PFV-remember GEN Dionisia NOM.DIST <AV.PFV>cry  
si    Manny].  
NOM Manny

‘Dionisia remembered (that time) when Manny cried.’

(26) \* Si    Dionisia ang naka-alala    [**doon**    (sa)  
NOM Dionisia NOM PFV-remember OBL.DIST OBL  
<um>iyak    si    Manny].  
<AV.PFV>cry NOM Manny

‘It was Dionisia who remembered (that time) when  
Manny cried’

# Demonstrative-CPs

- ▶ Behave like DPs under subjecthood and A'-movement

(27) Nakakatuwa [yung <um>iyak si Manny].  
amusing NOM.DIST <AV.PFV>cry NOM Manny  
'That time when Manny cried was amusing.' *Intr. Subj.*

(28) [Yung <um>iyak si Manny] yung  
NOM.DIST <AV.PFV>cry NOM Manny NOM.DIST  
nakakatuwa.  
amusing  
'What's amusing is that time when Manny cried.'  
*A'-movement*



# Demonstrative-CPs

- ▶ Demonstrative-CPs have a DP layer, reminiscent of factive complements in languages like Hebrew (Kastner, 2015)
- ▶ Similar to contentful nouns (Moulton, 2015), except Demonstrative-CPs are “headless”

(29) ...{**yung** / \*ang} <um>iyak si Manny.  
NOM.DIST NOM <AV.PFV>cry NOM Manny  
'...(that time) when Manny cried'

(30) ...{yung / ang} balita=ng <um>iyak si Manny.  
NOM.DIST NOM news=LK <AV.PFV>cry NOM Manny  
'...the news that Manny cried'

# Interim Summary

Table: Summary of diagnostics

	NOM/GEN	OBL	Intr. Subj.	A'-movement
Nominal	OK	OK	OK	OK
RelC	OK	OK	OK	OK
Gerund	OK	OK	OK	OK
Dem-CP	OK	*	OK	OK
Decl. CP	*	*	OK	*

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If-CPs

- ▶ *If*-CPs have the form *kung* ‘if’ + WH-question
- ▶ Identical in form to an embedded question

(31) Alam ko [na nag-nakaw siya ng pera].  
know 1SG.GEN LK AV.PFV-steal 3SG.NOM GEN money  
‘I know that he stole the money.’

(32) Alam ko [kung sino ang nag-nakaw ng  
know 1SG.GEN if who NOM AV.PFV-steal GEN  
pera].  
money  
‘I know who stole the money.’

(33) T<in>anong ko [kung sino ang nag-nakaw  
<PFV>ask 1SG.GEN if who NOM AV.PFV-steal  
ng pera].  
GEN money  
‘I asked who stole the money.’

- ▶ *If*-CPs denote something more complex than single individuals

- (34) **Alam** ko            kung sino ang nag-nakaw ng  
know 1SG.GEN if        who NOM AV.PFV-steal GEN  
pera.  
money  
'I know (the identity of the person) who stole the money.'
- (35) ??**Kilala**        ko            kung sino ang nag-nakaw  
be.acquainted 1SG.GEN if        who NOM AV.PFV-steal  
ng pera.  
GEN money  
Intended: 'I'm acquainted with the person who stole the money.'

- ▶ *If*-CPs do not bear case marking...

- (36) Alam ko            [(\***ang**) kung sino ang nag-nakaw  
know 1SG.GEN NOM if     who NOM AV.PFV-steal  
ng pera].  
GEN money  
'I know who stole the money.'
- (37) Alam ko            [**ang** sagot].  
know 1SG.GEN NOM answer  
'I know the answer.'

- ▶ ... except when they are marked OBL

(38) Alam ko            [(\***ang**) kung sino ang nag-nakaw  
 know 1SG.GEN    NOM if        who NOM AV.PFV-steal  
 ng pera].  
 GEN money

‘I know who stole the money.’

(39) Nagulat        ako            [?(**sa**) kung sino ang  
 surprise.PFV 1SG.GEN    OBL if        who NOM  
 nag-nakaw ng pera].  
 AV.PFV-steal GEN money

‘I was surprised at who stole the money.’

- ▶ *If*-CPs exhibit properties of (un)conditionals (Rawlins, 2013)

(40) [Kung nag-nakaw si Juan ng pera], dapat  
if AV.PFV-steal NOM Juan GEN money should  
siya=ng ikulong.  
3SG.NOM=LK lock.up

‘If Juan stole the money, he should go to jail.’

(41) [Kung sino ang nag-nakaw ng pera], dapat  
if who NOM AV.PFV-steal GEN money should  
siya=ng ikulong.  
3SG.NOM=LK lock.up

‘Whoever stole the money, he should go to jail.’



- ▶ *If*-CPs exhibit properties of (un)conditionals (Rawlins, 2013)
- ▶ Sensitivity to modality

(42) {Ha~halik-an / \*H<in>alik-an} ko kung sino  
FUT~kiss-LV / <PFV>kiss-LV 1SG.GEN if who  
ang nag-nakaw ng pera.  
NOM AV.PFV-steal GEN money  
'I {will kiss, \*kissed} whoever stole the money.'

- ▶ Distinct from free relatives, which are DPs of the form WH + *man* (e.g. *sinuman* ‘whoever’, *anuman* ‘whatever’)
- ▶ *If*-CPs cannot occur in subject position

(43) Masarap ang anu-ma=ng nilu~luto ni Juan.  
delicious NOM what-man=LK IMPF~cook GEN Juan  
‘Whatever Juan cooks is delicious.’

(44) Masarap [(*\*kung ano*) ang nilu~luto ni Juan].  
delicious if what NOM IMPF~cook GEN Juan  
‘What Juan is cooking is delicious.’

(45) \*Dapat ikulong [*kung sino ang nag-nakaw ng*  
should lock.up if who NOM AV.PFV-steal GEN  
*pera*].  
money  
‘Whoever stole the money should go to jail.’

- ▶ *If*-CPs may not undergo A'-movement

(46) \* [Kung sino ang nag-nakaw ng pera] ang  
if who NOM AV.PFV-steal GEN money NOM  
alam ko.  
know 1SG.GEN  
Intended: 'What I know is who stole the money.'

# Conclusion

Table: Summary of diagnostics

	NOM/GEN	OBL	Intr. Subj.	A'-movement
Nominal	OK	OK	OK	OK
RelC	OK	OK	OK	OK
Gerund	OK	OK	OK	OK
Dem-CP	OK	*	OK	OK
<i>If</i> -CP	*	<b>OK</b>	*	*
Decl. CP	*	*	<b>OK</b>	*

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<i>If</i> -CP	*	<b>OK</b>	*	*
Decl. CP	*	*	<b>OK</b>	*

- ▶ Initial evidence for a nominal–clausal continuum in Tagalog
- ▶ Diagnostics show the need for different or finer-grained distinctions in Tagalog
  - ▶ Behavior of oblique marking with Dem-CP and *If*-CP
  - ▶ What allows Declarative CPs to be subjects but not *if*-CPs?

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