

Wh-Relative Clauses in Tagalog

Henrison Hsieh

McGill University

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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]
 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

Linker	<i>Kung</i>
Linker <i>na/=ng</i>	Complementizer <i>kung</i>
No overt relative pronoun	Overt <i>wh</i> -element
Well-studied	Understudied

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<um>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')

c. *kusina=ng [kumain **ang lalaki** ng mangga]

kitchen=LK ate.AV NOM man GEN mango

(Intended: 'kitchen where the man ate a mango')



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'
- c. *kusina=ng [kinain ng lalaki **ang mangga**]
kitchen=LK ate.PV GEN man NOM mango
(Intended: 'kitchen where the man ate the mango')



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
 'the mango that the man ate'

Head-internal

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 mangga]
 kitchen KUNG what NOM ate.AV NOM man GEN mango
 (Intended: 'kitchen where the man ate a mango')

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 mangga]
 NOM kitchen KUNG where ate.AV NOM man GEN 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

(19) *ang [**saan** kumain ang lalaki ng mangga] kung **kusina**
 NOM where ate.AV NOM man GEN mango KUNG kitchen
 (Intended: 'kitchen where the man ate a mango')

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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

- ▶ *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]
kitchen KUNG where ate.AV NOM man GEN mango
'kitchen where the man ate a mango'

- ▶ 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<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.'

(27) ***plato** kung [saan/ano k<in>ain-**an** ng lalaki ng
 plate KUNG where/what <PFV>eat-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<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.'

(27) ***plato** kung [saan/ano k<in>ain-**an** ng lalaki ng
plate KUNG where/what <PFV>eat-LV GEN man GEN
mangga]
mango

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

(28) **plato**=ng [k<in>ain-**an** ng lalaki ng mangga]

plate=LK <PFV>eat-LV GEN man GEN mango
'plate that the man ate a mango from'

(Grammatical Linker RC)

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

- ▶ Adjunct/Argument status does not determine targetability for relativization
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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'

(31) *lamesa=ng [naglagay si Gina ng pera]
 table=LK put.AV NOM Gina GEN money
 (Intended: 'table where Gina put some money')

Ungrammatical Linker RC

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

'The time when we can have everything'

(modified from Sabbagh, 2013)



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'

(modified from Sabbagh, 2013)