

A syntactic filter on second-position clitics in Tagalog

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0.1 Intro

2P clitics have played a considerable role in shaping our understanding of the phonology-syntax interface. Non-syntactic placement of 2P clitics requires reference to phonology in some capacity but accounts differ widely on how this reference is made.

A typology of approaches (adapted from Bošković 2001):

Strong syntax: Phonology is negligible in the placement of 2P clitics. It all takes place in regular syntax before PF

Strong Phonology: Placement is entirely a PF matter and has little or nothing to do with regular syntax

Weak Syntax: Syntax offers several options for clitic placement and PF adjudicates between these by means of a phonological filter

Weak Phonology: A limited number of phonological repair mechanisms are able to move clitics from their base position to 2P to satisfy a clitics phonological needs

Focusing here on the phenomenon of “obligatory non-pre-enclitics” (Schachter & Otanes 1972:187) AKA “fortresses” (Halpern 1995), I will argue for the existence of a syntax-phonology interaction which has not yet been considered and which is not easily subsumed under any of the above approaches. Specifically, the Tagalog facts argue for a counter-derivational interaction: phonological placement with a syntactic filter.

1.1 Tagalog 2P clitics

(Schachter & Otanes 1972; Schachter 1977; Anderson 1993, 2000, 2005; Sityar 1989, Kroeger 1993; Billings 2002, 2005; Billings & Kaufman 2004; Kaufman 2008)

Tagalog clitics consist of two broad types - pronominal (T1) and adverbial (T2):

Table 1. Tagalog pronominals

Trad. labels	Gloss	Features	NOM	GEN	NOM	GEN	OBL
			CLITIC		FREE		
1 st sing.	1s	[1]	=ako	=ko	ako	ákin	sa ákin
2 nd sing.	2s	[2]	=ka	=mo	ikaw	iyó	sa iyo
3 rd sing.	3s	[Ø]	=siya	=niya	siya	kaniya	sa kaniya
1 st excl. pl.	1+3	[1, p]	=kami	=námin	kami	ámin	sa ámin
(1 st dual)	1+2	[1,2]	=kata/kita	=ta	kata/kita	kanita	sa kanita
1 st incl. pl.	1+2P	[1,2,p]	=táyo	=nátin	táyo	átin	sa átin
2 nd pl.	2P	[2,p]	=kayo	=ninyo	kayo	inyo	sa inyo
3 rd pl.	3P	[Ø,p]	=sila	=nila	sila	kanila	sa kanila
			Portmanteau forms: [1.GEN+2.NOM] =kita, kita				

Table 2. Tagalog adverbial clitics

	CLITIC	FREE
aspect	= <i>na</i> 'already'	∅
	= <i>pa</i> 'still'	∅
focus	= <i>din</i> 'also'	∅
	= <i>man</i> 'even'	∅
	= <i>naman</i> 'switch topic'	(<i>naman</i>)
	= <i>ngà</i> 'emphasis'	∅
	= <i>lang</i> 'only'	∅
	= <i>lámang</i>	<i>lámang</i>
politeness	= <i>pò</i> , = <i>hò</i> 'politeness'	∅
	= <i>pala</i> 'surprise'	∅
mood	= <i>yátà</i> 'perhaps'	∅
	= <i>sána</i> 'hopefully'	<i>sána</i>
	= <i>náwa</i> 'hopefully'	<i>náwa</i>
	= <i>ba</i> 'question marker' (= <i>baga</i>)	∅ (<i>baga</i>)
	= <i>daw</i> reported speech	∅

In simple cases, both types of clitics cluster together in 2P:

- (1) Gúrò=**ngá**=**siya** ni=Mao
teacher=EMP=3S.NOM P.GEN=Mao
'She's Mao's teacher.' (N host)
- (2) Na-túto=**ngá**=**siya** naη=wíka=η Instsik
AV.BEG-learn=EMP=3S.NOM GEN=language=LNK Chinese
'She really learned Chinese' (V host)
- (3) Hindí=**ngá**=**siya** na-túto naη=wíka=η Instsik
NEG=EMP=3S.NOM AV.BEG-learn GEN=language=LNK Chinese
'She really didn't learn Chinese' (Neg host)
- (4) Saan=**ngá**=**siya** na-túto naη=wíka=η Instsik?
NEG=EMP=3S.NOM AV.BEG-learn GEN=language=LNK Chinese
'Where did she really learn Chinese?' (Wh- host)
- (5) Kay=Yao=**ngá**=**siya** na-túto naη=wíka=η Instsik
P.OBL=Yao=EMP=3S.NOM AV.BEG-learn GEN=language=LNK Chinese
'She really learned Chinese from Yao.' (Focus host)
- (6) Dápat=**ngá**=**siya** na-túto naη=wíka=η Instsik
NEG=EMP=3S.NOM AV.BEG-learn GEN=language=LNK Chinese
'She really should have learned Chinese.' (Modal host)
- (7) Ma-bilis=**ngá**=**siya**=η na-túto naη=wíka=η Instsik
NEG=EMP=3S.NOM=LNK AV.BEG-learn GEN=language=LNK Chinese
'She really learned Chinese quickly.' (Adverbial host)

1.2 The untenability of the strong and weak syntax approaches

Unlike in languages like Serbo-Croatian, non-clitic arguments are not licensed in *any* of the clitic positions in (1)-(7). Likewise, clitics are not licensed in argument positions:

- (8) Gúrò[=**ako**] ni=Mao[*=**ako**]
 teacher=1S.NOM P.GEN=Mao
 'I'm Mao's teacher.'
- (9) Gúrò [*aη=babae] ni=Mao [aη=babae]
 teacher P.GEN=Mao NOM=woman
 'The woman is Mao's teacher.'

As Chung (2003:558) shows, a syntactic account for Chamorro 2P clitics, requires illicit extraction in examples like (8) (among many others). Tagalog (and Austronesian languages more generally) disallow the extraction from NP which would be required for a syntactic account of (8):

- (10) *Nino/kanino_i aη=babae_i NP[gúrò t_i]?
 whose NOM=woman teacher
 (For, 'Whose teacher is the woman?')

The total lack of a correlation between extractable constituents and clitic hosts makes both the weak and strong syntax approaches untenable.

1.3 The untenability of the weak phonology approach

Halpern (1995) proposes that 2P may be achieved by two separate mechanisms. Clitics are adjoined to a position in the left periphery and syntactic movement can place material to their left, thereby satisfying their prosodic dependency. Or, if the clitics reach PF without a clitic host, an operation dubbed Prosodic Inversion inverts clitics with the prosodic word to their right.

If clitics are uniformly adjoined to the left edge of their positioning domain, then a weak phonology approach could account for their placement via Prosodic Inversion:

- (11) a. FP[=**ηá=siya** TP[na-túto naη=wíka=η Instsik]]
 =EMP=3S.NOM AV.BEG-learn GEN=language=LNK Chinese
- b. _____ na-túto=**ηá=siya** naη=wíka=η Instsik
 AV.BEG-learn=EMP=3S.NOM GEN=language=LNK Chinese
 'She really learned Chinese'

This could also explain the impenetrability of oblique focus phrases to clitics as focus phrases can felicitously be analyzed as moving above the base position of the 2P clitics:

- (12) FocP[[Sa=dalawa=η malaki=η palabas]_i FP[=**sila** TP[[lí~litaw t_i]]]
 OBL=two=LNK big=LNK show =3P.NOM AV.PROS~appear
 'They will appear in two big shows'

But, two serious problems arise:

- Pronominal and adverbial clitics do not follow precisely the same patterns. Focus phrases are impenetrable to pronominal clitics but not to adverbial clitics:

(13) [Sa=dalawa=**ba**=ŋ malaki=ŋ palabas]=**sila** lí~litaw?
 OBL=two=QM=LNK big=LNK show=3P.NOM AV.PROS~appear
 ‘Will they appear in two big shows?’

This could be handled by adjoining/generating adverbial clitics above the focus phrase and pronominal clitics below the focus phrase:

(14) QM PRON
 [Sa=dalawa=**ba**=ŋ malaki=ŋ palabas]=**sila** lí~litaw t

- However, when a host appears even higher than the focus phrase, it still attracts clitics. If the base/adjunction position is below the focus position, there is no motivation for the pronominal clitic to keep moving.

(15) Hindi=**ba**=**sila** [sa=dalawa=ŋ malaki=ŋ palabas] lí~litaw?
 NEG=QM=3P.NOM OBL=two=LNK big=LNK show AV.PROS~appear
 ‘Won’t they appear in two big shows?’

1.4 Problems for a strong phonology approach

The above facts are also problematic for a strong phonology approach:

- It is not clear how to characterize impenetrable constituents in prosodic terms.
- It is not possible to characterize pronominals as prosodic phrase clitics and adverbials as prosodic word clitics, as in Chamorro (Chung 2003):
 - 1σ pron. clitics occur internally to 1σ adverbial clitics within the clitic cluster
 - Pronominal clitics cannot be separated from the left edge of their domain in simple constructions by pre-modifiers, as is the case in Chamorro.

(16) ma-bilis[=**ka**]=**ba**=ŋ t<um>ákbo[*=**ka**?
 ADJ-quick=2S.NOM=QM=LNK <AV>run
 ‘Did you run quickly?’

2.1 The solution: phonological placement + syntactic filter

As shown in (1)-(7), 2P Clitics are positioned after the first available prosodic word within their domain. Following Anderson (1996, 2005) Legendre (), this can be handled in OT as the conflict of a constraint which requires clitics to appear leftmost within their domain and a constraint which prohibits them from appearing initially:

ALIGN-L (F_{person} ; CP)

The spell-out of a person feature is aligned to the left edge of CP

ALIGN-L ($F_{\text{adverbial}}$; ForceP)

The spell-out of an adverbial feature is aligned to the left edge of ForceP

The different alignment of adverbial and pronominal clitics is only apparent with certain PWD complementizers and with topics. Adverbials may attach to these but pronominals may not:

(17) a. upaŋ=**diŋ** hindi=**táyo** ma-sísi naŋ=maŋa=há~halíli sa=átin
 so.that=also NEG=1P.NOM PV.ABL-blame GEN=PL=AV.INCM~vote OBL=1p
 ‘...also so that we won’t be blamed by those who will vote for us.’
 (Malvar 1901 via Iletto 1997:164)

b. Bukas=**ba** naŋ=gabi ay Ø-sá~sayaw=**sila** naŋ=pandango?
 tomorrow=QM GEN=night TOP AV-INCM~dance=3P.NOM GEN=fandango
 ‘Tomorrow night, will they dance a fandango?’ (S&O)

*WEAKSTART (PPh)

Violated by a prosodic phrase whose left edge is aligned to a non-PWd head

(head status distinguishes between PWd clitics and PWd lexical items, see Kaufman 2008)

The result of the ranking *WEAKSTART (PPh) >> ALIGN-L (F; XP) results in the spell out of features avoiding PPh initial position, as clitics cannot constitute PWd heads.

To handle impenetrability Anderson (1993:16, 2005) proposes: “INTEGRITY constraints, which characterize uninterrupted sub-parts of a domain and thus define what counts as occupying ‘first’ position.”

But listing types of impenetrable phrases as INTEGRITY constraints lacks explanatory force:

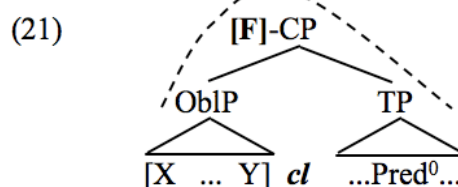
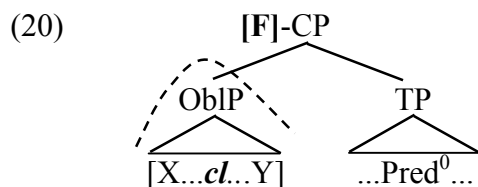
- Misses the unifying syntactic generalization over the relevant environments (below)
- Has to be parochialized for pronominal clitics and adverbial clitics

Impenetrability stems follows from the following condition:

(18) Clitic Visibility Condition (CVC)
 For an argument clitic α assigned a thematic role by a predicate head β , the minimal maximal projection *linearly containing* α must dominate β .

(19) Linear Containment
 α is linearly contained in β if α is both preceded and followed by overt terminal nodes dominated by β , i.e., in the configuration ${}_{\beta}[X \alpha Y]$.

2.2 The CVC in action I: focus fronted & interrogative oblique phrases



Prediction: Pronominal clitics should be able to interrupt the adverb + adjective constituent in structures such as (27) but not in (28) (because clitics between Mod and A in (28) would be linearly contained by AP and invisible to Pred⁰).

This appears to be confirmed by (29) and (30):

(29) masyádo=**ako**=η ma-bilis mag-pa-lóko
 overly=1S.NOM=LNK ADJ-quick AV-CAU-crazy
 ‘I’m too quick to allow myself to be tricked’
 <http://ayka08.multiply.com/journal/item/5/the_change_in_me>

(30) a. masyádo=η ma-bilis=**ako**=η nag-pa-lóko
 overly=LNK ADJ-quick=1S.NOM=LNK AV.BEG-CAU-crazy
 ‘I was too quick to allow myself to be tricked’

b. ?*masyádo=**ako**=η ma-bilis na nag-pa-lóko
 overly=1S.NOM=LNK ADJ-quick LNK AV.BEG-CAU-crazy

(31) a. masyádo=η ma-dalas=**ko=siya**=η t<in>awág-an
 overly=LNK ADJ-frequent=1S.GEN=3S.NOM=LNK <BEG>call-LV
 ‘I called her too frequently.’

b. ?*masyádo=**ko=siya**=η ma-dalas na t<in>awág-an
 overly=1S.GEN=3S.NOM=LNK ADJ-frequent LNK <BEG>call-LV

(31) a. masyádo=**ba**=η ma-dalas=**ko=siya**=η t<in>awág-an?
 overly=QM=LNK ADJ-frequent=1S.GEN=3S.NOM=LNK <BEG>call-LV
 ‘Did I call her too frequently?’

3.1 Conclusion

- We’ve shown that placement of 2P clitics in Tagalog cannot rely on regular syntax in any capacity (i.e., neither via a strong syntax, weak syntax nor weak phonology account). Nonetheless, a filter referring to hierarchical structure is necessary to account for impenetrable constituents.
- This filter almost looks like the ECP at PF: clitics must be in a pseudo c-command relationship with their predicate but they are not sitting in a syntactic position.
- A surface syntactic filter suggests that syntax never becomes completely invisible, even at late stages of PF (i.e. after “prosodic positioning”). Note, however, that specific projections need not be referenced; only basic hierarchical structure.
- Although conceptually attractive, we should rethink the idea of trading syntactic relationships for linear relationships (Marantz 1988) and consider the possibility of *prosodic* and *syntactic* filters on an enriched output; not a radical idea but counter to the canonical interpretation of the T-model and its descendents.

3.2 Further issues

- Is this strictly a “morphological issue”, i.e., part of a syntactic filter operating at the point where morphosyntactic features are spelled-out?

The “Everybody’s a clitic!” (EAC) problem

Non-novel personal names can also appear in clitic position (Billings 2005) and clitics can coerce full NP conjuncts into clitic position. Lexical material, however, should be out of the purview of feature Spell-Out.

- (32) Hindi=**naman si=Ariel** nag-tá~tagalog!
NEG=SWTCH P.NOM=Ariel AV.BEG-INCM~Tagalog
'Ariel doesn't speak Tagalog!' <http://pochanginamo.blogspot.com/2007_10_01_archive.html>
- (33) Hindi=**ko at nan=man=kasámahan=ko=η Filipina** kailanman
NEG=1S.GEN CONJ GEN=PL=colleague=1S.GEN=LNK Filipina ever
- s<in>írà-∅ aη=tijin nan=iba sa=ámin
<BEG>destroy-PV NOM=view GEN=other OBL=1P.GEN
'Neither I nor my Filipina colleagues ever destroyed the view of others towards us.'
<www.nursesthoughts.com/2007_09_01_archive.html>

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