The constituency and command paradox
in Philippine languages

1.0   Command

• Basic evidence for **Gen/Erg** > **Nom/Abs**
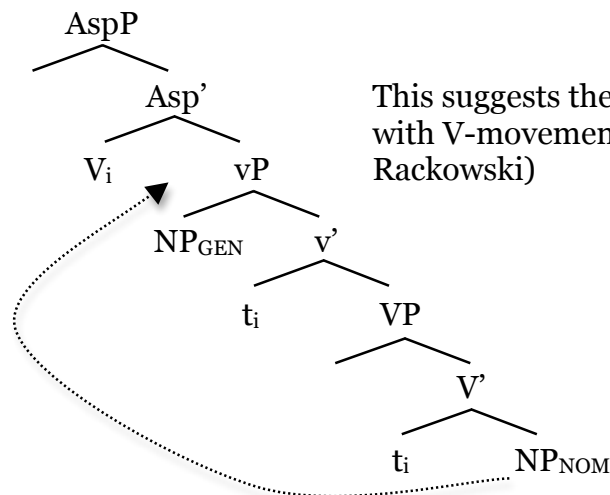
  – Reflexive anaphors (Schachter 1976 inter alia)

(1)   T<in>ign-an ni=Juan   ang=sarili=niya
       <BEG>see-LV P.GEN=Juan   NOM=self=3S.GEN
       'Juan looked at himself.'

(2)   *T<in>ign-an   ng=sarili=niya   si=Juan
        <BEG>see-LV   GEN=self=3S.GEN P.NOM=Juan

(3)   ?*T<in>ign-an si=Juan   ng=sarili=niya
        <BEG>see-LV   P.NOM=Juan GEN=self=3S.GEN

• Evidence for **V > Nom/Abs**

  – NPI licensing

(4)   Wala=ng   b<in>ili-∅=ng   libro   ang=sinuman
       NEG.EXT=LNK   <BEG>buy-PV=LNK book   NOM=anyone
       'Nobody bought a book.'   (Aldridge 2004)

(5)   *May b<in>ili-∅=ng   libro   ang=sinuman
        EXT <BEG>buy-PV=LNK book NOM=anyone

This suggests the single-spine structure with V-movement (ala Aldridge, Richards, Rackowski)

2.0   Constituency

• Philippine type coordination is not expected in a single spine structure. (Keenan 1976, Pearson 2007 fn.10, Travis 2005)

(6) a.   [I-ni-hatid   ni=Paolo] at   [s<in>undo-∅   ni=Pedro] si=Juan
      CV-BEG-escort GEN=P.   and   <BEG>pick_up-PV   GEN=P.   NOM=Juan
      'Paolo escorted and Pedro picked Juan up.'

   b.   *[I-ni-hatid   si=Paolo] at   [s<in>undo-∅   si=Pedro]   ni=Juan
      ?[I-ni-hatid   si=Paolo] at   [s<in>undo-∅   si=Pedro] || ni=Juan
      CV-BEG-escort NOM=P. and   <BEG>pick_up-PV NOM=P.   GEN=Juan
      'Juan escorted Paolo and picked up Pedro.'

(7) a. [Manuhor baoang] jala [mangolompa mangga] halak i   *Toba Batak*
      AV:buy   onions   and AV:cook   mangos man DET
      'The man buys onions and cooks mangos'

   b. [Di-tuhor si=Ore] jala [di-lompa si Ruli] mangga
      PV-buy   ART=Ore and PV-cook   ART Ruli mangos
      'Ore buys and Ruli cooks mangos'

  –   Emmorey (1984) offers prosodic evidence for the same constituency in Toba Batak. There, the nuclear pitch accent falls on the stressed syllable of the last lexical item in the Predicate Phrase.

• No Philippine-type language shows evidence as that found in Celtic languages for VO constituency, i.e. SVO order and VO constituency when V movement is blocked.

(8) a. Y   mae'r   dyn [wedi gweld   y   ci]   *Welsh*
      PRT COP.3SG.PROG:the man PERF see(V_N) the dog
      'The man has seen the dog.'

   b.   [Wedi gweld   y   ci] y   mae'r   dyn
      PERF see(V_N) the dog PRT COP.3SG.PROG:the man
      'The man has seen the dog.'   (Sproat 1985:178, Aldridge 2003:166)

(9) a. *[Adügü-tu Maria] luma [aluguraha-ti John] fein   *Garifuna*
      make-3SF Maria and   sell-3SM   John bread
      (Can only mean, 'Maria makes (something) and John sells bread')

  b. *[Adügü t-umu-ti   Maria] luma [aluguraha l-umu-ti   John] fein
      make 3SF-TR-3SM Maria and   sell   3SM-TR-3SM John bread
      (Can only mean, 'Maria makes (it) and John sells bread')

2

(10) *Constituency tree:*

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                    XP
            ┌────────┴────────┐
           VP              NP_NOM
        ┌───┴───┐
        V     NP_GEN
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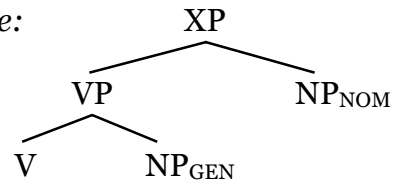
3.0   Other command & constituency paradoxes

• Coordination groups adjuncts with low arguments and adjuncts with adjuncts:

(11)   John met [Susan on Friday] and [Maria on Saturday]

(12)   John sings [here on Sundays] and [there on Saturdays]

• But such constituents for coordination are not constituents for movement

(13) Who_i did John meet t_i on Friday?

(14)   *[Who on Friday] did John meet?

• Also, outer adjuncts scope over inner adjuncts on the right edge

• Pesetsky (1995): The Dual System hypothesis

   Layered Syntax: XP-movement island conditions on XP movement, XP-ellipsis, interpretation of modification relations

   Cascade syntax: everything else   (Pesetsky 1995:248)

• But Tagalog does not pattern like English in allowing (almost) any two final constituents to group together for the purposes of coordination:

(15)   *T<in>ign-an [ni=Maria si=Paul] at   [ni=Pedro si=Paula]
        <BEG>look-LV GEN=M.   NOM=P. and GEN=P.   NOM=P.
        (For, Maria looked at Paul and Pedro looked at Paula.')

   – Cascade structure cannot be responsible for the coordination pattern in Tagalog

4.0   The copular analysis and its predictions

• The difference is that Philippine languages use aspect marked thematic nominalizations for canonical transitive predications

• One motivation of the copular nominal analysis of Philippine predications is that it provides a cross-linguistically commonplace analogue to the Austronesian extraction restriction:

(16) *Ni=Ronaldo ay p<in>ili-∅   si=Juan
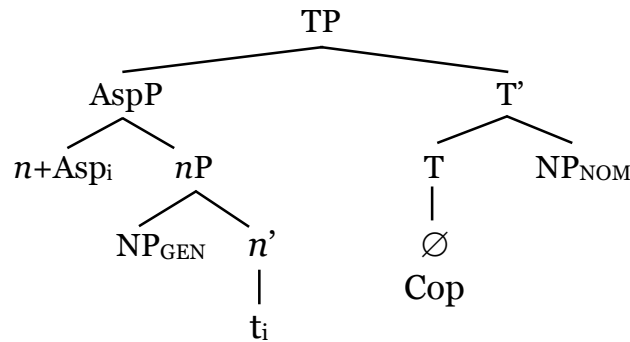   GEN=Ronaldo TOP <BEG>choose-∅ NOM=Juan

(17) Si=Juan   ay p<in>ili-∅   ni=Ronaldo
      NOM=Juan TOP <BEG>choose-∅   GEN=Ronaldo
      'Juan was chosen by Ronaldo.'

(18) *Ni=Ronaldo, ang=kaibigan si=Juan
       GEN=Ronaldo NOM=friend   NOM=Juan

(19) *Of Ronaldo$_i$, John is the employee t_i

• The relation between the ergative and absolutive DPs is that between a possessor of a nominal predicate and its subject

(20)

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                              TP
                  ┌───────────┴───────────┐
                AspP                       T'
            ┌────┴────┐              ┌──────┴──────┐
        n+Asp_i      nP             T          NP_NOM
                   ┌──┴──┐          │
               NP_GEN   n'          ∅
                        │          Cop
                        t_i
```

• No c-command relation at all between the genitive and nominative argument at any point in the derivation.

• So how do we get asymmetric licensing of reflexive anaphora in event predications? The same way we get it between a possessor of a nominal predicate and the nominative.

(21) a.   Kaaway ni=Tyson   ang=saríli=niya
            enemy   GEN=Tyson NOM=self=3S.GEN
            'Tyson's enemy is himself.'

      b. ?*Kaaway nang=saríli=niya si=Tyson
            enemy   GEN=self=3S.GEN NOM=Tyson
            'Tyson's enemy is himself.'   (Kaufman 2009)

• The pay-off is a unified account for reflexive anaphora in nominal and verbal predicate pairs:

(22) a.   Ampon=niya   ang=sarili=niya
          adoptee=3S.GEN   NOM=self=3S.GEN
          'He is his own adoptee.'

     b.   in-ampon-∅=niya   ang=sarili=niya
          BEG-adoptee-PV=3S.GEN   NOM=self=3S.GEN
          'He adopted himself.'

4.1   Tagalog command relations revisited

• When there is no structure to determine binding relations, anaphora must rely on extra-structural factors:

      <u>Affectedness relations</u>
      Possessor > Possessee
      Agent > Patient

• The fact that binding is not structurally determined also allows it to be reversible when affectedness is equivocal, as with relations.

(23)
Si=Hesus   ay Ama, pero hindi pwedeng <u>ama=siya   ng=sarili=niya</u>
NOM=Jesus TOP father but   NEG can:LNK father=3S.NOM GEN=self=3S.GEN
'Jesus is the father but he can't be the father of himself.' (from web)

(24)
hindi=po=kasi   tamang   sabi-hin na <u>Ama=niya   ang=kanyang sarili</u>
NEG=POL=because correct:LNK say-PV   LNK father=3S.GEN NOM=3S.GEN:LNK self
'It's not correct to say that his father is himself.' (from web)

• Note that these two naturally occurring examples both involve locative voice predicates, whose "underlying object" is less effected than that of patient voice predicates.

(25)   Kaya siya   ay na-ta~takot   kapag
        REAS 3S.NOM TOP NVL.BEG-IMPRF~fear when

        in-udyuk-an=siya   ng=kanyang sarili
        BEG-tempt-LV=3S.NOM   GEN=3S.GEN self
        'That's why he was scared when he was tempted by himself' (from web)

(26)   su~sumbat-an=siya   ni=Dardo at   su~sumbat-an=siya
        IMPRF~reproach-LV=3S.NOM GEN=D.   and IMPRF~reproach-LV=3S.NOM

        ng=kanyang sarili
        GEN=3S.GEN   self
        'Dardo will reproach him and himself will reproach him.' (from web)

• That the semantics of the predicate head in a copular sentence should effect binding is not unusual, cf. representational nouns vs. non-representational nouns

(27)   a. John is a caricature of himself   b. *John is an employee of himself

• Condition C

– It's been noted that clitic movement seems to feed Condition C:

(28)   *M<in>a~mahal-∅=siya$_i$ [ng=mga=kaibigan ni=Juan$_i$]
        <BEG>IMPRF~love-PV =3S.NOM GEN=PL=friend   GEN=Juan
        'John's friends loves John.'

– It hasn't been noted that the same violation is also present with two proper names and the nominative in final position:

(29)   *?M<in>a~mahal-∅   [ng=mga=kaibigan ni=Juan$_i$] [si=Juan$_i$]
        <BEG>IMPRF~love-PV GEN=PL=friend   GEN=Juan NOM=Juan
        (For, 'John's friends love John.')

This is not what we expect, cf.

(30)   a. John$_i$'s mother called John$_i$ b.   *John$_i$ called John$_i$'s mother

• It's also been noted that bound variable readings suggest mutual c-command between the transitive A and P arguments (Richards 1993):

(31)   M<in>a~mahal-∅   [ng=kanyang$_i$ anak] [ang=bawat nanay$_i$]
        <BEG>IMPRF~love-PV GEN=3S.GEN:LNK child NOM=each mother
        'Her child loves every mother.'

(32)   M<in>a~mahal-∅   [ng=bawat$_i$ anak] [ang=kanyang   nanay$_i$]
        <BEG>IMPRF~love-PV GEN=each child NOM=3S.GEN:LNK mother
        'Every child loves her mother.'

• Suspiciously similar to the binding without c-command we find in copular clauses (Higgins 1973):

(34)   a. [The person everyone$_i$ loves the most] is his$_i$ mother.
        b. What [everyone$_i$ hates most] is to have his$_i$ mother insulted.

5.0   Conclusion

• There are still many unexpected binding facts for all present structural accounts

• Some of these find a similarity to binding in copular sentences which have also been analyzed as the result of "extra-structural" factors

• On the empirical side, we need is an unbiased survey of binding relations in Tagalog obtained under controlled/experimental conditions.

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