

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

ASCENSION IN TAGALOG

by

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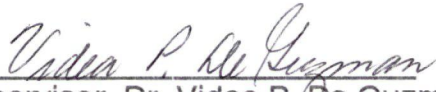
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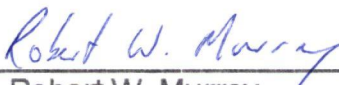
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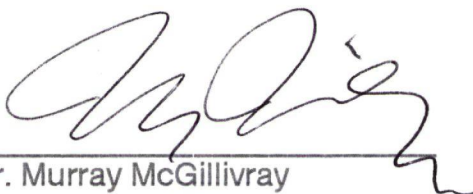
The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled, "Ascension in Tagalog" submitted by Ma. Susanna A. Lansangan in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents syntactic evidence in support of the grammatical relation that is most salient in Tagalog which is Final 2 (or direct object) as accounted for in the Relational Grammar (RG) framework and cast in what is known as the Ergative Analysis (EA). This relation is what may be equated with 'subject' or Final 1 in the so-called Passive Analysis (PA) or Nominative-Accusative analysis. The notion of 'subject-of' is generally considered term 1 in RG. By contrast, in this study, the Final 2-relation is taken as the grammatical subject given the centrality of term 2 in the ergative analysis.

The evidence in support of the Final 2 as subject is drawn from structures involving sentential complements and possessive noun phrases in sentential complements. The main syntactic process to be investigated that applies to these constructions is called 'Ascension'. The investigation shows that only Final 2's can ascend or raise from the sentential complement to the matrix clause. Even for double embedding constructions; ascension makes reference to Final 2. Only the Final 2 which is the former possessor in the possessive noun phrase in sentential complements can ascend from the possessive NP to the sentential complement of a main clause. This process is called Possessor Ascension. This former possessor can further ascend from its sentential complement to the matrix clause.

This study concludes that Final 2 is the grammatical subject as shown by the application of the syntactic process of ascension to the two ascension constructions.

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Dedication

To my beloved Papa and Mama,
who believe in me

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

In recent years, a number of studies have been done in an attempt to answer the question of what is subject in Philippine languages. In discussing the notion of subject, several Philippine languages¹ (e.g. Cebuano, Kapampangan, Ilokano and Tagalog) were investigated by some linguists (Bell, 1974a and b; Cena, 1977; Byma, 1986; De Guzman, 1987; Gerdts, 1987; Rowsell, 1983; Schachter, 1976;1977) in different analyses (e.g. Nominative-Accusative or Passive and Ergative) and in different frameworks (e.g. Relational Grammar, Government and Binding, etc.). Despite all these works in examining the notion of subject in Tagalog, the problem still remains unsolved. In this thesis, I will provide some arguments that have been employed for Cebuano (Bell, 1974b) and Tagalog (Dell, 1981) which used the Nominative-Accusative Analysis, but I will use these arguments within the Ergative Analysis to support Final 2 (this will be considered in detail in Chapter Three) as the grammatical subject in Tagalog, one of the eight major languages in the Philippines. I will investigate two ascension or raising constructions that will provide syntactic evidence in support of the claim that subject in Tagalog is Final term 2.

1.1 The Problem Defined

The languages of the Philippines posit a significant problem for linguistic theory. In Tagalog, particularly, the noun phrase that appears to

be subject does not always correspond to the syntactic subject as understood in Indo-European languages where subject and object are determined either in terms of word order or morphological case-marking. Tagalog has a focus system reflected in the affixes attached to the verbs. These affixes take corresponding nominals that can be made prominent by focusing on the nominal in the sentence. In sentence (1), the focused NP's are underlined. Any NP that bears the thematic role of agent, patient or object, location, instrument or benefactive can be focused.

(1) Huli 'to catch'

a. Agentive Focus (AF)

Humuli ang tatay ng isda sa dagat.

catch father fish sea

'Father caught fish from the sea.'

b. Objective Focus (OF)

Huhulihin ng tatay ang isda sa dagat.

catch father fish sea

'Father will catch the fish from the sea.'

c. Locative Focus (LF)

Huhulihan ng tatay ng isda ang dagat.

catch father fish sea

'Father will catch fish from the sea.'

d. Instrumental Focus (IF)

Ipanghuhuli ng tatay ng isda ang lambat sa dagat.

catch father fish fishnet sea

'Father will catch fish from the sea with the fishnet.'

e. Benefactive Focus (BF)

Ihuhuli ng tatay ang bata ng isda.

catch father child fish

'Father will catch fish for the child.'

In the traditional analysis, the NP that is focused is marked by the particle ang and the verb form is marked with affix -um- when the focus is on the agent. This verb form is regarded as an active-transitive verb and the focused agent nominal is identified as the grammatical subject. If a patient noun phrase or the object nominal is focused, this NP is marked by the particle ang and the verb form is marked with the affix -in. When the focus is on the location, the locative NP is marked by the particle ang and the verb form is marked with the affix -an. In an instrumental focus construction, the verb is marked with the affix i- attached to a pang- stem form and the particle ang precedes the instrumental NP. When the beneficiary is focused, the particle ang occurs before the benefactive NP and the verb form is marked with affix i-. If a patient, location, beneficiary or instrument noun phrase is focused, the verb is analyzed as passive. This shows then that either the agent or non-agent nominal can function as the grammatical subject.

It is this problem of determining the subject in Tagalog that is the concern of this thesis. I will examine Tagalog following the ergative approach which has been proposed and adopted by a number of linguists (De Guzman, 1987; Gerdtz, 1987 and Rowsell, 1983). This view has been shown as an appropriate and adequate analysis for Philippine languages. I will investigate in particular ascension or raising constructions in Tagalog with

sentential complements and possessive NP phrases in sentential complements, and employ syntactic tests to determine subjecthood. I will be using the Relational Grammar (RG) framework in the syntactic analysis and description of this study.

1.2 Scope of the Study

This study is concerned about determining what subject is in Tagalog. In investigating this concept, I will employ a syntactic process called **ascension** as a test to examine the behaviour of subject. In examining the process of ascension, I will be looking at two ascension constructions and I will be employing other syntactic tests to determine the termhood of the ascended nominal. These two constructions are those with sentential complements and possessive NP phrases in sentential complements. The sentential complements I will examine in this thesis are all verbal complements, i.e. they are embedded under a matrix verb. I will not consider here sentential complements of adjectives or nouns nor sentential complements functioning as adverbials or as the only complement of intransitive verbs. These, however, can be topics for further studies.

Chapter Two gives an overview of the Relational Grammar Framework. This chapter provides a brief presentation of the framework and cites examples from English and Cebuano, another Philippine language previously analyzed in this framework. The grammatical relations (i.e. functional notions of subject, direct object, indirect object, etc.) and the properties that identify them are essential in the discussion since RG claims that there is a universal mapping between semantic or thematic roles (e.g. agent, patient or theme, recipient, etc.) and initial grammatical relations.

Chapter Three will discuss the basic sentence structures of Tagalog applying the Ergative Analysis and focusing only on verbal sentences, i.e. sentences with verbs functioning as predicates. This chapter includes a discussion of one-argument verbs or intransitive verbs, two-argument verbs or transitive verbs and three-argument verbs or ditransitive verbs. Then I will show related constructions in which advancement rules to Final 2, the proposed subject relation, have applied.

In Chapter Four, I investigate the syntactic process called ascension which provides evidence pointing to the primacy of the patient as subject in Tagalog. Syntactic tests to determine the termhood of nominals will also be used in support of the ascension rule.

Chapter Five discusses another type of ascension called Possessor Ascension which also supports patient subjecthood in Tagalog. Finally, in Chapter Six, I draw some conclusions as to the appropriate designation of subject in Tagalog within the ergative system. The conclusion, which is based on syntactic evidence in ascension constructions observed in the preceding chapters, is considered a significant contribution to the study of Philippine syntax.

1.3 Review of Related Literature

The last decade has seen a number of studies done in an attempt to resolve the problem of determining subject in Philippine languages.

McKaughan's (Bell 1983: 147) major contribution to Philippine linguistics was the introduction of the term 'topic' which has since been used extensively to denote the Philippine 'subject' nominal. In 1973 he tried somewhat unsuccessfully to abandon this use of the word 'topic' in favor of subject.

Schachter (1976; 1977) did one of the earliest investigations on the nature of subject in Philippine languages. Schachter examines the efficacy of equating subject in Philippine languages with the topic, the actor, the actor-topic, or none of these. He assumes the actor-focus sentences as the basic active-transitive structures and the other sentences as passive structures. Schachter identifies some syntactic processes such as quantifier float, relativization, and existentials operating only on topic nominals marked by ang/si in Tagalog whereas other tests like imperatives, reflexivization and elliptical complements focus on actor-topics and actors. He concludes that there is no single category corresponding to the notion of subject in Philippine languages but all three share the same subject properties. He notes two types of properties which may be associated with subjects in Philippine languages which he terms *reference-related properties* and *role-related properties*.

The reference-related properties of subjects are associated with the topic NP (marked by ang/si in Tagalog) while role-related properties of subjects are those which in Philippine languages are associated with the actor or agent.

Another contribution to Philippine syntax was Bell's work (1974b) on Cebuano which she analyzed in two frameworks, namely, Transformational Grammar and Relational Grammar. Bell provides a wholly different analysis of subject from Schachter's analysis. Her extensive account of the syntactic behaviour of Cebuano subjects supports her claim of the notion of subject. She argues that the topic which is that NP that is focused and marked by ang/si is the grammatical subject. She uses a Nominative-Accusative Analysis which Gerds (1987) refers to as the

Passive Analysis (PA) in her investigation. In this analysis, if the agent nominal is marked by the nominative case particle ang/si, the verb is an active verb and carries the affix -um- as seen in sentence 1(a). If the patient or object, location, beneficiary or instrument is focused, it is marked Nominative (NOM) and the verb is considered passive. The passive verb carries the affix -in, -an or i- (cf. 1(a)). She concludes that one has to refer to different levels of syntactic representation (i.e. initial level and final level) in determining subject in Cebuano.

Interestingly enough, more papers appeared in support of the primacy of patient over agent as the grammatical subject in Philippine languages. In the Ergative Analysis, the patient in an active-transitive clause, similar to Bell's passive clause, is marked Absolutive (ABS) similar to the marking of the agent of an intransitive clause. The agent of a transitive clause is marked Ergative (ERG). The question of whether actor-focus sentences are the basic transitive sentences began to attract a number of researchers.

Cena (1977) presents syntactic and psychological evidence in support of patient primacy in Tagalog. He observes some restrictions on actor-focus verbs in Tagalog which is a problem for the Passive Analysis where these forms are considered basic. For many verb roots, there is no actor focus form although there is patient focus form. For example:

(2)(a) Tinamisan ni Juan ang kape.

sweeten ERG ABS coffee

'John sweetened the coffee.'

(b)* Nagtamis/ Tumamis si Juan ng kape.

sweeten ABS OBL coffee

'John sweetened the coffee.'

Sentence 2(a) shows that when the patient is focused, the sentence is grammatical whereas if the agent is in focus as in 2(b), the sentence is ungrammatical.

Cena also notes a certain class of verbs without any focus affixes which require the patient to be the focused NP and not the actor. To illustrate:

(3)(a) Hawak ni Juan ang libro.

hold ERG ABS book

'John held the book.'

(b)*Hawak si Juan ng libro.

hold ABS OBL book

'John held the book.'

No restrictions are found to operate on patient focus verbs showing that this form of the verb is the more basic form as predicted by the Ergative Analysis. This was followed by an interest in formulating an Ergative Analysis of some Philippine languages.

De Guzman (1979) supports the primacy of the patient as subject in Tagalog by providing pieces of morphological evidence. Consider the following examples:

(4)(a) Lulutuin ng nanay ang manok.

cook ERG mother ABS chicken

'Mother will cook the chicken.'

(b) Magluluto ang nanay ng manok.

cook ABS mother OBL chicken

'Mother will cook chicken.'

She argues that the verbs which take the patient as subject such as in 4(a) bear simpler stems or are less marked compared to the corresponding related verbs which take agents as subject as in 4(b), analyzed as m+pag-stem² which is more complex.

Galang's (1982) study which involves language acquisition is another consideration in support of patient primacy in Tagalog. She suggests that the sentence pattern with the ang-marked patient is mastered first by children acquiring Tagalog and the ang-agent is mastered second.

Gerdt's (1987) work on Ilokano is the first study in Philippine languages which employed the Ergative Analysis because of the emerging grammatical significance of patient rather than agent. In her study, she provides evidence from causative constructions favoring the Ergative Analysis to the Passive Analysis within the Relational Grammar framework. Gerdt's argues for the antipassive rule³ in Ilokano found in causative constructions. She also argues that only in an Ergative Analysis of Ilokano can the verbal morphology of causatives be accounted for properly.

Also working on the Relational Grammar framework, De Guzman (1987) presented a comparison of arguments in favor of an Ergative Analysis of Tagalog with those supporting the Passive Analysis. She argues that in the Passive Analysis, different rules refer to the grammatical relations of nominals at different levels of the grammar. On the other hand, in the Ergative Analysis, these rules refer to final grammatical relations which, however, require additional labels of grammatical relations. De Guzman concludes that reference to semantic relations or thematic roles might solve the problem of referring to initial terms in the Passive Analysis.

Rowsell (1983) investigates the syntactic and morphological evidence in favor of an Ergative Analysis of Kapampangan, another Philippine language. She presented syntactic rules operating on direct objects and intransitive subjects to provide evidence for syntactic ergativity in this language.

More recently, Byma (1986) did a study on the ergativity of Tagalog within the Government and Binding theory. Here subject is defined as the NP which is immediately dominated by S(entence) implying that the agent is the grammatical subject. Byma evaluated the predicted subject properties with respect to reflexives and pronominals and distribution of empty category PRO in control constructions. He contrasted the results with those of alternative proposals for subject which regard the ang-marked NP as subject in all constructions and he notes that these proposals failed to account for uniformly observed facts in other languages.

A significant study that is valuable to our present syntactic investigation is Dell's (1981) paper on "Certain Sentential Complements" wherein he presents an extensive analysis of complement sentences in Tagalog. His work inspired me to investigate ascension constructions in Tagalog sentential complements but unlike his analysis, I chose to adopt the Ergative Analysis. It is hoped that the study may lead ultimately to a satisfactory definition of **subject** not only in Tagalog but in all the other Philippine languages.

Notes

¹ Philippine languages are classified genetically in this thesis.

² I am following De Guzman's previous analysis [m+[pag-+root]] rather than the traditional [mag-+root] analysis.

³ Antipassive in Relational Grammar involves a retreat of the initial subject to direct object, rendering the initial object at final level or stratum to be what is called a "chômeur" or unemployed. (See succeeding Chapters for a fuller explanation of the antipassive rule.)

CHAPTER 2. THE RELATIONAL GRAMMAR FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

The Relational Grammar (RG) theory was developed by Perlmutter and Postal (Perlmutter, 1983) in the 1970's in an attempt to formulate universals of grammar and to construct adequate and insightful grammars of individual languages. RG assumes that there are significant generalizations, both cross-linguistic and language internal, that can be shown in terms of grammatical relations but not in terms of phrase structure configurations or morphological case. To capture these significant generalizations, RG proposes a syntactic representation of clause structures in terms of grammatical relations that must be taken as primitive notions of linguistic theory. Two defining characteristics of RG according to Perlmutter and Postal (1983) are:

- (i) Taking grammatical relations as primitive theoretical notions, and
- (ii) Adopting syntactic representations in the form of Relational Networks (RN's) representing the primitive grammatical elements and representing the level at which elements bear grammatical relations to other elements.

The RN's which represent the structure of sentences, involve three types of entities: (1) nodes, which represent linguistic elements of all sorts; (2) relational signs (R-signs) which indicate the name of a grammatical

relation that the element bears to other elements and (3) coordinates which represent a distinct level or levels at which relations hold.

The basic building blocks of RN's referred to as ARCS consist of an ordered pair of nodes representing each element and an R-sign. The R-sign 1, for example in English, stands for subject having the characteristic of being pre-verbal, 2 stands for direct object which is immediately post-verbal and 3 stands for indirect object which is marked with a preposition to. RG claims that the initial relation is universally determined by principles referring to the semantic or thematic role of the nominal. Therefore, agents or experiencers are initially 1, patients, 2 and recipients, 3.

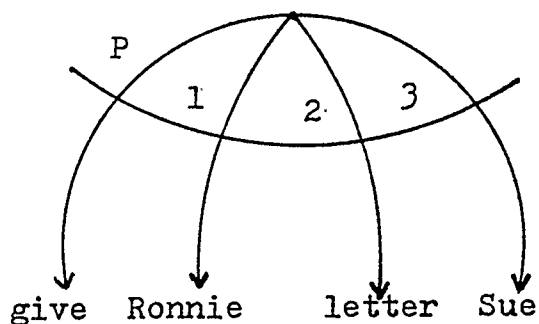
A *chômeur* (the French word for 'unemployed') is also an R-sign. A nominal which bears a *chômeur* relation in a given stratum is said to be 'en chômage' in that stratum. The choice of terminology is meant to reflect the idea that a nominal that is en chômage in a given stratum does not bear the term relation in that stratum that it bears in a higher or earlier stratum. A nominal that bears the 1-relation in the last stratum before it bears the *chômeur* relation can be called a '1-*chômeur*', one that bears the 2-relation in the last stratum before it assumes the *chômeur* relation can be called a '2-*chômeur*' and likewise for '3-*chômeurs*'. Following a suggestion by Loos (Perlmutter, 1983), 1-*chômeur* is written as $\hat{1}$, 2-*chômeur* as $\hat{2}$ and 3-*chômeur* as $\hat{3}$.

Only R-signs 1, 2, and 3 are referred to as TERMS. *Chômeurs* and other grammatical relations that nominals may also bear, namely: Benefactive (BEN), Locative (LOC), Instrumental (INSTR), etc. are referred to as NON-TERMS. It is assumed that every clause has a verb or predicate represented by an arc P.

Let us now represent in terms of arcs the clause in 5(a) which is represented in an RN in 5(b)

(5)(a) Ronnie gave a letter to Sue.

(b)



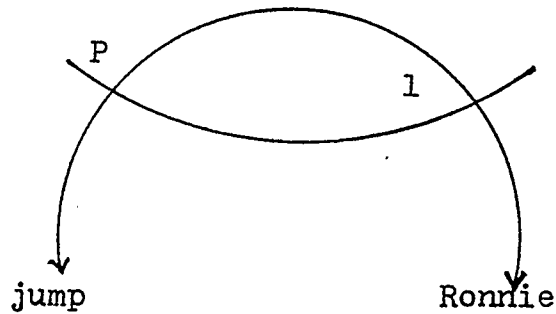
Given sentence 5(a), it is indicated in the RN in 5(b) that the verb give bears the predicate relation in the clause, Ronnie the 1-relation, letter the 2-relation and Sue the 3-relation. To simplify 5(b) verbal tense and agreement are ignored, as is the relation of linear precedence holding between some nodes. The relational signs 1, 2, 3 and P name the respective grammatical relations 'subject', 'direct object', 'indirect object' and 'predicate'. The correlative semantic or thematic roles of these grammatical relations are agent, patient, recipient and predicate, respectively.

The grammatical relations of the nominals are taken as primitives. It follows that they cannot be defined. The structure of a sentence consists of dependents standing in certain relations to the verb. The initial termhood of the dependent is determined by the meaning of the verb. Each verb, therefore, is marked as to its cooccurring nominals or dependents.

Let us take another example:

(6)(a) Ronnie jumped.

(b)



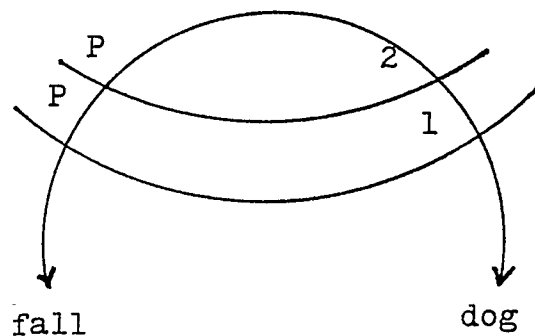
The RN in 6(b) indicates that jump bears the predicate relation in the clause and Ronnie, the agent, the 1-relation. Notice that this clause contains a 1-relation in only one stratum which is both an initial and a final stratum. Crucial to this analysis is the existence of this initial and final 1 and as a result, Perlmutter and Postal (1983) have proposed a Final 1 Law as stated in (7):

(7) Final 1 Law: Every clause must have a 1 in the final stratum.

Consider now sentence 8(a):

(8)(a) The dog fell.

(b)



It is indicated in 8(b) that dog bears an initial 2-relation because the verb is unaccusative, i.e. the action is unwilled or not volitional, thus, the thematic role of dog is that of a patient. As a consequence of the Final 1 Law, this initial 2 has to be a 1 in the final stratum.

2.1 Advancements

Terms and even non-terms occurring in the initial level may change in the succeeding level or levels. This change is accounted for by what is called **advancement** rules. A constraint in an advancement is that a term lower (e.g. term 2) advances to one higher (e.g. term 1) and not the other way around. For example, two advancements common to English are 2 → 1 advancement and 3 → 2 advancements. The 2 → 1 advancement is common to many languages. This rule is referred to as passivization where a former Direct Object takes over the grammatical function of a Subject. To illustrate:

(9) (a) Ronnie wrote a letter.

(b) The letter was written by Ronnie.

Sentence 9(a) can be represented by the relational diagram shown below:

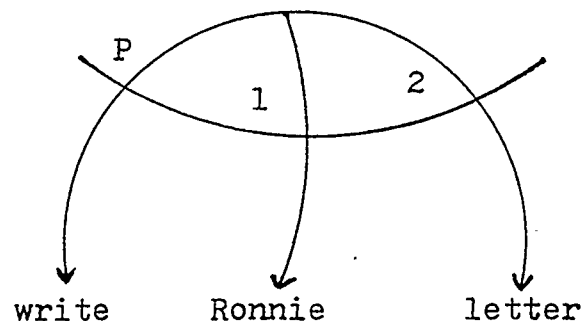


Figure 1: Basic Relational Network

Notice that sentence 9(a) has a network with one stratum as shown in Figure 1. The verb in sentence 9(a) is a transitive type of verb as indicated by the two arguments of the verb. The ditransitive type of verb requires three arguments. Another type of verb is the intransitive verb which requires the cooccurrence of only one argument. These types of verbs will be considered in detail in the next chapter.

The RN in Figure 1 shows that Ronnie bears a 1-relation to the verb write and letter bears a 2-relation. Perlmutter and Postal (1983) proposed a universal law of grammar which they called the Stratal Uniqueness Law stated in (10):

(10) Stratal Uniqueness Law: Only one dependent of a clause can bear a given term relation in a given stratum.

Since letter bears a 2-relation in this stratum, by the Stratal Uniqueness Law, Ronnie cannot bear that same relation in the same stratum. Compared to sentence 9(a), sentence 9(b) has the following network:

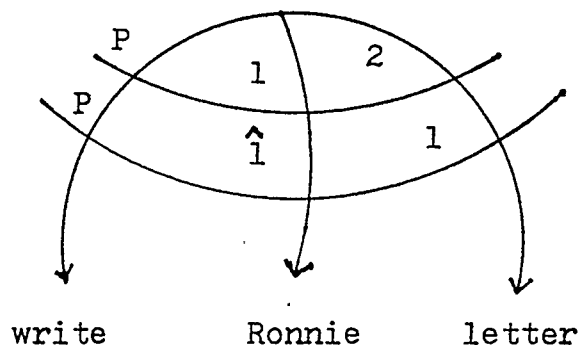


Figure 2: Relational Network with 2 → 1 Advancement

Figure 2 shows an RN with two strata. The first or initial stratum is identical to the RN in Figure 1. The initial stratum has Ronnie, the agent, assigned to term 1 and letter, the theme or patient, to term 2. In other words, the former nominal is the subject and the latter, the direct object. The second stratum shows the initial direct object or term 2 advancing to term 1. The effect of this advancement is final 1 occurring in pre-verbal position and final ↑ being introduced by the preposition by and occurring post-verbally. In the RN of a passive clause, a nominal, in this case, letter, first bears the 2-relation in one stratum and then bears the 1-relation in the immediately following and final stratum. Following that the nominal letter bears the two distinct grammatical relations in the clause in two different strata, by the Stratal Uniqueness Law, Ronnie cannot bear the relation in the second stratum. The relation borne by Ronnie in the second stratum is referred to as a chômeur relation. The nominal that bears the chômeur relation follows the Chômeur Condition (Perlmutter, 1983) in (11):

- (11) Chômeur Condition: If some nominal A bears a given term relation in a given stratum and some other nominal B bears the same term relation in the following stratum then nominal A bears the chomeur relation in the following stratum.

Another advancement rule is 3 → 2 Advancement. This rule makes Indirect Objects into Direct Objects. The consequence of this rule is for initial 3 to take a position immediately after the verb. For example:

- (12) (a) Ronnie wrote a letter to Sue.
 (b) Ronnie wrote Sue a letter.

The relational network for sentence 12(a) has one stratum as shown below:

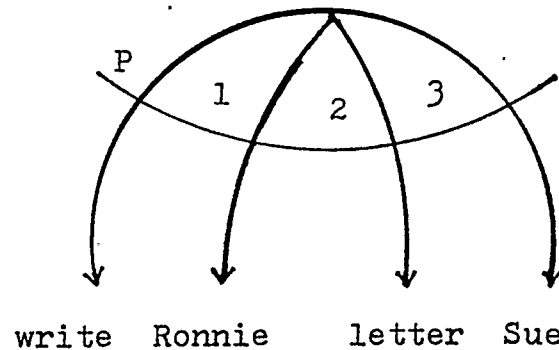


Figure 3: Relational Network with a Three-Argument Verb

Sentence 12(b) has a network (Figure 4) with two strata where the first stratum shows the initial relations and the second stratum shows an advancement of initial 3 to final 2 with the former initial 2 being put en chômage by the Chômeur Condition. Term 1 remains unchanged.

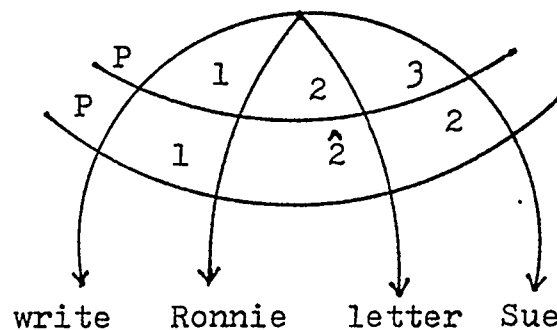


Figure 4: Relational Network with 3 -> 2 Advancement

2.2 Advancements in Philippine Languages

Advancements in Philippine languages, particularly in Cebuano, have been dealt with extensively by Bell (1983). One basic pattern of a Cebuano sentence consists of a predicate-relation and the grammatical relations 1, 2 and LOC as seen in 13(a):

- (13)(a) Magluto ang babaye ug bugas sa lata.
 Act¹/cook NOM woman OBL rice OBL can
 'The woman will cook rice in a can.'

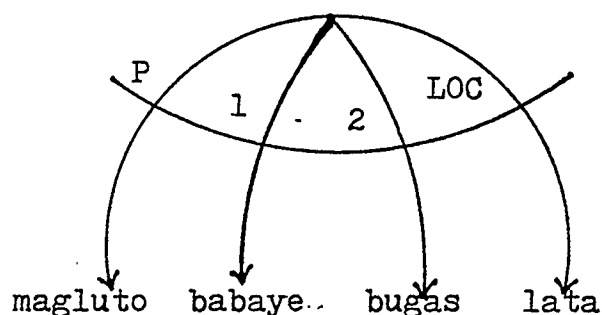


Figure 5: Basic Relational Network with LOC Relation

Notice that final 1 is marked ang, the marker for Nominative (NOM) case, final 2 is marked ug, an Oblique (OBL) case marker and final LOC is marked sa, another OBL marker. The voice marker on the verb is mag- which is a consequence of final 1, babaye, being assigned NOM case. Similar to English, there are several different advancements possible in Cebuano, e.g. 2→1 advancement and LOC→1 advancement.

To exemplify these advancements, I will use Bell's Cebuano example to illustrate the advancement under what has been referred to by Gerdtz (1987) as the Passive Analysis.

In Cebuano, according to Bell, an initial 2 can also advance to a final 1. In her analysis, a nominal that bears a final 1 relation carries the Nominative (NOM) marking ang. Sentence 13(b) shows a passive construction that contains a 2 → 1 advancement. The RN in Figure 6 shows that bugas 'rice' which has an initial 2-relation has advanced to final 1 and, as a result, it is marked NOM. The former 1 becomes a chômeur by the Chômeur Condition, marked by Genitive (GEN).

(13)(b) Luto'on sa babaye ang bugas sa lata.

OBJ/cook GEN woman NOM rice OBL can

'The rice will be cooked by the woman in the can.'

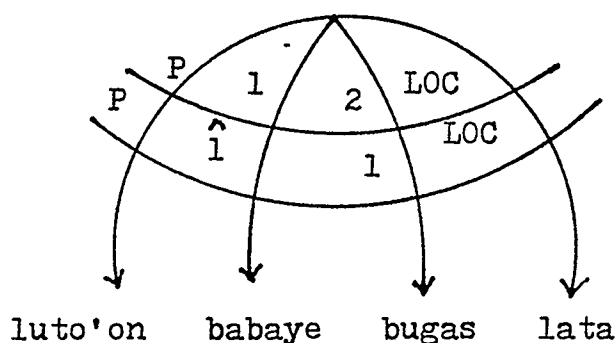


Figure 6: Relational Network with 2 → 1 Advancement

Bell also claims that non-terms like LOC, BEN, and INSTR may also advance to 1 as seen in 13(c) represented in the network in Figure 7. Figure 7 shows lata 'can', an initial LOC, has advanced to final 1 and is now marked NOM. The initial 1, babaye, is now a $\hat{1}$ by the Chômeur Condition.

(13)(c) Luto'an sa babaye ang lata ug bugas.

LOC/cook GEN woman NOM can OBL rice

'The woman will cook rice in the can.'

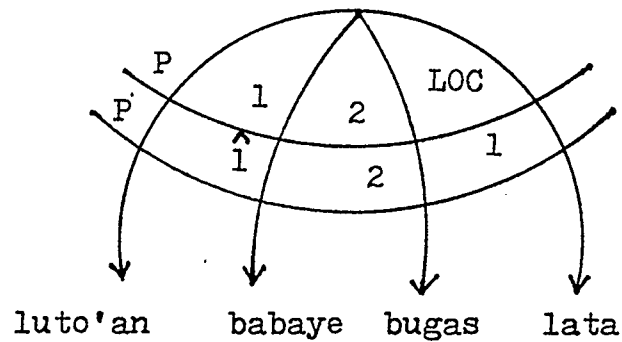


Figure 7: Relational Network with LOC → 1 Advancement

Bell(1974b) states that the grammatical relations are arranged in a hierarchy based on Keenan and Comrie's Accessibility Hierarchy in which the terms outrank the non-terms as follows:

$$1 > 2 > 3 > \text{Non-Terms}$$

Bell notes that Keenan and Comrie's investigation of relative clause formation in forty languages, lead them to conclude that the grammatical relation of a nominal had a bearing on its accessibility to relativization. If a language permits relativization of a given nominal by its major relativization strategy, then it also permits relativization of a nominal which is of greater or equal accessibility by that strategy (Bell, 1974:49). Therefore, if relativization strategy is allowed to a 2-relation then it must allow relativization to a 1-relation. In terms of advancement rules the hierarchy will predict that non-terms may advance to terms, and terms may advance to another term higher in the hierarchy. In Cebuano, it has been shown that a non-term as well as a term may advance to 1, which is the

highest term in the hierarchy. Further, Bell showed that other syntactic processes make reference to final 1, as well as to initial 1, in accordance with this relational hierarchy.

After this brief discussion of the RG theory, which is the framework to be employed in this study, we can now proceed to a discussion of the basic clause structures of Tagalog.

Notes

¹ The abbreviations used in this thesis are the following:

ERG	-	Ergative
ABS	-	Absolutive
NOM	-	Nominative
ACC	-	Accusative
OBL	-	Oblique
GEN	-	Genitive
Act	-	Active
AGT	-	Agent
PAT	-	Patient
LOC	-	Locative
BEN	-	Benefactive
INSTR	-	Instrumental
LG	-	Ligature
RG	-	Relational Grammar
RN	-	Relational Network
EA	-	Ergative Analysis
PA	-	Passive Analysis

CHAPTER 3. BASIC CLAUSE STRUCTURES OF TAGALOG

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will introduce the basic clause structures of Tagalog focusing my discussion on verbal sentences. Although, the analysis will be cast in the Relational Grammar (RG) framework, I will adopt the Ergative Analysis, in contrast to Bell's Passive Analysis, following the lead of Gerdts (1987), De Guzman (1987) and Rowse (1983). The two types of verbs in Tagalog to be treated here are Intransitive and Transitive verbs and the different categories of intransitive verbs including the antipassive construction. Voice marking and the ergative case marking system for nouns and pronouns will also be shown. Then I will outline advancements in Tagalog since this is relevant to the discussion of Ascension, the primary syntactic process investigated in this study. Finally, I will show some syntactic tests to determine the termhood of nominals.

3.1 Ergativity within the RG Framework

Philippine languages have always been accounted for by employing the Nominative-Accusative Analysis or what has been identified by Gerdts (1987) in Bell's work (1974b) as the Passive Analysis. This analysis was considered more stable by Indo-European linguists because of their familiarity with this type of analysis in comparison to the Ergative Analysis. In the Nominative-Accusative Analysis, the subject of an intransitive verb, which is assigned a 1-relation in the final stratum, and the subject in the transitive clause, which is also assigned a final 1-

relation, are marked NOM and the direct object of a transitive verb, assigned a final 2-relation, is marked ACC. When Final 1 (Agent) is marked NOM and Final 2 (Patient) is marked ACC, then the verb (both Transitive and Intransitive) in the Nominative-Accusative Analysis carries the verbal affix -um- or mag- and is considered active. In contrast, if an initial 2 (Patient), an initial 3 (Recipient) or an Oblique non-term ends up in the final stratum as a Final 1 and is marked NOM, the verb takes the verbal affix -in-, -an- or i-. These verb forms are referred to as passive.

In the late '70s, there appeared some works that provided evidence for the primacy of patient over agent as subject in Tagalog (Cena, 1977 ; De Guzman, 1979). Following this notion, some linguists pioneered by Gerdtz (1987) and followed by De Guzman (1987) and Rowsell (1983) deemed the Ergative Analysis to be a viable account for the syntactic structures of Philippines languages. In the Ergative Analysis, the subject of an intransitive verb and the direct object of a transitive verb receive one treatment with respect to nominal case-marking and verbal cross-referencing. The subject of a transitive verb receives a different treatment. In this type of analysis, the argument or subject of an intransitive verb is marked Absolutive (ABS) manifested by ang/si-. This marker is identical to the marker of the object (patient) of a transitive verb while the agent of the transitive verb bears a different marker ng/ni- called Ergative (ERG).

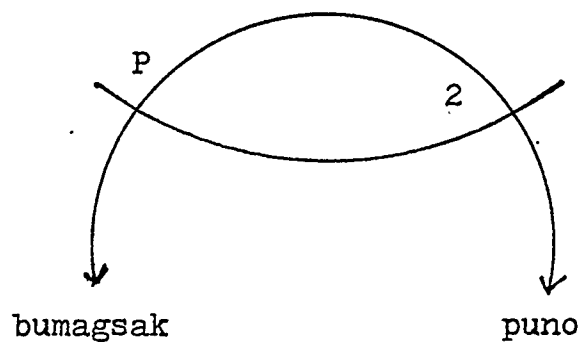
The patient or term 2 is viewed as salient or primary over the agent or term 1 in the Ergative Analysis. Given the centrality of term 2, the Final 1 Law stated in (7) (see p. 16) should be ruled out and instead be replaced by a Final 2 Law as proposed by De Guzman.¹ This law is stated in (14):

(14) Final 2 Law: Every well-formed clause in Ergative languages must contain a term 2 in the final stratum.

Tagalog, like other Philippine languages, is a predicate-initial language. The predicate may be realized by either a verb phrase or a non-verbal phrase². Thus, the two major types of Tagalog sentences are verbal and non-verbal sentences. In a verbal sentence, the predicate is a verb phrase and is followed by noun phrases (NP's) which are arguments of the verb that bear different grammatical relations to the verb. Non-terms that are optional adverbials i.e. not required by the verb, may also follow the verbal predicate. For example, Tagalog has the following basic structures:

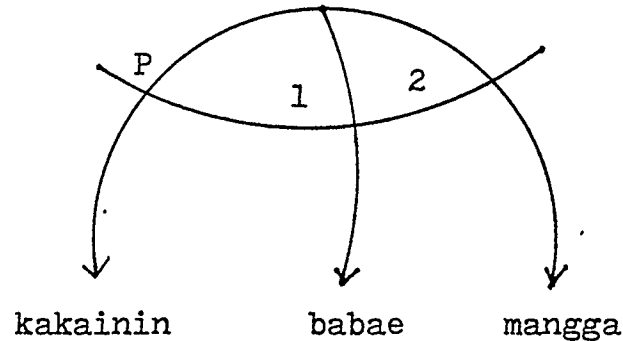
(15)(a) Bumagsak ang puno.
 fall ABS tree
 'The tree fell.'

(b)



(16)(a) Kakainin ng babae ang mangga.
 eat ERG woman ABS mango
 'The woman will eat the mango.'

(16)(b)



Sentence 15(a) with the corresponding RN in (b) is an example of an intransitive sentence where the verb takes a patient or theme argument. The action indicated by the verb is unwilling or not volitional and the patient nominal bears a 2-relation. On the other hand, sentence (16)(a) with its RN in (b) is considered active-transitive wherein the agent, babae, bears a 1-relation to the verb and mangga, the patient or theme bears a 2-relation to the verb. It will be noted that the marker ang, referred to as the ABS case marker, of the final 2 in the active-transitive sentence is identical to the marker of the final 2 in the intransitive sentence 15(a). In both types of structures, the occurrence of a Final 2 relation is necessary. This satisfies the Final 2 Law.

Within the framework, the ERG case is defined as the relation of the agent of a transitive clause to the verb whereas ABS case is the relation of the only argument of an intransitive clause or of the patient or theme of a transitive clause.

3.2 The Verb

Since the verb is the central constituent assigned subcategorizational features, one can draw from its classes the basic clause structures. Verbs are specified for their subcategorizational features. Intransitive verbs are

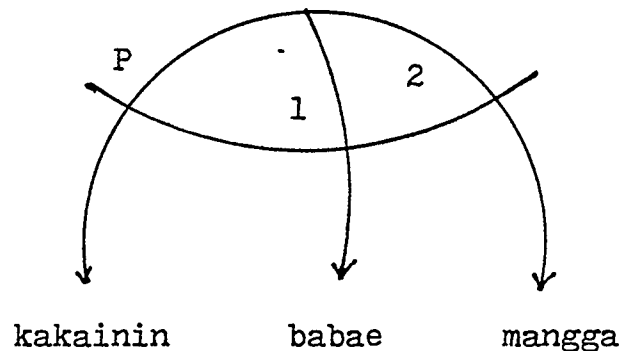
one-argument verbs and are subcategorized for a 1 or a 2-relation. Transitive verbs are of two types. Simple transitives take two arguments and are subcategorized for a 1 and a 2-relation. Ditransitive verbs are three-argument verbs and are subcategorized for a 1, a 2 and a 3 or a LOC-relation. To illustrate a transitive verb, we have 16(a) repeated here as 17(a) for ease of reading:

(17)(a) Kakainin ng babae ang mangga.

eat ERG woman ABS mango

'The woman will eat the mango.'

(b)



In 17(b), the transitive verb requires an agent, babae, which is a term 1 in the initial and last stratum and a patient or theme, mangga, which is a 2 in the initial and last stratum. Transitive clauses have at least a final 1 and a final 2.

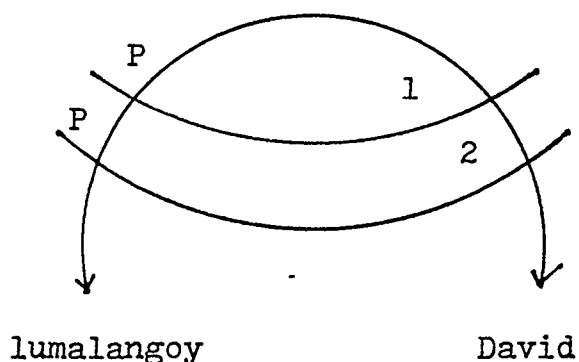
3.2.1. Inherently Intransitive Verbs

The two inherently intransitive verbs, according to Perlmutter (1982:95) are unergative, which describes willed or volitional acts and involuntary bodily processes, etc., and unaccusative, which is unwilled or

describes acts which are not volitional. An unergative verb takes a term 1 whereas an unaccusative one takes a term 2. An example of an unergative verb in Tagalog is:

(18)(a) Lumalangoy si David.
 swim ABS
 'David is swimming.'

(b)

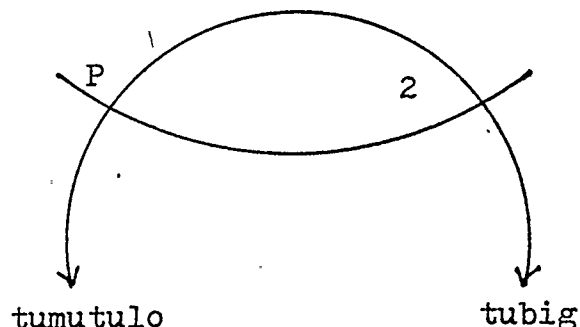


The RN in 18(b) shows that the initial stratum of sentence 18(a) has David, the actor, which bears a 1-relation to the verb lumalangoy. By virtue of the Final 2 Law, the 1-relation must advance to a 2 in the final stratum.

The unaccusative verbs require a cooccurring NP argument that is a patient or theme, therefore, a 2-relation as seen in sentence 19(a) with the, corresponding RN in 19(b):

(19)(a) Tumutulo ang tubig.
 drip ABS water
 'The water is dripping.'

(19)(b)



In 19(b), the NP argument of the unaccusative verb is initially a 2 and therefore, the Final 2 Law is satisfied. It shows that the intransitive clause has no final 1 but a final 2.

Furthermore, the Ergative Analysis does not seem to be a problem with regards to Keenan and Comrie's NP Accessibility Hierarchy (cf. Bell 1974b) if the Absolutive Hypothesis postulated by Fox (1987:869) is taken into account. The Absolutive Hypothesis states that a language must be able to relativize on Subject and Patient, if it has a strategy for relativization at all. Fox argues that it is the assumption that subjects (agents) are most easily relativized on because of a special cognitive status and this she challenges on the account that the category ABSOLUTIVE, rather than subjects, occupies the leftmost position on the accessibility hierarchy. Concomittantly, the relational hierarchy has to be revised as follows: (2 is equated to ABSOLUTIVE):

$$2 > 1 > 3 > \text{Non-terms}$$

3.2.1.1. Case Marking

Two language-specific rules generated in the Ergative Analysis by the principles of the RG framework are Case-marking and Voice-marking. Within

the general rule of case-marking, the final grammatical relations will be assigned their case-markers. In an Ergative Analysis, Final 1 in Tagalog is marked ERG, Final 2, ABS and Final 3 and Final Chômeurs, OBL. The case markers in the ergative system is given in Table 1.0 below:

Table 1.0
Tagalog Case Markers in an Ergative Analysis³

	Absolutive	Ergative	Oblique
Proper Noun Marker	si	ni	kay
Common Noun Marker +def ⁴	ang	ng	sa
-def			ng

Pronouns have different forms for the different cases as illustrated in Table 2.0 below:

Table 2.0
Tagalog Personal Pronouns in an Ergative Analysis

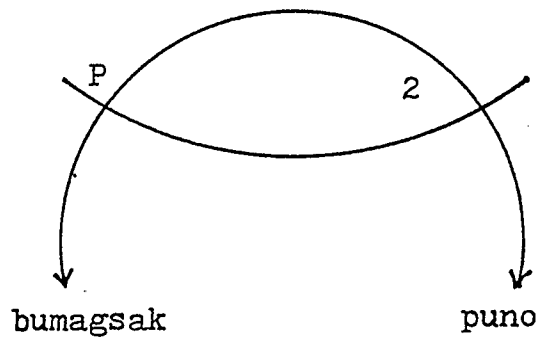
	Absolutive	Ergative	Oblique
Person			
Singular			
1st	ako	ko	sa akin
2nd	ka/ikaw	mo	sa iyo
3rd	siya	niya	sa kaniya
Plural			
1st	kami	namin	sa amin
2nd	kayo	ninyo	sa inyo
3rd	sila	nila	sa kanila

3.2.1.2. Voice Marking

The property of the verb that indicates which cooccurring nominal is functioning as a Final 2, marked ABS, is referred to as voice. The affix that attaches to the verb which marks this property is called voice marker or voice affix. To illustrate, let us take sentences (15) and (16) repeated here as (20) and (21), respectively :

- (20)(a) Bumagsak ang puno.
 fall ABS tree
 'The tree fell.'

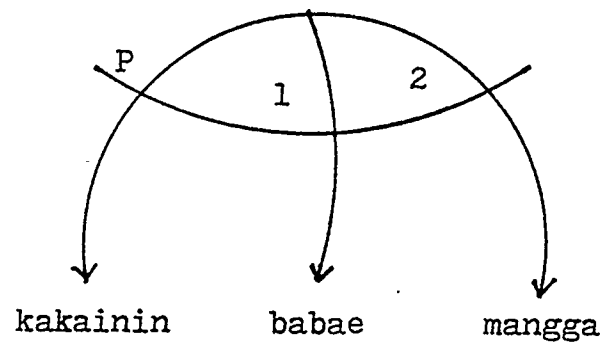
(20)(b)

(21)(a) Kakainin ng babae ang mangga.

eat ERG woman ABS mango

'The woman will eat the mango.'

(b)



In 20(a), the affix -um- is attached to the intransitive verb stem bagsak when its sole argument puno, a patient or theme, bears a final 2-relation to the verb. The active-transitive verb in 21(a) with its RN in (b), shows that -in is suffixed to the verb stem that takes a final 1 and final 2-relations with mangga, the patient as the Final 2.

In the next section, we will see other voice affixes which are consequences of Advancement rules.

3.3 Advancements

In Chapter 2.0, we showed Cebuano data as accounted for by Bell (1974a and b) using the Nominative-Accusative Analysis or what Gerdtz (1987) labelled the Passive Analysis. We have shown that in this analysis, the nominal that ends up as a Final 1 is marked by ang. In her discussion of advancements in Cebuano, the clause structure contains advancements to 1. With the Final 2 Law applying in the Ergative Analysis, an advancing grammatical relation is to a Final 2, not a Final 1 as in the Passive Analysis. The active-transitive clause in the PA corresponds to the antipassive construction, showing a 1->2 advancement, in the EA. On the other hand, the passive clause with a 2->1 advancement in PA corresponds to the basic transitive clause in EA.

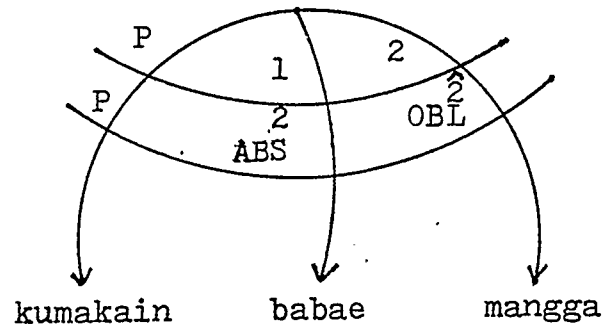
The antipassive construction is an intransitive clause which has an initial transitive stratum. The initial term 1 advances to term 2 in the following stratum and acquires all the grammatical properties of a term 2. Consider sentence 22(a) and the corresponding RN in 22(b):

(22)(a) Kumakain ang babae ng mangga.

eat ABS woman OBL mango

'The woman is eating mango.'

(22)(b)



The first stratum in 22(b) is transitive wherein *babae* bears an initial 1-relation and *mangga* bears a 2-relation to the verb *kumakain*. The second stratum is intransitive wherein *babae* which initially bears a 1-relation to the verb now bears a final 2-relation. The former term 2 becomes a chômeur. Final 2 is marked ABS and final 2̂ is marked Oblique (OBL). In other words, initial 1 advanced to 2 putting the former initial 2 en chômage by the Motivated Chômage Law as stated in (23):

(23) Motivated Chômage Law: A nominal can only become a chômeur as a result of having its grammatical relation assumed by another nominal.

Postal, however, claims that this 2 should advance back to a 1 and justifies this 2 → 1 advancement as a consequence of the Final 1 Law. However, this seems to be an ad hoc solution because it appears that there is no motivation for such an advancement from 2 to 1 since it was already a 1 to begin with. Given the saliency of term 2 in ergative languages, the Final 2 Law should apply instead of the Final 1 Law.

Sentence 22(a) shows that the Final 2 of the antipassive has the same analogous relationship that a 2 of the transitive holds with the subject of intransitive clauses. Moreover, with the new proposed law, one will be able to account for the interrelatedness of the Final 2 in the antipassive with the subject of the intransitive and the Final 2 of the transitive. In terms of the voice markings on the verb, we can capture the generalization of the voice marker m-⁵/-um- of intransitive verbs and the voice marker m- or -um- in the antipassive which convinces us of their intransitivity.

While term 3 and other non-terms may advance to Final 1 in PA, these terms may advance to Final 2 in EA, highlighting once more the centrality of term 2. Below are illustrations of these various advancements.

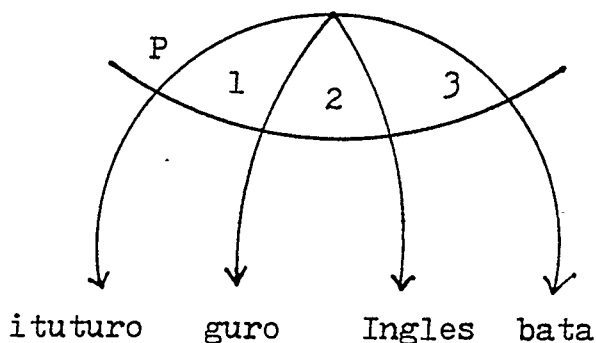
One advancement rule in Tagalog is 3->2 advancement.

(24)(a) Ituturo ng guro ang Ingles sa bata.

teach ERG teacher ABS English OBL child

'The teacher will teach English to the child.'

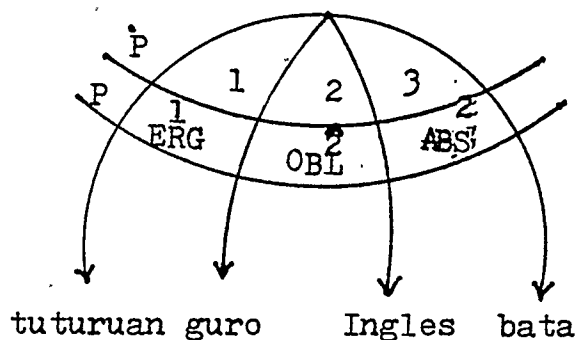
(b)



Sentence 24(a) contains the verb turo 'teach' which is subcategorized for the three term relations, namely, 1-relation to the verb, manifested by guro, a 2-relation, manifested by Ingles and a 3-relation, manifested by bata. Final term 2, the patient, takes ABS marking and the verb correspondingly takes the objective voice affix i-. Compare now 24(a) with 24(c) below:

- (c) Tuturuan ng guro ang bata ng Ingles.
 teach ERG teacher ABS child Obl English
 'The teacher will teach the child English.'

(d)



Sentence 24(c) has a network in (d) with two strata where the first stratum shows the initial relations (identical to 24(b)) and the second stratum shows an advancement of initial 3 to Final 2 with the former initial 2 being put en chômage by the Motivated Chômage Law. With this advancement, bata, being Final 2 is case-marked ABS. This type of advancement will be shown to be relevant to the discussion of Ascension in the next chapter.

Other possible advancements are seen in non-terms, e.g. LOC, BEN, INSTR advancing to a Final 2. These non-terms serve as arguments of certain

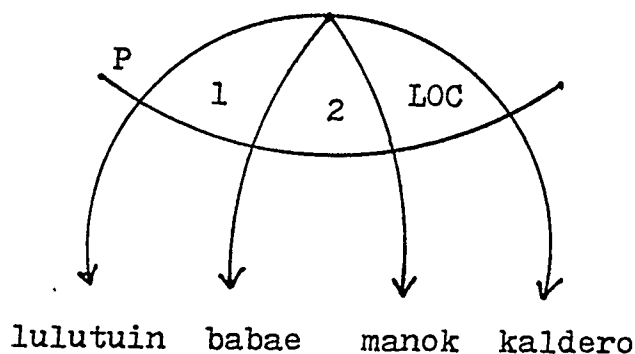
verbs whereas usually they function as adverbials in which case they do not subcategorize the verbs. All non-terms (i.e. LOC, BEN, INSTR) except for TEMP(ORAL) are capable of advancing to a term 2. The non-terms when they advance usually take a complex verb stem form with the affixes pag- or pang-. One advancement of a non-term is seen in a LOC advancing to a Final 2.

(25)(a) Lulutuin ng babae ang manok sa kaldero.

cook ERG woman ABS chicken OBL pot

'The woman will cook the chicken in the pot.'

(b)



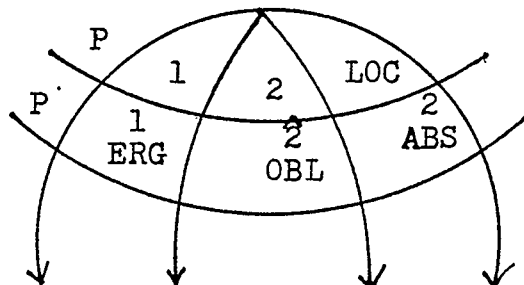
The corresponding RN 25(b) of sentence 25(a) contains one stratum wherein babae bears a 1-relation to the verb, manok, a 2-relation and kaldero, a LOC-relation. Notice now sentence 25(c) with its RN in (d):

(c) Paglulutuan ng babae ng manok ang kaldero.

cook ERG woman OBL chicken ABS pot

'The woman will cook chicken in the pot.'

(25)(d)



The RN in 25(d) depicting the structure of sentence (c) shows two strata wherein the first stratum shows the initial relation and the final stratum manifests a LOC→2 advancement. Kaldero which is an initial LOC now bears a final 2-relation to the verb putting the former 2 en chômage. As a result, final 2 is marked ABS. Another consequence of this LOC→2 advancement is found in the voice marking of the verb. The suffix -an is attached to the verb that contains a LOC→2 advancement. It is the same affix observed in a 3→2 advancement as seen in sentence (24c). The difference between 3→2 and LOC→2 is in the verb stem form. That is, as mentioned earlier, LOC→2 advancement takes a complex verb stem form with pag-.

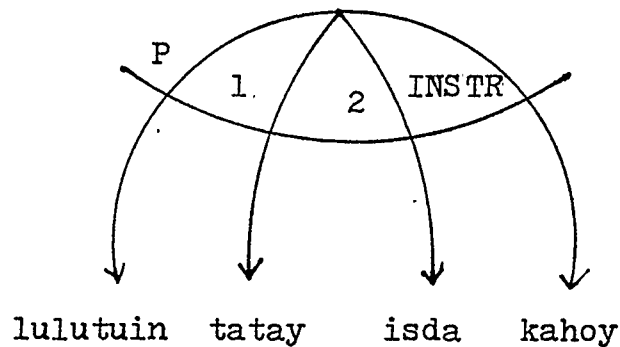
Two other advancements are INSTR→2 and BEN→2 as seen in the following sentences:

(26)(a) Lulutuin ng tatay ang isda sa pamamagitan ng kahoy.

cook ERG father ABS fish OBL wood

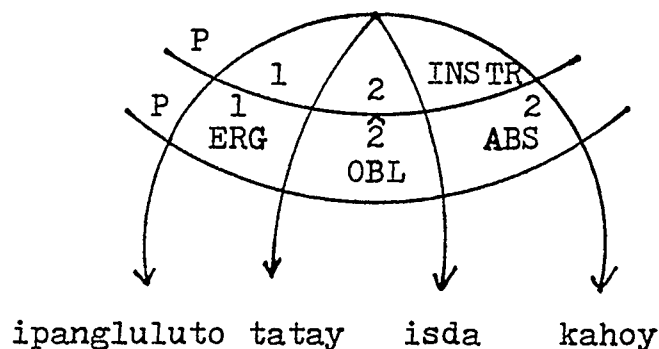
'Father will cook fish with wood.'

(26)(b)



(c) Ipangluluto ng tatay ng isda ang kahoy.
 cook ERG father OBL fish ABS wood
 'Father will cook fish with wood.'

(d)



Sentence 26(a) with the RN in (b) shows a monostratum wherein tatay bears a 1-relation, isda, a 2-relation and kahoy an INSTR-relation to the verb lulutuin. In sentence 26(c), with the RN in (d), the RN contains two strata with the initial stratum showing the initial relations and the final stratum showing INSTR→2 advancement. Kahoy now bears a final 2-relation to the verb putting the former 2 en chômage. The voice marker on the verb is i- and the verb stem changes to pang-.

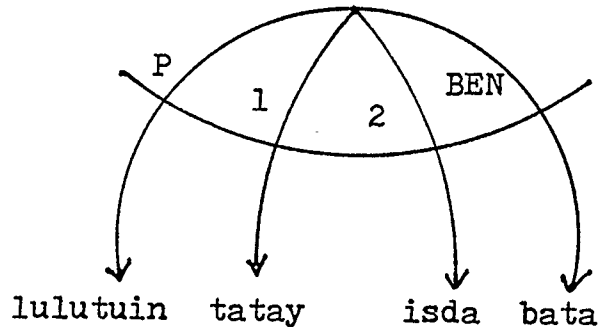
BEN → 2 Advancement is shown below:

(27)(a) Lulutuin ng tatay ang isda para sa bata.

cook ERG father ABS fish for OBL child

'Father will cook fish for the child.'

(b)

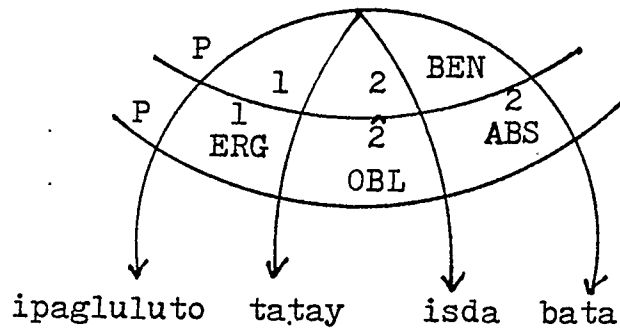


(27)(c) Ipagluluto ng tatay ng isda ang bata.

cook ERG father OBL fish ABS child

'Father will cook the child fish.'

(d)



Sentence 27(a) with the RN in (b) shows a single stratum wherein tatay bears a 1-relation, isda, a 2-relation and bata bears a BEN-relation to the verb lulutuin.

In 27(c) with the RN in (d), the first stratum shows the initial relations and the second stratum contains a BEN->2 advancement where bata now bears a Final 2-relation to the verb. As a result, bata is marked ABS. As in previous illustrations, the former 2 is put en chômage. Tatay, the Final 1, remains unaltered.

A consequence of both INSTR->2 and BEN->2 Advancement is reflected in the voice marking of the verb. l- is prefixed to the verb when the clause contains INSTR->2 advancement or BEN->2 advancement. However, the verb stem form for INSTR has a prefix pang- and a prefix pag- for BEN. The grammatical relation that ends up as a Final 2 triggers the voice marking on the verb.

We have seen that Final 2 is the target grammatical relation in advancements. This is supported by applying some syntactic tests, namely: Topicalization, Clefting, Question-Word Formation, Relativization and Reflexivization (Gerdts, 1987; De Guzman, 1987; and Rowse, 1983). These previous studies have shown that Topicalization, Clefting, Question-Word Formation and Relativization make reference to a Final 2 whereas in Reflexivization, it is the Final 1 that is the controller of the reflexive. On the other hand, determining the controller of the reflexive seems to be a semantic account rather than syntactic. Hence, we can refer to thematic roles in dealing with this syntactic process.

In addition to this, the above-mentioned studies also show that unless an initial 3-relation has advanced to a Final 2 it cannot undergo these syntactic operations neither can it undergo a primary syntactic process called ascension. All these processes show that Final 2 is salient.

Notes

¹ In a personal communication with Dr. Videa P. De Guzman, she had proposed the Final Law and discussed the positive consequences of this proposed law and its negative effect upon the theory.

² Non-verbal sentences are structures in which the predicate constituent is not a verb phrase but a noun phrase or an adjective phrase. For example:

(i) Dentista ang babae.

dentist woman

'The woman is a dentist.'

(ii) Gwapo ang guro.

handsome teacher

'The teacher is handsome.'

Dentista in (i) is an example of a noun phrase that functions as a predicate, while gwapo in (ii) is an adjective phrase functioning as a predicate.

³ Only the singular form of the case markers will be given in this thesis.

⁴ Definiteness and indefiniteness are defined here in terms of specificity. The NP that is marked by the definite case marker is considered more specific than an NP marked by the indefinite case marker.

⁵ The verb form is analyzed as [m- + [pag- + root]] (De Guzman, 1978). Also, see 2 in Notes, Chapter 1, (p.12).

Chapter 4. ASCENSION IN TAGALOG

4.0 Introduction

We have seen that in the simple basic sentences, it is the patient or term 2 that is salient. This means that in Tagalog, term 2 plays a primary grammatical role which is characteristic of ergative languages. This has been shown in previous studies in Tagalog (De Guzman, 1987) and in other Philippine languages (Gerdtz, 1987; Rowsell, 1983) by employing certain syntactic operations.

In the previous chapter, I have mentioned that a grammatical relation may undergo a change from an initial level to a succeeding level. One type of relation changing rule, proposed by Perlmutter and Postal, is **advancement** which has been shown to be pervasive even in simple clause structures in Tagalog. In this chapter, we will look at the second type of relation-changing rule called **ascension**. In discussing ascension, we will be dealing with complex sentences, i.e. those that contain an embedded clause or more specifically, a sentential complement. We shall determine the behaviour of these sentential complements in terms of which grammatical relations can be involved in ascension.

4.1. Sentential Complement vs. Relative Clause

Tagalog has two complex structures that are almost identical on the surface: (1) sentential complement and (2) relative clause. Although our

concern is centered on the sentential complement, it will be informative and helpful to look at the similarities of the two structures.

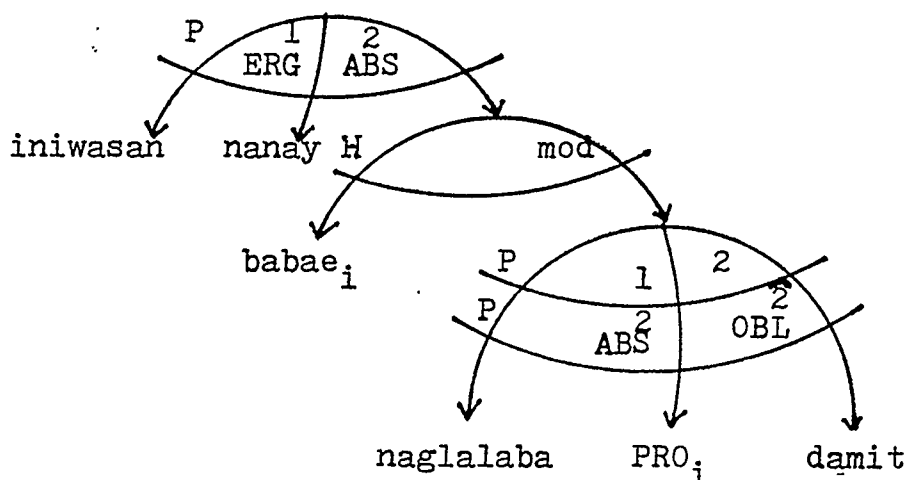
A relative clause is a subordinate clause which modifies a noun phrase (NP). In English, this subordinate clause is usually introduced by a relative pronoun (e.g. who, which, etc.) if not by the complementizer that. In Tagalog, there are no relative pronouns; however, the relative clause is introduced by a ligature *na/-ng*¹. For example:

(28)(a) *iniwasan ng nanay ang babae_i na naglalaba PRO_i ng damit.*

avoid ERG mother ABS woman LG wash OBL dress

'Mother avoided the woman who was washing a dress.'

(b)

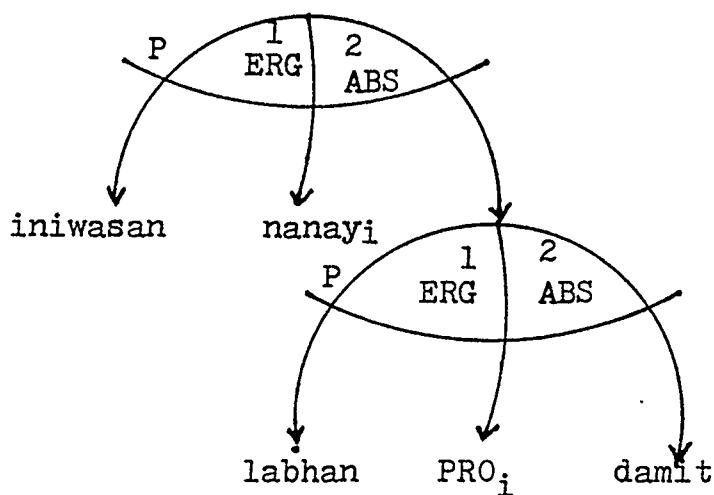


In this example, the relative clause naglalaba PRO ng damit 'who was washing a dress' modifies the head of term 2, babae. The PRO, which is an empty category, is coreferential to the head as indicated by the coindexing on these nominals. Notice that the PRO has advanced from its initial 1-relation to a Final 2-relation. It is essential to point out that PRO,

coreferential to the head, in a relative clause must be a Final 2. The sentence in 28(a) which has a corresponding RN in (b) has a relative clause modifying the head babae which is the Final 2 in the network. While babae is an obligatory argument of the verb which bears a Final 2-relation to the verb iniwasan, the relative clause functions as a modifier of this NP, but it is not an obligatory argument of the verb. In contrast, a sentential complement is an obligatory argument embedded in the matrix clause. The sentential complement is always introduced by the ligature na. For example:

- (29)(a) *Iniwasan ng nanayi na labhan PRO_i ang damit.*
 avoid ERG mother LG to wash ABS dress
 'Mother avoided washing the dress.'

(b)



It is indicated in 29(b) which is the RN of 29(a) that nanayi bears a 1-relation to the matrix verb iniwasan and the sentential complement labhan PRO ang damit 'to wash the dress' bears a 2-relation to the matrix verb. The sentential complement itself has a network with one stratum which contains an agent PRO, an empty category that bears a 1-relation to the verb

labhan, and a patient nominal damit, a term 2. The PRO is coindexed with its coreferential nominal, term 1, in the matrix clause. One observable similarity between the relative clause and the sentential complement is the occurrence of a coindexed PRO in both embedded clauses. However, the PRO in a sentential complement, unlike that of a relative clause, need not bear a Final 2-relation as seen in (29)(a) or (29)(b). When the PRO in the sentential complement, alternatively, advances to Final 2, the resulting structure is as follows:

(29)(c) Iniwasan ng nanayi na maglaba PRO_i ng damit
 avoid ERG mother to wash ABS OBL dress
 'Mother avoided washing a dress.'

One other feature that makes the relative clause similar to the sentential complement on the surface is the occurrence of the ligature na to introduce the clause. The similarity of structure on the surface of the relative clause to the sentential complement may lead one to ask whether babae in the RN in 28(b) could have come from the relative clause and ascended to the matrix clause leaving a PRO behind. However, this is not the case because babae is an argument of the verb and therefore, it is required by the verb iniwasan and the relative clause is only a modifier of this NP which is a Final 2. In contrast, the sentential complement is an argument of the verb which means that the verb requires the cooccurrence of the sentential complement which is a Final 2.

Dell (cf. 1981) cited arguments to show the distinction between relative clauses and sentential complements. He argues that relative clauses but not sentential complements are subject to Ross's (1967) Complex NP Constraint prohibiting moving material from inside a relative

clause. He supports this claim by applying two syntactic processes such as Question-Word Formation and Relativization in the Nominative-Accusative Analysis.

Dell showed that the locative phrase² of a sentential complement in 30(a) below can be replaced by a question word (Question word is sentence-initial) as seen in 30(b):

(30)(a) Iniwasan niya_i na mamili PRO_i sa palengke.
 avoid GEN-3sg LG shop DAT³ market
 'He avoided shopping at the market.'

(b) Saan niya iniwasan na mamili?
 where GEN-3sg avoid LG shop
 'Where did he avoid shopping?'

On the other hand, in a relative clause the locative phrase cannot be questioned as in 31(a):

(31)(a) Iniwasan niya ang mga babae na namimili sa palengke.
 avoid GEN-3sg ABS plur woman LG shop DAT market
 'He avoided the women who were shopping in the market.'

(b) *Saan niya iniwasan ang mga babae na namimili?
 where GEN-3sg avoid NOM plur woman LG shop
 *'Where did he avoid the women who were shopping?'

The readings of 30(b) and 31(b) are those where the word saan pertains to the place of shopping and under that interpretation, 30(b) is grammatical but not 31(b).

Again in conformity with the Complex NP Constraint, Dell (1981:21) argues that one can relativize out of a sentential complement of gusto 'want' in 32(a) as shown by the grammaticality of 32(b):

(32)(a) Gusto nila na iwasan na pag-usapan iyong babae.

want GEN-3pl LG avoid LG discuss NOM-that woman

'They want to avoid discussing that woman.'

(b) Iyan ang babae na gusto nila na iwasan na pag-usapan.

that NOM woman LG want GEN-3pl LG avoid LG discuss

'That is the woman that they want to avoid discussing.'

But one cannot relativize out of a relative clause in 33(a) as shown by the ungrammaticality of 33(b):

(33)(a) Gusto nila ang mga bata na umiiwas na pag-usapan

want GEN-3pl NOM PLUR child LG avoid LG discuss

iyong babae.

that-NOM woman

'They like the children who avoid discussing the woman.'

(b) *Iyan ang babae na gusto nila ang mga bata

that NOM woman LG want GEN-3pl NOM PLUR child

na umiiwas na pag-usapan

LG avoid LG discuss

*'That is the woman whom they like the children who

avoid discussing.'

In addition to his arguments and conforming to the Complex NP Constraint, I would like to add two other syntactic processes, namely: (1) Clefting and (2) Topicalization to show the distinction between a relative clause and a sentential complement. Clefting is formed in Tagalog by placing the nominal that bears the Final 2 (in the Ergative Analysis) of the sentential complement with its ABS marker ang in sentence-initial position and inserting an identificational marker, the ang particle, before the verb.

Clefting can apply to the Final 2 of the sentential complement in sentence 29(a) (repeated here as 34(a)) as shown by the grammaticality of 34(b):

(34)(a) Iniwasan ng nanay_i na labhan PRO_i ang damit.

avoid ERG mother LG wash ABS dress

'Mother avoided washing a dress.'

(b) [Ang damit] ang iniwasan ng nanay_i na labhan PRO_i.

ABS dress ABS avoid ERG mother LG wash

'It is the dress that mother avoided washing.'

On the other hand, clefting does not apply to the relative clause in 28(a) because there is no Final 2 but PRO which is an empty category. What can be clefted is babae which is the Final 2 of the matrix clause as shown in 35(b) and formed from 28(a) (repeated here as 35(a):

(35)(a) Iniwasan ng nanay ang babae_i na naglalaba PRO_i ng damit.

avoid ERG mother ABS woman LG wash OBL dress

'Mother avoided the woman who is washing a dress.'

(b) [Ang babae] ang iniwasan ng nanay_i na naglalaba PRO_i

ABS woman ABS avoid ERG mother LG wash

ng damit.

OBL dress

'It was the woman whom mother avoided (who is)

washing the dress.'

Another syntactic process that can be applied to test the distinction between the two similar constructions is Topicalization. In topicalizing an NP or a grammatical relation, the NP is placed in sentence-initial position. Using the same basic sentences in 34(a), we can see in (36) that we can topicalize on the Final 2 of the sentential complement.

(36) Ang damit, iniwasan ng nanay_i na labhan PRO_i

-TOP avoid ERG mother LG wash

'As for the dress, mother avoided washing (it).

On the other hand, we cannot topicalize on any nominal from the relative clause in 35(a) as seen in the ungrammatical sentence in (37):

(37) *Ng damit, iniwasan ng nanay_i ang babae na naglalaba PRO_i

OBL dress avoid ERG mother ABS woman LG wash

*'As for the dress, mother avoided the woman who was washing (it).

There is also a difference between the verb forms in a relative clause and in a sentential complement. A significant difference is found in the finiteness of the verb. The verb in the relative clause is finite whereas the verb in the sentential complement is either non-finite or finite.

Since the sentential complement and the relative clause are different as shown by the distinctions presented above, they have to be kept apart.

4.2 Verbs Taking Sentential Complements

As we have mentioned earlier, a sentential complement is an argument of the verb which is embedded under the main clause or a higher clause. The embedded sentence is introduced by a complementizer in the form of a ligature (LG) na.

Considering that the sentential complement is an argument of the matrix verb, we can infer that the syntactic behaviour of this embedded clause is similar to that of a simple NP argument, in that, it subcategorizes certain verbs. But unlike the simple NP argument, the sentential complement is not marked for case, therefore, the termhood is not easily known. Thus, I will attempt to establish its termhood by looking into the

transitivity of the matrix verb and the case of the cooccurring argument. I will be applying some syntactic tests to determine the behaviour of these sentential complements.

In analysing the behaviour of sentential complements, we have to consider the subcategorizational features of the verbs as they are relevant in establishing the termhood of sentential complements.

I have subdivided the verbs taking sentential complements into two large classes according to their subcategorizational frames. Class I verbs are transitive verbs subcategorized for grammatical relations 1 and 2. This class of verbs include Dynamic, Stative and Term 1 Control verbs. Class II verbs are ditransitive ones subcategorized for grammatical relations 1, 2, and 3 and this includes Term 3 Control Verbs. These two classes of verbs are summarized as follows:

(a) Class I [_____ 1 2]

(b) Class II [_____ 1 2 3]

4.2.1 Class I: Dynamic Verbs

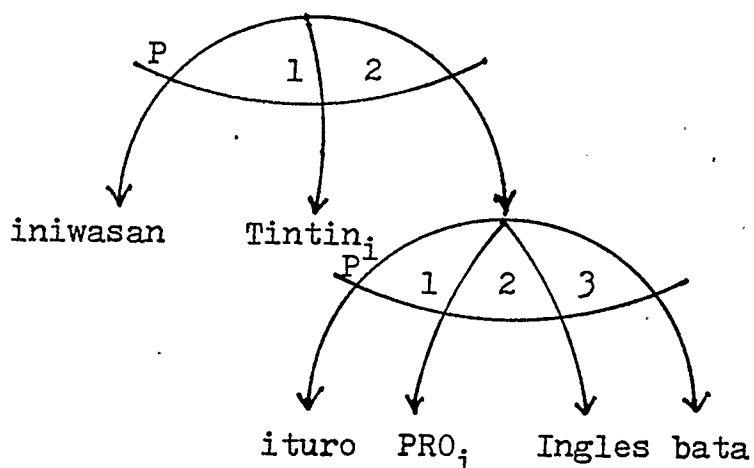
This group of verbs is the largest type of Class I verbs. The dynamic verbs include: sikapin 'to try', hintayin 'to wait', iwasan 'to avoid', etc. These verbs may require a cooccurring sentential argument, which is a 2, similar to an NP argument that is a 2. It also requires a cooccurring 1 or an agent apart from the sentential complement. Similar to English, the dynamic verbs take the non-finite form of the verb in the sentential complement. To illustrate:

(38)(a) Iniwasan ni Tintin_i na ituro PRO_i ang Ingles sa bata.

avoid ERG Tintin LG teach ABS English OBL child

'Tintin avoided teaching English to the child.'

(b)



Sentence 38(a) with its RN in 38(b) indicates that the verb iniwasan bears a predicate relation in the matrix clause, Tintin, the agent, bears a 1-relation to the matrix verb, and the sentential complement or embedded clause, ituro PRO ang Ingles sa bata, which is a theme (stating what the agent avoided), bears a 2-relation to the matrix verb. On the other hand, the sentential complement has a network which contains the verb ituro bearing a predicate relation, a PRO, an empty category coreferential to term 1 in the matrix clause, bears a 1-relation to the embedded verb, Ingles, the theme, bears a 2-relation and bata, the recipient, bears a 3-relation to the embedded verb ituro.

The RN in 38(b) shows that the initial and final relation of the sentential complement to the matrix verb is a 2. As we have mentioned earlier, it is the Final 2 that is considered salient in Tagalog as supported by the syntactic tests applied to Final 2's. If, therefore, the sentential complement is a Final 2, then it should be able to undergo clefting, one of the tests for 2-hood. We have seen in the previous section that the Final 2

of the sentential complement can undergo Clefting and if the sentential complement in 38(a) is a Final 2, then it can be clefted since only Final 2's can be clefted :

(c) [Ang ituro ang Ingles sa bata] ang iniwasan ni Tintin.

ABS teach ABS English OBL child ABS avoid ERG Tintin

'It was teaching English to the child that Tintin avoided.'

The grammaticality of sentence 38(c) proves that the sentential complement is indeed a Final 2 because it can be clefted.

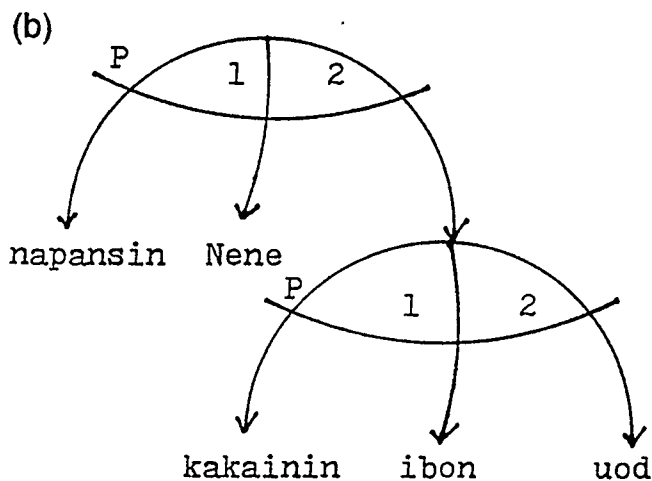
4.2.2 Class I: Stative Verbs

Another type of Class I verbs is the group of stative verbs. Similar to dynamic verbs, stative verbs may require a cooccurring sentential complement, a 2, and a cooccurring 1. Unlike the 1 in the dynamic verb which is an agent, the 1 in stative verbs is an experiencer. The stative verbs include maalala 'to remember', maniwala 'to believe', mapansin 'to notice', etc. For example:

(39)(a) Napansin ni Nene na kakainin ng ibon ang uod.

notice ERG Nene LG eat ERG bird ABS worm

'Nene noticed that the bird would eat the worm.'



The diagram in 39(b) representing sentence 39(a) shows that the stative verb napansin bears a predicate relation to the matrix clause, Nene, the experiencer, bears a 1-relation to the matrix verb napansin and the sentential complement, kakainin ng ibon ang uod, the theme, bears a 2-relation to the matrix verb. The sentential complement contains the verb kakainin which subcategorizes for the grammatical relations 1 manifested by Ibon, the agent, and 2 by uod, the patient or theme.

Again we posit that the sentential complement is a Final 2 in this type of construction. Let us apply another syntactic process to determine the 2-hood of this embedded clause. Since only Final 2's can undergo Question-Word formation, a sentential complement must allow a question word to replace it as shown in 39(c):

- (c) Ano ang napansin ni Nene?
 what ABS notice ERG Nene
 'What did Nene notice?'

The grammaticality of 39(c) proves that the sentential complement is indeed a Final 2 because it can be replaced by a question word.

4.2.3. Control Verbs

Control verbs are verbs one of whose arguments (depending on the type of control verb) controls the PRO in the embedded clause. Some control verbs are subcategorized for grammatical relations 1 and 2 and other control verbs subcategorize for grammatical relations 1, 2 and 3. These control verbs are lexically marked as to the type of control they are. There are two types of control verbs, namely: Term 1 control verbs where term 1 controls the PRO in the embedded clause and Term 3 control verbs where PRO is controlled by term 3. Term 1 control verbs include: ipangako 'to

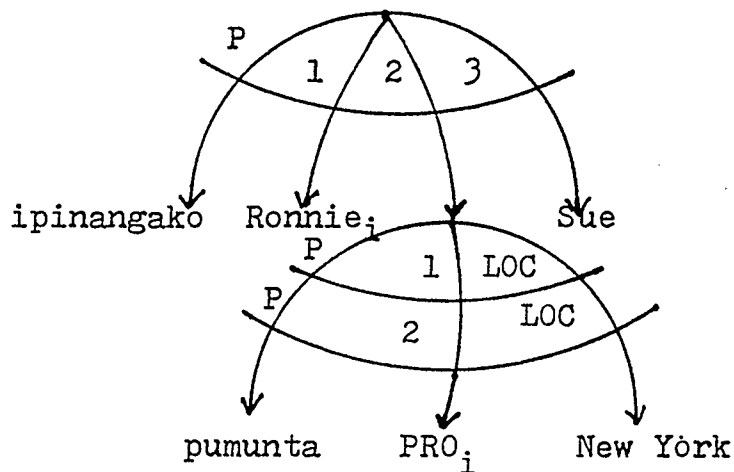
promise' and some pseudo-verbs like gusto, ibig, nais 'like/want' and their negation ayaw. These pseudo-verbs are not marked for voice; they are simply unaffixed.

Term 3 control verbs include: itutós 'to order' sabihín 'to tell' and pilitín 'to force', etc. Whereas term 1 controller is the agent, term 3 controller is the recipient.

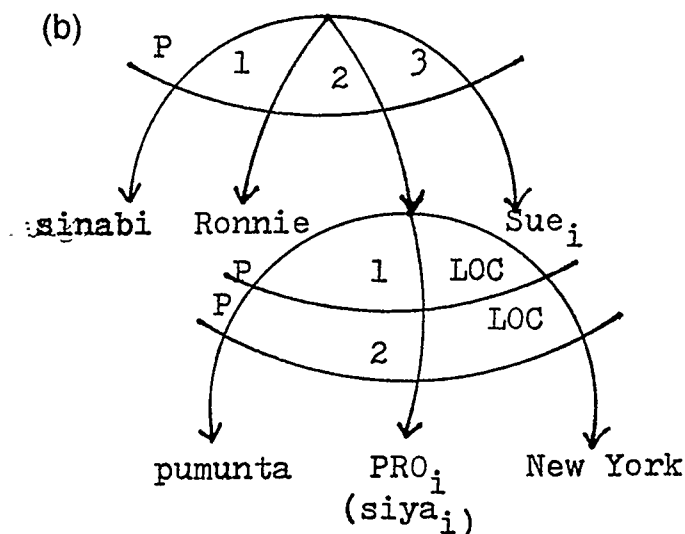
These verbs take a subcategorization feature of a 1 or an agent, a theme, in this case, the sentential complement which is a 2, and a 3 or a recipient. For example:

- (40)(a) Ipinangako ni Ronnie_i kay Sue na pumunta PRO_i sa New York
 promise ERG Ronnie OBL Sue LG go OBL New York
 'Ronnie promised Sue to go to New York.'

(b)



- (41)(a) Sinabi ni Ronnie kay Sue_i na pumunta PRO_i sa New York
 (siya_i)
 tell ERG Ronnie OBL Sue LG go ABS-she OBL New York
 'Ronnie told Sue to go to New York.'



Sentence 40(a) and 41(a) have identical RN's in 40(b) and 41(b) but they differ in control types. The RN's in 40(b) and 41(b) indicate that the control verbs ipinangako and sinabi, respectively, bear predicate relations to their respective matrix clauses, Ronnie, the agent, bears a 1-relation, the sentential complement, the theme, bears a 2-relation and Sue, the recipient, bears a 3-relation to the matrix verb. The RN of the embedded clause shows that the verb pumunta bears a predicate relation to its respective embedded clause, the PRO or the optional overt pronoun siya bears an initial 1 and a Final 2-relation as a consequence of the Final 2 Law, and New York bears a LOC-relation to the embedded verb. The controller from the matrix clause of, PRO in 40(a) is term 1 (agent) and that of PRO or the overt pronoun siya in 41(a) is term 3 (recipient).

A particular phenomenon that seems to be unique to Tagalog control structures is the occurrence of an overt pronoun instead of a PRO in the embedded clause as seen in 41(a). This overt pronoun siya is coreferential with the term 3 controller in the matrix clause as indicated by the

coindexing. Most native speakers prefer the occurrence of the coreferential pronoun for term 3 control verbs. However, it is interesting to note that with the occurrence of the overt pronoun siya as in 41(a), this may refer either to term 1 or term 3.

The RN in 40(b) shows that PRO is controlled by, i.e. refers back to, the agent, Ronnie, the initial and final 1. In contrast to Schachter's claim that only agents or term 1's can be controllers of PRO, some linguists (Cena, 1977 and De Guzman, 1987) have presented evidence wherein term 3 can also be a controller of PRO, represented by the coindexing of Sue and PRO or siya in 41(b). When the embedded verb in a term 3 control verb clause is in its infinitival form, the controller is decidedly term 3 and not term 1. However, if the embedded verb is finite the controller may be term 1. For example:

- (42) Sinabi ni Ronnie_i kay Sue na pupunta siya_i sa New York.
 tell ERG Ronnie OBL Sue LG go ABS-he OBL New York
 'Ronnie_i told Sue that he would go to New York.'

The sentential complement of control verbs is also a Final 2 in the matrix clause. We have seen in the section on stative verbs that the sentential complements that subcategorize these verbs are Final 2's and as mentioned in the previous chapter, only Final 2's can undergo question-word formation. If, therefore, the sentential complement of a control verb in 40(a) is a Final 2 then it can be replaced by a question word as in (43):

- (43) Ano ang ipinangako ni Ronnie kay Sue?
 what ABS promise ERG Ronnie OBL Sue
 'What did Ronnie promise Sue?'

The grammaticality of sentence (43) shows that the sentential complement of a control verb is indeed a Final 2. We have also seen that the sentential complement subcategorizing dynamic verbs can be clefted thus, it must be a Final 2. If we apply the syntactic process of clefting to the sentential complement in 41(a), we will come up with a grammatical sentence such as (44):

- (44) [Ang pumunta PRO sa New York] ang sinabi ni Ronnie kay Sue.
 [ABS go OBL New York] ABS tell ERG Ronnie OBL Sue
 'It is to go to New York that Ronnie told Sue.'

4.3 Ascension in Tagalog

Earlier, we had seen that there are several syntactic processes that could be employed to determine the 2-hood of the sentential complement. Having passed these tests, we concluded that the sentential complement is a Final 2. Another significant process and, in fact, the central process investigated in this study is **ascension**. In an ascension, Bell (1983) notes that a nominal which is a dependent of the sentential complement embedded under a matrix verb becomes itself a dependent of the main verb. The sentential complement from which the nominal ascends is called the host which must be a term, according to the Host Limitation Law as stated in (45):

- (45) Host Limitation Law: Only terms can serve as Hosts.

Two types of ascension that will be discussed in this study are Final 2-Ascension from a sentential complement and Possessor Ascension from a nominal phrase. In our discussion of ascension, we will look at constructions that contain the verbs we have just investigated.

4.3.1. Final 2-Ascension

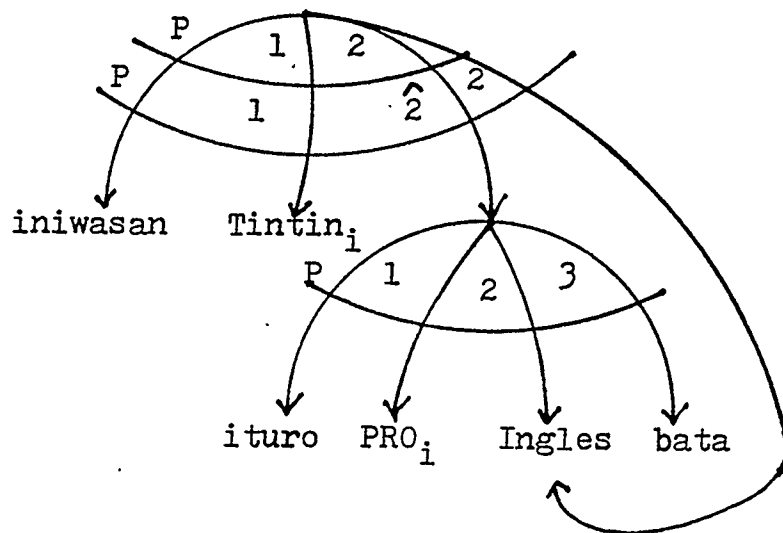
Bell (1974b) claims that only the subject of the embedded clause can escape from its clause. Notice sentence 38(a) (repeated here as 46(a)) which contains a dynamic verb iniwasan:

- (46)(a) Iniwasan ni Tintin_i na ituro PRO_i ang Ingles sa bata.
 avoid ERG Tintin LG teach ABS English OBL child.
 'Tintin avoided teaching English to the child.'

If we equate Bell's subject with the nominal marked with ang, then Ingles, which is the Final 2 in the embedded clause can escape from its clause and ascend to the matrix clause in 46(b) as shown by the RN in 46(c):

- (b) Iniwasan ni Tintin_i ang Ingles na ituro PRO_i sa bata.
 avoid ERG Tintin ABS English LG teach OBL child
 'Tintin avoided teaching English to the child.'

(c)



Final 2 of the embedded clause has ascended to the matrix clause. This ascendeo then, assumes the grammatical relation of the host, an initial term 2, as indicated in the Relational Succession Law in (47):

(47) Relational Succession Law: The ascendeo or the raised nominal assumes the grammatical relation of the host from which it has ascended.

and the ascendeo now becomes a term 2 of the matrix verb. The host becomes a $\hat{2}$ by the Relational Annihilation Law as stated in (48):

(48) Relational Annihilation Law: If a nominal i assumes a grammatical relation n previously borne by a nominal j then nominal j ceases to be a term and becomes \hat{n} -chômeur.

Bell's claim was supported by Dell (1981) by setting a restriction on raising or ascension which states that: 'A subject can be raised out of a sentential complement only if that sentential complement is itself a subject in its matrix clause.' We have to keep in mind that 'subject' in Bell's and Dell's works refers to the ang-phrase or what we refer to as the ABS NP.

Recalling the tests we have applied to determine the Final 2-hood of the sentential complement in the previous section of this chapter, we saw that the sentential complement is indeed a Final 2. Since the sentential complement is a Final 2 then the grammatical relation which is a Final 2 in the sentential complement can therefore ascend. This shows that only the Final 2 of an embedded clause can escape from that clause which conforms to Dell's and Bell's claim that only subjects can escape from its clause.

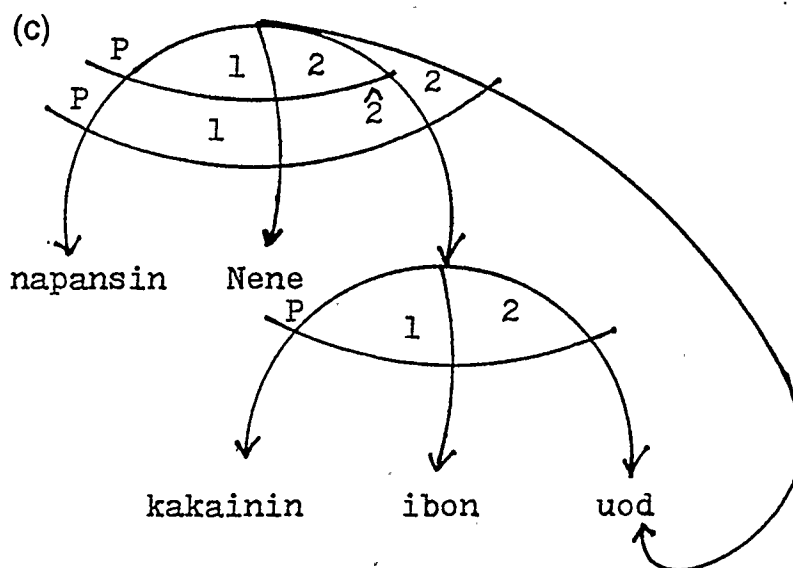
We have shown earlier that ascension is permitted in constructions with a dynamic verb. A construction with a stative verb will also allow

ascension of the Final 2. For example, let us take sentence 39(a) repeated here as 49(a):

(49)(a) Napansin ni Nene na kakainin ng ibon ang uod.
 notice ERG Nene LG eat ERG bird ABS worm

(b) Napansin ni Nene ang uod na kakainin ng ibon.
 notice ERG Nene ABS worm LG eat ERG bird.
 'Nene noticed that the bird will eat the worm.'

(c)



The RN in 49(c) shows that uod which bears a Final 2-relation to the embedded verb kakainin ascends to the matrix clause and bears the Final 2'-relation to the verb napansin by the Relational Succession Law and by the Relational Annihilation Law, the host which is an initial term 2 in the matrix clause becomes a $\hat{2}$. The resulting structure after ascension is the grammatical sentence 49(b).

If, however, a nominal which does not bear a final 2-relation ascends, then the resulting sentence would be ungrammatical as seen in 49(d) when ibon, a final 1 in the embedded clause is made to ascend.

(d) *Napansin ni Nene ng ibon na kakainin ang uod.

notice ERG Nene ERG bird LG eat ABS worm

Consider now the following sentences that contain the dynamic verb in the matrix clause:

(50)(a) Iniwasan ni Tintin_i na ituro PRO_i ang Ingles sa bata.

avoid ERG Tintin LG teach ABS English OBL child

'Tintin avoided teaching English to the child.'

(b) *Iniwasan ni Tintin_i sa bata na ituro PRO_i ang Ingles.

avoid ERG Tintin OBL child LG teach ABS English

When term 3, bata, ascends as in 50(b), the resulting sentence is ungrammatical. However, if term 3 advances to a Final 2 as in 50(c):

(c) Iniwasan ni Tintin_i na turuan PRO_i ng Ingles ang bata.

avoid ERG Tintin LG teach OBL English ABS child

'Tintin avoided teaching the child English.'

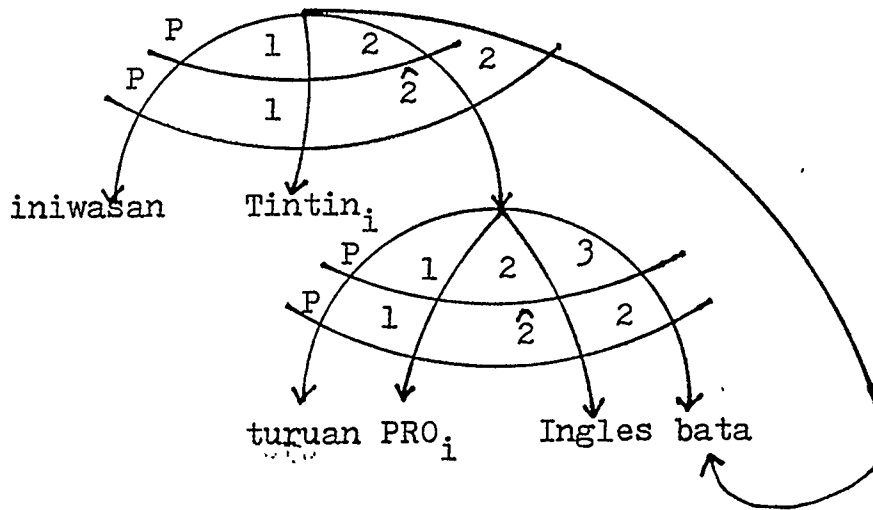
Then, this initial 3 which is now a Final 2 can ascend from its embedded clause to the matrix clause as shown by the grammaticality of 50(d):

(d) Iniwasan ni Tintin_i ang bata na turuan PRO_i ng Ingles.

avoid ERG Tintin ABS child LG teach OBL English

'Tintin avoided teaching the child English.'

(50)(e)



The RN in 50(e) represents the structure of 50(d). Notice that the voice affix -an marks the verb turuan to indicate a 3→2 advancement (see Chapter 2.0). Bata which is now a Final 2 can ascend to the matrix clause where it bears a Final 2-relation to the matrix verb by the Relational Succession Law putting the former 2 en chômage by the Relational Annihilation Law. Bata can only ascend if it advances to a Final 2. Notice that even when Ingles, which is initially a 2 but becomes a final chômeur, ascends in 50(f), the resulting sentence is ungrammatical:

(f) *Iniwasan ng babae_i ng Ingles na turuan PRO_i ang bata.

notice ERG woman OBL English LG teach ABS child

This proves that only a Final 2 is permitted to ascend.

Applying the other syntactic processes that we have used to determine the 2-hood of the sentential complement, we will now investigate whether these processes, namely: Topicalization, Clefting, Question Formation and Relativization can be applied to the ascendees which is the Final 2.

4.3.1.1. Topicalization

We have seen earlier that only Final 2's can topicalize. This is confirmed when the ascendee, the Final 2 in 50(d) is topicalized as shown by the grammaticality of sentence 51(a):

(51)(a) Ang bata, iniwasan ni Tintin_i na turuan PRO_i ng Ingles.

-TOP avoid ERG Tintin LG teach OBL English

'As for the child, Tintin avoided teaching (him) English.'

Since Ingles, which we tried to raise in 50(f), is not a Final 2, topicalizing it would result in an ungrammatical sentence as seen in 51(b):

(b)* Ng Ingles, iniwasan ni Tintin_i na turuan PRO_i ang bata.

-TOP avoid ERG Tintin LG teach ABS child

'As for English, Tintin avoided teaching (it) to the child.'

Even topicalizing Final 1 results in an ungrammatical sentence as shown in 51(c):

(c)* Ni Tintin_i, iniwasan ang bata na turuan PRO_i ng Ingles.

-TOP avoid ABS child LG teach OBL English

'As Tintin, (she) avoided teaching the child English.'

4.3.1.2 Question-Word Formation

Using the question formation as another syntactic process, the Final 2 shows another significant behaviour. In questioning a specific nominal, the answer must be a Final 2. This means that of the term relations, it is the Final 2 that is accessible to being questioned.

(52)(a) Sino ang iniwasan ni Tintin_i na turuan PRO_i ng Ingles?

who ABS avoid ERG Tintin LG teach OBL English

'Whom did Tintin avoid teaching English?'

Since only Final 2's can be questioned, the sentence in 52(a) where the ascendeo or the Final 2 is questioned, is grammatical. Again, if Ingles is questioned, the resulting sentence in 52(b) is ungrammatical:

(b) *Ano ang iniwasan ni Tintin_i ang bata na turuan PRO_i?

what ABS avoid ERG Tintin ABS child LG teach

If we try to question Final 1, Tintin, the resulting sentence is ungrammatical as seen in 52(c):

(c)* Sino ang iniwasan ang bata na turuan PRO_i ng Ingles?

who ABS avoid ABS child LG teach OBL English

4.3.2.3. Clefting

In cleft or identificational sentences in Tagalog, two nominals are both marked with the same marker ang - the first is the ABS marker for Final 2's and the second ang is the nominal marker before the predicate phrase. Similar to the two syntactic processes discussed above, only the ascendeo or the Final 2 in sentence 50(d) can be clefted as shown in 53(a), and as a result, if a Final 1 or Final 2 is clefted, the resulting sentences are ungrammatical as shown in 53(b) and (c), respectively:

(53)(a) [Ang bata] ang iniwasan ni Tintin_i na turuan PRO_i

ABS child ABS avoid ERG Tintin LG teach

ng Ingles.

OBL English

'It is the child whom Tintin avoided teaching English.'

(b) *[Si Tintin_i] ang iniwasan ang bata na turuan PRO_i

ABS Tintin ABS avoid ABS child LG teach

ng Ingles.

OBL English

(c)*[Ang Ingles] ang iniwasan ni Tintin_i ang bata na turuan PRO_i.

ABS English ABS avoid ERG Tintin ABS child LG teach

4.3.2.4. Relativization

Another syntactic process which can be applied to test the ascended NP is relativization. The relative clause in Tagalog and in other Philippine languages is attached to its head nominal by the ligature na. As stated in the previous chapter, only Final 2's can relativize and as a result, the sentence in 54(a) is grammatical:

(54)(a) Iyan ang bata na iniwasan ni Tintin_i na turuan PRO_i

that ABS child LG avoid ERG Tintin LG teach

ng Ingles.

OBL English

'That is the child whom Tintin avoided teaching English.'

When the Final 1 and Final 2 are relativized, the resulting sentences in 54(b) and (c), respectively, are ungrammatical:

(b)* Iyan si Tintin_i na iniwasan ang bata na turuan PRO_i

that ABS Tintin LG avoid ABS child LG teach

ng Ingles.

OBL English

(c) *Iyan ng Ingles na iniwasan ni Tintin_i ang bata na turuan.

that OBL English LG avoid ERG Tintin ABS child LG teach PRO_i

In general, we have seen that only the Final 2's can ascend in constructions with Class I verbs, and when an ascension occurs the Final 2 ascendees may undergo the syntactic processes operating on Final 2's.

With Class II verbs, the term 3 control verb that requires or takes a transitive verb in the embedded clause also allows ascension of the Final 2.

For example:

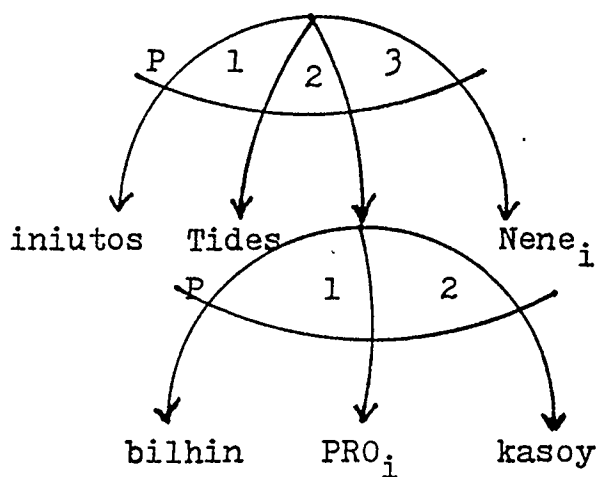
(55)(a) Iniutos ni Tides kay Nene_i na bilhin PRO_i ang kasoy.

(niya_i)

order ERG Tides OBL Nene LG buy ERG-she ABS cashew

'Tides ordered Nene to buy cashew.'

(b)



In 55(c), the Final 2, kasoy, has ascended to the matrix clause as shown in 55(d):

(c) Iniutos ni Tides kay Nene_i ang kasoy na bilhin PRO_i.

order ERG Tides OBL Nene ABS cashew LG buy

'Tides ordered Nene to buy cashew.'

4.3.2. Double Embedding

Another interesting behaviour of the ascende_e or the Final 2 can be found in a double embedding construction. This construction refers to a recursive embedding of clauses.

We will look into a double embedding construction where the matrix verb contains a pseudo-verb. The other types of verbs that we have seen also allow a recursive embedding of clauses.

Consider now the following sentences:

(57)(a) *Ayaw ng tatay na iwasan ng babae_i na ituro PRO_i
 doesn't like ERG father LG avoid ERG woman LG teach
 ang Ingles sa bata.
 ABS English OBL child*

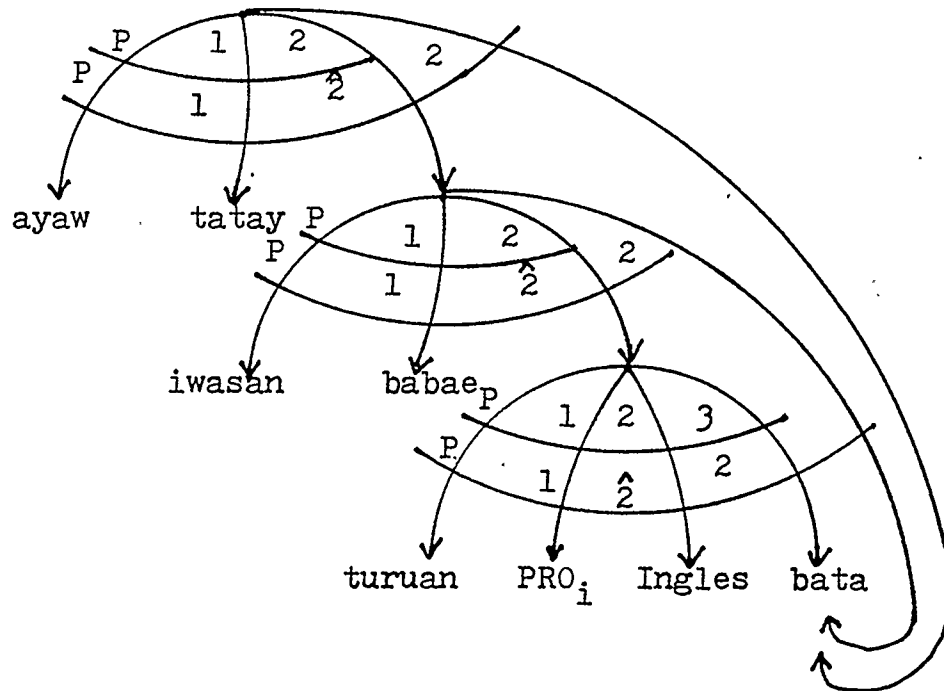
(b) *Ayaw ng tatay na iwasan ng babae_i na turuan PRO_i
 doesn't like ERG father LG avoid ERG woman LG teach
 ng Ingles ang bata.
 OBL English ABS child*

(c) *Ayaw ng tatay na iwasan ng babae_i ang bata
 doesn't like ERG father LG avoid ERG woman ABS child
 na turuan PRO_i ng Ingles.
 LG teach OBL English*

(d) *Ayaw ng tatay ang bata na iwasan ng babae_i
 doesn't like ERG father ABS child LG avoid ERG woman
 na turuan PRO_i ng Ingles.
 LG teach OBL English*

'Father doesn't like the woman to avoid teaching English
 to the child.'

(e)



Sentence 57(a) shows the sentential complement ituro PRO ang Ingles sa bata embedded under another sentential complement iwasan ng babae which in turn is embedded under the matrix clause ayaw ng tatay.

In 57(b), bata has advanced from its initial 3-relation to a Final 2 and as a result, bata is now marked ABS and the voice marking on the verb is -an which is typical of 3→2 advancement. Since bata is now a Final 2, it can ascend to the next higher clause because only Final 2's can ascend. This is seen in sentence 57 (c). From this embedded clause, Final 2 can still ascend further to the matrix clause as seen in 57(d).

The RN in 57(e) shows this ascension. Bata which bears an initial 3-relation in the sentential complement had advanced to a Final 2. As a Final 2, it can now ascend to the next higher clause where it bears a Final 2-relation to the verb iwasan by the Relational Succession Law putting the host en chômege by the Relational Annihilation Law. From this clause, Final

2 ascends further to the matrix clause with the ascendea bearing a Final 2-relation to the matrix verb ayaw and the former 2 becoming a 2.

Since only Final 2's can ascend a double embedded construction showing the Final 1 in sentence (39) ascending from the deepest embedded clause to the next higher clause as in 58(a) then to the matrix clause results in an ungrammatical sentence in 58(b):

(58)(a) *Ayaw ng tatay na mapansin ni Nene ng ibon
 doesn't like ERG father LG notice ERG Nene ERG bird
 na kakainIn ang uod.
 LG eat ABS worm

(b) *Ayaw ng tatay ng ibon na mapansin ni Nene
 doesn't like ERG father ERG bird LG notice ERG Nene
 na kakainIn ang uod.
 LG eat ABS worm

Being a Final 2, the ascendea which originates from recursive embeddings may undergo all other syntactic tests that operate on Final 2's, i.e. relativization, clefting, topicalization and question-word formation.

In the next chapter, we will look into another type of ascension called Possessor Ascension and show how it relates to ascension from sentential complements.

Notes

¹ The phonological shape of the ligature (LG) depends on what immediately precedes it. The LG is /-ŋ/ after a vowel, a coronal nasal or a glottal stop; otherwise, it shows up as a /na/.

² Sa-phrases and time-phrases are also permitted to be questioned as they are both adverbials.

³ This is taken from Dell (1981:20), hence, a different case label.

CHAPTER 5. POSSESSOR ASCENSION

5.0 Introduction

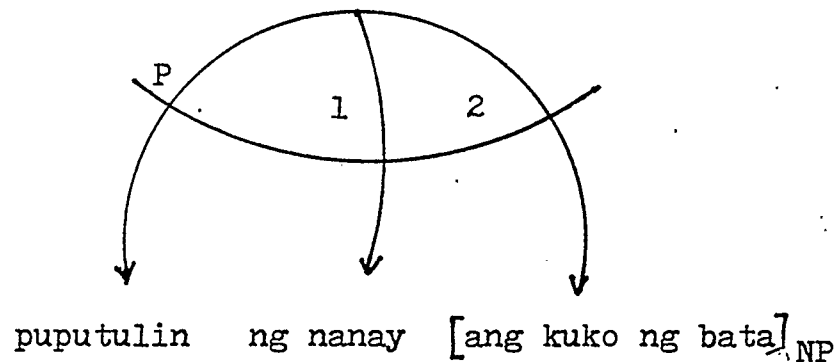
What we have shown so far is an account of subject or Final 2-ascension from sentential complements. In this chapter, I will present another type of ascension involving possessive phrases, that is, an NP argument with a possessive phrase found in a sentential complement. First, I will show the syntactic behaviour of these possessive phrases in simple clauses, then I will look into the syntactic behaviour of the embedded clause where the possessor ascends from its possessive phrase - a process called possessor ascension.

5.1 Ascension of Possessive NP Phrases

The possessive NP phrase in Tagalog contains the thing possessed or the possessee and a possessor marked Genitive (GEN). The whole possessive NP phrase when it functions as a Final 2 is marked absolutive (ABS). For example:

- (59)(a) Puputulin ng nanay ang kuko ng bata.
 cut ERG mother ABS nail GEN child
 'Mother will cut the child's nail.'

(b)



The active-transitive verb in sentence 59(a) requires the cooccurrence of grammatical relations 1 and 2. Similar to the syntactic behaviour of a simple NP argument and the sentential complement that we have seen in the previous chapter, the possessive NP phrase, a complex NP, also plays a grammatical relation to the verb.

It is indicated in the RN (59b) of sentence 59(a) that the verb puputulin bears a predicate-relation to the clause, nanay, the agent, bears a 1-relation to the verb and the possessive phrase, kuko ng bata, bears a 2-relation to the verb.

If we say that the possessive NP phrase bears a 2-relation to the verb, then it can undergo syntactic tests that operate on Final 2's. We have seen in the previous chapter that clefting can operate on Final 2's. Thus, by applying this test on 59(a), we have (60):

(60) [Ang kuko ng bata] ang puputulin ng nanay.

ABS nail GEN child ABS cut ERG mother

'It is the child's nail that mother will cut.'

Sentence (60) shows that when the possessive NP phrase is clefted, the resulting sentence is grammatical. Thus, this proves that the possessive NP phrase is a Final 2.

Our main concern now is the syntactic behaviour of this possessive phrase when it occurs in an embedded clause of a matrix clause. From the preceding chapter, it has been concluded that any NP bearing a Final 2-relation in a sentential complement, which holds a 2-relation to the main verb, will allow ascension of that Final 2 term into the matrix clause. Consider now the following sentences:

(61)(a) Pinagmasdan ng tatay na putulin ng nanay ang kuko ng bata.

watch ERG father LG cut ERG mother ABS nail GEN child

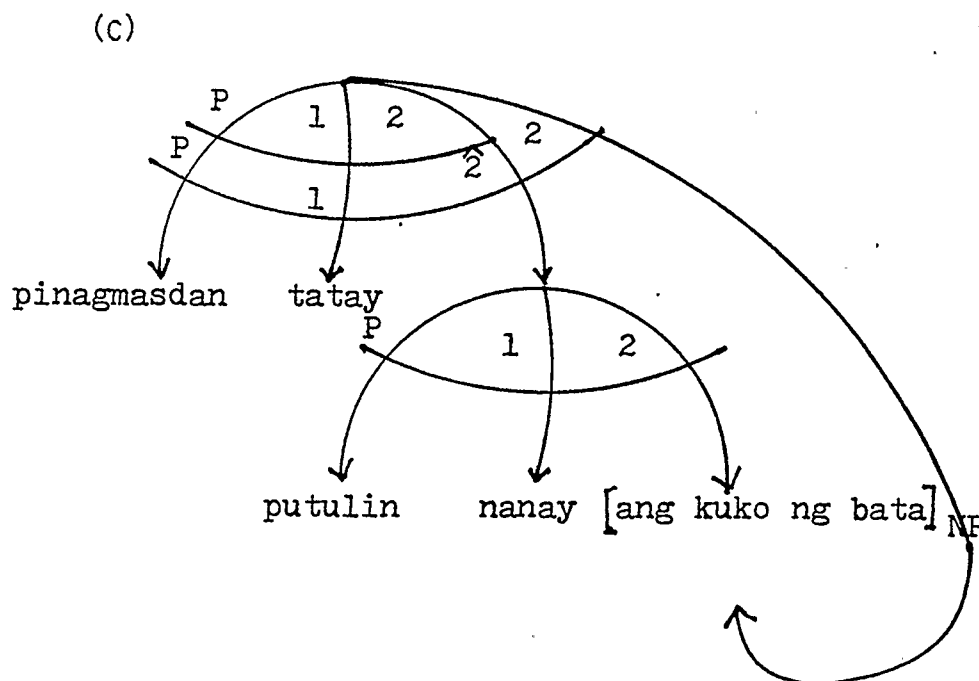
(lit.) 'Father watched as mother cut the child's nail.'

(b) Pinagmasdan ng tatay ang kuko ng bata na putulin ng nanay.

watch ERG father ABS nail GEN child LG cut ERG mother

(lit.) 'Father watched as mother cut the child's nail.'

The possessive phrase, like any simple noun phrase, which is a Final 2 in the sentential complement is able to ascend to the matrix clause as shown in the resulting grammatical sentence 61(b). The relational network below represents this ascension:



The matrix clause in the RN (61c) above contains tatay, the agent, which bears a 1-relation and the sentential complement, the theme, bears a 2-relation. The embedded clause consists of the verb putulin which bears a predicate relation to the embedded clause, the agent, nanay, a 1-relation and the possessive NP phrase theme, kuko ng bata, a 2-relation. As a Final 2, the possessive phrase is sanctioned to ascend to the matrix clause where it bears the grammatical relation of the host (term 2) by the Relational Succession Law putting the host en chômeage by the Relational Annihilation Law.

5.2 Possessor Ascension

We have concluded in the previous section that the possessive NP phrase as a Final 2 may undergo Final 2-ascension (a process that only operates on Final 2's as we have seen in the preceding chapter). Consider now the sentences in (62) and (63):

(62) PuputulIn ng nanay ang kuko ng bata.

cut ERG mother ABS nail GEN child

(63) Puputulan ng nanay ang bata ng kuko.

cut ERG mother ABS child OBL nail

'Mother will cut the child's nail.'

Sentence (62) and (63) are synonymous in meaning. Notice that the possessor bata in (63) is now marked ABS as opposed to its GEN marking in (62) while the possessee kuko is marked GEN instead of ABS. The marking of ABS on bata triggers the transitive verb to take the recipient or locative voice affix -an in contrast to the objective or patient voice affix -in in (62). Despite the similarity of meaning of (62) and (63), the sequence of the possessor and the possessee (ang bata ng kuko) in (63) does not act like a whole unit Final 2 compared to the possessive phrase in (62) which is a Final 2. This can be seen when clefting is applied to (63) as shown in (64):

(64) *Ang bata ng kuko ang puputulan ng nanay.

ABS child OBL nail ABS cut ERG mother

'It is the child's nail that mother will cut.'

The resulting sentence in (64) when the supposed 'possessive NP' phrase in (63) was clefted is ungrammatical which proves that it is not a Final 2.

In sentence (63), the possessor bata is marked ABS which is the case' marker for Final 2's. Clefting just the possessor would result in the grammatical sentence below:

(65) [Ang bata] ang puputulan ng nanay ng kuko.

ABS child ABS cut ERG mother OBL nail

'It is the child whose nails mother will cut.'

If, however, the possessor is allowed to move into the initial position of the sentence, it no longer is a dependent in the possessive phrase but it has become itself a dependent or complement of the verb. Bell (1974b) notes that this change in dependency is effected by an ascension rule. The possessor ascends from its possessive phrase to the main clause. Observe the examples of the possessor ascending from its possessive phrase to the matrix clause:

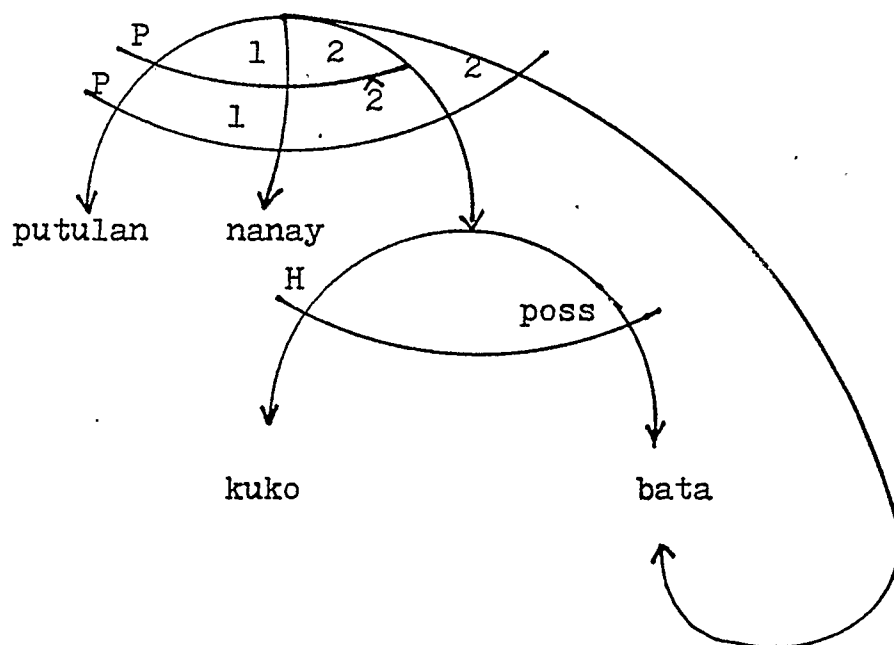
(66) Puputulan ng nanay ang bata ng kuko.

cut ERG mother ABS child OBL nail

Sentence (66) shows that the possessor ang bata has ascended from its possessive phrase to the matrix clause. This change in grammatical relation arises from another type of ascension rule called Possessor Ascension.

Bell (1974b) claims that a possessor may ascend from an NP subject (taking the ang-phrase as Bell's subject although it is Final 1 in the Passive Analysis). We have seen that a possessor comes from a possessive NP phrase which is a term 2. We may be reminded that Bell's 'subject' is what has been shown all along here as 'Final 2'. Based on Chun (1986) and Perlmutter's (1984) proposal, Possessor Ascension is a construction in which the change of grammatical relation of the possessor and its effect on that of the possessee is directly represented. Accordingly, the diagram of (66) will be (67):

(67)



The possessor bata ascends from the possessive phrase to the matrix clause by Possessor Ascension where it now bears a Final 2-relation to the matrix verb by the Relational Succession Law and by the Relational Annihilation Law, the remnant of the host, the initial 2, is now a $\hat{2}$. The voice-marking -an on the verb is also a consequence of the possessor being the recipient or affected nominal of what is expressed by the verb, bearing a Final 2.

Generally, Possessor Ascension has been attested in many languages but with the constraint that the possessee be an inalienable possession of the possessor. On the other hand, Tagalog has possessor ascension for both inalienable possessions, which refer to a possessor's body-parts as well as to part-whole relations, and alienable possessions, referring to kinship relation or marking something that is a material possession of the possessor. For example:

(68)(a) Sumakit ang tiyan ng bata.

upset ABS stomach GEN child

(b) Sinaktan ang bata ng tiyan.

upset ABS child OBL stomach

'The child's stomach was upset.'

(69)(a) Dinukot ng lalaki ang pitaka ng babae.

steal ERG man ABS purse GEN woman

(b) Dinukutan ng lalaki ang babae ng pitaka.

steal ERG man ABS woman OBL purse

'The man stole the woman's purse.'

Examples 68(a) and (b) show an inalienable possession whereas 69(a) and (b) show alienable possessions. Moreover, 68(b) and 69(b) indicate constructions manifesting possessor ascension. Interestingly enough, the same syntactic behaviour is observable for both inalienable possessions and alienable possessions. Thus, we will just deal with inalienable possessions in our succeeding discussions.

5.3 Final 2-Ascension

By virtue of the Final 2-ascension rule which we have discussed in Chapter 4, the ascendeo in possessor ascension can further ascend when initially the possessor is a constituent of a possessive NP phrase which in turn is a constituent of a sentential complement. Possessor Ascension applied from within the possessive phrase in (70) and then Final 2-ascension applied to (70) to derive (71).

(70) Pinagmasdan ng tatay na putulan ng nanay ang bata ng kuko.
 watch ERG father LG cut ERG mother ABS child OBL nail
 'Father watched as mother cut the child's nail.'

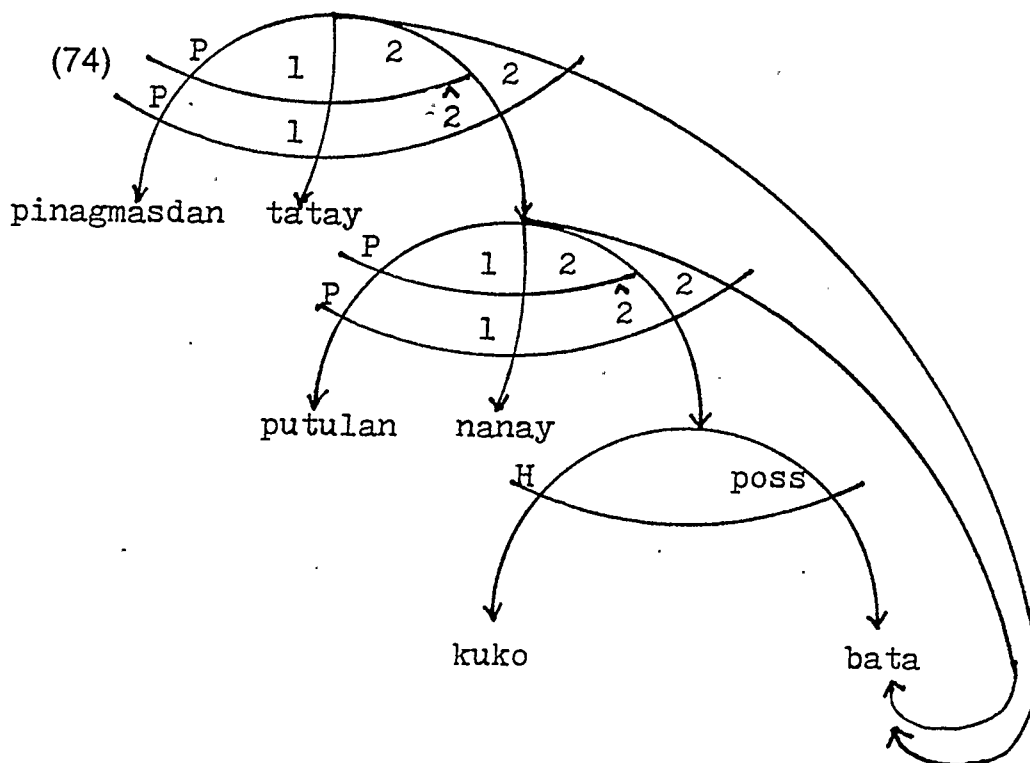
(71) Pinagmasdan ng tatay ang bata na putulan ng nanay ng kuko.
 watch ERG father ABS child LG cut ERG mother OBL nail
 'Father watched the child whose nail mother cut.'

If possessor ascension does not apply as in (72), then the possessor cannot ascend to the matrix clause. Thus, sentence (73) is ungrammatical:

(72) Pinagmasdan ng tatay na putulin ng nanay ang kuko ng bata.
 watch ERG father LG cut ERG mother ABS nail OBL child
 'Father watched as mother cut the child's nail.'

(73) *Pinagmasdan ng tatay ng bata na putulin ng nanay ang kuko .
 watch ERG father OBL child LG cut ERG mother ABS nail

Sentence (71) is represented in diagram (74) below:



RN (74) shows that the possessor bata ascends via Possessor Ascension from its possessive NP phrase which is a term 2 to its clause where it bears a Final 2-relation to the verb putulan by the Relational Succession Law and by the Relational Annihilation Law, the host becomes a 2. This possessor nominal which is now a Final 2 further ascends from the embedded clause to the matrix clause where it bears a Final 2-relation to the verb pinagmasdan putting the host en chômage. The series of ascensions here shows how a nominal functioning originally as a possessor in a possessive NP phrase can end up as an argument, a Final 2-relation in each higher clause.

5.4 Syntactic Tests for Final 2-hood of Former Possessor

In this section, I will show that the former possessor is now a Final 2 in the matrix clause by applying various syntactic processes operating on Final 2's.

5.4.1 Topicalization

The possessor, having undergone possessor ascension and then Final 2-ascension in (71) can be shown to be capable of being topicalized as shown in the grammatical sentence (75):

(75) Ang bata, pinagmasdan ng tatay na putulan ng nanay ng kuko.

-TOP watch ERG father LG cut ERG mother OBL nail

'As for the child, father watched mother cut the nail.'

The sentence, however, will be ungrammatical as shown in (76) if there has been no possessor ascension as in (72) and the possessor is topicalized.

(76) *Ng bata, pinagmasdan ng tatay na putulan ng nanay ang kuko.

-TOP watch ERG father LG cut ERG mother ABS nail

'As for the child, father watched mother cut the nail.'

5.4.2 Relativization

By applying relativization to the former possessor which has ascended to the matrix clause in sentence (71), the resulting sentence is grammatical indicating that the ascendees, that has taken the grammatical relation of the host when it has ascended in the matrix clause, is a Final 2.

(77) Iyan ang bata na pinagmasdan ng tatay na putulan ng nanay ng kuko.

that ABS child LG watch ERG father LG cut ERG mother OBL nail

(lit.) 'That is the child that father watched the mother cut the nail of.'

On the other hand, if possessor ascension has not occurred, the possessor cannot relativize as shown by the ungrammaticality of (78):

(78) *Iyan ng bata na pinagmasdan ng tatay na putulin ng nanay ang kuko.

that GEN child LG watched ERG father LG cut ERG mother ABS nail

(lit.) 'That is the child that father watched the mother cut the nail of.'

5.4.3. Clefting

A third test that we will apply to the former possessor which has ascended and ended up as Final 2 in sentence (71) is Clefting. For example:

(79) [Ang bata] ang pinagmasdan ng tatay na putulan ng nanay ng kuko.

ABS child ABS watch ERG father LG cut ERG mother OBL nail

'As for the child, father watched as mother cut (his) nail.'

The grammaticality of sentence (79) when the former possessor is clefted shows that it is indeed a Final 2. The sentence which indicates that there is no possessor ascension that has occurred will be ungrammatical if the possessor is clefted as shown in (80) based on sentence (72):

(80) *[Ang bata] ang pinagmasdan ng tatay na putulin ng nanay ang kuko.

ABS child ABS watch ERG father LG cut ERG mother ABS nail

(lit.) 'As for the child, father watched as mother cut (his) nail.'

5.4.4. Question-Word Formation

Finally, the last syntactic process that we will apply to the ascended possessor is question-word formation. In the previous chapter, we showed that of the term relations, only Final 2's can be replaced by a question word. By replacing the former possessor which is now a Final 2 with a question word in sentence (71), the resulting question as in the sentence in (81) is grammatical:

- (81) Sino ang pinagmasdan ng tatay na putulan ng nanay ng kuko?
 who ABS watch ERG father LG cut ERG mother OBL nail
 'Who did father watch mother cut the nail?'

On the other hand, if possessor ascension has not occurred as in sentence (72), the possessor cannot be replaced by a question word as seen in the ungrammaticality of sentence (82):

- (82) *Sino ang pinagmasdan ng tatay na putulin ng nanay ang kuko?
 who ABS watch ERG father LG cut ERG mother ABS nail
 'Who did father watch mother cut the nail?'

Based on the findings in this chapter, Tagalog manifests possessor ascension in both inalienable and alienable possessive phrases and we have shown that possessor ascension feeds into Final 2-ascension from a sentential complement in Tagalog. We have also seen that the former possessor having undergone possessor ascension and then a Final 2-ascension from a sentential complement ends up as a Final 2 in the matrix clause. We have provided syntactic tests such as Topicalization, Relativization, Clefting and Question-Word Formation to show the Final 2-hood of this former possessor in the matrix clause. It is also evident in our findings that if possessor ascension had not occurred, the possessor could

not undergo the various syntactic tests for 2-hood, confirming the Final 2-relation of the original possessor. In employing the syntactic processes of possessor ascension and Final 2-ascension from a sentential complement in this chapter, we have presented evidence in support of Final 2 as the grammatical subject in Tagalog.

Chapter 6. CONCLUSION

6.0 Conclusion

This thesis has shown the basic verbal clause structures of Tagalog cast in the RG framework using the Ergative Analysis. The basic clause structures consist of Transitive verbs with the subcategorizational feature +[___ 1 2], Intransitive verbs marked with either +[___ 1] or +[___ 2] and ditransitive verbs marked with +[___ 1 2 3].

From these basic clause structures, we have shown that other types of sentence constructions can be derived with the aid of Advancement Rules such as: (a) 1 to 2 Advancement (Antipassive), (b) 3 to 2 Advancement, and (c) Non-term to 2 Advancement. The Advancement Rules were shown as they are relevant to the rule of Ascension. That is, a grammatical relation is not accessible to certain syntactic operations unless it advances to a Final 2. This points to the significance or centrality of this term relation.

I have also shown two types of Ascension constructions that involve Final 2's, namely: (1) Sentential Complement and (2) Possessor NP's in sentential complements. Based on these two ascension constructions, the study has confirmed that Final 2 is salient in Tagalog.

The findings of this thesis show that Final 2 as subject in Tagalog is in accord with the studies of some Philippine linguists. I have mentioned in the first chapter that Schachter (1976, 1977) claims that the topic nominal (marked by ang) behaves as subject with respect to Relativization,

Quantifier Float and Existentials similar to the behaviour of Final 2 in this study. In initial relations term 2 is associated with the thematic role of patient or object. As observed by Cena (1977) and De Guzman (1979; 1987) the patient is primary over the agent as grammatical subject in Tagalog. In the studies on other Philippine languages like Cebuano (Bell, 1976), Kapampangan (Rowell, 1983) and Ilokano (Gerdt, 1987), the nominal corresponding to the Tagalog ang-phrase functions in the same way.

Other syntactic tests like Question-Word Formation, Clefting and Topicalization were used to support the saliency of Final 2 in complex structures. In addition, it was shown in this thesis that ascension also supports the Final 2-relation as the central grammatical relation that a number of syntactic operations refer to. These properties characterize what is commonly referred to as subject.

The syntactic evidence to support subject as shown in other studies present their conclusion in different ways. Schachter, for instance, does not consider the syntactic tests implicating topic (or what we refer to as Final 2) as subject as evidence conclusive for their subject property. Instead, he concludes that more than one NP share subject properties in a sentence. In Bell's Nominative-Accusative analysis, she utilizes the notions initial subject (term 1=agent) and final subject (term 1) to account for similar syntactic phenomena in Cebuano.

De Guzman and Rowell, both employing the EA, focus on the notion of patient or Final 2 being primary in Philippine languages. De Guzman's, Rowell's and Gerdt's studies have the advantage over Bell's in terms of stating the grammatical rules with reference to final grammatical

relations. For those operations that refer to initial terms, e.g. term 1, De Guzman (1987) proposes to refer to the thematic relations, e.g. agent.

Byma's analysis is done within the Government and Binding framework. Although his study accords with the Ergative Analysis, he defines subject within the Government and Binding Theory stating that the agent which is the NP dominated by S is the subject. Because of the nature of the framework of his study in which subject is defined configurationally, he claims that it is not a necessary condition of subjects that they be accessible to Quantifier float and Relative clause formation which are syntactic tests in support of Final 2's. His alternative is to refer to the ang-phrase as the ABS case-marked phrase.

Some syntactic tests and most importantly, ascension, provide convincing evidence that an ergative analysis of Tagalog where final term 2 as the primary grammatical relation is a viable account for Tagalog structures. Based on this observation, the Final 2-Law has been proposed which is appropriate in considering the saliency of term 2 in Tagalog.

I conclude that Final 2 is the grammatical subject in Tagalog as shown by: (a) the 2-Ascension constructions; (b) the syntactic processes referring to Final 2's; and (c) case-marking rules.

With the framework which I adopted, the grammatical relation identified as the grammatical subject i.e. Final 2, is in accord with the principles and predictions given in the Relational Grammar Theory. It will be noted that I did not include syntactic operations that refer to agent or Final 1. Thus, this leads us back to Schachter's claim that there are properties attributed to subjects, i.e. role-related properties and reference-

related properties which may be a disjunction for both the Relational Grammar framework and the Government and Binding theory.

Moreover, it might be admitted as a point of contention that the Ergative Analysis would end up with a disjunction with the passive analysis which becomes a problem for Universal Grammar. The Ergative Analysis (EA), however, would have more advantages over the PA in terms of syntactic and psychological evidence as supported in studies by Cena (1977) and Galang (1982), respectively, and morphological evidence (De Guzman, 1979) found in the internal structure of the verbs. As mentioned in the chapter on basic clause structures, the Ergative Analysis can account for a generalization of the voice marking on intransitive verbs and antipassive constructions which is a problem for the Passive Analysis.

Since RG is concerned with the verb and the nominal dependents standing in relation to it, an investigation of verbal sentences is really significant. I have not included the other types of predicates, i.e. adjectival and nominal. On the other hand, this could be a topic for further studies.

The area involving the syntactic behaviour of the control structures were only superficially covered, especially the occurrence of the overt pronoun instead of a PRO needs deeper investigation.

In sum, we have seen that the syntactic process of Ascension supports Final 2 as the grammatical subject. This syntactic evidence shows that the Ergative Analysis in the Relational Grammar framework is a more insightful approach when seeking evidence in support of subject in Tagalog as it provides adequate and appropriate analysis in support of the Final 2 as the grammatical subject in Tagalog.

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